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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

August 8, 2016

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

FOIPA Request No.: 1355065-000
Subject: OVERSTREET, HARRY ALLEN

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

Records responsive to your request were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act. Enclosed is one CD containing 1,349 pages of previously processed documents and a copy of the Explanation of Exemptions. This release is being provided to you at no charge.

Additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. Please submit a new FOIA request if you would like the FBI to conduct a search of the indices to our Central Records System.

Submit requests by mail or fax to – Work Process Unit, 170 Marcel Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, fax number (540) 868-4997.

For your information, Congress excluded three discrete categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA. See 5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010)). This response is limited to those records that are subject to the requirements of the FOIA. This is a standard notification that is given to all our requesters and should not be taken as an indication that excluded records do, or do not, exist.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the www.fbi.gov/foia website under "Contact Us." The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request. Your patience is appreciated.

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Suite 11050, 1425 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIAonline portal by creating an account on the following web site: <https://foiaonline.regulations.gov/foia/action/public/home>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at 877-684-6448, or by emailing ogis@nara.gov. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing foipaquestions@ic.fbi.gov. If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Hardy", with a stylized flourish at the end.

David M. Hardy
Section Chief,
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **DALLAS, TEXAS**

FILE NO. **100-3353**

REPORT MADE AT Dallas, Texas	DATE WHEN MADE 6-17-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6-4-42	REPORT MADE BY R. A. GUMP
TITLE Dr. and Mrs. HARRY A. OVERSTREET			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subjects, during lecture, stated that an all-out war effort not primarily important at the present time and that the German people were kind and loveable. Dr. OVERSTREET was formerly a professor at the City College of New York.

AGENCY *photo. osd*
REQ. REC'D *2-26-40*
REP'T FORW. *3-4-40*
BY *ay*

DETAILS:

AGENCY *11-17-42*
REQ. REC'D *1-14-49*
REP'T FORW. *1-28-49*
BY *fg*

-P-

AGENCY *100-91874*
REQ. REC'D *11-9-54*
REP'T FORW. *11-12-54*
BY *W.A. S. / Jm*

This investigation is predicated upon a letter from the San Antonio Field Division dated March 31, 1942, enclosing a report received from Colonel A. W. ROFFE, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Fort Sam Houston, Texas. This report is quoted as follows:

"Copy of article from Tyler Courier Times of March 11, 1942

OVERSTREETS TO LECTURE TONIGHT AT AUDITORIUM

Program is Sponsored by Forum, AAUW, DAR and Community Council

Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, writers and phycho-
logists, will discuss in dialogure the topic, Defense
Against the Attack Upon Our Minds, tonight at 8:15 o'clock
in the high school auditorium. The Overstreets are
brought here through the Hogg Foundation of the University
of Texas in co-operation with the Tyler Community Council
for Family Living.

APPROVED AND
FORWARDED:

A. P. Kitchen
50 JUL 23 1942

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

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DALLAS # 100-3353

R. A. GUMP

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"Other local sponsors of the program include the Tyler Woman's Forum, the American Association of University Women and the Mary Tyler Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Tickets, which are free, will be available tonight at the box office of the auditorium.

Dr. Overstreet has served as professor of philosophy in the University of California and the University of New York City. He is the author of Influencing Human Behavior, About Ourselves -- Psychology for Normal People, The Enduring Quest and several other volumes. Mrs. Overstreet has gained recognition as a poetess and is the author of The Poetic Way of Release, Footsteps on the Earth and Search for a Self.

Dewey Lawrence, member of the community council, will introduce the speakers."

- - - - -

"Copy of article from Tyler Courier Times of March 12, 1942

ISOLATIONISM NOT POSSIBLE IF ALLIES ARE TO WIN WAR

Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, Hogg Foundation lecturers who spoke here last night at the high school auditorium, told Tylerites that national isolation cannot exist if the Allies are to win this war.

The Overstreets were brought here by the Tyler Community Council for Family Living.

Other local sponsors included the Tyler Woman's Forum, the American Association of University Women and the Mary Tyler Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution.

The lecturers, talking in dialogue form, said that we can't win the war without hating our war enemies. They illustrated this point by telling about watching a bully beat up a helpless child. They stated that we

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R. A. GUMP

6-17-42

would hate the bully because of our belief in decency.

The country is facing a grave danger which he must meet half way, Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet said. We must not go out of our way to look for danger but we develop courage and self-respect when we do the commonplace things of life in time of danger.

Mrs. Roy C. Owens presided over the meeting and introduced Dewey Lawrence, a member of the community council, who introduced the speakers."

- - - - -

"It is reported from a reliable source that Mr. D. K. Caldwell of Tyler, Texas was probably responsible for bringing the Overstreets to Tyler, Texas, where they spoke at the high school auditorium on Wednesday night, March 11th, 1942. Subjects made the following statements:

1. If we continue to allow poverty, slums and unemployment here, will our democracy be worth fighting for?
2. All our states are not democratic anyway.
3. We must not hate the German people (Dr. Overstreet said, "I lived among them in Germany for a long time and I know how fine and lovable they really are. Of course, at present, they are in a psychopathic condition but we must not blame them too much for we, the United States, are large responsible for conditions in Germany which led to this war").
4. Both Dr. Overstreet and Mrs. Overstreet said that we must not let our children hate the Germans because they will have to live with them after the war.

Subjects advised the audience to continue all clubs and other activities as usual and not give too much time to war work because much of the war work is being created to keep up civilian morale. The audience was advised to give

DALLAS # 100-3353

R. A. GUMP

6-17-42

less time to war work and more time to planning for the next thirty years after the war. Informant is confident the entire lecture was intended to create mental confusion."

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By letter dated May 13, 1942, this case was assigned to the Department of Public Safety of Texas for investigation and their report was received on May 30, 1942. This report is as follows:

"On 5/23/42, I interviewed Mrs. Joe WESSENDORF, Richmond, Texas, who is Past President of the PTA of Texas, and she told me that she heard Dr. OVERSTREET on May 4th, of this year speak at San Antonio, Texas, and his subject was a Recipe for Courage in Crisis. That she listened attentively and that he did not speak of World conditions and that she heard nothing bordering on disloyalty in his talk.

On 5/19/42, I contacted Dr. R. L. SOUTHERLAND, head of the Hogg Foundation, Main Building, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, and he said that Dr. & Mrs. Overstreet had talked some under the auspices of the Foundation and that they had so lectured at Tyler, Texas, a short while ago.

He advised that both are well educated; that they spend about one-half of their time in New York City and the other half in California; that their New York address is 120 Haven Avenue, New York, New York; that both lecture; that they are to teach during the Summer at some college in Utah.

He also advises that Mrs. Overstreet was reared on a fruit ranch in California, her birthplace being Geyersville, Cal.; that she graduated from the University of California in 1925, after having worked her way through school; that she afterwards school at Bakersfield, California; that she is the author of two books of her own, and has, in collaboration with her husband, written two other books. That her field is Poetry and Literature.

That Dr. OVERSTREET was born in San Francisco, Cal., on 10/25/75; that he was the head of the Philosophy Department

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R. A. GUMP

6-17-42

of the College of the City of New York for about 20 years; that he was National President of the Adult Education Conference; that his field is Psychology and Philosophy; that he is the author of about 8 different books.

That he heard him speak here in Austin and that he spoke on Local Ways and Means in Assisting in the War; that he said nothing that could be construed as being in any way disloyal.

That both subjects are now porbably filling speaking engagements in Chicago, Illinois, at the present time.

CORRECTION: Mrs. Wessendorf did not hear Dr. OVERSTREET, but only heard Mrs. OVERSTREET before the PTA in San Antonio.

Both of these subjects are written up in 'WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA', page 1690, Vol. 22 of this book, which gives a very good and comprehensive background of these subjects' lives.

Dr. SOUTHERLAND, while not saying so in plain words, indicated that he had heard some criticism of the lecture at Tyler, Texas.

On 5/25/42, I contacted Miss Dallie Maberry, employee of the Citizens National Bank of Tyler, Texas, and she said that she heard Mr. and Mrs. OVERSTREET lecture there; that it was a great disappointment; that a great many people left the Hall before the lecture was over.

That she recalls that the Dr. said that "we should not hate the German people; that he had lived among them for some time and that he knew how lovable they were in character, and that we are largely responsible for their present condition"- this is the substance as she recalled it. She also heard them say that she should not let our children hate the German people.

On 5/25/42, I also contacted Prof. F. M. Mathis, Principal of one of the City Schools there, and he recalled about the same thing that Miss Maberry did; he also said that he left before all was over; that he just didn't like the lecture and what they were saying.

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R. A. GUMP

6-17-42

On 5/26/42, I also contacted Mr. EWELL C. WILLIAMS, Assistant Cashier of the Citizens National Bank of that place, and he recalled that Dr. OVERSTREET said that we should not hate the German people, nor should we allow our children to do so, because he had lived with them for several years and knew how lovable they were in character, and that they were not altogether responsible for their present condition. That the present condition there is due to a few leaders and not to the masses, and he, at least intimated, that the United States was partly responsible for their present condition.

On 5/26/42, I also contacted Attorney DEWEY LAWRENCE, office in Peoples Bank Building, Tyler, Texas, and who introduced subjects at this lecture, and he states that Dr. OVERSTREET did say that we should not hate the German people nor should we allow our children to do so.

On the same day, I interviewed Mr. TOM RAMEY, an attorney, in Citizens National Bank Building, and President of the School Board, and he admitted that the people were very much disappointed with the lecture; that he doesn't recall anything particularly disloyal; that Dr. OVERSTREET did mention that we ought not to hate the German people; that the conditions there were due to only a few and not the masses; that these people were really lovable in character.

On the same day I also talked to Mr. HARRY D. SHUFORD, of the Moore Wholesale Grocery Company, Tyler, Texas, and he says that the whole lecture was not satisfactory to him; that it didn't have the ring of loyalty to him.

That, after the main lecture was over, the subjects then permitted those in the audience to ask them questions, and that he asked Dr. OVERSTREET, in substance, 'if he didn't believe that the first concern of the United States now is to make an 'all-out' effort for offense and defense?' That the Dr. replied that he certainly did not believe that was the most important thing at the present time, but that the subject of Rehabilitation after the war is over is the most important. Mr. Shuford also stated that some one else in the audience also amplified the question at that time and that the Dr. was still of the opinion that Rehabilitation was more important than an 'all-out' effort at this time.

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R. A. GUMP

6-17-42

On the same day, I also interviewed Mr. W. J. Gault, of Beer & Company, Stock Market, Peoples Bank Building, and he recalled that Mr. Shuford had asked the Dr., in substance, the question set out in the foregoing paragraph. He also stated that he, himself, then spoke up and told the Dr. OVERSTREET that he thought perhaps he had misunderstood the question propounded by Mr. Shuford; that he was of the opinion that Mr. Shuford was asking him if he didn't believe that the first thing we should do is to do everything that we can to win the war and then let the Rehabilitation take care of itself after the war is won, and that Dr. OVERSTREET replied that the other gentleman had just reprimanded him for his opinion, but that he still was of the opinion that the subject of Rehabilitation was the most important subject at this time.

My information is that Mr. and Mrs. HARRY A. OVERSTREET spoke there under the auspices of the Hogg Foundation, but were brought there by the Tyler Family Educational Council, composed of several citizens.

With reference to Mr. D. K. CALDWELL, he is a member of this Council; is a bachelor about 50 years of age, an oil operator, is intensely interested in Junior Colleges; has helped several worthy boys and girls through school, and is a very reputable citizen."

It is noted that Dr. OVERSTREET is reported to have been a professor at the City College of New York City for a period of 20 years. Therefore, a lead is being set out for the New York City Field Division to obtain Subject's reputation at the time he was connected with that College.

P E N D I N G

DALLAS # 100-3353

R. A: GUMP

6-17-42

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

NEW YORK CITY FIELD DIVISION

At New York City: Will conduct investigation at the City College of New York City to determine Subject's reputation at the time he was a professor at that College in the Philosophy Department.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
1200 Tower Petroleum
Dallas, Texas

March 20, 1943

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: Dr. and Mrs. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

A review of instant file reflects the absence of a specific complaint against subjects and reflects that the subjects are people of apparent prominence. It is deemed expedient to close this case and therefore, it is being placed in a closed status and the undeveloped leads at New York will be disregarded.

Very truly yours,

R. G. Danner
R. G. DANNER
Special Agent in Charge

APR 1 1943



CWN:MWS
100-3353

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APR 14 1943

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

DALLAS, TEXAS

NY FILE NO. **100-27487 MCH**

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK, N.Y.	DATE WHEN MADE 5/7/43	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3/22/43	REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH W. RICHMOND
TITLE DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET			CHARACTER OF CASE CUSTODIAL DETENTION

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subject, **HARRY A. OVERSTREET**, appointed Professor of Philosophy at City College of NY in 1911; retired 9/1/39. Investigation fails to reveal any pro-Nazi sympathies.

REFERENCE:

Report of Special Agent R. A. Gump, dated June 17, 1942 at Dallas, Texas.

DETAILS:

At New York

Mrs. **HELEN BEYER**, Payroll Division of the City College of New York, advised that **HARRY A. OVERSTREET** had been appointed full Professor of Philosophy at the college in 1911 and retired on September 1, 1939. According to the record, he received a sabbatical leave from September 1925 to January 1, 1926 for travel and study. He was made head of the Philosophy Department at the City College of New York on July 1, 1937. The record reflected he was born on October 25, 1875.

Professor **ABRAHAM EDEL** of the Philosophy Department at C.C.N.Y. stated he had known Professor **OVERSTREET** since 1931 and, in fact, received his appointment through Professor **OVERSTREET**. He had the greatest respect for the latter's ability, integrity and Americanism and stated that **OVERSTREET** had always been an opponent of the totalitarian philosophy and had strongly emphasized the traditional American values. He, however, stated that Professor **OVERSTREET** was very open-minded and had the philosophic patience to find out the elements of value and disvalue in a given doctrine. He stated that the subject had traveled widely and at one time had taught at the University of

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New York

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California in San Francisco. He stated that the subject's wife shared his attitude in philosophic and political matters.

DEAN MORTON GOTTSCHALK of the City College of New York, advised that the subject was a graduate of the University of California and was a Rhodes scholar in the early years when Rhodes scholarships were first introduced. After studying at Oxford University in England, he taught at California and came to C.C.N.Y. in 1911. DEAN GOTTSCHALK stated that the subject was a Californian by birth. He pointed out that the subject was interested in adult education and during his later years with the university, spent less and less time on academic philosophic problems, devoting more time to adult education and lectured to women's groups. He has written a number of popular books on this question. DEAN GOTTSCHALK advised that the subject was decidedly opposed to the Nazi philosophy and, in fact, his sympathies were quite the contrary. The Dean advised that the same was true of subject's wife. He further pointed out that if anything, the subject might be accused of Communistic leanings although this likewise was not the truth. Such an accusation will result from subject's innocent participation in such groups as a result of his liberal viewpoints. Subject has constantly discussed and fought for the rights of Negroes and at one time was connected with the Committee to Aid Loyalist Spain.

-REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN-

30019

April 4, 1951

RECORDED
INDEXED

4

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Maine

Dear [Redacted]

b6
b7C

Your letter dated March 27, 1951, has been received and I appreciate the interest which prompted you to write.

I must advise that this Bureau does not publish a list of the type you mentioned. For your information, however, the Attorney General has prepared a list of subversive organizations pursuant to Executive Order 9835 and this list was issued by the Civil Service Commission. In response to your request, I am enclosing the number of copies you desire.

I also wish to point out that a policy established for this Bureau holds our files confidential and available for official use only. No inference, of course, should be drawn that we do or do not have the desired data because of my inability to be of aid concerning the book you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

0 copies of the AG Subversive List

ROK:mms:epc

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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[Redacted] Maine
March 27, 1951

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J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

HARRY A. OVERSTREET

A high ranking educator has placed in my hands a book which he highly recommends. I have read the book and would say I believe it, ver- subtly attacks the Bible and Christian faith, our economic system and family life in America.

Do you have on list as subversive material, "The Mature Mind" by H.A. Overstreet published by W.W. Norton and Co. Inc. New York.

I would also like 6 copies of the list of subversive organization in America.

I have very definite reasons for wanting the above materials and information.

Would you please refer my requests to proper authorities if they are not in your department.

Thank you.

Yours very truly,

E.S./ C.E.H

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100-114575-
APR 10 1951
13

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 28, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

357,157
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/11/97 BY SP3 JH/97

Tolson ✓
Ladd ✓
Nichols ✓
Belmont ✓
Clegg ✓
Glavin ✓
Harbo ✓
Rosen ✓
Tracy ✓
Gearty ✓
Mohr ✓
Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Holloman ✓
 Sizoo ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

On May 26, I saw Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, the noted psychologists, authors and lecturers. Overstreet appears to be quite aged; Mrs. Overstreet seems to be the motivating force of the family. The reason for their visit was as follows:

Someone in the American Legion secured a listing of organizations that they were reputed to have been members of and forced a church in Mill Valley, California to cancel a lecture. As a result, there have been considerable recriminations and over a period of years unpleasant situations have come up with reference to organizational affiliations. They advised they had never seen fit to recognize these matters as they knew they were not members of the Communist Party but, on the other hand, as early as 1937 and 1938, in their writings and lectures they were denouncing Communism, and that they had always felt their record was too well documented to cause any serious-minded person to give any credence to inadvertencies on their part in getting mixed up with the wrong people. They feel now, however, that they must take steps to correct the record and the first place they were coming to was the FBI; that they wanted to make themselves available for "interrogation and cross-examination."

I politely told the Overstreets that there was no occasion for us to interrogate them; that we would, if they desired, place in our files any statement they might care to make explaining any organizational associations. They stated that it might be very well to compile such a statement.

Mrs. Overstreet stated that their needs are very modest; that they have had an abundant life with a good income from their books, writings and lectures and, having no family, they have felt compelled to share their material goods with the needy; that over the past four years they have made contributions to 95 different organizations and causes; that the chief cause they are contributing to is CARE, purchasing foods and clothing to be sent to refugees overseas; that they do not have any conscious organizational affiliations; that they do know that they have lent their names to situations in the past which at the time seemed worthy

cc: Mr. Ladd
cc: Mr. Belmont
LBN:hmc

SE 42
RECORDED - 11

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

May 28, 1953

but which now seem ill-advised.

As an illustration, they cited the Schappes Defense Committee, which requested a hearing for Professor Schappes. Dr. Overstreet stated he did not like Schappes; that a group of professors asked him to sign and he was afraid if he did not that this would be interpreted as his letting personal animosity toward Schappes influence his decision in not signing the petition for a hearing. He stated he should have let his personal feelings govern him.

They stated they would compile a list of agencies to whom they have contributed and would endeavor to ascertain the agencies which they are alleged to have been affiliated with and then work up explanations. They said they did not know where to begin and wondered if we could not interrogate them. I told them we could not do this. They then asked where else they could go for help. I told them they could go to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Internal Security Committee or the Senate Investigating Committee. They both stated they had considered asking to be heard so that they could get into the public record their real position and their true feelings. I explained to them this, of course, was a matter for them to take up with the Committees.

*Wm
S*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *W*

FROM : M. A. Jones *M.A.*

SUBJECT: HARRY A. OVERSTREET
BONARO W. OVERSTREET
MILL VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

DATE: May 25, 1953

FOIA #347,323

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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Tele. Room _____

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G.I.R.-5

SYNOPSIS:

By letter dated May 21, 1953, Eva H. Grant, editor of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, advised Director Harry A. Overstreet and wife would be in Washington on May 25 and 26 and would like to see him personally. "Directory of American Scholars" reflects Overstreet a Californian who has been a teacher and writer for a number of years. "Who's Who in America" reflects his wife, Bonaro Overstreet, an author and lecturer. Bufiles reflect Overstreet subject of Bureau sedition case in 1942. No prosecution but described as very liberal. Files further reflect Overstreet a member of the following organizations cited by the Attorney General as subversive: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, North American Spanish Aid Committee, Schappes Defense Committee and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. In addition, has been affiliated with other numerous organizations which have been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the California State Committee on Un-American Activities such as the American Civil Liberties Union, American Committee to Save Refugees, et cetera. In early '20's gave special lectures at Communist college in New York state. In 1946 Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, espionage subject, was a guest in Overstreet's home in New York.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Overstreets be advised that the Director is not in and that they talk to some other Bureau official.

COPIES DESTROYED 1-5-59
8-4-19

cc - Mr. Jones

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Tour Room

cc - Telephone Room

cc - Mr. Holloman

RECORDED - 44

INDEXED - 44

EX - 101

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51 DEC 28 1953

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

May 25, 1953

DETAILS:

By letter dated May 21, 1953, Eva H. Grant, editor of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers of Chicago, advised the Director that Harry A. Overstreet and his wife Bonaro W. Overstreet would be in Washington on May 25 and 26, and that they were most eager to talk with the Director personally for a few moments. She advised that they would call the Director's Office for an appointment upon their arrival in Washington.

SUMMARY

The Directory of American Scholars reflects that Harry Allen Overstreet, 46 Helen's Lane, Mill Valley, California, is a professor of philosophy and psychology who was born in San Francisco on October 25, 1875. He received his A.B. degree from the University of California in 1899 and later studied in Oxford in England. He has been a professor at the University of California and City College of New York. He has written a number of books.

"Who's Who in America" for 1952-53 describes Bonaro Wilkinson Overstreet as an author and lecturer who was born in Geyserville, California, on October 30, 1902. She matriculated at ~~from~~ the University of California in 1925 and married Harry A. Overstreet in August, 1932. She has done extensive work in adult education and has taught at Claremont College, Mills College, University of Michigan and the University of California.

There are numerous references in Bureau files concerning Harry A. Overstreet which reflect that he has been active in numerous organizations which have been cited as Communist fronts. Some of the more salient information in Bureau files concerning his association with various organizations is set forth below:

In 1942 the Bureau opened a case on Professor Overstreet upon information received from G-2 that he had made a pro-German lecture. Investigation was discontinued because it failed to reveal any pro-Nazi sympathies on his part; however, [redacted] of City College of New York, in an interview during the investigation of this case, advised that both Overstreet and his wife might be accused of Communistic leanings which would not be correct but would result from the subject's innocent participation in various groups as a result of his liberal viewpoints.
(100-114575-3)

b6
b7C

May 25, 1953

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION:

In 1917 Professor Harry Overstreet was listed as one of the members of the Executive Board of the American Civil Liberties Union. Files reflect that as of 1941, Overstreet was still a member of the American Civil Liberties Union. (61-190-246 and 100-7063-84)

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN: ✓

In 1941 Overstreet was one of the signers of a letter put out by the organization, The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. (100-7046-77)

In August, 1950, 150 prominent Americans signed an open letter to President Truman in behalf of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Professor Harry A. Overstreet was one of the signers of this letter. (100-7046-504)

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been cited by the Attorney General under Executive Order 9835.

NORTH AMERICAN SPANISH AID COMMITTEE: ✓

According to a report emanating from Milwaukee in 1941 Professor Harry A. Overstreet was on the committee of the North American Spanish Aid Committee. (100-7058-62)

The North American Spanish Aid Committee has been cited by the Attorney General under Executive Order 9835.

SCHAPPES DEFENSE COMMITTEE: ✓

The Schappes Defense Committee was formed in 1941 to raise funds to help the defense of Morris U. Schappes, former CCNY instructor and admitted one time Communist who was serving a term for perjury arising out of inquiry into Communism in educational institutions. In 1941 this Committee sent an open letter to Governor Dewey of New York requesting an audience to plead Schappes' case. Professor Harry Overstreet was one of the signers of this open letter which included other signatures such as Carol King, prominent Communist attorney, and Paul Robeson. (100-29-34)

The Schappes Defense Committee has been cited by the Attorney General under Executive Order 9835.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

May 25, 1953

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES:

According to the active indices of the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties, in 1941 Professor Harry A. Overstreet, City College of New York, was a member of that organization. (100-1170-49)

The National Federation For Constitutional Liberties has been cited by the Attorney General as falling within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

In addition to the above organizations cited by the Attorney General, Overstreet has been affiliated with the following organizations at the times indicated:

1932 - One of the signers of an open letter to the President urging recognition of Soviet Russia.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy - 1937

Committee on Militarism in Education - 1937

American Association of Economic Freedom - 1937

Committee on Civil Liberties - 1937

Descendants of American Revolution - 1938

Committee to Save Spain and China - 1938

Aid to Spanish Democracy - 1939

World Peaceways - 1939

American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom - 1940

Keep America Out of War Congress - 1940

Citizens Committee Against War - 1941

New School For Social Research. - 1942

National Educational Alliance, Inc. - 1942

World Unity Foundation - 1942

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

May 25, 1953

Committee For A Jewish Army - 1942

Citizens Transit Committee - 1943

Committee For Equal Justice - 1945 ✓

National Citizens Committee - 1945

National Consumers Union - 1948

American Lecture Bureau - 1948-50

Committee For Amnesty - 1948 ✓

American Committee to Save Refugees - 1951 ✓

MISCELLANEOUS:

In the 1920's, Overstreet gave a special course in psychology at Brookwood College, Katonah, New York. Brookwood College, now out of existence, was a Communist college where such subjects as labor agitation and radical ideas were taught. (124-1543-9 and 100-6082-1)

According to an unidentified source, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, subject of a Bureau Espionage - R case, on the night of December 16, 1946, was a guest in the home of Harry Allen Overstreet, 445 Riverside Drive, New York, New York. (65-56402-2355)

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b7C

In 1951, one [redacted] subject of a Security Matter - C case, circularized an open letter to President Truman to 150 prominent individuals in the country requesting their signatures. The purpose of the letter was to request the President to rescind his Loyalty Board order and "to give serious consideration to evident unfitness of Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney and J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Bureau of Investigation, for the important offices they hold." Included in the list of 150 individuals to whom this letter was sent was the signature of Harry A. Overstreet. The file fails to reflect whether or not the individuals requested ever signed this letter or whether it was ever sent to President Truman. (100-380602)

RELATIONS WITH THE BUREAU:

By letter dated May 21, 1953, Eva H. Grant, Editor of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, advised that Overstreet and his wife would be in Washington on May 25-26, 1953, and would like to see the Director personally.

The Overstreets came to the Bureau, did not see the Director but did talk with Mr. Nichols. They complained of the difficulties they were having in Mill Valley, California, which were stirred up by some of the local Legionnaires, and they wanted to get themselves on record and clear up some of the things which had appeared concerning them presumably in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Mr. Nichols advised them he could give them no clearance but that we would be glad to make a matter of record any statement they would like to make. Mr. Nichols also suggested to them that they go to the usual places wherein some reference might be made to their previous activities such as the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). He also suggested they go to the Senate Internal Security Committee, the Senate Investigating Committee and perhaps talk with Mr. James O'Neill, Editor of the American Legion Magazine. In response to their inquiry, Mr. Nichols specifically pointed out we could not give them a letter stating that the information which was used in Mill Valley did not come from Bureau files. They were told it was well known that we did not give out such information.

Since that meeting, Mr. Nichols has done an outstanding job in "selling" the Bureau to the Overstreets. They have become close friends of Mr. Nichols, staunch defenders of the Bureau and rely on Mr. Nichols for advice and guidance. Mrs. Overstreet seems to be a prolific letter writer, and files are replete with lengthy letters from her to Mr. Nichols.

In compliance with Mr. Nichols' suggestion, the Overstreets did, on May 28, 1953, appear before the Senate Internal Security Committee and testified relative to their past activities. By letter dated July 17, 1953, Mrs. Overstreet advised that on the previous day they had an interview with Mr. O'Neill of the American Legion Magazine who had been very understanding, and they were most appreciative for having been directed to him.

In connection with a memorandum Mr. Nichols wrote July 21, 1953, concerning the Overstreets, the Director noted, "We want to be careful we don't get too far involved reading their proposed writings so they could claim the FBI had passed upon them."

Under cover of a letter dated July 21, 1953, Mrs. Overstreet forwarded a copy of a report which Dr. Overstreet had written concerning his past affiliations and had sent the previous day to Mr. Velde of HCUA.

This report is very lengthy, being 13 single-spaced, typewritten pages, and goes into detail concerning Overstreet's recollection of his activities in the various organizations to which he had belonged in the past. In a memorandum to Mr. Tolson dated November 22, 1954, Mr. Nichols pointed out that the Overstreets went to the Senate Internal Security Committee, and Bob Morris used them on a couple of occasions as witnesses and that they were very effective in testifying against communist aims in education. Mr. Nichols also pointed out that in two recent books they had devoted considerable space to the evils of communism, and they had spent considerable time going around the country telling of their experiences with the investigative process and taking strong exception to those who are critical of the process. Mr. Nichols indicated that there was no question in his mind that the Overstreets have done the Bureau considerable good among honest liberal groups. He also said there was no question in his mind that if anyone was ever duped through ^{NAIVE} ~~naivety~~, it was the Overstreets, and they are doing their utmost at trying to redeem themselves.

The Overstreets' past arises to confront them from time to time, and Mr. Nichols pointed out that during 1954, they had two bad ~~bad~~ experiences, one at Tucson, Arizona, where the local American Legion filed a protest and a speaking engagement was canceled. Subsequently, an engagement in Dallas, Texas, was canceled without explanation.

In a memorandum dated April 12, 1955, Mr. Nichols pointed out that he spent some time the previous Saturday afternoon with the Overstreets. They told him that, as a result of their experiences, they had both decided they could no longer face retirement, and they, accordingly, sold their California home where they had retired and were moving to Washington to try to bring some semblance of educator's responsibility for civic life in this country. Mr. Nichols cited some unpleasant experiences which the Bureau had met with in contacting educators. Since that time, Mr. Nichols has seen the Overstreets on various occasions, has had them to his home and completely sold them on the Bureau. On May 27, 1955, they were taken on a special tour of Bureau facilities. It is also pointed out that as the Overstreets travel throughout the country on lecture tours they have made it a practice to visit the various field offices.

On October 25, 1955, Dr. Overstreet celebrated his 80th birthday, at which time Mr. Nichols gave a party for them at his home. During the course of the party, Mr. Nichols personally delivered a letter from the Director to Dr. Overstreet congratulating him on his 80th birthday. In an undated letter, Dr. Overstreet cordially acknowledged this letter. On September 28, 1955, while at the Bureau, the Overstreets met the Director.

National Congress of Parents and Teachers

NATIONAL OFFICE: 600 S. MICHIGAN BOULEVARD

CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

May 21, 1953

9527
Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Gandy ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Mr. Sizoo ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

J. Edgar Hoover
Chief, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On May 25 and 26 Bonaro W. Overstreet and her husband, Harry A. Overstreet, will be in Washington, D. C. They are most eager to talk with you personally for a few moments and will call your office for an appointment immediately upon their arrival. I shall greatly appreciate it if you can make room in your crowded schedule for a brief conference with them.

It is the good fortune of the National Parent-Teacher to have Mrs. Overstreet as a member of our editorial advisory board. In addition to serving on the board, Mrs. Overstreet is a regular monthly contributor to our pages, and P.T.A. members throughout the country turn to her with confidence for inspiration and guidance.

Both Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet have made inestimable contributions to the field of adult education. In all that they do -- their lectures and written works -- they document democracy in the great tradition that is our American heritage. Perhaps you are familiar with several of their books. If so, you are aware of their nobility of character as well as their profound knowledge of human nature.

I say again that I shall be deeply grateful to you if you can manage to see them. I trust that I myself will have the privilege, some day in the not-too-distant future, of meeting you face to face.

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers is now holding its annual national convention in Oklahoma City, where this letter is being written. I can't help hoping that sometime, too, parent-teacher members from every state in the Union, assembled in convention, may have a chance to see and hear you. For to them you are a public servant who long ago won their respect and affection for your tireless efforts on behalf of the youth of America.

Sincerely yours,

Eva Grant
Eva H. Grant
Editor, National Parent-Teacher

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor

Luzon

Room

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Subj:

Harry A. Overstreet

☒ Exact Spelling

Searchers

☒ All References

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Date 5/23/53

☐ Mail File

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SERIALS

H. A.
~~100-3-103~~
~~100-2058-62; 27~~
~~100-341902-2 p. 18~~
~~100-172902-2; 8~~
~~100-1170-239; 245~~
~~100-71095-3~~
~~100-29-87; 36~~
~~100-22554 sub A Prof~~
~~W. P. 5/24/43~~
~~100-15252-56 encl~~
~~p. 384; 39 encl p. 431~~
~~100-7063-84; 26~~
~~100-153578-1~~

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Harry A. Overstreet

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5/28/53

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~~105-5211-1~~~~65-6656-31~~~~100-3-1324, p. 107~~~~61-3963-170X12, p. 60~~~~61-11221-1~~~~100-156069-1~~~~100-54674-2~~~~65-56402-2355, p. 65~~~~66, 67~~~~100-25869 sub A Worker~~~~4/6/44~~~~100-23331-18, p. 3~~~~100-7319 sub A Daily~~~~Worker 11/20/42, Prof~~~~PM 1/13/43~~~~65-43302-124~~~~121-20131-5~~~~100-16-12-3~~

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Subj:

Bonaro W. Overstreet

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Date 5/23/53

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SERIALS

100-120277-67, p. 1061-7558-2-207 D.H.Bonaro W. Mrs.100-338892-42BonaroNRBonaro Mrs61-3615-98B. W.87-2421B.66-2341-15-18W.NR

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SERIALS

61-7566-795; 174X61-7589-3180X; 232461-7558-166X; p. 46561-7581-257X; 23 264X257X41; 118; 107; 266X61-7558-87; 112; 132X;148X661-7561-243X28Harry A. Mrs.100-114507565-56402-2355, p. 65,66Harry Allen62-38293-10; 961-7561-90X6100-371808-35165-56402-2355, p. 65,66, 6744-1-31337-1061-7558-85X3-9261-7558 sub A DailyWorker 4/29/41 Initialed

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Harry Allen
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100-3-103

100-25869 sub-A Daily
Wacker 4/11/44

Harry C. (Var)
62-23100-159, p. 297
Fish Com.

Harry

31-4679

62-38293-10

65-56402-2355, p. 65,

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61-10689-2X1

25-11931-7

100-350512-384

65-2682-251

61-7582-1380, p. 265

61-190-246

100-399550-1

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Harry
~~100-134772-6~~
~~101-23-304~~ rw
~~161-3648-4~~
~~162-10504-1~~
~~162-94891-3~~ rw
~~100-29-34~~
~~161-7932-152~~
~~100-173363-21~~
~~165-2682-351~~ Nancy Mrs.
~~100-173363-21~~
N. A.
~~94-4-4727~~ X
~~100-114575~~
~~121-1263-12~~ X
~~121-23278-267X12~~
encl p. 1492 X
~~162-38293-10~~ X
~~165-38640 sub A Prof~~
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 Date 5/23/53

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H. A. J. I
65-56402-1878, 2355,
p. 105, 106, 107
61-23-308
61-7562-125X1
61-7559-2313X1
61-7566-4626
61-3626-38
61-7561-270X 208
61-7055-259
124-1543-9 ✓
H. A. Mue
61-7566-4626
26-14831 Mx
31-43913-2 Mx
65-56402-1981, p.
67, 68 ✓

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SEARCH SLIP

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Harry A. Overstreet☒ Exact Spelling☒ All References☐ Subversive Ref.☐ Mail File☐ Restricted to Locality of

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Date 5/23/53

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100-114575Disc Com. Rpt Vol #1,
p. 565, 569, 503 ✓Disc Com. Rpt W. Steep
#1, p. 261, 265, 349 ✓100-378100-4, p. 8, 11, 12,
7, p. 11, 12 ✓100-7324-34, 35, 119100-6082-2100-7058-64100-6656-11, 18, 31100-7046-504 encl. p. 1;77100-26225-16-406100-7319 sub A DailyWorker, 1/13/43 p. 1100-75147-9-69 enclp. 29100-151433-1100-7063-107

Initialed

SAC, Albany

June 15, 1953

Director, FBI (100-114575)

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HARRY A. OVERSTREET
SECURITY MATTER - C

On May 26, 1953, the captioned individual and his wife called at the Bureau to submit a statement in connection with allegations that had been made concerning their subversive activity. They stated that, as a result of action by the American Legion, a list of organizations in which the captioned individual and his wife were reputed to be members, had been prepared. Based upon that list, Overstreet stated that a lecture which he had been scheduled to give at Mill Valley, California, was cancelled. It should be noted that Overstreet and his wife are fairly well-known psychologists, authors and lecturers.

When contacting the Bureau they advised that they had never been members of the Communist Party and, in fact, had since 1937 or 1938 actively denounced that organization in their lectures and writings.

Dr. Overstreet was advised that he was free to submit to the Bureau any statement which he felt was proper regarding his connections and affiliations with various organizations.

He stated that among the organizations which received his support was the Schappes Defense Committee. It should be noted that Dr. Overstreet was for many years a professor at the City College of New York and he indicated that he was acquainted with Schappes. He said that he personally did not like Schappes but that he had been asked by a group of professors to sign a statement on Schappes' behalf.

On May 30, 1953, a letter bearing the return address of R. F. D. #2, Bennington, Vermont, was forwarded to the Bureau from Bonaro W. Overstreet, the captioned individual's wife. As an attachment to that letter she furnished a copy of a list of organizations which had been prepared by the American Legion Americanism Committee which purportedly set forth the organizations with which Dr. Harry A. Overstreet had been affiliated.

Enclosure

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/1/82 BY 4312/2

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Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
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Gearty _____
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130 62 JUN 30 1953 JIM:glg

MAILED

Attached hereto for your information is one copy of the above-mentioned list of organizations. Also attached hereto is one copy each of the following reports:

Report of Special Agent R. A. Gump
dated June 17, 1942, at Dallas, Texas.

Report of Special Agent Joseph W.
Richmond dated May 7, 1943, at New York,
New York.

The above is furnished for your information.
It is not believed that any investigation is warranted
in this case.

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
R. F. D. 2
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

May 30, 1953

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Assistant to the Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols,

First of all -- and more than anything else -- this letter is to carry to you our warm and grateful thanks. I don't think you can quite realize what a load you lifted from our anxious shoulders -- or, even more importantly, how much you did to restore our feeling that our government, however vast and complicated it has had to become, is still capable of caring about individuals as individuals.

This latter point is, to us, in terms of our own emotional well-being, tremendously important. Our main source of unhappiness, this past year, has been a sense that our government had, somehow, let us down: that on the Voice of America deal we were, so to speak, invited in and then thrown out, with no great concern about what this might mean to us and our reputations; and that the listing by the House Committee presented to the public such a skewed picture of our various belongings that we were well nigh helpless to defend ourselves from the implications it carried. Thus, instead of our lifelong sense of being intimately part and parcel of a democratic system, we have, this past year, felt peculiarly lonely, isolated, and helpless.

Our four days in Washington changed all this. They made us feel again -- and you are largely responsible for this -- that our democratic system is still being strongly itself: that it has not basically changed under the impact of crisis.

As you already know, our talk with Mr. Beale was highly satisfactory. He couldn't have been more helpful. We have sent the letter to Mr. Velde asking for the list of items that we need to explain -- and also asking for a hearing if the Committee thinks such a hearing necessary.

2 ENCL.

memo Mr Tolson
6/2/53 LBS

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2/11/52

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Our visit with Mr. Arthur Kimball of the International Information Administration was equally satisfactory -- so that we now have no "hang-over" feeling at all that the Voice of America business represented a mechanical indifference to our welfare. We have, instead, a hope that we may be able in the future to be of use to the Administration.

Mr. Morris was consideration itself; and his whole staff, in the planning and reporting of the hearing, showed a warmth and friendliness that seems to us almost superhuman in view of the pressure under which they work. The same was true at Mr. Cohn's office, even though our time there was rightly brief.

Mr. Small, in Senator Kuchel's office, and Mr. Wilson, in Senator Knowland's, were repeatedly and patiently helpful.

Oddly enough, throughout the past year, we have felt that the FBI would be one branch of government to which we could turn with confidence -- as we eventually did turn out in California, and then to you. I say "oddly enough" because we can't really say, in rational or experiential terms, just why this particular confidence should so strongly have survived. But it did -- and I need scarcely say that it is now stronger than ever; and that now we know why it is so.

So this is a kind of retrospective summary of gratitude. We will be getting right at the business of preparing our statement and, as soon as possible, at the preparation of memoranda for Mr. Cohn and Mr. Kimball.

We tried yesterday in New York to call Mr. O'Neill, but learned that he would be out of town until Tuesday morning. As we do not have a phone here, and as any trip to the City for an interview would mean our leaving here too early to wait and phone his office first, we asked his secretary to have him wire us about the possibility of a Wednesday meeting. We hope it may materialize; for it seems to us -- in view of certain letters we found waiting for us in New York -- that something must be done very promptly to slow down the Legion's agitation against us, not only in Mill Valley but far more critically, now, in Tucson, Arizona.

As we told you, the Legion tried unsuccessfully, two years ago, to prevent our speaking at the Tucson Sunday Evening Forum. It did succeed in making the Council of Social Agencies withdraw its co-sponsorship of us -- under threat that the Legion would otherwise withdraw from the Community Chest effort. (We have copies of various letters exchanged between the Council of Social Agencies and the Legion at that time.) Now, it appears, the Legion is making an even more determined effort to prevent our speaking in Tucson, under the sponsorship of the Mental Health Association, in December. Mrs. Jeffries, Director of the Mental

Health group -- and also of the Forum -- phoned us long distance about this the night we left Mill Valley. I am attaching a copy of a letter from her that was awaiting us in New York yesterday. We are acutely distressed to learn that she -- simply because she has dared to sponsor our appearance -- is being made the object of attack; and we feel, therefore, that we must see Mr. O'Neill as quickly as possible. We are writing him today a letter confirming our conversation with his secretary and are, of course, telling him that we called him at your suggestion.

Mrs. Jeffries, we must add, is not a person given to hysterical imaginings: if she feels under attack, it is, we can be sure, with good reason. She is a remarkably steady and distinguished human being. Because of her long service with the Forum and the Boys' Choir of Tucson, and her more recent service in behalf of mental health, she was, as a matter of fact, voted the Tucson Woman of the Year, in 1952, by the Tucson Advertising Club.

Our own experience in Mill Valley has taught us much about how rumors spread and grow -- and how irresponsibly malicious they can become in today's atmosphere of insecurity. Hence, we are deeply worried about the effect of this Tucson incident upon Mary Jeffries and her standing in the community. The sooner we can clear up our own problems the more effectively we can help to clear up hers -- so you may be sure that we will not postpone any effort that we know how to make. You may be sure, also, that we are gratefully open to any and all suggestions. It seems to us strikingly dangerous that one private organization in a community can feel itself qualified thus to dictate the programs of another private organization: private in the sense of being a voluntary agency, not a governmental one. It seems to us, also, strikingly dangerous that it will venture to do so on the basis of information (a copy of which was sent with Mrs. Jeffries' letter to us and which we here attach) that the Legion itself specifies to be opinion only. Something, in brief, is going on that is distinctly not as it should be: something far more important than any particular attack upon us. In any event, we feel that it represents a very real threat to the freedom-of-assembly principle on which community organizations have to rely if they are to have vitality.

You will probably receive from someone in Mill Valley, before long, a letter asking whether it is or can possibly be true that any individual or group would be able to base charges against us on materials from the FBI files. (The Arizona Legion has never, so far as we know, claimed any access to those files; but the Mill Valley group has -- or at least individuals within it have -- much to the confusion of the citizenry.)

Again, our deep gratitude -- and our hope that we may some day have a chance to talk with you when we bring no problem at all with us as an excuse.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
Bonaro W. Overstreet

COPY

THE SUNDAY EVENING FORUM

Sponsored by the Catalina Methodist Church

Post Office Box 6306 . Tucson . Arizona. Telephone 6-2739

May 25, 1953

My dear Bonaro,

*State PTA
president →*

I have just finished talking long distance with Mrs. North and she hopes to get down to see us soon. However, she was telling me that the latest word she had before leaving Oklahoma City was that you and Dr. Overstreet were going to Washington to talk with J. Edgar Hoover about getting a clearance through the F.B.I. I should think this would be a very wise thing to do and, frankly, we here in Tucson desperately need such a clearance for we are up against much stronger opposition than the forum had two years ago.

The American Legion Americanism Committee has been joined by another group of fanatics who say they are really out "to get" me if I promote your return to Tucson. They say they just gave me "the gentle treatment" before but this time they would set out to destroy my influence, both with the forum and the mental health association, here in Tucson.

If we are to stand firm on our commitment, the Mental Health Board feels that we must have all the ammunition possible. For instance, we were wondering if Dr. Overstreet could provide us with a statement on his activities in each of the so-called subversive groups as given on the American Legion list, a copy of which is enclosed. This idea came to us after we saw what Bishop Oxnam had done as carried in The Washington Post -- see enclosed sheet.

I shall be tremendously interested in any and all developments regarding this matter -- so please keep me posted.

Devotedly,

Mary

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
Kings Crown Hotel
420 West 116th Street
New York, N.Y.

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ENCLOSURE

COPY

LIST ON DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
(As furnished by the American Legion Americanism Committee)

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

New York College Teachers Union

American Committee to Save Refugees

American Friends of Spanish Democracy

Committee to Save Spain and China

Consumers Union

Descendents of the American Revolution

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

Schapps Defense Committee

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Gathered from sources believed reliable but cannot be guaranteed by the Americanism Commission. Any statement on part of Commission or any of its staff, as to the condition, standing, reputation, history, affiliation of any person or organization is opinion only.

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ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: June 2, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

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Miss Gandy _____

I am attaching hereto a letter addressed to me by Mrs. Harry W. Overstreet referring to her treatment in Washington last week.

You will recall when they called at my office they were grieved because of difficulties they were having in Mill Valley, California, which were stirred up by some of the local Legionnaires and they wanted to get themselves on record and clear up some of the things which had appeared, presumably in the House Committee files.

I told them, of course, we could give no clearance; that we would be glad to make a matter of record any statement they would like to make and I suggested to them that they go to the usual places wherein some reference was made to their previous activities, such as the House Committee on Un-American Activities, where they had already been and offered to appear and testify. I also suggested they go to the Senate Internal Security Committee and the Senate Investigating Committee inasmuch as their difficulties started with the VOA.

In connection with the American Legion, I told them they might wish to consider seeing Mr. James O'Neill, the editor of the Legionnaire Magazine, and he might be able to put them in touch with the proper Legion people.

In response to their inquiry, I specifically pointed out that we would not give them a letter stating that the information which was used out in Mill Valley did not come from Bureau files as it was well known we did not give out such information. They then inquired if a reputable source made inquiry as to our practice whether we would make any statement. I told them that obviously we would state what was our well known policy, namely, maintaining confidential the contents of our files.

The Mr. Beale referred to by the Overstreets in the attached letter is connected with the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Bob Morris of the Senate Internal Security Committee has since informed that he called them as witnesses last week and that their testimony was most effective on the point of Communist infiltration in education.

Attachment

cc: Mr. Ladd
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Jones

LBN:arm

COPIES DESTROYED

RECORDED - 67

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50 JUN 30 1953

CRIME RECORDS

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
R. F. D. 2
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

June 5, 1953

*file
mss*

8-1

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
FBI
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Harry Overstreet
Mr. Harry Overstreet
Bonaro W. Overstreet

Dear Mr. Nichols,

Overstreet Harry A

This is just a note to let you know that we have had to delay our talk with the American Legion men in New York. Fate -- in the guise of the steep, old-fashioned staircase in this Vermont farmhouse -- intervened: on our third night here Harry missed his step and suffered a bad fall. Miraculously, no bones are broken; and even the most exacting tests can find no evidence of deep internal injury. But it was, of course, a severe shock; and his back and shoulders are so badly bruised that he can barely turn over. So he will be in the hospital for several weeks at least -- and the many things we have planned to do will have to wait accordingly.

Because the Arizona situation -- which, it seems, becomes daily more confused -- is fairly critical, we have decided that it will be best for me to go down to New York and have at least a preliminary meeting with the Legion people on my own. I have accordingly written Mr. O'Neill, asking for an interview next Thursday afternoon. By that time, our son Burr, who teaches at Smith, will be clear of commencement week problems, and he and his wife can be up here to help out.

If we get the file material from Mr. Beale while Harry is still in the hospital, I think I can manage the answer to that also -- as that, too, is fairly critical: we need to get this public confusion about ourselves cleared up as soon as we can. Within a few days, I think, Harry will be in a state where we could talk everything over; and then I could write the report.

There will, however, have to be a delay about our sending the various memoranda to Mr. Kimball and Mr. Cohn.

We're tremendously glad that, if this accident was going to happen, it happened after our Washington visit instead of before; for we thus have to cope with only one major anxiety at a time, instead of two.

The more we think over that visit, incidentally, the more humble we feel -- not only because of the amount of time

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MAAT

and consideration that busy people gave us; but because we are realizing how inadequate we ourselves have been in our passing of judgments upon Washington procedures. This realization goes very deep; and I think we are going to be able to make out of it, in time, a new sphere of usefulness.

We have never liked being called liberals, because we don't like the stereotyping of human beings; and, besides, the term covers too many attitudes and behaviors we don't feel to be our own. But for practical purposes here I will apply the term to ourselves. We begin to feel that, whereas in our own area of psychological specialty we are sticklers for accuracy, we have often been callow and inaccurate in various political judgments. Our son, Burr, who teaches political science and who thinks along with us on many things, was coining the phrase, the other night, to apply to all of us -- himself included. He said that we had often been "automatic liberals" in our responses: that we have been for and against various persons and procedures without taking into account the full complexity of problems.

Specifically, now, we are facing this fact: that we have so automatically disliked the coming into our American system of listings and investigations that we have often tended to ignore the clue problem of our age -- that conspiracy has to be dealt with; and that where it cannot be legally dealt with, by standard court procedures, it has to be rendered as harmless as possible by exposure. (I suppose we have, in a sense, known this all the time; else we would more deeply have resented the listing of ourselves and the charges that have haphazardly and destructively been made against us by non-offical groups. The very fact that we haven't been able to remain angry about these, or anxious to "show up" our opponents, probably reflects our awareness that the problem of conspiracy is so real that even the efforts to solve it that result in more confusion than clarification have to be given their due,)

I won't go on with this here at interminable length. But when our specific problem has been worked out, and when Harry is on his feet again, we think we have a new "calling" ahead of us: a "calling" in the genuine old religious sense of that word. After all, we do have, from long years of concerned practice, a certain skill in writing and speaking. Also, we do have ready access to a very considerable public that ranges from right-of-center business groups to left-of-center "liberals." Our relation to our public is, we think, unique in one sense: in the amount of genuine affection that marks it on both sides, in addition to genuine respect. It seems to us that our next job is to help liberals to understand that so long as they are simply and automatically distrustful of government listings and hearings, they contribute little or nothing to the preservation of the system that allows them to be liberals; they are, instead, in

their own peculiar way, simply acting like those whom they don't like. Because we can ourselves plead guilty, as it were, I think we can do a useful job of giving "thickness" to some forms of thinking that have merely skated along on the surface of things.

I don't mean that we think the listing process as it now operates is wholly adequate; for we have ourselves experienced the misunderstandings and unofficial "blacklistings" to which it can lead. Neither do we think that all hearings have been conducted on a level compatible with our American traditions. We think at times that they have been deplorable affairs. (No hearing could have been more correct and humane than the one we witnessed the other day, with both Mr. Jenner and Mr. Morris operating at a level that made us proud of our country.) But the hard fact of conspiracy remains; and because it remains, we realize that the processes for dealing with it -- while they can be gradually improved and brought more and more nearly in line with our traditions -- cannot be discarded. Therefore, the liberal tendency to stand on the sidelines and criticize is itself an unintentional form of conspiracy: it is more often destructive than constructive; and it tends to have the effect of making the various Committees rely for their support upon the less professionally trained part of the public. It is almost as though the liberals had forced the Committees into getting support wherever they could -- even from the groups that are prone to extravagances of emotion and blind, irresponsible judgments about their neighbors.

Replying to a correspondent who called the world a prison house, Edwin Arlington Robinson once wrote, "The world is not a 'prison house,' but a kind of spiritual kindergarten, where millions of bewildered infants are trying to spell God with the wrong blocks." I think that, faced with the appalling new fact of world conspiracy, millions of us -- from left-of-center liberals to right-of-center Legionaires and Minute Women and all the rest -- may be trying to spell out the practices of 20th-century freedom with the wrong blocks; because we haven't yet had time, under the impact of crisis, to figure out which will durably prove to be the right blocks. We want, humbly and devotedly, to be in on the process of looking for the right blocks and trying to see how they fit together to make a larger sense than any we have ever known.

Forgive my taking your time with this long ramble. But we want you to know how our minds are working these days.

Sincerely,


Bonaro W. Overstreet

JUN 15, 1953

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b7c

[redacted]
[redacted] East Ellendale
Mill Valley, California

G.I.R. 5

Dear [redacted]

Mr. Nichols has referred to my attention your letter of June 9, 1953, and in response to your inquiry, I wish to state that the confidential contents of the files of the FBI are made available only for official purposes. In no case does the FBI release the contents of its confidential files to other than duly authorized persons.

I trust this will furnish you with the desired information.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

CC - San Francisco (wco1)

CC - Mr. Belmont

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JUL 2 - 1953

East Blithedale Ave.
Mill Valley, California.
June 9, 1953

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Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Assistant to the Director
Federal Bureau Of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you about a matter that deeply concerns many of us here in Mill Valley. During the past year, as I feel sure your organization knows, various individuals and groups have been trying to prove that Dr. and Mrs. Harry Overstreet, part-time residents of Mill Valley, are communists or fellow-travelers. These charges have become so persistent that they interfere by now with the Overstreet's right to give lectures in our community and with our right to hear what the Overstreet's have to say. These attacks have therefore put us all into a situation of tense fear. We are either afraid that there are communists sneaking into our community and its institutions or that our neighbors will somehow think that we are a fellow-traveler if we listen, however analytically, to those upon whom suspicion has been cast. The Overstreet's are understandably disturbed and are under what many of us feel to be an unjustified strain.

It has been said by a number of those who are making these attacks that they base their statements upon information from the files of the F.B.I. That is why I am writing to you--- to ask a question. Is it possible that any persons or groups would have - by "leakage" or by permission-- any access to material in the F.B.I. files? This, it seems to me, as a matter of principle, is something that citizens have a right to know; for we have always been led to believe that those files are kept strictly secret. I would greatly value an answer from you about this; and to help clear the local air, I would like to send that answer in to the local paper for publication, with a covering letter about the question and why I put it.

Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet have contributed greatly to the cultural life of our community and I feel that it is up to the community to see to it that they feel utterly free to be as creative as they may wish to be while they live with us here in Mill Valley. The situation which has prevailed here in the past year has prevented them from carrying out the program of work which they have set for themselves. This damages not only the Overstreet's but Mill Valley and

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the nation as well. If these attacks are justified then we should all have access to the information upon which they are based rather than leaving the particulars to the tender mercies of community speculation. If the charges, which are purportedly based upon F.B.I. information, are not justified and are not so based then this fact should be made public so that the lie can be stopped and the Overstreet's again enjoy the respect, confidence and admiration of those in our community in whom doubts were cast.

Although I recognise that you must be very concerned with other matters of great importance, I sincerely hope that you will give this inquiry your serious attention for I believe that the principle involved herein is also a matter of great importance.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

[Redacted Address] East Blithedale
Mill Valley, California.

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June 15, 1953

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10

Mrs. Harry Overstreet
R. F. D. 2
Bennington, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I was terribly sorry to learn of
Dr. Overstreet's recent accident and I do
hope that he is well on the way to recovery.

Naturally, we appreciated your kind
references, and the individual who has nothing
to conceal really in the end has nothing to
fear.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

L. B. Nichols

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: June 11, 1953

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT: *Confidential*
Overstreet

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The attached letter from refers to the accusations which have been made against Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet in Mill Valley, California.

HARRY

When the Overstreets were in to see me recently they pointed out that the American Legion in Mill Valley had protested against them and that there had been circulated information secured from the House Committee on Un-American Activities although the innuendoes were made that this information came from the FBI.

I told the Overstreets at the time we did not release such information to persons other than those duly authorized to receive it and that we certainly had not released any information on them.

They asked if we would write them a letter to that effect and I told them there was no point in writing a letter when I was telling them.

They then inquired what our policy was if a citizen wrote in and asked about our policy. I told them we would respond to such inquiries and state our policy, namely, that the contents of our files are made available only to duly authorized persons. No doubt, the Overstreets are back of the attached letter. A reply is attached.

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CC - Mr. Belmont

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *VJ*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET

DATE: July 1, 1953 *1953*

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Ladd ☒

Nichols ☒

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Holloman ☐

Sizoo ☐

Miss Gandy ☐

G.I.R.-6

You will recall that on May 28, 1953, I saw Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, the noted psychologists, authors and lecturers. At that time, they advised their names had been associated over a period of years with reference to organizational affiliations and the purpose of their visit was to get on record and make their position clear that they were not members of the Communist Party.

Subsequently, on May 28, 1953, Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet appeared before the Senate Internal Security Committee.

For record purposes, there is attached hereto a paper printed by the San Francisco Examiner, dated September 29, 1952, containing an article by Dr. Harry Overstreet, entitled "What Can We Do as Individuals to Oppose Communism?"

cc: Mr. Ladd
Mr. Belmont

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another abrupt turn. . . . Now, the Communist shouted vociferously, "The Yanks are coming." He supported the draft to the hilt, and proclaimed himself a great patriot. He announced that our President was a great and good man. The Communist Party went through the motions of dissolving itself. Its American leader Earl Browder, during this period announced that the Communists were willing to accept the principle of private enterprise. This was the fifth violent policy change in twelve years, and there was another which started in 1945, and is still in progress. The talk is again of imperialism, of both major parties being "tools of the capitalist class." . . . Browder was deposed, and with him, for the Communist, disappeared love of this country and acceptance of private property.

The Meaning of These Changes
All these policy changes that

have been outlined fall into one pattern, which hinges on what the Russians call their national defense policy. Unless we understand the foreign policy changes of the Kremlin, we can't understand the domestic policy changes of the Communist Party in America. But, that, of course, will still not be the whole story. All of the contradictions and zig-zags of the Communist Party are not related to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, nor can they be explained completely on that basis.

If you will read up on recent history you will discover such items as these: In 1935, while the Soviet Government was denouncing Italy's Fascist conquest of Ethiopia, at the same time they were supplying the Italian navy with oil. . . . You will be reminded that whereas the Communists have often professed a great desire for fair employment legislation, they denounced A. Philip

Randolph's successful campaign for such legislation in 1940. . . . You'll also be reminded that while they attack the Smith Act today—the act of Congress under which some of their leaders are being jailed as a grave threat to American liberty, yet in 1941 and again in 1943 when this very same law was being invoked against Communists the Communists supported the Smith Act vociferously. . . . You will learn that while the Communists shout vigorously for free labor, they support just as vigorously a system which openly impose stern disciplinary penalties for tardiness at work, and court sentences for absenteeism.

What lies behind their bland acceptance of these strange policies and contradictions? I think we have to fit all the pieces together before we get a satisfactory answer to that question. But certainly one of the key pieces is

the understanding of the basic philosophy that underlies Communism, which centers around the depreciation of the individual. Lenin once said: "For us, morality is subordinated to the interests of the class struggle." My comment is that for those of us in the western world who have inherited the Judeo-Christian tradition, morality cannot be toyed with in such a fashion. Our basic documents refer to certain inalienable rights. For us, those rights are not inalienable just when it suits our purpose. They are always inalienable.

Democracy Versus Communism
We are really, then, not just facing an enemy with an army. We are facing an enemy with a set of ideas that are counter to ours. We have to be concerned not just with the invasion of any army that can destroy our land—but with an invasion of ideas that can destroy our way of life.

And that means that we have to be crystal clear not only about the ideas that underlie Communism, but about the ideas that underlie democracy. . . . About the ideas that we wish to protect against totalitarian invasion. . . . In other words, while we are setting up our necessary frontal defenses, we cannot allow these alien ideas to come in through the back door and destroy us. . . . We can't Communize ourselves, even in the name of our struggle against Russia, or else we will have been defeated as surely as if the Red Army had marched down Market Street in San Francisco. . . . In our struggle against Communism, we have to cling tenaciously to our principles of democratic procedure and to our individual rights—or else we will be doing to ourselves exactly what we're fighting against being done to us.

The Basic Economic Theories of Communism

By Karl Landauer

Professor of Political Science, University of California

1—What is the difference between Communism with a large "C" and communism with a small "c"?

If we are to understand our enemy—Communism with a large C—we have to understand that it is a specific body of theory and beliefs. The general term "communism" was actually used long before Marx to mean—simply—the practice of common ownership. Marx and Engels took over the term when they found the basic principles of modern Communism. Lenin and others added a number of important elements.

2—Is modern Communism primarily an economic system or a form of government?

Communism is not just an economic system. If it were that, we might not like it, we might think it was impractical, but we would have no reason to discriminate against Communists. If it were just an idea for an economic system, we could let the Communists work for their ideas within our democracy just as other parties and ideas operate in America. Back in the early part of the nineteenth century there were a number of communities in this country which called themselves communistic. They were using the term in its old, pre-Marxian sense. They had been founded mostly on the suggestion of European reformers like Britain's Robert Owen or France's Etienne Cabet—but they received the sympathetic interest of such American leaders as Horace Greeley, Charles Dana and William Henry Channing. If the Communists of today merely wanted to organize such colonies, in which all members had equal claims to what they produced, we would just tell them to go ahead and try out their ideas. No, it is not that kind of Communism that now poisons the relations of men and of peoples all over the world. What makes Communism unbearable to

us is its attempt to establish dictatorship, a police state complete with dungeons and torture and thought control.

3—What is the basic economic idea behind Communism?

The economic program of Communism took its start from the old dream of equality—an idea deeply rooted in the Western tradition. The philosophers of old had thought of mankind's golden age in which there were no differences of rank or wealth. . . . In the fourteenth century the English peasants sang of it, and in the nineteenth century, the English chartist talked of it. . . . As a matter of fact there was a current of similar ideas running through American democracy under Andrew Jackson at about that time. Karl Marx took up that basic idea and built a theory around it, which we economists know as the theory of surplus value. He granted that economic inequality had been historically necessary, but maintained that it had outlived its usefulness and therefore could be abolished.

Economic equality was to be reached in two stages: first, all so-called profits, all that an industrialist or a merchant, or an investor receives by virtue of his ownership of capital should be abolished. Industrial and commercial property should be transferred to society as a whole—meaning government. This is what we call nationalization today, and what the British did a few years ago with their coal mines and railroads. In the socialist phase, there would still be a difference in wages and salaries, although no profits. Then after an undefined period, this wage differential would be eliminated. . . . or rather, each man would receive goods according to his needs, without the use of wage scales, even without the use of money. This organization of society which Marx did not explain in any detail and which to our minds is quite fantastic, he called complete Communism.

4—Have the Soviet Communists abolished profits in Russia?

In name, yes. All the important enterprises are state owned—so the capitalist, as Marx defined him, has disappeared. But what does that mean in practice? Let's look at it this way: Where does the profit of an enterprise go? Part of it is used to maintain a standard of living for the capitalist, but another—often a much larger part is plowed right back into the economic system—to build new factories, new machinery and so forth. This second portion, of course, exists in the Soviet Union too. In fact, it is greater there than in the West: the Soviet government insists on a wide margin between production cost and product prices to finance rapid construction of industry.

Personal profit certainly has not disappeared either. It just bears a different name now. It has been turned into high salary differentials. Managerial salaries are very high in the Soviet Union as compared with those of an ordinary worker and social and economic inequality is very great in all walks of life. According to the most reliable reports, the difference between the standard of living of a factory manager and an unskilled worker . . . or between that of a general and a private in the army . . . or between an ambassador and a clerk of low rank . . . is far greater in the USSR than in the USA. And this is not even the whole story, for beneath the ordinary workers, the common soldiers, the low ranking and low paid government employees there is in the Soviet Union a class of millions of the most unfortunate people, the inmates of the forced labor camps, who live a life far more downtrodden, far more miserable, far more exploited than that of medieval serfs.

5—How true is the Communist claim that their political system exists only for the purpose of furthering the economic welfare of the people?

Exactly the opposite is true, under the Soviet dictatorship, gov-

ernment ownership of the instruments of production has become nothing more than a means to make political oppression more secure and unshakable. Originally it was claimed that harsh political methods were only a means to effect the transition to a better economic system. It is still the official myth in Soviet Russia and among Communists in general that some day the dictatorship will disappear and that even the state will "wither away" and mankind will live in complete equality with no government at all. Soviet reality, however, has not moved in the direction of this ideal. Quite to the contrary, it has constantly moved in the opposite direction. So, the Soviet state of 1952 is far more oppressive in every respect than it was in 1918 or in 1930, and in 1960, if it continues its direction, it will be more oppressive than it is today. No, Communism as we see it today is not a temporary dictatorship to establish an economic paradise. Rather it is constantly deepening and perpetuating its dictatorship.

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This is just the first indication that we cannot take what the Communists say at face value. . . . This is just one instance of them saying that they're doing one thing—thereby fooling many people—while actually they're moving in exactly the opposite direction. That's why the ideas of Marx have been so useful to them. Viewing his ideas with the experience of the twentieth century, we find that many of Marx's concepts, especially that of the dictatorship of the proletariat—which he never defined—were conducive to the establishment of a new autocracy, conducive to the establishment of the politically oppressive state that we know as the Soviet Union. But along with this dictatorial tendency in Marx's thinking, there was also a very different one. He was, after all, a nineteenth century revolutionary, and that meant that he was a rebel against the autocracy of his times. In this sense

we find in Marx a substantial element of the ideas of John Locke, of Thomas Paine, of Jefferson and Lincoln. Modern Communism consists essentially of what is left of Marxism when this whole spirit of freedom has been drained off. That is why I personally don't like it when people use the terms Marxism and Communism interchangeably.

But while they have discarded in practice the element of the nineteenth century liberalism in Marx, they will still lay claim to it. That is particularly important abroad where the major part of the ideological struggle against Communism must be waged. I think we do not often enough realize how strongly the people of Europe and some of Asia have been impressed by the theories of Marx. It would be foolish to delude ourselves about this historical fact. So many of the people of Europe and Asia identify Marx with the struggle against autocracy.

We must try to educate them against the totalitarian seeds that lie in Marx's thinking. . . . but we must also show them that the Communists have violated and reversed whatever ideas about freedom also lie in Marx's thinking. We must show them the exact nature of Communism. Further, we must prove to them that we are the defenders of human liberty as against Moscow. We must not give them a chance to question the sincerity of our belief in liberty either by excessively repressive measures at home—or by overbearing attitudes abroad. Do not mistake me. . . . I do not believe that ideological weapons alone can stop Soviet expansion. I believe personally in all-out armament. But physical weapons are carried by men, and the way to reduce the need for military effort is to conquer by political means the minds of as many men as we possibly can. . . . I think we can do much toward that end but we first must understand more exactly and less vaguely, the specific doctrine which is our enemy today.

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III The Basic Conflict Between Theories of Communism and Democracy

By Dr. Harold Fisher

Chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford University

1—How do Communists use the term "democracy"?

The Communists themselves have been inconsistent about their use of the terms democracy and Communism. When it was founded, the party was known as the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. After five years of not very prosperous existence, the party split into several factions. The two most important groups became known as the Bolsheviks, which means majority—and the Mensheviks which means minority. The two groups kept these names in spite of the fact that the Bolsheviks became a minority and the Mensheviks became a majority. Shortly after the Bolsheviks gained control of the Russian government, they changed their name to the Russian Communist Party. They said very little about democracy for several years. They called their own political system a dictatorship of the proletariat, but they didn't contrast it with the systems of democracy such as were found in Great Britain and the United States. They denied that real democracy existed in these countries. The Communists claimed that what we really had was a dictatorship of the middle class—the bourgeoisie—and therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat was not the opposite of democracy; but the opposite of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

2—How do the Communists justify their use of the word dictatorship?

By their own reasoning, the Communists concluded that all dictatorships but their own were bad. THEIR dictatorship was a good one because it was the only one that was democratic. As a matter of fact, Lenin used the term "democratic dictatorship" which to us is an impossible contradiction. What Lenin and all the other Communists who talk the same language mean is that all democracies in history before the Soviet Union were really democracies for only ONE class in that society... and the one class which enjoyed democracy exploited the other classes which did not.

Let me give you an example. The Soviet Encyclopedia explains that the democracy of classical Greece was a democracy of slave owners. In other words, according to the Soviet Encyclopedia, the slave owners had a democracy for themselves, but a dictatorship over all others in their society. In a like manner, according to the Communists, a capitalist democracy means that the capitalists enjoy democracy while dictating to and exploiting the rest of the population.

3—Why do the Communists assume a dictatorship by all OTHER classes is undemocratic, while a dictatorship by the proletariat class—which they claimed to represent—is democratic?

In the case of all the other dictatorships, said the Communists, a majority was being suppressed and exploited by a minority. In THEIR case, nobody was being exploited and only the exploiters were being suppressed. Therefore, it was a real democracy. What it comes down to is that the Russian Communists justified their dictatorship by claiming that it represents the majority—and the majority should rule because it IS the majority. . . . Now, we in the West would agree that the majority should rule—but we make two important qualifications that the Communists reject. First of all, we say that neither the Communist Party or any other party can speak for the majority unless it receives a majority of votes in a free election. The Communists, of course, do not permit free elections. . . . Secondly, we say that although the majority should rule, the minority or minorities must be given the right to exist and be free to organize and make political propaganda against the majority party. . . . In order to win enough votes to change its status from minority to majority. They don't tolerate minorities in the Soviet Union.

4—How does Communism and democracy differ in the toleration of minority viewpoints?

I'd like to emphasize first that the toleration of minorities is not just something extra that is to be added to the principle of majority rule to make democracy valid. . . . To us, the toleration of minorities, of different opinions, is every bit as important as the principle of majority rule. It is because of our belief in toleration that we insist on such fundamental liberties as freedom of worship, freedom of speech, and the press, freedom of association, freedom of occupation and equality of opportunity.

The Western democracies do not, of course, achieve 100 percent toleration or realize all of these freedoms completely, but we try to. The Communists deny toleration entirely. The Communists claim that toleration means lack of faith. If you know what is good and just, they ask, why should you tolerate the opposition of some one who disagrees with you and is therefore obviously wrong? The Communists say that they have mastered what they call the science of Marxism-Leninism, and

therefore know what is in the interests of the majority better than those who make up the majority. This superior knowledge gives them the right and duty, so they claim, to dictate to the majority for its own good.

According to this thinking, it would be foolish to allow the ignorant to vote or to express opposition. . . . And let me add that the Communists say that their superior knowledge extends to all branches of politics, economics, the arts and sciences. That's why we call their system a totalitarian system. It has much in common with the absolute rule of kings, emperors and feudal nobility.

5—Does the Communist theory of government apply to ALL forms of totalitarianism?

Yes, from our point of view, Communism, Fascism, Nazism, Falangism, Peronism and other types of dictatorship are just new models of ancient despotism, dressed up to fit conditions of a particular time and place. All despots—ancient, medieval and modern, claim to know all the answers, to know what is best for everybody and to treat those who disagree with them as disloyal, subversive and dangerous persons who should be suppressed. An English political philosopher once wrote: "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." So it follows that those who seize power with a view to serving the interests of the majority AGAINST ITS OWN WISHES will be led sooner or later to substitute the interests of the rulers for the interests of those for whom they pretend to speak. Inevitably there follows a reliance on force to deny all opportunity of an individual or organized protest.

6—How did the idea of democratic government come into being?

This Western concept of democracy is relatively new. Some 300 years ago, the Radical Puritans of England were in revolt against the despotism of the time, which did its best to deny toleration to those who did not accept the Divine Right of Kings and the state religion. But the Puritans decided that it was possible to have government and toleration at the same time. Others arrived at the same idea, but were not able to put it into practice. The philosophy of the Puritan revolution was developed by John Locke and taken over by the authors of our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution. This philosophy was based on the rights of the individual against the state and the state religion. The right of

dissent is an essential part of this philosophy.

In other words, the importance of the individual, every individual, and his inalienable rights AS an individual, are the very heart of democracy. When we speak of the rule of law, we mean the protection of the individual against the state. Under our system, we assume that all rights belong to the people except those assigned to the government by the Constitution or legislative enactment. The Communists act on the opposite assumption—that is, that the government, which they say acts for the majority, has all the powers except those specifically granted to the individual or groups of individuals. Mr. Justice Jackson has said that absolute rule in the name of the people can be just as tyrannical as the rule of an absolute monarch and the dictatorship of the many may be as ruthless as the dictatorship of the one. He believes that one of the greatest problems of our time is "that of establishing limitations on the absolutisms of majorities which will protect the fundamental human rights of minorities."

7—Have we completely solved the problem of democratic life—and if not, how do we differ from the Communists in this regard?

OF COURSE we haven't completely solved the problem of protecting the individual or minorities. We have regrettable incidents of discrimination and we have had some disturbing incidents here in California. The people who were involved have failed in these instances to grasp the full meaning of democracy. . . . the right of each individual to be different whether in idea or worship or background. It's true that this kind of intolerance is drawn from the well of totalitarian thinking—and that individual acts of intolerance can weaken the fibre of democracy—but we've got to keep this in mind: oppression and discrimination and intolerance are NOT official policies of the government and they can not ever be official policies of the government without violating the Constitution. In that great document we have placed limitations on the measures which any majority or any official of a state or the federal government may take AGAINST ANY INDIVIDUAL OR MINORITY. . . . The Communists recognize no such limitation. This is one of the basic differences between the police garrison state and what has been called the "citizen State"—between government by terror and government under law.

8—What is meant by "government by terror"?

The use of physical violence is an obvious means of maintaining government by terror. But there are other methods of terror at which the Communists are adept. Men can be intimidated and silenced by defamation—by the publication of unverified and unproved charges of treason or disloyalty. . . . Public vilification without according the accused the defense rights guaranteed to a pickpocket accused of plying his trade, is in violation of a basic principle of Western democracy—due process of law. It is worth noting that the Soviet system has institutionalized government by terror through vilification by the institution of purges when informers and every one else are encouraged to bring every kind of accusation against the person who is being subjected to terror. This procedure rests, of course, on the denial of tolerance of opposition and the disregard of individual rights.

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We always come back to the same root difference—democracy's respect for the individual and the individual's right to dissent and be different, as compared to Communism's basic contempt for the individual. That's fundamental, but there are concomitant factors, of course. For one thing, Marxism-Leninism is built on several rigid dogmas such as the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism, etc. Western democracy denies the validity of such rigid dogmas. Democracy recognizes that the great lesson of history is CHANGE—and the only way to deal with change is by free trade in ideas.

We believe that the Communist dogmas will never solve the great problem of our time because as Edwin Canham of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR has well said: "Communism or any other totalitarianism is bound by chains of dogma and imprisoned by the closed mind." The basic issue of our generation is between two ways of life: "One aspires toward ever greater freedom and equality, solving its difficulties by struggles within the rules of the game which recognizes the legitimacy of opposition. The other has no place for opposition nor for freely given consent, but concentrates all power, political, economic and educational, in the hands of a minority convinced that it is a better judge of the interests of the vast majority of men and women than they themselves. The issue, in short—and this transcends all other differences today—is between democracy and totalitarianism."

IV The Tactics of Communism

By Wilson C. Record

Sociologist, University of California, Author: "The Negro and the Communist Party."

1—What is meant by "tactics"?

Let's define it in a somewhat flexible and inclusive way. We mean by tactics simply those techniques used to attain certain

ends. Of course, every political group is concerned with tactics. But participants in genuine democratic movements are also concerned with the necessity of their

tactics being morally and logically consistent with their final aims. They want to be sure that day to day actions do not compromise or destroy the goals they

seek. On the other hand—as we shall see—totalitarian movements such as Communism are never seriously bothered with the consistency of their goals and

their methods. They are not basically concerned with the relationship of means to ends. They assume that the last always justifies the first. Neither morality or

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reason are crucial to their actions. As a consequence, Communist tactics can be quite varied and flexible... inconsistent... even contradictory.

2—Does a change in Communist tactics mean a change in Communist objectives?

Nothing could be further from the truth. Changes in program, even ludicrous aboutfaces on specific questions by the Communists, indicate only changes in tactics, not in goals. A mere shift in tactics can be executed with the greatest of ease by a disciplined Communist movement. The use of new techniques does not mean the renunciation of old goals. We should always distinguish between the specific tactics which are frequently concealed in a democratic and humanitarian garb, and the ultimate authoritarian aims which remain unchanged. For instance, it is sometimes concluded that because the Communists talk about the Bill of Rights, they are genuinely concerned with the freedom of the individual. It is not infrequently thought that because Communists evidence some concern with the rights of ethnic minorities, they believe in the principle of human equality. These are only two of the many examples of the confusion of Communist tactics and goals.

3—How does a Communist tactical approach to an issue differ from a principled approach to the same issues?

Let's take the rights of racial minorities as an example, because it's been a prime talking point for the Communists all over the world... The great majority of people who have an active concern for the rights of racial minorities are genuinely democratic in their outlook. Their ideas lie deep in American tradition. Their cues are taken from Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. Frequently their ideas are grounded in deep religious conviction. Acting on these beliefs... on these unchanging and unshakable principles... they attempt to do something about prejudice and discrimination which are highly inconsistent with our basic political and religious values. These persons should not be confused with Communists who for strictly tactical reasons may be advocating programs that, on the surface, are similar. But at the same time, those who have a genuine interest in race relations or in the host of other social issues have the responsibility to see that and to the community to see that they don't become the instru-

ments for, less-principled Communists. Both they and the wider public will have to learn to distinguish the real coin from the counterfeit.

4—What are the tactical techniques which the Communists use?

I've already mentioned the use of "political program" as a tactic. The specific technique that a Communist movement will follow depends on a wide variety of circumstances. If the nation has an agrarian economy, Communist techniques as well as program will differ widely from those followed in a modern, industrialized nation. If, within a country, there is a strong trade union movement, then tactics will bear little resemblance to those employed in a land where workers lack economic and political organization.

Communist tactics followed in the United States have been a result of the general circumstances under which the movement has grown. For example, few Americans have been able to stomach the Communist ideology. An outright appeal for support on deaf ears. Under these circumstances, Communists adopted the technique of boring from within the technique of working under the cover and capturing the trade union apparatus. In such countries as France and Italy, however, Communists have been able to build their own trade union organizations and to appeal on the basis of their final goals as well as their immediate program to millions of workers.

5—How is "boring from within" accomplished?

In general, this is how it works: Disciplined Communists are sent into an organization with instructions to become active in its affairs and work themselves into positions of leadership and control. Having obtained places of influence, they are then able to channel the resources and activities of the organization behind their own particular aims. In doing so, they often have to sabotage the real aims of the organization... This, of course, applies not just to labor unions, but to youth groups and many other kinds of organization.

For instance, the Communists have for years been attempting to gain control over a nationwide organization that for almost fifty years has sought to better the condition of the Negro through the courts and the ballot box. Fortunately, an alert leadership in this organization, coupled with

the average Negro's growing awareness of Communist tactics, has prevented it. But the organization has had to wage a continuous battle to ward off Communist designs. Much of its energy which might have been used for betterment of the Negro's position has had to be spent in this way.

6—How do "front organizations" work?

When Communists establish a front organization, they usually try to get respectable non-Communist individuals on the sponsoring committee, the board of directors, or in some other position of nominal authority. They see to it, however, the real control is vested in the hands of Communists who may not even be publicly identified with the organization. A front organization is a party instrument usually from the outset. When it will no longer serve Communist purposes, it is abandoned... I'm thinking now of a specific front organization where a prominent novelist, noted lawyer, a popular non-Communist and a number of other non-Communist individuals of considerable prestige were placed in nominal positions of control. The real power, however, was in the hands of the executive-secretary whose complete devotion to the Communist cause dated back some twenty-five years. Instead of being genuinely interested in the ostensible purpose of the organization, he was interested in exploiting that purpose for the benefit of the Communist party... Because of his crucial position in the organization, he was able to do this... 7—How were influential non-Communist names duped into lending their names to Communist front organizations?

We come back to the question of tactics by program. These people had been unable to distinguish Communist tactics from Communist goals. They had assumed that everyone who believed in peace, or civil rights, or better living standards, or minority rights—believes in these things as principles, as basic, unchanging values... But the things they believe in them only when they will serve their purpose to do so.

8—What is a concrete example of the Communist Party of America arranging its political program according to principles?

There are hundreds of examples that could be given. But let's take one brief example of

the question of fair employment legislation, which would prohibit racial or religious discrimination in employment. There are people who are for such legislation on principle, and there are people who are against it as tactics for or against it as tactics.

In 1940, A. Philip Randolph, national Negro leader, started a very vigorous and successful drive for national fair employment legislation... The Communist Party vilified Randolph and opposed his campaign for FEPC because it didn't serve their purpose to have a non-Communist as a successful champion of such legislation... When the movement for such legislation came out in favor of it. Then suddenly, in 1941, Hitler attacked Russia, and the need of American help, and the Communist Party in this country again came out in forceful opposition to fair employment legislation. The defense of Russia had priority.

In the same way, the American Communist Party advised the American Negroes in 1938 to support the fight against Fascism in order to secure their own freedom. In 1939, they advised them not to support the fight against Fascism in order to secure their own freedom. And, in 1941, they changed their advice again. The advice, of course, depended on which side of the fence the Soviet Union was on.

9—How did the Communists justify their swift program changes?

They said in each case that the situation had changed... But what situation had changed? The situation of the American Negroes? No, the situation of the changes were made not out of any concern of the plight of the American Negroes... but out of concern in each case, for the plight of the Communist Party or the Soviet Union... Racial equality was obviously not a principle for the Communist Party. It was an issue that was to be used tactically whenever and however, it could serve their purpose. As a matter of fact, the Communist leaders would really be sorry to see racial or religious prejudice disappear since it is one of their prime talking points.

10—In saying that the ends justify the means, don't the Communists claim that any tactics are worthwhile as long as they lead to good results?

That's what they mean, but, of course, we of the democracies do not believe in this reasoning. We believe that, in the long run, only worthwhile behavior can lead to worthwhile results. On the face of it, the argument fails, because we can see no good reason for them to betray the principles of racial and religious equality, because their end result is the Soviet Union, which, according to them, is the model of such racial and religious equality. But this just isn't true. One has only to read Schwartz' book, "Jews in the Soviet Union" to realize that anti-Semitism is now followed as a matter of official policy in many areas of Russia. Bela Fabian's recent articles in Communist present overwhelming evidence that in the Iron Curtain countries, Jewish life and culture are being systematically wiped out. There are mounting evidences of racial and ethnic persecution throughout the Soviet Union. One wonders for just how long the myth of equality in the Soviet Union will persist. The model of the Soviet Union itself is final evidence that the Communist Party has no principled belief in human equality... This is a prime example of tactics by program.

11—What good does it do the average citizen to be able to recognize Communist tactics? In the first place, he knows that he cannot join with the Communists in a fight for peace, civil rights or minority rights, because the Communists are liable to abandon that fight tomorrow, and will certainly pervert it to their own uses... In the second place, the citizen will not hesitate to join the many groups which are genuinely interested in furthering peace, civil rights, or minority rights, just because the immediate program of the Communist appears to call for the same things... Democracy is everybody's job, and a part of this job is informed and responsible participation in the affairs of the community, the church, the school, the trade union, the industrial plant, the political party. If participation is meaningful, it will become increasingly difficult for Communists and shifting groups to employ their shifty tactics, duping sincere people and turning their legitimate interests to account for Communist aims. This is not the only answer to the threat, but it is an important one.

Communism and Labor

By Jack Goldberger, President
San Francisco Labor Council

1—Why does the Communist Party call itself the "worker's party"?

All of the basic theories of the Communist Party are built around the wage earner. Its official concern is with bettering the lot of the wage earner. Its program calls for better living standards, better working conditions, more freedom for the workingman — and all of those things which would establish the dignity of labor... To see how much of a fraud this Communist program has become, I think we have to take a close look at the Soviet Union itself and the oppression of labor there. The

Soviet Union, after all, is the model that the Communist Party wants us to follow.

2—How are we sure that the reports about the oppression of labor in the Soviet Union are accurate?

Let's overcome this difficulty, to begin with, by using Soviet sources only in measuring the dignity and freedom of labor as it exists in the Soviet Union... For instance, the Czarist labor law allowed a worker to be fired for not showing up to work for six days during a month without cause. This provision was put into the Soviet Labor Code of 1922. But in 1927, the Communists

changed the law to read that any three days of absence during the month as cause for dismissal. In 1932, the law was changed again. Now, only one day's absence without cause is enough to provide that any worker who was absent one day evicted from the living quarters which he occupied because of his employment. An official Soviet act in 1938 provided for prolonging ties for tardiness, for loitering and so forth. By law, a single tardiness of over twenty minutes resulted in immediate dismissal... Then,

in 1940, job freezing was enacted — and quitting a job became punishable by imprisonment. Dismissal was no longer a practical punishment—so tardiness and absenteeism became punishable by discipline and imprisonment... Leaving a place of employment without permission for from two to four months. At the first offense in defense industry, the penalty would be imprisonment up to eight years... All of these things I have quoted are in the Soviet law, for anyone to read.

3—Are there free labor unions in the Soviet Union? Like the labor unions of Hitler's

Germany and other Fascist countries, the so-called unions in the Soviet Union are giant company unions... They exist not for the workers, but for the Government to keep control over the workers. It is a maxim in the United States that a strong and free labor movement can only exist in a strong and free country... and that a strong and free country can exist only where there is a strong and free labor movement... So the Communists don't believe in either a strong or free labor movement... Again, let's not depend on hearsay... As far back as 1920, the Ninth Congress of the Communist

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Party said: "The trade unions must perform (their) tasks not in the capacity of an independent, separate organized force, but in the capacity of one of the principal branches of the Government machinery guided by the Communist Party." The union in the Soviet Union is not an independent arm of the workers, but an arm of the Government, an arm of the employer. Trud, the official organ of the USSR trade unions reported in its issue of March 26, 1937: "In all unions from the central board to the craft committee, the appointive system is in use. General meetings are practically non-existent. For years, there have been no elections to the Central Union."

4—Is there such a thing as collective bargaining in the Soviet Union?

From 1933 to 1947, even formal collective bargaining was outlawed in the Soviet Union. The official Soviet text on labor law said this: "detailed regulation of all sides of (labor) relations by mandatory acts of governmental power does not leave any room for contractual agreement concerning one labor condition or another." Collective agreements are now allowed, but in name only. For instance, it is forbidden to include in the agreement any rates which are not first handed down by the Government, by the employer Actually, each agreement is drafted by the Government ministry and handed down to the workers This, of course, is not collective bargaining The chief purpose of these agreements, and the chief purpose for the unions is to speed up the production of the workers This is stated officially in a number of places.

In 1947 a manual of labor legislation was published in the Soviet Union which explained that unions and collective agreements had nothing to do with wages and other conditions of labor which were established by Government decree . . . their purpose is to make sure that production plans are filled, and that the workers are given a Communist

education According to Trud of July 8, 1933, the purpose of labor organizations is "to direct the fight for completion and overfulfillment by every worker of his prescribed norm of work."

There is no protection at all for the workers I could sit here all night and tell you of conditions that American workers wouldn't stand for I'm not just talking about the fact that the per capita income in the Soviet Union in 1949, according to the United Nations, was \$308 — and that labor income was lower than this because of the tremendous salary differentials in the Soviet Union I'm talking about the complete lack of freedom, and lack of dignity.

. . . . The speed-up, which American labor unions have fought against for years, is a matter of official policy in the Soviet Union. So is the matter of piecework. According to a Soviet publication, in 1938, 75 per cent of the workers were paid on a piece-work basis.

5—Are there any strikes in Russia?

The unions aren't set up for it and the Government won't allow it. There hasn't been a strike in Russia since some sailors tried it, in 1921 and were cut down bloodily by the army This is the model that the Communist Party wants to sell the American workers And we haven't even been talking about the slave labor which some people have estimated as high as 20,000,000 The Soviet Union has admitted officially that the Baltic White Sea canal and part of the Turk-Sib railway have been built by forced labor battalions involving about a million prisoners

6—How do the Communists justify oppressive labor legislation in the Soviet Union?

The rather absurd argument that is offered by Soviet apologists for the exploitation of labor in the Soviet Union, is that it is a workers' state, and therefore the workers shouldn't object But, of course, it's not a workers' state at all, it's a Communist Party state. As one of the principal

leaders of the central body of the USSR trade unions announced in Trud of July 8, 1933: "The workers have no right to defend themselves against the Government." Anyway, this apology would be like saying to a man who's about to be beaten over the head with a baseball bat: "This is your bat, so you shouldn't mind being hit with it"

7—What kind of record have the Communists had in American labor unions?

The Communist Party policy in the labor movement in this country has always been geared to the preservation of power in the Kremlin. I'm not saying that this was the motivation of every rank-and-file Communist. But this is where they were all led by the Communist Party. In 1939 and 1940 when Stalin and Hitler were pals, Communists in the American labor movement tried to force crippling strikes in the American defense industries wherever they could. When Stalin and Hitler fell out, and Stalin needed America's strength, they tried to lead striking unions back to work on company terms.

I know of two cases right here in California This shows how little concern the Communist Party has for the needs of the workers There have been proved cases of their prolonging strikes deliberately, at the cost of hungry families, in order to further what they call the class struggle one strike of 40,000 workers in New York was called on Communist orders — although Governor Alfred E. Smith's special commission had already secured from management the major demands of the workers. But the Communist Party insisted on going ahead with the strike for its own purposes and the workers suffered, as a result.

8—What techniques have the Communists used within the unions?

In the first place, they had an effective technique which was really very simple. They went into every union meeting with prearranged plans and a tightly

disciplined group. In a union local of 1,000 members, there might be twenty Communists. Out of the thousand workers maybe fifty would show up at a meeting. But twenty of these fifty would be Communists. They always showed up. Very often, they would apply the technique of coming early and staying late.

They kept the meeting going with unimportant discussion of one kind or another — perhaps on parliamentary procedure — and at a late hour, the meeting would naturally start to thin out. When enough people had left so that the Communists had a majority, then they'd start the important discussion — whether it was the election of an officer, or the passing of a resolution. Then, too, the Communists always volunteered for union jobs, worked hard, and naturally worked themselves up into positions of responsibility.

9—How can we prevent Communist infiltration into labor unions?

One of the antidotes to Communist infiltration is the more active participation in union affairs by all its members. This applies to organizations other than labor unions, too. Of course, as you know, union people have become more alert to the Communists. That's why, during the past years, you've seen such a brisk housecleaning in the labor movement of those relatively few Communists in key positions

Actually, the Communists never did recruit much of a membership from the working class Proportionately a much larger part of their membership came from the middle class But the time that the Communist Party had its biggest appeal for the working class was naturally during the depression This stands to reason and points up an important factor in the fight against Communism. Where economic well-being and social security exist, Communism cannot make no inroads But low wages, poor housing, racial or religious employment discrimination,

bad working conditions — these things make us vulnerable to Communism.

Paraphrasing Joe Louis, I'd say that there may be plenty of things still wrong in our country, but nothing that Stalin can cure Nevertheless, the Communists are strongest wherever we're weak — and whenever we turn our backs on anything that needs improving in America, we're giving the Communists a boost upward In that connection, those who cry "wolf" for their own purposes, and label a strike "Communist" when it's not, are doing the Communists the greatest kind of service. So do the "fake" anti-Communists. In the confusion the real Communists are able to escape detection

10—What is meant by "fake" anti-Communists?

As a prime example I'd like to cite a recent American Legion report on anti-Communist frauds those who jump on the popular anti-Communist bandwagon for their own selfish purposes, but who really belong in the Communist camp because of their attempts to weaken civil rights or attack free labor or water down the Constitution, or raise hatred against men because of the color of their skin, or the church or synagogue they attend This American Legion report (12) which I'd personally be glad to provide anyone, does a great service to the fight against Communism by naming some of these fake anti-Communists Only a man who is genuinely interested in preserving democracy can make an effective fight against Communism only such a man can make an effective fight for labor's rights Communists and other totalitarians cannot be tolerated in the labor unions because their allegiance is not to the cause of democracy or labor The Soviet Labor Laws which I quoted earlier merely point up the fact that Communism cannot — and will not — live alongside free, independent and strong labor unions.

VI

Communism and Civil Liberties

By Right Reverend Karl Block

Episcopal Bishop, California

1—What is meant by civil liberties?

I would understand that the term "civil liberties" refers to those freedoms guaranteed in the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Freedom of speech, which includes freedom of the press; freedom of religion; freedom of assembly, which implies freedom of political action, and freedom of petition, which guarantees the right of people to appeal to officials of the Government in representative capacities, with some reasonable hope that injustice to the individuals will be rectified. In addition to these specific freedoms we would include in our long experience in the democratic tradition, such liberties as rights of habeas corpus; a right to fair trial and a guarantee against arrest without due process of law; freedom of movement; and the right to seek employment wherever one wishes to work and security from being impressed into service.

2—Is there freedom of expression (speech or press) in the Soviet Union?

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There is absolutely no freedom of speech that may be construed as being critical of the government in power, a right which is basic to any real freedom of speech. One is only free in Russia to speak favorably and approvingly of the status quo. The proof here is in the pudding. There are two hundred million people in the Soviet Union, and in all the years of his dictatorship, not one of them has stood up publicly to criticize Stalin Are we to assume that there's not even one crackpot among the two hundred million Russians who has a criticism of Stalin? Not even the Communists would have the audacity to say that

There are ten thousand newspapers in Soviet Russia, and never a line of criticism of Stalin. The answer to that is right in the Soviet Constitution which says that freedom of press is guaranteed by "Placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing shops, supplies of papers." . . . By their own words, nobody can go into the newspaper business, or stay in it,

or even print leaflets, without receiving permission and supplies from the government So, even constitutionally, Stalin has guaranteed himself freedom from criticism.

The Soviet jurist, Nikolai Krylenko, has stated frankly: "Any person who might wish to bring back the capitalist system is not given either free speech or free press by our Constitution." No act is needed, but only a wish for a Russian's freedom of expression to be denied. And any one criticizing high government policy is said to have "capitalist" wishes.

3—Is there freedom of assembly or of the vote in the Soviet Union?

The right guaranteed by freedom of assembly is the right of the people to gather together to study its institutions and particularly its political institutions, with the purpose of bringing these institutions into line with the thinking of the group. In Russia there is absolutely no record of any kind of people being permitted to assemble for

such purpose. Politically, there is only one party. Only one name appears on the ballot. Let me again quote from the Soviet Constitution itself. Article 114 of that Constitution states — "The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people, Communist Party organizations and trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies." . . . These are the only bodies that can nominate candidates, and we already learned how carefully controlled these bodies are by the Communist Party. So again, by their own words, the Communists have prohibited free elections

4—Is there freedom of petition in the Soviet Union?

The right to petition guaranteed to us by the Constitution is the right of an individual citizen or a group of citizens to appeal to the Government for redress of wrongs. The reality of this freedom is based on the assumption that such appeals will receive sympathetic consideration from those duly elected to insure the

well-being of the common man. There is no evidence whatever in contemporary Russia of the employment of this petition. The right simply does not exist and therefore is not employed. The Communists don't see any reason for it to be employed, since it's a democratic process, and they don't believe in the democratic process Joseph Stalin made this statement in a meeting of the Communist International in Moscow in May, 1929: "True Bolshevik courage does not consist in placing one's individual will above the will of the Comintern. True courage consists in being strong enough to master and overcome oneself and subordinate one's will to the will of the collective, the will of the higher party body." A Soviet publication, Novy Mir, explained in 1940: "In our country there is only one truth—State truth." There is, then, no possibility of dissent.

5—Why does the Soviet Constitution mention Civil Liberties at all?

I think it fits in with the description of Communist tactics

that Wilson Record made earlier. It is a tactic, and a propaganda device. Obviously, it is not sincere. As I said, the Constitution talks about free elections, and then, in fine print, prohibits them . . . the same with a free press, and so on down the line. . . . Stalin himself made a further commentary on how seriously the Communists take these constitutional rights . . . In one speech he said that national minorities—quote—"possess the inalienable right to secede from Russia."—unquote. Then he immediately warned that such secession would be—quote—"profoundly counter-revolutionary" unquote. We all know what happens to "counter-revolutionaries" in Russia, constitution or no constitution.

That's like saying to a man: you're free to protest any time you want to, but of course, you'll be shot for it . . . A strange perversion of the word freedom . . .

6—Does the right of habeas corpus exist in the Soviet Union?

This is one of the most precious and fundamental rights of our democratic freedom. Freedom of habeas corpus involves the fundamental right of fair trial. It means also that a man cannot be arrested without a warrant unless caught in the very act of law-breaking. It involves the right to be heard even on the part of those suspected of treasonable action. There is just nothing to approach these rights of the individual in the Soviet Republics.

In the Soviet Corrective Labor Code of 1941, one article states: Persons are directed to corrective labor who have been sentenced thereto by (a) sentence in a court of law (b) by (decree of administrative organ (i.e.,—without trial). Under the Statutes of July 10, 1934, the Russian secret police, without trial may impose "the penalty of imprisonment in a convict labor camp up to five years."

7—Is there Freedom of Movement in Soviet Union?

In America, again it is one of our most precious privileges—the right to move about from place to place freely. This privilege is permitted to but a very limited degree in Russia. The Soviet citizen needs a passport and administrative permission to travel inside his own country. He must also carry a "workbook" listing all his former jobs, disciplinary punishments and dismissals—without which he cannot get a job.

8—Is there "Equality of Rights" in the Soviet Union?

The rights that we have been naming, in a democracy, belong to all the citizens—without regard to ancestral background, or economic background or religious persuasion. . . . The Soviet Union has had what they described as "deprived classes" who were not even officially allowed those rights. Wilson Record, in Section IV documents the Communist attitude toward "equal rights."

9—How can we maintain our Civil Rights and still protect ourselves against Communist intrigue?

First by protecting the essential liberties of individuals in our effort to drive out Communists and fellow travelers from governmental service. The road to assured liberty must be through the liberation of a State secure in its foundations. But even in the hey-day of the nineteenth century liberalism, there was always a limit to the exercise of personal rights at the point where they threatened the basic security of the Government. I believe profoundly that the Government has the right and duty to protect itself from Communist infiltration. No Communist has a claim to a job in the Government as his inherent right. There is all the difference in the world between being accused of a penal offense and being excluded from public office. But as a safeguard to freedom, the examination of a large number of governmental employees demands that their basic, human and political rights must be rigidly preserved.

Finally, we must preserve our democratic liberties for the sake of the Government itself. One of the dangers of our age is a growing collectivism and ultimate totalitarianism, the usurpation by the Government of autocratic powers. Our ultimate security as a republic requires that we keep our liberties so vividly alive that men will be willing to suffer poverty and even death itself rather than submit to their loss.

VII

Communism and Religion

By Reverend Harry Meserve

First Unitarian Church, San Francisco

1—What is Communist Doctrine in Religion?

The basic theory is perhaps best expressed, in the often-quoted statement of Marx:—"Religion is the sight of the hard-pressed creature; the heart of a heartless world. It is the opiate of the people."—This statement, wrote Lenin, "is the cornerstone of the entire Marxist world outlook concerning the entire Marxist world outlook concerning the problem of religion. All contemporary religions, churches and all types of religious organizations. Marxism forever looks upon as organs of bourgeois reaction serving to defend the exploitation and stultification of the working class. . . . One must know how to battle against religion."—This is the official Communist position with regard to religion. So far as I know it has never been repudiated, though it has been, in recent years, somewhat modified in certain respects. In our thinking on this matter we will do well to keep this basic position in mind. For Communism is an absolutist orthodoxy. Its fundamental positions do not change, though its strategy and tactics are often adjusted to meet particular situations. I always thought that Stalin made one of his most forthright statements in 1927 when an American labor delegation asked him outright whether a good Communist could be a member of a church or synagogue. Stalin replied—"I don't know of any good Communists of the kind mentioned by the delegation. The party cannot be neutral toward religion and it carries on anti-religious propaganda against any and all types of (religion) because it stands for science."

2—How did Russian religion fare in the early days of Communism?

When the Soviets came to power in Russia, they proclaimed "freedom of religions" and disassociated the Russian Orthodox Church from all connection with and support from the state. The church lands and many of the church buildings were appropriated by the government. Religious activities of an educational sort were restricted to family groups of not more than five. Religious publications were suppressed and more than a thousand of the clergy were arrested and summarily executed as enemies of the state. The Patriarch Tikhon was imprisoned and died in 1925. His successor, the acting Patriarch Bishop Peter was soon arrested and afterward banished to Siberia. His successor, Bishop Sergius became acting Patriarch and adopted a policy of collaboration.

3—Was any ONE religion suppressed by the Communists?

Not at all. Other churches fared even less well than the Russian Orthodox Church. When the Soviets seized power there were reported to be 3,300 Roman Catholic churches and 2,000 chapels in Russia. Few of these escaped from persecution and suppression at the hands of the state. All of the Jewish religious schools such as the yeshiva, became illegal and were driven into hiding. As a matter of fact, all religious instruction in these early days was punishable by law. All priests, ministers and rabbis were deprived of the vote and all political rights. But the persecution varied in intensity and thoroughness. The Communists discovered early that religion was a far stronger force than they had believed it to be. As in so many other situations where they could not prevail by violence, they were willing to compromise—and since the first violent years of the revolution, religion has been regarded by the Communist with a kind of hostile toleration. Churches and clergymen—whether Protestant, Jewish, Catholic or Mohammedan—have been subjected to forms of pressure and penalty. State-owned stores have often refused to sell necessary building materials and equipment to churches. Clergymen have been forced to pay excessive personal taxes. At the same time, the government fostered and supported the work of anti-religious groups, and aided in the spreading of atheistic propaganda.

4—Why are Communists opposed to religion in principle?

I can state just a few reasons: In the first place, the entire structure of Communist theory is built on the concept of economic determinism, which holds that political, moral and intellectual life is determined basically by economic forces. The concept of God of a guiding force stronger than economics, is destructive of this theory. . . . Also, the Judeo-Christian concept of a certain unchanging moral principles—such as the freedom and individual worth of every man—is alien not only to the theory of economic determinism, but to Communist practice, and to the Communist theory of "shifting morality". . . . There is also a practical consideration. Communism, like any other totalitarianism, demands that the highest allegiance and devotion be directed to the state. This, of course, precludes religion: as most of us know it.

5—Were the Communists able to destroy religion in Russia?

No. The membership of the Orthodox church remained large. About 1939, as the shadow of World War spread over Europe, the restrictive measures of the government against religion took on a new character. The Communists were beginning to recognize the tremendous power of religion in the minds of many of the people. In an official report entitled "On Anti-Religious Propaganda", published in 1939, Yaroslavsky, the head of the Union of Militant Godless, stated that two thirds of the peasant population and one third of the city population remained attached to religion. . . . Religious people in Russia became subject to less ridicule and discrimination. . . . Kalinin, President of the Praesidium of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union said "Since religion still grips considerable sections of the population and some people are deeply religious, we cannot combat it with 'ridicule.' The government ceased its outright propaganda against religion and adopted the line that the teaching and glorification of the principles of 'Soviet Science' would ultimately result in the abandonment of religion by the Russian people. The next step was taken in 1943 when Stalin and Sergius, the acting Patriarch

of the Orthodox Russian church met and reached an agreement. Sergius was named Patriarch of all Russians, and the Orthodox Church regained something of its former preferred status as official Russian religion. In 1948, the 500th anniversary of the founding of the Russian Orthodox Church, a great celebration was held in Moscow with the full co-operation of the Soviet government.

6—Is there the appearance of Religious freedom in the Soviet Union today?

The Soviet Union permits no loyalty higher than loyalty to the state, and no criticism of basic policies of the state. Within these limits, churches and religious groups are now free to operate. Services may be held; books and periodicals may be published under the supervision of the state; candidates for the clergy may be trained in state schools. But the churches may not carry on education of a private nature in church schools and they may not deviate from the main directions of policy which are set down by the state. To put it bluntly, the Patriarch Sergius may speak as he pleases, so long as he does not wish to speak in any way which might be unacceptable to the Politbureau.

Of course, the Russian Orthodox Church did not have freedom of expression under the Czarist government either, so it may feel the lack of this particular freedom as strongly as we would in the Western democracies. Reverend Niemoller, who visited Moscow this year, expressed it this way: "The Russian Church is naturally not free in the sense that, fulfilling its prophetic function, it could openly criticize the secular authority, as the churches of the West are free to do. Whether the Russian church feels this as an infringement on its freedom is another question—one that I am inclined to answer in the negative. After all the Russian Church did not exercise this function under earlier systems."

In other words, they are free to speak or teach anything that the Communists allow them to . . . which is, of course, no freedom at all . . . and another indication of how the Communists misuse the word "freedom" . . .

Nevertheless, it may sometimes present the appearance of freedom, which probably explains the curious, conflicting reports which sometimes reach us about the state of religion in Russia. The casual visitor apparently finds the churches crowded with people and what amounts to a real appearance of freedom of religion. But the fact remains that wherever this appearance of religious freedom has been exercised in ways unacceptable to the Soviets, even the appearance has been removed. Collaborationist clergy have been allowed to operate openly. In several countries behind the Iron Curtain, the Communists have attempted to establish their own national church, or even to subsidize collaborationist churches. . . . But behind this facade is a continuing war against those religious institutions and leaders who insist on full religious freedom.

The Catholic Monitor of San Francisco recently published a list of the scores of non-Collaborationist Protestant clergy have been accorded the same treatment. . . . The Chief Rabbi of Prague has just been forcibly removed by the Communists, Hebrew, the religious language of the Jews, has been outlawed in Communist Poland, and so on down the line. The Moslem spiritual leader in Morocco has said, "Communists have one final aim, that is to strike out against all men who believe in God, regardless of what their actual religion may be." So, the Communist war against genuine religious freedom continues. . . .

7—What is the democratic concept of religious freedom as distinct from the Communists?

In a true democracy, the church and state are separate in order that the church may be free to serve certain moral and spiritual values, and, if necessary, to call the state to account for its actions in the light of these values. It is never a surprising thing and certainly not an illegal thing for a clergyman in America to criticize the basic policies of government severely and publicly. I

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have been unable to find any instance in which a clergyman in a Communist-dominated country has done such a thing as this with impunity. . . . The test of religious freedom is the practice of religious freedom . . . and freedom of conscience which is freedom only to agree is hardly freedom in our understanding of the word. The truth is that the doctrine of Communism is in itself

a kind of religion of the most dogmatic and absolutist sort. . . . Freedom of the individual belief is not one of its articles of faith. . . . Communists will grant this freedom only insofar as it results in activities which are helpful in the promotion of Communist purposes and values. They will compromise with and even seem to support religious ideas and institu-

tions if this seems desirable and necessary in the light of their long-range objectives. This is what they have done in the past decade. But as a result of all of the evidence that I've been able to gather, I fear that this compromise and limited support is for the purpose of enslavement, not the liberation of religious bodies and the ultimate goal is not the creation but the destruc-

tion of religious attitudes. Against such religious persecution, and against the Communist concept of a state-church, we of the democracies must stand firm with the words of George Washington, who himself insisted on having a Catholic Priest, a Protestant Minister and a Jewish Rabbi at his first inaugural. Washington said: "We have abundant reason to rejoice that

in this land, the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart. In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws. . . ."

VIII

Communism and Peace

By Professor Donald Castleberry

San Francisco State College

1. What is meant by the "Soviet Peace Offensive?"

Its inception is to be found in the organizational meeting of the Cominform, held in Poland in September, 1947. On this occasion, Andrei Zhdanov, a member of the Politburo, keynoted Moscow's new global "peace" movement. He reiterated the Communist conception of a world divided into two opposing camps, with the United States as the leader of the "imperialist aggressors," while the Soviet Union headed "the freedom loving democracies." It is notable that he didn't call for compromise, or "give-and-take" on the part of the two opposing camps. He merely labeled one camp "good" and the other "bad." This is, of course, not the language of peace. This is the language of cold war.

But it was with this language and with the direct blessing of the Cominform, that there was launched a virtual chain reaction of so-called peace conferences, beginning with the World Conference of Intellectuals held in Wrocław, Poland, in August, 1948. The tone of this congress was set by Fadeyev, a Soviet delegate, who attacked Western Culture, Western ideas, and the United States whose culture, he said, "gives off the stench of decay." With this "peaceful" language, this congress elected a Committee to Defend the Peace and undertook a program whereby national branches were to be established to organize a series of national "peace" meetings.

2. What purpose have these "Peace Offensives" served?

They serve as propaganda sounding boards for the heightening of the cold war. The Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in March, 1949—a direct outgrowth of the Wrocław conference I just referred to—had as its theme the discrediting of the American foreign policy vis-à-vis that of the Soviet Union. In April of 1949, the World Peace Congress met simultaneously in Paris and Prague and the phrase "partisans of peace" was first mentioned. With increasing vigor, this Peace Congress beat the

drums for the Moscow line and hurled epithets at Washington. It also established a permanent committee to co-ordinate the "peace" drive. The following months witnessed the snowballing of the peace congress technique. . . . The next major maneuver was the so-called Stockholm conference in March, 1950. The outcome of this conference was a shrewd drive for signatures to a "World Peace Appeal." Here is where the fraudulence of the Communist-inspired peace drive was rather nakedly exposed. It is significant that the so-called peace congresses have served as the forums, first to accuse the United States of planting potato bugs in East Germany and then of using germ warfare in Korea.

3. How sincere was the Stockholm Peace Petition?

The insincerity of the Stockholm Appeal was clearly evidenced by the fact that it ignored completely the refusal of the Soviet Union to co-operate in setting up an effective atom-control system. Its insincerity was further evidenced by the fact that it did not condemn aggression or war as such, but pinned the "war criminal" label only on the user of atomic weapons in which the United States had undoubtedly superiority at the time. . . . Its further insincerity was evidenced by the fact that before invading South Korea, the Communists circulated their appeal in North Korea and announced on June 3, 1950, that over five million Koreans had signed it. Three weeks later, North Korean troops moved across the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

4. How has this Peace Offensive operated in the United States itself?

In the same month as the Stockholm Conference, William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, called the peace movement the Communists' "most decisive political task." The party's general secretary, Gus Hall, seconded the call in an article urging "every organization, every club and every section to have a plan for peace." . . . But what plan for peace? The so-called Peace Pilgrimage to Washington in March of last year outlined it very clearly: One:

Withdrawal of United States troops from Korea; two: negotiation of a peace with China; three: United States initiative in seeking a fundamental American-Soviet agreement; four: the end of America's drive for military preparedness; five: no rearmament of Germany and Japan; six: no American troops to be sent to Europe. . . . In short, the Peace Pilgrimage literally went down the line in behalf of Kremlin policy. Their proposals if accepted, would have negated the entire United Nations defensive action in Korea, would have condoned the Chinese Communists' role in the aggression, there, stripped the United States of its defenses and left Europe virtually defenseless. . . . This is a plan for peace only in the sense that it's a plan for not contesting whatever Russia wants to do in Europe and Asia. . . . As such, it is not a practical or sincere plan—for peace, it is just another arm of the Soviet Union's cold war offensive. . . .

In January, 1951, the American Peace Crusade, sponsor of the American People's Peace Congress, was established to foster the same kind of "peace" plan. . . . At the present time, the American Peace Crusaders are organizing "peace committees" in major American cities. . . . Some of these groups are called peace councils, some of them called peace crusades, some of them called peace societies. . . . This is not to say that there aren't groups of Americans around the country who are honestly gathered together in a concern to find paths to peace. . . . Again, as this series has indicated before, it's necessary for the American people to make the distinction between the real coin and the counterfeit. . . .

5. Is Communism, as such, opposed to warfare?

The idea that the Russian leaders are for peace-at-any-cost, is of course, ridiculous. That is pacifism, pure and simple, to which Russia doesn't subscribe to any more than we do as a Nation. Lenin frankly rejected the program of disarmament in 1916 when he wrote:—"to put 'disarmament' in the program is

tantamount to saying in general: 'We are opposed to the use of arms.' There is as little Marxism in this as there would be if we said: 'We are opposed to violence.'" . . . In 1950, Stalin published for the first time a letter he had written in 1930, in which he said: "We are not against every war. We are against an imperialist war as a counter-revolutionary war. But we are for a liberating, anti-imperialist revolutionary war, although such a war, as is known, not only is not free from the horrors of bloodshed but abounds in them. . . . It seems to me that (the) intention to campaign against the 'horrors of war' does not differ much from the viewpoint of the bourgeois pacifists." These are the words of Joseph Stalin. In 1938, in his book "The Short History of the Communist Party," Stalin repeated this thesis, and asserted that the Bolsheviks approve and support even aggressive wars aiming at "liberation."

6. What is the Communist definition of a "righteous war?"

In the fall of 1939, as a result of a mutual military pact with Hitler, the Soviet army marched into a helpless Poland—in order to take its agreed share of the country, and Molotov explained that the Soviet aim was to liberate the Ukrainians and Bielorussians residing in Poland. In the process, eastern Poland was incorporated into the Soviet Union. . . . Two months later, there was another "war of liberation" when Russian soldiers marched into Finland. The Soviet Union asserted that there had been an uprising in Finland, and that the Russians were merely "liberating" the Finns from the yoke of their oppressive government. It is significant that when it had obtained certain military concessions, the Soviet Union abandoned the Finns to that same "oppressive government." . . .

This kind of action can only be defined as the kind of imperialism which the Communists pretend to abhor on principle. Imperialism is the only word by which we can describe Russia's forcible acquisitions before and

since the last war . . . with captive population of eight hundred million, it is now the largest empire in history. . . . And let me make no mistake . . . it is a totalitarian empire. . . . Just examine the preferential economic agreements between Russia and her satellites. . . . But the reason to bring this into the discussion is to emphasize the fact that no person and no organization that sincerely desires to find a road to peace can do so without the blind and simple formula: "Russia equals peace."

FINALE

A sincere attempt to find peace plan must critically examine the foreign policies; motivations in both the major world camps to see whether area of adjustment can be found and sincerely executed. . . . Soviet-inspired peace plans do make this attempt, which rather convincing evidence that they are not really intended to peace plans at all. . . .

All of the origins, techniques and programs of the international Communist peace drive are obvious proof that it is not a constructive or genuine peace movement; it takes no account of the political realities underlying the present international tensions which have been created in large measure by Soviet mistrust and obstinacy; it breathes hatred and nationalism; it proposes measures the Western governments could take only at the risk of their independence; it seeks to becloud the public mind by oversimplifying the issues involved; and it conceals the basic issue, the Communist quest for world domination, behind an appeal which has obvious humanitarian connotations.

It is clearly, as Secretary of State Dean Acheson has said, an effort to "divide and conquer, to infiltrate and confuse." It is an effort to force the free world to drop its defenses. Thus far it has not achieved this objective, and it will not do so as long as the democratic people remain alert to the Kremlin's psychological offensive and continue to recognize Communist inspired propaganda for what it really is—an arm of Soviet political strategy.

IX

Communism and Fascism

By Professor Philip Selznick

University of California

1—Are Communism, Fascism and democracy, three different political camps?

I'd suggest that the image of a world divided into three camps could, for all practical purposes, be replaced by the image of a world that's divided into two

basic camps: Democracy in one, Communism and Fascism in the other. The experience of the past thirty years has shown us that Communism and Fascism are two forms of a single illness. Each preys upon the weakness of democracy and produces its special

special kind of tyranny. There are important differences between these movements, of course. But they are, in a sense, technical differences and don't affect the man in the street. From the standpoint of the individual citizen, and from the

standpoint of the democratic society that both Communism and Fascism seek to destroy, they amount to the same thing. It is important to keep this basic truth in mind, because the Communists make a big show of their anti-Fascism, and the Fascists,

for their part, appear to be vigorous anti-Communists.

2—What is the similarity in principle between Communism and Fascism?

Benito Mussolini expressed it in a nutshell in his book on Fascism in 1935. He said: "The

Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the state and accepts the individual only insofar as his interests coincide with the state... and the Fascist conception of the state is all-embracing; outside of it, no spiritual or human values can exist... This, as we've already learned in this series, is the exact premise that underlies the modern Communist state. In other words, Communism and Fascism are alike in their aims. When all the ideological trimmings are cut away, this is what these men have in store for us; they want to take all the power that exists in society and concentrate it in the hands of a few self-appointed guardians of mankind. This includes the power to decide where and how long and for whom a man works—economic power. It means control of all organizations by the state. In a word it is totalitarianism...

3—How does modern totalitarianism compare with the autocratic monarchies of old?

The totalitarian state is far worse than an old fashioned tyranny. The world has seen many oppressive governments but usually these rulers have not been competent to establish complete control over all phases of everyday life. They did not have the technical equipment to enable them to reach the entire population effectively. And they were usually restrained by other forces—sometimes religious, sometimes economic—which limited their power. But Hitler and Stalin have shown us that in our time it is possible to turn an entire society into a great prison-house.

Robert Ley, Hitler's minister of labor said very frankly: "Since the Nazis came in power, the only private life remaining is at night when you are asleep. You are a soldier of Hitler as soon as you are awake."... Substitute Stalin for Hitler, and you have a picture of modern Russia... The totalitarian state injects itself into every phase of life... it is common knowledge how artists, novelists and musicians in Communist Russia are castigated, or worse when their art does not seem to follow the current Communist Party line...

Even sports become part of the state apparatus... Let me quote from the Guide Book for German Athletics, published in 1936:—"All sport organizations must get instructions in politics and party philosophy... non-political

sport, so-called neutral sport, is unthinkable in the Reich of Adolf Hitler..."... Now let me quote from the Soviet Sports Magazine of December, 1949:—"Sports in the USSR are one of the most important means for the Communist education of the workers, a means for uniting them around party, Soviet and trade union organizations in the struggle for the cause of Lenin and Stalin." In other words, as far as the citizen is concerned, the impact of Fascism and of Communism are identical: They both strip him equally of his individual freedom of security of person on every level of life...

Paraphrasing the economic inequality that was described earlier applies also to the Fascist states... There's no choice to be made on these grounds, either...

4—What reasoning is offered to promote the idea of totalitarianism?

These ideologies are often pretty complicated but they amount to this: The kind of freedom we have today is corrupt, it's bankrupt, not really worth anything. Let's give that up, let's surrender ourselves to a powerful leader, party and state. In that way, all the present mess can be cleaned up, and then we will somehow, be truly free... The idea of a strong, unchecked and infallible "leader" is common to both Fascism and Communism.

A line in Das Schwarze Korps of April, 1939, reads: "I stand before your picture, my Fuehrer. It is father, mother, brother, all in one."... In a book published by the Soviet Young Communist League in 1946, we can read: "Stalin! Always we beg in our souls his dear name. His presence touches us at every step. We walk on stones which he may have trod quite recently... Let us fall on our knees and kiss those holy footprints" ... that's a pretty typical example of how the "leader" principal is expressed.

Another important idea behind totalitarianism of every stripe is that people can safely hand over unchecked power to the rulers because this power will not be used against the ordinary citizen, but will be used only against various "enemies of the people"... depending on circumstances, these "enemies of the people" may be designated as capitalists, as Jews, as Fascists, as Communists... But of course, as we've learned, once a state acquires ab-

solute power, then all the people feel the weight of its tyranny...

5—Do Communism and Fascism have any techniques in common?

The "divide and conquer" technique is one that Communism and Fascism have used jointly, that flows naturally out of their similarly amoral approach to politics... One of the favorite totalitarian techniques is the use of a scapegoat... They direct the people's dissatisfaction and hate onto someone else... In modern Russia, when a production schedule is low, the Communists arrest a few managers and accuse them of sabotage... This is scapegoating... When Hitler wanted to get power in Germany, he used the Jews—and later, the Catholics, as scapegoats, and blamed all the troubles of Germany on them... The minority group is used as a lever by which those who want power can divide the country and wrest freedom from everybody.

In Eastern Europe today we see fundamentally the same technique being used by the Communists... They blame the Catholics, or sections of the Protestant clergy as being spies and saboteurs who are responsible for the ills of the country... They blame the Jews and the Zionists, calling them agents of Western Imperialism, and—as in Hungary—deporting Jews by the thousands to forced labor camps, in imitation of Hitler's best technique. By this method, they harness the dissatisfaction and hatred of the people toward the Catholics or Jews, or some other group... and keep this hatred from being directed against themselves.

An enormous emphasis on conspiracy is another identifying element in the technique of these groups. They play upon fear by conjuring up a thousand plots, being hatched continuously and secretly in the dark of the moon, to take over the government, to corrupt our youth and so forth. This is an important idea that Fascist-minded groups have in common with the Communists. The Communists, too, look upon the world as full of plotters, spies and saboteurs. As the notorious Moscow trials demonstrated, this is very useful when what you are trying to do is justify the suppression of your political opponents.

Of course, there are undoubtedly plotters and spies abroad, but information about them be-

longs in the hands of the law enforcement officers, and judgment on them in the hands of the legally established courts. Any one who hints at plots he doesn't reveal is trying to play the old shell game on a gullible audience—trying to sell something he hasn't got.

Finally, I'd like to point out that both Communist and Fascist groups are engineers of deception and hate... both spend most of their energy playing upon and stimulating the hatreds that exist in the community... the fundamental Communist tactic of deception has already been traced... They call themselves determined anti-Fascists, and when there was war or the threat of war between Germany and Russia, they were indeed that... but when Russia and Germany had an active military alliance, then Hitlerism became, in Molotov's words "a matter of taste"... similarly the proto-Fascist groups in America are trying to put over the deception that they are primarily interested in anti-Communism, and many of their organizations now bear the title "anti-Communist..." This seriously confuses and hampers the effectiveness of the genuine struggle against Communism...

6—Are there any genuinely Fascist movements in the United States?

We cannot say that there exists in the United States today a well-organized Fascist movement. But we have some small groups that represent an early stage in the development of Fascism, that have many features of the mature Fascism of Europe. We have the makings in the various "hate" groups that spread scurrilous and irresponsible papers and pamphlets. There is a pattern in the work of these men and their fellow-travelers that every American citizen should become familiar with...

This early stage Fascist in America, for instance, like the Communist, tries to sell the idea that legitimate disagreement is not really possible. Those who believe in things he dislikes belong outside the pale of the community... They are called aliens or subversives, or tools of some particular religious or economic group... For example, participation of the United States in the United Nations is and will be a controversial subject for some time to come. Reasonable men can differ about that. But it is something else again when the

hate groups insist that anyone who supports the U. N. is subversive. Once that is done, then there is no longer room for a peaceful argument among people who all want to serve the country's welfare but disagree as to ways and means. The Communists have a similar approach. People who disagree with them are somehow representing what they call the "Capitalist class." This makes them enemies, not to be argued with, but to be cast out and liquidated.

7—Can Communism be fought with the use of totalitarian ideas?

Here is what one American Legion report has had to say about these hate groups: "We of the American Legion who fight against the Communist menace at home and abroad, must beware of fakers and frauds, who under the pretext of fighting Communism, attempt to divide our Nation by race and creed. In doing so they weaken our foundations and by their divisive activities play into Stalin's hands..."

In other words, you can always tell one of these fake anti-Communist proto-Fascist organizations by the fact that they try to use the Communist-Fascist trick of scapegoating... they try to put the blame on some single group like the Catholics or the Jews or the Methodists... They reject the basic working principle of democracy: You cannot pre-judge groups or individuals within that group because of the color of their skin or the church or synagogue they attend; they reject the basic working principle of America: We are a unity of diverse people... If that unity is ever split, then we are left wide open to forces inimical to our democracy...

These are the fraudulent anti-Communists, the Fascists who cannot wage—and are not primarily interested in waging a battle against Communism... They belong in the same camp with the Communists, not in our camp... There may be occasions when you can fight fire with fire... but there's no sense in setting fire to the parlor because the kitchen happens to be ablaze... not if you want to preserve your house... and it is the house of democracy that we want to preserve. We cannot effectively fight totalitarianism with totalitarianism or with totalitarian ideas... we can fight it only with uncompromised and uncompromising democratic ideas,

X

Communist Propaganda Techniques

By Professor Fred Stripp

University of California

1—What do we mean by "propaganda"?

"Propaganda" is a rather misunderstood word. We often hear people say: "Oh, that's just propaganda," and there's a tendency to equate propaganda with a distortion of the truth. But truth and propaganda are not mutually exclusive. Propaganda is merely a deliberate effort to spread particular information for a particular purpose. The information is NOT necessarily false. If the Voice of America told the Russian people that in the United States a worker doesn't need government permission to move from one city to another, as he does in Soviet Russia, that would

be the truth. It would be propaganda only because of our motivation. We would be giving them such facts to counteract domestic agitation against us. But the facts themselves are true.

2—How does Communist propaganda operate behind the Iron Curtain?

Communist propaganda is not the same from country to country. With the exception of Yugoslavia, however, it is consistent in the one respect that it originates in Moscow and is relayed down through the hierarchy of national parties. An American, then, with no access to the Kremlin pipeline is bound to have difficulty detecting Communist propaganda...

A Latvian, on the other hand, has no such problem. In Latvia, all propaganda is Communist. No other press is printed. No other voice is broadcast. This obviates any need to consider TRUTH in disseminating information.

Take this news from the SOVIETSKAYA LATVIA, January 7, 1951: Quote—"In Sweden unemployment and poverty rage... Rows of men stand at the doors of shops in the streets of Gothenburg begging for bread... The Capitalist government is incapable of providing the people with the most indispensable thing they require for existence—work" Unquote... This quote will not be used by the party in Sweden,

for the Swedes can see that rows of starving men are NOT standing in the streets of Gothenburg begging for bread. But the Latvian who never gets to Gothenburg knows only the Communist Party Line...

A month earlier, this gem appeared in the same Latvian paper: Quote: "Soviet sailors returning from foreign voyages relate that in England crowds of emaciated hungry people come to the Soviet ships every time and beg for bread. Having got their bread, the starving English whisper only one word of thanks: 'Stalin'" Unquote... This item has not been printed in the LONDON DAILY WORKER and will not be.

Any Englishman could nail this lie. Its very appearance in print would weaken the party, for, while Britishers HAVE cinched up their belts in an austerity program, they are not begging bread from Soviet ships.

In other words, Communist propaganda follows that pattern that's already been established. That is to say, tactics instead of principle. And when they have a monopoly on propaganda, as in Latvia, there is no semantic equivalent to the term, truth, as we know it... the party line takes the place of truth and this is already apparent in newly conquered China. The size of the lie is no deterrent to party liners, for

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they now solemnly declare that RUSSIA, NOT AMERICA, won the war against Japan! Since millions of Chinese had fought beside the Americans, and had shared the Allied victory on V-J Day, the idea was brushed off at first. But the big lie was repeated again and again until the Chinese began to wonder if perhaps the truth had been kept from them. Gradually it became common knowledge in China that the Russian Armies defeated the Japanese in World War II. This line will not be issued by the Communists in America. They know it would be laughed out of court. They know, as we know, that the distinguishing feature of the Russian effort against Japan was not its magnitude but its paucity.

3—How does Communist propaganda operate in the free world?

It is Soviet self-interest which determines the party line, even in the free countries. Now, this poses a tough propaganda problem for Communists in countries where people have access to other sources of information. The party in Britain and America must try to win Britishers and Americans through persuasive propaganda. At the same time they must obey without question the changes in the party line dictated in Moscow. This has led to contradictions in propaganda which border on the

fantastic. A classic illustration is the "on again, off again" attitude toward the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1932 he was coupled with Hoover as a tool of the capitalists. In 1934 he was branded a social Fascist. In 1936 he had become a Progressive. In 1940 he was attacked as an imperialist war-monger. But in 1941 he had been transformed into a "leader of the oppressed people of the world."

Such painful twists in the propaganda line were too much for thousands of British and American Communists. They left the party in droves. . . . From the propaganda point of view, this necessity to go along with the decrees of the Mother Party in Russia has been embarrassing to American Communists in many areas.

4—What form does Communist "anti-American" propaganda take?

In a country like India, for instance, the Communists can't use the big lie so easily, as they can in Latvia, because India has other channels of information. On the other hand, these channels of information are incomplete. So the Communists distort the picture of America with the use of propaganda technique. To back up their propaganda in these countries,

they use stories which in themselves, Americans CAN'T DENY. In South San Francisco, a group of citizens tell a young Chinese man that they don't want him to live in their neighborhood. . . . In the East Bay a Negro family is stoned when it moves into its new house. . . . When these things happened during the past months, the Communists broadcast them gleefully all over the world as proof that America was an undemocratic country. . . . The United States couldn't deny that these things happened.

Propaganda distortion based on some true incident is always effective. But of course, they add to this propaganda made up of whole cloth, such as the "germ warfare" charges. Here they were desirous, of raising "seeds of doubt" in many minds which were not familiar with America, and depended on sheer repetition to do it.

5—Is all criticism of the United States Communist propaganda?

Not at all. . . . There are many groups in America—and we fervently hope that there always will be—who publicize imperfections in American life with the hope of curing them. They deplore what happened in South San Francisco and in the East Bay—but they also point to the fact that the Supreme Court has said that racial housing covenants

are not enforceable in the courts. . . . they point to the flood of letters that came from all over the country in protest against these incidents. . . . They point to the progress that is slowly—but slowly—being made. . . . and being made BECAUSE there are people interested.

The notorious Mayor Hague of New Jersey once said: "Whenever I hear somebody talk about civil liberties, there I know I've got a Communist." . . . As a matter of fact, just from a propaganda point of view, we strengthen the hands of the Communists by NOT talking about civil liberties, by not concentrating on the targets of their propaganda. When a Florida sheriff shoots two Negro prisoners entrusted to his custody, it is one thing to reply, as a great Negro-American did, "I am a great Negro-American and I am proud of it," it is another and a better thing to eliminate such injustices in America.

6—What are some means of countering Soviet propaganda?

As far as foreign propaganda ABOUT the United States is concerned, we could probably do with more activities like the Voice of America and the Crusade for Freedom. But, above all, we must concentrate on eliminating those weaknesses in America which pro-

vide the Communists with their more effective propaganda ammunition. This will not prevent them from telling lies about us where they have a monopoly on propaganda sources, nor will it prevent them from making up lies out of whole cloth, such as the charges against the United States of germ bombing which cannot be checked by most people who hear the charges made. But it will prevent them from using our own articles and pictures in our own newspapers and magazines to press home their point that America does not have "liberty and justice for all."

As we have already said, we should improve our country and eliminate discrimination and injustice because it is the right and decent thing to do, because it is in accord with the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, because it will strengthen immeasurably the appeal of American democracy to the rest of the world, particularly to that 75 per cent of the world which does not happen to be Caucasian. Travelers to other nations who have spoken in defense of American democracy come home to tell us that the question is put to them continually, "But what about your treatment of Negroes, Orientals and other minorities?" We can help these champions of American principles here at home.

XI

Communism and Education

By Dr. Herbert Clish

Superintendent of Schools, San Francisco

1. How concerned is the Soviet Union with public education?

As a matter of fact, the Communists, who fully realize the power of education are spending a larger share of their national income upon it than we are. In 1945, for instance, the Soviet Government spent over 8 per cent of the national income on education—while the figure in this country for that school year—for all types and levels of education—was a little over 2 per cent. . . . No, the Communists have not overlooked the importance of a strong educational system, any more than we can afford to overlook it. . . . but our concepts of what an educational system should be are worlds apart. . . . our purposes are worlds apart.

2. How does the purpose of education differ in the United States and the Soviet Union?

Let me give you the textbook words of an important Soviet educator, Albert Pinkevitch, president of the Second State University of Moscow. . . . "The aim of all workers in the sphere of public education will be to instill into the growing generation communistic ideas and thereby increase the ranks of those who are fighting for the establishment of the communistic state. The aim is, so to speak, the indoctrination of the youth in the proletarian philosophy. . . . There you have it: the aim of Communist—and all totalitarian education—is the indoctrination of youth in a particular philosophy.

Now let me show you the difference in the United States. The aim of Communist education, according to the Soviet educator I just quoted—or any other Soviet educator—is the establishment of the Communist State and the indoctrination of youth to enhance that state. The chief responsibility of the educational system,

then, is to subordinate the personality of the individual to state aims. . . . and to produce a particular kind of person. In other words, to fit the individual as a successful cog into the machine of which he is a part. . . . It is, of course, impossible to educate for democracy in this way, for when you destroy the meaning of the individual, you destroy the meaning of democracy.

A democratic system of education is designed to keep alive the individuality of each person while at the same time producing group solidarity and interests. A system of education within a democracy is charged with helping the individual to achieve not only economic efficiency, social competence, and civic responsibility with the group, but also self-realization. . . . The aim of education in a democracy must be not just to enhance the democratic state, but also to enhance the life of the individual himself. However, in doing this, we might remember, we're establishing one of the best guarantees for the continuance of the democratic state.

No one who has developed fully as an individual would happily consent to living under the totalitarian labor laws or the totalitarian civil laws that Mr. Goldberger and Bishop Block described earlier. Further than that, I'd say that a chief difference between democratic and totalitarian education is not that one teaches democratic rules, and the other teaches totalitarian rules—but—much more important—that one teaches the individual how to think for himself, while the other teaches the individual that it is dangerous for him to think for himself. . . .

3. How does the role of the teacher differ in the United States and the Soviet Union?

In Communist countries, there

is no such thing as academic freedom or any freedom on the part of the teacher to use his God-given intelligence and to think in terms of the facts available. All engaged in the teaching profession are merely transmitters of the party policy and directives. The style and content of textbooks is rigidly prescribed. In May of 1934, for instance, Stalin called for the preparation of an entirely new set of history books. History was entirely rewritten, not in line with newly discovered facts, but in line with the political objectives of the Kremlin. For instance the names of certain historically important early Bolshevik leaders were completely omitted from these textbooks because these men were no longer in favor! As a matter of fact, all Soviet textbooks are prescribed, produced and issued by the National Planning Authority, and there is a constant elimination of all sources of information which lead to "harboring dangerous or subversive thoughts." Unapproved books are banned.

In the United States—besides the fact that we have the healthy competition of private schools—there are auxiliary sources available to everyone, with every conceivable divergent viewpoint expressed. Book-burning and book-banning because of ideological differences is not an accepted American custom. Second of all—textbooks are prescribed by local governing authorities, not by over-all national authorities. This is true of curriculum content too. In all aspects of our school system, we operate under the theory of the community-owned school, under parental control, exercised through lay boards and subject to a free flow of public criticism. . . . Local Parents-Teachers Associations

have no influence in Soviet Russia.

Of course it is up to each community in this country to maintain the principle of academic freedom. . . . allow each teacher his individuality of belief and expression. . . . as long, of course, as that individuality doesn't interfere in the classroom with the very principles of democratic education. . . .

4. What does "education for democracy" mean?

Education in a democracy implies several things. . . . First of all a challenge to the individual to realize his full capabilities, whatever they may be. The student must become aware of and maintain his own integrity as an individual. He must achieve personal competence in the field he chooses and in making his own way in life. He must learn the value of traditions, and loyalties to his community and national as well as appreciation for the personal freedom of others. He must learn respect for minorities, and opposition to all discrimination based on race, religion, family, sex, education or wealth. And he must gain a personal competence in analyzing controversial issues. . . .

I don't have to belabor you with all the obvious details as to how this differs from totalitarian systems of education, where training in controversial issues, or in the rights of minority viewpoints—just as examples—are forbidden. . . . Of course, this kind of education isn't as easy as out-and-out indoctrination, but, then, democracy isn't the "easy" way of life, and we don't try to sell it as the "easy way." One of the finest thoughts for youth in our Public Schools is that taken from a document prepared by the Civic Education Project in Cambridge, Massa-

chusetts, entitled "The Isms and You". . . . "A Final Word":

"No one owes you a living. And there is very little you can get for free in this world—not honestly. There are people, on the other hand, who are taken in by hand-outs and the promises of power-seeking ism leaders. You must have what it takes to beat the isms. You must have what it takes to make Democracy work. It isn't easy to do these things. And it is always a great temptation to let some one else put pills on your plate and ideas in your head. But the hand that feeds you can also push you around. And the voice that makes glib, tending promises can and will give brutal orders, backed up by force. So try to know these isms. All about them. Next, give some honest, unselfish thought to the job of living together with others in the democratic way. And finally, play the game of making Democracy work—right up to the hilt. You have to live with you self and with other people whether you like it or not. You have a choice. Will you be pushed around?"

5. Is our modern school system equipped to educate for democracy?

New and improved methods and understanding; that is what modern American education consists of and what makes it more effective force for democracy. Some people who confound it with an indefinable thing called progressive education in mind some isolated experiments which do not exist in public schools; others have a misinformed, and a few a ulterior purpose, and a few make a profession out of attacking public school systems throughout the country, and, Communists have their own!



COMMUNISM AND DEMOCRACY

A series of factual discussions
by leading Bay Area authorities

Cited for excellence by California Department of American Legion.
Commended by resolution of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.
Broadcast to the Far East and Europe by the Voice of America.

Moderated and edited by Earl Raab as presented on KNBC, April-July 1952.

Printed as a public service by **San Francisco Examiner**
Monarch of the Ballies

FOREWORD

I have been deeply impressed with the educational series on "Communism and Democracy."

Every citizen, I believe, feels a sincere indebtedness to those who sponsored the objectives of this series. This list includes:

San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce; San Francisco Council of Church Women; San Francisco Labor Council; San Francisco Chapter of the Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Interfraternal Council.

The above radio station offered its time and facilities.

The distinguished citizens who spoke on this series freely gave their time and authoritative knowledge.

In order to carry the effective message of this series to even a wider audience, the *San Francisco Examiner* has generously undertaken to publish this valuable series so that, in compact form, it can be used by public schools or by other groups and organizations within the community.

A congressional document on Communism recently emphasized again that the final responsibility for defeating Communism rests

with each citizen. This stated, "The real antidote to Communism lies in a diffusion of knowledge and information as to how it operates."

It was never more true that we must know our enemy well, in order to defeat him. It was never more true that we must know well the principles that we cherish, in order to effectively combat the principles that we abhor.

Therefore, all of us who detest Communism and see its threat to our institutions, will applaud this project of the *San Francisco Examiner*, to make this radio series available in printed form.

The California Department of the American Legion has recognized the high value of this radio series, in awarding it a citation of distinguished service and commending the series as a "splendid educational and highly American project."

The Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco interrupted its business to pass a unanimous resolution applauding this series as "performing an outstanding service to Americanism" and as "a valuable public service in support of the American way of life and the freedoms which Communism seeks to

destroy." In my judgment, this series on Communism is a heartening example of how citizen groups and public-minded institutions, working together, can advance the cause of democracy and citizenship within a community.

What remains now is for each one of us to take the lessons of this series to heart. An informed and determined citizen is, after all, the best protection for democracy.

EDMUND G. BROWN,
Attorney General of
the State of California.
September 29, 1952

Communism and Democracy

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I - Introduction

The Seven Periods of Communism

By Judge Robert McWilliams

Superior Court Judge, San Francisco

A good way to begin the study of Communism would be to examine some of the spectacular changes and apparent contradictions that have taken place in Communist Party policies over the years and thereby to get some definite idea of its complexity. . . . Let's consider the case of a Communist who joined the party in, say 1932, and follow him through the different changes of attitude that he's assumed since then. Here is what you would

have heard him say at that time: "Hoover and Roosevelt are both tools of the capitalist class. . . . The only political party which is not, by nature and intent, the enemy of the working class, is the Communist Party. . . . The United States Government, as constituted, now is and always will be dedicated to imperialist aggression. . . . Moreover, he would have said, "the only solution of the problem of the working class is a Soviet America. . . . The only way to accomplish this end is by revolution, not by social

reform. . . . These would seem to have been deep-founded and unshakable beliefs that were held by the Communists. But suddenly, in the summer of 1935, three years later, we hear our Communist saying: "The President of the United States is a great man." He is referring to the same President whom they had vilified up to a short month before, although the President hadn't changed any of his policies during that month. "We've been misunderstood," our Communist now said. . . . "We're not for

revolution. We're for reform. We're for peaceful progress and a lawful ballot. We want to join forces with the good people in every party, whether they be Democrats or Republicans." This second period lasted from 1935 to 1939.

1939-1945
In August of 1939, all of these later beliefs were again changed overnight. Our Communist would now have told you that the President of the United States—our same President—was once again an enemy of the people. Once

again, the two major parties were "tools of the capitalist class," which had to be forcibly rooted out. . . . In July of 1939, a short month before, he had said that it was Fascism which was the real enemy of the common people. In August of 1939, this same Communist defended the name of Molotov who had said, "Hitlerism is, after all, a matter of taste." He opposed the draft violently and sang, "The Yanks are not coming. . . ." But this period lasted only two years. . . . In 1941, when Germany invaded Russia, came

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n for attacking the modern school system. It is significant at they, too, call it "progressive education." Several months in the Daily Worker, they said this to say about it: "Why is this theory and its corre-

sponding practice exercised such great influence? The basic reason, of course, is that is a bourgeois theory and practice which serves the interest of the ruling class. The pragmatic theory of education was de-

veloped by Dewey, the leading imperialist ideologist. . . . Marxists criticize and expose Dewey's pragmatic theory for its ruling class character, for its unscientific basis and for its hypocrisy and deceit." Of course, there is a good rea-

son for some people to be unhappy about the modern American school system. The final objective of our school system is that the individual must emerge from the schools with a "vehement passion for democracy" and the understanding

that it is a complex pattern for the meeting of one man with another on the common grounds they themselves willingly establish. This is the kind of education that no Communist and no totalitarian of any stripe can tolerate.

XII The Global Offensive Against Communism

By J.D. Zellerbach, President

World Affairs Council of Northern California, Former Administrator, ECA in Italy

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What is involved in the global offensive against Communism?

The offensive against Communism would seem to cover a pretty broad field. I think we ought to narrow it to begin with, emphasizing that the subject of the offensive against Communism . . . not just the offensive against Russia, which would involve our rearmament program, military alliances and so forth. Military considerations are rather vitally important in their own right. But as Professor Landauer pointed out it takes men to carry arms. We have learned that Communists have made their major advances throughout the world, not by military but by logical conquest. It seems to me that the broad problem in battling the Communist way of life has two main facets: first, there is the problem of giving people of other nations a chance to raise their living standards by producing more goods for more people; we've learned that empty machines provide fertile soil for Communist exploitation. The other facet is the need to combat the big lie of Communist propaganda.

What is the role of the United States in the global offensive against Communism?

I'd like to emphasize first of all that it is not a matter of us supplanting other nations, or feeding other nations . . . keeping them in a dole system, so to speak. It is an impractical idea which one is suggesting. Rather, we should help the people in underdeveloped areas to produce as we have learned to produce here. We must remember that the Communists offer a new heaven and a new earth; without much regard for the difficulties of establishing it. The governments which are allied with America—as well as we—we hope to have allied with have had to face the ugly realities of their economic conditions . . . and be content with promising what they are

able to carry out. The Communists, whose promises are unstrained and irresponsible, are able to make political capital out of poverty and social inequality. Agrarian reform is an important weapon in their fight. But agrarian reform does not mean simply transferring ownership of land from the rich and giving it to the poor. Conditions must be created whereby peasants will be able to live off the land, and this often means development or reclamation of dry and barren earth that has gone uncultivated for hundreds of years. Swamps have to be drained; malaria eradicated; houses, roads, aqueducts and bridges built; rivers hemmed into their beds to prevent floods; and peasants taught to make the land produce. This is a long-range program.

It may be relatively slow, but then, what's faster? History has proved again and again that the shortest distance to the solution of a social problem, is a straight line to its roots—no matter how long it may take. Besides, a program of economic rehabilitation is not as slow as you might expect in countering Communist strength and propaganda. Just the existence of such a genuine program is a powerful factor. The western European governments, for instance, have been moving slowly but clearly in the direction of social equality—and this has helped to spike Communist political guns in those countries.

Much has been accomplished under our Productivity and Technical Assistance program which has enabled several thousand Europeans and southeast Asians—supervisors, engineers, technicians, bench workers and farmers—to come to the United States to study at first hand American production and distribution techniques. Our "know-how" is an expensive but extremely valuable export.

3—What is the role of the United Nations in the global offensive against Communism?

As part of its program, the United Nations is involved in a number of technical assistance activities designed to help nations help themselves . . . UNESCO, for instance, has sent hundreds of expert teams out to teach modern methods of farming, to give advice on harnessing industrial power and so forth.

This is only one department of UNESCO activity, but it would seem rather clear that it is one of the reasons for Communist opposition to UNESCO. At the meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, which considered the last annual UNESCO report, only three nations voted not to approve this UNESCO report. Those nations were Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The Soviet delegate charged that UNESCO was merely an agency for advancing the position of the United States in the world. This was his way of saying the UNESCO tended to retard the growth of Communism in the world.

Of course, the Communists oppose UNESCO for a number of reasons, including the fact that it is trying to spread the message of freedom—but they are also unhappy about UNESCO's technical assistance program, as limited as it is. The more productive a country becomes, the more hope it has for a better economy, the less fertile it is as ground for Communist infiltration.

4—Can we trace the relation between a country's poverty and its weakness to Communism?

ECA has released estimates showing that as economic conditions in Europe improved during the past three years and free trade unions grew stronger, Communist control of trade union membership in Europe declined from 12,000,000 in 1947 to 6,000,000 in 1951. The estimates also showed that the comparatively small core of avowed Communists designed to exercise control over labor and other groups declined from 3,188,000 in 1947 to 2,660,000

in 1951. Percentagewise, ECA said that Communist party membership had been reduced in amounts ranging from 30 and 31 per cent, respectively, in France and Italy to a high of 84 per cent in little Luxembourg.

In no country did the Communists gain a parliamentary seat in 1950. They lost their two remaining seats in the English April elections. They lost their eleven seats in the Norwegian Storting. In Italy, they hold 183 seats compared to 244 in 1946. In Germany, Communists elected only fifteen representatives to the 405-seat Bundestag.

5—What part has American labor played in combatting Communism abroad?

Teams of labor specialists have been sent abroad to advise and consult with foreign worker organizations, and various American unions working in harmony with them. But not as part of ECA have spent their own funds to send top leaders abroad to encourage the development of free trade unions as one of democracy's strongest weapons against the Stalinists. On the domestic scene American unionists have opened their meeting halls and their homes to thousands of Europeans who have visited America as part of ECA's technical assistance program. These visitors, brought to America to learn the secrets and "know-how" of American productivity, have studied also the structure and operation of American unions. They have learned how American unions have fought and bested Communists in their efforts to capture control of the memberships. And, returning home, they have become apostles of the democratic principles they have seen in operation here. This has been a strong factor in European Communists' loss, not only of membership, but of political standing as well.

In France, the CGT, the Communist dominated trade union organization, which boasted a membership of 6,000,000 shortly after

the war, is believed to have but 2,000,000 members today, while the Communist newspaper in Paris has dropped in circulation from 620,000 to fewer than 240,000. In Italy the Communist party has been torn with strife from top to bottom. When Communists attempted to sabotage ECA shipments, such as ICFU members as the International Transport Workers Federation cleared the Communists off the docks, often after vigorous hand-to-hand fighting.

6—How can we intensify our global offensive against Communism?

The challenge of our time is an equitable production and distribution of goods and services. Today the challenge comes to us partly from Asia, where much the largest proportion of the population of the world lives in squalor difficult for us to imagine. And these people see our representatives arrange for a shipment of relief wheat or rice to a famine-ridden area—and at the same time talk of non-interference in their affairs.

This they cannot understand. They ask: Why does America give us this relief? Is it because America is afraid we will organize in our desperation to help take from America the overwhelming wealth it possesses? Is America trying to buy us off with a cupful of rice? And so they listen to the Communists who give nothing, not even a cup of rice, but who are very adept at raising disturbing questions about American motives.

We cannot merely give relief; we have got to insist that our relief is part of a well-developed plan for a better world. What we need in Asia as well as in Europe are stable, satisfied allies. We must convince them that what we are doing is in our own self-interest as well as in theirs; that it is good business for us to help them take their place in a free world so that we may benefit from the trade of friendly and economically strong neighbors.

XIII What Can We Do As Individuals to Oppose Communism?

By Dr. Harry Overstreet

Author and Lecturer, Former Professor of Philosophy, University of California

answer this question—what can we do as individuals to oppose Communism? We need to view the peculiar, uncanny power that Communism exercises. It is, in the main, that of armies

—although armies are in the picture. Armies are the kind of power that past imperialism used. Russian imperialism goes about it differently. Where it conquers, it conquers not only by

military but also by psychological power. It conquers chiefly by the propaganda of hope. We know by this time that the hope is mostly false; that the freedom Communism promises—because they are

based on absolute conformity to a dogma—become a binding slavery. Yet wherever Communism has conquered, its strongest battalions have been the hopes it has seemed to bring. When, in 1917,

Communism made its bid for supremacy in an unhappy and frustrated Russia, among an oppressed and poverty stricken people, it won by a propaganda of promises. By a stroke of the

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pen, Lenin abolished not only the czarism but private property, and, with a complete lack of psychological understanding, promised his fellow countrymen a new world of collectivized happiness. Since then, wherever Communism has gone among unhappy and oppressed people, it has gone with the promise of overthrowing old tyrannies and of bringing new freedoms.

How can we best oppose an enemy that fights with hopes? The answer must be: with strong and truer hopes. This is the basic answer. Of course, in this kind of world, each nation has been compelled to safeguard its own existence by military strength. This is more than ever true today. There is no alternative for us but to refuse to be wiped off the earth. We have to make ourselves strong enough to halt this fanatical foe. But we cannot think of Russia as JUST a military foe. After all, most of communistic Russia's conquests have not been purely military. Russia marches with giant strides among unhappy and frustrated peoples because she comes in the guise of a savior. She comes with the deceptive promise of life more abundant.

This should tell us one thing about what we of the democracies must do. We cannot successfully oppose Communism with military force alone. If we let unhappy and frustrated peoples in the world feel that we don't really give a hang what happens to them, but that our chief concern is to build up our own safety and power, we shall hardly win them to our side. The Communists will gather them in. If, on the other hand, we were to let the frustrated peoples—inside as well as outside our own boundaries—feel that we, as a democracy, do care what happens to them; we no longer intend to live contentedly in sight of the raw deals that have been handed to them, we should add a hundred thousand battalions to our power.

Now, how is this translated into responsibility for the individual. What our government does can never be better or greater than what we as individuals are ready to do. This is what democracy means. In the long run, we individuals make our Nation's

policy. Even now there is a sharp division among us between two views: first, the view that our proper American business is to mind our own business; and second, the view that our proper American business is to pay some attention to the business of mankind. The first view brings no hope to the less fortunate of the world. Hence it has no psychological weapons with which to fight. It has only military weapons. If it is true, however, that we can win the war against Communism only by the psychological weapons of new hope, then, if we are content only to mind our own business, we prepare for our own defeat. Our job is to discover the hopes we can bring to the world.

In other words, if we as individuals fully realize what our Judeo-Christian religious tradition tells us: that we ARE our brother's keeper, then we have taken a powerful step in the long-range battle against Communism.

MAINTAINING DEMOCRATIC IDEALS.

There is a second thing. We must guard ourselves against letting Communism weaken the integrity of our democratic minds. The power that Communism has to intimidate the minds of its opponents is a weird thing. It has worked so imperceptibly that many of us have not realized the magnitude of what has been happening. But notice what has been taking place during recent years. In the past, wherever an injustice was done, men of good will hurried to lend their support to those unjustly treated. It is different now—and for a reason frighteningly simple.

Now, when an injustice is done, the Communists are also there. Joining on the spot. Is it a race riot? The Communists denounce the racial injustice. Is it a teacher unjustly dismissed? The Communists are on hand to defend the teacher's rights. Wilson Record, has shown us that the Communists are not sincerely interested in racial justice or teachers' rights, insofar except as they can use them for their own purposes. But nevertheless, whenever there's an issue of this kind, they're on hand. Note the result. Today many a decent citizen feels he dare not "stick his neck

out" in defense of any one or in support of any just cause whatsoever, because if he does, he will be denounced as a Communist. In short, fear of being called a Communist has tended to make moral cowards of us. There is a tendency to be afraid to stand up boldly for some principles in which we believe, lest the Communists, for their own purposes, express themselves for the same principles. . . . then, by association, we may be tarred with the brush of Communism.

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION.

In this fashion Communism could win its victory among us; for a nation made up of people who are too frightened to oppose injustice or to support just causes is no people Communists need fear. You've mentioned the weapon by which this fear has been injected among us. We call it "guilt by association." It is a weapon first used by the totalitarian countries—Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Communist Russia. It has been used to terrify people into conformity. That it should now be used even unofficially among ourselves is one of the tragic ways in which we have inadvertently let the Communists make inroads upon our minds. Guilt by association has no place in democratic America. One function of the individual is to know this, so that he will not himself be taken in by it and will strongly oppose it when it is used against others.

Of course, the acceptance of the principle of guilt by association means the rejection of the basic American principle that a man is to be assumed innocent until legally proved guilty. Each individual who accepts the un-American principle of "guilt by association" even in the name of supposedly fighting Communism—is actually accepting a Communist principle of judgment, and is weakening the dikes against Communism.

COMMUNISM A REACTIONARY MOVEMENT.

There is another thing that the individual needs to concern himself about. We hear it said on all sides that Communism is a "radical" movement. Because Communism has come to be thought of as "radical," all movements critical of the status quo—all "liberal" movements, in

short—are labelled as Communist. This is a perilous thing; it does not, the very essence of democracy consist in the will to work for a better society? If all efforts to change things for the better—as in education, or business, or world politics—are denounced as "radical" and therefore as "Communist" what becomes of the grand vitality of democracy? One way to counter this particular peril is to expose the misconception. Communism is not a radical but a reactionary movement. A right-wing movement, if you will.

This needs to be said over and over again. Communism is a reactionary throwback to tyranny. It is a way of terrorizing the minds of men into conformity. Thus it is the sheer opposite of what we call "liberal." Instead of liberating men it puts their minds in chains. What, then, among ourselves does most resemble Communism? In a land where men have prided themselves on the democratic right to differ, thought-control most resembles Communism. If we are to keep our free way of life, we must keep our minds free. This is a job that certainly concerns each of us.

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM.

The list of things the individual can do is a long one. Let me emphasize only a few of them. In a world where there are uncounted victims of this new tyranny, our individual obligation, I think, is to do what, singly and together, we can do to rescue the victims of Communism. The tragedy of today's world is the tragedy of the dispossessed; of those who flee before the tyrant, and of those who are personally and physically persecuted, to be a haven of refuge.

A second job is to alert our individual minds to democratic vigilance. Each of us must maintain those attitudes which, in their sum, guarantee our freedom. Each man must school himself in that most democratic attitude: respect for another man's difference, whether ideological or ancestral. . . . Each man must be judged as an individual, judged on his own merits, not prejudged for artificial reasons of race, religion, or national origin. This

is an elementary American principle which each individual must scrupulously practice, as a bulwark for freedom and against Communism.

The third job, I take it, has to do with law. We must resolutely oppose all repressive measures—all measures disruptive of due process of law. A fourth job has to do with religion. We must see to it that the Communist war against religion is countered by our religious war against inhumanity in all its forms.

LONG RANGE GOALS.

The basic fact we need to be clear about is that we as a nation are confronted with a new historic undertaking. In the 18th century our history undertaking was to bring freedom into the world. We did this on a certain 4th of July in 1776. Now in this 20th century, our historic undertaking is not only to defend this freedom that we brought into the world but to help extend it throughout the world. Lincoln declared that we could not remain a nation half slave and half free. Now we are saying a further thing: that we cannot any longer remain a world one-third free and two-thirds enslaved by ignorance and poverty. Nor can we any longer remain a world enslaved by lawlessness and war. Hence a new major undertaking is handed to us—of finding out how to help extend freedom throughout the world.

Today the Voice of America is the voice of Americans speaking; for what we individual Americans say—if enough of us say it—eventually gets said by congressmen, editors, chambers of commerce, service clubs, ministers of religion. Today it is terribly important that this combined Voice of America be a voice that speaks for a new humanity among men. Communism is a devastating insanity. It must not be permitted to take over the world, for, by its fanatic use of compulsion, it will wreck the world as surely as fascism and nazism almost wrecked it. Our job is to speak for the new sanity of a total world that is to be helped toward freedom. This is no task to accomplish in a day. But this is the high task to which we Americans—and all men of good will throughout the world—are now supremely called.

July 22, 1953

RECORDED-35

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
R. F. D. 2
Bennington, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of July 17. Naturally, I was very interested in learning of the progress you have made.

When you were in my office last spring, I merely raised the question of Silvermaster's visit in passing. So far as I know, this has not become an issue and I see no point to be served so far as we are concerned in pursuing the matter further.

Actually, I would be very glad to see Dr. Overstreet and you whenever you are in Washington, although I would appreciate your letting me know in advance when you contemplate being here.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

L. B. Nichols

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HARRY A. OVERSTREET
46 HELEN'S LANE
MILL VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

July 17, 1953

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols,

This is an interim report. Just yesterday we had our interview with Mr. O'Neil in New York -- and we are more than ever grateful to you for suggesting that we see him. It was a thoroughly heartwarming experience. We went over our personal problem with him; and he, to our surprise, volunteered to channel through to the key Legion people in California, Arizona, and elsewhere if necessary both any statement we might prepare for him and his own recommendation that we not be treated as "dangerous." We had not expected, or intended to ask of him, any such help as this. After all, we recognize that until we have managed to account for some of those past signings and belongings that are listed against Mr. Overstreet's name, we are more or less asking that people take us on faith -- and it is heartwarming when they do. Quite aside from our personal problem, however, we were delighted to have the chance to talk with him about the very much larger problem of which we are so small a part.

We drove home, then, last evening, planning to write him at once such a statement as might seem best. When we got here, however, we were delighted to find in the mail the long awaited letter from Mr. Velde with the detailed information about the items that are in the file against Mr. Overstreet's name. So now we can go to work on that and send Mr. O'Neil (and yourself) a copy of it when we have it done. It's going to be deplorably vague. Our records -- aside from cancelled checks -- are practically non-existent. But we'll state our case as best we can; and we'll hope to get a copy off to you soon.

We have not been able to trace in any way the matter you yourself asked us about in particular: the visit that a Mr. Silvermaster is reported to have made to our apartment back in 1946. We have no memory of it whatever -- but that does not mean a thing. After Mr. Overstreet's retirement from the College in 1939, his study at home had to serve also the needs of

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function of an office; and while people did not make appointments there quite as readily as at the College, a great many did come, naturally, asking to talk over one thing or another. Within the limits of time and energy, we have always tried to say Yes to people who have asked to see us for any cause that seemed at all reasonable -- and that has covered quite a range of causes. Mr. Silvermaster, for example, might have come on any of a multitude of pretexts. He might have said simply that he had a problem he needed to talk over; or that he had read our books and would like to meet us; or that he was one of Harry's former students; or that we had mutual friends in California; or that he was trying to write something and would like to talk it over. One thing that rather surprises us is that the visit took place in 1946 -- for we were in our own apartment so little that year. Not only were we away on various Spring lecturing engagements; but from June 1st until just before Christmas we were not there at all and the apartment was rented to others. We spent the Summer here in Vermont, and the Fall teaching for sixteen weeks at the University of Michigan, in the Extension Division. We're not trying to pass the buck -- but could there be any check on the date of the visit, so that we'd know whether or not we ourselves were living in the apartment at the time? (I don't know that it would do us much good to know -- for we couldn't account for the visit even if we were there. While we did comparatively little social entertaining in our apartment, because of our own heavy schedule of writing and lecturing and our many long absences from the City, we did have a good many people come and go for wholly incidental reasons on which we couldn't possibly check up now.)

Now we come to a matter that we venture with some hesitation -- knowing how busy you are. (We often wonder at night whether you are still at your desk -- and send off a hope that you're not pushing yourself too hard.) The only reason we venture is that you yourself offered to read articles if we wrote them. The matter of an article did not come up during this first meeting with Mr. O'Neil; and while we have ideas for two, we've been so busy trying to meet a book deadline in spite of Harry's several weeks in the hospital that the articles have not been written. What we do have, however, is a kind of long-range plan for a job of interpretation we'd like to do as our next psychological undertaking; and we very much want to talk it over with you before we do with anyone else. We may be coming to Washington for a hearing if the House Committee decides that way. But in any event, do you think there might be a time in early September -- or even late August -- when you could spare us an hour if we were to come down? It would mean a lot to us to get your slant on the job we're thinking of shaping up for ourselves for the next couple of years.

Sincerely,

Helen Overstreet
Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

Bonnie Overstreet

July 30, 1953

6/
Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
Rural Route 2
Bennington, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of July 22, 1953, to assure you the statement you enclosed will be made a part of our files.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,


L. B. Nichols

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: July 21, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET

H. A. Overstreet

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 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Sizoo ☒
 Miss Gandy ☒

Early in the summer, Dr. Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet, rather prolific writers on psychological subjects, endeavored to see the Director. I saw them. They were concerned over listings in organizations deemed subversive. They were seeking to clear themselves.

G.I.R.-1

I, of course, told them that the Bureau had made no charges. We would be glad to receive any explanation they might care to make. I referred them to the initial sources of their difficulties, namely, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the American Legion.

The Overstreets have been very commendatory of the Bureau. While they were here, I did ask a few questions of them in passing. Their attitude was excellent. Among other things, I inquired whether they were acquainted with Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and whether he had ever visited in their home. We had information that on the night of December 16, 1946, Silvermaster was a guest in the home of Harry A. Overstreet, 445 Riverside Drive. In the attached letter, Mrs. Overstreet reports their progress and further brings up the Silvermaster visit. They have no memory of it whatsoever, but say that that does not mean a thing, that a lot of people called at their home. They were in their apartment very little and they were not there at all from June 1 to Christmas, 1946. No one, of course, has made any charges against them on the Silvermaster visit and I see no purpose to be served in going into any details although we know that Silvermaster did visit the home on December 16, 1946, and if the Overstreets were not there, then somebody else must have been using the apartment.

A note is attached to Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet.

Attachment *sent*
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*We want to be careful
 we don't get too far
 involved in reading their
 proposed writings. We
 could claim that we had found*

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
R. F. D. 2
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

July 22, 1953

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols,

Here for your information -- and your file -- is a copy of the report on himself and his past affiliations that Mr. Overstreet sent in yesterday to Mr. Velde and the House Committee.

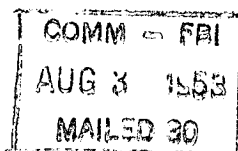
We recognize its limitations. It could not fail to have many of them, since our records are so sketchy and few. We hope, however, that it gives a sense of how, in general, we go at life. We hope also that it shows what we take to be almost self-evident: that the things we have worked for and cared for, all through the years, are so deeply incompatible with Communism as it is preached or practiced that we could not knowingly lend ourselves to anything that would encourage the spread of Communism.

Will you, then, take a look at the report if you have a chance; or in any case, stow it away in the file for future reference.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

The radio series to which Mr. Overstreet refers toward the end of his report is the one already in your file. We are attaching, however, the article from the Pi Lambda Theta Journal of which he speaks in the report.



259,157
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ENCLOSURE

PSYCHOLOGICAL MATURITY: THE KEY IDEA

HARRY A. OVERSTREET*

357, 157
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MY FATHER fought in a civil war that almost tore our nation to pieces. I myself have lived through two world wars that together almost wrecked our civilization. Now, with countless others of my fellows, I am anxiously wondering whether a third world war will put an end to everything we care about. My father used to speak of the great financial panic of his day, when millions of men were out of work and soup kitchens tried feebly to keep them alive. I, myself, with others of my generation, have lived through an even greater economic crisis, when frightened and bewildered people found the economic world sheer tragedy.

In Edwin Arlington Robinson's poem, *Merlin*, Vivian says to the old sage:

Tell me a story now about the world,
The men in it, and what they do in it,
And why it is they do it all so badly.

This is the question that men have been wrestling with time out of mind: why is it that we human beings do so many of the basic things of life so badly?

According to the ethics taught me in my childhood, the answer was that people do bad things—like killing one another in war, exploiting one another, discriminating against one another, and so on—because they have badness in them. Today we begin to give a different answer: people do things that are bad because most of them are psychologically too immature to know that what they do is bad.

This is an insight that psychologists and psychiatrists, anthropologists, sociologists, and other social scientists are now helping us to understand. It is the truly revolutionary insight of our time. One of our distinguished psychiatrists, G. Brock Chisholm, has given us the authentic clue as to why "we do it all so badly." "So far in the history of the world," he writes, "there have never been enough mature people in the right places."

When we get the full force of this idea, we can take a deep breath. We know then our next great human task: it is to promote the psychological maturing of mankind.

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Once we build mature people we can build mature institutions, for institutions are merely people "writ large." It is futile to expect to have great institutions—home, government, industry, school, church—when those who create and carry on these institutions are fixated in a kind of perpetual immaturity; immature fathers and mothers, immature politicians, immature businessmen, immature labor leaders, immature teachers and preachers. "Where there is no vision," it has been said, "the people perish." But where there is no maturity of mind and spirit there can be no vision, since vision requires insight, and insight comes only with the unfolding of the human powers. It is the limited vision of the immature that has chiefly brought tragedy to the world. Obviously, we can build a great world—from the small areas of the home to the wide areas of the total planet—only as we build people of mature understanding and behavior.

This idea is the unique contribution that our own age has made to human culture. Significantly enough, it is not found with any comparable emphasis in the cultures of the past. Great ideas, to be sure, have come out of these past cultures that have been woven into the texture of our own: the idea, for example, of a single source of truth (one God); of human equality (the brotherhood of man); of social justice; of love as the essential way of life; of man as a rational creature; of codified law; of the scientific method; of creative self-expression; of civil liberty and self-government. All of these have contributed to the making of our culture. Now our own age, in a unique and documented fashion, contributes a further idea, namely, that the great ways of life called for by these historic ideas—like seeking the truth, loving our neighbor, establishing justice and equality, using reason, creating workable laws among men, pursuing science with undeviating integrity, expressing ourselves creatively, venerating the eternal in life, achieving liberty and self-government—are possible only where human beings grow beyond their birth-limitations of infancy, childhood, and adolescence, and enter into the mature realization of their inherent powers.

The great idea that our age adds to all that former ages have contributed, is the idea of the need for a threefold maturing: intellectual, emotional, and social. Men may, indeed, as the Greeks believed, be in essence rational, but if they remain all their lives infants in mind—ignorant, self-centered, willful, irresponsible—their inherent rationality will have small chance to express itself. Again, men may, as our democracy has proclaimed, have in them the inherent power of self-government, but if they remain fixated in childish attitudes and behaviors, the self-government they devise will fall far short of being wise and just. So our age brings a new insight that carries with it a new obligation: maturity of mind and spirit must be achieved if the great truths of life are to be fulfilled.

We are able, then, to look upon nations and cultures with a new searching question in mind: Do they encourage the maturing of their people, or do they encourage fixation in immaturity? Where nations and cultures promote the great insights we have mentioned—like loving our fellowmen, using reason instead of irrational force, seeking to know instead of willfully remaining in ignorance—they promote the maturing of their people. Where, on the other hand, cultures encourage antagonism and hate; where they build habits of irrational force and violence; where they deliberately preclude the freedoms of learning; they discour-

age the maturing of their people. It becomes clear, then, that the essential function of nations and cultures is to encourage the kinds of insight and activity which promote the maturing of their people.

When we realize this, we see how profoundly opposed to our basic values are the fascisms and communisms. These are systems of life that deliberately discourage psychological growth. They are aptly called "totalitarian" since they prescribe a total control of the individual's life. The "Finished Plan" is assumed to be there for the individual to accept and follow. He is not to question it. He is not to experiment with other possible plans of life. In fact, everything is arranged so that he shall remain in ignorance of other possible plans of life. He walks the prescribed line; reveres the ordained heroes; hates the prescribed heretics. In short, he does what is dictated. If he is obedient, he prospers; if he is skeptical or rebellious, he is expunged.

The fascisms and communisms, in short, are authoritarian systems of life. They turn individuals into obedient children, making no exception even for the creative artists or the scientific genius. Each of these takes orders and does what he is told to do.

The story is somber and terrifying. How this reversion to psychological and political infantilism ever "hatched" in our modern age is a story too long to be recounted here—although the knowledge of it is now a psychological "must." We begin to realize how sinister the thing is. Both the fascisms and communisms have bred robot-people by the millions: people who have been conditioned to take orders; people who dare do no basic thinking for themselves; people who fear and obey a secret police; people who are trained to a blind worship of their demi-gods, and who, in a fanatic frenzy, will go forth and destroy the free world if their demi-god gives the nod.

Stripped to its essentials, the civil war of the world today is a war between the system of life that calls for the free growth of individuals and institutions into their psychological maturity, and the system of life that calls for the stoppage of development. The one encourages the fullest possible maturing of men's powers through the free exercise of these powers. The other calls for the fixating of men's powers into prescribed attitudes and behaviors.

Never has the freedom to think and plan and experiment—yes, even to make mistakes, to fumble and go wrong, to disagree and get mad at one another—seemed so precious. These are precious because we now see that without them no growth of mind and spirit is possible, and without the freedom to grow the human being ceases to be truly human. The very things that are held against our type of democracy—that it is fumbling, has no unity of direction, makes grievous errors, is hindered by the conflicting voices of its citizens—all these should be said in its praise. For these are the absolutely essential conditions for the emotional and social maturing of its people. Without the power given us to make mistakes, to back up and try again, to disagree—with mildness or with vehemence—we never grow in power to seek the truth and let the truth set us free.

The concept of psychological maturing, then, is of no small moment in our time. It is of moment in the home, where it makes a world of difference whether parents are fixated infants—ignorant, opinionated, stubborn, unwilling to learn—

or grown-up men and women. It is of moment in the school, where it makes a profound difference to children and community whether teachers are mature in their feelings and judgments, or are egocentered, prejudiced, and narrow of vision. It is of moment in business and industry where it makes all the difference between happy and productive relationships, and relationships of paralyzing rancor and bitterness. It is of moment in politics, where it makes the difference between the power-seeking politician and the welfare-seeking statesman, between partisanship and citizenship. It is of moment in the church, where it makes the difference between teachings and preachings that divide people into fanatic opponents, and teachings and preachings that unite them in a common brotherhood of concern.

Today the concept goes far beyond the home, the school, business, local politics, and the church. It is decisive in the greatest world struggle that has ever taken place. Shall we be a world of people handed a "final truth" and bidden to accept on pain of liquidation, or a people free to seek the truth wherever truth can be found? Shall we be a world of individuals fixated in hate and isolation, or a world of individuals growing in knowledge of one another and in a willing mutuality?

The question about the world's tomorrow is whether men will have learned that their chief privilege in life is to grow toward fuller and fuller realization of their intellectual and spiritual powers, or whether they will have fallen for the paralyzing view that the "final truth" has been found and authoritatively proclaimed by a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Peron, a Marx, a Stalin, or anyone else.

The voice of what is authentic in our own culture is today clear: only through the maturing of our minds can we set ourselves free, remain free, and become what we human beings have it in us to become. This holds not only for the most intimate relationships of our life, but for the widest relationships of our world.

C O P Y

INFORMATION FOR THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Date: July 22, 1953

Submitted to: Honorable Harold H. Velde

3-7, 157

Submitted by: Harry A. Overstreet

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Before attempting to explain any of the specific items concerning my past affiliations, as these have been listed for me by your Committee, I would like to make certain initial statements that seem to me to be to the point.

The first of these I want to make as definitively as I can: namely, that I am not now and never have been a Communist or a sympathizer with Communist tactics or philosophy in this country. I specify "in this country" only in the interests of complete accuracy; for at the time of the Russian Revolution, I, like many other citizens of the free world, had a brief hope, soon to be dispelled, that Russia might be fighting its way through revolution to democracy. So I suppose I had "sympathy" for Communism at that time, not as a movement in any measure relevant to our western needs but as a possible first step away from the older despotism in Russia itself. In any event, in the sense in which we now by common agreement make the statement, I have never been a Communist or a Communist sympathizer; nor have I ever knowingly helped a movement or organization that had Communist aims. I would welcome a chance to make this statement under oath if your Committee, after considering this report of mine, should feel that a hearing was in order.

In the second place, I would like to explain why I have asked for a copy of the list, and for a hearing if such seems necessary, at this time and not before. Stupid as this may make me appear, I simply did not know until two days before I sent my letter of request to Mr Velde that I could make this type of request. For over a year now, because of the listing, my wife and I have both been subjected to attack by various individual citizens and unofficial groups, and a number of efforts have been made to prevent our carrying through our speaking engagements. We have tried to the best of our ability to explain items on the list to the groups that have brought up the issue; but we did not know that the normal and reasonable thing to do was to turn to your Committee for information and a possible hearing. So we fumbled along as best we could not too badly, since no engagement has been cancelled in spite of heavy pressure brought to bear, in a number of instances, on the sponsoring groups. In late May, however, because of painful experiences in California and of objections to future dates scheduled for us in Arizona, we decided to go to Washington on our way across country to try to talk over our problem with our California Senators and with the FBI. (We had already gone to the FBI in San Francisco and had felt much helped by our two interviews with them). On our

first day in Washington, Mr George Wilson, administrative assistant to Senator Knowland, took us and our problem firmly and generously in hand and told us what I wish we had known long ago. As a result, we descended upon Mr Thomas Beale -- and continued to get our tardy political education. Thanks to his patience and guidance, we saw at last what we should be doing about the whole matter. Hence, our request to Mr. Velde, and through him to the Committee as a whole: to the effect that we be given as prompt a chance as possible to clear up this baffling situation.

In the third place, may I say how I have come to feel about this experience of being "listed." When the whole method of lists based on past affiliations first entered the American scene, I felt that it represented a form of retroactive judgment that went profoundly counter to our traditions. Also, I felt that hearings -- as I first read of them -- were an unfair device for trying people in the court of public opinion and that they often flouted the elements of calm justice. I know, moreover, from the personal experience of my wife and myself during this past year that there is still such a widespread misunderstanding of what a list signifies that great injustice can be done at the local level even where none is intended at the official level. However, I must strongly say that I have come to believe that the past affiliations of an individual -- even myself! -- are relevant in our efforts to deal with as insidious an enemy as Communism and that your Committee has every right to treat them as relevant. I cannot, therefore, feel abused or victimized by the requirement that I speak up and explain as best I can why I got myself tangled up, however innocently or tenuously, with dubious individuals or groups. I say this only because I want you to know that I am not resenting the necessity I am under of trying to explain my past. I know that I have never intended to give aid or comfort to Communism. I cannot, however, expect your Committee -- or even, I suppose, local groups -- automatically to know that fact. And I must say one thing further: knowing that I myself, on more than one occasion, have signed a petition or let my name be used on a letterhead only because I saw on the sponsoring list the name of someone I trusted -- and whom I assumed to be better informed than myself -- I also know, to my profound sorrow, that my own name thereafter may have become a reason why yet other unsuspecting people signed. It does not give me satisfaction, you may be sure, to feel that I have thus brought support to Communist causes or put innocent people on the spot. I think that all of us who have made mistakes in judgment and affiliation in the past have something better to do than angrily to try to justify them and prove them unimportant -- for we simply have no way of knowing how important they may have been.

Now I must try to make certain covering statements about my life and work. During the 1930s -- up to my retirement from the College of the City of New York, in 1939 -- I was practically carrying two full-time jobs: my regular work at the College as teacher and Head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology; and adult education work on the outside. This latter had become, almost without my intending

it, and largely because of heavy demands for such work during the depression years, a second major occupation. Then, too, of course, I was trying to get my own writing done. The result of this was that I attended very few meetings of any kind -- almost none except those of my professional associations; that I was far less active in relation to citizen problems than I felt I should be; that I rarely studied appeals that came to me with any detailed attention; and that I often looked for quick clues to help me decide when I should send donations or let my name be used. I was profoundly aware during those years of our own economic problems and was trying both to think them through as best I could and to give help where I could to those who had been caught in the disaster. I was also profoundly aware of the rising tide of fascism. But I was not in any equal measure aware of communist infiltration. For one thing, Communism -- a form of revolution stemming from a country that had never known western civilization -- seemed to me like a movement that could never in the world get a toehold in this country. I knew there were Communists, of course. I had some of them in my classes occasionally. But they seemed to me like "fringe" characters -- noisy, unrealistic idealists or boringly dogmatic economic determinists -- who could never carry weight in America. I did not fear their influence as I feared that of fascism. Hence, when appeals came to me that seemed in line with our tradition of humanitarianism, I had little or no suspicion that they might be tainted by Communism.

I would make one exception here -- in the case of an organization not on your present listing: namely, The Teachers Union. I cannot recall even there that I really understood the tactics of communist infiltration. I did know, however, since I attended several meetings of that group, that there was an obstructionist minority at work. Hence, I withdrew my membership -- as did many others -- and became one of the early members of the Teachers Guild. (My cancelled checks appear to show that I withdrew from the Union in 1935 and joined the Guild immediately thereafter, early in 1936). I offer this only as evidence that I did not go along with communist tactics -- and that I disliked them, and repudiated them, even when I did not fully understand them.

I am sure that another factor, also, played in upon my thinking at that time. As you know, of course, the student body at City College was overwhelmingly Jewish. Also, it was overwhelmingly made up of students who came from homes where poverty was a day by day experience. I knew something of what individual students suffered during the depression, and I felt a strong loyalty to them for their efforts to get an education. While I knew that there were a few Communists among them, I also knew that the vast majority were not Communists -- and I grew terribly weary of hearing people call the College a place made up of Communist Jews. You know the blanket charges that were leveled against it: charges which, if they had been true, would have made a non-communist a rarity on the campus, and would have made a non-communist Jew anywhere something of a rarity. I resented all this -- and I cannot say for sure to what extent my resentment against it delayed my becoming aware of the real menace of communism.

That I was not myself favoring Communism, however, is I think suggested by the fact that on pages 235-236 of my book, A DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE, which was published by the W.W.Norton Company in 1937, I wrote, "This . . . would seem to be the direction that is most compatible with our American spirit and tradition. Neither communism nor fascism can be other than tragic in the American scene. Each is a form of organization that eliminates something that is essential to our traditional wishes and ways of doing things. Each falls in more nearly with the traditions in which a high degree of autocracy and regimentation have been pretty continuously in evidence. The American is an incurable individualist. He can realize the need for governmental control, but he must also have a wide range for his ingenuity and initiative. Any form of social organization that proceeds to regiment him under an unlimited authority will be met by bitter and persistent opposition.

"America, in short, must, in its economic development, go the American way."

The years since my retirement from the College have been "nomadic." While we maintained our New York apartment until 1949, and spent some small part of each year there -- sometimes only six or eight weeks of the year -- our work increasingly took us over the country. During the war years we were on the road lecturing a large part of the time, or were engaged on short term adult education projects. Since 1946, we have spent an increasing amount of time on Extension work for various universities: Michigan, Alabama, and California chiefly. Even more emphatically, therefore, than when I was at the College I have been a non-joiner of organizations or a non-attender of meetings. Where I have tried to serve as a Board member -- as at Town Hall, New York, for many years -- I have been almost a total loss, and have finally resigned, knowing my own uselessness. Except on a very few occasions in adult education groups I have not been in on policy making. This "nomadic" life -- an exceedingly busy one, again, and conducted without secretarial help except for one or two brief periods -- has militated against accurate checking up on groups, or attending groups, or keeping respectable records. So again I have to admit that I have, in my joinings -- at least until very recent years -- acted on cursory information. But also I have never been an active member, or a policy making member, of any one of the groups that appear to have been mistakes.

My writings have been in three fields, all overlapping: philosophy, adult education, and personal psychology (the psychology of human relations). The last of these has increasingly absorbed my time. Such comment as I have made in writing about political matters has been incidental to analyses in social philosophy or psychology. Not until recent years have I made any frequent reference to the nature and threat of Communism -- for the reason noted earlier: that it was not on my mind as our chief enemy. Consistently, however, I have stated and restated my confidence in our American way of life as a way of life conducive to sound individual growth and sound human relations. No totalitarian system could possibly provide for its citizens the conditions of sound growth that I have repetitively called for as essential.

My lecturing has also been in the philosophical and psychological fields. Increasingly it has focussed on the psychology of human relations. I would say that the groups to which I have spoken most consistently in recent years -- and indeed all the years in which I have done public lecturing-- have been the various town halls of the country; Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; Columbia Institute of Arts and Sciences; Town Hall, New York; church groups; public forums; PTA conventions and workshops; various business groups; and mental health associations. In addition, my wife and I together have taught a number of six and eight week courses -- chiefly in Detroit, under the sponsorship of the University of Michigan Extension Division. On four different occasions, for example, we have taught such courses for the top management group of the Detroit Edison Company -- courses in human relations. Similar courses we have given twice for the Michigan Bell Telephone Company-- also for the top management group. We have given one such course for the Detroit Institute of Banking and have on hand an invitation to give another as soon as we can find room in our schedule for a six-week period. We have done a number of shorter jobs -- single lectures and institutes for other business groups: this past Spring, for example, in California, we spoke to the Northern California Association of Training Directors and also to the supervisors of research and personnel people of the California Research Corporation (an affiliate of Standard Oil). We have also increasingly worked in family life institutes -- usually sponsored by University extension divisions. This coming Fall we are scheduled again for the University of Michigan and the University of Alabama, dividing the time after October 1 between the two. Again I would emphatically say that the type of human development and human relationship that we try to clarify and emphasise in all our lectures is of the sort that could not exist in any totalitarian system: that Communism is incompatible with it seems to me to go almost without saying.

So far as my general accumulation of memberships and donations through the years is concerned, I think I would like to make such clarifying comment as I can -- for I feel sure that your Committee is trying to shape up a proportioned picture of my activities as a whole. I am not in any sense trying to say that such mistakes as I have made have not been mistakes; but I cannot help feeling that they have been rather few, through the years, considering the range and character of my interests, the difficulty that any lay citizen is under in trying to appraise the nature of an appeal that comes to him and that seems legitimate, and my own frankly hurried and haphazard relationships to groups. Since I have always felt myself to be a rarely fortunate human being in many respects, I have, in a sort of habitual gratitude, tried to donate where I could and to lend my support to causes that have seemed to me to protect others' rights or to extend their opportunities for growth. I won't inflict upon you any total list; but I do not think it irrelevant that since January 1950 my wife and I have belonged to or donated to more than eighty different organizations. (We ran through this list hurriedly with Mr Beale in his office -- and as I recall, there were

two out of the eighty-odd about which he had doubts: The League for Industrial Democracy and Workers Defense League. The others all seemed to be all right.) The largest single group, of course, are standard help-giving organizations. Many are professional. If, however, we take the size of donations as a criterion of interest -- and I suppose it is as good as any I can offer-- and if we rule out donations to our own church building fund and to a couple of other church building funds in which we had a personal interest (one Episcopal; one Catholic) and a few other special appeals from church organizations and publications, it appears that the institutions to which we have donated the most during this period have been the following:

C.A.R.E (far more than any other)
Save-the-Children-Federation
Iron Curtain Refugee Committee
Foster Parents Plan for War Children
New York Council for Adult Education
Boston Center for Adult Education
United Negro College Fund
International Rescue Committee
Hospitalized Veterans Music Service
Wiltwyck School for Boys
Menninger Psychiatric Foundation

Also on the list are American Committee for a United Europe, Christian Children's Fund, American Association for the United Nations, Free Chinese Literature Foundation, Near East Foundation, American Foundation for Overseas Blind, Aid for Refugee Chinese Intellectuals.

So much for background. Now I will try to give such explanations I can about the special groups and petitions on your list. I am sorry that I am going to have to be sketchy. I have virtually no relevant records except cancelled checks. Not having had an office except in my own home for more than a dozen years now, having my possessions haphazardly divided between the Vermont farm and the California house, not having secretarial help, and most of all, not having expected ever to need to know about my own past, I simply have not kept any complete files -- and worse yet, have periodically cleaned out my files by throwing away vast quantities of what seemed useless matter. The result is that, even with the best of intentions, I have not been able to dig up even a relevant letterhead-- so I am going to have to rely on checks and memory, and hope that you will know that I am doing the best I can to be accurate. (Perhaps specific questions put to me at a hearing would enable me to speak more precisely to your own points, if you decide that such a hearing is advisable.)

There are two definite statements I can make that would apply to all the organizations involved: first, that I did not know at the time of my affiliation that I was serving Communist ends by lending my name or becoming a member; and second, that I was never an

active or policy-making member. There is only one instance in which I can recall even attending a meeting -- and I will speak of that later: Descendents of the American Revolution.

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom:

I can say nothing about the content of the materials sent me by this organization; the specific nature of the request to which I responded with permission to use my name; or the purpose of the Citizens' Rally of April 13, 1940. At this late date, I simply do not know what it was all about. I believe, however, that this was the Committee of which Professor Franz Boas was Chairman. If that is the case, then this was one of the instances where I lent my name because of other names. While I did not know Professor Boas well, we had served together, as I recall, on the faculty of an adult workshop at Mills College in 1927. (I am more sure of this date than I usually am, because that workshop was one of the first to be conducted after the forming of the American Association for Adult Education in 1926). My impression of Professor Boas at that time -- though I cannot recall his specific contribution -- was that of a man deeply devoted to democratic principles. Through the years after that I heard, of course, of his work and his activities -- and they seemed always to command the highest respect on the part of those with whom I talked. I knew that some individuals and groups had attacked his studies of race; but almost all anthropologists face some such attack if their science does not stress race differences and give comfort to those who believe in theories of racial superiority. Hence, it would not have occurred to me to interpret these attacks as a reason for doubting Professor Boas's scientific integrity or democratic conviction. As a fellow member of the teaching profession, I held him in regard; and I would have responded almost automatically and with complete confidence to an appeal from him or a group of which he was chairman. I think there were also a number of other names on the list that I accepted as reason enough for lending my name: as a kind of guarantee that the cause was a good cause.

I note that the earliest date given for my name on this letterhead was September 22, 1939; and that the last date mentioned in connection with the group (the date of the Citizens' Rally) is April 13, 1940. That was the first year of my retirement from C.C.N.Y. I did my last teaching in the Spring term of 1939, and my retirement became official in September 1939. My wife and I took on for that first year a project as research associates for the American Association for Adult Education. As this involved a study of community leadership over the country, (a study eventually published as a small book called LEADERS FOR ADULT EDUCATION, 1941) we were in New York very little that year. So far as I can recall -- and I think I can be quite certain of this -- I was never present at any meeting of the Committee, nor in any relationship to its work close enough to make me suspect communist influence upon its activities. I probably would not have suspected it anyway unless it was fairly obvious; for as I noted earlier, I was not on the lookout for such influence in those years. I was not present

I can be sure, at the Citizens' Rally. We were not in New York in April of that year, I am certain; and in any event, a mass rally is one of the things I would be least likely to attend.

I note that the Committee was cited as a Communist front organization in 1942 -- two years after this. I do not know whether this means that it was such a "front" group from the beginning, or that it became so through infiltration. I only know I did not suspect any communist leanings. I wish I could be more specific about the matter. I find no cancelled checks to show a donation to the Committee's work.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born: So far as I know my only contact with this group was as indicated on your list: I signed a statement against denaturalization. I would not have recalled the date of this, but your material gives it as 1950. So far as I know, this was a petition that simply came to me by mail and that seemed convincing in the light of my own concern at that time about what it might mean to initiate a policy of denaturalization. I do not pretend that I was well informed on the subject; but what I had read made me feel that there were grave risks involved -- that the policy could lead to one, in time of political stress, in which naturalized citizens who happened to represent an unpopular point of view could be made to feel less secure than native born citizens with the same point of view. As I have understood the matter, a citizen is a citizen -- and the fact of his having come to citizenship by the road of naturalization instead of birth is not intended to leave him in any measure an "outsider" or a person who is only tentatively accepted. It seemed to me that a naturalized citizen -- like one who was native born -- would be subject to all laws against treason, subversion, and conspiracy and that there was no need to undermine the general confidence of naturalized citizens by making special provision to take care of subversion in their ranks. I was not informed about the nature or other activities of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, so far as I know. I may have received other appeals from it on other subjects. I do not recall having responded to them. (We do not have our second class mail forwarded to us from Vermont during the months when we are in California, nor from California during the months when we are in Vermont. The result is that twice a year -- once at each end -- we encounter great stacks of it; go through it hurriedly; discard most of it; and become so swiftly absorbed in current materials that we never get back to the old ones. Scores of appeals, leaflets, mimeographed sheets, etc., thus go into the discard unread -- and I cannot tell, actually, whether or not materials from this Committee have been recurrent arrivals.)

I note that it was listed as subversive a number of years before I signed the petition and that the fact of its subversive character was given to the press in 1948 -- two years before. I wish I could say whether or not I made note of this fact at the time -- but I can't. In any event, the name would not have rung in my mind at the time the appeal came; for it was not an organization with which I had had any contact that would particularly make me notice its adverse listing.

American Committee to Save Refugees: This is another case of a statement that was sent to me that seemed, at least on the surface, authentic and convincing. I think I was never in any sense a member of this organization and I cannot make any informed statement about its policies. I know that I did not intentionally support a Communist group -- even though this group appears to have been listed as far back as March 1944. My wife and I both, unless we see some good reason not to do so, tend to contribute to refugee relief. I do not find the evidence of cancelled checks to show that we donated in this case; but it would not have surprised me to discover such checks. Through the years -- as you can guess from the organizations to which we are currently contributing -- we have responded to a large number of appeals that had to do somehow with the relief of refugees; for it seems to us exceedingly hard for people with a roof over their heads not to respond to appeals for those who have none. We have not checked -- have not been in a position to check -- the inner policies of all these groups. The overwhelming majority of them appear to have been all right. If we were to set down all organizations of all kinds to which we have given support during the last fifteen years or so, I suppose the three types that would stand far at the top, numerically speaking, would be those designed to give relief to refugees, the physically handicapped (particularly the blind), and the orphaned (or otherwise underprivileged children). I regret any mistake through which I have however indirectly aided a Communist cause; but I do not find that this particular mistake seems in my own mind a strange one for me to have made.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy; Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade: I supported both of these groups in complete faith that they were anti-fascist and pro-democratic. Even at this distance, it seems to me that the sorts of materials through which they presented their case would have convinced anyone who was not more conscious than most of us were at that time of Communist infiltration. I was not an active member. I do not think I ever attended any meeting. Certainly I was never involved as a policy maker. But I must confess that I came to only a tardy and reluctant conviction that they were not what I and a great many other sincere Americans had believed them to be.

Consumers Union: If anyone had asked me, before I saw your information, whether I had been a sponsor of this group, I would have said No; yet I am not particularly surprised to discover that I was set down as such at some past time (date unspecified). My own vague memory is that I wrote an article for them once -- something about the psychology of consumer education, I think -- and that, since they did not pay any fee, they sent me the Consumers Report for a number of years in token payment. I feel fairly sure, however, that if they had asked me, on some special occasion, to let them use my name as sponsor, I said Yes. For I was completely astonished when I first heard that this group was considered to have Communist leanings. I was never in on any of its policy making, of course: never present at any Board meeting or anything of that kind, where I might have become aware

that it had concealed purposes. I knew it only through the buyers' guide. But at no time did I find in any issue of that guide that I read anything that would show it to have political purposes of any sort. I still find myself surprised that it is listed -- for I see the Consumers Report as a widely distributed magazine, and for sale on newsstands that would not have Communist customers in significant numbers, I should think. I have not myself been receiving the magazine for several years now; but I have picked up occasional copies. When I had to get a hearing aid, for example, I found the issue devoted to the Harvard research project on hearing aids exceedingly useful.

Descendents of the American Revolution: This is one organization about which I have specific memories -- though not detailed ones. I recall -- and my wife confirms me in this memory -- that a committee called upon me at our apartment at the time when the Descendents were going to be formed. I do not remember the names of those on this committee: they were strangers, and I never came to know them well enough for their names to stick. They presented the case for an organization of descendents of the American Revolution that would be more liberal in its policies than the Sons and Daughters usually have been. They indicated, as I recall -- and indicated convincingly -- certain liberal and humanitarian faiths characteristic of the founding fathers that were not finding adequate modern expression through the programs and policies of the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution. Although I have not had any particular interest in genealogy or in groups based on the activities of ancestors, I have had a natural pride in the fact that I seem to have had Revolutionary forebears; and as I have never belonged to any group that specifically honored this background and sought to continue its tradition, I responded with interest to the type of program this committee outlined -- and said Yes, I would be a member. (I find a cancelled check for \$2, dated May 6, 1938, as the only financial evidence of membership.) I think I attended two meetings -- possibly even three; and then withdrew. I cannot date the meetings nor say with any clearness what happened at them -- except that I was deeply disappointed. I did not recognize any Communist taint. My memory, rather -- and my wife confirms this from the conversations we had when I came home -- is of a deadly state of affairs in which nothing of significance got done. Far from having a clear cut liberal policy through which I could serve the American tradition, the group, so far as I could tell from those early meetings, simply had no policy at all. There seemed to be a tremendous amount of talk that did not add up -- and I simply withdrew. I do not know the state of my withdrawal. I do not know, even, whether I made it specific at once or simply stopped going to meetings and withdrew later. But this is the essence of the story.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties: As I recall, the January 1943 message to the House of Representatives was in the nature of a protest against the proceedings of the Dies Committee. I think it proposed the discontinuance of that Committee. I still

feel that the House Committee hearings as they were being conducted at that time called for protest. With hindsight, however, I recognize that I made two mistakes when I signed that particular message. One was my failure to suspect that the Federation for Constitutional Liberties was not what I took it to be: an authentic American organization set up to defend civil liberties where these seemed threatened. All I knew about it was what I read in the materials sent me; and I doubt that these would have disclosed to any lay citizen not versed in Communist tactics the hidden character and motives of the group. (I see by your Committee's report to me that it was already listed as subversive six months before I signed its message. But I, absorbed during those war years with a heavy schedule over the country, was not keeping posted on listings -- and I think very few of us were, or are even today, because of the shortage of time and regular access to materials. In any event, I at that time knew the organization only as a channel through which I was given what seemed a legitimate chance to protest certain Committee methods that seemed to me unfair.) The second mistake I made -- and that I continued to make almost up to the present -- was in underestimating the nature and extent of Communist infiltration. At the time that I suggested the abolition of the House Committee I simply did not believe that there was enough undercover subversion in this country to justify any Committee's being absorbed by it on a full-time basis. On this point I have definitely changed my mind. For years, however, I continued to disapprove of Communism very strongly where I knew of its existence -- which meant only where it appeared in fairly obvious form -- and yet simultaneously to feel that the threat it presented as a conspiratorial movement in this country was being grossly exaggerated.

Schappes Defense Committee: I know exactly the private reason why I signed this group's petition; and I also know that I cannot make any statement of that reason that will sound even remotely sensible. But anyway, this is it. Schappes, as you know, was on the staff at C.C.N.Y. This meant, naturally, that I sat in faculty meetings with him and also, of course, that we sat in other ways connected with college work. I think I have rarely in my experience -- and never, I would say, in any experience with a fellow faculty member -- disliked a man so much. I am not given, as a rule, to strong dislikes directed at individuals over any continued period of time. I don't mean that I indiscriminately like all people equally - or that I never feel mild and moderate antagonisms. Usually, however, if I have to work with a person I will inevitably find in him characteristics with which to temper an intense dislike. This did not happen in the case of Schappes. I was not thinking of him as a Communist -- though certainly in retrospect I can see that his obstructivist tactics in faculty meeting fit the pattern. I continually startled myself, however, with the intensity of my aversion to him -- to everything he said and did, and to his manner of saying and doing it. This, on the face of it, does not sound like a sensible reason for signing a petition put out by his Defense Committee. Yet it is the reason. From the time he came under fire to the time that I signed the petition, I repeatedly tried to clarify my own responses to the charges against him and to make sure that I was

not making a conviction of his guilt out of the whole cloth of my personal dislike. In the end, still unsure of whether or not I was too prejudiced to give him a fair chance, I decided the legal authorities were in a better position than I to judge whether or not there were sufficient bases for reconsidering the case or granting a pardon. As they could simply ignore the petition if it made no sense to them, I saw no harm that would come of its being sent.

I recognize that there may be a discrepancy between my prolonged self-searching in this case and my signing, in other cases, of petitions that I did not investigate at all. I can only say of that -- as I was not yet suspicious of Communist infiltration of humanitarian causes -- there seemed no special reason to investigate before giving help or standing up to be counted in behalf of civil rights. In the Schappes case, however, it was a matter of whether or not I was condemning a man unfairly -- not whether or not I was giving help too casually.

Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign: I cannot place this item at all. I note that it was cited on January 3, 1940 -- so I presume that my sponsorship, whatever it was, dated from somewhat the same period as the American Friends of Spanish Democracy. If so, my reason for lending my name was probably again my complete confidence at that time in the democratic character of the Loyalist cause. But I have not been able to find any material with which to refresh my memory of this particular group. If you can furnish any additional information, I may be able to put the pieces together and give a more satisfactory report. There have been a few times through the years when my name has appeared without my permission; but as the incident seemed unimportant each time, I merely asked to have my name taken off and did not keep a record of the event. I am not saying that this was one of those occasions. I think it far more likely that I took this on for the same reasons as I did other Spanish causes in that period. But it is possible that I did not even know about it.

Again, I am sorry that I have not been able to document my answers and explanations more thoroughly.

I would like to say, as I end this report, that I am no longer in doubt about the Communist threat. In a book that my wife and I have just completed (to be published by the W.W. Norton Company, in late January) we are devoting two chapters to an analysis of Communist tactics in their psychological implications and to a further analysis of what we can do to counter their influence. The book is in the field of mental health -- will be called THE MIND ALIVE -- and we have found that the strongest case, in a sense, that can be made against Communism must be made by the psychologists: in terms of its effects upon individual minds and human relationships.

I would make note, also, of the fact that on May 28th I testified before the Senate Internal Security Committee, as a "friendly witness," and made unmistakably clear my conviction that Communism is a conspiratorial movement and that Communists cannot rightly serve as teachers in our free systems: that no matter what their particular subject-matter is, the attitudes that have made them become and remain Communists would "spill over" and corrupt the teaching relationship.

I am venturing also to attach to this report two samples of my fairly recent writings. The one -- Psychological Maturity: The Key Idea -- is an article that appeared in the Pi Lambda Theta Journal, Fall, 1952; and I have marked in the article, on the second and third pages, the matter that seemed to me relevant. The other item is a radio series in which I was privileged to take part in San Francisco. Mine was the final broadcast of the series, given on July 4, 1952, and it appears here as the last of the several scripts.

May I thank the Committee for giving me this chance to try to recall and explain my past and also to state my present convictions? Again, if I have failed to cover matters that appear vital to the Committee, I would welcome a chance to appear and answer questions as fully as my memory and limited records would permit.

Signed: H.A.Overstreet

October 21, 1953

RECORDED
EX-104

18

*John
me*

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
c/o Mr. Everett Soop
1435 Ardmore Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I have been out of the office for a considerable period of time. Naturally, I was very glad to receive your letter of October 11th and Dr. Overstreet's letter of September 22nd and to learn of the progress you are making. I will be glad to see you folks should you be in Washington later on in the months.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:MP

mp

*mailed
10-21-53
john*

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- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

c/o

Ann Arbor, Michigan
October 11, 1953

b6
b7C

Mr. L.B. Nichols
FBI
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter we have just received from Representative Velde, as we thought you would like to know that our effort to straighten out matters with the Committee seem to have led to a satisfactory conclusion. It remains to be seen, of course, whether local groups will accept as adequate the report on what we have done; but since our major concern has been that of clearing up any misunderstanding between ourselves and our government, local responses can now be taken in stride.

It seems likely that we will be in Washington for a couple of days toward the end of the month -- at the beginning of our trek south by west -- and in that event we will probably call you up, just on general principles. Meanwhile our thanks for a lot of things.

Cordially,

ROBERT OVERSTREET

Mrs. H.A. OVERSTREET

13
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subfile

COPY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities
Washington

October 7, 1953

b6
b7C

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
c/d [redacted]
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Doctor Overstreet:

It has recently been called to my attention that you have been in correspondence with members of the staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities and have taken the trouble to come personally to Washington regarding the matter of information contained in the Committee's files relative to you.

I have requested the Committee to furnish me with a report of that information, which I am enclosing, as well as a photostatic copy of the sworn affidavit which you have furnished the Committee in clarification and explanation of the Committee's report.

In the event that further inquiries are made of the Committee concerning information in its files relating to you, I am taking the liberty of placing your sworn affidavit in the files in order that it may be furnished with any material concerning you.

I do not feel that it is necessary, at this time, to schedule an appearance for you before the Committee, believing that the sworn affidavit will serve to act as clarification and completion of the Committee's records.

I appreciate your interest in taking the steps that you have in making this information available to us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold H. Velde
Chairman

557,157
2/11/54
3/3/54

100-14576-10

RONARO W. OVERSTREET
R. F. D. 2
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

September 22, 1953

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
FBI
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols --

This isn't a letter that calls for any answer.
It is simply a matter of our recording one of the many directions
in which our thinking goes these days.

Ever since our last talk with you, we have been
haunted by a statement you made and the way you made it: a state-
ment to the effect that liberals encourage a class society. At
the time, we experienced your words chiefly as a jolt -- for our
own feeling has always been that the essence of liberalism lay
precisely in the wish to extend and guarantee the rights of all.
Then, as we thought things over, and talked them over -- on our
drive home and since then -- we began to see that this is one
more area of the human situation about which we have further need
to ponder and explore. The conclusion we have gradually moved
toward doesn't sound impressive; but it is one that we will try
to state, sooner or later, in some sort of article form. It might
be summed up by saying simply, "There are liberals and "liberals."
There are, in short, people for whom the liberal spirit is the
animating force of life -- as we feel it must be for our kind of
society; and then there are people for whom liberalism is a partisan
dogma. It is not so much a challenge to outgrow one limited vision
of life after another as it is a sense of being right and of being
part of a company of people whose manners of speech and whose common
background add up to a reassuring confirmation of this sense of
rightness. This is the point, we feel, where liberalism becomes
the maker of a class society: a mutually confirming association of
people who have -- generally without even knowing it, we would say --
slipped into the tragic error of confusing a certain intellectual
sophistication with the liberal spirit.

Our own concern is for that animating force in human
affairs that Gilbert Murray wrote about in his LIBERALITY AND CIVIL-
IZATION -- and perhaps, since the word liberalism has been so variously
used and misused, we would do better to employ the word liberality.
The reason your statement came as something of a shock is that we
ourselves have had, through all our adult years, a warm and rewarding
contact with people of all sorts of backgrounds who have not been

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BONARO OVERSTREET

BONARO W. OVERSTREET

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EX-104

"professional liberals" but who have been deeply concerned "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly" with problems and possibilities of life that they recognize as greater than themselves. We have called them liberals; and it has been the image of such as these that comes spontaneously to our minds when we use that term. We think it is they who have first right to the name and that for them it must be salvaged.

We have known many of these people in the adult education movement with which we have been associated ever since the formation of the American Association for Adult Education in 1926: librarians, teachers of Americanization classes, workers in agricultural extension and general university extension, leaders of human relations programs in industry, penologists, PTAers, and hosts of others. In more recent years we have known many of them within the fields of psychology and psychiatry, within the parent education movement, and within the various mental health societies: individuals who reach out to the human race through a newly emerging type of knowledge and who terribly want people to have the chances and the experiences that point toward mental and emotional well-being. In the past year, in relation to our own problem, we have become warmly aware of another branch of the same "family:" men and women in Mill Valley, some of them professional people, most of them young business people, who may never have called themselves liberals at all but who found within themselves reason to seek facts before condemning us and then to stand by us even when it meant sticking their necks out. From the letters we have received this Summer, we know that many of these people have developed, though our "case," a social awareness and concern that are moving them to look more deeply into the problems presented to our country by conspiracy and its emotional by-products. It is to them we will return in December and with whom we will not only talk over our experiences but explore more and more new materials and insights.

What I'm trying to say, here -- just thinking out loud -- is that America, at the community level, is a great seed bed of liberalism, or liberality. In this fact its strength lies. And some day, after we have thought more and learned more, we want to be able to do a job of relating this spirit of liberalism to our present cultural problem; for while we recognize more clearly than we ever have before the spiritual dead-end into which "professional liberals" have strayed, we still reach out to the word with our love and our long-range intensions.

Enough of that. And again, you aren't expected to have to answer this! We'll probably try out our ideas time and again by sending them in your direction. We are deep in materials sent us by Raphael Nixon of the House Committee -- hearings as far back as the early Dies Committee; and we had a long constructive talk the other night with Victor Lasky. Learning is exciting business

Cordially,

Bonaro Overstreet
Bonaro W. Overstreet

We leave next Monday & begin our Fall work - so the time being, is a kind of final thank you for stirring

November 13, 1953

RECORDED - 93

EX-124

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
c/o Extension Division
Box 2787
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

Thanks so much for your letter of October 27th.

I can see where you folks have really been busy and your letter, as usual, was most interesting.

I do hope that Dr. Overstreet and you do not extend yourselves too much and you can look forward to a good rest when you get back home in California.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:arm

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62 NOV 20 1953

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
R. F. D. 2
BENNINGTON, VERMONT
October 22, 1953

Mr. Louis Nichols
FBI
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols,

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We find that schedules have become too complicated for us to wedge in our hoped for visit to Washington late this month -- so we won't be there again, probably, until April. The adult education conference for which we will be in New York the early part of next week, plus the necessity of reading proof on our new book and returning it to our publisher before we get lost in our Alabama work, will take all our time until lectures begin in the South.

We will keep in touch with you from time to time, if we may, and will look forward to seeing you again in April. By that time we will have rounded out our experience at the community level and will also have had occasion in numerous places, and with numerous audiences, to talk out the new slants we've been getting on government-citizen relationships as we feel these must be understood if our country is to enjoy a sound solidarity of confidence and intention.

As a matter of fact, we have already had three intensely interesting experiences in Michigan that we wish we might have had a chance to discuss with you. At the Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit we were invited to tell our experiences of the past year and a half to the faculty group; in Flint we had an opportunity to talk on "The Mind's Health in an Age of Conspiracy" to a public audience of some six or seven hundred; and at Western Michigan College, in Kalamazoo, we discussed the same topic with five or six hundred students and faculty members. In each case, we tried quite simply -- and from a psychological angle -- to pass along what we've been learning our selves this past year (this past five months really) about the problems and processes of an age like this; and in each case, I think, we left some feeling of reassurance about the quality of governmental intentions and operations: not showing them as perfect, certainly, but at least speaking up for their necessity and for what we have come to believe is their basic integrity in most instances. We think you would have enjoyed

ack. 11/13/53

the honest frankness with which many individuals who have hitherto been almost automatically against all investigations admitted their bias after we had tried to present the complications of the situation and said that they could see that they had not been giving Congressional committees any fair judgment -- and that they therefore had not earned their right to pass upon methods. These are individuals whose great concern for civil liberties has made them overlook the threat of communism to those liberties -- and I think we've been close enough to their point of view at many times to speak to them a language they will receive and understand. Anyway we're on the job!

Should you have any occasion to be writing us about anything, we can be reached until Nov. 20th through the Extension Division of the University of Alabama (Box 2787, University of Alabama, University, Alabama). After that, we won't have any fixed address until mid-December when we reach our home in Mill Valley: 46 Helen's Lane, Mill Valley, California.

Good luck to you, and warm greetings from both of us.

Cordially,

Bonaro Overstreet
Mrs. H.A.

MRS BONARO OVERSTREET

MRS H.A. OVERSTREET

9528

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI ATTENTION: ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR NICHOLS

DATE: 12/14/53

FROM : SAC, Phoenix (100-0)

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY OVERSTREET;
DR. BONARO WILKINSON OVERSTREET, wa,
Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet;
SM - C
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On December 9, 1953, Dr. and Mrs. HARRY A. OVERSTREET voluntarily came to the Tucson Resident Agency, at which time they briefly explained the nature of charges against them as alleged by the MORGAN MC DERMOTT AMERICAN LEGION POST of Tucson, Arizona.

Dr. and Mrs. OVERSTREET are presently in Tucson to attend a family life conference which is being sponsored by the Pima County Association for Mental Health, the Tucson Council of Churches, and Tucson Ministerial Association. The OVERSTREETS were featured speakers of the conference which took place on December 8 and 9, 1953.

The OVERSTREETS advised that in May, 1953, they were in contact with agents of the San Francisco Division, and in the same month they were afforded a conference with Assistant to the Director Nichols at the SOG. They expressed their great appreciation of the many courtesies extended them by the FBI. They also furnished Phoenix with brief resume of their efforts to present their case before the American public.

Transmitted herewith are clippings from the Tucson Daily Star and Tucson Daily Citizen, which relate in some detail the nature of the charges hurled at the OVERSTREETS by the American Legion in Tucson. These charges were denied by the OVERSTREETS both in open discussion and on a special television program.

(enclosures 4)

387-22

RECORDED - 24

INDEXED - 24

60 JAN 4 1954

An Open Letter

The following letter is reproduced in full for the information of the public. Its publication at this time is prompted by the desire to inform the public of the position of the Morgan McDermott Post No. 7 of the American Legion relative to the employment of Harry Allen Overstreet as the principal speaker at the Family Life Conference sponsored by the Pima County Association for Mental Health scheduled for December 8th and 9th, 1953.

July 14, 1953

Mrs. Mary Jeffries
Executive Secretary
Mental Health Board
2825 E. 9th Street
Tucson, Arizona

Dear Mrs. Jeffries:

In response to your requests that the Americanism Committee of Morgan McDermott Post No. 7 of the American Legion again make a written statement of what you choose to call the "charges against Dr. Overstreet," the following statement, approved by the Executive Committee of this Post, is made.

In 1951 when you, as Director of the Sunday Evening Forum, announced your intention of again bringing Harry Allen Overstreet to Tucson under the joint sponsorship of the Sunday Evening Forum and the Council of Social Agencies, we presented to you and to the members of the Sunday Evening Forum Board what information had been furnished us by various agencies engaged in research on Communist activity in the United States, relating to Overstreet's record of association with numerous Communist front organizations. This was presented to you and the members of the Forum Board in written form, as well as being summarized verbally at a meeting between your Forum Board and the representatives of the Americanism Committee. Mr. Joe Young, a member of your Forum Board, was then the president of the Council of Social Agencies. He was present at the meeting above referred to, and through you received a copy of the material furnished you. We offered to send representatives to a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of Social Agencies, but that body did not avail themselves of the offer. Mr. Young notified us officially of the decision of that agency to sponsor Overstreet in spite of the information they had received. You, as Forum Director, apparently reached the same decision since you caused Overstreet to appear on the Forum program. We were later informed that the Council of Social Agencies reversed their decision to join in the sponsorship.

The Americanism Committee of this post was recently informed that the Mental Hygiene Board, of which Mr. Joe Young is president and you are Executive Secretary, has proposed to the Pima County PTA Council that the PTA sponsor Overstreet's appearance for what is termed a "Workshop" to be held in Tucson in December of this year.

Upon receipt of this information, the Americanism Committee made available, to the PTA officials, the material, previously furnished you, believing that such an organization, closely connected with our public schools would not want to sponsor any individual who has had numerous associations with Communist front activities. We have no information as to whether the PTA has decided the question of the proposed sponsorship.

Please bear in mind that the members of this post do not question Mr. Overstreet's right to make public appearances or to speak on any question or present any point of view. Our policy is only to make available to the sponsoring group, or to his audience, if the need arises, the background and the frame of reference from which he speaks. We reserve our right to show his associations and his printed statements, as part of that background and frame of reference. In the exercise of our right of free speech, we are so criticizing him. If Overstreet was simply careless in the matter of the organizations with which he has been connected, we then do not consider him a good choice as advisor or consultant to a "workshop" concerned with mental hygiene. Surely men as capable and learned and much more discriminating in their choice of affiliations can be found to channel the thinking and influence the policies of a group so closely related to the public school system.

TUCSON DAILY CITIZEN
TUCSON, ARIZONA 12/7/53

ENCLOSURE

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According to governmental and private agencies, which are the sources of our information, Mr. Overstreet has been connected with, as either a member, sponsor, contributor, or supporter, the hereinafter listed organizations, which have been cited as communist fronts, or as communist inspired and dominated, by one or more of these official governmental agencies: The Attorney General of the United States, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Special Sub-Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, the Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel, and the New York City Council Committee.

"American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom."
"American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born."
"American Committee to Save Refugees."
"American Friends of Spanish Democracy."
"Consumer's Union."
"Descendants of the American Revolution."
"Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade."
"National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."
"Schappes Defense Committee."
"Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign."
"Committee to Save Spain and China."
"North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy."
"Citizens Committee for Better Education."

Sincerely,

Morgan McDermott Post No. 7

The American Legion

By: Richard B. Evans
Post Commander

copies to:

Mr. Joe M. Young
Dr. John McInnes
Dr. O. A. Simley
Rev. Clovis B. Snider
Mr. Harry Holland
Mrs. Margaret Robinson
Mrs. Russell Hearn

The foregoing letter was distributed as indicated thereon, the distributees being members of the Board of Pima County Association for Mental Health as named by the Executive Secretary of the Association with the sole exception of Mrs. Hearn, who was the President of the P.T.A., which organization subsequently did not join in sponsoring Mr. Overstreet



Overstreet's Talks Attended By Crowds After Hot Dispute

Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, targets of the Morgan McDermott American Legion post's advertisement Monday in Tucson's two daily newspapers, drew large crowds in their regularly scheduled appearances in a family life conference yesterday.

A capacity crowd attended their first workshop session of the conference at the YWCA yesterday afternoon.

Another 300 people heard them in a session on what became an ironic subject "Creative Handling of Conflict" at the First Methodist church last night.

At noon yesterday they met with three members of the Legion post in the Old Pueblo club.

Meet With Legionnaires

They discussed the Legion post's charges that their alleged connections with "Communist front organizations" made them unsuitable to lead the family life conference.

Then, again last night, they faced the Legion leaders on the Tucson Press club's "Press Conference" show on KVOA-TV.

In Monday's advertisement the Legion said, "If Overstreet was simply careless in the matter of the organizations with which he has been connected, we then do not consider him a good choice as advisor or consultant to a 'workshop' concerned with mental hygiene."

The Overstreets, in reply to the Legion's advertisement, said they were not, never had been and did not intend to become Communists.

They said they had never knowingly joined or donated to or lent their names to any Communist front groups, and that they had done "all they had been advised to do by the House un-American committee to clear their names of any Communist-connection charges."

During the television show Thomas Chambers, Legion representative, was asked what the Overstreets could do to clear their names in the eyes of the Legion post.

Chambers said he did not know.

The Overstreets will appear in a second workshop session at the YWCA again today at 2 p.m. and at an 8 p.m. public meeting at the First Methodist church tonight.

Their subject tonight is "Psychology and Our Spiritual Values."

357, 157
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/11/92 BY 9313/12

TUCSON DAILY STAR
TUCSON, ARIZONA 12/9/53

ENCLOSURE

Overstreets Deny Legion's Red Accusation

Denial of Communist sympathies and affiliation was made today by Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, noted authorities on human relations and principal speakers at the family life conference being held here today and tomorrow.

The conference, meeting at the YWCA and First Methodist church, is sponsored by the Pima County Association for Mental Health, the Tucson Council of Churches and the Tucson Ministerial association.

Charges of front organization

Overstreets On TV

Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet will meet a spokesman for the American Legion in a discussion on the "Press Conference" television show at 10 p. m. today over KVOA-TV. The show is being delayed two hours to permit the Overstreets to appear.

affiliation were made against the Overstreets in an advertisement published in the Tucson newspapers yesterday by the Morgan McDermott American Legion post No. 7.

IN REPLY to the "open letter" signed by Richard Evans, post commander and local attorney, the Overstreets said:

"We want to go on record to this effect:

"1—Neither of us has ever been a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler; and we have never supported or given comfort to an organization that we knew to be promoting Communist ends.

"2—We have both made sworn statements to this effect—and have submitted these, together with clarifying details about all our so-called 'affiliations' with front organizations, to the house committee on un-American activities in Washington."

"3—We have further taken the

step of asking the house committee for an open hearing at which we might clarify any residual doubts about our loyalty and have been told that no such hearing has been deemed necessary.

"4—It has been known to the local Legion post for the past several months that we were thus engaged in going through all necessary processes to clear our names in Washington."

The Overstreets yesterday, through Mrs. Jeffries, executive secretary of the mental health association, sought a meeting with Evans to clarify "the letter."

Evans then said he was "too busy," but would try to see them later and a luncheon meeting was arranged for noon today at the

Old Pueblo club, 119 S. Stone ave.

Attending the luncheon were the Overstreets, Mrs. Jeffries, Evans, and Arthur Pack.

DR. AND MRS. Overstreet said they had permitted their names to be used as sponsors of, made donations to, or accepted memberships in active, nonpolicymaking capacities in all except three of the groups cited by the Legion.

"But we were unaware of any Communist tendencies on the part of these organizations," Overstreet said. "And we feel that in all our public work, both written and spoken in behalf of ways of life that are so deeply incompatible with communism that our position with reference to American principles and ideals has been stated many times over."

The Legion and the Overstreets

Dr. Harry Overstreet, and Dr. Bonaro Wilkinson Overstreet, his wife, are in Tucson addressing the family life conference at the YWCA and the First Methodist Church. The conference is sponsored by the Pima County Association for Mental Health, the Tucson Council of Churches and the Tucson Ministerial Association. The Overstreets are speaking on subjects in the field of human relations, topics on which their background qualifies them as expert.

The Morgan McDermott Post, American Legion, published a letter in the Tucson newspapers in which the Legion attacks the background of the Overstreets on the basis of their past connections with 13 different organizations which the Legion lists as either Communist fronts or Communist inspired and dominated.

In this instance the Star believes the Legion is wasting its ammunition on completely "dead" pigeons.

The Overstreets make no secret of the fact that they, like many others 20 years ago, were asked for contributions, support and sometimes membership by the organizations listed. But their connection with these organizations, as a letter from the current Un-American Activities committee testifies, was similar to that of many another patriotic American, the connections having been mainly in the thirties, and never at a policy making level.

In fact, the letter from Congressman Velde's committee says that Dr. Harry Overstreet is not a Communist, a pro-Communist or fellow traveler. In addition, there is no record of any connection of Dr. Bonaro Overstreet with any of the organizations mentioned other than that she is Dr. Harry Overstreet's wife.

The Overstreets, on the basis of their training and background, are particularly competent in the field in which they are working and speaking. For that reason they were brought before the conference which is being held here. There is nothing in their record which disqualifies them for this task.

WILLIAM R. MATHEWS, Editor
TUCSON DAILY STAR, 12/9/53
TUCSON, ARIZONA

357, 157
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DATE 2/1/92 BY SP3 dtg/

In addition, they have given sworn statements to the Un-American Activities committee that they are not Communists and have never been Communists. The Legion had access to this fact and it is a bit difficult to understand why, in the face of the record, it still used material which it had used in 1951 and which has since that time been refuted, according to the Velde committee's own letter.

The Star has a long record of opposition to Communism and all it stands for. The Star has fought consistently to make Communists and fellow travelers appear under their own colors and not be permitted to hide behind the label of "liberal."

But we do not believe that the American people are so juvenile or the American way of life and government so weak, that we must be continually protected from ourselves. Certainly a conference set up by the sponsors of this Tucson meeting is one at which the audience is going to be adult. Certainly adults, once they know the true background of a speaker, can be trusted to use their own judgment as to the weight they wish to give that speaker's words.

In the case of the Overstreets the Legion has used its very real prestige in a manner which seems a waste of that prestige. With so many real dangers abroad today it is important that organizational strength, such as that of the Legion, should not be wasted.

When the real Communist or fellow traveler seeks to appear under the banner of "liberal," then is the time for the Legion to perform the public service of stripping away false colors. But the American people and the American government can stand controversy. In fact, our nation has thrived on it. Whenever we must permit only intellectual soothing syrup to be dished out from our lecture platforms, then we have become too weak as a nation to survive.

Santa Monica, California
December 11th

367,157
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/11/91 BY 3046/1/91

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
FBI
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols,

We scarcely know whether to call this a progress report or a retrogression report; but it is probably one or the other. We will write you more of the details when we are back in Mill Valley -- as we will be by noon of the 15th -- but in the meanwhile we want you to know, in skimpy terms at least, what happened in Tucson; for, either for better or worse, it was quite an experience.

Ever since last July we have been trying to straighten out the problem there of the Legion's objections to us. To this end, we sent word in mid-July to two different members of the Americanism Committee of the Post about the steps we were taking to try to clear up our "listing" with the House Un-American Activities Committee and also put at the disposal of the Legion, through our local sponsor (the Mental Health Association) a report on our testimony before the Senate Internal Security Committee and a copy of our final letter from Mr. Velde. It was something of a shock, therefore, when we reached town on the 7th -- the day before our lecture -- to discover that the Legion had reprinted in both local newspapers (as a paid advertisement, since the papers would not voluntarily carry it) a copy of the original letter of protest they had sent in July to Mrs. Mary Jeffries of the Mental Health Association -- and had reprinted it with no indication whatever that we, in the meantime, had done anything to try to straighten matters out. After that several things happened. We went ahead with our institute program, of course, as though nothing had happened. But we also made our own statement of the course we have followed through the newspapers; sat on a TV program on which four reporters directed questions to us and to the Legion Commander and the head of their Executive Committee; and finally, as an extra after our final evening lecture, told our whole audience as much as we could in the available time about the events of the past fifteen months -- reading as much as time allowed from various letters written to the Legion as well as from our sworn testimony to the House Committee, Mr. Johnson's letter to us, and Mr. Velde's letter.

Also, when we felt that we needed to breathe for a while in an atmosphere of detached rationality and courtesy, we called on the local division of the FBI -- chiefly to tell them what we had done and that we intended to hold the extra "report to the public session" after our evening lecture. As always,

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we found the atmosphere of the office exactly what we wanted: strangely reassuring in its calm impersonality that is yet somehow a warm rather than a cold impersonality. (You will, I suspect, receive a memo on our call, as they said they'd probably let you know we had dropped in.)

Frankly, we don't know any further reasonable approach that we can make to this particular group of "objectors." When the question of what we could do to straighten out our problem with them was put to the Head of their Executive Committee, Mr. Thomas Chambers, by one of the reporters on the TV program, Mr. Chambers said he did not know -- and under further questioning, practically said that nothing we could do would make any difference to their rating of us. Mr. Evans, the Commander, tried to make suggestions of reports we might make to them, et cetera -- but actually what it came to was that they would be more stringent in their demands than the federal committees are -- and I'm afraid we draw the line at even tacitly granting to any local voluntary group such high authority.

The newspapers and, we feel, the community at large were generous and understanding in their response to us -- and the chances are that the Legion lost more than it gained by its recalcitrance; but this doesn't help much toward our long range aim of resolving the problem in a manner satisfactory to everyone. Too bad!

It was good to receive your last note, while we were in Alabama. Our Fall of work has been a wonderfully happy one; but now we are looking forward to a family Christmas and a few months of quiet.

Cordially, as always,

Bonnie Overstreet

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
46 HELEN'S LANE
MILL VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

December 19, 1953

*File
vm*

Dear Mr. Nichols,

Here -- just to keep the record straight and more or less complete -- are copies of two letters that are going out today. Obviously we don't expect you to do anything more with these items we send than look at them and stow them away: they don't call for answers.

We hope we weren't stupid about the lecture at Dr. Fritchman's church. Victor Lasky's dismayed -- and dismaying -- statement, made with firm conclusiveness, was that Dr. Fritchman is a "notorious Red agent." Our own limited knowledge, our doubts, our course of action, and our reasons for it are all covered, I guess, in our answer to Mr. Lasky. It's still hard for us to think of individuals who are known to be "notorious Red agents" as uninterruptedly at large; and in an atmosphere where the term Communist is as indiscriminately thrown at people as it is hereabouts, it is hard to know what weight to give to random charges that one hears. Mr. Lasky clearly feels from the shocked tone of his comment that we ought not to have permitted ourselves to appear as speakers on the Los Angeles Unitarian forum. Our own mixed feelings -- and our sense of responsibility toward ideas and audiences -- we think you will understand.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
Bonaro W. Overstreet

no

Bonaro W. Overstreet

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Mr. Nichols
Overstreet
Bonaro W. Overstreet

278

COPY

4 Helen's Lane
Meril Valley, California
December 19, 1953

Editor of TIME

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your report, in your issue of December 21st, on the recent experiences of my wife and myself in Tucson, Arizona. We do feel we were able to carry through our work there unsinged by the flames of the "burning deck" and reassuringly warmed by the support of press and public.

For the sake of complete accuracy, however, may I comment on a couple of items in your report?

Out of fairness to Mr. Velde and his Committee, we are trying to keep straight the fact that we were not, in any legal sense, "cleared" by his letter to us. The Committee, as we understand it from members of the staff, is not set up with any authority to give anyone a technically definitive "clearance." What we had from Mr. Velde -- and put into the hands of the press in Tucson, and read aloud to our audience -- was a letter to the effect that a sworn affidavit we had voluntarily provided, because we wanted to straighten out once for all any ambiguities about certain tenuous "affiliations" of years past, was acceptable to the Committee as a "clarification and completion of the record." This, it appears, is as close to a clearance as the set-up provides.

Again, to say that we personally received a citation from the California American Legion for our anti-Communist activities rather overstates the case! The citation was given to a radio series, arranged by KNBC San Francisco, on which I contributed, on July 4, 1952, the final program. Thus I was included within the citation -- but it was not to me personally.

And perhaps I ought to hang my head a little and make yet one more qualifying remark: some of my vague "affiliations" with groups whose Communist tie-up or Communist leanings I learned about later were scattered here and there through the 1940s; not all were as long ago as the 1930s.

My wife, by the way -- as Mr. Velde has reported to us -- has never been listed by the Committee at all; and I do not think that any member of the Legion in Tucson claimed that she had been. Her "crime" is that of associating with me!

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet

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DATE 2/11/91 BY 8015/4

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COPY

McMullen's Lane
Mill Valley, California
December 18, 1953

Dear Victor Lasky,

Thank you very warmly for the promptness of your letter -- and for the enclosures it contained, one of which is hereby returned. Good luck with your book.

We wish we could share your feeling that all that took place in Tucson was an attack upon us "by well-meaning people, who apparently didn't know all the facts." We both, I think, have been tenaciously willing throughout the past two years to put that interpretation upon most of the attacks leveled against us. In this case, however, we encountered an entirely different sort of thing: the withholding of known facts from the public; or, where they could not be withheld, the deliberate branding of them as irrelevant. It would be silly for any one of us to pretend that the anti-Communist cause is not burdened with its share of "problem personalities" -- and we'd say that in Tucson we encountered, in positions of influence within the Legion, a prize example or two. Notice that we don't make this statement apply to all the Legion members or even to anything approximating a majority. We'd say with strong conviction that most of the members were either uninformed or did not attach, early enough, enough importance to the situation into which they were being negotiated -- and within which they subsequently found themselves embarrassingly trapped, all of them having to take the brunt of public amusement, and a rough overhauling by the press, because of what a very few had contrived.

The theory of well-meaning ignorance breaks down in this instance on the fact that Mr. Lewis Mills, Chairman of the Americanism Committee, has been generously and patiently working on the problem ever since last July, cooperating warmly with Mrs. Jeffries and having access to all facts: facts that he took time and trouble to make well known in turn to other key figures within the Post. He, unfortunately, was in the hospital when we were there and unable to make his sane influence felt. We have just learned that he has written a strong letter of protest about the whole thing to Commander Evans and has threatened to resign his post on account of what took place. We hope he will not resign. He represents at a fine level the best that the Legion stands for and his influence is needed. As we said in our letter to Mr. O'Neil, the vote in the Americanism Committee (even with Mr. Mills absent, and his influence therefore not brought to bear in a moment of trumped-up crisis) was ten for referring the case to the Executive Committee, eight against, and six not voting. While an effort was made on the TV show to leave the public with the impression that all the key votes were unanimous, these figures tell a different story.

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Another part of the same story is found in the fact that after our final institute session, on the second evening we were there, one distinguished member of the Legion -- distinguished within the community at large -- sent up to Mrs. Jeffries, to be read to the audience, his personal apology to us for what had happened.

We're not trying to prove anything about the righteousness of our own cause! That cause has to stand on its own merits -- and we will, whenever occasion requires, do what we did in Tucson: namely, go directly to press and public with our documents in hand, including our sworn statement to the House Committee, and let them hear or read them. We have confidence enough in both press and public to stand by the judgment they then make upon us. What bothers us deeply in Tucson is something else altogether -- and it is here, we believe, that Mr. O'Neil has a great work to do. The significant cleavage there is not between us and the Legion. In a sense, that is of little importance. We may run into similar trouble each time we go to speak there; but if we are invited by groups we have learned deeply to care about, we will go and handle the trouble as it comes along. The cleavages that are serious -- and that do not date from this incident -- are between the Legion and the Tucson public, because of far too many past instances in which free and independent organizations have felt that one element within the Legion was trying to exert a dictatorship over their programs -- while disclaiming any such action; and within the Legion itself, deeply split along lines of both personality and policy. It is there that the work of healing is to be done -- and it has to be done in depth. This task of healing is what Mr. O'Neil has cut out for him -- and we hopefully believe that he is well equal to it!

Now for the Fritchman business. You speak of him decisively as a "Red agent." We have not had information on which to base any such judgment -- but we know that you must have or you would not thus categorize him. We have heard him called a Communist -- but as we have also heard ourselves called Communists, as well as well-nigh countless numbers of other people to whom the term does not apply, we would not have thought the attaching of this label a sufficient reason to cancel a lecture at his Church. We have known that he advocated standing on the Fifth Amendment ^{when} or that he did advocate it several years ago, on the only occasion ^{when} we met him before last Friday evening. We have ourselves strongly rejected any such policy. We feel that the open answering of open questions is the way of the mind's integrity. Also, however, we know that many fine people, several years ago, were sufficiently worried and confused by the methods of Congressional investigation to disagree with us on this matter without being Communists. Again, therefore, when we found that our agent had, in the normal course of events, responded to a request from Dr. Fritchman's church -- one among many churches and Jewish temples at which we have spoken -- we were mildly regretful, doubting that he and we would be talking the same language of method, but we were certainly in no position to denounce him and cancel the lecture.

Besides, there's another value involved here -- and one that is deeply important to us. We belong, for better or worse, but with strong conviction, to two different traditions -- our religious tradition and the tradition of teaching. Neither of these has ever held that the only people to whom one should speak the truth as he sees it are the already "saved." Dr. Fritchman is one individual. But what of the five or six hundred people in a position to be regularly influenced by him? Should we simply have said that, having come under his influence, they should "be left to stew in their own juice?" We were, frankly, aware enough of the fact that he and we would, so far as investigations were concerned, be of different schools of thought to do a good deal of talking between ourselves about the best way to handle the engagement. Some months ago, for example, we wrote to the forum chairman suggesting as our topic for the evening, "The Mind's Health in an Age of Conspiracy." He wrote back perfectly reasonably that while he was sure that topic would be interesting to the group they had already, by unanimous decision of their forum committee, selected and publicized a strictly psychological topic from the list sent them by our agent: "Exploring the Motives of Men." He felt that since there had been this wish to have us present a basic psychological lecture, a change would leave their program for the season unsupplied with a lecture he felt the audience wanted.

So we, knowing that any psychological topic dealing with human personality and behavior leaves ample room for distinguishing between democratic and totalitarian values, simply went ahead as we would with any other lecture. We did not expect to find ourselves in an altogether congenial atmosphere so far as the leadership was concerned -- although we would stress again the fact that we have not had at our disposal evidence of Dr. Fritchman's being a "Red agent," but only of his disagreeing with us about investigations and the way to respond to them. We met an audience of, roughly, six hundred people. We did, I think, a solid job in our own field of expertness -- and had a reasonably cordial response.

Then, however, came the part of the evening when we began to realize how remote our thinking was from that of a considerable portion of the audience: namely, the question period. Of the questions written out and handed up to us an overwhelming number sounded as though they had come from residual exponents of late nineteenth century Socialism: the anti-capitalistic platitudes wore beards as hoary as do the oak trees in the deep South. They differed from questions that would have been asked in my early childhood only in the mild regard they paid to our psychological subject: that is to say, they took the tone of doubting that sound personality or sound human relationships could develop under the capitalistic system. Well, these questions, needless to say, gave us an opportunity that our topic had scarcely given us -- and I think you will be interested in the fact that the only outburst of spontaneous applause in the course of the evening came in response to Harry's strong defense of capitalism and his analysis of the difference between capitalism as it now operates in fact and the conception of it held by many Europeans and encouraged among those Europeans by Communists. At the end of the evening, moreover a whole drove of the younger audience members gathered on the platform

-1-

and asked not hostile but interested questions that let us probe further this line of thought.

Where does this sort of experience leave us? Frankly, we don't know. Robert Frost once profoundly observed that most of the conflicts in life are not between good and evil but between conflicting goods -- and we would say that a lecture engagement of this sort well illustrates his point. One "good" might have been served if we had had far more evidence than he did have about Dr. Fritchman's beliefs and if we had in consequence stated that we did not care to speak under such auspices. We did not have any evidence of a sort that would have justified our taking such a stand. And besides there is that other competing "good" -- the good of bringing to an audience of several hundred people points of view not those they customarily hear. As chronic teachers -- "missionaries," if you will-- this latter "good" is tremendously important to us.

I go into more detail than is really necessary about this because we trust your sincere concern for our reputations and we know that there may be a point beyond which we may prove to be difficult "sinners!" Our deepest impulse when we have a conviction is to spread it abroad through the legitimate channels of our work -- and that means to us, in a profound sense, that we must run certain risks where our reputations are concerned. There is not, we would guess, the slightest chance (or danger, if you will) of our ever again being invited to the Fritchman church after the things we said there the other night. That is to say, if he is indeed a "Red agent" or even strongly slanted toward Communism, we will never be invited again. But we cannot say that we will turn down chances to talk to audiences that we have reason to think have been unduly influenced by pro-Communists or even by confused liberals -- if such chances come. One of the prices a person has to pay for having beliefs that he wants to convert into widespread beliefs is that of being seen sometimes in the company of "publicans and sinners." He cannot merely enjoy the luxury of companionship with those who already agree with him, who have never been influenced toward an opposite view, and who therefore make him feel fine and comfortable about what he says. It's our "missionary" heritage, darn it!! Having become convinced of a few elemental facts -- that Communism is the prime danger to the human future; that congressional investigations are absolutely ~~absolutely~~ essential; that any attacks upon them must be in the nature of reasonable efforts to reform specific methods and not in the nature of blanket efforts to condemn them; that all our psychological insights into human nature and its needs stand as irrefutable arguments for democracy -- we will be "preaching" our doctrine (as, alas, all missionaries insistently do) to all the audiences offered to us. Does not this course seem to you yourself the only one that does justice to the democratic imperative?

Thanks again for your letter. I'm sorry to have had to inflict so interminable -- and possibly confused -- and answer. But it's not intended as any argument against anything you said -- merely as an effort to think with you when three thousand miles ~~intervene~~ intervene. Do have a good holiday season -- both of you.

Bonaro W. Overstreet

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI REGISTERED

DATE: 1/25/54

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-37154)

ATTENTION: ASSISTANT TO THE
DIRECTOR, L. B. NICHOLSSUBJECT: BONARO W. OVERSTREET;
HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Mr. and Mrs. OVERSTREET called at the San Francisco Office on 1/12/54, to express their appreciation of the fine manner in which they had been treated by representatives of the FBI, both in San Francisco and in Washington, D.C., when they talked to Mr. LOUIS B. NICHOLS. At this time the OVERSTREETs indicated the possibility of their writing a book, at an indefinite future date, concerning their experiences in being labeled Communists, and their experience in rectifying such a wrong. It was indicated that the theme of their book would be "rediscovery of America." The OVERSTREETs indicated that they would submit their book to Mr. NICHOLS at the Bureau for approval before publication in accordance with their discussion with him.

In connection with another investigation on 1/13/54, Mrs. STEPHEN KRAMER, 10 Stetson Road, Mill Valley, California, indicated that she had received an inquiry from the OVERSTREETs for quotations of statements made concerning them, accusing them of disloyalty, at an Episcopal Church gathering in the Spring of 1953. The OVERSTREETs indicated that they desired the information for a publication which they were preparing concerning accusations against them in various parts of the United States, and their attempt to rectify the injustice.

The San Francisco Office will take no action on this matter and it is being furnished to the Bureau for information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SPBBTJ/CSL
245,472

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INT SEC

OBTAINED

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
26 HEDEN'S LANE
MILL VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

February 3, 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-96 BY SP8BTJ/COL
245,472

Dear Mr. Nichols,

Our warm thanks again for your word to Mr. Pennington and your suggestion that we send him the book. It will be in his hands by now -- for whatever he may think of it.

Scarcely a day passes, it seems, without something happening -- within our own minds, or in the outside world of events -- that we wish we could talk over with you. Trying to find out how to invite our friends to come with us into some of the new areas of our "creative anxiety" is exciting business -- and delicate business, too -- and the sort of business that makes us keep at the job of learning.

At least, we do begin to know, by mind and heart, what the deep perplexities and sincere anxieties are that will have to be resolved before liberals, on the one hand, and those concerned with Congressional investigations, on the other, can talk cordial and mutually supportive sense to each other. And to learn even this much is, perhaps, a good beginning.

We plan to be in Washington the week of April twelfth -- and perhaps also for an interval of a few days in late March. So once again we will be asking for a chance to come in and tell you where we think we are heading in our next major work project -- and, again, borrow your insight. We'll be leaving here early in March on a long cross-country lecture trip that will bring us to New York around March 20th, and keep us in the East for about a month. In terms of actual lectures it won't be a heavy tour this time; and we are expecting to combine it with other types of work that are, in fact, the real reason for the tour.

Mr. Overstreet joins me in warm greetings.

Sincerely,

100-11422-25
25 FEB 5 1954

Bonaro Overstreet

We dropped in at the San Francisco FBI one day recently and had a chance to bring Mr. Melvin (with whom we talked last Spring) up to date on some of our experiences since then -- and our consequent explorations and plannings.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, San Francisco (100-37154)

SUBJECT: BONARO W. OVERSTREET;
HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: 3/12/54

9530

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

ATTENTION: Assistant to the Director
L. B. NICHOLS

DATE 5-19-86
245,472

As a result of a chance meeting with the OVERSTREETs on March 4, 1954, at Mill Valley, California, they advised they would be in Washington, D. C., for ten days following April 12, 1954, during which period they desired to again see Mr. LOUIS B. NICHOLS. The OVERSTREETs indicated they would be residing at the Dodge Hotel and that they would possibly phone for an appointment on April 2, 1954, when they would pass through Washington, D. C.

The OVERSTREETs indicated they desired to talk with Mr. NICHOLS concerning the new book which they are preparing in which they would use as a prologue their experiences in being labeled Communists and their attempts to rectify that injustice.

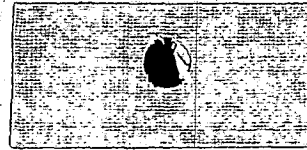
The OVERSTREETs related that their book, "The Mind Alive," which was published by W. W. Norton Company, New York City, during the past few months, contains two chapters which deal in a small way with Communism. According to the OVERSTREETs, the theme of the book concerns a person's emotional well-being. The two chapters which relate to Communism in this book are, "The Mind's Health in an Age of Conspiracy," in which they describe Communism as a major problem in the field of emotional health, and "Coping With Conspiracy," in which there is a discussion of the various attempts presently being made to cope with the Communist problem.

The San Francisco Office will take no action in this matter, and it is being furnished for the information of the Bureau.

WHW:mjw

REGISTERED

RECORDED - 12 1/00 - 114575 - 26
MAR 15 1954



MAILED

NOV 19 1954

NAME CHECK

November 19, 1954

HARRY ALLEN OVERSTREET

Born: 1875

San Francisco, California

BONARO WILKINSON OVERSTREET

Born: 1902

Geyserville, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

245,472

G. I. R.

In response to your request there are attached hereto two reports reflecting an investigation conducted by this Bureau in 1942 and 1943, pertaining to the captioned individuals.

It has been reliably reported that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has information in its files pertaining to the captioned individuals and a sworn affidavit by Dr. Harry A. Overstreet in clarification and explanation of this material in the Committee's files.

The foregoing information is furnished to you as a result of your request for an FBI file check and is not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of the individual involved. This information is furnished for your use and should not be disseminated outside of your agency.

Attachment

Note: Paul J. McNichol, Chief, Investigations Division, United States Information Agency, RR 11-9-54 telephonically advised on November 9, 1954, that he is in possession of information contained in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities pertaining to the captioned individuals and of the material set out in the sworn affidavit by Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, above mentioned.

It is noted that on May 26, 1953, Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet were afforded an interview by Assistant to the Director L. B. Nichols and that the Overstreets have corresponded with Mr. Nichols intermittently from the date of the interview. The last letter from the Overstreets to Mr. Nichols, as reflected in the file, is dated February 3, 1954.

Information pertaining to the receipt of instant name check requests from USIA and this memo in response thereto were made available to Mr. Nichols prior to dissemination.

RECORDED-99 13 NOV 19 1954

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

MATERIAL FROM THE FILES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES - U.S. REPRESENTATIVES - FURNISHED AT REQUEST OF MR. NICHOLS.



the Brown hotel

BROADWAY AT FOURTH AVE.

November 11, 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Mr. Nichols, DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJT/CAL
245,472

We drove down here today from Michigan, for lectures tomorrow, and found awaiting us the attached copy of the letter which came to our lecture agency from the Dallas lawyer. This copy was sent me by Miss Dillon, of Walden Programs, for whom the Miss Tuohy to whom the lawyer addresses his letter acts as a regional agent.

I am including, also, just for background, a copy of a June 20th letter from Mrs. Bell, whose office as program chairman of the Guild made her the correspondent. The contract is signed by a Mrs. Luther Jordan, Jr., President of the Guild. We had one later note from Mrs. Bell -- dated August 17th -- stating that she had made our hotel reservation, and giving us their choice of topic. This letter ended with the sentence, "We are eagerly anticipating this splendid evening and have had much interest in your work expressed." Between that August date and this past Monday afternoon, when Miss Dillon phoned us about the lawyer's letter, we had no word whatever -- nor did we suppose there was any need for additional word. Our schedule was set up in terms of our arriving in Dallas in time for the lecture -- and that was that. So your guess is as good as ours about what has taken place in the meantime. But since any normal reason for cancellation would immediately and courteously be conveyed by ~~ENCLOSURE~~ organization itself, we can fairly assume that whatever has been said and done down there has not been calculated to do us or our reputations any good. The fact that

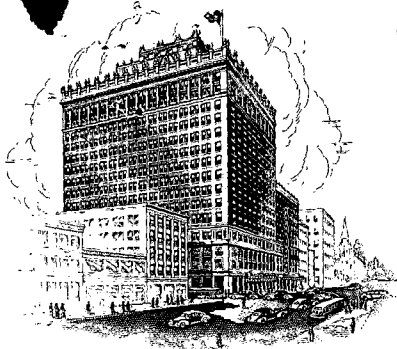


RECORDED-41

EX-125

100-114575-28
13 NOV 29 1954

INT. SEC.



the Brown hotel

BROADWAY AT FOURTH AVE.

Louisville 2,

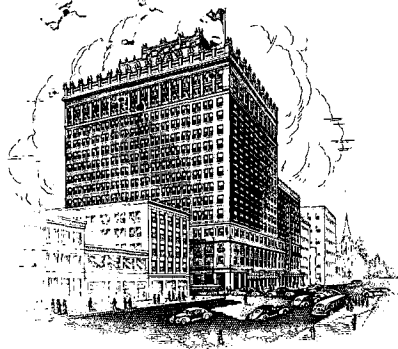
Kentucky

they waited so late to open up the question of our coming, or to voice an objection, would seem further to indicate, shall we say, less than amiable intentions. Even if we were inclined to fight the cancellation -- which we aren't, in legal terms -- we could not possibly do so now in time to straighten out the matter before the 19th. For the days that remain are scheduled to the brim, and we could not divert our energies from doing our job to the putting of pressure upon a reluctant sponsor. (We wouldn't anyway.)

It's hard to know what to do in a case like this. It differs in two basic respects from the situation we met in Tucson. There, our sponsor stood valiantly by us -- and never thought of doing otherwise; and there we knew the source and nature of what was being said about us. Here, since Mrs. Bell has not answered yet the letter we wrote after our talk with Miss Dillon on the phone, we do not know the sponsor's role in the whole thing. Nor do we know from what group the opposition to us stems. We could make some guesses that might be good guesses -- but they also might be wrong.

As of now, the lecture is cancelled with no objection from us. But from here on in, we take over in our own way -- which can be a leisurely way. There's nothing at stake that can't wait -- so far as we know. Our present plan is to go to Dallas on schedule, on the 19th, so that we at least are living up to the exact letter of the contract we signed; and Mrs. Bell will be appraised of this fact. Once there, we'll do a bit of scouting -- which should be possible, since Dallas is not an altogether strange city to us. In long range terms -- next Spring, or next Fall -- we will plan to go there under the auspices of a





the Brown hotel

BROADWAY AT FOURTH AVE.

Louisville 2,

Kentucky

sponsor who understands the whole situation in advance and will stand by regardless of pressure. This, we suspect, will not be a too difficult arrangement to set up -- and it should provide an occasion for objections to be made in the open if they are going to be made at all. If they are made, it will also provide an occasion, like that in Tucson, where we could speak directly to the Dallas public; and as you know, we're strongly inclined to trust the public. The whole thing might be a lot more unpleasant than in Tucson, for we very much doubt, from what we know about them, that the newspapers would give us the warm support we had out there. But somehow we can't let this sort of anonymous, unexplained attack upon us and our work just slide into limbo. Or so it seems to us now. We wish we could sit down in our two chairs in your office and think about it aloud!

On Saturday, we head back to Chicago, with Ohio and other Illinois points on the way, and will reach the Allerton Hotel again on the 16th. In Dallas on the 19th, and probably a couple of days thereafter, our address will be the Highlander Hotel.

Again, apologies of sorts for thrusting this upon you; and again, please know we are not trying to involve you in any action. But this sort of experience is at best a lonely sort of one, and disturbing, and it helps a lot just to know that you know what we're up to. We hope we don't do something stupid!

Cordially,

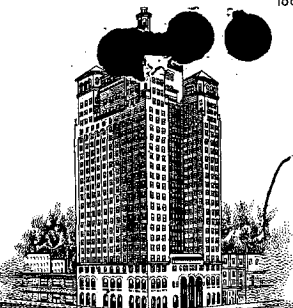
Genaro Overstreet



R. C. A. RADIO SPEAKER
IN EACH ROOM

1000 OUTSIDE ROOMS IN THE HEART OF THE NEW
"MAGNIFICENT MILE"

ALLERTON HOTEL



701 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO 11

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

October 30th

DATE 5-19-86

BY SP8BTJ/csl

Dear Mr. Nichols 245472

Your nice letter was
here when we came in
yesterday from the
Wisconsin-Nebraska circuit.
I guess it goes without
saying that we'd be more
than happy "missionaries"
in any area you wanted
to suggest that was also
one in which we could
feel even remotely
competent. For competent

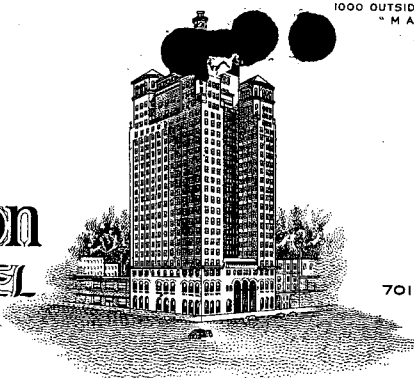
JOHN P. HARDING
Hotel
MANAGEMENT
KEN WILLIAMS, MGR. DIR.

100-114575-28
13 NOV 29 1954

R.C.A. RADIO SPEAKER
IN EACH ROOM

1000 OUTSIDE ROOMS IN THE HEART OF THE NEW
"MAGNIFICENT MILE"

ALLERTON HOTEL



701 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO 11

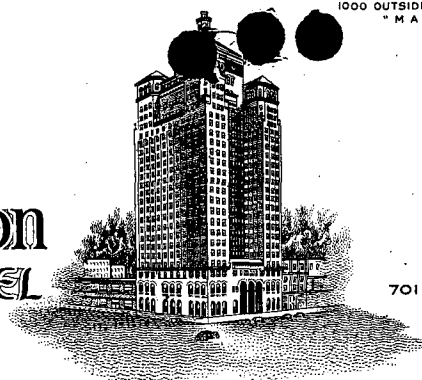
To become competent.
We're sorry the schedule
won't bring us to Washington
Till April first. That seems
a long time away. But
when we do come then
we'll be here long enough
six weeks or so - that you
can fit us into your
"spare" intervals. Meanwhile
if there's any suggestion
you want to make, by
"absent treatment," just

JOHN P. HARDING
Hotel
MANAGEMENT
KEN WILLIAMS, MGR. DIR.

R. C. A. RADIO SPEAKER
IN EACH ROOM

1000 OUTSIDE ROOMS IN THE HEART OF THE NEW
"MAGNIFICENT MILE"

ALLERTON HOTEL



701 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO 11

write us: at the above
address until the middle
of the month (though
we'll be coming and
going). Also — if it ever
developed that you
specifically wanted us,
we'd probably find
some time when we
could somehow get
there.

JOHN R. HARDING
STREET
MANAGEMENT
KEN WILLIAMS, Mgr. Dir.

Greetings from both of
us. Bonaro Creswell

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: Nov. 22, 1954

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

^{MRS} DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET AND
BONARO W. OVERSTREET

^{HARRY} Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet are elderly people. They are probably the foremost authorities on adult education in the United States and are authors of popular books dealing with personal psychology, etc.

^{BONARO} Years ago, Dr. Overstreet got mixed up with some leftwing groups and the Overstreets came to Washington approximately three years ago to do what they could to straighten out the record. The information pertaining to them was coming out of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. They called at the Bureau and I saw them. I told them we would be glad to make a matter of record anything they desired and suggested that since the data was coming from the House Committee, they go to the House Committee, which they did do and filed affidavits answering various allegations. In addition, the Overstreets went to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and Bob Morris used them on a couple of occasions as witnesses. They were very effective in testifying against the Communist aims in education.

In two recent books they have devoted considerable space to the evils of Communism and have spent considerable time going around the country telling of their experiences with the investigative process and taking strong exception to those who are critical of the investigative process. There is no question in my mind but that they have done the Bureau considerable good among honest liberal groups. They write to me quite frequently to tell of their plans, etc. I, in turn, have been egging them on against the Communists who seek the mantle of the liberal.

They have had two bad experiences in the last year; one at Tucson, Arizona, where the local American Legion filed protests and a speaking engagement was cancelled. They subsequently met with the American Legion, gave their side of the case and the charges were withdrawn.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:MP

(4)

Tolson ☒
Boardman ☒
Nichols ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☒
Parsons ☒
Rosen ☒
Tamm ☒
 Sizoo ☒
Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE

5/19/86 6598BTJK
245472

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION

RECORDED-41
EX-125

NOV 28 1954

68 DEC 1 199

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

The Overstreets have recently been in touch with me when an engagement in Dallas, Texas, was cancelled on November 19th, without giving any explanation. They went on down to Texas to face the issue and I am attaching hereto various communications which I have received from them. It appears that some one member of the American Legion filed with the committee that was sponsoring their appearance the old House Committee charges. The House Committee on November 17th got up a memorandum on the United World Federalists which set forth the information in their files. Page 24 through page 39 contains the charges against the Overstreets and the Overstreets' explanations and statements.

There is no question in my mind but that if any one was ever duped through naievety, it is the Overstreets and I think they are doing their utmost in trying to redeem themselves. Certainly, in my opinion, such actions as that taken down in Dallas cannot help but hurt the anti-Communist fight among liberal-minded people, particularly if the Overstreets were of the type (which they are not) of airing their treatment.

In the letter which Mrs. Overstreet wrote yesterday, which I received today, she stated they were speaking in a church in Dallas on Monday night, November 22nd, would go into the cancellation of the contract and state their position and then give the lecture they had originally been booked to give. There is not much more they could do under these circumstances.

I am submitting this memorandum in order that there be a record of the complete background of their explanations, together with the correspondence which they have sent to me.

I have made it clear to the Overstreets we, of course, could do nothing about the difficulties in Dallas.

W. J. F.

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: November 17, 1954

FOR: Honorable Harold H. Velde

SUBJECT: United World Federalists, Inc.

The subject organization has never been cited as subversive by any official government agency. The following information from the public records, files, and publications of this committee should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by, or findings of, the committee. It should be noted that individuals mentioned herein are not necessarily Communists, Communist sympathizers, or fellow travelers, unless otherwise indicated.

The following is quoted from a leaflet ("UWF") published by United World Federalists, Inc.:

"UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS . . . Is a national membership organization of 25,000 people. It is organized by State Branches and local Chapters. There are 27 State Branches; over 350 Chapters.

"UWF is the result of the consolidation in 1947 of five smaller organizations. [According to an article in the Washington Evening Star, April 4, 1947, p. A-16, the organizations which merged to form UWF were the following: Americans United for World Government, World Federalists, Student Federalists, Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, and World Citizens of Georgia.] It has worldwide contacts (except in Communist countries) through the world movement for World Federal Government.

"Membership in UWF is open to any American except persons Communist or Fascist oriented.

"National Headquarters, in New York City, conducts the business of the organization; maintains liaison with the United Nations, and with other organizations; stimulates field activities; provides speakers; directs educational and publicity programs.

"A national legislative office . . . maintains liaison with Congress, governmental agencies and the Washington offices of other organizations interested in the achievement of world order.

"UWF is owned and run by its members. Its top administrative body is its National Assembly which meets annually and at which all members are represented. Between Assemblies the organization is run by the National Executive Council which is composed of members elected by the Assembly and of members designated by the Branches and Chapters. . . .

"POLICY: The policy of United World Federalists, Inc. -- a non-partisan, non-profit organization for support and development of the United Nations into a world federal government with limited powers adequate to assure peace. As adopted by UWF's National Assembly, Philadelphia, June 1952. . . .

"MEMBERSHIP . . . UWF recognizes that a limited world government must bring people of various ideologies throughout the world together under a rule of law. However, as a United States organization . . . 'UWF will not knowingly admit or permit as members persons who are Communist or Fascist or others who seek to overthrow the government of, or in the interest of a foreign power seek to weaken, the United States, or to change its form of government by other than constitutional means.' By laws of the United World Federalists, Inc."

100-14575-28

It is noted that none of the organizations which merged to form UWF has ever been cited as subversive by any official government agency.

The "Policy & Platform for '53-'54" published by UWF says, in part:

"Modern warfare imposes crushing economic burdens and threatens to destroy the rights, freedoms and lives of Americans and of all mankind.

"As men in the past created national governments to provide the security local governments could not assure, so we must now create a limited world federal government to give all people the protection against war which is no longer within the power of national governments.

"To this end, we call for the support and strengthening of the United Nations and for such amendments of its Charter as will enable it to achieve universal disarmament enforced under adequate safeguards, thus preventing aggression and making possible a world at peace under law."

In Newsweek magazine (October 18, 1948, p. 36), United World Federalists, Inc., was described as "the nation's biggest world-government group. . . ."

A recent letterhead of the organization shows that the office of National Headquarters is located at 125 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y. The Washington office is at 261 Constitution Avenue, N. W. The Washington representative has offered the full cooperation of his group to this committee at any time it should become necessary.

A feature article in The Worker (Sunday edition of the Communist Daily Worker), March 19, 1950, p. 5, magazine section, is entitled "The World Government Plan" by Frieda F. Halpern. It says; in part:

"The slogan for 'world government,' whatever it may mean to many honest advocates of peace, is, in reality, but a reflection in the area of political ideology of the aspirations of American foreign policy to dominate the world. This slogan, with its promise of a peaceful world, represents, in reality, a movement toward American world empire. How can a slogan, which has rallied thousands who reject the concept of American imperialism, be at the same time for peace and for world empire? The key to this seeming riddle is to be found, not in the membership of the 'world government' organizations but in their sponsorship. There, among the sponsors, one will find as fine a collection of the monopolists, military men and anti-Soviet careerists as can be found anywhere, together with university presidents, National Democratic and Republican Committeemen, and churchmen, the whole adding up to a sponsorship both very 'respectable' and most obviously non-radical. The 'world government' movement in the United States is sponsored by a number of organizations, each with its own particular form of 'world government' and each having Russia on the brain." [Among the organizations listed for condemnation in the article is United World Federalists.]

The Cominform organ, "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy," for April 7, 1950, carries an article entitled "Struggle of Communist Parties Against Bourgeois Ideology," from which the following is quoted:

"American imperialists, together with the bourgeoisie and the Right Socialists in the Marshallized countries are trampling ever more cynically and openly upon the national sentiments of peoples, and oppose the idea of national sovereignty. They seek to poison the working class with the venom of cosmopolitanism to make it submit to the rule of American monopolists."

The following is quoted from an article which appeared in the July 1949 issue (p. 64) of Political Affairs, theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA, reprinted from the Moscow New Times of April 6, 1949 (No. 15):

"False chatter of a universal culture and science, of a 'world government,' of a United States of Europe and even of the whole world, serves in practice as a screen for the dissemination and propagation of slavish crawling before the venal science of the dollar and decaying bourgeois culture, belief in the charlatan myths about the vaunted 'American way of life,' receptivity to any blackmail of piratical Wall Street diplomacy."

The Washington Post, November 23, 1949, p. 4, reported the following:

"Dr. Harold C. Urey, atomic physicist and Nobel prize winner, today announced that he had resigned his position as a United World Federalist director because he cannot agree with the UWF stand on Russia.

"'Democracy and tyranny cannot work together,' the University of Chicago professor said. 'Not until the Russian dictatorship is gone can we accept Russia as a partner in world government.'"

The following comment on Dr. Urey's resignation appeared in an article by Adam Lapin (Daily People's World, December 21, 1949, p. 6):

"Dr. Urey recently resigned as a member of the United World Federalists because that organization is not sufficiently anti-Soviet to suit him. For all the vagaries and loose-ends of the group's program, it apparently seeks a world government in which the Soviet Union will be a member. Dr. Urey says the Soviet Union should be excluded. . . ."

A recent letterhead of United World Federalists, Inc., lists the following officers:

President	Norman Cousins
Chairman Executive Council	Pierce Butler, Jr.
Vice Chairman Executive Council	Mrs. Sally G. Bray
Vice Presidents	
Grenville Clark	George H. Olmsted
Hon. William O. Douglas	Walter P. Reuther
Oscar Hammerstein II	Robert E. Sherwood
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman	
Secretary	J. A. Migel
Treasurer	Duncan M. Spencer
Controller	Randolph P. Compton
Counsel	Abraham Wilson
Executive Director	Helen A. Shuford.

National Advisory Board

Hon. Florence Allen	O. A. Knight	Dr. John Wesley Raley
Dr. Harrison Brown	Walter P. Miller, Jr.	Rt. Rev. Bernard J. Sheil
Arthur H. Bunker	Bradshaw Mintener	Rt. Rev. Henry K. Sherrill
James B. Carey	Rev. Philip S. Moore	Dr. Ralph Sockman
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	H. J. Muller	Dr. Wesley Sturges
Rev. Edward A. Conway	Lewis Mumford	F. R. von Windegger
Whitwell W. Coxe	Donald Nelson	Hon. Robert N. Wilkin
Dr. Albert Einstein	Harry A. Overstreet	Hon. G. Mennen Williams
John Farrar	Grove Patterson	Hon. Luther W. Youngdahl
H. K. Guinzburg	James G. Patton	J. D. Zellerbach
Robert Lee Humber		

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning individuals named in the foregoing list:

Key:

*(p. _) Indicates page number of previous citation herein.

¹Redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

²Included on consolidated list of organizations previously designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, compiled from memoranda of the Attorney General dated April 29, July 15, September 28, 1953, and January 22, 1954.

James B. Carey

Mr. Carey was a featured speaker at the National Convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, CIO, held in Cleveland, Ohio (Communist Daily Worker, September 3, 1940, p. 1). He was reelected president of the union at that convention (Daily Worker, September 4, 1940, p. 1; September 5, 1940, p. 4; New Masses, September 17, 1940, p. 18). He testified at hearings before a special subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor during an investigation of Communist infiltration of the UERMWA (hearings held during September and October 1948), identifying himself as Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, pp. 18 and 19, listed the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America among the twenty-one CIO unions in which the committee had found Communist leadership "strongly entrenched." The 1949 convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations expelled the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers from the CIO on grounds of Communist domination (press release, 12th CIO Constitutional Convention, November 20-24, 1950).

After the expulsion of the UERMWA, the CIO set up a "new anti-Communist" electrical union, and at an organizational convention held in Philadelphia formally approved the name International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and the identifying initials IUE-CIO. "The convention inserted in the constitution of the new union clauses barring Communists or adherents of other totalitarian organizations from holding national or local office" (New York Times, December 1, 1949, p. 3).

A letterhead (dated January 12, 1950) in the files of this committee names Mr. Carey as Chairman of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE-CIO).

An article in the Washington Times Herald, April 16, 1953, p. 6, reported that "James B. Carey, president of the CIO Electrical Workers Union, told the House labor committee yesterday . . . he knew there were Communists trying to run the independent U.E. when he was president but that he stayed with the union in the hope he could get them out. He was unsuccessful, he said, and was defeated for the union presidency in 1941. But he remained a member of the union until it was expelled by the CIO, he said."

A report in the Daily People's World (west coast organ of the Communist Party), October 13, 1952, p. 3, said that "under impetus from red-baiting union buster James B. Carey, a new 'anti-Communist' organization was being projected today by the Los Angeles CIO Council." The organization was described as "a chapter of Carey's latest brain child, the so-called Negro Labor Committee, U.S.A." which "he said frankly, is being designed to counteract the influence nationally of the Negro Labor Council . . ." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Annual Report for 1952 (p. 11), stated: "The National Negro Labor Council is a Communist-front organization, designed to infiltrate communism into Negro life" and "by accusing established labor organizations of overlooking the needs of the Negroes, it hopes to capture more Negroes for communism."7

Reference to Mr. Carey is found in this committee's report "100 Things You Should Know About Communism," released May 14, 1951, as follows:

"96. What's a good program for an American union man against Communism?

Here is one given by James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO:

Full exposure of the Communists, plus a strong progressive policy 'far in advance of the bogus progressivism of the Communists.' . . ." (p. 86).

Mr. Carey was chairman of a CIO delegation which visited the Soviet Union as guests of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in return for a visit paid to the United States by a Soviet trade union delegation invited by the CIO. Mr. Carey's impressions concerning this trip (made in October 1945) were quoted in a Communist magazine, Masses and Mainstream, as follows (issue of November 1950, pp. 53 and 54):

"Mr. Carey, speaking for the delegation, said they had 'been deeply moved by the personal warmth and friendship' shown to them by the Soviet workers. He emphasized that no American could himself see the Soviet Union and its peoples without being 'moved by the same feeling of deep human sympathy which we have felt and by the same desire to assist and cooperate in the great tasks in which the Soviet people are now engaged. The delegation, said Mr. Carey, was especially impressed by the manner in which 'the Soviet trade unions . . . promoted the interests of the workers' and by the 'many activities of a social welfare and cultural character and the comprehensive nature of the social security system which they operate.'"

The Daily Worker of September 3, 1940, p. 4, identified Mr. Carey as a member of the National Council of the Emergency Peace Mobilization at which the American Peace Mobilization was formed. Mr. Carey was a delegate to the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, according to the Daily Worker of January 6, 1939, p. 2. He was nominated for membership on the National Labor Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which was formed at the Congress held in Washington, D. C., January 6-8, 1939 (pamphlet, "7½ Million Speak for Peace"). He spoke on the subject "Labor and Democratic Rights" at a meeting held during the Congress (ibid., p. 46); in this source, he was identified as President, UERMWA, and Secretary, CIO. A letterhead of the American League dated February 8, 1939, named him as a member of the National Labor Committee of the League.

The Emergency Peace Mobilization was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944) and was also cited by the Attorney General of the United States (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684).

The American Congress for Peace and Democracy was cited as a Communist front in the March 29, 1944, report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, p. 105. The American League for Peace and Democracy, was cited by the Special Committee as the "largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States" (reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; January 2, 1943; March 29, 1944). The Attorney General cited the League as a Communist front and included it on lists of subversive and Communist organizations furnished the Loyalty Review Board (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684; press releases of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, June 1 and September 21, 1948, respectively).^{1 and 2}

The Call to a Conference on Civil Rights, April 20 and 21, 1940, p. 3, issued by the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, named James B. Carey as one of the speakers at the conference. "When the American League for Peace and Democracy was dissolved in February 1940 its successor in Washington was called the Washington Committee for Democratic Action" (Special Committee, reports of June 25, 1942, p. 22, and March 29, 1944, p. 143). The Attorney General cited the Washington Committee for Democratic Action as an "affiliate" or "local chapter" of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7688 and 7689) and as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).^{1 and 2}

Mr. Carey was one of the sponsors of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, according to the program of the conference, dated February 12, 1940. That Conference was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as being among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Report 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3). The organization was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 96 and 129).

In the call to the New York Model Legislature of Youth, issued by the American Youth Congress for January 28-30, 1938, James Carey is shown as one of those who signed the call; he was identified as President, UERMWA. In the proceedings of the American Youth Congress, July 1-5, 1939, p. 48, he was named as Vice-Chairman. "Youth Defends America," a report of the Sixth American Youth Congress, July 3-7, 1940, reveals (p. 44) that he was elected vice-chairman of the group.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities reported that the American Youth Congress was "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" (report of June 25, 1942, p. 16; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1941; March 29, 1944). It was cited by the U. S. Attorney General as being "controlled by Communists" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685) and as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).¹ and ²

Mr. Carey was a member of the organizing committee of the World Youth Congress (Daily Worker, April 4, 1938, p. 3) and a delegate from the United States to the Second World Youth Congress, August 16-23, 1938 (report of the Congress entitled "Youth Demands a Peaceful World"). The World Youth Congress was cited as "a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944, p. 183; also cited in report of January 3, 1939, p. 82).

A mimeographed list of signers, attached to a letterhead of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (dated January 17, 1940), named Mr. Carey as one who signed a petition circulated by that organization urging that a legislative investigating committee be discontinued. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers (reports of June 25, 1942, p. 13, and March 29, 1944, p. 87).

The Daily Worker of November 11, 1940, p. 1, reported that "over 100 outstanding officials of CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood unions" had "wired President Roosevelt urging him to intercede in behalf of four imprisoned officials of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union (CIO)." The International Fur and Leather Workers Union (CIO) was first cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of January 3, 1940, p. 13. Its report of March 29, 1944, p. 18, stated that the union was among those in which the committee had found "Communist leadership" was "strongly entrenched." The union was expelled from CIO (effective June 15, 1950) on grounds of Communist domination, by vote of the executive board (press release of the 12th CIO convention). The Daily Worker article referred to above stated that the telegram's signatures were obtained under the auspices of the Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights. That organization has been cited as a Communist front which, jointly with the International Labor Defense, supported and defended Communist Party leaders of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union when they were serving prison terms (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944, pp. 125 and 166).

Activities of Mr. Carey in connection with the World Federation of Trade Unions were described in "Free Trade Union News" for July 1948 (pp. 3, 4, 5, and 7). The Daily Worker of September 19, 1947, p. 5, reported that he had praised the Soviet trade unions, and the Daily People's World of October 11, 1948, p. 6, quoted him in a statement of cooperation with Soviet trade unions. The World Federation of Trade Unions was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report on the Congress of American Women, October 23, 1949, p. 1, describing it as "part of a solar system of international Communist-front organizations which have been established in recent years."

During its investigation of Communist activities in the Albany, N. Y., area, the Committee on Un-American Activities heard Mr. Patrick Walsh, on July 13, 1953. The following appeared in his testimony (p. 2396 of the printed hearing):

"Mr. Tavenner. What reason was assigned, if you know, by the CIO for leaving the World Federation of Trade Unions?

"Mr. Walsh. Well, the CIO learned the hard way, and after a while it became so obvious that the secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions was more interested in carrying on the work of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union than in real bona fide trade unionism, so James B. Carey, of the CIO, announced that they were leaving the World Federation of Trade Unions because it was dominated by the Communists and that they were continually trying to implement the Communist Party line instead of looking after honest trade-union principles."

The Congress of Industrial Organizations published in pamphlet form an address by James B. Carey which was delivered at Charter Day exercises at Howard University, Washington, D. C., March 2, 1953. The following is quoted from the address, entitled "Time to Get Angry -- A Counter-Offensive to the Attack on American Education":

"* * * For many years we have been fighting the Communists tooth and nail. * * *

"Yet in terms of the attack on American educational institutions, we again find ourselves in agreement with President Conant when he declares:

"There are no known adherents to the Communist Party on our staff and I do not believe there are any disguised Communists either. But even if there were, the damage that would be done to the spirit of this academic community by any investigation . . . aimed at finding a crypto-Communist would be far greater than any conceivable harm such a person might do.' [The foregoing was a reference to the annual report of the then President James Bryant Conant of Harvard University to the Board of Overseers.]

"The crux of our fight against academic probes and investigations lies primarily in the character of the men who conduct them, and their motives.

"First of all, as we of organized labor know from our own experience, virtually all investigations of alleged Communism are conducted by men who are not simply anti-Communist. They are anti-liberal, anti-labor

and pro-reaction.

"Second, virtually all investigations of alleged Communism are conducted by men who cannot understand and refuse to understand the nature of Communism. For them -- and there are many prominent examples -- anti-Communism is purely and obsessively a stepping-stone to prestige, a short-cut to public notice and higher position.

"Third, virtually all such men, who have made careers out of anti-Communism, would -- either wittingly or unwittingly -- straitjacket the American mind in a fashion not far different from the way totalitarianism straitjackets the thinking of its victims. While imagining that they are fighting 'regimentation' of the 'left' they are actually seeking a mental regimentation of the 'right.'" (pp. 8 and 9)

Dr. Rufus E. Clement

The name of Rufus E. Clement appears in the list of signers of a petition issued by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom,* (p. 7) as shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead of that organization dated January 17, 1940.

The following sources name Dr. Clement as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born: Daily Worker, October 28, 1940, p. 3; program, Fifth National Conference, Atlantic City, New Jersey, March 29 and 30, 1941; leaflet, "Sixth National Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, May 9 and 10, 1942," p. 4; an undated letterhead summarizing the 1946 work of the organization; the program and call for a conference, Cleveland, Ohio, October 25 and 26, 1947. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.¹ and ² The Special Committee on Un-American Activities called it "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report of March 29, 1944, p. 155; also cited in report of June 25, 1942, p. 13).

Both the bulletin, "Spot News," p. 1, and an undated folder issued by the American Committee to Save Refugees name Rufus E. Clement as a sponsor of the organization. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Committee to Save Refugees as a Communist front (House Report 1311, March 29, 1944, pp. 49, 112, 129, 133, 138, 167, 180).

Rufus E. Clement was listed "among the 363 outstanding Americans who signed the open letter to the President of the United States sponsored originally by the American Council on Soviet Relations, urging a declaration of war on the Finnish government in the interests of speedy victory by the United Nations over Nazi Germany and its Fascist allies" in an official folder of that organization. The American Council on Soviet Relations was described as "subversive and Communist successor to the Friends of the Soviet Union" by the United States Attorney General (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948).¹ and ²

The Civil Rights Congress was the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated September 2, 1947, which listed Dr. Rufus E.

Clement, President, Atlanta University, as one of the sponsors of the group. In this report the Civil Rights Congress was designated as "an organization dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party. * * * controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it * * *." The organization was cited by the United States Attorney General as subversive and Communist, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.¹ and 2

The Daily Worker of March 18, 1945, p. 2, reported that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties had released a statement hailing the War Department order on Commissions for Communists and listed among the signers of that statement Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University. Attorneys General cited the Federation as subversive and Communist, and as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687; letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).¹ and 2 The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (report of March 29, 1944, p. 50); and the Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as among a "maze of organizations * * * spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (report of September 2, 1947, p. 3).

The National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy) was cited as Communist by the Attorney General, in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released July 21, 1949.¹ and 2 The conference call, January 23-25, 1948, New York City, named Dr. Clement as a sponsor.

The conference call and program (p. 12) of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace named Dr. Clement as a sponsor. The Committee on Un-American Activities prepared and released a Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace which reported that the conference, arranged and conducted by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, was "actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations * * * pyramiding into one inflated front the names which had time and again been used by the Communists as decoys for the entrapment of innocents."

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was made the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, June 16, 1947, in which Rufus E. Clement was listed as a member of the Executive Board. He was also identified as a member of the Executive Board, a Consultant, and a Member at Large, on an official report of the organization. This Committee's report described the group as one "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States" (House Report No. 592, June 12, 1947). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Conference as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds

by which many Communist fronts operate (report of March 29, 1944, p. 147).

Dr. Clement was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as shown in a leaflet published by the organization; a letterhead dated June 12, 1947; a letterhead dated August 11, 1947. The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as "subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A." by the United States Attorney General, in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press release dated December 4, 1947).¹ and ² It was also cited as a Communist "front" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of January 3, 1940, p. 9) and as being "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 14).

The files of this committee contain a "copy of original statement read by Doctor Rufus E. Clement" on a radio broadcast, April 28, 1953, from which the following is quoted:

"In the time which was allotted for the newscast over this station, WBGE, beginning at 9:45 on Monday morning, April 27, 1953 - yesterday -, Mr. Patrick, regular newscaster, raised the question of my fitness for membership on the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta. This is Dr. Rufus E. Clement speaking, candidate from the Third Ward in the city-wide May 13, 1953, primary election. At my request, Station WBGE has granted me the time in which to offer my side of the story.

"Mr. Patrick's statement said that an official report of the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States listed me as one whose name appeared on the stationery or letterhead of seven or eight organizations which at one time or another had been listed by that committee, or some state committee such as California, as being communist or communist-front. As far as Mr. Patrick's statement of the listing went, it was correct. What Mr. Patrick failed to do was to check with me before he went on the air with this newscast. I can further state that he failed to check with responsible Government agencies as to whether the listing which he so laboriously mentioned would stand up as proof that I ever was or am now a communist, a fellow-traveler, or a subversive.

"Before I begin to consider Mr. Patrick's broadcast in specific detail, I should like categorically to state that I have never been a communist or a fellow-traveler, and that I am not now a communist, a fellow-traveler, or a subversive. Further, I challenge any one to state under oath that I am now or ever have been a communist or a fellow-traveler.

"Now as to the specific questions raised in Mr. Patrick's broadcast of April 27.

"I have never denied membership in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, in the Southern Negro Youth Congress, or in the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. I would, however, call attention to the fact that I was in these organizations at a time and during a period when many well-known, thoroughly loyal Americans, Negro and white, northern and southern, held memberships therein. * * *

"In the early days of the Southern Negro Youth Congress I was joined by * * * many other very fine and loyal persons. I at no time held membership in the Congress; I was simply a member of the advisory committee, which was composed almost entirely of Negro educators interested in encouraging the intellectual and spiritual development of young Southern Negroes.

"When it was first organized, I accepted membership on the national committee of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. I did this out of my feeling that the place of a man's birth should have nothing to do with his eligibility for establishing American citizenship.

"I withdrew or resigned from each of the above-mentioned organizations as soon as I had the slightest indication that they were steering to the left or that they were being infiltrated by communists. Any examination of their literature or stationery after 1947, six years ago will show that my name was not carried by these organizations thereafter.

"Mr. Patrick's broadcast statement with respect to other organizations in connection with which my name had appeared lists some organizations with which I am not at all familiar, not even having heard of them. I am strongly of the opinion that there has been considerable unauthorized use of my name both in connection with the groups he has mentioned and possibly by others.

"I would respectfully call Mr. Patrick's and your attention to the fact that all Federal investigating authorities are quite aware that numerous organizations which began as thoroughly loyal, conscientious, constructive groups were infiltrated by communists and their complexions later changed. This is certainly true of some of the organizations with which my name has been connected. The FBI might also assure Mr. Patrick and you that the time that a person held membership and relinquished membership in one of these organizations is a most important factor in even suggesting whether that person might or might not be a communist or a fellow-traveler. * * *

"In February, 1952, I had been invited to Washington by the Mutual Security Agency where I served, with other prominent American educators, working on a program of education for combating communism among the colored peoples in the Far East. * * *

"A little more than a month after this meeting, I was called on the telephone by a representative of the Mutual Security Agency, and subsequently I was offered the position of Education Officer in the Mutual Security Agency's special technical and economic mission to Indonesia. Meanwhile, I was thoroughly investigated by the FBI. You will remember that this was in 1952. You will also recall that Mr. Patrick's dates of so-called listings which he mentioned in his April 27 broadcast in no instance were any later than 1949, and in some instances went back as early as 1940. So that my FBI investigations and clearances all came after the period with which Mr. Patrick's listings dealt.

"I finally did not go to Indonesia because the Trustees of Atlanta University felt that I should not be away from the University for as long a period as the appointment agency desired. * * * I was then asked to recommend someone else for the education mission, one of whose chief functions would be to combat communism in the Far East.

"My record would also show that as late as March 22, 1953, in a speech at Sarah Lawrence College * * * I warned the United States about the steps it would have to take to keep the uncommitted colored people of Asia and Africa from falling into the communist camp. * * *"

Dr. Albert Einstein

A letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, dated October 27, 1942, named Prof. Einstein as a patron of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. He was a sponsor of the Council, as shown in a "Call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, November 6-8, 1943," p. 4; a memorandum issued by the Council on March 18, 1946; and a letterhead of March 13, 1946. He signed an open letter sponsored by the Council, according to the New York Times, May 18, 1943, p. 17c, and Soviet Russia Today, June 1943, p. 21.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.¹ and 2 In its report of March 29, 1944, p. 156, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities said: "In recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian has been known as the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship."

The Daily Worker of February 26, 1942, p. 4, and a leaflet, "Sixth National Conference," Cleveland, Ohio, May 9 and 10, 1942, p. 4, named Albert Einstein as one of the sponsors of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. *(p. 9)

According to the Daily Worker of April 16, 1937, p. 2, Prof. Einstein endorsed the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. He was named as sponsor of the organization in New Masses of May 18, 1937, p. 25. The United States Attorney General cited the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as Communist, in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949.¹ and 2 The organization was also cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (reports of January 3, 1940, p. 9; March 29, 1944, p. 146).

A letterhead of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, dated July 6, 1938, and a letterhead of the Michigan Chapter of the same organization, dated February 2, 1939, both name Prof. Einstein as a sponsor of the group. "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944, p. 82). Among these was the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Albert Einstein was a national sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, according to letterheads of that group dated February 26, 1946, February 3, 1948, April 28, 1949, and January 5, 1953. He signed a petition in defense of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, as shown in the Daily Worker of April 28, 1948, p. 4; and was co-chairman of the National Reception Committee for Madame Irene Joliot-Curie, whose speaking tour was sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (invitation to the dinner, New York City, March 31, 1948). The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board in 1947, and again in 1948.¹ and 2 The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, p. 174, called it a "Communist-front organization headed by Edward K. Barsky."

Dr. Einstein was a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, as shown on a letterhead of that group, dated at New Haven, Connecticut, November 16, 1939, and a pamphlet, "Children in Concentration Camps." The Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, January 3, 1940, p. 9).

According to the Daily Worker, February 18, 1939, p. 7, Prof. Einstein contributed a manuscript to the League of American Writers, for Spanish aid. The League was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board in 1948; Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7685 and 7686).¹ and ² The organization was also cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (reports of January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; March 29, 1944, p. 48).

A petition of the American Council for a Democratic Greece was sponsored by Albert Einstein, as shown in the Daily People's World (official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast), August 23, 1948, p. 2. He signed a statement of the Council condemning the Greek Government, according to the Daily Worker of September 2, 1948, p. 7. The Council was cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General. It was formerly known as the Greek-American Council (letters to the Loyalty Review Board in 1948).

A letter of the American Friends of Chinese People, pledging support to China, was signed by Prof. Einstein, as shown in the Daily Worker of July 16, 1940, p. 4. This organization was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, pp. 40 and 147.

Prof. Einstein endorsed the Committee for Peace through World Cooperation, according to the Daily Worker of April 2, 1938, p. 4. This organization was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front (report of March 29, 1944, p. 105).

The Daily Worker of December 15, 1948, p. 2, and December 31, 1948, p. 3, reported that Albert Einstein was one of the sponsors of the Freedom Crusade of the Civil Rights Congress.* (p. 10)

A Declaration of the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee, honoring Georgi Dimitrov, head of the Communist International, was signed by Albert Einstein, according to the December 22, 1943, issue of The New York Times (p. 40), in which the Declaration was printed as an advertisement. The Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, pp. 112 and 156.

Albert Einstein was a signer of a message addressed to the House of Representatives by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties* (p. 10) in 1943, as shown on a printed copy of the message.

The Daily Worker of April 22, 1947, p. 4, reported that Prof. Einstein spoke before a meeting of the Council on African Affairs, which was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released in 1947 and 1948).¹ and ²

Prof. Einstein has contributed to Soviet Russia Today, as shown in the

issues of June 1942, p. 6, and August 1936, p. 18. He was a sponsor of the Soviet Russia Today Dinner Celebrating the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Red Army (Soviet Russia Today, February 1943, p. 34). This publication was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front (House Report No. 1953, April 26, 1950, p. 108) and by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, March 29, 1944, p. 167).

The Daily Worker of December 24, 1944, p. 14, reported that Albert Einstein was an initiating sponsor of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. A letterhead of the group contains his name in a list of members of the Board of Directors (letterhead dated November 26, 1946). The Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities (House Report No. 1954, April 26, 1950, p. 2).

Albert Einstein was named as a member-at-large of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, on an undated letterhead of the organization (received January 1949). He wrote a letter to the Council, praising its efforts to aid Willie McGee, according to the Worker of April 22, 1951, p. 4. He was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, under auspices of the Council, as shown in the printed program of the conference, p. 14, and the Daily Worker of February 21, 1949, p. 2. The Council was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities (House Report 1954, April 26, 1950, p. 2).

The Daily Worker of May 12, 1950, p. 3, named Prof. Einstein as one of those who petitioned the Supreme Court for a rehearing of prison sentences imposed on John Howard Lawson, Dalton Trumbo, and eight others for contempt of Congress. He signed the "Petition to the Supreme Court for a Reconsideration of its Refusal to Hear the Appeal of the Hollywood Ten" in an advertisement which appeared in the Washington Post of May 24, 1950, p. 14. John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo were cited for contempt of Congress by the House of Representatives on November 24, 1947, for refusal to answer questions of a Congressional Committee. They were subsequently indicted by a Federal grand jury on contempt charges and after conviction, sentenced to one year in jail and fined \$1,000 each (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities to the House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, pages 10-12).

Albert Einstein was listed as a signer of a petition to the United States Attorney General in behalf of Hanns Eisler, according to the Daily Worker of December 17, 1947, p. 7. In February 1948, the Immigration and Naturalization Service ordered the deportation of Hanns Eisler, the deportation order coming after an immigration hearing in New York into a charge that Eisler was a member in Germany of a group advocating the violent overthrow of this Government (Washington Star, February 13, 1948, p. B5).

The Daily Worker of February 1, 1950, p. 3, reported that Albert Einstein was one of those who "denounced the trend toward disciplinary action against lawyers who defend 'political minorities, racial minorities and labor organizations,'" in defending the five lawyers who were counsel for the eleven Communist leaders recently convicted. "On July 20, 1948, twelve leaders of the Communist Party of the United States were indicted by a Federal grand jury in New York on charges of conspiring to 'teach and advocate the overthrow or destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence.'

Eleven of them were convicted on those charges in Federal court on October 14, 1949" (Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the Year 1949, March 15, 1950, p. 16).

On January 13, 1953, the press reported that Prof. Einstein had appealed to the President for clemency for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (convicted and executed for conspiracy to transmit secrets of the atomic bomb to Russia). The New York Times of that date, p. L-15, said:

"Prof. Albert Einstein, the venerable mathematician who lives in Princeton, N. J., announced that he had written the President Monday asking for mercy. His note said:

"Dear Mr. President:

"My conscience compels me to urge you to commute the death sentence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

"This appeal to you is prompted by the same reasons which were set forth so convincingly by my distinguished colleague, Harold C. Urey, in his letter of Jan. 5, 1953, to The New York Times.

"Respectfully yours,
"Albert Einstein."

The Daily Worker of January 14, 1953 (pp. 1 and 5), contained an editorial headed "Einstein, the Rosenbergs, and U. S. Labor's Duty." On page 7 of the same issue, Prof. Einstein's name appears in a list of "notables who have raised their voices against the death penalty for the innocent pair."

On June 15, 1953, the Daily Worker printed a letter from Dr. Einstein to a high school teacher facing dismissal for refusing to answer questions of a Congressional committee. The letter (as quoted on page 3 of the newspaper) said, in part:

"The problem with which the intellectuals of this country are confronted is very serious. The reactionary politicians have managed to instil suspicion of all intellectual efforts into the public by dangling before their eyes a danger from without. Having succeeded to suppress the freedom of teaching and to deprive of their positions all those who do not prove submissive, i. e., to starve them.

"What ought the minority of intellectuals to do against this evil? Frankly, I can see only the revolutionary way of non-cooperation in the sense of Gandhi's. Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i. e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country.

"This refusal to testify must be based on the assertion that it is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to such an inquisition and that this kind of inquisition violates the spirit of the Constitution.

"If enough people are ready to take this grave step they will be successful. If not, then the intellectuals of this country deserve nothing better than the slavery which is intended for them."

The New York Times, reporting the letter, said that Dr. Einstein confirmed, by telephone, that he had written the letter and told the newspaper that he, himself, would refuse to testify if called before a congressional committee (as reported in the Washington Evening Star, June 12, 1953, p. A-10).

The Washington Post of January 22, 1953, p. 3, said:

"Scientist Albert Einstein today condemned the wave of anti-Semitic purges behind the Iron Curtain.

"Einstein said: 'It goes without saying that the perversion of justice which manifests itself in all official trials staged by the Russian government, not only that in Prague, but also the earlier ones since the second half of the thirties, deserves unconditional condemnation.'"

Oscar Hammerstein, II

An advertisement appearing in Variety (December 1, 1948, p. 21) named Oscar Hammerstein, II, as a signer of a "Call Upon the Film Industry to Revoke the Blacklist," released by the Theatre Division of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. *(p. 15)

Mr. Hammerstein was one of the Initiating Sponsors of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions *(p. 15) according to the Daily Worker of December 24, 1944, p. 14, and a letterhead of the organization dated November 26, 1946.

As shown in the Daily People's World, October 13, 1943, p. 5, Oscar Hammerstein, II, was one of those who endorsed the Writers' Congress held October 1, 2, 3, 1943, under the joint auspices of the University of California and the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. As shown in the program of the Writers' Congress, he was a member of the Seminar on "Song Writing in War." The Hollywood Writers Mobilization was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).¹ and ²

A letterhead (dated February 28, 1946) of the Win-the-Peace Conference which was held in Washington, D. C., April 5-7, 1946, named Oscar Hammerstein, II, as one of the sponsors of that Conference. The same information appeared in the "Call" to the Conference. The National Committee to Win the Peace was formed at the Win-the-Peace Conference. The Committee was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).¹ and ²

One Oscar Hammerstein (II not shown) was a sponsor of the United Nations in America Dinner held under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born *(p. 9) at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City, April 17, 1943, as shown on the invitation to the dinner.

In the Daily People's World of October 2, 1944, p. 5, Oscar Hammerstein (II not shown) was named as an honorary member of the Association of Young Writers and Artists, an organization affiliated with the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated January 3, 1940. The organization was cited as being subversive and "among the affiliates and

committees of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (Attorney General, press release of December 4, 1947).¹ and ² The group was cited as being "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 271, April 17, 1947).

On January 13, 1954, the Committee on Un-American Activities received testimony from Mr. Allan E. Sloane, a writer, who stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party from about March of 1943 until the summer of 1944. He referred to Mr. Hammerstein as follows: "During the middle period of the war, I would say in 1944, there was organized an outfit called the Music War Committee -- and I bring this up to show how it ties in with the cultural aspects of communism. * * * The Music War Committee was a group of very responsible and very well-known musicians -- a group consisting of many very well-known and some unknown musicians. One, for instance, was Oscar Hammerstein, who was chairman of the MWC. * * * Incidentally, I do not believe that Mr. Hammerstein could possibly have been aware that the activities of this little organization, which I think is a comparatively unknown front group, were being mostly carried on by members of the Communist Party. * * *" (Communist Methods of Infiltration - Entertainment, Part 1, p. 3862).

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman

A letterhead, dated August 6, 1945, of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief named Mrs. J. Borden Harriman as a sponsor of the organization. The Attorney General named the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief as a subversive and Communist organization, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.¹ and ² The Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as a Communist front which "was actively supported by the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A." (Report on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations, April 26, 1950, p. 78).

Mrs. Harriman was listed as a sponsor in the Call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, held November 6-8, 1943, under auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. * (p. 13) A letterhead of the Council (dated March 13, 1946) named Mrs. Harriman as a sponsor; also a memorandum issued by the Council March 18, 1946.

According to a dinner invitation entitled "The Century of the Common Man" (dated October 27, 1943), Mrs. Harriman was a sponsor of the dinner, which was arranged under auspices of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. * (p. 13)

Mrs. Harriman was a sponsor of United States participation in the World Youth Festival, held in Prague July 20-August 17, 1947, according to a "Fact Sheet" of the United States Committee. The World Youth Festival was arranged by the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, pp. 12 and 13, said: "From the outset the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth. * * * So strong was the Communist domination at the London conference that it aroused the deepest concern of the English bishops."

The Report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare*(p. 10) issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities, June 12, 1947, listed Mrs. J. Borden Harriman as a supporter of this conference (p. 14).

A letterhead of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, dated January 21, 1946, named Mrs. Harriman as a sponsor. The American Committee for Spanish Freedom was cited as Communist by the United States Attorney General in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949.¹ and ²

O. A. Knight

O. A. Knight was listed on a letterhead of October 27, 1942, as a patron of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. The Call to the Congress (November 6-8, 1943) named him as a sponsor (p. 4). He was also shown to be a sponsor in Soviet Russia Today, December 1942, p. 42; and the Daily Worker, October 30, 1943, p. 5. The Congress of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, p. 94.

Mr. Knight was listed as a signer of an open letter sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*(p. 10) which denounced United States Attorney General Biddle's charges against Harry Bridges and the Communist Party (also shown in a booklet, "600 Prominent Americans").

Letterheads dated June 8, 1943, and January 10, 1944, named Mr. Knight as a committee member or sponsor of the Citizens' Victory Committee for Harry Bridges. In its report of March 29, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited that organization as a Communist front (p. 97).

O. A. Knight was listed as a sponsor of a dinner arranged by Soviet Russia Today*(p. 15) celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army (Soviet Russia Today, April 1943, p. 31).

H. J. Muller

The following is reprinted from Science, October 22, 1948, Vol. 108, No. 2808, p. 436:

"The following letter, dated September 24, 1948, was sent by H. J. Muller, of Indiana University, Nobel Prize winner and past president of the Genetics Society of America, to the President, the Secretary, and the Membership of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR:

"In February 1933 the Academy of Sciences of the USSR sent me a diploma, signed by its venerable President, Karpinsky, and its Secretary, Volgin, stating that I had been elected a "Corresponding Member." In accepting this election, I realized that it was a signal honor, inasmuch as your Academy had a long and most distinguished tradition of scientific achievement and integrity, and was still maintaining its high standards and, in fact, greatly expanding its valuable work. Although for nearly a decade I have not been sent your publications, I must presume that I am still on your rolls, since I have received no information to the contrary.

"The deep esteem in which I have held your organization in the past

makes it the more painful to me to inform you that I now find it necessary to sever completely my connection with you. The occasion for my doing so is the recently reported series of actions of your Presidium in dropping, presumably for their adherence to genetics, such notable scientists as your most eminent physiologist, Orbeli, and your most eminent student of morphogenesis, Schmalhausen, in abolishing the Laboratory of Cytogenetics of your most eminent remaining geneticist, Dubinin, in announcing your support of the charlatan, Lysenko, whom some years ago you had stooped to take into your membership, and in repudiating, at his insistence, the principles of genetics. These disgraceful actions show clearly that the leaders of your Academy are no longer conducting themselves as scientists, but are misusing their positions to destroy science for narrow political purposes, even as did many of those who posed as scientists in Germany under the domination of the Nazis. In both cases the attempt was made to set up a politically directed "science," separated from that of the world in general in contravention of the fact that true science can know no national boundaries but, as emphasized at the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, is built up by the combined efforts of conscientiously and objectively working investigators the world over. * * *

"Under the circumstances above set forth, no self-respecting scientist, and more especially no geneticist, if he still retains his freedom of choice, can consent to have his name appear on your list. For this reason I hereby renounce my membership in your Academy. I do so, however, with the ardent hope that I may yet live to see the day when your Academy can begin to resume its place among truly scientific bodies.

"The importance of the matters here at issue -- including that of the authoritarian control of science by politicians -- is in my opinion so profound that I am making this letter public."

Dr. Muller appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities in executive session on March 12, 1953. Portions of his testimony were released to the press on March 15, 1953, and the following is quoted from the press release issued in that connection:

"Dr. Muller, who has been Professor of Zoology at the University of Indiana since June of 1945, was in the Soviet Union from 1933 until 1937, and was associated there in the Russian Institute of Genetics. Dr. Muller explained that he had gone to Russia initially upon the invitation of Nikolai Vavilov, a Russian geneticist. Dr. Muller stated that he departed from Russia in March of 1937 and, in order to protect Vavilov, who might come under suspicion because of Muller's request to depart, he obtained a temporary position doing research on blood transfusions in Spain. From there, he secured a position in the University of Edinburgh in Scotland.

"From his experiences and association with the Russians through his work in Moscow, Dr. Muller stated that he considered Soviet methods abhorrent and said they represent an even greater danger to civilization than the prospects of an atomic war. He felt that although atomic war might mean the end of civilization and should be avoided, if possible, appeasement of Russia which would result in the United States being 'dragged' into the Soviet system 'would be still worse than an atomic war, so that I think that every effort is necessary to keep up our defenses for that reason.'

"* * *

"In response to whether the Communist Party should be outlawed, Dr. Muller stated, 'That is a very difficult question. It seems to me that it probably would make it harder for them. They would certainly go ahead with their work. They are pretty much underground anyway. I think a very good case could be made to justify the conspiratorial nature and the violent nature of their policies and when outlawed, they would have to act with much greater care. It might put hindrances in their way.'

"Dr. Muller was questioned at length by the Committee as to the advisability of Communists teaching in American institutions. He was asked specifically if he considered that a Communist could teach free science. He stated, '. . . If I were a Communist and teaching genetics, it would be disastrous for science and the same would be true of psychiatry and psychology, for instance. That would be true of many fields; that would be true of the law of social sciences and the law of literature. That is quite true, yes. I believe in tolerance in general, but I think we cannot be too tolerant of intolerance. Communism is the most intolerant thing there is.'"

Lewis Mumford

A letterhead of the Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, dated November 18, 1936, named Lewis Mumford as a member of that organization. New Masses (January 5, 1937, p. 31) named him as a member of the General Committee of the organization. He was sponsor and guest of honor of a Send-Off Dinner for the Ambulance Corps, March 16, 1937, arranged by the American Artists and Writers Committee, Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy (New Masses, March 16, 1937, p. 26). He was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy (New Masses, January 26, 1937, p. 32). The same information appeared in New Masses on February 16, 1937, p. 28, and on a letterhead of the group dated February 19, 1937.

During 1937 and 1938, the Communist Party campaigned for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, organizing so-called relief groups and recruiting men. Among the groups organized at that time was the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944). In the same report, the Special Committee cited the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy as a Communist front.

A booklet entitled "Children in Concentration Camps" (back cover) lists the name of Lewis Mumford as a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, *(p. 14) publishers of the booklet.

Mr. Mumford issued an individual statement, urging the Government to lift the embargo on the sale of arms to Spain, which was published in the pamphlet "These Americans Say: 'Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain'" (p. 4), prepared and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, which was cited as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States, and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944, pp. 137 and 138).

In a prospectus and review released by the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, soon after President Roosevelt's 1939 annual message to Congress, Lewis Mumford was named as one of those who "either spoke at the banquet (preceding a two-day Conference to Lift the Embargo), or delivered papers to the Conference." Mr. Mumford was identified in that source as a member of the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York.

"When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain" the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, a "Communist lawyers' front organization" supported this movement (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311, March 29, 1944, pp. 168 and 169).

"In 1935 (April 26-27), there was proposed a national convention of American revolutionary writers. The call for the convention was signed by Earl Browder (national secretary of the Communist Party), . . . Lewis Mumford.

"The Call stated that the League of American Writers would be affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, as was the John Reed Club. The Call further stated there was need for a further organization of revolutionary writers to convince the people of the necessity of the struggles against capitalism and for the institution of Marxism, as well as to fight 'Fascist tendencies' in the United States.

"The Congress of American Revolutionary Writers was held on April 26, 1935, at Mecca Temple, New York City. The League of American Writers was born there . . ." Lewis Mumford was elected to the National Council of the League. (Material submitted to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities by Mr. Walter S. Steele in connection with his testimony, August 17, 1938, public hearings, pages 561 and 562.)

The Congress of American Revolutionary Writers was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.¹ and ²

The Daily Worker of April 30, 1935, announced that Mr. Mumford was a member of the national committee of the League of American Writers.*(p. 14) The Bulletin of the League (p. 7) listed him as a member of that organization. New Masses for May 4, 1937, p. 25, revealed that an invitation had been issued for a National Writers' Congress to be held in New York City, June 4-6, 1937. The Congress was the second biennial gathering of the League of American Writers. The name of Lewis Mumford appeared in the list of persons who signed the invitation.

Lewis Mumford was a member of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, as shown on a letterhead of that organization dated October 31, 1935. The Committee was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General, who stated that it was "substantially equivalent to International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party * * * (It) caters to financially and socially prominent liberals * * * the cases selected for defense, so far as known, have without exception, been those of Communists or cases publicized by the Communist Party. * * * In January 1938 its name was changed to the National Committee for People's Rights" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686; letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).¹ and ² The organization was cited by the

Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front (reports of June 25, 1942, p. 20; March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 182).

Mr. Mumford was a member (1938) of the National Committee for People's Rights (letterhead of the organization dated July 13, 1938; a leaflet entitled "News You Don't Get," dated November 15, 1938). The Attorney General stated that in changing its name from the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners to the National Committee for People's Rights, the organization made no substantial change in its set-up or functions (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities reported that "the organization under its new name remained entirely under the control of the Communist Party" (reports of June 25, 1942, p. 20; March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 182). In Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947 (p. 3), the Committee on Un-American Activities stated that it was among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

Simon W. Gerson was appointed confidential assistant to Stanley M. Isaacs, borough president of Manhattan, New York City, in February 1938, and in the light of Gerson's record as an active Communist, the appointment aroused a storm of public criticism; later court action was taken for his dismissal and he was compelled to resign in September 1940. The Communist Party then organized a campaign in defense of Gerson's appointment. The Daily Worker of March 4, 1938, published a letter addressed to Mr. Isaacs, commending his stand in "refusing to dismiss Gerson as 'an example of justified resistance to a wholly unjustified prejudice against a competent man because of political beliefs.'" Lewis Mumford was one of the "15 outstanding progressives in City" who signed the letter.

Testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities in July 1947, Mr. Walter S. Steele said: "The dynamo of the foreign angle of Red front propaganda and agitational activity in the United States in opposition to the American foreign policy in South America is the Council for Pan-American Democracy. The Council has reflected the Soviet and Communist Party line as it affects Soviet interests in South America. It attempted to force a change in our policies which may have been considered contrary to those of the Soviet . . . The Council has agitated for the freedom of Puerto Rico and for a break in relations with Argentina. In the latter fight, the Council circulated a petition signed by . . . Lewis Mumford" (p. 136 of the testimony). The Council for Pan-American Democracy (or Conference on Pan-American Democracy) was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948).¹ and ² The Special Committee, in its report of March 29, 1944, pp. 161 and 164, cited the organization as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Alexander Trachtenberg, secretary and treasurer, International Publishers, testified before the Special Committee in September 1939, that Lewis Mumford was a member of the Advisory Council of the Book Union (public hearings, Volume 7, p. 4928). The Special Committee, in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the Book Union as "distributors of Communist literature."

Mr. Mumford was contributing editor of New Masses in 1927 (see New Masses for September 1927, p. 23, and October 1927, p. 3). New Masses was cited as a Communist periodical by the Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as being a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service" [Garland Fund] (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939, p. 80; and June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21).

As shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, *(p. 7) dated January 17, 1940, Mr. Mumford signed a petition sponsored by that organization.

Mr. Mumford signed a statement of the American League for Peace and Democracy *(p. 6) on the international situation (New Masses, March 15, 1938, p. 19). He contributed to Fight magazine (official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, predecessor of ALPD) for February 1939, p. 22.

The Daily Worker of January 19, 1953, p. 3, reported that "Repeal of the McCarran 'Internal Security' Act was urged in an Open Letter signed by 89 educators, religious leaders and professional people and released yesterday. The Open Letter, sent to members of the 83d Congress by a group of initiators and sponsors of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, declares that enforcement of this law 'has caused serious infringements of the Bill of Rights, and has added materially to the atmosphere of repression and hysteria.'" Lewis Mumford, Amenia, N. Y., was listed as a signer of the Open Letter.

One Louis Mumford, author, was named as a signer of a cable of protest addressed to President Vargas of Brazil, in defense of Luiz Carlos Prestes (see p. 23 of this report), as shown in the Daily Worker, February 13, 1937, p. 2.

Harry A. Overstreet

Prof. H. A. Overstreet, C.C.N.Y., was a member of the New York Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom *(p. 7) as shown on letterheads dated September 22, 1939, and December 1, 1939. Prof. Overstreet was named as a signer of a petition of the organization (mimeographed sheet attached to letterhead dated January 17, 1940), and was a sponsor of a Citizens' Rally held April 13, 1940, by the organization in New York City (leaflet).

The Daily Worker of August 10, 1950, p. 5, reported that Prof. Harry A. Overstreet signed a statement against denaturalization issued by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born *(p. 9) and directed to the President of the United States.

A public statement of the American Committee to Save Refugees *(p. 9) was signed by H. A. Overstreet, as shown by a leaflet entitled "For the Rescue of Refugees," published by the organization.

Prof. Overstreet was named as a member of the Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy*(p. 21) on a letterhead dated February 21, 1938; also in testimony of Walter S. Steele in public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 17, 1938 (p. 569 of the hearings). He was also a Committee Member of the Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy (letterhead of November 18, 1936; New Masses, January 5, 1937, p. 31).

The Daily Worker of February 13, 1939, p. 2, named Harry A. Overstreet as a member of the Descendants of the American Revolution. A pamphlet, "Descendants of the American Revolution," named him as a sponsor of the organization (back page). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Descendants of the American Revolution as a "Communist-front organization set up as a radical imitation of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Descendants have uniformly adhered to the line of the Communist Party. * * * The educational director * * * is one Howard Selsam, an instructor at the Communist Party's Workers School in New York" (report of June 25, 1942, pp. 18 and 19).

A circular entitled "and tell the folks that I'll be home if . . ." reveals that Harry A. Overstreet endorsed the drive of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to bring the wounded boys home. [The citation of American Friends of Spanish Democracy*(p. 21) also applies to Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.]

H. A. Overstreet was listed as a signer of the January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*(p. 10) addressed to the U. S. House of Representatives. He was identified as Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, College of the City of New York; Lecturer, New York School for Social Research, New York, N. Y.

It was reported in the October 9, 1944, issue of The New York Times (p. 12) that Prof. Overstreet was a signer of an open letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey requesting a pardon for Morris U. Schappes. The letter was sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee, which was cited as a "front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York." Mr. Schappes was "on the teaching staff of the College of the City of New York for a period of 13 years. In 1936 his superior on the college faculty refused to recommend him for reappointment. This action led to prolonged agitation by the Communist Party" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311, March 29, 1944, p. 71). The organization was cited as Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, April 27, 1949.1 and 2

"Children in Concentration Camps" (back cover) reveals that Prof. Overstreet was a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign*(p. 14)

Dr. Overstreet and his wife, Bonaro W. Overstreet, wrote to the chairman of this committee under date of May 28, 1953, requesting that they be furnished with "a list of the materials on file" with the committee "that appear to show a connection, on the part of either * * * with communist or communist front organizations." The letter continued: "We wish to reply and explain as best we can all alleged connections. If the committee feels that it is necessary, we would like to appear before the committee and testify under oath as to the nature of any of our activities in which the committee may be interested."

After a report had been sent to Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet, the chairman of this committee received the following communication:

Harry A. Overstreet
R. F. D. 2
Bennington, Vermont
July 21, 1953

Honorable Harold H. Velde
House of Representatives
Congress of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Velde,

Thank you for sending me the material from the files of your Committee. I am here making such report to you and your Committee as I am able to make on the basis of materials now available to me. I hope it will serve to clarify my position.

If your Committee decides, after weighing my report, that a hearing is in order, I shall be happy to appear and answer further questions to the best of my ability. Also I will welcome the chance to testify under oath that I have never been a Communist nor have I knowingly given aid or comfort to any Communist group that has been invading our American system.

I know that your Committee calendar must be crowded, and I hesitate to ask any special consideration. But if a hearing is deemed advisable, could it be scheduled before the end of September — preferably during the first half of September? We are to report for work at the University of Michigan at the beginning of October; and from there on through the Fall, I would not be able to appear in Washington without interrupting the plans of other people besides myself. Hence, I will be grateful for a September hearing if your Committee wishes me to appear.

Thank you again for your consideration in this matter.

(signed) Sincerely,
H. A. Overstreet
H. A. Overstreet

INFORMATION FOR THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Date: July 21, 1953

Submitted to: Honorable Harold H. Velde
Submitted by: Harry A. Overstreet

Before attempting to explain any of the specific items concerning my past affiliations, as these have been listed for me by your Committee, I would like to make certain initial statements that seem to me to be to the point.

The first of these I want to make as definitively as I can: namely, that I am not now and never have been a Communist or a sympathizer with Communist tactics or philosophy in this country. I specify "in this country" only in the interests of complete accuracy; for at the time of the Russian Revolution, I, like many other citizens of the free world, had a brief hope, soon to be dispelled, that Russia might be finding its way through revolution to democracy. So I suppose I had "sympathy" for Communism at that time, not as a movement in any measure relevant to our western needs, but as a possible first step away from the older despotism in Russia itself. In any event, in the sense in which we now by common agreement make the statement, I have never been a Communist or a Communist sympathizer; nor have I ever knowingly helped a movement or organization that had communist aims. I would welcome a chance to make this statement under oath if your Committee, after considering this report of mine, should feel that a hearing was in order.

In the second place, I would like to explain why I have asked for a copy of the list, and for a hearing if such seems necessary, at this time and not before. Stupid as this may make me appear, I simply did not know until two days before I sent my letter of request to Mr. Velde that I could make this type of request. For over a year now, because of the listing, my wife and I have both been subjected to attack by various individual citizens and unofficial groups, and a number of efforts have been made to prevent our carrying through our speaking engagements. We have tried to the best of our ability to explain items on the list to the groups that have brought up the issue; but we did not know that the normal and reasonable thing to do was to turn to your Committee for information and a possible hearing. So we fumbled along as best we could: not too badly, since no engagement has been cancelled in spite of heavy pressure brought to bear, in a number of instances, on the sponsoring groups. In late May, however, because of painful experiences in California and of objections to future dates scheduled for us in Arizona, we decided to go to Washington on our way across country to try to talk over our problem with our California Senators and with the FBI. (We had already gone to the FBI in San Francisco and had felt much helped by our two interviews with them). On our first day in Washington, Mr. George Wilson, administrative assistant to Senator Knowland, took us and our problem firmly and generously in hand and told us what we wish we had known long ago. As a result, we descended upon Mr. Thomas Beale -- and continued to get our tardy political education. Thanks to his patience and guidance, we saw at last what we should be doing about the whole matter. Hence, our request to Mr. Velde, and through him to the Committee as a whole: to the effect that we be given

as prompt a chance as possible to clear up this baffling situation.

In the third place, may I say how I have come to feel about this experience of being "listed." When the whole method of lists based on past affiliations first entered the American scene, I felt that it represented a form of retroactive judgment that went profoundly counter to our traditions. Also, I felt that hearings -- as I first read of them -- were an unfair device for trying people in the court of public opinion and that they often flouted the elements of calm justice. I know, moreover, from the personal experience of my wife and myself during this past year that there is still such a widespread misunderstanding of what a list signifies that great injustice can be done at the local level even where none is intended at the official level. However, I must strongly say that I have come to believe that the past affiliations of an individual -- even myself! -- are relevant in our efforts to deal with as insidious an enemy as Communism and that your Committee has every right to treat them as relevant. I cannot, therefore, feel abused or victimized by the requirement that I speak up and explain as best I can why I got myself tangled up, however innocently or tenuously, with dubious individuals or groups. I say this only because I want you to know that I am not resenting the necessity I am under of trying to explain my past. I know that I have never intended to give aid or comfort to Communism. I cannot, however, expect your Committee -- or even, I suppose, local groups -- automatically to know that fact. And I must say one thing further: knowing that I myself, on more than one occasion, have signed a petition or let my name be used on a letterhead only because I saw on the sponsoring list the name of someone I trusted -- and whom I assumed to be better informed than myself -- I also know, to my profound sorrow, that my own name thereafter may have become a reason why yet other unsuspecting people signed. It does not give me satisfaction, you may be sure, to feel that I may have thus brought support to Communist causes or put innocent people on the spot. I think that all of us who have made mistakes in judgment and affiliation in the past have something better to do than angrily to try to justify them and prove them unimportant -- for we simply have no way of knowing how important they may have been.

Now I must try to make certain covering statements about my life and work. During the 1930s -- up to my retirement from the College of the City of New York, in 1939 -- I was practically carrying two full-time jobs: my regular work at the College as teacher and Head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology; and adult education work on the outside. This latter had become, almost without my intending it, and largely because of heavy demands for such work during the depression years, a second major occupation. Then, too, of course, I was trying to get my own writing done. The result of this was that I attended very few meetings of any kind -- almost none except those of my professional associations; that I was far less active in relation to citizen problems than I felt I should be; that I rarely studied appeals that came to me with any detailed attention; and that I often looked for quick clues to help me decide when I should send donations or let my name be used. I was profoundly aware during those years of our own economic problems and was trying both to think them through as best I could and to give help where I could to those who had been caught in the disaster. I was also profoundly aware of the rising menace of fascism. But I was not in any equal measure aware of communist infiltration. For one thing, communism -- a form of revolution stemming

from a country that had never known western civilization -- seemed to me like a movement that could never in the world get a toehold in this country. I knew there were communists, of course. I had some of them in my classes occasionally. But they seemed to me like "fringe" characters -- noisy, unrealistic idealists or boringly dogmatic economic determinists -- who could never carry weight in America. I did not fear their influence as I feared that of fascism. Hence, when appeals came to me that seemed in line with our tradition of humanitarianism, I had little or no suspicion that they might be tainted by communism.

I would make one exception here -- in the case of an organization not on your present listing: namely, the Teachers Union. I cannot recall even there that I really understood the tactics of communist infiltration. I did know, however, since I attended several meetings of that group, that there was an obstructionist minority at work. Hence, I withdrew my membership -- as did many others -- and became one of the early members of the Teachers Guild. (My cancelled checks appear to show that I withdrew from the Union in 1935 and joined the Guild immediately thereafter, early in 1936). I offer this only as evidence that I did not go along with communist tactics -- and that I disliked them, and repudiated them, even when I did not fully understand them.

I am sure that another factor, also, played in on my thinking at that time. As you know, of course, the student body at City College was overwhelmingly Jewish. Also, it was overwhelmingly made up of students who came from homes where poverty was a day by day experience. I knew something of what individual students suffered during the depression, and I felt a strong loyalty to them for their efforts to get an education. While I knew that there were a few communists among them, I also knew that the vast majority were not communists -- and I grew terribly weary of hearing people call the College a place made up of Communist Jews. You know the blanket charges that were leveled against it: charges which, if they had been true, would have made a non-communist a rarity on the campus, and would have made a non-communist Jew anywhere something of a rarity. I resented all this -- and I cannot say for sure to what extent my resentment against it delayed my becoming aware of the real menace of communism.

That I was not myself favoring communism, however, is I think suggested by the fact that on pages 235-236 of my book, A DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE, which was published by the W. W. Norton Company in 1937, I wrote, "This . . . would seem to be the direction that is most compatible with our American spirit and tradition. Neither communism nor fascism can be other than tragic in the American scene. Each is a form of organization that eliminates something that is essential to our traditional wishes and ways of doing things. Each falls in more nearly with the traditions in which a high degree of autocracy and regimentation have been pretty continuously in evidence. The American is an incurable individualist. He can realize the need for governmental control, but he must also have a wide range for his ingenuity and initiative. Any form of social organization that proceeds to regiment him under an unlimited authority will be met by bitter and persistent opposition.

"America, in short, must, in its economic development, go the American way."

The years since my retirement from the College have been "nomadic." While we maintained our New York apartment until 1949, and spent some small part of each year there -- sometimes only six or eight weeks of the year -- our work increasingly took us over the country. During the war years we were on the road lecturing a large part of the time, or were engaged on short term adult education projects. Since 1946, we have spent an increasing amount of time on Extension work for various universities: Michigan, Alabama, and California chiefly. Even more emphatically, therefore, than when I was at the College I have been a non-joiner of organizations or a non-attender of meetings. Where I have tried to serve as a Board member -- as at Town Hall, New York, for many years -- I have been almost a total loss, and have finally resigned, knowing my own uselessness. Except on a very few occasions in adult education groups I have not been in on policy making. This "nomadic" life -- an exceedingly busy one, again, and conducted without secretarial help except for one or two brief periods -- has militated against accurate checking up on groups, or attending groups, or keeping respectable records. So again I have to admit that I have, in my joinings -- at least until very recent years -- acted on cursory information. But also I have never been an active member, or a policy making member, of any one of the groups that appear to have been mistakes.

My writings have been in three fields, all overlapping: philosophy, adult education, and personal psychology (the psychology of human relations). The last of these has increasingly absorbed my time. Such comment as I have made in writing about political matters has been incidental to analyses in social philosophy or psychology. Not until recent years have I made any frequent reference to the nature and threat of communism -- for the reason noted earlier: that it was not on my mind as our chief enemy. Consistently, however, I have stated and restated my confidence in our American way of life as a way of life conducive to sound individual growth and sound human relations. No totalitarian system could possibly provide for its citizens the conditions of sound growth that I have repetitively called for as essential.

My lecturing has also been in the philosophical and psychological fields. Increasingly it has focussed on the psychology of human relations. I would say that the groups to which I have spoken most consistently in recent years -- and indeed all the years in which I have done public lecturing -- have been the various town halls of the country; Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; Columbia Institute of Arts and Sciences; Town Hall, New York; church groups; public forums; PTA conventions and workshops; various business groups; and mental health associations. In addition, my wife and I together have taught a number of six and eight week courses -- chiefly in Detroit, under the sponsorship of the University of Michigan Extension Division. On four different occasions, for example, we have taught such courses for the top management group of the Detroit Edison Company -- courses in human relations. Similar courses we have given twice for the Michigan Bell Telephone Company -- also for the top management group. We have given one such course for the Detroit Institute of Banking and have on hand an invitation to give another as soon as we can find room in our schedule for a six-week period. We have done a number of shorter jobs -- single lectures and institutes for other business groups: this past Spring, for

example, in California, we spoke to the Northern California Association of Training Directors and also to the supervisors of research and personnel people of the California Research Corporation (an affiliate of Standard Oil). We have also increasingly worked in family life institutes -- usually sponsored by University extension divisions. This coming Fall we are scheduled again for the University of Michigan and the University of Alabama, dividing the time after October 1st between the two. Again I would emphatically say that the type of human development and human relationship that we try to clarify and emphasize in all our lectures is of a sort that simply could not exist in any totalitarian system: that communism is incompatible with it seems to me to go almost without saying.

So far as my general accumulation of memberships and donations through the years is concerned, I think I would like to make such clarifying comment as I can -- for I feel sure that your Committee is trying to shape up a proportioned picture of my activities as a whole. I am not in any sense trying to say that such mistakes as I have made have not been mistakes; but I cannot help feeling that they have been rather few, through the years, considering the range and character of my interests, the difficulty that any lay citizen is under in trying to appraise the nature of an appeal that comes to him and that seems legitimate, and my own frankly hurried and haphazard relationships to groups. Since I have always felt myself to be a rarely fortunate human being in many respects, I have, in a sort of habitual gratitude, tried to donate where I could and to lend my support to causes that have seemed to me to protect others' rights or to extend their opportunities for growth. I won't inflict upon you any total list; but I do not think it irrelevant that since January 1950 my wife and I have belonged to or donated to more than eighty different organizations. (We ran through this list hurriedly with Mr. Beale in his office -- and as I recall, there were two out of the eighty-odd about which he had doubts: The League for Industrial Democracy and Workers Defense League. The others all seemed to be all right.) The largest single group, of course, are standard help-giving organizations. Many are professional. If, however, we take the size of donations as a criterion of interest -- and I suppose it is as good as any I can offer -- and if we rule out donations to our own church building fund and to a couple of other church building funds in which we had a personal interest (one Episcopal; one Catholic) and a few other special appeals from church organizations and publications, it appears that the institutions to which we have donated the most during this period have been the following:

- C.A.R.E. (far more than any other)
- Save-the-Children Federation
- Iron Curtain Refugee Committee
- Foster Parents Plan for War Children
- New York Council for Adult Education
- Boston Center for Adult Education
- United Negro College Fund
- International Rescue Committee
- Hospitalized Veterans Music Service
- Wiltwyck School for Boys
- Menninger Psychiatric Foundation

Also on the list are American Committee for a United Europe, Christian Children's Fund, American Association for the United Nations, Free Chinese Literature Foundation, Near East Foundation, American Foundation for Overseas Blind, Aid for Refugee Chinese Intellectuals.

So much for background. Now I will try to give such explanations I can about the special groups and petitions on your list. I am sorry that I am going to have to be sketchy. I have virtually no relevant records except cancelled checks. Not having had an office except in my own home for more than a dozen years now, having my possessions haphazardly divided between the Vermont farm and the California house, not having secretarial help, and most of all, not having expected ever to need to know about my own past, I simply have not kept any complete files -- and worse yet, have periodically cleaned out my files by throwing away vast quantities of what seemed useless matter. The result is that, even with the best of intentions, I have not been able to dig up even a relevant letterhead -- so I am going to have to rely on checks and memory, and hope that you will know that I am doing the best I can to be accurate. (Perhaps specific questions put to me at a hearing would enable me to speak more precisely to your own points, if you decide that such a hearing is advisable).

There are two definite statements I can make that would apply to all the organizations involved: first, that I did not know at the time of my affiliation that I was serving Communist ends by lending my name or by becoming a member; and second, that I was never an active or policy-making member. There is only one instance in which I can recall even attending a meeting -- and I will speak of that later: Descendants of the American Revolution.

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom:

I can say nothing about the content of the materials sent me by this organization; the specific nature of the request to which I responded with permission to use my name; or the purpose of the Citizens' Rally of April 13, 1940. At this late date, I simply do not know what it was all about. I believe, however, that this was the Committee of which Professor Franz Boas was Chairman. If that is the case, then this was one of the instances where I lent my name because of other names. While I did not know Professor Boas well, we had served together, as I recall, on the faculty of an adult education workshop at Mills College in 1927. (I am more sure of this date than I usually am, because that workshop was one of the first to be conducted after the forming of the American Association for Adult Education in 1926.) My impression of Professor Boas at that time -- though I cannot recall his specific contribution -- was that of a man deeply devoted to democratic principles. Through the years after that I heard, of course, of his work and his activities -- and they seemed always to command the highest respect on the part of those with whom I talked. I knew that some individuals and groups had attacked his studies of race; but almost all anthropologists face some such attack if their science does not stress race differences and give comfort to those who believe in theories of racial superiority. Hence, it would not have occurred to me to interpret these attacks as a reason for doubting Professor Boas's scientific integrity or democratic conviction. As a fellow member of the teaching profession, I held him in regard; and I would have responded almost automatically and with complete confidence to an appeal from him or a group of which he was Chairman. I think there were also a number of other names on the list that I accepted as reason enough for lending my name: as a kind of guarantee that the cause was a good cause.

I note that the earliest date given for my name on this letterhead was September 22, 1939; and that the last date mentioned in connection with the group (the date of the Citizens' Rally) is April 13, 1940. That was the first year of my retirement from C.C.N.Y. I did my last teaching in the Spring term of 1939, and my retirement became official in September 1939. My wife and I took on for that first year a project as research associates for the American Association for Adult Education. As this involved a study of community leadership over the country, (a study eventually published as a small book called LEADERS FOR ADULT EDUCATION, 1941) we were in New York very little that year. So far as I can recall -- and I think I can be quite certain of this -- I was never present at any meeting of the Committee, nor in any relationship to its work close enough to make me suspect communist influence upon its activities. I probably would not have suspected it anyway unless it was fairly obvious; for as I noted earlier, I was not on the lookout for such influence in those years. I was not present, I can be sure, at the Citizens' Rally. We were not in New York in April of that year, I am certain; and in any event, a mass rally is one of the things I would be least likely to attend.

I note that the Committee was cited as a Communist front organization in 1942 -- two years after this. I do not know whether this means that it was such a "front" group from the beginning, or that it became so through infiltration. I only know I did not suspect any communist leanings. I wish I could be more specific about the matter. I find no cancelled check to show a donation to the Committee's work.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born:

So far as I know my only contact with this group was as indicated on your list: I signed a statement against denaturalization. I would not have recalled the date of this, but your material gives it as 1950. So far as I know, this was a petition that simply came to me by mail and that seemed convincing in the light of my own concern at that time about what it might mean to initiate a policy of denaturalization. I do not pretend that I was well informed on the subject; but what I had read made me feel that there were grave risks involved -- that the policy could lead to one, in time of political stress, in which naturalized citizens who happened to represent an unpopular point of view could be made to feel less secure than native born citizens with the same point of view. As I have understood the matter, a citizen is a citizen -- and the fact of his having come to citizenship by the road of naturalization instead of birth is not intended to leave him in any measure an "outsider" or a person who is only tentatively accepted. It seemed to me that a naturalized citizen -- like one who was native born -- would be subject to all laws against treason, subversion, and conspiracy and that there was no need to undermine the general confidence of naturalized citizens by making special provision to take care of subversion in their ranks. I was not informed about the nature or other activities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, so far as I know. I may have received other appeals from it on other subjects. I do not recall having responded to them. (We do not have our second class mail forwarded to us from Vermont during the months when we are in California, nor from California during the months when we are in Vermont. The result is that twice a year -- once at each end -- we encounter great stacks of it; go through it hurriedly; discard most of it; and become so swiftly absorbed in current

materials that we never get back to the old ones. Scores of appeals, leaflets, mimeographed sheets, etc. thus go into the discard unread -- and I cannot tell, actually, whether or not materials from this Committee have been recurrent arrivals.)

I note that it was listed as subversive a number of years before I signed the petition and that the fact of its subversive character was given to the press in 1948 -- two years before. I wish I could say whether or not I made note of this fact at the time -- but I can't. In any event, the name would not have rung in my mind at the time the appeal came; for it was not an organization with which I had had any contact that would particularly make me notice its adverse listing.

American Committee to Save Refugees:

This is another case of a statement that was sent to me that seemed, at least on the surface, authentic and convincing. I think I was never in any sense a member of this organization and I cannot make any informed statement about its policies. I know that I did not intentionally support a Communist group -- even though this group appears to have been listed as far back as March 1944. My wife and I both, unless we see some good reason not to do so, tend to contribute to refugee relief. I do not find the evidence of cancelled checks to show that we donated in this case; but it would not have surprised me to discover such checks. Through the years -- as you can guess from the organizations to which we are currently contributing -- we have responded to a large number of appeals that had to do somehow with the relief of refugees; for it seems to us exceedingly hard for people with a roof over their heads not to respond to appeals for those who have none. We have not checked -- have not been in a position to check -- the inner policies of all these groups. The overwhelming majority of them appear to have been all right. If we were to set down all organizations of all kinds to which we have given support during the last fifteen years or so, I suppose the three types that would stand far at the top, numerically speaking, would be those designed to give relief to refugees, the physically handicapped (particularly the blind), and the orphaned (or otherwise underprivileged children). I regret any mistake through which I have however indirectly aided a Communist cause; but I do not find that this particular mistake seems in my own mind a strange one for me to have made.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy; Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade:

I supported both of these groups in complete faith that they were anti-fascist and pro-democratic. Even at this distance, it seems to me that the sorts of materials through which they presented their case would have convinced anyone who was not more conscious than most of us were at that time of Communist infiltration. I was not an active member. I do not think I ever attended any meeting. Certainly I was never involved as a policy maker. But I must confess that I came to only a tardy and reluctant conviction that they were not what I and a great many other sincere Americans had believed them to be.

* * *

Descendants of the American Revolution:

This is one organization about which I have specific memories -- though not detailed ones. I recall -- and my wife confirms me in this memory -- that a committee called upon me at our apartment at the time when the Descendants were going to be formed. I do not remember the names of those on this committee: they were strangers, and I never came to know them well enough for the names to stick. They presented the case for an organization of descendants of the American Revolution that would be more liberal in its policies than the Sons and Daughters usually have been. They indicated, as I recall -- and indicated convincingly -- certain liberal and humanitarian faiths characteristic of the founding fathers that were not finding adequate modern expression through the programs and policies of the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution. Although I have not had any particular interest in genealogy or in groups based on the activities of ancestors, I have had a natural pride in the fact that I seem to have had Revolutionary forebears; and as I had never belonged to any group that specifically honored this background and sought to continue its tradition, I responded with interest to the type of program this committee outlined -- and said Yes, I would be a member. (I find a cancelled check for \$2, dated May 6, 1938, as the only financial evidence of membership.) I think I attended two meetings -- possibly even three; and then withdrew. I cannot date the meetings nor say with any clearness what happened at them -- except that I was deeply disappointed. I did not recognize any Communist taint. My memory, rather -- and my wife confirms this from the conversations we had when I came home -- is of a deadly state of affairs in which nothing of significance got done. Far from having a clear cut liberal policy through which I could serve the American tradition, the group, so far as I could tell from those early meetings, simply had no policy at all. There seemed to be a tremendous amount of talk that did not add up -- and I simply withdrew. I do not know the date of my withdrawal. I do not know, even, whether I made it specific at once or simply stopped going to meetings and withdrew later. But this is the essence of the story.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties:

As I recall, the January 1943 message to the House of Representatives was in the nature of a protest against the proceedings of the Dies Committee. I think it proposed the discontinuance of that Committee. I still feel that the House Committee hearings as they were being conducted at that time called for protest. With hindsight, however, I recognize that I made two mistakes when I signed that particular message. One was my failure to suspect that the Federation for Constitutional Liberties was not what I took it to be: an authentic American organization set up to defend civil liberties where these seemed threatened. All I knew about it was what I read in the materials it sent to me; and I doubt that these would have disclosed to any lay citizen not versed in communist tactics the hidden character and motives of the group. (I see by your Committee's report to me that it was already listed as subversive six months before I signed its message. But I, absorbed during those war years with a heavy schedule over the country, was not keeping posted on listings --

and I think very few of us were, or are even today, because of the shortage of time and regular access to materials. In any event, I at that time knew the organization only as a channel through which I was given what seemed a legitimate chance to protest certain Committee methods that seemed to me unfair.) The second mistake I made -- and that I continued to make almost up to the present -- was in underestimating the nature and extent of communist infiltration. At the time that I suggested the abolition of the House Committee I simply did not believe that there was enough undercover subversion in this country to justify any Committee's being absorbed with it on a full-time basis. On this point I have definitely changed my mind. For years, however, I continued to disapprove of Communism very strongly where it appeared in fairly obvious form -- and yet simultaneously to feel that the threat it presented as a conspiratorial movement in this country was being grossly exaggerated.

Schappes Defense Committee:

I know exactly the private reason why I signed this group's petition; and I also know that I cannot make any statement of that reason that will sound even remotely sensible. But anyway, here it is. Schappes, as you know, was on the staff at C.C.N.Y. This meant, naturally, that I sat in faculty meetings with him and also, of course, that we met in other ways connected with college work. I think I have rarely in my experience -- and never, I would say, in any experience with a fellow faculty member -- disliked a man so much. I am not given, as a rule, to strong dislikes directed at individuals over any continued period of time. I don't mean that I indiscriminately like all people equally -- or that I never feel mild and moderate antagonisms. Usually, however, if I have to work with a person I will inevitably find in him characteristics with which to temper an intense dislike. This did not happen in the case of Schappes. I was not thinking of him as a Communist -- though certainly in retrospect I can see that his obstructionist tactics in faculty meeting fit the pattern. I continually startled myself, however, with the intensity of my aversion to him -- to everything he said and did, and to his manner of saying and doing it. This, on the face of it, does not sound like a sensible reason for signing a petition put out by his Defense Committee. Yet it is the reason. From the time that he came under fire to the time that I signed the petition, I repeatedly tried to clarify my own responses to the charges against him and to make sure that I was not making a conviction of his guilt out of the whole cloth of my personal dislike. In the end, still unsure of whether or not I was too prejudiced to give him a fair chance, I decided the legal authorities were in a better position than I to judge whether or not there were sufficient bases for reconsidering his case or granting a pardon. As they could simply ignore the petition if it made no sense to them, I saw no harm that would come of its being sent.

I recognize that there may seem to be a discrepancy between my prolonged self-searching in this case and my signing, in other cases, of petitions that I did not investigate at all. I can only say that -- as I was not yet suspicious of Communist infiltration of humanitarian causes -- there seemed no special reason to investigate before giving help or standing up to be counted in behalf of civil rights. In the Schappes case, however, it was a matter of whether or not I was condemning a man unfairly -- not whether or not I was giving help too casually.

Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign:

I cannot place this item at all. I note that it was cited on January 3, 1940 -- so I presume that my sponsorship, whatever it was, dated from somewhat the same period as the American Friends of Spanish Democracy. If so, my reason for lending my name was probably again my complete confidence at that time in the democratic character of the Loyalist cause. But I have not been able to find any material with which to refresh my memory of this particular group. If you can furnish any additional information I may be able to put the pieces together and give a more satisfactory report. There have been a few times through the years when my name has appeared without my permission; but as the incident seemed unimportant each time, I merely asked to have my name taken off and did not keep a record of the event. I am not saying that I took this on for the same reasons as I did other Spanish causes in that period. But it is possible that I did not even know about it.

Again, I am sorry that I have not been able to document my answers and explanations more thoroughly.

I would like to say, as I end this report, that I am no longer in doubt about the Communist threat. In a book that my wife and I have just completed (to be published by the W. W. Norton Company, in late January) we are devoting two chapters to an analysis of Communist tactics in their psychological implications and to a further analysis of what we can do to counter their influence. The book is in the field of mental health -- will be called THE MIND ALIVE -- and we have found that the strongest case, in a sense, that can be made against Communism must be made by psychologists: in terms of its effects upon individual minds and human relationships.

I would make note, also, of the fact that on May 28th I testified before the Senate Internal Security Committee, as a "friendly witness," and made unmistakably clear my conviction that Communism is a conspiratorial movement and that Communists cannot rightly serve as teachers in our free system: that no matter what their particular subject matter is, the attitudes that have made them become and remain Communists would "spill over" and corrupt the teaching relationship.

I am venturing to attach to this report two samples of my fairly recent writings. The one -- Psychological Maturity: The Key Idea -- is an article that appeared in the Pi Lamda Theta Journal, Fall 1952; and I have marked in the article, on the second and third pages, the matter that seems to me relevant. The other item is a radio series in which I was privileged to take part in San Francisco. Mine was the final broadcast of the series, given on July 4, 1952; and it appears here as the last of the several scripts.

May I thank the Committee for giving me this chance to try to recall and explain my past and also to state my present convictions? Again, if I have failed to cover matters that appear vital to the Committee, I would welcome a chance to appear and answer questions as fully as my memory and limited records would permit.

Signed: H. A. Overstreet

Because the items listed by the Committee under my husband's name have been presumed by various unofficial individuals and groups to apply to me also, I am taking occasion -- although the Committee reports that nothing is listed against my name -- to state that I am not and never have been either a member of the Communist Party or an intentional member or supporter of any group acting to further Communist aims or beliefs.

Signed: Bonaro W. Overstreet

City of Washington)
) (Seal)
 District of Columbia)

August 19, 1953

Personally appeared before me, Truman Ward, a Notary Public, H. A. Overstreet and Bonaro W. Overstreet, who acknowledged and swore to their signatures to the above statement

(Signed) Truman Ward
 Notary Public - Com. Expires Jan. 14, 1956

Under date of October 7, 1953, the chairman of this committee addressed a communication to Dr. Overstreet, as follows:

Dear Doctor Overstreet:

It has recently been called to my attention that you have been in correspondence with members of the staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities and have taken the trouble to come personally to Washington regarding the matter of information contained in the Committee's files relative to you.

I have requested the Committee to furnish me with a report of that information, which I am enclosing, as well as a photostatic copy of the sworn affidavit which you have furnished the Committee in clarification and explanation of the Committee's report.

In the event that future inquiries are made of the Committee concerning information contained in its files relating to you, I am taking the liberty of placing your sworn affidavit in the files in order that it may be furnished along with any material concerning you.

I do not feel that it is necessary, at this time, to schedule an appearance for you before the Committee, believing that the sworn affidavit will serve to act as clarification and completion of the Committee's records.

I appreciate your interest in taking the steps that you have in making this information available to us.

Sincerely yours,
 (signed) Harold H. Velde
 Harold H. Velde
 Chairman

Referring to his letter of October 7, 1953, the chairman wrote to Dr. Overstreet under date of June 11, 1954, as follows:

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

It has come to my attention that in the wording of the letter acknowledging receipt of your affidavit which is included in the House Committee on Un-American Activities files, I stated in effect that "a hearing at this time does not seem necessary."

I realize that anyone reviewing this letter without knowing of the preliminaries might gather that the Committee had contemplated holding a hearing in your situation. However, the facts are that in your letter to me, you had originally indicated that you wanted the matter clarified by whatever steps were necessary, and would be willing to appear at a hearing if necessary. Therefore, in my response to you I was merely indicating that I was satisfied that the affidavit furnished by you was sufficient and that the hearing that you had suggested was unnecessary.

I hope that this may serve to clarify any misunderstanding on this point.

(signed) Sincerely,
Harold H. Velde
Harold H. Velde
Chairman

James G. Patton (identified on the letterhead as President, National Farmers Union)

An article published in the Daily Worker of September 18, 1947, p. 8, stated that "an attempt to disrupt the Farmers Union by raising the red issue was quashed by its top leaders recently. James S. Elmore, until recently editor of the National Union Farmer, resigned under fire after being criticized for inserting a red-baiting editorial and cartoon in the current issue. James Patton, Farmers Union president, who is recovering from an operation, wrote Elmore declaring the material was inconsistent with Farmers Union Policy, and 'invited' his resignation."

The Daily Worker of January 29, 1948, p. 2, reported that James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union, indicated that his organization would support Henry Wallace for President. The Daily Worker of March 15, 1950, p. 8, reported the reelection of Mr. Patton as national president of the Union. The article, accompanied by a photograph of Mr. Patton, said, in part:

"DENVER, March 14.--James G. Patton, in his keynote speech at the convention here of the National Farmers Union, called on the U. S. to take the lead in ending the cold war 'on the basis of mutuality of interest through world development along peaceful lines. He urged the U. S. to 'strike a bargain' with the Soviet Union 'so that all of us can lay down our arms.'

"'Somehow,' declared Patton, 'I believe we will be able to find a way to live in this world with people who differ in viewpoint as to type of economy and social systems.'

"Patton also scored the Mundt Bill and the growing threat to civil rights."

The American Slav Congress issued an invitation to a Testimonial Dinner at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, October 12, 1947. The program (p. 2) listed James G. Patton as one of the sponsors of the dinner. The Attorney General cited the American Slav Congress as subversive and Communist, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.¹ and ² The Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as "a Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10,000,000 people in this country of Slavic birth or descent" (Report on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations, House Report No. 1951, April 26, 1950, p. 1).

James G. Patton, identified as President of the National Farmers Union, was one of the signers of a statement sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*(p. 10) which hailed the War Department's order regarding commissions for Communists (Daily Worker, March 18, 1945, p. 2).

The Civil Rights Congress*(p. 10) issued a statement opposing red-baiting and attacks on Communists, which was signed by James Patton, as shown in the Daily Worker of May 25, 1947, p. 9. He was identified as a member of the Executive Board, Local 78, Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America, Phoenix, Arizona. James G. Patton, president, National Farmers Union, was a member of the Initiating Committee for a Congress on Civil Rights held in Detroit, April 27 and 28, 1946, as shown by the Summons to the Congress.

The following quotation is found on page 19 of the Committee on Un-American Activities Report on the Civil Rights Congress, dated September 2, 1947:

"It is worthy of note that subsequent to the formation of the Civil Rights Congress in Detroit on April 27-28, 1946, and the enlistment of additional sponsors, the names of a number of members of the initiating committee, having served their decoy purposes, disappeared from the organization's letterhead, among them being . . . James G. Patton . . . This seems to be a favorite device of Communist front organizations."

James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, endorsed In Fact, as shown by a folder entitled "A Statement from George Seldes on In Fact." The publication In Fact was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944, p. 48).

The following expression concerning the Communist Party appeared in a "statement made by 87 leading American liberals, setting forth what they consider to be a standard of political conduct for those who believe in liberalism or progressivism as a middle way between the extremes of reaction and communism":

"The American Communist group -- registered party members, together with their more or less unofficial adherents -- has its roots in a foreign land, and the record shows that it follows the behests of a foreign government."

The foregoing statement was placed in the Congressional Record (May 23, 1947, pp. A2599-2600) by the Honorable James E. Murray, and James G. Patton, President of the Farmers Union, was named as a signer.

A statement by James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, sub-

mitted to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 31, 1950, in opposition to H. R. 7595 and H. R. 3903, appears in the public hearings on legislation to outlaw certain un-American and subversive activities, March 21, 22, 23, and 28, 1950 (p. 2353).

Walter P. Reuther

The following appears in testimony of Mr. John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 13, 1938:

Mr. Frey.

These are the two-hundred-and-eighty-odd members of the Communist Party who are now or have been on CIO organization pay rolls. There are one or two who have not been on the pay roll, but I will call attention to them. (Public hearings, Volume 1, p. 112.)

* * *

Walter Reuther, Detroit, Michigan: He is one of the leaders of Automobile Workers Union, and President Martin has preferred charges against him. He has been to Russia several times and made reports as a result. (Ibid., p. 116.)

* * *

This fellow is one of the leaders of the Auto Workers Union and President Martin has preferred charges against him. He visited Soviet Russia and sent back a letter to this country which included the following paragraph: "Carry on the fight for a Soviet America." (Ibid., p. 125.)

* * *

There are two disrupting factors in the automobile workers at the present time. One consists of the bulk of the membership who very much resent the Communist control that was secured of national offices. The other is an internal fight between two factions of the Communist Party. With that I do not want to deal. Mr. Martin will. All that I desire to call your attention to is a complete report of their last meeting, which I am submitting -- my report of what went on. I merely read this to the committee /reading/:

Before the United Automobile Workers Union convention in Milwaukee, the Communist Party members held a fraction meeting or caucus at Eagles Hall in that city. There were present at this caucus Wyndham Mortimer, Ed Hall, Walter Reuther, and about 90 delegates to the convention who were actual Communist Party members. Also present were William Weinstone, Michigan secretary of the Communist Party; Jack Stachel, of New York, a member of the central committee of the Communist Party; Morris Childs, of Chicago, Ill., secretary of the Communist Party; Ned

Sparks, district organizer in Milwaukee of the Communist Party; Jack Johnstone, of Chicago, a member of the central committee; Roy Hudson, of New York, a member of the central committee; B. K. Gebert and Louis Budenz, the latter a member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker. (Ibid., pp. 248 and 249.)

Mr. Frey also submitted a report of the Second Annual Convention, United Automobile Workers of America, from which the following is quoted:

"Since Martin controlled a majority of the delegates to the convention, which he had lined up before the opening day, Lovestone advised a drive to eliminate the regular Communist Party members in the leadership of the so-called unity faction, led by Vice Presidents Wyndham Mortimer, of Flint, Michigan; Ed Hall, of Milwaukee, Wis.; and Walter Reuther, head of the west side local of the union in Detroit. Lovestone's policy was to eliminate Mortimer, Hall, and Reuther and thus strengthen the position of the Trotskyist group behind Martin. There is no question that Martin and Frankenstein, influenced by Lovestone, were prepared to clean house of the Communist group, and it is equally true that up to a month before the Convention the Mortimer-Hall-Reuther faction was trying to get rid of President Martin. * * *

"When President Martin, much to the surprise of John L. Lewis and the Mortimer-Hall-Reuther faction, lined up a majority of the delegates to the convention, the latter faction was forced to change its policies. As stated before, the Mortimer-Hall-Reuther faction is Communist-controlled but disguised that fact by calling themselves the 'Unity Group,' as, under the guise of unity, they thought they could save their own necks and possibly build a fire under Martin during the course of the convention. * * *

"Mortimer, Hall and Reuther worked closely with Ora Gassaway, a personal representative of John L. Lewis; Ray Edmundson, president of the Illinois district of the United Mine Workers and C.I.O. director in that state and David Dubinsky, a president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. On the evening of August 25, Charles S. Zimmerman, president of the powerful New York Local No. 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and a leading Trotskyite and follower of Lovestone, arrived in Milwaukee to use his influence on Dubinsky.

"On the same day (Wednesday), a load of Communist leaders came from Chicago, among them Joe Weber, a Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizer in South Chicago; Harry Shaw and Jack Johnstone, who had in the interim returned to Chicago. Upon arrival of the Chicago group, another Communist Party caucus was called, to which only the top elements were invited. Those present were Jack Stachel, Roy Hudson, William Weinstone, Ned Sparks, Wyndham Mortimer, Ed. Hall, Walter Reuther, and B. K. Gebert * * *" (public hearings, Volume 1, pp. 249 and 250).

Mr. Frey continued as follows:

"The only material in connection with the Automobile Workers' Union which I want to file with the committee is a publication known as 'The

'Great Sit-Down Strike.' It was prepared by William Weinstone, who is a member of the central committee. He has an impressive record. His name is William Wolf Weinstone, and he is district organizer of district No. 7, Communist Party, headquarters, Detroit. He has had direct charge of party activities within the Auto Workers' Union from the beginning. Among those reporting to him are Maurice Sugar, who is the counsel for one group of the auto workers, and has been a candidate for office in Detroit on the Communist ticket; also active with him are Roy Reuther, Walter Reuther, William Raymond, and Wyndham Mortimer" (ibid., p. 255).

In the information submitted by Mr. Walter S. Steele, Chairman of the American Coalition Committee on National Security representing various organizations, in connection with his testimony given before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in public hearings, August 17, 1938, the following reference was made to Walter Reuther:

"Among those sending greetings to the Second National Negro Congress were * * * Walter Reuther, communistic president of Local 174 of the United Auto Workers Association * * *" (ibid., pp. 625 and 626).

In testimony given by Mr. John D. McGillis, Secretary, Detroit Council 305, Knights of Columbus, given before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in public hearings on October 11, 1938, it was shown that Doctors Lendrum and Shafarman of Detroit gave physical examinations to members of the Communist Party, who were able to pay for such examinations, but instead, billed the City of Detroit. These examinations were in connection with recruiting for Loyalist Spain, and in some cases the doctors "have given them to other people prominent in communistic activities in Detroit." Among the latter, Mr. McGillis listed "Walter Reuther and his wife" (Volume 2, pp. 1239, 1247-1248).

On October 12, 1938, Sgt. Harry Mikuliak, Detroit Police Department, testified before the Special Committee, and made the following reference to Walter Reuther:

"* * * Walter P. Reuther is president of the West Side Local 174, and he signs this TB test stating that he could not afford to pay for the examination" (ibid., p. 1286).

Sgt. Mikuliak's testimony referred to the same matter as that quoted from the testimony of Mr. McGillis.

In testimony of Mr. Clyde Morrow, a Ford Motor Company employee, given in public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on October 21, 1938, the following reference was made to Walter P. Reuther:

"Mr. Morrow: Mr. Martin, in his haste to get the automobile workers organized, went out and hired Communist members to do it. I think Martin thought he could use them three or four months and get rid of them.

"The Chairman: And they have gotten to the point where they might get rid of him?

"Mr. Morrow: That is right. They might get rid of Martin the way it looks to me. I hope not.

"The Chairman: Why cannot the international officers get rid of these men?

"Mr. Morrow: Here is the set-up in Detroit. I only speak for Detroit because that is all I know about in Michigan. The international union has fired many Communist Party organizers. * * * Now, what happens to them when Martin fires them? We have three or four 'red' locals in Detroit, Local 155, which is a haven for discharged officers, and when they are discharged by Martin these 'red' locals immediately hire them as their financial secretaries, or recording secretaries, or organizers. Local 174 is what I would call an old soldiers' home for discharged Communist Party members whom Martin has fired. They are immediately taken in by the Communists in charge of their locals, such as Lloyd Jones and Walter Reuther, and people like that" (ibid., pp. 1652 and 1653).

The following excerpts from the testimony of John M. Barringer, City Manager and Director of Publicity of Flint, Michigan, given in public hearings, October 21, 1938, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, concern the sit-down strike at the Chevrolet Motor Company, December 3, 1936:

"Mr. Mosier: What part would you say that members of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, or the left-wing group of the Socialist Party played in that strike?

"Mr. Barringer: They played a very prominent part. We came in contact in every trouble with the Reuther brothers, Travis, and men of that sort.

"Mr. Mosier: They were men you knew, and while you could not prove they were members of the Communist Party, you knew they were in sympathy with them.

"Mr. Barringer: That is right" (ibid., p. 1689).

Mr. J. B. Matthews testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, November 7, 1938, and made the following reference to Walter Reuther:

"Mr. Matthews: * * * I had personal contacts with all three of the Reuther brothers, who have been prominent in the automobile workers union - Walter, Victor, and Roy. The night that Walter and Victor Reuther sailed for Russia, many years ago, I had dinner with them and saw them off, and had some contact with them while they were in Russia and subsequent to their return. I do not know what their exact political connections are at the present time. I only know that their ideology, if I may be permitted to use the word here, is Communist" (public hearings, Volume 3, p. 2188).

In testimony given by Mr. Zygmund Dobrzynski, a member of the U.A.W., given before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in public hearings, November 14, 1938, the following reference was made to Walter Reuther:

"The Chairman: Mr. Dobrzynski, I believe you were testifying before lunch with reference to the conference or conversation you had with Mr. Weinstone. Did those conversations take place in his office?

"Mr. Dobrzynski: Yes, sir; they took place in the Communist Party headquarters * * * He also mentioned the Reuther brothers, Victor, Walter, and Roy, as workers with him. He stated, of course, that they were members of the Socialist Party and not of the Communist Party, but that on certain policies they worked in conjunction with each other.

"The Chairman: You say he mentioned Roy, Victor and Walter Reuther?

"Mr. Dobrzynski: Yes, sir; as workers with him in the union on certain policies. He stated to me that they were not members of the Communist Party, but were members of the Socialist Party" (ibid., pp. 2219-2221).

A report of the United States Chamber of Commerce entitled, "Communists within the Labor Movement," which was inserted in the record in connection with the testimony of Dr. Emerson Schmidt in public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947, contains the following reference to Walter Reuther:

"Gains or even demands made in one section of the A.F. of L., or the C.I.O., tend to repeat themselves elsewhere. It must be remembered that the labor movement is intensely political. If non-Communist leaders do not gain as much as their opponents, they may soon find themselves with an active Communist opposition in their own union. The opposition makes capital of the reasonable demands of the honest leadership. Hence, irresponsibility in labor tends to become infectious.

"An illustration of this analysis can be found in the policies of Walter Reuther. In the political struggles of labor, Reuther is considered a leader of the anti-Communist bloc. But at the same time, he is head of a union which has a powerful Communist minority. He faces sabotage, not only from this clique, but also from the national headquarters of the C.I.O. Communist influences there have persuaded the top leadership that Reuther is a threat to their positions. As a result, Reuther faces an alternative: he must either be aggressive or retire in favor of some Communist dupe. This explains in part the conflict in his public statements. On the one hand, he may favor increased labor productivity and decry inflationary wage rises. On the other hand, he makes wage demands which cannot be other than inflationary" (public hearings on H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122, March 24-28, 1947, p. 173).

Further references to Walter Reuther occur in the committee's Hearings Regarding Communism in Labor Unions, in the testimony of Leon E. Venne and Walter Petersen on February 27, 1947, as follows:

"Mr. Stripling. Just a moment, Mr. Venne. In connection with the strike, Mr. Chairman, I would like for the record to show the attitude of the now president of the United Automobile Workers with reference to this local.

"The Chairman. What is his name?

"Mr. Stripling. Walter P. Reuther.

"In a newspaper article which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express on August 5, 1941, Walter P. Reuther charged that the Allis-Chalmers local was 'dominated by political racketeers of Communist stripe.' He described a local 248 election as 'the worst kind of strong-armed political racketeering,' (p. 36)

* * *

"Mr. Venne. * * * I believe that labor, in order to make any of the gains that labor must make, must clean house, and it doesn't start at the bottom, but it starts at the top. We see in Allis-Chalmers today a situation that has come about through political maneuvering of two people who want the same job in the United Automobile Workers of America, namely, Walter Reuther and R. J. Thomas. R. J. Thomas is now using the Allis-Chalmers strike to insure that at the next convention he will have 87 votes to cast in favor of his presidency. R. J. Thomas -- I mean, R. J. Thomas -- belongs to the left-wing bloc in the international.

"While I don't pretend to call him a Communist, he accepts their support.

* * *

"The international -- I mean, local 248 is exonerated from paying per

capita tax to the international union while a strike is in progress. On April 29, the day the strike was called, local 248 had 87 votes at the international convention -- that is, they have a vote for every one of the members. They will still carry that 87 votes at the convention that is to be held; I believe it is in September.

"Providing that -- I am getting ahead of myself.

"The constitution of the United Auto Workers states that a per capita tax will be based on a period of 1 year preceding 60 days from the convention date, which means that if the strike continues to approximately June 31, then local 248 will carry 87 votes to support R. J. Thomas in his fight against Walter Reuther; whereas if the strike was settled, say, today, we will have to figure some months on an 87 basis and some months at possibly -- I would state that if the strike were settled today the members of local 248 would drop to an all-time low of probably 2,000 to 3,000 on the outside, and probably less.

"The Chairman. Then, Mr. Venne, do you mean to imply that the real purpose of this strike is to determine the national leadership between Reuther and Thomas?

"Mr. Venne. I will put it this way, sir: The continuation of this strike -- the continuance of the strike is due to the -- rests on the political angle of the international fight for the presidency of the U.A.W. of A." (p. 48)

Mr. Venne's testimony was followed by that of Mr. Walter Petersen, of Allis-Chalmers, from which the following is quoted:

"Mr. Stripling. Did you hear the testimony of the preceding witness, Mr. Venne?

"Mr. Petersen. Yes.

"Mr. Stripling. What do you have to say concerning his testimony about the 87 votes?

"Mr. Petersen. That is right. If the strike is prolonged until June 1947, which would be about 60 days before the date of the convention, local 248 would still carry 87 votes at the convention, due to the fact that the status of the members of the union would revert back to 1945; and if the strike was settled before that, they would lose approximately, about 30 votes, they would probably have about 25 -- more than that -- have about 25 or 30 votes left at the convention, because it would be based then on the basis of the present membership.

"Mr. Mundt. You mean they would lose about 60 votes?

"Mr. Petersen. They would lose about 60 votes.

"Mr. Stripling. Have you made any effort to oust the Communists -- as a member of good standing?

"Mr. Petersen. Yes, we did. We have been in and out of this fight practically since 1939. In 1941, I had much correspondence with Clare Hoffman. We already knew about it.

"Mr. Stripling. Did you ever communicate with any of the international officers of the union?

"Mr. Petersen. I did.

"Mr. Stripling. Did you communicate with them? Whom did you communicate with?

"Mr. Petersen. I communicated with Mr. Reuther and Mr. Murray both.

"Mr. Stripling. Walter Reuther?

"Mr. Petersen. Yes.

"* * *

"Mr. Stripling. Did you get any response?

"Mr. Petersen. We never received any response from them whatsoever.

"Mr. Mundt. They didn't answer?

"Mr. Petersen. They didn't answer or recognize the letter. The only evidence we have is that they were sent by registered mail, and the receipt is all we have.

"Mr. Stripling. Were you alone in your petition to Mr. Murray and Mr. Reuther?

"Mr. Petersen. No. This dates back to last September 1946. There was about four or five of us from our department who got together and talked things over and we gradually expanded, held caucuses in West Allis, and we had talked all the different angles of how to clear up this leadership thing pro and con, but as we grew bigger we also were raided by the goon squads. We would be chased off of one corner and would go to the next to have a meeting. We decided at last that there was no way we could beat them but by going on the other side of the fence and withdrawing our support from the union, which we did. There was at that time about 3,000 of us that went in and more workers came in right along and in the latter part of November we had repudiation cards printed. * * *

"Mr. Stripling. * * * How many members of local 248 signed such a card?

"Mr. Petersen. We had approximately -- at the time we sent the petition in, we had 2,600 of those cards signed.

"Mr. Stripling. Where did you send the petition?

"Mr. Petersen. We sent it to Mr. Reuther -- one to Mr. Reuther and one to Mr. Murray.

"Mr. Stripling. And you received no reply from them?

"Mr. Petersen. We received no reply whatsoever. * * *

"It happened that on December 8, Walter Reuther was in town, was in Milwaukee, and we made an attempt to contact him. I had tried to contact him all that day at different points around town. I knew where he was and failed to make connections. When the rioting happened on this Monday, we put out a call for a special meeting for that evening. * * *

"During the course of this meeting I stated the fact that Reuther was in town the day before and failed to notify us or get in touch with us, and I failed to contact him, and what happened that day out at the plant. We took that for his answer to our demands. * * *" (pp. 51-53)

During this committee's investigation of Communist activities in the State of Michigan, Mr. Stephen J. Schemanske was asked whether he had any directives issued by the Communist Party dealing with "Ford concentration." He replied that he did, and submitted a mimeographed document entitled "Resolution on Concentration for Discussion at All Clubs, Sections, Commissions, and Departments." Describing the exhibit, committee counsel said: "This is a document which, from the content of it, shows that it emanated from State headquarters of the Communist Party, and from its content it shows that it was directed for the orientation of the work of all Communist Party clubs and commissions and groups in the State of Michigan" (Communist Activities in the State of Michigan - Part 4, p. 5266). The following references to Mr. Reuther appear in the document:

selves to the basic principles and values which have been the source of

"Our State committee has just reviewed 9 months of concentration work by our party since the last State convention. In that time our party has increased its attention to the problems of the auto workers. The face of our party has been presented to the auto workers to a greater degree than in the past 10 years. We have seen the development of economic struggles, dramatized in the Ford strike against speedup, despite the stifling attempts of Reuther. * * *

"The UAW convention exposed the weakness of our party's industrial concentration method of work in auto. The anti-Reuther forces did not have a majority base in any one of the auto's Big Three. Where party work was on a relatively higher level as in Ford, the anti-Reuther strength was greatest. In GM our main national concentration sector, the progressives were weakest of all. Flint and Pontiac, with strong anti-Reuther forces in the past, were Reuther strongholds in this convention despite the mass dissatisfaction of the GM workers with wage cuts, increased speedup, phony umpires, and frozen contracts.

"* * *

"The betrayal by Reuther of the recent Ford strike against speedup was the logical consequence of his unqualified support for the Truman doctrine, the Marshall plan and now the North Atlantic Military Alliance, stepping stones toward fascism and imperialist war. To justify such betrayals he has often unashamedly admitted that these 'sacrifices' were necessary in order that the war program be put over. * * *" (ibid., pp. 5267 and 5273; complete exhibit is printed in Part 2, pp. 5116-5122 - 1954 hearings).

During the investigation of Communist activities in the Pacific Northwest Area (in 1954), Congressman Clyde Doyle, of this committee, said:

"Mr. Chairman, yesterday I mentioned that I had a copy of a news release issued by Walter P. Reuther, president of the national UAW-CIO, and in view of this yellow sheet coming in this morning from alleged laboring men, it seems appropriate to read a small portion thereof to you. I wish to state that this news release by Mr. Reuther came into my possession when I was sitting as a member of the subcommittee in Flint, Mich., several weeks ago. It reads as follows:

We have no quarrel with the professed purposes of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Each witness appearing before these committees must of course make his own individual decision as to the course of action which he will follow in his testimony. This is a matter of individual conscience and judgment. However, we in UAW-CIO sincerely urge every witness called before the House Un-American Activities Committee, if it is at all possible to do so, to avoid using the fifth amendment. Protecting the good name and reputation of innocent people and their families does not absolve the former Communist from his patriotic duty as a citizen to testify fully of his firsthand knowledge of the names and activities of any Communist Party functionary, of any illegal activities, or any evidence of conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force or violence, or evidence of a nature which would serve to strengthen the security of our Nation, while at the same time refusing to testify in any matter in which he has no direct firsthand knowledge or any matter which has happened so far in the past that his memory cannot be relied upon with any degree of accuracy. We, the UAW-CIO, believe that this is the hour when America needs to take inventory and we dedicate ourselves to the basic principles and values which have been the source of

our greatness, UAW-CIO, through years of practical experience and the forefront of fighting against communism, fully recognizes and understands the danger of the Communist world conspiracy. We support and shall continue to support every effort of our Government to meet this threat. We shall, however, resist every effort on the part of any apostle of fear, hatred, or hysteria, who would try to destroy the very freedom that we are dedicated to preserve. As a free people you must demonstrate the courage and good sense to resist the use of Communist and totalitarian methods under the guise of fighting communism -- et cetera." (Investigation of Communist Activities in the Pacific Northwest Area -- Part 2, pp. 6103 and 6104)

The Daily Worker of September 4, 1937, p. 8, contained a picture of the three Reuther brothers, above the following caption: "Three militant members of the unity caucus of the United Auto Workers Union are Roy, Victor and Walter Reuther, the latter also a member of the International Executive Board of the union. These brothers played a prominent part in the Milwaukee convention. They are champions of the united front within the Socialist Party and are opponents of Trotskyism as a counter-revolutionary movement."

Rt. Rev. Henry K. Sherrill

The Right Reverend Henry K. Sherrill was one of the sponsors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship^{*(p. 13)} according to the following sources: the Call to the Congress held in Madison Square Garden, November 6-8, 1943, p. 4; a memorandum issued by the Council, dated March 18, 1946; a letterhead dated March 13, 1946. He was listed as a sponsor of the Massachusetts Council of the organization on a letterhead dated December 15, 1943.

An article concerning Dr. Sherrill, accompanied by his photograph, appeared in the November 17, 1952, issue (p. 3) of the Daily People's World, official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast. The following is quoted from the article:

"Anti-Sovieteers who would break off truce negotiations in Korea and extend the Korean conflict to China are 'counselors of doom.'

"The Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, presiding bishop of the U. S. Episcopal church, blasted these 'counselors' in a press conference here and said, 'I think it is imperative that we keep on negotiating.

"We must continue talking - in Korea, in the UN and elsewhere. Somehow we may arrive at a settlement without war.'

"Bishop Sherrill blasted the arms race of great nations since World War II, but said he felt the production of the atom bomb 'may be an agency for peace' in the long run.

"I think, I hope,' the bishop said, 'that atomic warfare may seem too frightful for anyone to start it.'

"To break off negotiations, Bishop Sherrill said, would be fatal, and if peace is to be won in the world, those who advocate excluding the Soviet Union from the United Nations must be defeated. * * *"

The article is datelined Los Angeles, November 16.

The following is quoted from an article in the Washington Evening Star of May 20, 1953, p. 1:

"Chicago, May 20. — The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. today named a 15-member committee to watch developments in Congress and elsewhere which 'threaten the freedom of the people and institutions of the United States.'

"The Committee, headed by the Right Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, includes Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, * * * and Dr. Arthur S. Flemming * * *

"Appointment of the 'committee on the maintenance of American freedom' was announced at the bimonthly meeting of the council's General Board, the organization's interim policy-making body, by President William C. Martin * * *

"Bishop Martin, in a statement, expressed his personal hope that the committee 'will help the churches to recognize any threat of Communist infiltration into American life * * *'"

Dr. Ralph Sockman

The Daily Worker, November 10, 1948, p. 11, reported that the Rev. Ralph W. Sockman, of Christ Church, New York City, was one of those who sent greetings on the occasion of the Thirty-First Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, celebrated under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. *(p. 13)

It was reported in the Daily Worker (May 17, 1947, p. 5; May 20, 1947, p. 2) that the Rev. Ralph W. Sockman spoke at the annual dinner of the American Russian Institute, in New York City, May 19, 1947. He was chairman of the Inter-Church Committee of the Institute, as shown on a letterhead of the organization which was received by this committee July 26, 1949. The American Russian Institute was cited as Communist by the United States Attorney General, in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949. 1 and 2

The Reverend Dr. Sockman was one of the sponsors of the World Youth Congress held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College, according to the Daily Worker of March 28, 1938, p. 3. *(p. 7)

A letterhead of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom *(p. 19) dated January 21, 1946, names Dr. Ralph Sockman as a sponsor of the organization.

Dr. Wesley Sturges (identified on the UWF letterhead as Dean of the Law School of Yale University)

The booklet "These Americans Say: 'Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain'" named Prof. Wesley A. Sturges (identified as a lawyer) as a "representative individual" who "in the name of true neutrality, in the cause of world peace and democracy," advocated lifting the embargo on the sale of arms to Spain. The booklet was published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo. *(p. 21)

A Prospectus and Review issued by the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain *(p. 22) named Wesley A. Sturges as a member of the organization.

Highlander Hotel
Texas
November 21, 1954

Dear Mr. Nichols,

We think this first bulletin from the Dallas front can be counted as reassuring; but the final story will have to be told after tomorrow. Certainly we have never walked into a situation more crowded with cross currents and ambiguities. One thing is very definite: that it would have been a tragic mistake, not only for ourselves but for many people here, if we had simply let the matter slide and had not come down. With all the facts that have crowded in upon us, it is going to be hard to give you briefly a picture that makes sense. As always, events have been shaped by the differing responses of individuals to an issue thrust upon them, and must, we feel, be understood in those terms.

Here are such facts and approximations thereof as we have garnered so far. One man, a Mr. William Ware, put into the hands of the President of the Health Museum certain "documented" evidence of Harry's pro-Communist leanings. The President, Mr. Turner Baxter, consulted a few members of his Executive Committee as individuals, but did not consult his Board as such, nor the Director of the Museum, and then passed the material on to Mrs. Luther Jordan, President of the Museum Auxiliary that had signed the contract with us. Mr. Baxter now says that he did nothing more: that he expressed no opinion. That is, he says this by phone. He has declined to meet us and is standing pat on the assumption that he has no responsibility in the matter. Everyone else involved seems to feel that he stated categorically that the cancellation would have to be made. In any event, Mrs. Jordan -- who seems well known for her dogmatic and "denouncing" attitudes -- took individual initiative. Apparently it was she who instructed the lawyer to break the contract -- and who only then broke the news to other Board members. Then she went under cover -- at least when our wire arrived asking for a chance to meet with the Committee and get reasons for the cancellation. She has simply gone out of circulation and we cannot, by any means tried so far, reach her even by phone. Some Board members -- two or three -- agreed with her that we must be dropped. Others protested with varying degrees of insistence. But none of them actually knew what had been done, or knew that no reasons had been given us, until we actually got here with the lawyer's letter. This makes, in essence, a situation where those few who are responsible for the cancellation cannot be reached for any statement -- or refuse to make any if they are reached -- and where the many are confused, bewildered, and indignant.

Now come back for a moment to Mr. Ware -- and to certain other even more shadowy figures who were in on the process of circulating material against us. He is, it seems, on the Americanism Committee of the Legion; but we see, at this stage, no reason to think the Legion as a whole is involved. Our guess is that he acted as an individual. The other shadowy figures represent something that may be a lot more sinister: a number of women who called on Mrs. Jordan and gave her material against us (including pamphlets) are

told) and someone wholly unidentified to us who wrote letters to various Dallas business men stating that they know what was said about the Overstreets was true: "They are Communists." Here we go beyond known facts to what is stated, by one individual after another, to be almost certainly true: that in these figures we are up against the local "interlocking directorate" of Facts Forum, Pro America, and the Minute Women. Some of the women who took the materials to Mrs. Jordan are apparently known to be active workers in these groups; but we ourselves do not know even their names.

The plan was to keep the whole business under cover. That is not a hearsay statement. The President himself, Mr. Baxter, said several times over on the phone -- almost plaintively! -- that there wouldn't have been any trouble if we had been satisfied just to cancel the lecture and not ask for reasons. Those who had bought tickets were given no reason for the cancellation: simply told, by card and by a cryptic notice in the paper, that they could get their money back. Actually, we have never run up against anything quite as naive as some of the attitudes we have met here: the assumption that such action could be kept quiet with those who had originally circulated the material at large and talking; the feeling that we are somehow inexplicably unreasonable in wanting to know reasons; the surprise that it isn't taken as natural and right to cancel a lecture if it might be in any way an embarrassment to a fund drive; the further surprise that people don't feel that just because a thing has been done it should be accepted as done and finished; the total lack of responsibility toward either a legal contract or our reputations.

These attitudes, however, mark only a few individuals who, unfortunately, were in key positions and acted with authority -- without group consent. The astonishing thing has been the warmth of the many persons -- including various Board members -- who have welcomed our coming, who have come to us with all their grief and embarrassment about the thing, and who are more than eager to do whatever can be done to straighten matters out.

Here is what comes next -- and if you get this letter by tomorrow, say a very special prayer for us at about 8 PM C.S.T. Monday night! We are going to be trying one of the most ticklish jobs we've ever undertaken. By a sort of emergent conviction on the part of various different people, and by our own agreement with that conviction, it has come about that we will speak tomorrow evening in the Unitarian Church. It is a small church, seating at the most 250 people. The core of the audience will be representative people, notified by phone, from the Museum itself, from various churches, and from the mental health society, the PTA, the social agencies, etc. Beyond these, we do not know: anyone, of course, can come, up to the capacity of the auditorium. There may be many or there may be few. But here is what we have to attempt within, say, the compass of an hour and a half: first, to state the basic facts about the cancellation and our reasons for feeling that we had to come down in spite of it to learn the causes and to speak for ourselves; second, to tell -- with documents in hand -- what we have tried to do, these past two years, to set the record straight; third, to try to clarify what we take to be the sound policy for people like ourselves to follow in such cases (namely, going to the govt. and the public and not trying to keep anything under cover to be exploited by extremists

of the right or the left; fourth, to go ahead and give at least a rudimentary talk on emotional health (as originally scheduled), gearing it to our hope that the Health Museum, as a useful and necessary organization in the community, will be well supported and that no hangover from this incident will be permitted to divide its supporters. We will end up by trying to put the whole case for getting problems into the open, trying to understand the various stakes and points of view of the people involved, learning to distinguish misunderstandings from deliberate distortion, and generally keeping the mental air clear enough for people to think in -- and to see one another through as human beings instead of, murkily, as stereotypes. You know the sort of thing we care about. How we will be able to handle all this only tomorrow evening will tell.

One problem has been to keep impulsive well-wishers from going off half cocked -- but we think that is under control. Another has been to lay the foundation for fair reporting (in so far as this is possible), if any. Yet another has been to keep things in proportion -- not letting this incident be blown up as "typical" nor letting the actions of a few individuals be publicized as the actions of whole organizations. And finally, in the middle of all this, there has been the need to keep reiterating firmly (to those who don't see why we made an issue of the whole thing) that things of this sort can't be done to people's reputations just for the sake of avoiding issues. It's quite a deal. If we can handle it at all, it will be because of the wise and affectionate support that has rallied here -- and perhaps because we know rather deeply by now what we want to accomplish in cases like this.

Since starting this letter, I took time out to call Mr. Baxter again and try to persuade him to come around and talk the whole business over -- for his own sake and that of the Museum, so that his own role would not seem to his fellow members to be that of passing the buck. His reputation and that of Mrs. Jordan have suffered deep hurt because ~~knxx~~ he and she, having created the situation, have virtually gone into hiding and refused to take any responsibility for events -- except, apparently, to blame us for wanting explanations. We have tried, explaining as best we could what might easily be done to salvage the situation, to get him to take some move that might reinstate him in the respect of his own people; but he won't come near us. For the first time, he angled up to the idea of their paying the fee and putting an end to the matter; but we had to explain that it wasn't the fee that was at issue.

There is no telling who will show up at the meeting tomorrow night. Anything can happen -- and we won't say we aren't somewhat nervous about it. But it seemed the only means ~~knx~~ of taking the matter to the public and of helping to put together again the split organizations involved.

We are scheduled to see Mr. Murphy tomorrow at one. We'll write again when this is all over and we are wandering westward.

Sincerely,

Barbara Christ

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
R. F. D. 2
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

November 9, 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJJ/L (47)
245472

I wouldn't be writing this letter today -- since what I'm writing about is still indefinite on the edges -- were it not that we'd like awfully to have an answer from you, if we can, while we still have the Allerton Hotel, Chicago, as a mailing address: that is, before the 16th. After we leave there, we will have no effective address for ten days or more -- and by the time we have one, certain events will be behind us that now lie ahead.

Briefly, it looks as though we are running into trouble in Dallas: trouble different in pattern from the Tucson variety, but perhaps even more troublesome. Here's how it looks -- and when more precise information reaches us, in a few days, when we are in Louisville, we'll bring you up to date. Some months ago a Dallas group called the Dallas Health Museum wrote and asked us to speak on November 19th. A contract was subsequently signed through our agent. Some pleasant correspondence followed, with the chairman expressing her warm satisfaction in our coming. Suddenly yesterday our agent reported from New York by long distance phone that she had received a completely baffling letter, not from the contracting party, but from a Dallas lawyer, who stated that he represented the contracting party, that the lecture would have to be cancelled, that the auditorium would not be made available, that under no circumstances must we speak, and that nothing would induce our sponsor to change this decision. There was no reason given: simply a flat statement that he was going to fight the lecture and handle the legalities of breaking the contract.

On the phone, with this hitting me suddenly out of the blue, I had to make a decision on which our agent would act -- and there seemed nothing better to do than to let my first impulse guide me. It may have been a wise impulse or a foolish one. In any event, what I said was to this effect: that while we would -- as in Tucson -- stand by any sponsor who stood firm in resisting outside pressure, we would never, on the basis of a legal technicality, try to force ourselves upon a reluctant sponsor. Neither would we stand on our legal right to collect the fee -- though this, we know, could be done and has been done. It has been a matter of professional happiness and pride, through the years, that we have always tried to give full value for every fee received and we would neither press for nor accept a few without the requisite work that went with it. I asked, however, that the agent ask the lawyer to state the reasons for the cancellation. We doubt

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NS NOV 29 1954

that he will do so in any fullness; for if he were inclined to state reasons his first letter would have given them.

So that's how the matter rests this morning. Our agent will send me copies of the lawyer's letter to reach me in Louisville; and just for the record, I'll send one on to you.

The question in our own mind is now, "What next?" The easiest thing, of course, would be just to let the lecture go down the drain . . . and forget about it. . . and decide that Dallas is not to be counted upon as a place we can go without trouble and had therefore better not go at all. But we don't like the feel of that decision. It's one thing not to press a sponsor -- particularly as we do not yet know what pressure was exerted upon her or what her own stakes in the local situation are. (I've written her, asking for information but not "denouncing.") But it seems to us quite another thing to drop the whole matter and let this sort of pressure go unchallenged. So we think we'll drop into Dallas on our own -- probably around the 20th or 21st of the month, and do a little scouting: see if we can find out who has been up to what. We know from other things we've heard of that some odd forces may be at work there, and we'd like to know what they are. At least, we don't like to let them force a cancellation of one of our contracts and still remain anonymous.

Obviously, we don't expect you to take on our problems. But it's a comfort to tell you about them now and then. And there is one question to which we would like an answer if you feel free to give it. Is it ~~a~~ nuisance, or in any way a "trespassing" beyond our legitimate rights, if we go into your division office there -- as we did in Tucson -- and just talk things out in the atmosphere of sanity your offices provide? We know that your Tucson man told you of our visit -- for you spoke of his having done so. We wouldn't ask you to tell us what he said -- naturally. But can you tell us whether, from his point of view, as a busy person, and one not directly involved, it was all right for us to come in as we did? It was an incredible comfort to us. And we have a feeling that it will help us a good deal in thinking things through in Dallas -- providing they become complicated -- if we can drop in there and think aloud. So won't you tell us, for now and for future reference, how you feel about our doing this sort of thing? We don't want ever to be a nuisance or to seem to expect any sort of objective help in situations where we know it cannot be given. Moral support, however, in the form of relaxed listening, is an enormous help, now and then, to our perplexed selves.

That's all for now. Sorry this had to be such a long letter. Aside from this incident, all is going wonderfully well.

Cordially,

Benard Overstreet

COPY

Health Museum Guild
Dallas Health Museum Fair Park

June 30, 1954

9531

Dr. Bonaro W. Overstreet
RFD. 2
Bennington, Vermont

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I am very happy to tell you that we have made arrangements with Miss Dillon for you to come to us on November 19 for a lecture. The Guild is a very small part of our well established Dallas Health Museum. Its chief purpose is the promotion of health education. In the three years since its organization it has done much to promote public interest in the Museum. We are most pleased indeed to be presenting you two again to the people of Dallas. Dr. Bell and I personally look forward to hearing you once more.

Will you please submit some topics for discussion so we may go ahead with our printing and publicity. I would like to know your arrival time also, however, November will be soon enough for that.

If there is anything we can do for you in regard to further arrangements, please let us know.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. Weldon E. Bell
7022 Currin Drive
Dallas 30, Texas

RECEIVED
JUN 30 1954
5-19-06
245,472
SPBBT/CSL

100-114575-38

PHONE RA-2797

C O P Y

Associates

Earl A. Males
A.H. Dudek

E.L. BRISTOR

Attorney

Wilson Building
Dallas 1, Texas

November 6, 1954

Walden Programs, Inc.
The Algonquin
59 West 44 Street
New York 36, New York

Att. M. Tuohy

Dear Madam:

This letter is to notify you of the cancellation of the date for Drs. Overstreet, apparently scheduled for November 19th, 1954, Dallas, Texas, correspondent Mrs. Weldon E. Bell, Mrs. Luther Jordan, Jr.

I have been retained to handle this matter.

You will note Paragraph 2, Section B, of your purported contract: "Remit check, etc., immediately after lecture or recital has been completed." There will be no lecture, as this cancels any agreement which might have existed. This attorney is fully conversant and familiar with theatrical contracts.

Under no circumstances will my client reconsider or alter the above notification.

Very truly yours,

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DATE 5-19-86

BY SP8BJT/COL
245 472

(Signed) E.L. Bristor
Atty.

elb;t

100-117575-28

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet

December 6, 1954

Mr. Nichols:

Re the attached letter from the Overstreets dated November 26, 1954, per your instructions I showed this letter to Lee Pennington today and discussed this matter with him. Pennington plans to write a letter to Legion headquarters in Indianapolis instructing his assistants there to lay low on the attacks against the Overstreets. Pennington stated that the incident down at Dallas was certainly "botched up." Such action on Pennington's part may have the effect of preventing the Overstreets from corresponding further relative to their problems.

D.

Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/COL
245472

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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100-114523-29

12 DEC 30 1954

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133

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11-24-54
70798

FROM : SAC, Dallas (100-3353)

SUBJECT: DR. and MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
SECURITY MATTER - CATTENTION: Mr. L. B. NICHOLS
Assistant to the DirectorALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL
205 472

On 11-19-54 Mrs. HARRY OVERSTREET, residing at the Highlander Hotel, Dallas, Texas, telephonically advised that she and Dr. OVERSTREET had just arrived in Dallas, where they had been scheduled to give a lecture before the Dallas Health Museum Guild; however, they had only recently received notice that the lecture was being cancelled and were given the nebulous reason that it had been cancelled due to information received that Dr. OVERSTREET was "pro-Communist".

Mrs. OVERSTREET stated she had brought the matter to the attention of Mr. L. B. NICHOLS of the Bureau and it had been suggested that she report the matter to the Dallas Office.

Dr. and Mrs. OVERSTREET came to the Dallas Office at 1:00 P.M. 11-22-54, at which time they produced a letter sent by E. L. BRISTER, Attorney, Wilson Building, Dallas, Texas, dated 11-6-54, addressed to the Walden Programs, Inc., Algonquin Hotel, 59 West 44th Street, New York City, advising that their lecture on mental health before the Museum Guild of the Dallas Health Museum, scheduled for 11-19-54, had been cancelled. No reason was given, however, for the cancellation. Dr. and Mrs. OVERSTREET stated they had endeavored through officials of the museum guild to determine the official reason for the cancellation, and finally had determined it was on the basis of an American Legion listing that they had appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities for questioning concerning donations and possible memberships in organizations under investigation by that body. They mentioned that there had been a nebulous reference to the fact that the cancellation was due to information received from the FBI. They said they realized that such information was totally unfounded, but they desired to have it reiterated that the Bureau furnishes no information to anyone not legally entitled to same. They were given this very definite assurance, and specifically in their instance.

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Dr. and Mrs. OVERSTREET advised that they appeared before a group of interested patrons of the museum guild at a specially called meeting the evening of 11-22-54, at which time they explained to this particular group the issue involved and the fact that they had received letters from the State Department and Mr. HAROLD VELDE of the House Committee in which they had been cleared of any previous stigma which might have been placed upon them by virtue of their appearance before the HCUA.

Both Mrs. and Dr. OVERSTREET expressed their deep appreciation of the opportunity of discussing this matter with the Dallas Office and were particularly appreciative of the courtesies extended to them by Mr. L. B. NICHOLS of the Bureau.

Mrs. OVERSTREET stated that it was her intention in the near future to communicate with Mr. LEE PENNINGTON of the American Legion, suggesting that it would be desirable for the Legion to bring up to date its list of individuals whom the Legion may suspect of UnAmerican inclinations and particularly to remove from such list those who have been given clearance by the HCUA and the State Department.

December 23, 1954

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File
✓

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
46 Helen's Lane
Mill Valley, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL
245472

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I certainly regret my delay in acknowledging your very complete report on your visit to Dallas. From your account and what I have heard, it appears that you came out very well. There is nothing like facing up to the issue, and the truth, of course, has no competitor. Even distorted minds must eventually face it.

I do hope that the unpleasantness of this year is something that will now become history and I have reason to believe that it will and that the New Year will bring both Dr. Overstreet and you an abundance of all your hearts could desire.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

L. B. Nichols

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Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
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Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

JAN 7 1955

mailed
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(3)

Florence, Arizona
November 26, 1954

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet

Dear Mr. Nichols,

(4)

We feel sure Mr. Murphy will already have written you. So we have given ourselves three days on the open road, and three long nights of sleep, before trying to set down in words the drama, melodrama, and comedy of the Dallas experience.

Our last letter to you, written Sunday morning, was scarcely in the mail before the tempo of events began to speed up -- and their peculiar significance began to show itself. The decision that was made Saturday evening with regard to our meeting with a group on Monday, and telling the story to the public, began to be well circulated by Sunday noon -- after the telephone had been kept busy a while and an announcement had been made in church. As though this word about our intentions had suddenly released people from some inhibiting fear -- or feeling of helplessness -- there took place a brisk, warm, intelligent rallying of forces such as we have only rarely witnessed before. Individuals eager to help and well informed about the Dallas set-up appeared from all directions -- and more than a few of them from the membership, and even from the Boards, of the Museum Guild and the parent organization, the Health Museum. These Board members were particularly important because some of them had been present at the "exclusive" meetings where those who had negotiated the cancellation of our lecture asked for a token sanctioning of what they had done; and from them we were able to learn much we might not otherwise have learned at all.

You'd have nodded approvingly at the way a handful of people -- most of them young business and professional couples -- went at the job of setting up Monday night's meeting. We all agreed that the audience would have to be built by hand, so to speak -- or more accurately, by phone. With the two Dallas papers virtually boycotting the whole thing -- the NEWS boycotting it entirely, and the TIMES-HERALD reluctant and niggardly in response -- there could be no hope of any general announcement that would have effect. And none of us dared risk the sort of appeal to groups that might bring about a moving in of leftwing elements to try to turn it into a mass meeting of protest -- and us into martyrs. In addition to the building of an audience, two other tasks had to be performed: the gathering of all possible facts about what had actually gone on and what the hidden motives were; and provision for accurate news coverage at the national level, since the local editors were killing at their desks even the stories their own reporters brought in.

To this latter task we, with our long background of cordial relations with the press, could make our own contribution; and the Bureau Chief of AP, Bill Barnard, the head of the local TIME office, Earl Johnson, and the Christian Science Monitor representative all moved responsibly into the picture to fill the vacuum left by the local papers -- and not only to fill that vacuum, but to prevent misrepresentation. (As a further safeguard against misrepresentation, arrangements were made to have everything we said Monday night tape recorded by two different people and kept permanently on file.)

RECORDED 13 DEC 30 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTS/lal

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10/25/84
LJB

And so to Monday night. To our astonishment, some three hundred people packed the church, filling every seat that could be packed in and standing three deep at the back of the auditorium. The overwhelming majority of the people, we feel sure, were friendly or neutral to start with -- and warmly friendly at the end. A few were hostile -- but they too, indirectly, were an asset: one in particular, who was quite apparently doing an assigned job of heckling. The Unitarian minister who presided, Dr. Robert Raible, did a superbly right job of introducing us: with no reference to the problem, he said simply that he and his church were proud to introduce the Overstreets to a Dallas audience. We took over from there. And we played it straight -- as though our job actually were that of straightening out a past record that had been challenged in good faith. Neither we nor anyone in the audience, we would say, believed that was the real issue. But it had been handed to us on a platter, so to speak, and nothing could have served more neatly our wish to tell our full story. We tried to do three things -- and to do them in the form of a simple reporting of facts, with no emotional editorializing. We told, first, of the contracting of the lecture, its cancellation, and our decision -- when no facts or reasons were given -- to come to Dallas to try to learn the score. Second, with documents in hand (Thanks for having Ray Nixon send the materials), we told our own experiences in Mill Valley, Washington and Tucson. Third, we tied in these events and their implications with our mental health concerns. In the question period, we had, happily, the best chance we have ever had so far to do yet another thing: to discuss what we have learned about the reasons, processes, and problems of investigations -- with an invisible bow to Bob Morris and Ray Nixon.

All this was not as calm as it sounds! Early in our talk, reporting on the events of the cancellation, we said, "We have been told. . ." something or other. A woman standing at the back of the auditorium (more about her later) broke in suddenly: "You're telling what you've been told. Now I'll tell what I was told." All heads turned; and she launched into a talk that might have been spontaneous or might have been planned. We invited her up to the platform to say her say -- and she did; and in the process, she told us one thing we had not certainly known before -- that the Legion list was the tool being actively used against us. Her thesis was that she had read our books and thought they were wonderful until she was told about the list. . . etc. She was a fairly time-consuming person; but she actually did part of our work for us, unintentionally. From there on throughout the evening she kept breaking in, always harping on the list -- even after she must have known that what she was saying could no longer carry weight. Largely because of her interruptions, our story took an interminable time -- almost two hours. Then we offered the audience a chance to go home; but only a few went, and for another hour we answered questions and told what we had learned ourselves during the past two and a half years. Throughout the evening we stressed and restressed two things: that issues belong in the open; and that the way to prevent the free play of hysteria and fanaticism at the local level is for people like ourselves, when they are challenged, to take up their problem with the proper governmental agencies and with the general public.

It will be a long time, probably, before we can tell you the full implications and consequences of that evening -- if we ever know them. But a significant number of people told us, one way and another, that what happened was all to the good -- for Dallas: that it cut through a layer of caution and apathy that had become all too thick. (Apparently the only other person within recent years who has similarly taken up the challenge and carried it to the public when local groups tried to put him on the spot was Henry Cabot Lodge, at a UNESCO meeting where women rose and actually screamed at him in frenzy -- one of these women, we learned later, being our heckler)

Here are some of the conclusions, questions, and general intentions that remain with us after three days on the open road.

First, there is the case of the mysterious attorney. Oddly enough, several leading lawyers to whom that letter of cancellation was shown and who are active in the local bar association have never heard of either the Mr. Bristor who wrote that letter or either of the partners mentioned on his letterhead. (Mr. Murphy had never heard of him either.) Research along that line will continue. Significantly, the lawyers who read the letter spoke at once of the fact that it was not phrased as any responsible lawyer would write a letter: in its arrogant discourtesy and its lack of typical phrasing it seemed, in one way or another, a phony. Mr. Bristor is listed in the phone book as an attorney, however. So there is something that needs to be learned there. The question that glaringly remains is why the President of the Museum Guild, if a lawyer was wanted, used so odd a representative of the bar -- and who paid his fee. (Several different responsible persons, each speaking as an individual, voiced their expectation that he would be found in what they call "Mr. Hunt's stable" -- somewhere in the Facts Forum set-up. But we have no evidence of this -- and are simply interested, for all it implies, that local people of sound reputation and steady character jumped to this conclusion.)

Then there is an incident, reported to us the morning after the lecture, that is interesting to ponder. A person who was standing near the heckler at the back of the hall says that a certain man (whom we ourselves had noticed in the audience and had estimated to be hostile) walked back after our talk, before the question period, and passing near the heckler, said to her, "Keep asking about the list."

Again, there is my own contact with the heckler at the end of the evening. She came up and professed herself still unsatisfied; and here, in essence, ~~what~~ was what she had to say: "I thought your books were wonderful when I first read them. But I went back and reread them after I was told ~~you~~ you were Communists and saw that a lot of your sentences could be well disguised Communist 'lines.' And after tonight I know you're smart enough to have written everything you've written and to have done all the things you say you did in Washington and still be Communists."

This leads to another statement that was reported to us: that one member of the audience disposed of all we had said by

declaring, in effect, "After all, Congressional committees are pretty gullible where Communists are concerned. Here in Dallas we have real experts in hunting out subversives." We allowed ourselves one wry chuckle over that one -- having been called gullible ourselves a bit too often. But we don't think it's funny. We think it is dangerous. In fact, we think it is probably the most dangerous remark we heard during our four Dallas days -- for it highlights what we take to be the essence of the whole experience: that we were not dealing for a moment with any sincere doubts about our past -- except, perhaps, on the part of a few people who listened to our story and gave it fair weight -- but with what we have decided to call, in our own minds, "the new anarchy." If our guess is even remotely right -- and it is well supported by the best judgments of the most responsible people with whom we talked -- the people back of this attack on us are, with equal ferocity and tenacity, attacking "due process of law" and legitimate government agencies. This is not the old, sad, desperate, helpless anarchy of the poor. It is the calculated anarchy of Texas wealth as it is most explicitly embodied in "Mr. Hunt's dynasty" -- not our own term, but one we heard too often for comfort. It is the anarchy that was able to keep the NEWS from reporting Monday's events (the editor saying to each inquiry that so far as he was concerned the lecture had been cancelled and that a cancelled lecture is not news); that has been able to persuade one group after another to change program plans and keep the fact silent; that is out to abolish the income tax; and all the rest. Even more strongly than when we wrote before, in short, we feel that the Legion was incidentally -- though highhandedly -- involved in an attack the real instigators of which belong, perhaps to the Legion, but also to Pro America and Facts Forum; and with them can be set the Minute Women.

We mustn't make this letter any longer, though there are other impressions we'll add from time to time; and as aftermath details come to us, we'll send them along to you. Here, however, is one plan that begins to shape up in our mind after many good hours on the open road -- and if you care to react to it, so much the better. We think we must return to Dallas, and preferably before long -- probably this Spring, even before we come to Washington. It strikes us that it might be wise for the mental health society -- or perhaps Southern Methodist University -- to set up a two-day institute for us on mental health. We don't think there'd be any trouble getting this done. Several groups there, we learn, have wanted us but have felt unable to pay our normal fee; and fee would be of no concern to us in this case. It would be, after this past week, virtually impossible for the Legion to bring forth its list again. Either we would go unchallenged and be able to do a solid mental health job -- appallingly needed in that atmosphere -- or else we would learn more of what the real objections to us are. (At the definitive meeting of the Guild Board members, we are told by a member who was present, the question was asked about whether our legal contract might not be binding. In spite of reiterated statements about the grave financial needs of the Guild, the questioner was told that there would be no problem about getting money to pay our fee -- "buy them off" -- if that proved necessary. Who cares enough about our lecturing to pay \$500 to keep us from appearing?)

This same Board member, in explaining her acceptance of the cancellation -- even though she did not for a moment think we were pro-Communist -- said, "We were promised that if we would go along on the decision, there would be no repercussions." (Harry's answer to this had, I think, a certain classic simplicity: "We repercussions.") We asked her what she had expected us to do when we heard of the cancellation; what, for that matter, the President or other Board members had expected us to do. Her answer is significant: "It never occurred to any of us that you would do anything." Asked why they had assumed that experienced lecturers, with their reputations put under challenge, would do nothing about it, she could only reiterate lamely, "We just didn't think you would." To the end, she had a lingering feeling that we had somehow "made trouble" by asking for reasons -- though she granted that this feeling might only show that "we've lost the habit, here in Dallas, of asking questions that might make trouble." Others remained far more definite than she in feeling that we were the real trouble makers. After our talk Monday night, one woman said to another that it seemed terrible for us to be put through such a strain; and the other replied sharply, "They didn't have to come to Dallas. There wouldn't have been any trouble if they hadn't demanded reasons."

It's been quite an experience -- and it has taught us some interesting truths. So far as our future is concerned, the most important of these is that no "clearing up of our record" can be expected to keep us from being challenged -- because it is not our record, but our work, that is under attack. The clearing up of the record has been all to the good. It puts into our hands the documents that must be there. But it is no definitive answer to the Dallas problem -- or others that may come along. And the essence of the whole thing, therefore, is that we must count these recurrent experiences, not as events that disrupt our work, but as part of that work. Part of our mental health job, in brief, is precisely that of bringing into the open, when occasion requires, what is being kept under cover; and of defining for the public the democratic processes in mental health terms.

Mr. Murphy was all you said he would be. And we could scarcely have needed more the hour of restorative calm we spent in his presence Monday afternoon. At best, experiences of this sort -- and particularly at the end of a long Fall's work -- consume emotional and physical energy. Your divisional offices may not be set up primarily to minister to the needs of exhausted Overstreets -- but we do, in time of need, find them superb "rest centers."

We go ahead now to two days of work in Phoenix and two in Tucson -- then on to Mill Valley. Our address through December 2nd will be Ghost Ranch Lodge, 801 Casa Grande Blvd., Tucson; then the familiar 46 Helen's Lane, Mill Valley.

With warm greetings from both of us.

Sincerely,

Bonnie Overstreet

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson *Viper 102*DATE: April 12, 1955 *be 8-1 One*

FROM :

L. B. Nichols *VMS*

SUBJECT:

mrs. Harry G. Overstreet G.I.R.-7

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

I spent some time last Saturday afternoon, April 9th, with *Ben R. Boardman*
Dr. Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet. As you know they are the foremost *Van Hagen*
 authorities on adult education in the U. S. They are prolific writers and a good
 portion of their time is now devoted to holding institutes at larger universities
 on educational methods for faculty members. Dr. Overstreet at one time headed
 the Psychology Department at Columbia University. We got to know them some
 years ago when because of Dr. Overstreet's connections with some fronts he
 encountered difficulty with a security clearance. He came in at the time. I saw
 both Mrs. Overstreet and him, gave them a few suggestions on straightening
 out their problems and I am convinced that here is a perfect example of a very
 brilliant man in his own field being hopelessly duped once he entered the political
 field. I have kept up contact with the Overstreets from time to time and in their
 talks around the country they sing the Bureau praises and are seeking to bring
 about a better understanding among so-called intellectuals on the investigative
 process.

They told me Saturday afternoon that as a result of their experience
 they had both decided that they could no longer face retirement; that there was a
 bigger educational job to be done in the realm of citizenship and they accordingly
 sold their California home where they had retired and were moving to Washington.
 They said they were going to try to bring some semblance of educator's
 responsibility for civic life in this country.

I had previously told them that I had a job for both of them to do,
 having in mind that we could have no more effective missionaries in the educational
 field. On Saturday afternoon I got out the Dean Keeney statement on the Director
 and I got out the Director's Catholic University speech. I confidentially read them
 excerpts of President Wriston's letter. I then cited a half a dozen cases, without
 identifying names of professors knowingly and unknowingly furthering Communists.
 Both the Overstreets got very much exercised over this. They had no idea the
 situation was so acute and so bad. I then related some of the experiences our
 Agents have had with educators in the discharge of their duties, such as the

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Jones

LBN:ptm

(4)

RECORDED - 78

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APR 21 1955

66 APR 27 1955 DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BJS/CL

FILES

Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

The college professor reporting to a suspect that he was under surveillance, the Perl case wherein the suspect was later convicted of perjury, the atrocious case in Cleveland where the professor claimed he had been taken from his laboratory and the attitude of some of the professors when we go to interview them. The Overstreets stated they could see where they had a big job put out.

Dr. Overstreet at once suggested that we find some excuse to call a college president or two at a time to Washington, just say we wanted to counsel with them and discuss some of the FBI's problems. Dr. Overstreet stated that he thought this, if a few college presidents could be given the treatment that he had been given, would within six months time lick the problem. I pointed out to him quite frankly the objections to this. The possibilities for further misrepresentation exist. Dr. Overstreet was inclined to discount my fears on this approach; however, I received the attached letter which the Overstreets wrote me on Sunday stating that they on further reflection had concluded that their approach was wrong; that they were now going to move in to the American Association of University Professors and start to work there. This, of course, was exactly what I was hoping they would do. I think it would be very productive if sometime when these folks are in if the Director would merely shake hands with them because I feel that we have now developed a very potential friend and these people can be instrumentalities of great good.

✓ *haz*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *V. per TB*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

DATE: 5/16/55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CCL

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Barth

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet and his wife, Bonaro Overstreet, are perhaps the greatest living authorities on adult education in the country today. Dr. Overstreet went into retirement as a university professor to carry on his writing and the matter of handling Institutes on Adult Education for other college professors, teachers, and the like. He became immersed many years ago in making contributions to aid organizations and became involved in fronts. Three or four years ago, both Dr. Overstreet and his wife called on me when they were having some trouble. I suggested to them they go to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and make full disclosures since their trouble was emanating from HCUA records. This they did and in addition, Dr. Overstreet was used by Bob Morris to testify as to Communist Party aims in the educational field. He made a very effective witness.

5-21-55

They have had two or three difficulties since then where the Legion has picketed or protested their appearance. I have listened to their stories and have seen the old couple whenever they have been to Washington. There is no question in my mind as to their sincerity so far as the Bureau is concerned. Likewise, they have been lecturing to educational circles that people who get mixed up ought to straighten out their record if they are honest and apparently they have been making some headway. Following the outbreaks of Dean Kenny at Brown University, I went over the matter in some detail with Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet and told them that the biggest job that they could do would be to alert the academic community to the menace of Communism as well as to get the academic community to realistically apprise security problems.

The old couple have come up with several ideas and they have finally concluded that they must launch a campaign within the American Association of University Professors. They have been holding preliminary conferences with various leaders and they say with very good results. Every now and then somebody brings up a question on security which they don't have the answer to and then they are stymied until we can get them the answer.

Enclosure
cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

RECORDED-61

100-114525-33
6 MAY 20 1955

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(4)

ENCL.

EX-125

MAY 25 1955

EX-125

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

5/16/55

A week ago Thursday, I took Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet out to my house for dinner. From approximately 9 o'clock after dinner until 12:30 a.m., they gave me quite a vigorous cross-examination. It was obvious that they were embarrassed at bringing up some questions. One question, for example, was the published statements reflecting a close connection between the American Legion and the Bureau. I took them back to 1939, and 1940, when the vigilante problem was met and explained to them frankly how it was met. This impressed them no end.

They would also raise questions and tell how they had answered them. For example, at one faculty meeting, one female professor made the point that the Director of the FBI was power crazy. Mrs. Overstreet very effectively squelched her by stating that the Director of the FBI had been in the public eye for 30 years, had been in this job for 30 years, and surely if the Director of the FBI were seeking power, there would be some evidence of it; that she had searched the record and had found that rather than seeking power, the Director of the FBI has resisted power being given to him and the Bureau. She stated that this answer seemed to go very good and squelched the "female professor" and brought about a great deal of understanding.

I really feel very enthusiastic about what these two folks can accomplish. The attached letter from Mrs. Overstreet is a pretty good idea as to their thinking and I do want, at some time when it is convenient, for the Director to shake hands with them as both have commented several times that they would like to meet the Director.

✓ m

The Woodner

SIXTEENTH AND SPRING ROAD, NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON 10, D. C.

May 14, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

HUDSON 3-4400

Dear Mr. Nichols,

That was a rare and lovely evening we spent in your home. The grateful warmth of spirit it left with us just doesn't wear off -- and won't. Thanks for letting us move into the setting you have made for yourselves and be, for those friendly hours, part of the family.

In particular, thanks for your patient readiness to answer our questions. We found them so hard to ask that we became, at certain points, almost tongue-tied -- for there seemed no way of asking them without seeming to imply, indirectly, that we thought our conscience more sensitive than yours: which we decidedly don't think! It was as though we were probing to find out whether or not a Bureau that you have found good enough to dedicate yourself to was good enough for us to speak up for to those with whom we associate! This seeming arrogance on our part -- which is at the farthest possible remove from what we feel -- made it hard to speak out our questions; but your hospitality toward them got us over the hurdles of embarrassment as nothing else could have. Please do know -- with regard to the other evening and to any future sessions at which we may be asking about this or that -- that we are simply (and humbly) trying to get ourselves ready to do a good job; and to do that job we must know answers to give when occasion arises, and must also be unconfused in our own minds about why things are done as they are.

Actually, you cleared up so many matters for us that we don't, at present, find many questions left over. Not any really basic ones. From here on, we'll chiefly be wanting to get answers of a different sort: answers that will help us to define what we can and cannot say and do. Plan-making answers, in short. There, we have a number of things to ask, and a number of ideas to try out on you when we get our next chance.

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-33

The Woodner

SIXTEENTH AND SPRING ROAD, NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON 10, D. C.

HUDSON 3-4400

About our schedule between now and the time we leave: we'll be here on Saturday, the 21st, between our Boston and Chicago trips; and again, after Chicago, from the 26th to 30th inclusive. Perhaps we can be fitted into the schedule on Thursday, the 26th, or Saturday, the 28th. Any one of the days will, for that matter, be all right for us. I'll phone you ~~this~~ week before taking off for Boston.

Don't worry too much about us and the Legion. We think the best way is simply for us to go along not expecting trouble till it happens -- and, if it happens, meeting it in whatever incidental form it occurs. We don't want to spend time and energy on what is, after all, a matter of secondary concern. As long as our work isn't actually interfered with too much, or our sponsors put under too much embarrassment, there seems no good reason to make the problem a major focus of thought. We're glad we asked the questions we did about it -- and that you told us what you did about the past. We hadn't known anything about that past and couldn't seem to avoid a certain sense of hurt about what appeared to be an inexplicable tie-up between FBI requests and Legion behaviors. But that's all disposed of now. And even though we don't repetitively say so, we do realize that past mistakes of our own have made possible the various attacks upon us. Even when we feel baffled, therefore, or exasperated, we don't go around feeling abused.

Your package of homework for our weekend has just this moment come. That's good. We'll work our way through the materials before we see you again.

Cordially,

Benno Overstreet

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: May 27, 1955

FROM : Mr. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
SPECIAL TOUR

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP0BTJ/C

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

OVERSTREET

Pursuant to your instruction, SA George M. Peet met Mr. Overstreet and his wife, Bonaro, in your office at 1:00 p.m. today and conducted them on a special tour of Bureau facilities which included visits to the exhibit rooms, firearms range, Laboratory and diorama room. The Overstreets are both very prominent authorities on adult education and now described themselves as itinerant psychologists who are traveling about the country visiting various educational institutions and making lectures.

The Overstreets were genuinely interested in learning about the Bureau and during the tour made numerous commendatory remarks concerning the Bureau. They stated that they wanted to learn all they could about the FBI so that they could during their travels do missionary work for the Bureau and correct erroneous views concerning the FBI of various individuals with whom they may come in contact. They indicated that they had a job to do and that they wanted to do "missionary work" for the FBI. Both Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet on numerous occasions expressed their high regard for you, adding that they have found in their contacts with FBI personnel throughout the country that Bureau people were wonderful.

Dr. Overstreet indicated that he was particularly impressed with the precision in the way work was handled in the Laboratory and during the time they were in the Laboratory both the Overstreets asked numerous questions. They seemed to be thoroughly sold on the work of the Bureau and it would appear that they can do the Bureau a great deal of good.

Both indicated they were happy to have the occasion to speak with you again at the conclusion of the tour. Per your instructions, they were taken to the Director's reception room with the thought that they might shake hands with the Director. They had on previous occasions indicated a desire to do so. The Director was not in his office and the Overstreets were so advised. They stated, perhaps the next time they came to the Bureau they would be able to meet the Director.

RECORDED - 70

100-11483-25-34

RECOMMENDATION: For information

EX-116

17 JUN 2 1955

GMP:kk CC - Mr. Nichols
(5) pl

CRIMINAL

May 31, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
The Hoodner
16th Street and Spring Road, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

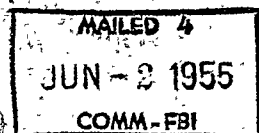
I am sorry I was not in my office last
Thursday during your visit to FBI Headquarters.
Mr. Nichols has advised me of the interest
exhibited by you and Mrs. Overstreet in the FBI,
and it would have been a pleasure meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: The Overstreets are prominent authorities in the field
of adult education and describe themselves as "itinerant
psychiatrists." They are trying to learn as much as possible
concerning the FBI so that during their travels and lectures
they can correct erroneous conceptions of the FBI held by
persons with whom they come in contact. They were afforded a
special tour on 5-27-55.

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



RECORDED - 70

JUN 3 1955

EX-112

JUN 27 1955

JUN 10 1955

100-114575-

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
46 HELEN'S LANE
MILL VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

June 13, 1955

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Sizoo	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

99406

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Thank you very warmly for your letter, which caught up with us on this side of the continent. We too were sorry that we were not able to meet you on the occasion of our visit to the FBI headquarters, and we hope that we may have that pleasure when we return to Washington late this Fall.

We have both come to feel very deeply that the FBI is an institution we can talk about with pride and confidence; and we have been trying, with Mr. Nichols' generous help, to learn what we need to know to talk about it accurately.

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet
H.A. Overstreet

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/AL

RECORDED - 27

100-114575-36

2 JUN 21 1955

EX-112

EXP. PROC.

JUN 16 1955

317 636
53 JUN 27 1955

100 114575-36X

August 5, 1953

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JH

RECORDED - 19
A

99403

Mrs. Harry W. Overstreet
R.F.D. #2
Bennington, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I will be very happy to see Dr. Overstreet and you
when you are in Washington the week of August 17th. I suggest you give
me a ring upon your arrival.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:MP

Com in
8/20/53

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJS/uc

- Tolson _____
- Ladd _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Clegg _____
- Glavin _____
- Harbo _____
- Rosen _____
- Tracy _____
- Gearty _____
- Mohr _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Sizoo _____
- Miss Gandy _____

RECEIVED - NICHOLS
JUL 31 1953

62 JAN 13 1956

919

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
R. F. D. 2
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

August 2, 1953

99404

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CRJ

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nichols,

We thought you'd like to see the enclosed letter that came to us a few days ago from Mr. Johnson in the State Department. It seems to clear up the long misunderstanding that began a year ago with the dropping of our two scripts from the Voice of America and, as a later consequence of that, the removal of our books. The letter came as a heart-warming surprise; for we had taken the matter as closed -- though not in an altogether satisfactory manner --- when Dr. Wilson Compton, back in January, wrote us his regrets about the affair but made no mention of reinstating the materials. We have, of course, written Dr. Johnson our appreciation of both his action and the tone of his letter. One by one the official misunderstandings about us seem to get cleared up. The unofficial ones -- the ones that stem from local individuals and groups -- are, in many respects, more recalcitrant and troublesome; but even they will probably straighten out in time.

Our present plan is to be in Washington from noon of Tuesday, August 18th, through the rest of that week, or at least for several days. We wouldn't want to come at a time when you were going to be out of town (We hope you'll be getting a vacation some time during the Summer); so won't you let us know whether that week would be one in which we could invade your schedule for an hour or so? We could phone after our arrival on Tuesday to make an appointment -- for that afternoon or Wednesday or Thursday. We can't help feeling apologetic about taking your time -- but on the other hand, we do want to talk over some plans that are forming in our minds. So we will hope to hear that that week is all right. If not, we can easily change plans. Our schedule at this season is wonderfully flexible.

MRS. H. A. Overstreet

Sincerely,

BONARO OVERSTREET

H. A. Overstreet

Bonaro W. Overstreet

MRS. HARRY A. Overstreet

RECORDED - 19

INDEXED - 19

100-114575

100-114575

100-114575

COPY

Department of State
United States International Information Administration
Washington

Office of the Administrator

99405

July 23, 1953

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Overstreet:

An unfortunate chain of circumstances led to the withdrawal of your books for a time from the shelves of our overseas libraries. It now develops that a great injustice has been done to you and the books have been fully restored. I realize that no apologies by me can off-set the hurt that was done you, yet knowing of your faith in the democratic process, I also know that what concerns you most is that injustices can be eliminated under the mechanism of open error and open correction.

Both of you have had distinguished careers and I am certain that you will continue for many years to work together in helping more and more Americans to understand what it really means to be "grown up."

Again, my heartfelt apologies for the injustice to you and my continuing good wishes for all your good work.

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. ~~X~~Johnson
Administrator

Mr. and Mrs. H.A. Overstreet
46 Helen's Lane
Mill Valley, California

100 - 114575 - 36X

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 9/28/55

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS *LBn*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	
Harbo	
Mohr	
Parsons	
Rosen	
Tamm	
Sizoo	
Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

MAS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET

As you will recall, Dr. Harry A. Overstreet is the outstanding leader in educational psychology. He will be 80 on October 25th. Dr. Overstreet and his wife, who is also a Ph.D. in psychology, conduct institutes in colleges and universities on educational psychology during the winter months. We helped them 3 years ago in explaining away contributions to front groups and the like. They have been very grateful and I have gotten them very much interested in bringing about better understanding in academic circles toward the Bureau.

They are coming in to see me this morning at 11:30. I would like very much, if it is convenient and possible, to introduce them to the Director. The Director need not spend any time, but merely shake hands and indicate that he appreciates their interest and their desire to bring about better understanding in academic groups and just what the Bureau is doing.

Dr. Har Sm
LBN:LCB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

RECORDED - 78

EX-1071

100-114525-39
SEP 30 1955

60 OCT 4 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: Sept. 28, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJT/KSL

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	✓
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet came in to see me on the morning of September 28, 1955. They are writing a book entitled "The Drama of Understanding." This book is to be inspirational in tone and is a psychological approach on developing understanding.

Their purpose in coming in to see me today was to say hello and tell of some of their plans in furthering better understanding among the academic community and the Bureau. They then stated that in their new book they wanted the dedicatory page to be as follows: "To LBN who taught us to understand." It was not their idea to mention any names and they would not disclose the identity of "LBN." I told the Overstreets that I was deeply touched by their gesture; that personally I had an aversion against being singled out; that, after all, I was just a cog in the wheel and it just so happened that it was my good fortune to meet them when they came to the Bureau rather than someone else; that I would personally prefer that they not do this. Dr. Overstreet then asked if I would keep an open mind and wait until they got the manuscript prepared. They would then let me read portions of the book or the book in its entirety. I told him that I, of course, would be glad to keep an open mind but I would prefer that they not do this, although I was deeply appreciative of their gesture. They told me that the publisher had read the first six chapters of the book and is so enthusiastic over it that he wanted to set up the deadline to January 1 and bring the book out in the Spring of 1956 rather than to bring it out in the Fall of 1956 as scheduled.

LBN:arm

(2)

RECORDED

6100-114575-38

INDEXED

OCT 4 1955

60 OCT 11 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles

SUBJECT: MRS. H. A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: 10/3/55

99402

Attention: Mr. L. B. Nichols, Assistant to the Director

On 10/3/55 Mrs. H. A. OVERSTREET came to the Los Angeles office and stated that she was a close personal friend of Mr. L. B. NICHOLS. She indicated that this morning she had breakfast with a group of people in Los Angeles, and that during the meeting several questions came up which she felt the FBI could answer. She suggested that these people stop at the Los Angeles office and pose their questions to me and she felt certain that they would receive proper answers. She stated that nothing of a specific nature was discussed.

Mrs. OVERSTREET expressed great admiration of Mr. NICHOLS and the many interesting conferences she has had with him. She stated that he has been an extremely cogent factor in steering her thinking in the right direction, and for this she has been most appreciative.

Mrs. OVERSTREET is in Los Angeles to address a Community Chest gathering. She is staying at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles and plans to leave Los Angeles on October 4th.

The courtesies of the office were extended to Mrs. OVERSTREET.

JFM:KH

AIR MAIL

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RECORDED - 86

EX-121

10 OCT 16 1955

100-114575-39

100-114575-39
Nichols
OCT 16 1955

OCT 6 1955

October 25, 1955

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJ/CAL

42
81
90
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
The Woodner
16th Street and Spring Road, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I wish to join your many friends in
extending you my heartiest congratulations on your
eightieth birthday. I am sure this is an occasion
when you can look back over the years and take great
satisfaction in your achievements, which I trust are
but a warming-up period for the years that lie ahead.

With best wishes to Mrs. Overstreet
and you,

Sincerely yours,

cc - Mr. Jones

LBN:ptm
(4)

RECORDED - 59

100-114575-4

(Cover memo Mr. Nichols to Mr. Tolson 8-19-55)

OCT 24 1955

RECEIVED

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont

to Be
Delivered
Personally
on 10/25/55
VOS

258
OCT 27 1955

This is a postscript to yesterday's letter. The very next mail after we had sent it off brought a surprising and heartening letter from Los Angeles. It seems that the man with whom I talked out there -- the one who was dumping much too much blame on the FBI -- underwent far more of a change of mind than I realized or would have ventured to hope. (He is Dr. Max Bay, one of the genuinely distinguished surgeons of that area and a power for good in a variety of groups -- from the medical association to the Modern Forum.)

The woman who introduced me to him writes that Mrs. Bay has phoned her to say that Dr. Bay "is going to talk to Mr. Malone of the local FBI office here to establish a benchmark for future discussions and to see if he couldn't be a speaker if not for the MODERN FORUM this year, then for other groups." This may all sound a little cockeyed. But we do feel sure that it is all to the good. As I talked with Mr. Malone myself, I was trying to judge, with one part of my mind, what kind of job he would do if he actually encountered, in the role of guest-speaker, a typical liberal audience. It would be a situation where he would have to "stand easy" in the presence of questioning and critical eyes and minds -- but where he would have at his disposal more minds ready to change, if they saw reason to do so, than stubbornly determined not to change. He wouldn't have to be eloquent -- and he shouldn't try to be too obviously persuasive. His job would be simply that, we feel, of saying that, for all its long history, the FBI is still too little understood in its aims and workings: it stands as too much of a perpetual stranger among our democratic institutions. It cannot, obviously, "tell all." But it can make a real effort to move out of remoteness into the broad field of understanding. Therefore... here, in general, is how it is structured, what its job is, and what it aims to do. He would, of course, have to deal with questions. But I'd bet on the audience's understanding of the fact that he'd have to leave some questions unanswered if he was frank to say that he had to -- and if he ignored those that he could openly tackle. One major trouble with the liberals is that they feel pushed off: rejected. They feel that they are accused of being pro-fascist just because they want to make sure that democracy is being defended by undemocratic means, means more likely to be found in the public undemocratic than democratic habits and attitudes. They're tired of being called names. They're tired of the argument all the time -- that a person is somehow dubious if he doesn't accept any official position that happens to be offered. Mostly, sometimes that, they're just tired! (As who isn't, by the way?)

In any case, as I sized up Mr. NOY, I would do very well indeed. RECORDED - 11
FEB 26 1955

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there is no way in which liberals can get to know anything about the FBI except through a few articles that never deal with their real perplexities. I said, "Ask Mr. Malone to speak at the Modern Forum; or if that program's all made up for the year, then at some other group you belong to." He looked so startled I didn't expect him to act on the idea -- but apparently that is exactly what he is going to do. We ourselves have spoken at the Modern Forum. We know the sort of group it is: on the whole, a pretty sound liberal group. We hope Mr. Malone will encounter it some day. (One of the blessings of having your people trained in the legal profession is that we don't have to worry too much about their being able to handle situations that involve the handling of people and ideas together.)

Of one thing we become more and more convinced: that for the sort of job we want to do there is no substitute for face to face relations; and since we can, at most, talk with only the smallest fraction of those who deeply need new understanding, we have to look to these other ways of introducing the FBI as we know it to a public that does not seem to know it at all. If you have any objections, do let us know. For we can't predict when we'll have sudden chances to make unanticipated suggestions!

*added as
underwritten*

Changing the subject, do you happen to know -- without spending time looking it up -- whether a Mr. R.L. Frazer who is in the Security Department of the Hughes Aircraft Corporation in Tucson is an ex-FBI agent? We were told that he was -- but we've been told a lot of things, off and on. We don't do much brooding about past problems. But there are some incidents that still, like old battle wounds, hurt some "in bad weather:" as when we're over-tired. And one such incident involves Mr. Frazer -- so that we've kept in our minds a sort of open question about him. When we had our drastic run-in with the Legion in Tucson, two years ago, our appearance there was to be jointly sponsored by the mental health association and the PTA Council. The Council had on its Board two men a good deal more active in the Legion than in the PTA -- and more committed to Legion philosophy than to PTA philosophy. One of them was Mr. Frazer; and he went, we felt, far beyond the proprieties of a security officer in persuading the Council -- on the basis of his "secret" information -- that it ought not to sponsor people like us. The Council, as a result, withdrew its sponsorship of us. It did us no practical harm; for the Ministerial Association and the Council of Churches promptly took up the sponsorship. But it hurt like the devil; and curiously enough, it is one of the few incidents of the past several years that still has power to hurt when we think of it (which isn't often). It hurt both because the PTA is one of the organizations with which we have worked most closely for years, on a national basis, and because we felt that his methods were grossly unfair. (It was, in fact, the only experience we have had of being condemned on the basis of "evidence" that carried official sanction and that we had no way to deal with because it was not given out but merely said to be in existence -- and secret. We learned a lot, in the process, about how people feel in the face of such an experience.) None of this matters, at this stage of the game; and we aren't shaping up any plans about it. But since we talked with you about ex-FBI men,

we just wondered whether he actually is one -- or whether people just assumed he was, turned the assumption into a "fact," and then granted to his words the authority of the FBI. Don't waste time looking this up if you don't happen to know. It's simply one of our occasional wonderings.

Finally, have you had a chance to give a second thought to the right income tax man for us? -- someone in Virginia. Don't spend time on this either! We can always locate someone. But having spoken to you about it, we don't want to go off on our own if you have someone in mind. It looks to me as though we'll need to revise our estimate in January; and since we'll be away most of the time between now and then, I think we'd better talk with some accountant when we're down in late October: "to establish a beachhead for later discussions."

Nothing in this letter or in any of our recent ones calls for an answering letter, you know. All the items simply point ahead to when we see you again. And I promise -- more or less definitely -- that we won't even thrust any more letters upon you until then!

We leave here on Saturday -- or Sunday at the latest. If, for any reason at all, you should want to know where we are, we'll be at the Kings Crown Hotel, 420 West 116th Street, from the 16th to the 23rd. Then we head for Virginia -- with thoughts of Fiddler's Green!

Cordially,



The Ambassador
LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA

October 3, 1955

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

Dear Mr. Nichols -

p5

You'll have seen by now,
probably, the list of names I sent
Mrs. Nichols for the 25th. Most of
them I think you'd recognize; but
for purposes of identification, here's
who they are:

Mr. & Mrs. Frances Russell - Wash. DC
Mr. & Mrs. Frances Russell - State Dept.
And our oldest & closest friends
in the Washington area

Dr. & Mrs. Earl Adams - Wash. DC
National Council
of Churches. Not old friends,
but rapidly becoming close
ones.

Jones to
Nichols
memo
10/13/55
P

NOV 9 1955
RECORDED - 25
INDEXED - 25

100-114575-
12 NOV 2 1955

CRIME
PERS. FILES

Mr. & Mrs. Reed Harris — you know,
Dr. & Mrs. George Pole Shannon — AA VP
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Luke — Adult Education

(They, too, are old timers for us —
we've known them ever since
Bob began being an "adult"
as head of the Cincinnati
Adult Ed. Council. I told
Mrs. N. at first that I didn't
think I'd invite any of the
adult ed. group — because
too many would feel left out
but I've changed my mind
where the Lukes are concerned.)

Mr. Sporer Hunt — our publisher,
and practically a member
of the family.

And I want to add one name —
if the list isn't already too long.



The Ambassador

LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA

Edward Morgan Wash. DC.

Edward Morgan, of WABC, (Address:
2701 N. Street N.W. Adams 2-6851)

We think of him as a very good
friend. Incidentally, he was the
originator of the "This I Believe"
programs.

This group is sort of a mixture —
but they're all people we want you
to know — or who we think should
know you — and I'm afraid
I'm mixing tactics & birthday a
little bit. But not really. They're
all people we really care about
and expect to know better & better.
All nice, reasonably shy people,
by the way.

I've said this before, but must

Say it again: "It's queer how things work out." At breakfast this morning I found myself, wholly unexpectedly, having a long talk with a fine young woman who's concerned — with good specific reason — with certain fanaticisms of the D.A. variety; & I had a good occasion to give some notion of how we feel these things should be handled. It seems probable that I'll be talking, late tomorrow, through her good offices, with several other similarly concerned people.

So when I finish with some radio jobs this afternoon I'm going out to talk to your Mr. Malone for a while — and I'm glad I had his name from you. I had no advanced intention of seeing him on this trip, as there have been

(Excuse change of paper!) no
intimations of trouble where
my own Community Chest job is
concerned. But these chances
I do a little "spade work" have
been handed to me on a platter,
so to speak — & I might as
well make the most of them.
The Community Chest, I discovered
on arrival, had scheduled two
press conferences, a lunch, &
three radio programs for me
in addition to the lecture I came
for! So I may look at Mr. Malone
with slightly glazed eyes at
4:15 P.M.

Now for a quick nap
before the next radio job.
I'm glad I can sleep anywhere,
at any time!

Cardially,
Bonaro Overstreet
Bonaro Overstreet



The Ambassador

LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: October 14,
1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MRS. BONARO OVERSTREET

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

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You will recall that Mrs. Overstreet sent you a personal letter dated October 3, 1955. In this letter she lists several individuals she feels she and her husband would like you to know or who they believe should know you.

You requested Bufiles be checked concerning the names mentioned, and that you be furnished highlights of derogatory information and contacts with the Bureau.

Attached are memoranda on individuals mentioned.

Enclosures (7)

GMP:jac:mmh
 (6)

RECORDED - 25

EX-118

INDEXED - 25

100 - 114525-7 42
 12 NOV 2 1955

71 NOV 9 1955

PERS. FILES

Edward Morgan
2701 N Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

BACKGROUND:

Current city telephone directories reflect a listing for Edward P. Morgan at the above address.

Edward P. Morgan has been a radio (and TV) newscaster since 1934 and a foreign correspondent in the European Theatre of Operations during World War II. He has been associated with the Chicago Daily News and Colliers Magazine. Morgan was a United Press correspondent in Hawaii from 1934 to 1936. From 1936 to 1940, he was a United Press correspondent in San Francisco and Los Angeles, California, and United Press manager in Portland, Oregon. In 1940 he was appointed United Press manager for Mexico. Morgan acted as producer for Edward R. Murrow's radio program "This I Believe" and edited a book with this same title published in 1952. (62-98352-2)

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Bernard Sydney Redmont was formerly an editor of U. S. News and World Report. He has been the subject of an Espionage - R investigation. During this investigation, personnel records at the Department of State regarding Redmont were reviewed in April, 1952, and revealed a blind, undated memorandum concerning Redmont's background and the name of Edward P. Morgan, Manager, United Press, Mexico City, Mexico, was one of six listed as personal references. (65-58660-134)

Elizabeth Bentley, a self-confessed espionage agent, and Ann Remington, the first wife of William Walter Remington, furnished information to the Bureau to the effect that Redmont was involved in Soviet Espionage in the early 1940's. Miss Bentley has advised that Redmont was recruited into the Communist Party by William Walter Remington sometime during this same period, and Ann Remington has given information to the effect that Redmont was a member of the Communist Party during the time she knew him in the early 1940's. (65-85660-297)

The Congressional Record, Thursday, June 2, 1955, pages A3914 and A3915 reflects that Senator Neuberger (D), Oregon, extended his remarks to include the broadcast given by Edward P. Morgan on May 23, 1955. Mr. Morgan broadcasts over the network of the American Broadcasting System for the American Federation of Labor.

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100-104575-42

As reported in the Congressional Record, this broadcast dealt with the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Morgan stated that under certain circumstances wrong answers to such questions as "Where were you on the night of June 13, of the year say - 1942?" could cost you your job or keep you from getting one. Morgan also made reference to former Senator Harry P. Cain's attack on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert ~~Luke~~ *Wash DC*
(Mr. Luke is head of the
Cincinnati Adult Education Council)

Bufiles contain no information identifiable with
Mrs. Luke. No background information identifiable with
Mr. Robert ~~Luke~~ could be located in the Bureau Library.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Max Sien, wa, Max Smith was reliably reported as
re-write editor of the Cincinnati Post (1949) and he was
elected to the State Committee, Communist Party, at its
convention at Cleveland, Ohio, in August, 1945. The
Cincinnati Times Star of September 6, 1945, in an article
captioned "Racial Problems to be Discussed" reflects Sien
was scheduled as one of a panel of four consultants to
discuss this subject the following Friday at the Y.W.C.A.
This program was sponsored by the Adult Education Council
and the Cincinnati Public Library. Robert A. Luke, Executive
Secretary of the Adult Education Council was listed on the
panel. (100-1603-17) Report of Special Agent J. A. Cimperman
dated November 24, 1952, made in London, England, captioned
"Edward Moss Hutchinson, Security Matter - C," reflects
information from the American Embassy regarding the proposed
activities of Hutchinson, Secretary, National Institute of
Adult Education. The Embassy had submitted for the information
of the Department of State a tentative program of Hutchinson
wherein suggested contacts for October 6-13, 1952, included
Robert Luke, Co-ordinator of Field Services for the Adult
Education Association, among others.

Bureau investigation revealed that Hutchinson
did visit this country from 9-24-52 to 12-21-52; however,
no information was furnished indicating that Hutchinson
contacted Luke. Our reliable sources abroad, when contacted,
furnished no derogatory information regarding Hutchinson;
however, an individual in London, England, who was acquainted
with Hutchinson from 1948 to 1951 alleged Hutchinson was a
supporter of the present Soviet system and alleged Hutchinson's
wife was a member of the British Communist Party. (100-396779)

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100-114575-42

MR. AND MRS. FRANCIS HENRY RUSSELL

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJT/csl

BACKGROUND:

Who's Who reflects that Russell was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on October 1, 1904; was educated at Tufts College where he received an A. B. degree in 1926 and at Harvard where he received an LL.B. degree in 1929; he married Ruth Alene Libbey on June 16, 1932. He was admitted to the Massachusetts State bar in 1929 and practiced law from 1929 until 1941. Since 1942, he has been continuously employed by the Department of State.

The July, 1955, issue of the Foreign Service List of the Department of State reflects that Russell, a Foreign Service Officer, Grade 1, is presently assigned to the Department at Washington having been transferred to Washington on May 17, 1955.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

This Bureau conducted a Security of Government Employees investigation pursuant to Executive Order 10450 on Russell in 1954 at the request of the Department of State based on information previously furnished the State Department by this Bureau. This information reflected that during 1941, information was received that a Mr. and Mrs. Francis H. Russell, 24 Winchester Road, Arlington, (Massachusetts) were included in a membership list of the Medical Bureau of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Information was also furnished according to a confidential and reliable informant that Francis Russell of the State Department had had a continued and close association with Robert Talbott Miller, III. Information was also furnished that during January, 1947, Francis Russell was in contact with Alger Hiss. Miller and Hiss were also formerly employed by the Department of State. It is noted that on July 31, 1948, Elizabeth T. Bentley, a self-confessed member of the Communist Party and a Soviet espionage agent, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that Miller was a dues-paying Communist and a member of the Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York. Alger Hiss has been identified by Whittaker Chambers, a self-confessed member of the Communist Party and a Soviet espionage agent, as an individual who furnished classified government documents and information to him, Chambers, for transmittal to the Soviet Union.

Investigation conducted by our Boston Office reflected that former officials of the American Youth Congress and a confidential source stated Russell's name appeared as a signer to a call to Legislative Assembly of American Youth Congress on November 3, 1941; as a sponsor of an Armistice Day Assembly of the American Youth Congress, held November 11 - 12, 1939; as a sponsor of the Massachusetts Delegate

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100-114575-42

to a Congress of Youth, held in New York City on July 1 - 5, 1939, which was sponsored by the American Youth Congress. The American Youth Congress has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Another confidential source states that Russell's name appeared on a list described as being a list of sponsors of the Medical Bureau of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Investigation conducted by the Washington Field Office reflected that Russell is acquainted with Robert Talbott Miller, III, and Alger Hiss. However, a review of the results of this investigation fails to disclose that this association was anything more than was to be expected in the normal course of their mutual employment by the Department of State. Records of the Special Investigations Squad of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C., reflect that a list described as a "Desk Phone Directory, Daily Worker Office," was obtained by the Metropolitan Police Department on October 3, 1948, at 516 Second Street, Northwest, Washington. The name Frances H. Russell, State Department, R.157, appeared on this list. It was noted that the State/Telephone Directory for February, 1947, shows that Russell occupied Room 158 in the State Department Building.

The U. S. Civil Service Commission advised this Bureau on April 27, 1955, that the disposition of Russell's case, in which this Bureau had conducted investigation under Executive Order 10450, was "favorable determination." (121-23552)

~~EARL FREDERICK ADAMS~~
~~NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES~~

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DATE 5-19-86

BY SP8 BTJ/col

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Who's Who in America, 1954-55, indicates that Dr. Adams, a clergyman, was born at Palmyra, New York, May 28, 1900. He received his AB Degree at Denison University in 1921 and DD Degrees at Hillsdale College, 1939, and Denison University, 1941. He was ordained to ministry in the Baptist Church in 1925, was pastor of churches in Michigan and Illinois, 1925-1930, and from 1931-1939 was pastor of the Delaware Avenue Baptist Church, Buffalo, New York. He has been a visiting professor at Yale Divinity School since 1947 and has been with the National Council of Churches of Christ since 1948. He is General Director of their Washington office. He is a writer and contributor to religious journals. He resides in Washington and has offices in Washington and New York City.

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES

The Dies Committee report for 1944 covering investigations of un-American activities in the United States devoted space to the American Youth Congress, an organization which has been cited by the Attorney General. In the report reference is made to the New York State Model Legislature of Youth which was a regional gathering of the American Youth Congress held at the College of the City of New York, January 28-30, 1938. Numerous individuals, including "Reverend Earl F. Adams, Buffalo Peace Council, Buffalo," signed a Call urging organizations of youth and agencies serving them to respond to this Call to the New York State Model Youth Legislature. The signers of this Call signed not as official representatives of their particular organizations but in their personal capacities as individuals. (61-7582-1298)

Adams was interviewed by Bureau Agents in July, 1944, concerning Reverend William Lippard who was then the subject of a Security Matter - G Investigation. Adams was cooperative. (100-2036-5)

Bufiles contain a four-page mimeographed letter from Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam addressed to "My dear, dear Friends:." This letter is dated July 23, 1953, and refers to Oxnam's testimony before HCUA on July 21, 1953. He mentions numerous individuals he saw in the audience during his testimony including Dr. Earl Adams, the representative of the National Council in Washington. (62-101302-56)

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6 100-104373-42

Mr. Storer Boardman Lunt
Book Publisher
W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.
101 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, New York

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CJL

BACKGROUND

Storer Boardman Lunt was born in Portland, Maine, on July 8, 1897. He graduated from Yale University in 1921, and took graduate work at Cambridge University in England from 1924 to 1925. Lunt has been with the W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., since 1930 and has been President of this publishing company since 1945. Lunt served as a Second Lieutenant in the field artillery, U. S. Army, World War I. He resides at 35 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, New York. ("Who's Who in America," 1954-55)

CONTACTS WITH BUREAU

The W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., has submitted books to the Bureau in the past, and brief letters of acknowledgment have been sent. Bulet of February 17, 1954, to Mr. Lunt acknowledged receipt of his letter of February 9, 1954, and the book he forwarded entitled "Test of Freedom." (94-1-30296)

On 6/23/55, Lunt was interviewed by a Special Agent of the New York Office regarding Frances Clarke Sayers, an applicant for a position with the United Nation's Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. (138-3135-20, page 6)

OTHER INFORMATION IN BUFILES

In 1950, an amicus curiae brief was filed with the U. S. Supreme Court on behalf of Publishers, Writers and Theater people which argued that the fundamental constitutional rights of the defendants were violated. The brief asked the Supreme Court to review the convictions of the Hollywood Ten for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee for refusing to say whether they were then or had been members of the Communist Party. Lunt was listed as one of the publishers

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50 JAN 11 1956

100-114595-42

|| who supported this brief. It is to be noted that the Supreme Court refused to consider this matter.
(100-438754-A; 100-350512-312; 100-24628-A)

Lunt was listed as a business reference by Anne Aston Warder Norton in a lease dated 2/19/54 for Apartment 1A, 234 East 23rd Street, New York, New York. Anne Norton is the subject of a Security Index Card in the New York Office.

Bufiles do not reflect the degree of association between Norton and Lunt.
(100-366258-20,23)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED ~~HEREIN~~ ^{HARRIS} ~~HEREIN~~ IS UNCLASSIFIED

BACKGROUND

DATE 1-9-86 BY SP8BTJ/CCL

"Who's Who" reflects that ~~Harris~~ ^{HARRIS} was born at New York City on November 5, 1909; he attended Columbia University in 1932, and George Washington University in 1947; he married Martha Margaret Tellier on August 2, 1931. He was Editor of the Columbia University "Daily Spectator" in 1932, and was employed as Executive Editor by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Works Projects Administration, Washington, from 1934 until 1938; he served as Chief, Division of Communications and Records, U. S. Department of State, from 1945 until 1948, as Chief of Publications Division, 1949-1950, and as Deputy Administrator, U. S. International Information Administration from 1950 until 1953. He has been President of Publication Services, Incorporated, since June, 1953. He is the author of "King Football" written in 1932. His home was listed as 4905 Berkley Street, Crestview 16, Maryland, and his office was listed as Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D. C.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Harris was expelled from Columbia University in 1932, because of articles appearing in the University's magazine the "Spectator," which were critical of certain practices at the University. He wrote the book, "King Football," in 1932, which was published by Vanguard Press, which has been cited as a "Communist enterprise." In 1933, he collaborated with Tom Davin on a book, "History of American Humor." Davin registered as a Communist in 1936. In 1935, Harris worked with Martha Gellhorn on a book entitled "Concerning Government Benefits," published by Vanguard Press. Gellhorn was connected with the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign which has been cited as a Communist front. In 1938, Harris was a member of the advisory board of "Direction," which has been cited as Communist initiated and controlled. In 1940, one Reed Harris was on the Board of Directors of Consumers Union which has been cited as a Communist front. In 1942, information was received that his name appeared on the mailing list of the League for Mutual Aid which has been cited as a "Communist enterprise." When interviewed by the Civil Service Commission on August 23, 1942, Harris advised he had been a member of the League of American Writers (which has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450) for about three months in 1937 or 1938. (123-5600)

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29 APR 22 1974

ENCLOSURE

100 - 114573 - 42

In September, 1948, a loyalty investigation was instituted concerning Reed Harris. Investigation was based upon information received from the Civil Service Commission in 1942 to the effect that Harris had admitted membership in the League of American Writers, an organization cited by the Attorney General as Communist, during 1937 or 1938. The results of this investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on November 26, 1948. The Civil Service Commission advised on June 13, 1949, that Harris had been declared "eligible on loyalty." A Voice of America investigation was conducted concerning Harris in 1950, results of which were furnished to the State Department on October 9, 1950, and to the Civil Service Commission on October 28, 1950. On April 20, 1951, the Civil Service Commission again advised that Harris had been declared "eligible on loyalty." By letter dated March 26, 1953, we furnished additional information concerning Harris and his affiliations with the Voice of America to the Department of State. Under date of May 7, 1953, the Loyalty Review Board, U. S. Civil Service Commission, advised that Harris "resigned or was separated from Federal service prior to decision on loyalty." (121-10315 and 123-5600)

In February and March, 1953, Harris testified before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Senate Committee on Government Operations (McCarthy Committee) inquiring into the Voice of America. Report Number 928 of this Subcommittee reflects "Mr. Reed Harris, the Deputy Administrator of the International Information Administration, was questioned.... Instead of a background of anti-Communism in this country, the testimony before the subcommittee indicated that Mr. Harris while at Columbia University had written blatantly pro-Communist material, some of which was reprinted in the Daily Worker. As an example, in one of his writings he had referred to a man as someone 'I remember as a sadistic butcher who is now probably the commander of some American Legion Post.'" (62-98810)

DR. GEORGE POPE SHANNON
ASSOCIATE SECRETARY
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF
UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS
4522 DRUMMOND AVENUE
CHEVY CHASE, MARYLAND

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

BACKGROUND

Dr. George Pope Shannon, educator, was born in Franklin, Tennessee, on November 25, 1892. He married Margaret Moreland Lee in 1920. He received Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1923. Dr. Shannon was a teacher of high and prep schools in Manila, Philippines Islands, 1919 and 1920; was instructor in English at Stanford from 1921-1925; Assistant Professor of English, the University of New Mexico, from 1925-1926; head of English Department, University of Philadelphia, 1926-1929; Dean of College of Arts and Sciences, University of New Mexico, 1929-1935; Professor of English, University of Alabama, 1935-1947; and has been Associate Secretary of the American Association of University Professors since 1947. He served as Private, later Second Lieutenant, United States Marine Corps, from May, 1918 to September, 1919. (Who's Who in America, 1954-55)

INFORMATION IN BUFILES

By form dated July 15, 1955, the Civil Service Commission referred case of Jean Reid Shannon, daughter of Dr. Shannon, for investigation under Executive Order 10450. Referral was based on information in Civil Service reference files which reflected an article entitled "Teachers Uphold Communist Rights," which appeared on page twelve of "The Atlanta Journal" on March 1, 1948, under dateline of same date, Saint Louis. The article is set forth in full as it reflects Shannon's thinking on this matter.

"Support for members who may be accused of Communist Activities even if they should be Communist party members-was reiterated here at the closing session of the two-day annual convention of the American Association of University Professors. Dr. George Pope Shannon, of the University of Alabama, associate secretary of the group, read a report to the group Sunday night repeating this stand. 'Teachers have the rights of other citizens to belong to any political party they wish,' Shannon pointed out. 'The Communist party is legal.' This stand is based on the belief that no teacher, whatever his beliefs, will try to influence his students 'in an improper way,' Shannon explained.

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29 APR 22 1974

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-42

If the teacher were advocating over-throw of the government, that would be a different matter, he said. The association would back a professor accused of communistic activities just as they would back an Iowa professor who might come under fire for statements that margarine was superior to butter, Shannon asserted. 'We think academic freedom allows professors to arrive at any political conclusions they wish, to vote as they wish and to belong to any organization to which they want to belong,' he said."

Bulet of July 27, 1955, to Kimbell Johnson, Chief, Investigations Division, United States Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C., advised that Bufiles contain no disloyal information relating to Jean Reid Shannon or her father, and, in the light of this, no action would be taken by the FBI in the absence of a specific request. (140-9729)

Bufiles reflect no other information identifiable with Dr. Shannon or his wife.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson *Viper*

DATE: October 19, 1955

FROM :

L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Dr. Harry Overstreet will be 80-years-old on October 25th.

Recently Mrs. Overstreet informed my wife that a group of professors and former students wanted to have a big party for him on his 80th birthday. He vetoed this and Mrs. Overstreet expressed the hope that the four of us could have dinner on the occasion. I subsequently told my wife to invite the Overstreets to our place for dinner and to inquire if there were any close friends she would like to have and we could arrange a surprise party for the Doctor.

Mrs. Overstreet subsequently sent a guest list with the advice that she had already talked to some of the people. As a consequence, the party has now grown so we are having 19 folks for dinner on Tuesday night. Mrs. Overstreet informed my wife that not only are these friends of theirs, but are folks that have at one time or another misunderstood the Bureau. The Overstreets have been working on them and have had considerable success in straightening them out. Mrs. Overstreet feels that this occasion will go a long way to contributing to their re-education. The guest list consists of the following:

Mr. and Mrs. Reed Harris. Harris is the individual that figured in the McCarthy Voice of America investigation and subsequently resigned from the Voice of America.

S. B. Lunt, Publisher of the W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., who publishes the Overstreets' books.

Dr. and Mrs. George Pope Shannon. Shannon is the Associate Secretary of the American Association of University Professors.

Dr. and Mrs. Earl Frederick Adams. He is the Washington representative of the National Council of Churches. He, incidentally, is the person who broke up the proposed hearings on freedom of religion that had been scheduled by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

cc - Mr. Jones

LBN:ptm

(4)

Enclosure

811-X3
RECORDED-29
INDEXED-29

100-114575-43
12 NOV 2 1955

CRIMINAL RECORD

71 NOV 9 1955

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. b. Nichols

D.C. | Mr. and Mrs. Francis H. ~~Russell~~. He is a foreign service officer. We did some checking on him as he was associated in the State Department with Robert Talbot Miller and Alger Hiss. The conclusion was at the time that the association was a business one.

| Mr. and Mrs. Robert ~~Luke~~. He is head of the Cincinnati Adult Education Council. 0710

| Edward B. ~~Morgan~~, WMAL radio commentator who is the person who at one time produced the Edward R. Murrow program, "This I Believe."

Significantly, the whole group have accepted and Mrs. Russell called to announce that she was taking it upon herself to bring the birthday cake. I have asked Bill Sullivan if he would not as a personal favor join us that evening for a twofold reason; namely, to help out with the group where we might be able to do some missionary work and, secondly, I am looking toward the day when I may become a subject of a Security of Government Employees investigation just because of associations and may need a witness.

| I would like to suggest that the Director send a birthday greeting to Dr. Overstreet, which if approved, is attached and which I can hand to him personally Tuesday night.

✓ *not*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: December 8, 1955

FROM :

D. B. Nichols ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/rh 87

SUBJECT:

HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET

Dr. Harry H. Overstreet

Dr. Bonaro Overstreet

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Sizoo	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

SAC Crosby called from Phoenix to advise that on Sunday,

December 4th, the Phoenix Republic carried a letter to the editor from a Mrs. V. M. Haldiman denouncing the Overstreets; that he had met the Overstreets on Friday and had lunch with them on Monday; that a news story appeared in the paper on December 4th setting the record straight. At a meeting of the Mental Health Institute where the Overstreets were making addresses on December 4, 5 and 6 Rabbi Krohn is reported to have stated that the Overstreets could not be in too bad with the Government since they were seen having lunch in Phoenix with the SAC. This item appeared in the papers today, December 6th. Mrs. Haldiman also called SAC Crosby and expressed concern over the fact that he would have lunch with the Overstreets. V. M. Haldiman, who is a prominent businessman called at the office, was very pleasant and stated that Mrs. Haldiman was broken up over the Overstreets and more particularly over the fact that Crosby had lunch with them. Crosby stated that in the Bureau we did not give clearances or make adjudications; that we met and know all kinds of people, although we do not give endorsements. Haldiman volunteered that "Mama could be wrong."

Crosby stated that Mrs. Haldiman has the reputation of being a very articulate member of the Right Wing click Kit Claridy had sent Mrs. Haldiman a wire that if anybody sued her he would defend her free of charge; that Senator Bridges, according to Mr. Haldiman, had patted Mrs. Haldiman on the back and told her to keep right after the Overstreets.

I told Crosby that we, of course, should not become involved in the situation, but that we knew the Overstreets' background, they had thoroughly demonstrated their antipathy to Communism, although they had been duped in the early 1940s in some of the fronts.

I then received the attached letter from Mrs. Overstreet on December 4th which pointed out that Mrs. Haldiman was conducting a campaign against the Mental Health Association. This letter from Mrs. Overstreet enclosed the letter to the Editor from Mrs. Haldiman.

cc - Mr. Boardman

RECORDED - 71

SE 48

INDEXED - 71

LBN:ptm

(4)

what do our
files show on

the Overstreets

50 DEC 28 1955

you let me see it.

FILES

December 4, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86

BY SP8BJ/CSL

Dear Mr. Nichols,

We wish you were a lot closer right now. We'd reach out and borrow wisdom. Read the enclosed letter from the Phoenix Republic this morning -- thrown into the public mind a matter of hours before our institute begins -- and you'll see that we could use a little extra wisdom to make sure we don't fumble things.

Word was "leaked" from the paper yesterday that such a letter would appear. We didn't know it's content; but the warning did at least let us get answering materials to a friendly reporter who did a piece that appeared in the same issue as the letter -- though in a far less conspicuous position. It also gave us a chance to share our intentions -- in so far as we were able to devise any -- with your Mr. Crosby: another of your nice ones, who has the capacity you all seem to have to give what might be called "massive reassurance" (not massive retaliation) without overt action. He keeps wishing he had your genius in public relations; but we'd say he's no amateur himself -- and after all, what we mostly need on these occasions is not objective but subjective help: just the bit of strength, when we get over-tired, of knowing that a friend who knows the score cares what happens.

What is slated to happen is that we go on a CBS TV program about an hour from now -- with fifteen valuable minutes in which to try to undo what has been done. CBS couldn't, under regulation give the time; so the mental health association is acting as sponsor. But the generous helpfulness of CBS has been peculiarly heartwarming. They are charging the association only the minimum for the actual time. And all the technicians and announcers, et cetera, simply donated their Sunday afternoon to the job -- one of them even coming back from a trip to the country to give his time. Not only did they say they didn't need overtime pay for Sunday? they just said they didn't need to be paid at all. Nice people! It's no wonder we have developed a strong partiality for the human race! Their whole attitude, however, does give us a terrific sense of responsibility. I hope it doesn't get in the way of our doing a good relaxed job when the time comes. The Crosbys will be watching -- and we'll keep them, and you, in mind, as well as a host of our concerned and supportive friends here, and hope to do what is called for: which is, we think, to stick to facts with no emotional "editing."

It's anybody's guess, at this stage, how much harm has been done to the mental health group. The woman who wrote the letter is the wife of one of the most prominent business men in town; a member of one of the "prestige" families; and related to various individuals who have been important in local and state politics. On the other hand, all the community groups except the ultra-conservative have, at one time or another, had to cope with her suspicions; and her charges against us are only one facet of her more sustained effort to prove the whole mental health movement subversive. Our sponsors are definitely worried -- and therefore we are worried for them. They have been counting on this institute to establish them with a larger public

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1955

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than they have reached during their two years of modest existence -- so that they can hope to get money enough for their child guidance clinic. They need success, in brief, right now -- and we'd hate to be the unintentional cause of their receiving a set-back instead. But we shall see. Much will depend on what we ourselves manage to do during the next three days. We'll try to keep our heads. (You may be interested in the fact, incidentally -- as reported to us by one of her fairly close friends -- that the woman who wrote the letter conveys the general impression that she works very closely with the FBI: consults with them, practically, on all sorts of problems that she and they have in common. That may sound like nonsense. But the woman who told us about it -- and who was deeply distressed by the letter -- took the claim literally enough that when I happened to say that I wished liberals in the community would take the initiative, now and then, in getting acquainted with their local FBI man and just let him know what they were driving at in movements, like the mental health that are being called "subversive," her rather shocked response was, "But they're on the other side.")

The TV program will be followed by a reception and then the public lecture tonight. (I'm enclosing a program.) And from now one through Tuesday it will be one thing after another -- not only the scheduled events but also dinner with the Press Club on Tuesday and breakfast with the psychiatric staff of the State Hospital -- and lunch today with Mr. Crosby.

We're going to have to sit down quietly with you when we get back and talk through some of the experiences of this trip. This outburst is just one sample. The others have not openly challenged our public appearances. But one thing that has been made unmistakably clear is that we are, shall we say, slated for professional "liquidation" if certain tenacious forces, working more often underground than in the open, can bring it to pass. For the most part, now, they don't put themselves in the position by openly bringing up obsolete charges against us. But what is happening in more places, and by more means, than it is pleasant to think about is that a persistent, devious effort is being made to let sponsors know that inviting us can lead to all sorts of unpleasant complications and publicity that they could avoid by just inviting someone else. Please don't think we are seeing ghosts. This letter is no ghost. Neither are strong suggestions to the National Parent-Teacher (from certain individuals and cliques chiefly, it seems, in Indiana and Oklahoma) that it is "naturally" difficult to get people to subscribe for the magazine "as long as Bonaro Overstreet writes for it." No reason specified. Neither are certain subtle attacks now being made in Dallas -- too complex to describe here.

We're interested, incidentally, in why Senator Bridges was still including Harry in his list of dangerous persons a year after we had cleared up that record with the House Committee. We are also interested in the frank report of a Dallas woman (to whom I talked for an incredible half hour on the phone) that Congressman Robert Sheerer of Ohio (Is that his name?) put our old file from the House Committee into her hands and let her copy out any parts of it that she "found relevant" to her interests. She says (and we, from one encounter with him at the Cooperative Forum last Spring) that he is in complete agreement with her about us. Also, she read me a couple of samples of what she had found "relevant" in the file: fragments of Harry's sworn

statement taken out of context. Her "line" is that she wouldn't dream of invading our freedom of speech; but that she has "freedom of interpretation" and interprets these statements from Harry's file to mean that we were so at the mercy of Communist and Socialist influence that we underwent a "mild brain washing" and ought not to be regarded as of sound judgment. She's Pro America -- among other things. We probably have some spade work to do in certain Congressional offices as well as, more delightfully, at Fiddler's Green.

There seems little actual danger that our public standing will greatly suffer. It has been built slowly over the years and is of durable stuff. The established organizations that use us are not likely to be influenced. But what does rather deeply bother us is that mental health groups that are just trying to get started may doubt the wisdom of becoming involved in community controversies right at the beginning of their career. These groups are not a source of economic income to us -- any more than the PTA is. They do not pay, as a rule, more than enough to cover expenses -- and sometimes not even that: not when they are very young. But they happen to be among the groups we count as vital to our American communities at this stage of our history; and since we have, to date, been their favorite initial spokesman to explain to the public what the movement is all about, we'd hate awfully to find ourselves becoming liabilities instead of helps to them.

Well, . . . the rest can wait. Mr. Crosby can tell you his slant on things if you happen to be talking to him; and we'll be here through Tuesday night. Then back toward home -- hoping for good weather.

Please tell Carroll for us how heartwarming it was to find her letter here in our box when we came in last evening. It couldn't have been timed better: there it was, with all its warmth and friendly, family detail, when we returned from learning what was in store for us today. It was a mighty picker-upper. You might tell her also that I know it's time for me to be starting home because I've started clipping and copying recipes out of papers and magazines the way a tame chipmunk we used to have at the farm collected nuts as the end of Summer approached. This recipe business is a kind of annual symptom that it's time for us to get out of restaurants into our own kitchen.

When we see you, we'll want to talk also about your speech -- the one you gave us to read. It travels with us and we think it over now and then. Now for TV. . . .

Take care of yourself. Storer Lunt sends you indirect three-fold word: greetings; "orders" to look after your health; and a wish to go duck hunting with you some time.

Monday morning

We think the TV went all right -- though the time was painfully short for what we needed to do. The evening audience was good some 750 people. We didn't do as good a job as we sometimes do. But it wasn't too bad. There's a point, now and then, where just plain tiredness lowers our effectiveness. We feel it, but people seemed to like it all right. Today will tell more of the story.

Our best, as always,

Lenora Obersta

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ENCLOSURE

100-114575-44

Notes

Notes

Maricopa Mental Health

Association
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DR. HARRY ALLEN OVERSTREET

AND HIS WIFE

DR. BONARO WILKINSON OVERSTREET



In a Series of Discussions and Workshops
Based on the Theme

"Learning To Live With Ourselves"

DECEMBER 4-5-6

at the Auditoriums of

PHOENIX COLLEGE

PHOENIX PUBLIC LIBRARY

NORTH PHOENIX HIGH SCHOOL

Fight Mental Illness



Ring the Bell
for Mental Health

100-114575-44

About the Overstreets

In recent years the name "Overstreet" has come more and more to mean "The Overstreets" — so successfully have these two famous authors and educators combined their talents as co-workers in the field of human relations. It is on the public platform, especially, that they conduct what has come to be known as "The Overstreet Colloquy," a sort of conversational give-and-take from which are crystalized thought-provoking central themes.

* * *

Endowed with a rare sense of humor and the ability to make complicated problems clear, Harry Allen Overstreet blends scholarliness and personal charm into a natural, easy platform personality. Long an outstanding leader in education, he has written many widely-read books. Conspicuous among them is "The Mature Mind," one of the most influential books of our day. In collaboration with Mrs. Overstreet, last year he wrote "The Mind Alive," a Book-of-the-Month selection and best-seller.

* * *

Famous today as a philosopher and poet, it was as a teacher that Bonaro W. Overstreet became keenly interested in the personalities of her students and thus laid the foundations for her later researches in psychology. From these came such books as "How To Think About Ourselves" and "Understanding Fear," the latter a Pastoral Psychology Book Club selection. Her most recent book, "Hands Laid Upon the Wind," is a collection of her own verse. Both Overstreets serve in an advisory capacity to the National Parent-Teachers Association and both have taught at some of the nation's most distinguished universities.

Program

Sunday Evening, December 4:

PUBLIC MEETING—"Building Our Inner Resources"
TIME—8:00 P.M.
PLACE—Phoenix College Auditorium
PRESIDING—Charles W. Pine, vice president, MMHA

* * *

Monday Afternoon, December 5:

WORKSHOP—"When Personality Problems Become Social Problems"
TIME—2:30-4:30 P.M.
PLACE—Public Library Auditorium
PRESIDING—Hirsh Kaplan, executive director, Jewish Social Service

* * *

Monday Evening, December 5:

PUBLIC MEETING—"Learning To Live With Ourselves"
TIME—8:00 P.M.
PLACE—North Phoenix H. S. Auditorium
PRESIDING—James E. Patrick, executive vice-president, Valley National Bank

* * *

Tuesday Afternoon, December 6:

WORKSHOP—"The Child — Made For Growing"
TIME—2:30-4:30 P.M.
PLACE—Public Library Auditorium
PRESIDING—Dr. Mildred W. Wood, consultant for family living, Phoenix High Schools

* * *

Tuesday Evening, December 6:

PUBLIC MEETING—"Mental Health For The Whole Life Span"
TIME—8:00 P.M.
PLACE—North Phoenix H. S. Auditorium
PRESIDING—Dr. Grady Gammage, president, Arizona State College at Tempe

* * *

NOTE—All evening meetings are open to the public without charge. Admission to workshops is \$1 each. Especially invited to attend workshop sessions are social workers, educators, the clergy, family counselors, the medical profession, mental health officials and leaders in the field of human relations. The general public is also invited to attend either or both of the workshops.

The Maricopa Mental Health Association

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* * *

Maricopa Child Guidance Clinic

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MRS. J. F. KLEINZ	MRS. JOHN M. WILLIAMS

RABBI A. L. KROHN, EX-OFFICIO

* * *

THE OVERSTREET COMMITTEE

Rabbi A. L. Krohn, General Chairman; Aaron H. Canter, Ph.D., Julian DeVries, Frank J. Dunning, Charles W. Pine, Elias Schlossberg, Dr. Mildred W. Wood and Mrs. Charles Van Epps.

Bee R. Pine, Executive Secretary, Maricopa Mental Health Association,
1410 North Central Avenue, Phoenix, Arizona - ALpine 8-1497

Phoenix Republic
Sunday, Dec 14, 1955

The People Speak

Please write briefly. Sign name and street address (Omitted on request)

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Reader-Gates

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP-1/CB

Overstreet Record
Editor, The Arizona Republic:

Sen. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire said it, Aug. 19, 1954, in an address to the senate, when he linked Harry Overstreet in a group of such characters attending or teaching at the "New School for Social Research" in New York City, as Earl Browder, Harold Laski, Freda Kirchwey, Hans Eisler and many infamous names to loyal Americans. That alone would be enough for some of us, but if you need more—there is much more.

Harry Overstreet is popular with only certain groups in California and one is not the senate investigating committee of the un-American activities of the state legislature. A few of the Communist front organizations he took an active part in are as follows:

1. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. Some of his team mates were Paul Robeson, Rockwell Kent and Prof. Harlow Shapley.
2. American Committee to Save Refugees. Others on this Communist-dominated organization are: Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Dashiell Hammett, Lillian Hellman and Donald Ogden Stewart.
3. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. This outfit pressured to abolish the congressional committee on un-American activities. Others in it are Freda Kirchwey, Anna Louise Strong, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and Van Wyck Brooks.
4. Consumers Union. Other members include Arthur Garfield Hays, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio and Anna Louise Strong.
5. California Fourth Report, 1948, lists Communists and fellow-travelers who have been writing textbooks for use in public schools, as follows: Louis Adamic, Stuart Chase, Owen Lattimore, Carey McWilliams, Anna Louise Strong, Prof. Harry A. Overstreet and others.
6. Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act. Senate Committee, 11th Report, 1953 says: "One of

the boldest fronts to make an appearance on the California scene."

Carey McWilliams and Harry Overstreet are listed as sponsors and the speakers are Scott Nearing, Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet.

In 1953, "Voice of America" threw out any material written by the Overstreets as the new ruling said: "No material by any controversial person, Communist or fellow-traveler can be used by the 'Voice' or put on U.S. Information Service shelves."

Mrs. Roosevelt, and the National PTA president, Mrs. Newton P. Leonard of Chicago, protested when the "Voice" made such a decision.

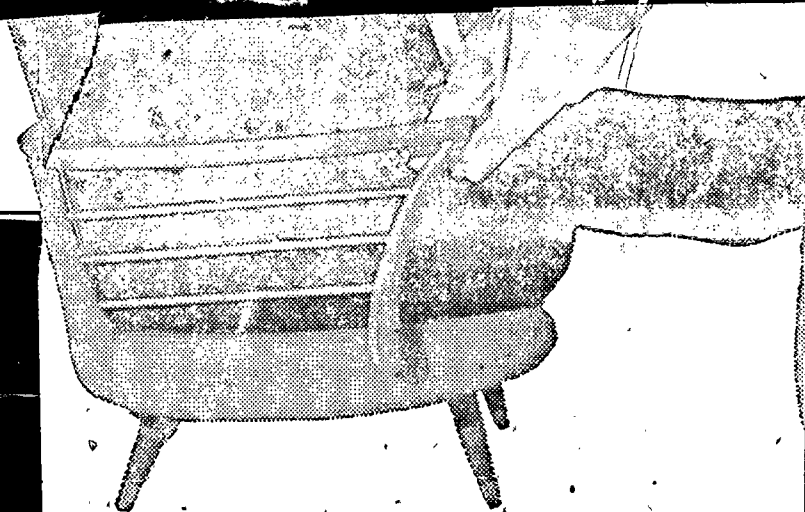
There is an old saying: "The people perished for lack of information."

J. Edgar Hoover says, "What has been disillusioning is the manner in which the Communists and fellow-travelers have been able to enlist support often from apparently well-meaning but thoroughly duped persons."

Styles Bridges says, "I am really concerned about the people who are taken in by these far-to-the-left left wingers who masquerade as enlightened liberals."

The bringing in of the Overstreets indicates a sad lack of information among the leaders of our community.

MRS. V. M. HALDIMAN



want a man



t the ho

December 13, 1955

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

LOTTIE HOLMAN O'NEIL:

Files further reflect that Mrs. O'Neill has been a prominent leader in women's movements and Nationalist organizations. In 1943, she sponsored a bill for equal pay for women. In 1941, she was on the sponsoring committee for Illinois for America First Committee. In 1944, she formed the "Women's Committee for Impeachment Now." The purpose of this organization being to work for the impeachment of President Roosevelt. In 1944, also, she was active in behalf of the Citizens Patriotic Committee, and in 1946, she was a speaker for the Committee for American Independence, formerly known as the Citizens Patriotic Committee and the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee.

LOUISE L. CHANDLER (MRS. ROBERT CHANDLER):

Mrs. Chandler is not identifiable in Bufiles.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed we should answer these 2 pieces of correspondence in the same vein as we did the other two received concerning this subject so as not to place the Bureau in the position of "clearing" or defending the Overstreets.

RECOMMENDATION:

There is attached a letter to Mrs. O'Neill and also a letter to Mrs. Chandler. ~~Both expressing the concern that O'neill was a minor and that the FBI was not to be involved in the case.~~

Enclosures (2)

cc - Mr. Nichols

DGH:nma

(6)

These two
Being corrected
7-6-

December 14, 1955

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 J/CAL

100-114575-46
RECORDED - 25
INDEXED - 23

Honorable Lottie Holman O'Neill
741 Summit Avenue
Downers Grove, Illinois

My dear Mrs. O'Neill:

Your letter of December 10, 1955,
and the news clipping which you forwarded have been
received, and I appreciate the spirit which prompted
you to write to me as you did.

I have taken the occasion to call the
contents of your communication to the attention of
the Special Agent in Charge of our Phoenix Office.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

cc - Phoenix with copy of incoming.

NOTE: See Jones to Nichols memo 12-13-55 re "D.
Overstreet, Bonaro W. Overstreet." DGH:nma:bs

Complete address per current telephone directory.

DGH:nma:bs
(4)

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

60 JAN 3 1956

41ST DISTRICT
DU PAGE
WILL

CHAIRMAN
CIVIL SERVICE
VICE-CHAIRMAN
EDUCATION



ILLINOIS STATE SENATE
LOTTIE HOLMAN O'NEILL
MEMBER

3

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Downers Grove, Ills.
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-1986 BY SP8 BTJ/KCL

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director, F B I,
Washington, D.C.

Dear sir:--

I have just returned from Phoenix, Ariz. and enclose clipping from one of the papers there which will in part explain itself. It is lamentable that the F.B.I. was drawn into this by your Mr. Crosby who admitted that these people were merely personal acquaintances. It has caused some agitation there on the part of those who have followed the movements of people like the Streets. They have expressed their disappointment that one arm of the government for whom we all have respect should have been drawn into the controversy by your representative there.

Investigation and analyses are being made of this mass movement toward mental health setups and until such time as they are evaluated there will be unrest and questioning.

Yours truly,

Lottie Holman O'Neill
Lottie Holman O'Neill
State Senator, 41st Dist, Ills.

1 copy sent
12-29-55(136)

ENCL

Crosby used poor judgment
& should be called to account
for it.
RECORDED

100-114575-46

16 DEC 22 1955

EX-107

CRIM
PERS

DEC 12 1955

Press Club To Hear Overstreets Today

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet and his wife, Dr. Bonaro W. Overstreet, will be forum guests of the Phoenix Press Club at 5:30 p.m. today in the club's headquarters in Hotel Westward Ho.

The husband and wife author-lecturer-psychologist team conclude a three-day symposium here today with a workshop at 2:30 p.m. in Phoenix Public Library auditorium, and a general meeting at 8 p.m., in North Phoenix High School auditorium. Topic of the afternoon workshop is "The Child—Made For Growing."

DR. MILDRED W. Wood, family living consultant for the Phoenix College and High School District, is chairman. Dr. Grady Gammage, president of Arizona State College at Tempe, will preside at tonight's meeting. Topic will be "Mental Health for the Whole Life Span."

Centers of a controversy here concerning their alleged connections with Red-front organizations, the Overstreets yesterday were luncheon guests of Francis Crosby, special agent in charge of the Phoenix FBI office.

Rabbi A. L. Krohn, president of the Maricopa Mental Health Association, sponsors of the Overstreets' symposium here, said yesterday he didn't think the FBI agent would have invited the Overstreets to lunch had there been any factual basis for the charges of alleged Red sympathy hurled at them.

THE controversy was set off here in a letter to the editor of The Arizona Republic Sunday. The Overstreets denied the allegations in an interview which appeared in the same issue of the newspaper.

"I think the fact that Mr. Crosby was willing to be seen in public with the Overstreets on a social basis after that letter was printed," Rabbi Krohn said, "shows pretty well what their standing with the U.S. government is."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-12-86 BY SP8BTJ/LCL

100-114575-46
ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 9, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: HARRY A. OVERSTREET
BONARO W. OVERSTREET

SYNOPSIS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-83 BY SP8 BTJ/C

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

On December 4-6, 1955, Dr. Overstreet and wife gave series of lectures at Phoenix College in Phoenix, Arizona. On December 4 the "Phoenix Republic" carried a letter to the Editor from Mrs. V. M. Haldiman which was critical of the Overstreets and set forth detailed information concerning their background. The Overstreets contacted SAC Crosby who subsequently had lunch with them, and Mrs. Haldiman was critical of this gesture. Mr. Tolson asked, "What do our files show on the Overstreets?" The Director noted, "Yes, let me see it." Detailed memorandum setting forth affiliations of Overstreets written May 25, 1953, and attached as a part of this memorandum. Dr. Harry A. Overstreet born 1875 and is an outstanding professor, author and lecturer. His wife, Bonaro, born 1902 and is also outstanding teacher, writer and lecturer. Bufiles reflect Overstreet subject of Bureau sedition case in 1942. No prosecution but described as very liberal. Files further reflect Overstreet a member of the following organizations cited by the Attorney General as subversive: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, North American Spanish Aid Committee, Schappes Defense Committee and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. In addition, has been affiliated with numerous other organizations some of which have been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the California State Committee on Un-American Activities such as the American Civil Liberties Union, American Committee to Save Refugees, et cetera. In early '20's gave special lectures at Communist college in New York State. In 1946 Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, espionage subject, was a guest in Overstreet's home in New York. In May, 1953, the Overstreets called at the Bureau and wanted to see the Director personally. They did not see the Director, but Mr. Nichols spoke with them. They complained of the difficulties they were having in their home town of Mill Valley, California, as American Legion there had been critical of their past affiliations. They wanted to get themselves on record and clear up some of the things concerning themselves. Mr. Nichols advised them we could not give them a clearance, but we would be glad

Enclosure

DGH:nl
(5)

297

31 JAN 4 1956

RECORDED - 19

INDEXED - 19

12-13-55

100-114575-47
27
10 DEC 22 1955

to make a matter of record any statement they would like to make. Also suggested they contact House Committee on Un-American Activities, Senate Internal Security Committee, Senate Investigating Committee and James O'Neill, Editor of American Legion Magazine. Since that meeting, Mr. Nichols has done outstanding job in "selling" Bureau to Overstreets. They have become close friends of Mr. Nichols, staunch defenders of the Bureau and rely on Mr. Nichols for advice and guidance. In accordance with Mr. Nichols' suggestions, Overstreets have appeared before various committees and have contacted Mr. O'Neill of American Legion Magazine. In connection with a memorandum Mr. Nichols wrote concerning the Overstreets dated July 21, 1953, the Director noted, "We want to be careful we don't get too far involved reading their proposed writings so they could claim the FBI had passed upon them." Mr. Nichols has seen the Overstreets on numerous occasions and has indicated there is no question in his mind that the Overstreets have done the Bureau considerable good among honest liberal groups. On May 27, 1955, they were taken on a special tour of Bureau facilities. On September 28, 1955, while at the Bureau they met the Director. On October 25, 1955, Dr. Overstreet celebrated his 80th birthday, at which time Mr. Nichols gave a party for them at his home. During the course of party, Mr. Nichols personally delivered a letter from the Director to Dr. Overstreet congratulating him on his 80th birthday.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

I think we should have nothing more to do with these people. They are using us for their own benefit. Crosby should be alerted not to get further involved. They should not be introduced to other Sacs

12/10

W. certainly cannot & should not vouch for the Overstreets. I think our Sacs & Field offices upon whom Overstreet calls should not be in social contact with them as Crosby was. It is one of the FBI's needless ly invites.

H.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: December 13, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: HARRY A. OVERSTREET
BONARO W. OVERSTREETALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CK

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Boardman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Parsons	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tamm	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sizoo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Winterrowd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Holloman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

With reference to Mr. Jones' memorandum of December 9, 1955, since the Overstreets have left Phoenix and are on their way back to Washington, there is no need to further alert Crosby. In all fairness to Crosby, when he was in here I told him that the Overstreets contemplated being in Phoenix and contemplated calling him since they had met Mr. Crosby when he was in my office. The Overstreets contemplate being in Washington for some time once they return, which will be within the next few days, and I will in a very polite and tactful manner suggest that they stay away from our offices in the future unless they have something which they wish to report. The only SACs they know are SAC Murphy in Dallas, SAC Malone in Los Angeles and Crosby.

I frankly think that the Overstreets through their own naivete became involved with various groups years ago. Their subsequent actions to any reasonable person would establish their true loyalties. For example, the attached article by Dr. Harry Overstreet which appeared in the San Francisco Examiner on September 29, 1952, entitled, "What Can We Do as Individuals to Oppose Communism?" clearly establishes their attitudes.

As a result of the publicity which occurred in early 1953, their books were removed by the United States Information Service, and I am attaching hereto a copy of a letter which Robert L. Johnson, then Administrator, under date of July 23, 1953, directed to the Overstreets apologizing for the action and announcing that their books had been restored.

It seems to me to be quite an injustice to be directing a campaign of vilification against the Overstreets when, as early as 1937 and 1938, in their writings and lectures they were denouncing Communism. Quite frankly, I have sought to use the Overstreets in the last couple of years in seeking to break down an antagonism which has developed against the Bureau in certain intellectual and academic circles. I frankly think we have been making some progress because wherever they go, they talk about the Bureau and there is no question but that they do have considerable following.

LBN:arm

(3)

Enclosures

RECORDED - 19

EX-126

100-114575-48
27
10 DEC 22 1955

EX to SAC Crosby, 12/15/55
LBN: R

100-114575-48
27
10 DEC 22 1955
PERS FILES

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: HARRY A. OVERSTREET
BONARO W. OVERSTREET

I am becoming more and more convinced that so far as combating Communism is concerned that some way, somehow, a tactic must be devised to hit them from the intellectual, liberal standpoint, and unless this field can be gotten into and organized, I frankly shudder at what is going to happen in the next generation; and it is people such as the Overstreets who can and have been, in my opinion, making a real contribution.

However, be that as it may, I will discreetly try to steer them away from Bureau offices, although I have had social contact with them in the past and I think to good advantage to the cause we serve. I will, of course, caution SACs Murphy and Malone not to be going to lunch with them should they call upon them at any time in the future.

*we must not
vouch for them
in any way*

*I think Gandy, Murphy &
Malone should all be alerted
just in case the Overstreets
show up again. I am not
taking a stand for now
against them but I see
nothing to be gained by
being injected into such
a tangle as has arisen
in Arizona.*

I. R. - 8

Handwritten signature/initials

100-114575-48

December 15, 1955

RECORDED - 19

7-126

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/lac

Mr. Francis E. Crosby
Federal Bureau of Investigation
102 U. S. Court House Building
Phoenix, Arizona

Dear Mr. Crosby:

Re: Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
Bonaro W. Overstreet

As a result of the recent luncheon engagement which you had with the Overstreets, the Bureau has received numerous letters protesting your action on the grounds that this represented approval of the Overstreets and as a result the Bureau has been injected into needless controversy. While it is true that the Overstreets have been in touch from time to time with Mr. Nichols of the Bureau and Mr. Nichols informed you of the Overstreets' visit to Phoenix, the fact remains that we must be exceedingly cautious to avoid placing ourselves in a position wherein public comment can be made which reflects unfairly upon the Bureau.

I do not mean for one moment that we should take a stand either for or against the Overstreets nor anyone else, but in the future, should the Overstreets contact either you or the Special Agents in Charge at Dallas and Los Angeles, with whom they have previously been in contact, it would be highly undesirable for you to have social contacts with the Overstreets. There is no objection, of course, to the Overstreets calling upon any office of the Bureau where they should be received courteously. However, we

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

LBN:fc
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DEC 15 1955
COMM-FBI

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DEC 14 5 13 PM '55

7 JAN 4 1956

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1-3-56 (90)

Mr. Francis E. Crosby

December 15, 1955

should avoid placing ourselves in any position wherein charges can be made, regardless of their being unjustified or not, which inject the Bureau into matters of open controversy.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc - SACs, Dallas
Los Angeles

RECEIVED - 33

114575-49

December 14, 1955

INDEXED-33

EX-126

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ [signature]

[Redacted Address]

Phoenix, Arizona

Dear [Redacted Name]

Your letter of December 9, 1955,
together with enclosure, has been received, and I
appreciate your bringing this matter to my attention.

I have taken the occasion to call the
contents of your communication to the attention of
the Special Agent in Charge of our Phoenix Office.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

cc - Phoenix, with copy of incoming.

NOTE: See Jones to Nichols memo 12-13-55 re "Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, Bonaro W. Overstreet." DGH:nma:bs

DGH:nma:bs
(4)

Mrs Harry A. Overstreet

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Sizoo
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

COMM - FBI
DEC 14 1955
MAILED 28

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66 JAN 5 1956

472

[Redacted]
Phoenix, Arizona

December 9, 1955

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I am enclosing a clipping which appeared
in our morning paper, The Arizona Republic,
on Tuesday, December 6, 1955

b6
b7C

I wonder if I may ask, as a resident of
Phoenix, whether it is customary for FBI agents,
especially the head of an FBI office, to entertain
such controversial people as The Oversteets? This
appears to lend them an aura of governmental
protection and sponsorship which seems unwarranted,
and which American citizens who have not
joined and contributed for Redford's organizations
do not seek.

RECORDED - 33

Sincerely, 100-114575-49

P.S. I would like to add that

this is confusing to those of us who
are trying to keep ourselves informed on the subject of subversion, etc.

DEC 12 1955
39
(19)

ARIZONA REPUBLIC
DECEMBER 6, 1955

Press Club To Hear Overstreets Today

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in Phoenix Public Library auditorium, and a general meeting at 8 p.m., in North Phoenix High School auditorium. Topic of the afternoon workshop is "The Child—Made For Growing."

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-88 BY SP8 BT/62

100-114575-49
ENCLOSURE

DO-6-4

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[Redacted]
Phoenix, Arizona
December 9, 1955

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I am enclosing a clipping which appeared in our morning paper, The Arizona Republic, on Tuesday, December 6, 1955.

I wonder if I may ask, as a resident of Phoenix, whether it is customary for FBI Agents, especially the head of an FBI office, to entertain such controversial people as the Overstreets? This appears to lend them an aura of governmental protection and sponsorship which seems unwarranted and which American citizens who have not joined and contributed to Red front organizations do not seek.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BT

Sincerely,

P. S. I would like to add that this is confusing to those of us who are trying to keep ourselves informed on the subject of subversion, etc.

COPY:hmb (1)

*Phoebe Crosby's
unhappiness in Arizona
with me & her apartment
by this unfortunate incident.*

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mason _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Jones _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b6
b7C

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *Wolfe*

FROM : M. A. Jones *M.A.*

SUBJECT: HARRY A. OVERSTREET
BONARO W. OVERSTREET *amp*

DATE: December 13, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

BACKGROUND:

You will recall that on December 9, 1955, I submitted a memorandum captioned as above to you, when the Director requested information concerning the background of the Overstreets. My memorandum of December 9 reflected that on December 4-6, 1955, Dr. Overstreet and his wife gave series of lectures at Phoenix College in Phoenix, Arizona. On December 4, the "Phoenix Republic" carried a letter to the editor from Mrs. V. M. Haldiman which was critical of the Overstreets and set forth detailed information concerning their background. The Overstreets contacted SAC Crosby who subsequently had lunch with them. Dr. Overstreet in the past affiliated with numerous organizations cited by the Attorney General and numerous others cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities; has apparently recanted, and the Overstreets have become close personal friends of Mr. Nichols.

CURRENT STATUS:

By letter dated December 7, 1955, V. M. Haldiman, husband of the woman mentioned above who wrote letter to newspaper critical of the Overstreets, wrote to the Director calling for an explanation of Mr. Crosby's actions in having lunch with the Overstreets. He said it appeared as if the Overstreets were attempting to establish innocence by association. This matter very controversial in Phoenix and has received considerable newspaper publicity.

One [redacted] Scottsdale, Arizona, also wrote to the Director December 8, 1955, reporting the same information.

OBSERVATIONS:

In acknowledging Haldiman's letter, it is felt that the briefer we make it the safer ground we will be on. It is obvious from the tenor of Haldiman's letter that whatever we say will undoubtedly be published in this controversy, and we do not want to be placed in the position of "clearing" or defending the Overstreets. It is obvious also that Haldiman wrote in a fit of anger when he thought his wife's integrity had been impugned. The only question he actually wants acknowledged is whether

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100-114575-50

h/k

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

December 13, 1955

or not SAC Crosby had sufficient reasons for lunching with the Overstreets, and he stated that if this were the case "We would understand." He also concluded his letter stating, "We certainly don't want to fight the FBI."

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That the attached, ~~personal and confidential~~ letter be forwarded to Mr. Haldiman.

b6
b7C

(2) That the attached letter be forwarded to

Enclosures (2)

✓ gm m

DGH:nma:bs

(5)

100-114575-51

December 14, 1955

RECORDED - 14

INDEXED - 14

EX-121

Mr. V. M. Haldiman *Enft.*
Haldiman Brothers
401 North Central Avenue
Phoenix, Arizona

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

Dear Mr. Haldiman:

Thank you for your letter of December 7,
1955, in which you mention Dr. Harry A. Overstreet and
Mrs. Overstreet.

I have taken the occasion to call the contents
of your communication to the attention of the Special Agent
in Charge of our Phoenix Office.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

CC - Phoenix, with copy of incoming.

NOTE: See Jones to Nichols memo 12-13-55 re "Harry A.
Overstreet, Bonaro W. Overstreet." DGH:nma

DGH:nma

(4)

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Sizoo
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

398
77 JAN 5 1956

DEC 14 1955
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RECEIVED
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
DEC 17 1 50 PM '55

HALDIMAN BROTHERS



Visit Us in Our Modern Quarters in the New First National Bank Building

AL 4-3115 • 401 N. CENTRAL AVENUE
P. O. BOX 791 • PHOENIX, ARIZONA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/AL

December 7, 1955

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

You will undoubtedly recall you wrote in a publication of the Justice Department "Our success or failure in the future, however, I am certain, will be directly in proportion to the aid we receive from every patriotic citizen"

In line with this challenge my wife wrote a letter to the Editor of the Arizona Republic, Phoenix, Arizona, under date of December 4, 1955 copy of which is enclosed together with subsequent press releases, culminating in the release in the Republic dated Tuesday, December 6, 1955 concerning a luncheon date Dr. Harry Overstreet and his wife, Dr. Bonano Overstreet had with Mr. Crosby, chief of your local office.

Up to the time of this release Mrs. Haldiman felt she had the situation well in hand inasmuch as she had talked to Senator Styles Bridges who recommended she get in touch with former Representative Clardy in Michigan in regard to the Velde letter. Both Senator Bridges and Representative Clardy assured us in no uncertain terms that the Overstreet's had never been cleared and we came to the positive conclusion that actually their refutation amounted to guilt by avoidance.

We were authorized by Representative Clardy to say that the Velde letter was in the nature of a brushoff rather than an exoneration as presented by the Overstreet's. Mrs. Haldiman was just at the point of writing her refutation of the refutation of the Overstreet's pointing out these things when the release of December 6th appeared and it was at this time I decided to step in.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

INDEXED
RECORDED 144
EX-121



SURANCE • FIDELITY & SURETY BONDS

It will be recalled that a memo 12-8-55 set forth call from SAC Crosby regarding incident concerning the Overstreets.

HALDIMAN BROTHERS



Insurance

Visit Us in Our Modern Quarters in the New First National Bank Building

AL 4-3115 • 401 N. CENTRAL AVENUE
P. O. BOX 791 • PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Hoover - #2 - 12/7/55

I called on Mr. Crosby for an explanation of his act and his only explanation was the Overstreet's were friends of his of long standing and that the social luncheon date was made prior to the release of Mrs. Haldiman's letter. I asked him point blank if he didn't think they had taken advantage of his friendship in attempting to establish innocence by association after Mrs. Haldiman had been charged with the old guilt by association on a TV panel show sponsored by the Mental Health Association, the Overstreet's sponsors. This question was never answered.

The only conclusion I can arrive at is that Mr. Crosby had good and sufficient reasons for the luncheon in his line of duty and if this be so, certainly we would understand. However, if this is not the explanation, his act causes me the greatest concern and takes prominence about all else in this controversy. So quite naturally being as concerned as I am, I am writing you and hope you can find time to let us have an reply.

I have asked Mrs. Haldiman to withhold any additional letters until receipt of your reply because we certainly don't want to fight the F. B. I.

Respectfully,

VMH:MH

L. M. Haldiman



FIRE • AUTOMOBILE • CASUALTY • BURGLARY INSURANCE • FIDELITY & SURETY BONDS

Psychologist Says Times Are Perilous

Dr. Harry Allen Overstreet, speaking here with his wife, warns that America is living in a time of great peril not knowing "when one paranoiac will destroy the world."

Overstreet noted that Soviet Communist Party Boss Khrushchev smiled in Geneva; then "blew his top" in a temple in Burma, where "all of his repressed anger came out."

THE DOCTOR and his wife, Dr. Bonaro W. Overstreet, opened a three-day series of symposiums and workshops yesterday at Phoenix College auditorium.

Today and tomorrow at 8 p.m., the Overstreets will appear at North Phoenix High School auditorium, with 2:30 p.m. workshops scheduled today and tomorrow in Phoenix Public Library auditorium. Evening sessions are free, although the workshop fee is \$1.

The series by the psychologists is sponsored by the Maricopa Mental Health Association, of which Rabbi A. L. Krohn is president.

THE OVERSTREETS earlier denied assertions made by Mrs. V. M. Haldiman, 124 E. Palm Lane, that Harry Overstreet had been identified with Red front groups.

The Overstreets offered letters from the U.S. Information Agency; department of state; Sen. Styles Bridges (R-NH) (who Mrs. Haldiman quoted as a source for some of her information); and Rep. Harold H. Velde (R-Ill), chairman of the house committee on un-American activities.

The letters supported Overstreet denials. They had offered, when the matter first came up in 1953, to appear before Velde's committee. Velde wrote them in June 1954 that the hearing would be unnecessary, and Senator Bridges wrote in November 1954 that he wished the situation had been cleared up before his speech of two months earlier.

CHARLES W. PINE, association vice president, at last night's lecture, said that recently the California American Legion and Jaycees commended the Overstreets for their talks on "How to Intelligently Combat Communism."

Responding to an audience question about the episode here, Mrs. Overstreet explained the assertions against her husband thusly:

"Perfectly sincere people are misinformed. They do not look first at the facts before making charges."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-51

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Rabbi A. L. Krohn, president of the Maricopa Mental Health Association, sponsors of the Overstreets' symposium here, said yesterday he didn't think the FBI agent would have invited the Overstreets to lunch had there been any factual basis for the charges of alleged Red sympathy hurled at them.

THE controversy was set off here in a letter to the editor of The Arizona Republic Sunday. The Overstreets denied the allegations in an interview which appeared in the same issue of this newspaper.

"I think the fact that Mr. Crosby was willing to be seen in public with the Overstreets on a social basis after that letter was printed," Rabbi Krohn said, "shows pretty well what their standing with the U.S. government is."

Legal Advertising

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSC

Sunday, December 4, 1955

Charges Of Alleged Red Linkings Bluntly Denied By Overstreets

Charges of identification with alleged Red-front organizations and persons were flatly denied yesterday by Dr. Harry Overstreet and his wife, Dr. Bonaro Overstreet. The indictments are contained in a letter to the editor on today's editorial page of The Republic. The letter is signed by Mrs. V. M. Haldiman, 124 E. Palm Lane.



Mrs. Overstreet. In refuting the charges, the Overstreets produced letters from Richard A. Humphrey, deputy chief, information center service, U. S. Information Agency, Washington, D. C.; Robert L. Johnson, U. S. Department of State administrator, Washington, D. C.; and Rep. Velde (R-Ill), chairman of the committee on un-American activities.



"An unfortunate chain of circumstances led to the withdrawal of your books for a time from the shelves of our overseas libraries," Johnson wrote to the Overstreets in a letter dated July 23, 1953. "It now develops that a great injustice has been done to you, and the books have been fully restored."

In a letter dated Nov. 8, 1954, some two months after the alleged charges by Senator Bridges (R-NH) referred to in Mrs. Haldiman's letter, Humphrey said: "I only wish the situation (concerning the withdrawal of books authored by the Overstreets from USIS libraries) was not clarified earlier."

In 1953, when they first heard

of charges of alleged Red sympathy, the Overstreets went to Washington and offered to testify before the committee on un-American activities. Their sworn affidavit was acknowledged by Representative Velde in a letter dated Oct. 7, 1953. On June 11, 1954, Velde again wrote to the Overstreets concerning the hearing they had requested: "I was

satisfied that the affidavit by you was sufficient, and that the hearing you suggested was unnecessary."

The Overstreets, a psychology team, open a three-day series of human relations workshops in Phoenix today. They are being sponsored in Phoenix by the Maricopa Mental Health Association.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KSL

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

Sunday, December 4, 1955

Reader Cites Overstreet Record

Editor, The Arizona Republic:

Sen. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire said it, Aug. 19, 1954 in an address to the senate, when he linked Harry Overstreet in a group of such characters attending or teaching at the "New School for Social Research" in New York City, as Earl Browder, Harold Laski, Freda Kirchwey, Hans Eisler and many infamous names to loyal Americans. That alone would be enough for some of us, but if you need more—there is much more.

Harry Overstreet is popular with only certain groups in California and one is not the senate investigating committee of the un-American activities of the state legislature. A few of the Communist front organizations he took an active part in are as follows:

1. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. Some of his team mates were Paul Robeson, Rockwell Kent and Prof. Harlow Shapley.

2. American Committee to Save Refugees. Others on this Communist-dominated organization are: Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Dashiell Hammett, Lillian Hellman and Donald Ogden Stewart.

3. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. This outfit pressured to abolish the congressional committee on un-American activities. Others in it are Freda Kirchwey, Anna Louise Strong, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and Van Wyck Brooks.

4. Consumers Union. Other members include Arthur Garfield Hays, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio and Anna Louise Strong.

5. California Fourth Report, 1948, lists Communists and fellow-travelers who have been writing

the boldest fronts to make an appearance on the California scene."

Carey McWilliams and Harry Overstreet are listed as sponsors and the speakers are Scott Nearing, Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet.

In 1953, "Voice of America" threw out any material written by the Overstreets as the new ruling said: "No material by any controversial person, Communist or fellow-traveler can be used by the 'Voice' or put on U.S. Information Service shelves."

Mrs. Roosevelt, and the National PTA president, Mrs. Newton P. Leonard of Chicago, protested when the "Voice" made such a decision.

There is an old saying: "The people perished for lack of information."

J. Edgar Hoover says, "What has been disillusioning is the manner in which the Communists and fellow-travelers have been able to enlist support often from apparently well-meaning but thoroughly duped persons."

Styles Bridges says, "I am really concerned about the people who are taken in by these far-to-the-left left wingers who masquerade as enlightened liberals."

The bringing in of the Overstreets indicates a sad lack of information among the leaders of our community.

MRS. V. M. HALDIMAN

Editor, I

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/cx

RECORDED - 14

INDEXED - 14

EX-126

100 1145 75-52

99400

December 14, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-84 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

JK 8-1

[Redacted Address]

Scottsdale, Arizona

Dear [Redacted Name]

I have received your letter of December 8, 1955, and appreciate the spirit which prompted you to write to me as you did.

I have taken the occasion to call the contents of your communication to the attention of the Special Agent in Charge of our Phoenix Office.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

COMM - FBI
DEC 14 1955
MAILED 28

cc - Phoenix, with copy of incoming.

NOTE: See Jones to Nichols memo 12-13-55 re "Harry A. Overstreet, Bonaro W. Overstreet." DGH:nma

DGH:nma
(4)

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

66 JAN 5 1956

DEC 14 1 50 PM '55
RECEIVED READING ROOM
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

DEC 13 2 50 AM '55

J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

99401

Dec. 8, 1955

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-96 BY SP5BSC/AL

Dear Mr. Hoover:

We are greatly concerned over an incident which has just occurred here in Phoenix.

Some of us here have done an extensive bit of research on the Mental Health Organization and we do not like what we find. To top it all, the Overstreets are always their top billing for lectures and symposiums. They have been here three days, sponsored by the Mental Health Group.

Mrs. Verland Maldiman, a great American, wrote a letter to the paper, giving the list of Front organizations to which the Harry Overstreets joined from time to time. The list was taken from that given by the Sen. Investigating Committee on Education, Calif. Legislature. Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet protested their innocence but did not deny having belonged to those organizations.

The next day they appeared at the press club and and dropped the bomb that has us greatly disturbed--which was that Mr. Crosby, the local head of the F.B.I. here in Phoenix, had taken the Overstreets to lunch, thus proving to the public that the "fact that Mr. Crosby was willing to be seen in public with the Overstreets on a social basis after that letter was written shows pretty well what their standing with the U.S. government is." This statement was made by Rabbi A.L. Krohn, head of the Mental Health Ass. here in Phoenix, at the Press Club.

RECORDED - 107-114575-52
INDEXED - 107-114575-52

I feel that this incident should be reported to you. Many people are greatly aroused over it.

Very Sincerely, EX-126 27 DEC 29 1955

Scottsdale, Ariz.

P.S. The above incident was of course played up in our paper.

b6
b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Ag*

DATE: Dec. 23, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: *shut out*
encl

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

For record purposes, I am attaching hereto letters which I received from Mrs. Harry W. Overstreet, along with a letter which the Overstreets sent to SAC Murphy of Dallas which bears upon their recent difficulties in Phoenix.

Enclosures

LBN:arm

(2)

BONARO Overstreet

RECORDED - 44

SE 5

*100-114575-53*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/OL

50 JAN 6 1956

DEC 28 1955

SEARCHED
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FILED

ROUTING SLIP

FD-4

(8-17-54)

To MR. L. B. NICHOLS
Assistant to the Director Date 12-8-55

☐ Director, FBI
Attention _____

☐ SAC _____ Title _____

☐ ASAC _____

☐ Supervisor _____

☐ Agent _____

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____

☐ Chief Clerk _____

☐ SE _____ File # _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KSL

ACTION DESIRED

<input type="checkbox"/> Assign to _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Open case
<input type="checkbox"/> Acknowledge	<input type="checkbox"/> Prepare tickler
<input type="checkbox"/> Bring file	<input type="checkbox"/> Reassign to _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Call me	
<input type="checkbox"/> See me	<input type="checkbox"/> Recharge serials
<input type="checkbox"/> Correct	<input type="checkbox"/> Search and return
<input type="checkbox"/> Delinquent	<input type="checkbox"/> Send serials _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Expedite	to _____
<input type="checkbox"/> File	<input type="checkbox"/> Submit new charge-out
<input type="checkbox"/> Leads need attention	<input type="checkbox"/> Type
<input type="checkbox"/> Read, initial and return	<input type="checkbox"/> Return serials
<input type="checkbox"/> Undeveloped leads in your district awaiting attention	<input type="checkbox"/> Submit report by _____

Thought you might like to see the attached, since it makes reference to Congressman Sherer, who allegedly made some material available to one of our local citizens which irritated the Overstreets considerably. I have acknowledged the attached, so you may destroy it when you are through, but I thought you should have it as background when you next see them.

I missed you in the [unclear] case of me

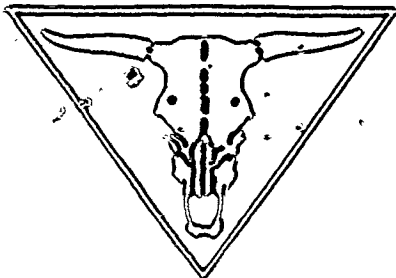
John McRae took good care of me

SAC _____
Office _____

W. J. MURPHY
DALLAS

1-ENCL.

INDEXED - 44 RECORDED - 44 114575-53



GHOST RANCH LODGE

P. O. BOX 5695

801 CASA GRANDE HIGHWAY

TUCSON, ARIZONA

November 27, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Mr. Nichols,

DATE 5-19-86

BY SP8BTJ/CL

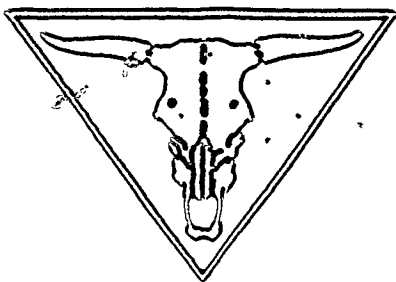
On a lecture trip of this sort we think more letters in your direction than we get written -- not only because working hours, hours on the road, and hours of restorative sleep fill the days pretty well up to the brim but, even more, because so much of what we would like to say is virtually unsayable. There seems no way to translate into words the intensely satisfying nuances and overtones of this sort of experience with the American public -- and all we can do, time and again, is to wish that you were sharing it with us.

When you asked, that last evening at your home, whether we didn't get tired on such a schedule, we answered, "No." We should have answered, "Yes-No." We get physically tired many times. Also, we get tired, now and then, from just the impact of different personalities and situations -- so that it becomes vastly important to us to get off alone once more in the car on the road. But even when we are tired we are not tired of: not tired of the work itself, nor of the heartwarming unofficial contacts with all sorts of people, nor of the good feel of the country at large. Whatever we use up in the way of energy is more than returned to us by the people we meet -- so that we never quite get over our grateful astonishment at being able to have, year after year, this peculiar sort of blithe and serious companioning with our fellow Americans. Even when the trip has to be made by plane, as to Wisconsin and South Dakota, it feels good -- and indeed the Huron, South Dakota, experience will stand very clearly in our memory. But it is when we can travel by car, so that planned events are fitted into a larger pattern of random experiences in motels, restaurants, all night diners, service stations, and all the rest, that we really fall in love with our work all over again.

RECORDED - 44

DEC 28 1955

Unfortunately, the Southern Methodist University discussion didn't work out. The pieces just couldn't be made to fall right: Dr. Outler himself had to be away the whole week at a conference; the man who took over in his



GHOST RANCH LODGE

P. O. BOX 5695

801 CASA GRANDE HIGHWAY

TUCSON, ARIZONA

stead also had, in the end, to be away for a number of days; wires got crossed one way and another. The plain fact was that the night before Thanksgiving was not a practical time for such a gathering. But it has not been called off; simply postponed: we can arrange to come to Dallas just before our March 1st lecture in Houston, and to have more time than was possible now.

We have again been gathering questions -- and also some ideas we want to try out on you. But they can wait until we return. It has become almost second nature, now, for consciousness of your work to mingle with consciousness of our own -- so that all sorts of occasions crop up for getting ideas planted and misconceptions cleared up. No separate thing that we're able to do seems to amount to much -- but maybe the total will have some worth in the long run. Anyway, our intentions and efforts are finding their pattern and feeling more solid as time goes on.

We had a good visit with Mr. Murphy -- just for the fun of it. We find him such a good human being to think with. We'll try for a visit with Mr. Crosby in Phoenix on December 1st or 2nd.

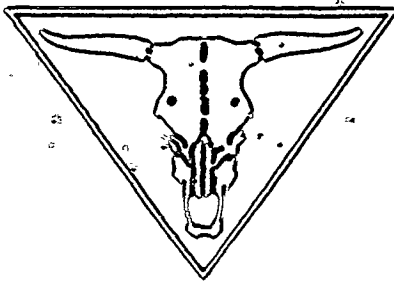
Changing the subject, we found word here from Mr. Hicks that he has been able to locate the owner of the lot next ours and to start negotiations for our buying it. So we look happily forward to owning an extended sample of woodland. We'll call it a good investment -- but will know in our own minds that we haven't the slightest intention of selling it: we simply like too much the thought of having it to enjoy, and for permanent protection of our privacy. (Bring on the power-saw brigade!)

It's wonderfully good to be back here at the Ghost Ranch Lodge: one of our top favorite places in the country. The moon that has traveled with us across the land, growing a bit each night, is almost full now; and the weather is so warm that it's a delight just to stand out and contemplate the spacious landscape of this desert country.

We turn eastward from Phoenix on the morning of December 7th; and if all goes well, we'll be phoning you around the 15th to say that we're home. Meanwhile, our very best to you, as always.

Cordially,

Ernie Overstreet



GHOST RANCH LODGE

P. O. BOX 5695

801 CASA GRANDE HIGHWAY

TUCSON, ARIZONA

November 27th

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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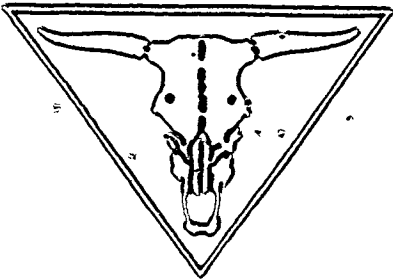
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CJL

Dear Mr. Murphy,

Thanks for being so unsurprised when we called you, the other evening, for no better reason than that we needed to restore our own sense of perspective before going out to a dinner. Your way of quietly putting things back into proportion was exactly what was called for. Most of the time, now, we can take these odd experiences in stride, not letting them disturb us over much-- though, I must admit, never being quite able to brush them off as of no importance. Once in a while, however, some new angle will catch us utterly off guard. That was what happened the other night. After a full half hour or more of listening to the most unabashedly cold and calculating attack I've yet encountered -- all of it couched in terms of "reasonableness" and "freedom of speech" -- I suddenly needed to hear some words of plain, quiet sanity; for I felt as though I had been mentally traveling in a sort of never, never land where words had familiar sounds but nothing that resembled familiar meanings.

The truly shocking thing -- and this we will have to check for factuality when we get back to Washington -- was her statement that Congressman Sherer had simply put the file into her hands, saying that it was a public record, open to any one, and had let her copy out whatever parts she wanted for reference. She said that she and he were in complete agreement about people like ourselves -- "Socialistic New Dealers." She gave me a sample or two of what she had copied out of Harry's sworn statement to the Committee -- scraps taken out of context. The clue one was a statement to the effect that he had been much more aware, in the late 30s, of the dangers of Fascism ~~and~~ of those of Communism. This, she said, was a clear basis for assuming that he had been in a mental position to be "mildly brain-washed" -- the proof that he had been so being the fact that he had "associated" with Communists in all the listed groups. From this she was able to argue that while she had no thought that we were Communists, and was sure that we had only the highest ideals, we were not of sound judgment.

100-114575-53
ENCLOSURE



GHOST RANCH LODGE

P. O. BOX 5695

801 CASA GRANDE HIGHWAY

TUCSON, ARIZONA

I grant you that all this has a sort of absurd "logic" that would make wonderful material for a musical comedy. But in the face of a wholly calm determination to use thus selectively the record from the file to lessen, if possible, our chances to influence present public policy, I suddenly felt as though I had been touched by the chilly finger of totalitarianism -- cynical and complacent totalitarianism. It was a startling emotional experience. It wasn't fear -- for we aren't actually anxious about such attacks as hers: they aren't likely to make much practical difference. It was more a sense of being at large in a strange land where fiction wore the mask of fact, and fact of fiction -- and of needing to scoot "home" to a land of solid sense.

We're learning a lot, one way and another, about the types of attack that can continue to be made in the face of our having officially straightened out the business of the list. Her method is only one among several. In some places, we are now called dubious, not as "subversives," but as "atheists." In other places -- notably, it would appear, Oklahoma and Indiana, -- groups that have moved in on the PTA do not bother to specify reasons but simply reiterate their conviction that I should not be writing for the National Parent-Teacher and that they "naturally" can't subscribe for the magazine or ask others to do so while I am a contributor and advisory editor. And so on. . .

It is wonderfully good to be back here at the Ghost Ranch -- one of our favorite homes away from home -- and back within the solid working frame of the mental health institute. The next three days will be full to the brim with one workshop session after another. Then, after a two day interval, we'll go into a similar three-day session in Phoenix.

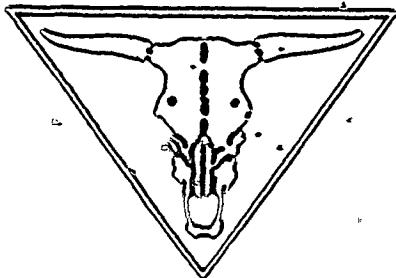
The enclosed card makes that new address of ours "official" -- and it is to be regarded as both record and invitation. We do hope you'll get back there during the Spring and pay us a visit. Meanwhile, thanks again for letting us drop in and visit you -- in person and by phone.

With best wishes from both of us,

Cordially,

*We'll be at Westward Ho
through Dec. 6th 9,*

2 Benaro Overstreet



GHOST RANCH LODGE

P. O. BOX 5695

801 CASA GRANDE HIGHWAY

TUCSON, ARIZONA

P.S.

It seems fairly sure that we'll be back in Dallas at the end of February for the postponed SMU discussion session.

Tequila
Also, we think you are going to have two visitors: not only Mrs. Welden Bell, of whom we spoke, but also Mr. Raible, minister of the Unitarian Church, who gave us our place to meet the public a year ago. He, at that time, was, we felt, very far from sharing our appraisal of you people: was, in fact, almost shocked by it. But he has moved a long way in his thinking and, to our pleasure, said the other day that he thought he should get acquainted with you. We'd particularly like him to do so and to have the sort of comfortable talk that would make him feel free, at later times, to put questions when he had them on his mind rather than to jump to stereotyped convictions. He's a good man -- of integrity and courage -- but given a bit to the sort of "label thinking" that keeps many liberals from being quite liberal, making them instead partisans in reverse, so to speak.

FRANCIS E. CROSBY

Phoenix, Arizona

December 6, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86

BY SP8 BT/CL

Dear Boss,

I wrote you yesterday telling you about lunching with the Overstreets and enclosed some news clippings. Here are a couple more, a news story from the Gazette of December 5 and one from the Republic of December 6 in which I am remarked upon for my taste in people I have lunch with.

The original letter which appeared in Sunday's Republic was written by Mrs. V. M. Haldiman. I think I mentioned to you that she telephoned me prior to my lunching with the Overstreets. Her husband came in today to say that Mrs. Haldiman is pretty well broken up about the fact that she was so vociferous about somebody I lunched with. I told Mr. Haldiman that the FBI was a fact finding organization which furnished clearances to no one either directly or indirectly, that my action in going to lunch with the Overstreets was a fact and that people can put the interpretation on it which they choose but none was intended and no significance about what the FBI thought about the people could be attached to my personal actions in going to lunch with them. I told him that as a matter of further fact I was personally acquainted with the Overstreets, I had lunched with them last Friday and at that time had arranged for a luncheon on Monday and that my relationship was purely personal and no official significance should be attached to it.

The Haldimans are highly respected pleasant people. Mr. Haldiman stated that if "Mama" is on a bum wicket she will apologize and he will drop the matter, but he is now pursuing the possibility of proving whether "Mama" is right or wrong. The conversations with both of the Haldimans were pleasant and polite. Mr. Haldiman said he was following the matter up with Senator Bridges.

You know how Phoenix lends itself to a tempest in a teapot. I really feel we will have nothing further on this score and if anything does come up I will clip it and let you know.

Again, all the best.

RECORDED - 44

INDEXED - 44

Sincerely,

DEC 28 1955

Enc (2)

Psychologist Says Times Are Perilous

Dr. Harry Allen Overstreet, speaking here with his wife, warns that America is living in a time of great peril not knowing "when one paranoiac will destroy the world."

Overstreet noted that Soviet Communist Party Boss Khrushchev smiled in Geneva, then "blew his top" in a temple in Burma, where "all of his repressed anger came out."

THE DOCTOR and his wife, Dr. Bonaro W. Overstreet, opened a three-day series of symposiums and workshops yesterday at Phoenix College auditorium.

Today and tomorrow at 8 p.m., the Overstreets will appear at North Phoenix High School auditorium, with 2:30 p.m. workshops scheduled today and tomorrow in Phoenix Public Library auditorium. Evening sessions are free, although the workshop fee is \$1.

The series by the psychologists is sponsored by the Maricopa Mental Health Association, of which Rabbi A. L. Krohn is president.

THE OVERSTREETS earlier denied assertions made by Mrs. W. M. Haldiman, 124 E. Palm Lane, that Harry Overstreet had been identified with Red front groups.

The Overstreets offered letters from the U.S. Information Agency; department of state; Sen. Styles Bridges (R-NH) (who Mrs. Haldiman quoted as a source for some of her information); and Rep. Harold H. Velde (R-Ill), chairman of the house committee on un-American activities.

The letters supported Overstreet denials. They had offered, when the matter first came up in 1953, to appear before Velde's committee. Velde wrote them in June 1954 that the hearing would be unnecessary, and Senator Bridges wrote in November 1954 that he wished the situation had been cleared up before his speech of two months earlier.

CHARLES W. PINE, association vice president, at last night's lecture, said that recently the California American Legion and Jaycees commended the Overstreets for their talks on "How to Intelligently Combat Communism."

Responding to an audience question about the episode here, Mrs. Overstreet explained the assertions against her husband thusly:

"Perfectly sincere people are misinformed. They do not look first at the facts before making charges."

PHOENIX GAZETTE
12/5/55 - page 8

RE: DR. HARRY ALLEN OVERSTREET
DR. BONARO W. OVERSTREET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KSL

ENCLOSURE

Press Club To Hear Overstreets Today

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet and his wife, Dr. Bonaro W. Overstreet, will be forum guests of the Phoenix Press Club at 5:30 p.m. today in the club's headquarters in Hotel Westward Ho.

The husband and wife author-lecturer-psychologist team conclude a three-day symposium here today with a workshop at 2:30 p.m.

in Phoenix Public Library auditorium, and a general meeting at 8 p.m., in North Phoenix High School auditorium. Topic of the afternoon workshop is "The Child—Made For Growing."

DR. MILDRED W. Wood, family living consultant for the Phoenix College and High School District, is chairman. Dr. Grady Gammage, president of Arizona State College at Tempe, will preside at tonight's meeting. Topic will be "Mental Health for the Whole Life Span."

Centers of a controversy here concerning their alleged connections with Red-front organizations, the Overstreets yesterday were luncheon guests of Francis Crosby, special agent in charge of the Phoenix FBI office.

Rabbi A. L. Krohn, president of the Maricopa Mental Health Association, sponsors of the Overstreets' symposium here, said yesterday he didn't think the FBI agent would have invited the Overstreets to lunch had there been any factual basis for the charges of alleged Red sympathy hurled at them.

THE controversy was set off here in a letter to the editor of The Arizona Republic Sunday. The Overstreets denied the allegations in an interview which appeared in the same issue of this newspaper.

"I think the fact that Mr. Crosby was willing to be seen in public with the Overstreets on a social basis after that letter was printed," Rabbi Krohn said, "shows pretty well what their standing with the U.S. government is."

ARIZONA REPUBLIC

12/6/55 - page 37

RE: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
DR. BONARO W. OVERSTREET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJS/lcl

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-59

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Viper*

DATE: 1-25-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols *Nichols*SUBJECT: HARRY A. AND BONARO OVERSTREET *Overstreet*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJS/KCL

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Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sizoo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winterrowd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holloman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

In connection with the Silvermaster investigation, a statement appears in an investigative report that a surveillance of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster reflected that he called at the apartment occupied by Dr. H. A. Overstreet on December 16, 1946. Some time ago in talking to the Overstreets, I frankly asked them what their connection with Silvermaster was. They professed not to know him, and I frankly stated that he called at their apartment on December 16, 1946. Their reaction was that they were not in New York until later in December. Only recently Mrs. Overstreet told me that they had verified that they were in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on December 16, and they completed a six-week course of instruction in Ann Arbor on December 17, 1946. She further stated that they subrented their apartment in New York during the fall of 1946 to a Dr. John Darr who was a Chaplain at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, and stated that they had since heard that Dr. Darr had a son who had become involved with the Communists.

Our files reflect that the son of the Chaplain is a Reverend John Whittier Darr, Jr., who is a reported member of the Communist Party. He was the paid publicity director of the American Peace Crusade and testified on behalf of the defense in the first trial of the communist leaders in New York.

I have not checked the files to determine if there is any tie-up between the Reverend John W. Darr, Jr., and Silvermaster.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:nl
(4)

RECORDED - 47

EX-118

FEB 2 1956

50 FEB 10 1956

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-367510-36

4-22 (6-15-55)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

1-25, 1956

☐ Name Check Unit - Room 6523
☐ Attention _____
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☒ Return to Jensen Ext. _____
Supervisor
Room 1738

☐ ~~ADD~~ References 65-56402
☐ Subversive References
☐ Main _____ References Only 101-786
☐ Restrict to Locality of _____ only
☐ Breakdown ☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☐ Exact Name Only
☒ Exact Spelling
☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

SUBJECT

Address

Localities

Birthdate & Place

R#

Date _____

Searcher Initials

INITIAL =
SERIAL

FILE NUMBER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/C

File 5/26

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman *1-31-56*

FROM : A. H. Belmont *AB*

SUBJECT: NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER, was.
ESPIONAGE - R

DATE: Jan. 26, 1956

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

1-31-56

Overstreet

Mr. Nichols by memo 1/25/56 to Mr. Tolson, captioned "Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet", which is attached, advised the files had not been checked to determine if there is any tieup between Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., and Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

This is to advise that no references to John Whittier Darr and variations thereof were found in 65-56402 (main file in over-all Silvermaster case) or in 101-786 (Silvermaster main file). In addition, the main file on Darr (100-369510) was reviewed and did not reflect any mention of Silvermaster.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

101-786
Enclosure

RGJ:emb(5)
CC: Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Jensen

100-114275

NOT RECORDED
141 FEB 6 1956

WA

24

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *5-19-86* BY *SP8 BTJ/LCL*

252

66 FEB 8 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-114275-3

HARRY A. OVERSTREET

1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN

LAKE BARCROFT

FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

February 27, 1956

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Mason ☐
Mr. Mohr ☐
Mr. Parsons ☐
Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Tamm ☐
Mr. Nease ☐
Mr. Winterrowd ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Mr. Holloman ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

99
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Thank you very warmly for your letter.
I am glad that my own letter to the Washington Post did
not seem to you to be beside the point.

You can be sure that both my wife and myself
will always welcome a chance to speak as accurately as we
can about the work of the Bureau where we feel that mis-
understandings about it exist.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet
H.A. Overstreet

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

RECORDED - 30

EX - 108

EXP. PROC.

FEB 28 1956

39

RECORDED-90

EX-125 100-114575-56

February 20, 1956

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

PERSONAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I have just completed reading your letter to the editor which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on February 17, 1956. I thought your observations pertaining to the FBI were excellent. I only hope that the writer of the editorial which invited your communication will carefully study your observations because they are penetrating, to the point and correctly reflect the position of the FBI. This position is well known and we have sought to bring it to the attention of the public on many occasions.

I was certainly glad when you saw fit to comment on the evils which would follow if the FBI were to exercise an editorial prerogative in reporting the facts it collects. If for any reason such a policy were ever forced upon the Bureau I, for one, would resist it because the fact-finding functions and the evaluating functions cannot be combined. When this is done indeed an investigative agency will become a real menace.

I do want to send you this personal note to express my deep appreciation for the interest you took in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

151 J. Edgar Hoover

cc - Mr. Jones

LBN:etm:JEH:eff

(4)

- Tolson
- Nichols
- Boardman
- Belmont
- Mason
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Nease
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

SENT FROM D. O.	
TIME	2:20 PM
DATE	2-21-56
BY	clm

①

V

mo

63 MAR 22 1956

ArticleAntiseptic Chamber Music

I am in complete accord with the editorial opinion that the Library of Congress has put itself in a ridiculous position by asking Mr. Albert Sprague Coolidge to withdraw his acceptance of an invitation to serve as adviser to the Coolidge Foundation—if, as I assume, the facts about his past are as stated.

This decision, coming from the Library of Congress—of all institutions—seems to me both short-sighted and incredibly timid. I find it hard to reconcile with the past record and the cultural responsibility of the Library.

Having said this, however, I must strongly dissent from the implication of one sentence in the editorial: "The FBI is a very good police force; but it is not a good judge of viola players." The implication, here, seems plainly to be that the FBI exceeded its authority—that of providing, on request from another governmental agency, whatever specific information it had with regard to a certain individual—and, on its own, recommended that Mr. Coolidge be asked to withdraw. This sentence, to my mind, underscores an impression about FBI procedures that is often reiterated and highly unfair.

I have made it a point, during the past several years, to get as much information as possible about the work of the Bureau: what it does and what it does not do. As far as I can discover, it does, in cases such as that of Mr. Coolidge, precisely what it is set up to do, and scrupulously refrains from doing more than that.

It collects information when it is asked to collect it: asked by another governmental body that has the right to use its services in this respect. It does not initiate investigations on

its own; and it does not "edit" the information it accumulates—deciding that it will pass on this item to the requesting party and withhold that item.

If the source of any particular piece of information has, in past instances, proved to be either markedly reliable or markedly unreliable, this fact is attached to the specific item. So far as I can learn, this is the only addition it makes to collected data.

The question I would want to put, then, is this: Does the editorial imply that it would be safer for this country to have the FBI start "editing" the material it collects? If either the agents in the field or the central FBI office should ever assume this "editorial" responsibility of deciding not to file this item but to file that one; not to pass on this piece of information but to pass on that one, then I would be ready—as I am not at present—to regard the FBI as dangerous to our freedoms.

To my mind, the distinction of the Bureau lies precisely in the fact that it does not do what the writer of the editorial apparently thinks it should do: namely, interpret for other agencies the material collected for them. It was not set up to do this task. It has refrained from doing it. It has left the job of interpretation to those whose proper undertaking it is. I, for one, am grateful to it for doing precisely this.

The FBI, in short, did not presume to judge Mr. Coolidge as either a proper adviser for the Library of Congress or as a viola player. Therefore it was neither a good judge of him nor a bad judge, and to imply that it exceeded its authority by acting as judge seems to me both unfair and misleading.

H. A. OVERSTREET
Falls Church, Va.

Tolson ✓
Nichols ✓
Boardman ✓
Belmont ✓
Mason ✓
Mohr ✓
Parsons ✓
Rosen ✓
Tamm ✓
Nease ✓
Winterrowd ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Holloman ✓
Gandy ✓

ff 8-1

An excellent
statement.
Wills Overstreet
a note.

Letter to
Mr. Overstreet
2-20-56
(Bn)

Wash. Post and Times Herald 25
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/CCL

RECORDED-90
INDEXED-90

100-114570-56
FEB 17 1956

27 MAR 26 1956

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: February 20, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols ✓

SUBJECT: *my*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Sizoo	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

With reference to the letter which Dr. Harry A. Overstreet wrote to the Post and which appeared in the Post on February 17, 1956, as the Director noted, this is "an excellent statement. While the Director instructed that a letter be sent to the Overstreets, I would like to recommend that we now not send the letter which you had revised. This letter will serve no purpose other than to throw cold water on the Overstreets and it would undo all the good work that has been done over a period of time. The next time I see the Overstreets I can tell them how much we appreciated their letter as, in fact, I did when they read it to me prior to sending it to the Post.

cc: Mr. Jones
LBN:arm
(3)

EX-125

RECORDED-90

100-114575-57

I certainly would
not approve the
original draft.

MAR 26 1956

What about the revised
draft attached?

It is better
but I have lost
my enthusiasm
for this project.

It is better but I have lost my
enthusiasm for this project. LBN

52 MAR 28 1956

or
2/21

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: March 23, 1956

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles (66-1700-1419)

SUBJECT: Dr. HARRY A. OVERSTREET;
BONARO W. OVERSTREET.ATTENTION: ASSISTANT TO THE
DIRECTOR L. B. NICHOLS

Rebulet 12/15/55 to SAC Francis E. Crosby, Phoenix, with copy to Los Angeles.

This is to advise that Dr. and Mrs. OVERSTREET called at the Los Angeles Office of the FBI during their stay in Los Angeles, at which time they were received very courteously.

The OVERSTREETs were in Los Angeles in conjunction with the usual conference on Childhood and Youth, which was held at the Ambassador Hotel March 6-7, 1956.

The foregoing is for the information of the Bureau.

JFM:AB
(3)

- 2 - Bureau
- 1 - L.A. 66-1700-1419

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-82 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

EX-125

RECORDED - 19

100-114575-58
28
24 MAR 27 195639
EXP. PROC.
MAR 27 19561-D
50 MAR 30 1956

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

DATE:

FROM :

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/cw

4-11 (Rev. 2-29-56)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

, 1956

TO:

✓ Director

✓ Mr. Tolson, 5744

Mr. Boardman, 5736

Mr. Belmont, 1742

Mr. Mason, 5256

Mr. Mohr, 5517

Mr. Parsons, 7621

Mr. Rosen, 5706

Mr. Tamm, 4130 IB

Mr. Sizoo, 1742

Mr. Nichols, 5640

Mr. McGuire, 5642

Mr. Wick, 5634

Mr. DeLoach, 5636

Mr. Morgan, 5226

Mr. Jones, 4236

Mr. Leonard, 6222

IB

Mr. Waikart, 7204

Mr. Eames, 7206

Mr. Wherry, 5537

Mr. Nease, 5744

Miss Gandy, 5633

Mr. Holloman, 5633

Records Section

Pers. Records, 6631

Reading Room, 5531

Mail Room, 5533

Teletype, 5644

Code Room, 4642

Mechanical, B-114

Supply Room, B-118

Tour Room, 5226

Miss Lurz

Miss Mathers

Miss Carter

Mrs. Faber

Miss Loper

Miss Cosart

See Me

For Your info

Note & return

For appropriate
action

They have dedicated it to LBN--no further

identification

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-82

RVSP88T/COL

L. B. Nichols

Room 5640, Ext. 692

CIR 8

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: April 26, 1956

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: "THE MIND GOES FORTH, THE DRAMA OF UNDERSTANDING"
 DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET;
 BONARO W. OVERSTREET
 (Bufile 100-114575)

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-19-86 BY SP6 BTJ/C

SYNOPSIS:

Captioned book reviewed by Central Research Section. Review not an analysis of authors' complete thought or activities which are mentioned briefly for identification purposes. Authors well known to Bureau. Dr. Overstreet, past supporter of communist front organizations, and wife Bonaro, residents of Falls Church, Virginia, now strongly anticommunist. They analyze human relationships in an effort to formulate a more effective deterrent to communism. Communism is unequivocally denounced. Philosophy of Karl Marx described as embittered view of human nature twisted into revolutionary dogma by Lenin. Quotations from Director set forth on pages 81 1/2 and 88. FBI and Department of Justice mentioned as principal targets of communism in United States on page 48 1/2. FBI included in groups forming mutual vigilance system which authors disparage on pages 84 and 84 1/2, but FBI singled out and praised highly for organization and administration on pages 85 and 86.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be furnished to Mr. Nichols for information.

Enclosure

CDB:mjh

(4) CDB

- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Nichols

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

66 MAY 9 1956

RECORDED - 84
 INDEXED - 84

17 MAY 2 1956

EX-109

CENTRAL RESEARCH
 PERS. FILES

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

DETAILS:

This memorandum is a review by the Central Research Section of the above-captioned book and is not an analysis of the authors' complete thought or their activities which are mentioned but briefly for identification purposes.

^{NYS}
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet is rather well known to the Bureau. He is a professor, author and lecturer who in the past was a member of different communist front organizations but is now strongly anticommunist. Born in 1875, Dr. Overstreet received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of California and a Bachelor of Science degree from Oxford University. He served in the philosophy department at the University of California and subsequently was a professor of philosophy and a department head at the College of the City of New York. He has also served as president of the American Association of Adult Education and Trustee of Town Hall in New York City. Married twice, he has written numerous books, several in collaboration with his present wife, which deal primarily with human relationships.

Dr. Overstreet's present wife is Bonaro W. Overstreet, who was born in 1902. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of California and is a teacher, author and lecturer. She has been an instructor in adult education at Claremont County, California, and has been affiliated as a teacher with the University of California and Mills College in California and the University of Michigan. She and her husband presently reside in Falls Church, Virginia.

As a result of contacting the Bureau in May, 1953, to go on record in regard to some of their past affiliations, the Overstreets have been developed by Mr. Nichols as staunch supporters of the Bureau.

Mr. Storer B. Lunt, president of W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., publishers of the Overstreets' books and a personal friend of the Overstreets, made available the galley proof of their latest book entitled "The Mind Goes Forth, The Drama of Understanding," which is scheduled for release in the near future.

by Harry A. Overstreet + Bonaro W.
In this book, the authors state that the growth of extremisms and Overstreet hostilities has become the central problem in the world today. The solution to the problem, as they see it, lies in our ability to understand ourselves,

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

particularly in regard to our interpersonal and intergroup relationships, so that in understanding ourselves we might better understand what motivates our group activities, and thus logically formulate a course of action by which we can avert the danger of total destruction from nuclear and bacterial weapons and win the "cold war" against communism.

The authors approach the problem from three phases, and in the initial phase, titled "The Drama of Understanding," utilize the premise that humans are inescapably social in nature, each possessing an influence peculiarly his own. They stress the necessity of recognizing the error capacity of human nature, developing the art of forgiveness and becoming "space-making personalities" so as to create an atmosphere in which others will be reassured to risk behaving like free human beings. They warn against neurotic behavior, identifying the neurotic as a "rigid personality... firmly held within a fixed pattern of response," pointing out that it is such behavior that refuses individuals an opportunity to gracefully admit a mistake and drives them to defense of their actions despite their realization of their error.

One of the illustrations which the authors use is the case of a man who, in the past, has supported various groups that since have been classified as communist front organizations. Although his "affiliations" expressed no commitment to communism, and he was motivated by a humanitarian spirit, he subsequently finds himself officially or unofficially "listed" with his reputation and livelihood jeopardized. He may find that his accusers, moved by a sort of psychological "blood lust," want him to be guilty because they have called him so or because he is the sort of "liberal intellectual" or "scientist" whom they have long feared and distrusted, but whom they have never been able to "put on the spot." He may find that his accusers refuse to even talk with him or, with a complacent sense of their own virtue, settle for calling him not a communist, "but a gullible 'dupe' of the communists." (p. 15) The individual thus is "trapped by those who will not grant him psychic space."

According to the authors, it is by granting such individuals psychic space, that is, by listening sympathetically to their point of view, that we can establish understanding, permitting these individuals to grant psychic space to others, and thereby help "to restore the sanity of our common life." (p. 15 1/2)

The authors deal with the second phase of the "problem" in Part II of the book under the heading of "Our Structured Relationships." They state

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

that the role of the individual in life is motivated by a basic, undeniable fact -- the need to belong -- and that demagogic individuals, lusting for power, exploit pseudo-conservatives and extreme rightists who fear being rejected or who hunger for status, and thus create fanaticisms of resentment which are harmful to society.

As an approach to understanding the relationships on which our society is based, the authors suggest that all matters be considered with moderation and open minds and discussed in clear language avoiding the use of "loaded words," such as "Fifth Amendment Communist." (p. 66)

The authors note an arrogance on the part of various public administrators and question whether the successful businessman, with his characteristic way of approaching problems, is what we need in government. They charge that the citizenry is far too often treated as a consuming public and that when citizens ask questions, logical, legitimate and deserving, "the business mind in government seems often to be moved to impatience as though workers or customers were invading the managerial domain." (p. 67)

The authors emphasize that the public is entitled to know the facts, pointing out that "we have to recover the art of asking questions of those in public office... For just to the extent that we let ourselves be put off with half-answers or none, or simply abdicate our citizen role and let the administrators take it over, we ourselves will talk nonsense about what is going on and will simply add to the general confusion." (p. 67)

Moving to the present dangers which confront society, the authors, in Part III, entitled "In the Public Domain," point out that we are vulnerable to total destruction by the nuclear and bacterial weapons existing today. They emphasize that the total destructiveness of such weapons is no guarantee against their use by a paranoid personality in a position of power. They suggest, therefore, that it is imperative that we become familiar with the workings of the human personality and of the social influences which react on it, so that we may eliminate the social factors which result in the development of such paranoid personalities.

The authors also stress the danger of our losing the "cold war" against communism because communism thrives when the cumulative angers, fears and hurt prides prevent understanding and reconciliation in a community of normally decent, reasonable human beings. They cite "factionalism" as one of the biggest deterrents to an organized crusade against communism and cite

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

the "demagogues," the "heroes of the age of hate," (p. 79) as those responsible for the rise of factionalism. They cite those who forfeit their "individuality and mental integrity for the companionship in agreement, the luxury of hating with a clear conscience, the oversimplified sense of 'rightness,' and the resonant pleasures of 'monologuing in unison,' " which characterizes the factionalists. (p. 82)

Our society's efforts to combat the "cold war" of communism have resulted in the development of a "mutual vigilance" program which, according to the authors, deters communism in a "checks and balances" manner, but which also heightens factionalism. The authors hope to see the development of a group which will make a realistic appraisal of the form and action necessary to attain democratic vigilance of a calm, steady, rational nature which will be skillful, discriminating, just and timely. They stress the necessity of bringing together groups which are idealistically far apart so that a form of mutual understanding may evolve out of the meeting. They believe that it is necessary to map out areas of proper vigilance and then decide ways and means to accomplish the desirable ends which also must be defined before it is possible to proceed on an orderly course.

The authors emphasize most the necessity for self-vigilance, the necessity of each individual avoiding the darkness of fear, animosity, conformity, irresponsibility and factionalism which are such disruptive factors in our relationships with others in society. They point out that we are naturally a "space-making and space-seeking people" who must destroy the sheer inertia, limited imagination, entrenched prejudices, vested interests, fears and exploitation of fears which constitute constrictive influences on space-makers. (pp. 102 1/2 - 103)

The authors point out that there is something larger than all of us which, as it unfolds and matures, will provide a more spacious area for the human spirit. They emphasize that the world can be a far richer place in which to live if we know ourselves and understand others. They conclude that the future is bright because of the space-makers among us whose name "happily, is legion." (p. 102 1/2)

The authors have utilized quotations of the Director on several occasions in the book. Speaking of the defense of a government against communist infiltration, they quote from the Director's article "Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement: The Role of the FBI," which appeared in the Iowa Law Review in 1952. (p. 81 1/2)

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

To illustrate a point regarding the lack of cultural hospitality in our society, the authors refer to a statement of the Director entered in the Congressional Record of January 26, 1953, regarding the percentage of communists of foreign birth or born of foreign parents. (p. 88)

The FBI is mentioned by the authors who, speaking of communist targets throughout the world, cite both the FBI and the Department of Justice as the principal targets of communism in the United States. (p. 48 1/2)

The authors again refer to the FBI by including it in with a variety of groups, "congressional committees, all departments of the Federal Government, state legislatures, patriotic organizations," etc., which they characterize as forming the basis for the system of mutual vigilance which has evolved in our society and which, although serving as a deterrent to communism, also has a tendency to heighten factionalism at a time when we have most needed to find working bases of unity. (p. 84 1/2) However, the authors then single out the FBI as one organization within the above-mentioned groups which has held to a remarkably steady course. They debunk a number of typical communist charges often hurled at the Bureau and praise the Bureau highly for its organization and administration. (pp. 84 1/2 - 86)

In regard to the subject of communism, the authors describe the founder of communism, Karl Marx, as a philosopher who falsified life and whose too limited and embittered view of human nature was twisted by Lenin into a revolutionary bible to serve as a distorted religion for mankind. (p. 70 1/2) The authors also refer to such proponents of the communist philosophy as Lenin and Stalin as "monstrously self-deceived deceivers of the 20th century.... proponents of the partial life, the bitter and embattled life, the life of mutual hate and intrigue." (p. 71)

The authors state that the perverse genius of communism has been its ability to offer seemingly significant roles to strikingly divergent individuals. They explain the totalitarian nature of communism by describing it as a system which has evolved in Russia where "an 'elite' minority has assumed a role of absolute power by first writing the word crisis* in gigantic letters across the majority consciousness and then setting itself up as defender and savior of that majority." (p. 30)

*Italicized in original

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

The authors state unequivocally that communism is wrong "because it establishes on a gigantic scale a way of life in which the calculated denial of 'growing space' is rationalized, idealized, and entrenched as permanent policy."* The thing that makes communism wrong, they say, is its inability to correct the faults within the frame of "reality" it sets up as its own and, as it grows, it necessarily becomes more oppressive not only to its foes but to its own people. (p. 11 1/2)

OK

SM

*Italicized in original

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

May 19, 1956

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

You have, I believe, received a copy of a letter sent to me by Mr. Neil Wettermen, of Cincinnati. I will not burden you with the story back of that letter. Mr. Nichols knows it. But I want to make unmistakably clear the fact that there is no basis whatever for Mr. Wettermen's statement that I have claimed some sort of "clearance" by the FBI. I have not brought the name of the Bureau into this situation in any manner whatever.

What appears to lie back of his statement is simply this. He wrote to a sponsor of ours in Cincinnati, protesting our being invited to lecture. Our sponsor, wanting to answer his charges, but not wanting to worry us about them, wrote for information to the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. Miss Bottomly, in the Congress office, sent such information as they had about us and apparently suggested that some "clearance" of us be secured from the FBI. I have not seen Miss Bottomly's letter; but I am sure she wrote in all good faith -- and under a very common misconception of what your Bureau does and does not do. I have written her, asking that the FBI not be mentioned if any similar problem comes up in the future. But Mr. Wettermen has elected to assume that I have claimed "clearance" by the Bureau.

Miss Bottomly, of course, like all the staff there at the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, knows the high regard my wife and I have for the FBI. I hope, in fact, that many people know that by now; for we have tried, often, to correct misinformation about the Bureau and to underscore the intelligence and integrity of its processes. But what we have said about it has been at a far remove, indeed, from any claim that we have been "cleared" -- or that it is the proper task of the Bureau to clear citizens at large.

I regret your having been bothered by this matter even to this extent.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet

ENCLOSURE

EXP. PROC.

MAY 21 1956

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100-114525-60

May 25, 1956

PERSONAL

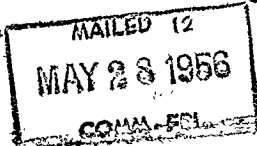
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTS/csl

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

Your letter of May 19, 1956, has been received, and I appreciate the courtesy which prompted your writing to set the record straight regarding the matter with which you are concerned.

There is apparently a great deal of public misconception on the subject of clearances, and we continue to receive numerous communications from individuals requesting "FBI clearance." As you so well pointed out, we are strictly a fact-gathering agency, and such matters are beyond the scope of our authority.



Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Dr. Overstreet referred to his correspondence with Mr. New Wettermann, Research Director of the Americanism Committee, Fourth District, Department of Ohio, American Legion. Copies of this correspondence were previously furnished the Bureau by Wettermann in an envelope postmarked 5/16/56. Apparently Dr. Overstreet is concerned that the Bureau will get the impression after reading Wettermann's communications that he has suggested to Miss Ruth A. Bottomly, Administrative Assistant of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, that clearance of Dr. Overstreet be secured from the FBI. Dr. Overstreet is a professor, author and lecturer, who in the past, was a member of various communist-front organizations but is now strictly anticommunist. Director sent him cordial letter 2/20/56 in acknowledgment of a letter to the editor of 'The Washington Post' which was in defense of the Bureau. Letter being marked personal in view of controversy which has arisen of Dr. Overstreet's association with Bureau representatives in Phoenix, Arizona, in 12/1955.

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Tolson _____
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Holloman _____
Gandy _____

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/OL

ENCLOSURE



100-114575-60

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

April 16, 1956

Mr. Neil Wettermann
Research Director, Americanism Committee
American Legion, Fourth District
Department of Ohio
9055 Spooky Ridge Lane
Cincinnati 27, Ohio

Dear Mr. Wettermann,

I wrote from Peoria that I would answer your letter upon my return home. Now, with our lecture trip completed, I am back at my typewriter.

I think I can assume that you have, by now, familiarized yourself with the affidavit of which I wrote in my previous letter: the affidavit which, as I there indicated, I submitted, on my own initiative, to the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the Summer of 1953.

If you have read that affidavit, you already know all that I think necessary to say at present. First, that I made no effort in my statement to the Committee to cover up or argue out of existence any "affiliation" on the list, but simply gave, to the best of my ability, the facts in each case. Second, that no one of these "affiliations" indicated any Communist or Pro-Communist sympathies or activities. Each represented simply a specific response to some appeal that seemed wholly legitimate and humanitarian on the basis of the materials made available to me, at that time, for my decision. I am perfectly willing to stand on my record.

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL

100-114575-60

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1328 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SPBJ/COL

Mr. Neil H. Watterman
Executive Director
Americanism Committee
American Legion, Fourth District
Cleveland, Ohio
1200 Rocky Ridge Lane
Cincinnati 27, Ohio

Dear Mr. Watterman,

I wonder whether you will clarify a point for me. In your letter to Mrs. Dockweiler, with regard to my recent speaking engagement in Cincinnati, you write, "Mr. Overstreet has been extended the privilege of appearing before a Committee of Congress of the United States for the purpose of clarifying the foregoing activities. To date he has not accepted this invitation. Therefore, a doubt still exists as to his intentions with regard to our youth's educational facilities."

Since you say elsewhere in the letter that you are deeply concerned about cultivating in young Americans strong character and wholesome ideals, I realize, of course, that you would not make such a charge as this about a fellow citizen unless you could document it with facts; and it is precisely such documentation for which I am now asking. I myself do not know which committee you are referring to -- though I know at least two that you cannot, on the basis of facts now in the public domain, be referring to, namely, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Committee.

I know you cannot be referring to the House Committee on Un-American Activities because, almost three years ago, I voluntarily came to Washington (I was then living in California) and went, on my own initiative, to the chief clerk of that Committee, Mr. Thomas Beale, to find out what I should do to clarify the record. Since I never have been either a Communist or a Communist sympathizer, I was naturally interested in establishing this fact beyond any shadow of doubt. On the advice of Mr. Beale, I wrote to Mr. Velde, then Chairman, asking for a hearing before the Committee if such a hearing seemed necessary for the clarification of the record. I also entered into the files of the Committee a sworn affidavit covering the items that Mr. Beale indicated as part of their file. I attach copies of two subsequent letters from Mr. Velde, one of which not only the voluntary nature of my approach to the Committee, but also the decision that no hearing was necessary. All other

100-114575-60

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJ/C

May 13, 1956

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddlers Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

With reference your reply under date of April 16th. to my letter of March 26th., I wish to register keen disappointment to say the least.

You will note in my letter I did not hesitate to answer your questions nor to state our position clearly. In addition, I furnished verification of my contentions and have noted you do not question them further. In turn, I asked several questions of you. (Refer: page 4, paragraph 4; page 5, paragraphs 1, 2 and 5). However, notwithstanding your moral and ethical obligation to honor these questions with your answers, yours of April 16th. completely ignores their existence by a simple statement of; "I am perfectly willing to stand on my record." My candid opinion, doctor, of this past "record", as well as your current one, is none too brilliant and certainly contains no cause for pride.

I thoroughly studied and analyzed your affidavit of July 1953 and have summed up the results as being a plea for ignorance of the facts and your being many times duped. This explanation in itself could be accepted through benefit of doubt, since many before you and no doubt many more to follow, have and will be conjured into supporting those philosophies which they claim to oppose. However, in light of some recent developments, and especially since they occurred subsequent to your affidavit, it escapes my reasoning just how an educator can continue to be so gullible after he claims a final realization of his errors. It would appear you are wearing the benefit of doubt cloak just a little thin.

Of the recent developments I refer to the "Committee of 100" on whose April 9, 1956, letterhead appears the names of Harry A. Overstreet and Bonaro W. Overstreet as members. I am sure your past experiences have made you aware of the Subversive and Communist affiliations of practically all the present and past members of this organization. I suggest you request the records of these individuals from the House Committee on Un-American Activities and you will doubtlessly see that this

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Page two.

organization is well on the road to join the ever growing list of Communist Front organizations. It is interesting to note that irrespective of those associated with this group, you made a financial contribution and permitted your name to be listed as a member. Significantly, all of this occurred less than three weeks following the date of your letter to me.

I would also refer to the April 23, 1956 issue of the Daily Worker and presume it is not necessary to remind you this is the official publication of the Communist Party, U. S. A. On page 1 your name appears as a signer of a petition to the President of the United States with regard to the hydrogen bomb tests. Here you have again given the Communist Party an assist. I am sure that once more you could not help but be aware of the Subversive and Communist background affiliations of your running mate cosigners of this petition.

And then too, I would refer you to your recent article of misstatements concerning UNESCO and Communist participation. You are no doubt familiar by now with the many press criticisms refuting your claimed authority on this issue.

In light of the foregoing facts, doctor, I can assure you your attempt to claim "clearance" by the authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the American Legion poses an unauthorized situation which will be brought to the attention of these agencies with full presentation of the verifying material.

If your past and present activities are conducive to the "record" you so willingly stand on, it is quite obvious this public record is not compatible with the sentiment and your statements as set forth in your 1953 affidavit to the House Committee.

You have an obligation to the American public to clarify the issues and to prove your stated beliefs by your activities. Then, and only then, will the American Legion support your contentions.

Sincerely,

Neil E. Wetterman, Research Director
Americanism Committee, Fourth District
Department of Ohio
9025 Spooky Ridge Le.
Cincinnati 27, Ohio

cc:
Research Director
National Americanism Commission
The American Legion.

Chief Clerk
Committee on Un-American Activities
U. S. House of Representatives

They have
several
connections
with this
org.
in

Page three.

cc: (continued)

✓ Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Mr. Earl W. Barr
Fourth District Americanism Chairman
Department of Ohio, and
Member: National Counter Subversive Section
The American Legion

Chief Clerk
Internal Security Sub-Committee
United States Senate

Mrs. Milton Dockweiler, President
Hamilton County Council of
Parent Teachers Association

Dr. Charles B. Crouch, Superintendent
Hamilton County Board of Education

Mrs. Ruth A. Bottomly, Admn. Assistant
National Congress of Parents and Teachers

Mr. Robert A. Skaife, Field Secretary
National Commission For The Defense of
Democracy Through Education.

NEW/jmj

March 26, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/

OAL

Mr. Harry A. Overstreet
1327 Miller's Green
1212 Aircraft
Hills Church, Virginia

Dear Mr. Overstreet:

In reply to your letter requesting clarification of my March 21st letter to Mrs. Bockmiller, Hamilton County Council of Parent Teachers Association, I herewith comply.

First of all I would like to inform you as a matter of record of the subsequent conversation I had with Mrs. Bockmiller following my letter. I feel you should be made aware of the full facts concerning the method in which this matter was and is being handled.

In our conversation of March 8th, Mrs. Bockmiller stated to me that she felt the complaint of parents concerning your affiliations was a jeopardy to the Parent Teachers Association. I informed her I was of the same opinion and that it was our intention to find out the full status of the matter and if said person was subject to clearance the American Legion would be the first to offer their assistance.

Mrs. Bockmiller stated that in the files of the Hamilton County Board of Education office there are papers giving clearance to the Overstreets. She added you had gone to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, had been cleared, and such papers in full were a matter of record with the Board of Education.

100-114575-60
I told her you had appeared before a Committee of the House and Mrs. Bockmiller said you had. I have written to the official record and inquired if your appearance was given in executive session. Her answer affirmed my question.

Mrs. Bockmiller was kind in offering to send photostatic copies of the subject papers to my attention. These, I requested clearing to pay the necessary expenses, stating we would then contact those who had contacted us regarding your speaking engagements and make them fully aware of the material contained therein.

Mrs. Bockmiller further suggested that the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Chicago, Illinois, be contacted as she felt they would give a full clearance on anything concerning;

... I mentioned that her efforts to obtain the ... would be a help ... as the material should be in our files so ... and its members will know of the true status ... would again present itself in other parts of ...

I bring this part of our conversation to your attention in order to show the factor was being approached with an intelligent and ... so as to resolve the issue based upon its factual ... I would recommend you request Mrs. Dockwoiler to continue ... of this subject conversation.

~~... Mrs. Dockwoiler has been ...~~
... Mr. Crouch was ... to ... the following ... (1) Copy of letter to Mr. Crouch from Robert ... Secretary of the National Commission for Defense of ... Education. (2) Copy of letter from Ruth ... Administrative Assistant to the President of the ... of Parents and Teachers.

I would like to comment on the contents of these two letters.

(1) Mr. Winke makes mention of a statement by the Committee on Un-American Activities to Dr. William Wayne Hays. He also refers to your statement to which you also make reference in your letter of the under date of March 21, 1956.

With regard to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, our files are quite complete with the reports from its inception to ... release under date of October 14, 1955. Up to and ... their latest release, and contrary to the statement in ... the letter, the referred to official material is not and has not ... of record at headquarters of the ... Commission of the ... you ... of the ... and ... of two complete ... and ... my letter to ...

(2) The letter from ... clearly conveys serious concern rather than being ... in resolving the issue as a ... issue. This ... of direction to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for ... is a complete breach of procedure ... is in direct violation of the rules and regulations of ... Agency. This I do not feel requires further ... other than the fact, the Bureau at no time under any ... as a clearance house of records clearance ... public request.

1. The following information is being furnished to you for your information only. It is not to be used for any other purpose.

...and, finally, of the price of
the production of any economic representation.

10. The action in furnishing the above would in your own words be "admiration" and "courage".

And this request is important for you as well as ourselves
as I base my reasoning on the following as contained in the
report: "This is Your House Committee on Un-American Activities"
dated September 19, 1954. On page 6 you will note: "The
Committee neither makes charges nor does it give clearances.
The committee receives facts and information which become a part
of the public record which is 'wide available' to the public, from
which the Congress and the American people can draw their own
conclusions." Since you of your own volition have created the
ground by your affiliations, it now remains your obligation to
correct the situation.

1. I fully respect your attitude regarding this matter and wish to thank you for your receiving official clarification of the facts as well as being pleased to inform those concerned. 2. I have made other requests from the proper authorities for additional material and such substantiation as might be available, and, if you so desire to furnish for our files photostatic copies of the report and affidavits as requested, we will be happy to have them as a part of the complete record.

Sincerely,

Nail B. Wetternan
Research Director
~~American~~ Committee
The American Legion
Fourth District
Department of Ohio

1. Subject Did to 1-10
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7 Dec 3

1941, 1942, 1943
 Mr. Walter Reuther
 Mr. Charles C. Brown
 National American Commission
 1200 American Legion

Dr. Everstreet's letter will be the first which you specified to have been put into the file of your confidential "copy" letter. It is contained in the report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives and the Committee on Education, Fourth Report of the Senate Sub-Committee on Un-American Activities, where appears the statement which you refer to question. Namely: "Dr. Everstreet has been advised of the privilege of appearing under oath before a Committee of Congress of the United States for the purpose of clarifying his subversive activities. To date he has not accepted this invitation. Therefore, a doubt still exists as to his intentions in regard to our youth's educational facilities."

The following information was obtained from the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C., dated July 19, 1974, with reference to Public Law No. 92-600, Chapter 753, October 3, 1970, in which it states the following: "In being so amended, the Act provides as follows:

Table 7 - Estimates of Persons Affected By A Hurricane

More practically, any person named in a public hearing before the committee or any subcommittee as subversive, Russian, Communist, or affiliated with one of these subversive-type organizations, who has not been previously so named, shall, within a reasonable time thereafter, be notified by registered letter, to the address last known to the committee, of such fact, including:

- (2) A statement that he has been so named;
- (3) The date and place of said hearing;
- (4) The name of the person who so testified;
- (5) The name of the subversive, Fascist, Communist, or other organization with which he has been identified;
- (6) A copy of the printed Rules of Procedure.

4. Any person, "so identified," who believes that his character or reputation has been adversely affected or to whom has been imputed subversive activity, may within 15 days after receipt of said notice:

- (1) Individuals with the consent of the Committee and/or
(2) persons to whom it has been assigned in written before
the Committee or any subcommittee thereof, in public
or private, to discuss, publish, or otherwise
disclose information to the public, or to the investigation,
(confidential added)

person testifying, under the provision of 1 (a) above, is to accorded the same privileges as any other witness, before the Commission, and may be questioned on any matter relevant and genuine to the subject of the investigation.

It is apparent from the above that the listing of your affiliations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities automatically under Rule X extended to you the invitation to appear before the subject Committee. This invitation has been extended to those who have so become involved for a number of years. Some have availed themselves of this invitation, but many have completely ignored the privilege.

In order to answer your inquiry with reference to the use of the word "philosophy" may I submit the following: Philosophy "is the knowledge of general principles; the laws that furnish the rational explanation of anything." Applying this with the fact that any individual certainly has knowledge of the activities and organizations to which he is affiliated or a member of, would seem to be conclusive to their agreement and the knowledge of such organizations principles. These organizations and activities have clearly and concisely been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist, Communist Front and/or Subversive, together with your listing in the category of "Communists and Communist Follow-Travelers who Have Been Writing Textbooks For Use in Public Schools" as so stated by the California Legislature, Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities.

I am quite familiar with your testimony as a witness before the Internal Security Subcommittee and especially your expression contained on page 1021 which states in answer to a question by Dr. Robert Morris regarding Communist affiliations of others: "I leaned over to my wife and said, 'How can it be?' I mean to say that it is beyond me that there can be any wish on anyone's part - and I have to speak very carefully - any wish on anyone's part not to make a clean breast of his human relations." With this statement, Dr. Overstreet, I am in full accord. That expression and your other remarks were in themselves commendable. It would appear to me, however, that anyone expressing such statements would have at the same time been eager to clarify his own cited affiliations in order to set the record straight. No time would have been more opportune to do so. I would appreciate your comments regarding this.

Since you have initiated the thought by your above quoted statement, I would respectfully request of you the following information which we will be happy to make a matter of record in our files.

I am also writing to Mr. O'Neil, for whom I have the warmest respect and personal regard, asking for an interview on my next trip to New York, in order that I may take up with him this matter of your letter. And it will also, of course, be brought to the attention of Mr. Pennington when he returns from his vacation in Florida. Both of these men seem so rigorously intent to keep facts straight that I try, on all occasions when my name is brought into question, to put at their disposal whatever seems relevant.

One other matter -- briefly -- in closing. You speak of my "philosophy" as though it were known to be Communistic or pro-Communistic. The spoken and printed record to the contrary is so overwhelmingly clear that I wonder whether you would do me the favor of giving me the evidence on which you have based this conclusion. Here again I must assume that, in your responsible position, you would not make any statement about a fellow citizen that would be morally and legally dubious unless it was absolutely factual; and that you would familiarize yourself with my writings before you would comment in this manner upon my philosophy. Such familiarity with my writings, however, could not mean other than your having read, for example, the chapters called "The Mind's Health in an Age of Conspiracy" and "Coping With Conspiracy" in the book, THE MIND ALIVE, that my wife and I put out more than two years ago. And these chapters are only samples of many statements made from the platform and in the press with regard to the dangers of Communism and its conspiratorial character. I would value your word as to how such materials gave you the impression that I was a Communist or Communist sympathizer. Perhaps you could advise me as to how I might have made the statement of my point of view more clear. I do not think, however, that my statements can have been altogether ambiguous; for many firm anti-Communists, in and out of government, have seemed to find them valuable.

I shall await your reply with keen interest.

Sincerely,



H.A. Overstreet

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

May 2, 1956

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-1986 BY SP8 BTJ/CO

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
FBI
Washington, D.C.

HARRY OVERSTREET

Dear Chief,

I am enclosing for your private consideration -- and, as you may think best, for the record -- the relevant parts of a letter that has just come to me from Dr. Wilson of the Humanist Association. It seems to me to clear up the situation in good fashion, and I myself am glad to know these specific details. As he marked the letter Confidential! I may be going beyond his intentions and my proper privilege in thus sharing it with you. Yet I certainly feel that you have a right to the information and that it is to everyone's advantage to have the facts on record.

Our warm thanks go to you again, as on so many occasions, for your interest and help -- on the Mr. Wetterman business, and also on Mr. Eong's letter about Mr. Kennedy. Neither of us expected you to give time to that letter; but, for all that, we are singularly glad to know the facts. For we read with interest whatever we see about Mr. Kennedy's work -- and wish him well with his exceedingly difficult task. The press release about his traffic control experiment is, we think, something we can use in a later column -- on the difference between griping about traffic and learning what the score is.

We have just returned from our New York-Syracuse-Vermont lecture stint -- our last lengthy trip of the Spring -- and look forward now to our first real chance to dig in here and catch up with ourselves a bit. From now until June 21st we will be more or less constantly at home -- which should mean some good desk work as well as work on the house and garden.

Because the most important thing, we both now feel, is for us really to get squared away for future work, we have taken the definitive step of putting the farm up for sale and have also cancelled the reservations we had made for an early Fall month in Europe, before our Michigan work. All this means, we hope and believe, that by September we will have our living arrangements in good working order for whatever comes next.

Our most insistent hope for the Summer, however, will be that it will net you a real, thoroughgoing vacation. We worry about you.

Sincerely,

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JUN 12 1956

66 JUN 20 1956

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

From a letter, indicated as Confidential, written to H.A. Overstreet by Dr. Edwin H. Wilson, Executive Director of the American Humanist Association, Yellow Springs, Ohio; dated April 24, 1956.

"John Danz is a wealthy theater operator in Seattle. He ran into Gordon Kent's 'Humanism for the Millions' back in 1946. Himself an atheist, he had decided that atheism was a bad word and that humanism, not patented, was a better one. An unassimilable Jew as well as an atheist, he wants some place to go and has a great drive to start 'Humanist Temples.' (Presumably he has never heard of Comte but he talks of something that sounds like Comte's 'three stages,' terming belief in God as belonging to the childhood of the race, and saying that now that man has become a man he should stand up and walk on his own feet.)

"Just as I was leaving to take the Unitarian pulpit in Salt Lake City in 1946, he phoned me long distance and wanted to talk with me, implying that he had big sums to put into the Humanist movement. I met him later in San Francisco. He undoubtedly had money, sluiced into a foundation instead of into taxes. However, I very soon found out that he had a monomania, wanted to sell his negative brand of so-called Humanism in open competition with Unitarians, Universalists, and any other comers. I felt responsible to find out if we could work with him and he was placed on the A.H.A. board but bolted it after one meeting, resigning because he could not have his way 100%. During 1946-1948 he three times offered me \$10,000 a year to go out and organize Humanist temples under his jurisdiction. I had many reasons for saying no.

"From 1948 on there was a complete break with him. He tried in Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles to start Humanist movements of his own, putting very considerable sums of money into each of the groups. I am quite sure that he was not and never has been a Communist. His position was that Humanism should let politics alone quite completely, not even be anti-Communist. A.H.A. has taken the position that it is inherently opposed to all forms of totalitarianism.

"Confidentially, his policy probably has resulted in some persons becoming associated with his efforts for so-called Humanism whom I would have recognized as left of intellectual independence and democratic loyalties and whom I would not willingly have become involved with if I were choosing co-workers in whom I had complete confidence. I think in the case of Danz the involvement was sheer naivité.

"He broke with Hugh Orr in San Francisco on the basis that Orr properly did not submit his talks to him for advance censorship; and the group that walked out with Orr on the \$500 subsidy and handsome building Danz was providing in San Francisco did so because Danz had presumed to name himself in an undemocratic manner, without by-your-leave, to the local Boa

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJS/CLC

"I have never met Max Applebaum; he has never been a member of the A.H.A. Hearsay has made him an object of suspicion along the lines intimated by your friend but it remains hearsay and we are in no way connected with or responsible for him.

"John Danz and Max Applebaum had nothing whatever to do with our change to Yellow Springs in 1949. Since then Danz has paid \$5.00 a year to keep on our list and watch us, no more. What he has put into Humanism has gone into his own local societies that were not affiliated with us, except one in San Francisco in 1947 and 1948. . .

"To sum up the question of John Danz, he offered our movement substantial support on terms which no group of professional men and no self-respecting representatives of Humanism could accept. Some of my Directors may have felt me at fault because of my head-on and untactful collisions with Danz but he seemed to me so completely to miss the nature of Humanism and to be such a stranger to democratic processes and ideals that I was impatient with him. But his errors are those of the self-made highly individualistic opinionated businessman.

"Dr. Daniel Morandini was leader of "The Humanists," Danz' Los Angeles group, now disbanded. He was called before some investigating committee, which by no means proves anything. California went to extremes on this. He never has been in a position of responsibility in the national Humanist organization. You will understand that we do not have any machinery for a loyalty check of our own. . .but we do try to make sure in so far as possible, our leadership is "clean." Los Angeles is pretty far from Yellow Springs and liberalism out there seems in general a little wilder than elsewhere. Dr. Morandini is a close friend of Aldous Huxley and I would expect him to be quite progressive but by no means has he been proven or shown to be a Communist, so far as I know. Dr. Morandini and Danz fell out to the extent that Danz took him off his payroll.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Viper*

DATE: 5/29/56

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*SUBJECT: *Harry A. Overstreet*
Harry A. Overstreet

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
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Tamm	_____
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Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

For record purposes, Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet tell me they have ceased making contributions to the National Association for the Advancement for Colored People, The Churchman, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; that they have written to all of these organizations and requested that their names be deleted from all of their rolls. They have likewise been making contributions to an outfit known as the Humanist Association which at one time had some communist domination. I frankly told them that they should stop, look and listen and check up on some of the people involved. They did this and furnished me in confidence a confidential letter which Dr. Edwin H. Wilson, Executive Director of the American Humanist Association, Yellow Springs, Ohio, sent explaining the tie-in he had with a John Danz, an atheist who sought to use the Humanist movement for his own purposes and others.

This should be made a matter of record for future reference although should it ever be necessary to utilize this information, the identity of the Overstreets should be protected insofar as the Wilson letter is concerned.

Enclosure
cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

ENCLOSURE
LBN:fc
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

RECORDED-35

INDEXED-35

JUN 12 1956

68 JUN 20 1956

MR. NICHOLS:

May 16, 1956

RE: HUGH ORR

We have only one individual who may or may not be identical with the Orr mentioned in the last paragraph of Page 1 in the attached letter from Dr. Overstreet. This particular individual was born in Newtownards, County Down, Ireland, 11-16-08. He was declared by wife to possess Communist political philosophy. Edward Hendrickson, reported Communist and National Maritime Union Agent in Chicago in 1943, was a witness on Hugh Orr's naturalization papers. In 1943 one Dave Rothstein, reported Communist Party member, was Orr's personal attorney. After receiving the above information, we conducted investigation of Orr in May 1943. Investigation reflected no information to substantiate wife's allegations and he was not known to confidential security informants. The case was closed in October 1943 due to lack of Communist Party activity on the part of Orr. (100-204632.)

RE: MAX APPELBAUM

This may or may not be the individual identical with the Max Appelbaum as mentioned in the top of Page 2, first paragraph in the attached letter from Dr. Overstreet. We investigated one Max Appelbaum in January 1945 under the character of Security Matter - C. A confidential security informant reported that Appelbaum, 2105 Daly Avenue, Bronx, New York, was a member of the third A. D. Club, Bronx County, Communist Party in July 1944. He was born 3-13-96 at Chickie, Austria and in 1945 was employed as fur operator for the Bright-Holz Brothers, 350 7th Avenue, New York City. In our investigation, contact with neighbors and additional informants failed to indicate Communist connections other than membership in party, i. e. that he was carrying on no activities of a Communistic nature in 1945. The case was therefore closed.

CDD:mcg

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-82 BY SP8BTS/col

ENCLOSURE

INDEXED-35

100-114373-62

MR. NICHOLS:

May 16, 1956

RE: JOHN D. DANZ

WAS H

A confidential security informant in Seattle, Washington, advised in November 1944 that John Danz purchased two tickets for a Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee for meeting which was held in June 1944. The name "John Danz, Palomar Theater," appeared on the mailing list of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in August 1944. On June 28, 1945, a highly confidential source furnished a list of names with the address and business of possible contacts or potential members of the Communist Party. The fifth name on the list was "John Danz, Palomar Theater Building." On July 5, 1947, a source of information advised the Seattle Office that on July 3, 1947, he had been approached by one William Carl Robertson. Robertson told the source that John D. Danz had offered him a position at \$500 a week to instruct a group of people to travel about the country pointing out discrepancies in the Bible. Danz promised Robertson the expense money to carry on this campaign. Danz was reported to be making an attempt to discredit the Bible and secondly to perpetrate a ruse in the nature of a national swindle. Danz told one source in July 1947 that he represented an association whose purpose was to prove the non-existence of God. He stated that the so-called God was the greatest scourge in the nations today. Danz was described as an official of the Sterling Theater chain in Seattle. During the spring and summer of 1948 Danz promoted the establishment of a society in Los Angeles known as "The Humanist." One source indicated that a close contact of Danz was one Max Appel^{baur}, a member of the Los Angeles Communist Party. In January 1954, Danz attempted to organize a group known as "The Free Thinkers." The motto of this organization was to be "Religion breeds war." (100-417008.)

CDD:mcg

100-114578-62
ENCLOSURE

MR. ~~NICHOLS~~

May 16, 1956

RE: ~~DYONIS MYONIS MORANDINI~~
was MICHAEL D. MORANDINI

cal

The name of Dr. Daniel Morandini, leader of the "The Humanists" in the Los Angeles area, is mentioned in the last paragraph of the attached letter. Dr. Overstreet may be referring to the captioned individual who was born in Budapest, Hungary 11-6-93. He was naturalized at Los Angeles on 9-7-34. We have investigated Dr. Morandini under the character of Internal Security - R and Registration Act. In 1948 Morandini was well known to Hungarian officials and appeared to be well regarded by them. One confidential security informant in Los Angeles advised that Morandini was not a member of the Communist Party but that he was sympathetic to Communist Party ideals. He was sponsor of Conference for Peace presented by Hollywood Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council in June 1948. He was a member of this organization in 1950 and 1951 and his name was observed on the mailing list of this organization in 1953. For the past several years he has been active in the "Humanists" and has served as Director and as an instructor in this organization. In 1948 Morandini was important in doing organizational work for the Hungarian American Centennial Committee celebrating the 100th anniversary of the 1848 Hungarian revolution. He was active in the Hungarian Progressive Social Club in 1949 and was a member in this club in 1950. He was a member of the Hungarian Peace Committee in 1950. In late 1950 he demanded the outlawing of atomic weapons. The name and address D. M. Morandini, 2307 South Union Street, Los Angeles, appeared in records of Los Angeles Committee to Protect Foreign Born in 1951. He was uncooperative on questions of loyalty before the California State Senate Committee on Education in November 1951. He was among sponsors of testimonial dinner for Smith Act Attorneys to be held 6-7-52. In December 1952 he was among individuals urging amnesty for United States Communist leaders convicted under Smith Act. He was a subscriber to U.S.S.R. Information Bulletin in 1949, 1950, 1951 & 1952.

CDD:mcg

May 11, 1956

MR. NICHOLS *✓*

Re: OFFICIALS OF AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

Summary
DR. EDWIN H. WILSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: *706 21240*

The FBI has conducted no investigation of captioned individual. We received information in 1941, indicating that Reverend Edwin H. Wilson, Chicago, was a sponsor of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (cited by AG). (61-10498-957)

A 1944 HCUA report lists Reverend Edwin H. Wilson, Chicago, as a sponsor of the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War (cited by HCUA). (61-7582-1298)

On March 31, 1948, our Salt Lake City Office interviewed Reverend Edwin H. Wilson who, at that time, was pastor of the First Unitarian Society, Salt Lake City, and who had been given as a reference by one Ruth Shaver, the subject of an Atomic Energy Act employee investigation. Wilson considered Shaver entirely loyal and mentioned she was a member of the Unitarian Society at Schenectady, New York. In its report, Salt Lake City pointed out that Reverend Wilson had personally contacted the Salt Lake City Office and referred to himself as a free thinker; that, during the interview with him regarding Shaver, he volunteered that certain persons have accused him of being a Communist. He stated, however, that he was a progressive person and very much in favor of any civil liberties program. He added that, although he was not a communist, he felt that, until the Government outlawed the Communist Party, the communists should be allowed to speak and think as freely as any other group. (116-72752)

Bruce C. Johnson, a member of the Salt Lake Council for Civic Community, advised the Salt Lake City Office that he thinks Reverend Wilson is very much in sympathy with the CP. (116-72752)

The name of Reverend Edwin H. Wilson, editor of the "Humanist," was on the list to welcome Reverend Hewlett Johnson, the Red Dean of Canterbury, in December, 1948.. (100-146964-1477)

A Department of State report, dated August, 1951, contains information regarding the Conference of the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs held at Geneva Park, Ontario, August, 1951. This report reflects that

CDD:rm *rm*

4
100-114972-62
ENCLOSURE

Memorandum Re: Dr. Edwin H. Wilson

May 11, 1956

Dr. Edwin H. Wilson, of the American Humanist Society, strongly condemned the "witch hunts" and spoke of his own unfortunate experiences as a professional liberal. (62-96172)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: June 8, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

GIR 3

SUBJECT: BOOK ENTITLED "THE MIND GOES FORTH" BY DR. HARRY A.
AND BONARO W. OVERSTREET
COMPLIMENTARY COPY TO DIRECTOR

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

By letter dated June 2, 1956, Dr. H. A. Overstreet advised he was forwarding captioned book to the Director as an expression of his and his wife's warm admiration for the Director and associates. The flyleaf bears the written inscription, "To J. Edgar Hoover With admiration --- Harry A. Overstreet - Bonaro W. Overstreet, June 2/56."

Dr. Overstreet is rather well known to Bureau. He is a professor, author and lecturer who, in the past, was a member of different communist front organizations but is now strongly anti-communist. (100-114575) In December, 1955, a controversy arose over Dr. Overstreet's association with a Bureau representative in Phoenix, Arizona. Our last letter to him is dated May 25, 1956. Dr. Overstreet referred to his correspondence with the Research Director of the Americanism Committee, Fourth District, Department of Ohio, American Legion, which caused Dr. Overstreet some concern in that he feared that the Bureau would get the impression after reading certain communications that he had suggested that clearance of him be secured from the FBI. The Director sent him a cordial letter February 20, 1956, acknowledging Dr. Overstreet's letter to the Editor of the Washington Post, which letter was in defense of the Bureau.

This book was reviewed in galley form by the Central Research Section in April, 1956, ^{which} reported that the authors analyze human relationships in an effort to formulate a more effective deterrent to communism. Communism is unequivocally denounced. Philosophy of Karl Marx described as embittered view of human nature twisted into revolutionary dogma by Lenin. Quotations from the Director are used (pages 287 and 309), and the FBI and the Department of Justice are mentioned as principal targets of communism in the United States (page 173). FBI included in groups forming mutual vigilance system which authors disparage (page 297), but FBI singled out and praised highly for organization and administration (page 299). The section

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Nichols

CEM:jfm
(3)RECORDED - 94
INDEXED - 94

JUN 13 1956

100-114575-03

Jones to Nichols Memo

June 8, 1956

dealing primarily with the FBI is included on pages 297 through 303.

It is noted this book is dedicated to "L. B. N."

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letter be forwarded to Dr. Overstreet
thanking him for the copy of the book.

✓

✓

✓

APN

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

June 10, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

Cs
Dear Mr. Nichols,

Could you take a quick look at these and let us know whether they strike you as right? Or suggest changes if you wish. They're both ones that should, we think, be sent off fairly promptly and fitted into the schedule in the not too distant future. So if you could phone your response, or even have your secretary phone it, we'd get them into the mail to the Syndicate. No need to return the carbons.

We were sorry not to have a glimpse of you at the Graduation Exercises; but being there, and being with Carroll, was a warm pleasure.

Our best wishes, as always.

Bonaro W. Overstreet

*Handled
187*

*ack. 6/12/56
R*

RECORDED - 88

EX - 120

100-114575-64
JUN 19 1956

ENCLOSURE

79 JUN 20 1956

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JUL 1, 1956

TO:

☐ Director ☒ Mr. Nease, 5744
☐ Mr. Tolson, 5744 ☒ Miss Gandy, 5633
☐ Mr. Boardman, 5736 ☒ Mr. Holloman, 5633
☐ Mr. Belmont, 1742
☐ Mr. Mason, 5256 ☐ Records Section
☐ Mr. Mohr, 5517 ☐ Pers. Records, 6631
☐ Mr. Parsons, 7621 ☐ Reading Room, 5531
☐ Mr. Rosen, 5706 ☐ Mail Room, 5533
☐ Mr. Tamm, 4130 IB ☐ Teletype, 5644
☐ Mr. Sizoo, 1742 ☐ Code Room, 4642
☐ ☐ Mechanical, B-114
☐ Mr. Nichols, 5640 ☐ Supply Room, B-216
☐ Mr. McGuire, 5642 ☐ Tour Room, 5226
☐ Mr. Wick, 5634
☐ Mr. DeLoach, 5636 ☐ Miss Lurz
☐ Mr. Morgan, 5226 ☐ Miss Mathers
☐ ☐ Miss Carter
☐ Mr. Jones, 4236 ☐ Mrs. Faber
☐ Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB ☐ Miss McCord
☐ Mr. Waikart, 7204 ☐ Miss Loper
☐ Mr. Eames, 7206 ☐ Miss Price
☐ Mr. Wherry, 5537 ☐ Miss Gibson

☐ See Me☐ For Your Info☐ For appropriate
action☐ Note & Return

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 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

L. B. Nichols
 Room 5640, Ext. 691

☒ Mr. Tolson
☒ Mr. Nichols
☒ Mr. Boardman
☒ Mr. Belmont
☒ Mr. Mason
☒ Mr. Mohr
☒ Mr. Parsons
☒ Mr. Rosen
☒ Mr. Tamm
☒ Mr. Nease
☒ Mr. Winterrowd
☒ Tele. Room
☒ Mr. Holloman
☒ Miss Gandy

RECORDED - 88

EX-120

100-114575-64

JUN 19 1956

CHAMBERLAIN

J. M. J.

MAKING LIFE MAKE SENSE

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

MUST WE BE SUCKERS?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-82 BY SP08TJ/KAL

It strikes us that Khrushchev and his crowd are pulling one of the oldest tricks known to the stage magician. Or are trying to pull it. They are trying to fix the world's attention where they want it fixed -- on the monstrous evils of Stalinism -- while they, unobserved, arrange the props for the next act.

In that next act, they are to stand forth in shining distinction against the black background of evil; and are to pull out of the hat the rabbit of "pure" Communism -- in place of the "corrupt" Communism of Stalin; Stalin, with his "cult of the individual," his sadism, his paranoid fears and delusions.

Thus the next act is booked -- if they can pull it off. That is to say, if they can keep our attention fixed on Stalin rather than themselves.

So it is up to us, if we don't want to be suckers, to do what no stage magician -- and no Communist "magician" on the world stage -- can afford to have done. It is up to us freely to choose the direction in which we turn our skeptical eyes and minds.

It is up to us to watch the props being changed -- so that, undeceived by the appearance of magic, we can keep ourselves reminded of how little the change actually amounts to. How can we best do this? How can we prevent our attention's being diverted by the show that is put on precisely to divert it?

ENCLOSURE

157-141

Perhaps the best way to keep our minds on the job is simply to ask certain questions; ask them insistently; unlike Pilate, wait for an answer -- and let Khrushchev and the rest know that we are waiting.

One set of questions has to do with the roles of these "new" leaders during the years when they were the obedient servants of Stalin. What protests did they then make against the brutalities they now denounce? What personal risks did they run to diminish these? Can they point to any innocent victims whom they valiantly tried to save from terror and torture?

No one, certainly, was in a better position than they to take Stalin's true measure. If he was a paranoid, then they were agents of paranoia: they knowingly carried into effect the destructive orders of an ego-maniac. The only alternative conclusion is that they were too stupid to know what they were doing -- and stupidity as colossal as this would hardly qualify them as "new" leaders.

Considering their past record, in brief, on what possible grounds can they now claim to have the mental and moral stature of men who deserve to be trusted? Why should anyone want to have any traffic with them?

The second set of questions has to do with the unexplained years between Stalin's death and Khrushchev's speech denouncing him. Not anywhere in the current outpouring of words by which Stalin has been changed from Communist god to devil have we found an adequate explanation of why, for three years, the "new" leaders continued to feed the old line to their people at home, Communist parties in other

MAKING LIFE MAKE SENSE

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

DIPLOMAS FOR LAW AND ORDER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

We're old hands at attending commencement exercises. We've watched many a line of graduates stream across an American platform to receive their diplomas: their badge of finishing and of "commencing."

The experience never grows stale. To each new crop of graduates we give our silent blessing. For the visible ceremony, we know, bodies forth something far deeper: the honorable urge of the human being to move out of ignorance into knowledge; to become both a self-sustaining and a contributing member of man's community.

Being more than familiar with both the outward trappings and the inner emotions of the commencement occasion, we would hardly expect to be surprised, at this stage of the game, by any line of graduates -- or by our own thoughts as we watched them. Yet we have been surprised. . .

At the Departmental Auditorium, in Washington, D.C., we recently attended the graduation exercises of the 57th session of the FBI National Academy. It was a heartening experience: to watch one hundred and one men, from thirty-eight states, Puerto Rico, and Canada, round out their period of intensive, voluntary in-service training in the principles and practice of democracy's law enforcement.

Like any other graduating class, they moved in line up the stairs at one side of the platform, crossed the stage to receive their diplomas -- in their case, from the Attorney General of the

ENCLOSURE

countries, and the world at large. If Stalinism is evil now, was it not evil three years ago? Why this delay in the unmasking of evil? What about the innocent who have suffered during these three years?

What, precisely, set the date for the denouncing of Stalin? Was that date, perhaps, set by fear and expediency -- not by moral revulsion? Could it be that the "new" leaders had hastily to divert from themselves the mountingsangers of the Russian people? Could it be, also, that they had to seek some way to lull the world into a willingness to call past evils past and done with -- so that they could be continued in a new guise?

We don't have to be suckers. The old magician's trick is being tried on us. But we don't have to be amazed. We don't have to applaud; or let ourselves be drawn into the act, to hold the hat while the rabbit is pulled out; or go crowding up around the stage as credulous participants in a new "popular front."

We don't have to be suckers -- not if we choose the direction in which we keep our eyes and minds turned; not if we freely choose the questions to ask, and persist in asking them.

United States -- and went down the stairs on the other side. But where were they headed from there?

They were headed straight back into the communities from which they had come and the law enforcement agencies within which they already held responsible positions -- a significant number of them as chiefs of police. They were going home, back to their daily work-- armed with new professional skills and standards; and also with a warm sense of belonging to a fellowship that had in its keeping the free world's basic concept of liberty under law.

There are two things a democratic society can never afford -- least of all, in a time like the present.

It cannot afford to be indifferent to the quality of law enforcement at the local level: in the towns, cities, and countrysides where people's attitudes toward law are inevitably made in the image of officers as they have known them; and where the rights of individuals and of organized society are constantly having to be harmonized, respected, and made secure.

And it cannot afford, in the name of law and order, or in the name of crisis, to set up a national police force. For the step from between setting up a national police force and becoming a police state is too dangerously easy to take.

What course, then, can a free nation steer between indifference to what goes on in the local sheriff's office or police department and domination from the top down?

The FBI National Academy, founded by J. Edgar Hoover in 1935, represents one creative answer to this question. The FBI, Mr. Hoover

has insisted -- often in the face of strong contrary urgings and pressures -- must remain precisely what it was set up to be, and nothing more; a top-level investigative bureau; never a national police force, and never a trespasser upon the domain of state or local law enforcement agencies.

Yet this policy of staying in its proper place need not mean that it hides its skills and experience under a bushel. It can quite rightly put these at the disposal of state and local officers who want to learn how to perform their jobs with professional competence. Through in-service training programs, voluntarily attended, it can encourage better law enforcement and higher respect for law as the guardian of individual liberties and of organized freedom.

So we watched the one hundred and one men cross the platform, receive their diplomas, and go down the stairs on the other side. In our mind's eye, we saw them, then, fan out over America -- to become part of the more than ^{Three} ~~six~~ thousand alumni of the National Academy.

"The leaven in the loaf," we said to each other -- and gave them our silent blessing.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: July 10, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Boardman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mason	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parsons	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winterrowd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holloman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

I am attaching hereto a letter which I received from the Overstreets transmitting a letter they have received from A. J. Muste soliciting signatures for another Christmas Amnesty Petition for the Smith Act subjects. Copies have been made of this for our files.

Amnesty For Smith Act Victims

I am also attaching hereto a rough draft of a reply the Overstreets are getting ready to send Muste wherein they take him to task, along with a letter I am sending the Overstreets furnishing them additional information and a few observations. I suggested this tactic to the Overstreets and, if I can just get them to make their letter public, perhaps we can start a little counter-propaganda in the right places.

Enclosure

LBN:rm
(3)

RECORDED-56

INDEXED-56

100-114575-631/BRX
14 JUL 25 1956

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
July 8, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KAL

Dear Chief,

Because we want to move in a hurry on the Muste petition, getting off our letter to him before we leave at the end of the week, we have tried this morning to talk through what we think we will want to say. I am sending along to you here, for your consideration, our tentative letter. It will, of course, be rewritten when we have the materials from you -- the indictment and the Learned Hand quotation and, if possible, the majority opinion of the Court. But if we can get your general reaction to what we are planning to say, and have your suggestions for changes or additions, it will speed things up some when the materials come. If you have a chance to phone us your opinion, we can do the advisable altering and polishing even before we have the final materials to refer to.

Bonaro and I both regret your having to take on even small extra chores for us with regard to the House Committee business. We had hoped that we might handle the matter without having to thrust it upon you at all. After talking with Ray Nixon, however, we realized that you'd probably want to know from us, rather than indirectly from someone else, about my letter to Mr. Walter, my reasons for writing it, and subsequent developments; and also that we really ought to refer the Richard Arens matter to you for your best judgment. We find ourselves, from time to time, in the uncomfortable situation of not wanting to put more problems upon you and yet of not wanting to keep you in the dark about what we are doing; and once we have talked things over with you, there seems no way to act in accord with your best judgment without also welcoming your help. So the best we can do, probably, is to go on keeping you informed as situations arise and to go on gearing our own policies to your knowledge and experience. You know how deep our appreciation of you goes so we won't try to state it again here.

Cordially,

ENCL.

RECORDED-56

14 JUL 25 1956

100-7-10-56
3 items

3
362

420/03-114575-65

BBR

Dear A.J.:

I want to make haste to tell you why, in spite of our long and friendly appreciation of your humane intentions, my wife and I are not signing your petition.

In the first place, the Supreme Court decides the law of the land. At a time like the present, when the Supreme Court is being variously belittled, we are not in a mood to sign any petition which makes it seem that a minority opinion of the Supreme Court is almost the same thing as a majority opinion and equally to be quoted as authoritative.

In the second place, the petition makes it seem that the imprisoned Communists were railroaded to jail only because there was a wave of national hysteria at that time. To maintain this point of view, the Supreme Court decision with regard to the Smith Act would have to be ^{considered} ~~regarded~~ as having been hysterical and there would have to be evidence that due process was violated. A reading ^{and of the majority decision} of the indictment/seems to us to put an end to any such assumption.

In the third place, the petition makes it appear that these individuals did nothing that wasn't quite all right. All they did was to attempt to marshall and organize effective influences to overthrow our form of government and substitute the form that has become all too familiar to us as the Soviet system. (Frankly, in this respect the petition reminds us of a cartoon that once appeared in the New Yorker. It showed two thugs carrying a gigantic blanket-wrapped bundle out of a building, and to the policeman who stopped them for questioning they explained: "Honest, you wouldn't be interested, Officer. It's just an ordinary old body!")

In connection with this matter of what is and isn't important in the way of destructive influence, we would quote Judge Learned Hand

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP6 BTJ/cw

100-114575-65

-- whom none of us could possibly count as a hysterical red-baiter or as anything less than a cool-headed, staunch defender of the ways of freedom:

In the next place, we must take serious issue with one paragraph in your letter to me -- the paragraph in which you make it plain that a few well-known names are to be used as a means of getting many names. Are we not here encouraging a dangerous erosion of the original, valid meaning of "the right of petition?" Ought not we, as spokesmen for the integrity of the democratic mind to try to make sure that those who put their names on a petition have independently studied evidence on both sides of the issue and made up their own minds and have quite precisely not responded merely to the presence of certain names which themselves may be on the petition only because other names were there.

I myself have come to feel rather strongly on this point because of certain personal experiences. Several times throughout the past years I myself have taken the presence of names that I respected as sufficient reason to sign petitions -- and have subsequently learned that the possessors of these names had not done any more investigating than I had done before signing. Also, in several such cases I have had reason to believe that other people subsequently signed because of my own name on these petitions. I have too much respect for the truth-seeking processes and their importance to our way of life to want to be a reason why people put their names

on something they have not thoroughly looked into and thought through.

It was recently remarked to me that petitions nowadays mean less and less -- come a dime a dozen, so to speak -- because the officials who finally receive them know that most of those whose names are on the list don't know what they are signing. The "right of petition" is indispensable to a free society. Therefore, to our mind, the responsibility of the petitioner is no less indispensable.

Neither my wife nor myself, you can be sure, gets any vengeful pleasure out of thinking of people in jail. We respect the provisions for amnesty that make it possible for the President to release those who have, to his mind, suffered enough for crimes committed; have been condemned on dubious evidence; have been condemned in spite of exonerating circumstances; or have shown a change of heart that makes it reasonable to think that they are ready to return to society as law abiding members.

We simply do not feel that these qualifications are met in the present case. Nothing in the petition, for example, persuades us that these convicted persons have "reformed" in the sense that they would be any less likely, after their release than before their indictment, to lend their weight to policies of overthrow. Now do we find anything in the petition that persuades us even -- though this may sound hard hearted -- that the fact of age and illness exonerates them more than it would exonerate persons guilty of other crime against the law.

There has been a concerted effort among the Communists in this country -- or so it appears to us -- to invoke for their own benefit our traditional American distaste for anything savoring

of political imprisonment. Again and again we are urged to think of those who have been indicted under the Smith Act as "political prisoners" in the ancient and despicable sense of that term.

Political prisoners, however, in this traditional sense are individuals who have been carried to jail without due process of law for no crime other than that of disagreeing with those in power in some way that the latter interpreted as a threat to their power. We may or may not feel that the Smith Act is the wisest law that might have been devised for dealing with the problems of underground subversion. But it is the law, upheld by the Supreme Court, not by the whim of any arbitrary ruler. If the law is wrong, in whole or in part, it should be wisely analyzed in the light of both just democratic processes and our knowledge of totalitarian tactics. But while it stands, those indicted under it are not "political prisoners" or victims of hysteria. They are law breakers.

My wife and I both recognize that this age of peculiar tensions has released fears and angers that have often mounted to the point of hysteria. In our own way we have worked consistently to re-establish sanity and mutual consideration. We recognize also, however, that totalitarian methods -- set for all to read in the "classics" of both Fascism and Communism -- make the secret word a weapon, and the conspiratorial organization a travesty upon "discussion" and "free assembly." We recognize, as Judge Learned Hand has put it, that a free society has not only a right but an obligation to preserve itself, because by preserving itself it is preserving the rights that it has guaranteed to its people. We will doubtless make many trial-and-error experiments before

we learn to gear the practices of freedom to the self-preservative demands put upon us by the presence of totalitarian regimes. Hitler told us in his MEIN KAMPF exactly what he intended to do. The free world refused to believe it until his "word" became "act" and the act led to war. Lenin, Stalin and the present rulers of Soviet Russia have told us in quite precise words what the world-wide ambitions of the Communists are and what tactics are regarded as necessary for achieving Communist ends. Must we say, as we said about MEIN KAMPF, that these are only words? How can we say this when we study the processes by which the satellite nations have become satellite?

No -- we are not signing the petition, because we regard as fallacious the basic assumption that secret conspiratorial talk, mapping a program of overthrow, is "free discussion" in our traditional, democratic sense (the sense in which I have always known you to use it), and we are very far from believing that it is to the best interest of this country to have all sorts of groups and factions treating Supreme Court decisions as the supreme law of the land when they happen to agree with them and as not of vital importance when they happen to disagree.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

21 AUDUBON AVENUE • NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK • LORRAINE 8-8200

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., SECRETARY
ALFRED HASSLER, EDITOR

CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR., CHAIRMAN

A. J. MUSTE, SECRETARY EMERITUS
GLENN E. SMILEY, FIELD SECRETARY

July 3, 1956

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
c/o Norton Publishing Co.
101 5th Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

Seeing a reference the other day in Harper's to your forthcoming book made me realize with some surprise that your name and that of Mrs. Overstreet is not on the list of signers of the Smith Act Petition, a copy of which is enclosed. The original job was done in some haste and Norman Thomas and I failed to include a number of people whose names should have occurred to us.

In view of the rather remarkable reception which greeted the publication of the Petition last December it was decided to get an additional list of signers, including this time as many people throughout the country as we could manage to reach.

It is however important the new list should include, as did the original one, a number of people who are widely known. This is why I am sending you this personal line to express the hope that you will be among them.

Among those who have come in on this second round are Professors Brand Blanshard of Yale; Chad Walsh and David W. Soper of Beloit, John Wild and John Dillenberger of Harvard, James Gutmann of the Philosophy Department of Columbia, etc., etc..

Hoping to hear from you, I am

Sincerely yours,

A.J. Muste

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-1986 BY SP8BTJ/CAL
AJM:sg
Enc:

*With pleasant remembrances going way
back to Brookwood day!*

100-114575-65

ENCLOSURE

THE PETITION FOR AMNESTY SMITH ACT VICTIMS

INITIATING GROUP
JOHN G. BENNETT
Dean, Union Theological Seminary Faculty New York City

ROY FINCH
Faculty, Sarah Lawrence College Bronxville, N. Y.

DONALD HARRINGTON
Minister, Community Church New York City

CHARLES R. LAWRENCE
Faculty, Brooklyn College Brooklyn, N. Y.

LEWIS MUMFORD
Author Amenia, N. Y.

A. J. MUSTE
Secretary Emeritus,
Fellowship of Reconciliation New York City

PAUL E. SCHERER
Professor of Homiletics, Union
Theological Seminary New York City

NORMAN THOMAS
New York City

ROWLAND WATTS
Secretary, Workers Defense League New York City

ADDITIONAL SIGNERS

ROLAND H. BAINTON
Yale Divinity School New Haven, Conn.

GUSTAVE J. BISCHOF
Professor, Department of M.E.,
City College of New York New York City

STEPHEN G. CARY
Secretary, American Section,
American Friends Service Committee Philadelphia, Pa.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
Columbia University New York City

ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
Lecturer on Chemistry, Harvard University Cambridge, Mass.

HENRY H. CRANE
Minister, Central Methodist Church Detroit, Mich.

W. J. FAULKNER
Pastor, Congregational Church
of Park Manor Chicago, Ill.

RICHARD B. GREGG
Author Jamaica, Vt.

GEORGIA HARKNESS
Professor, Applied Theology,
Pacific School of Religion Berkeley, Calif.

ALFRED HASSLER
Editor, Fellowship New York City

REV. JOHN M. KRUMM
Chaplain, Columbia University New York City

KENT LARRABEE
Secretary, New York Region,
Fellowship of Reconciliation New York City

PAUL LEHMANN
Professor, Applied Christianity,
Princeton Theological Seminary Princeton, N. J.

SID LENS
Manager, AFL Union in Chicago Chicago, Ill.

HENRY LOFQUIST
Secretary, South Presbyterian
Peace Fellowship Bessemer, Ala.

PAUL G. MACY
Secretary (regional), Fellowship of Reconciliation Chicago

ALLEN O. MILLER
Professor of Theology, Eden Seminary Webster Groves, Mo.

PAUL S. MINEAR
Faculty, Andover-Newton
Theological School Newton Centre, Mass.

JEROME NATHANSON
Leader, Society for Ethical Culture New York City

HAZEL L. PERKISON
Director of Community Service,
Broadway Congregational Church New York City

JOHN HENRY RANDALL, JR.
F.J.E. Woodbridge Professor of
Philosophy, Columbia University New York City

ELMER RICE
Playwright and producer New York City

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
Hyde Park, N. Y.

CONSTANCE H. RUMBOUGH
Teacher, Weekday Religious
Education Program Harrisonburg, Va.

CULBERT G. RUTENBER
Professor, Eastern Baptist
Theological Seminary Philadelphia, Pa.

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
Co-Treasurer, International
Fellowship of Reconciliation New York City

MARK R. SHAW
Northeastern Secretary,
Democracy Unlimited Melrose, Mass.

EMILY PARKER SIMON
Executive Director, Baltimore Peace Section Baltimore, Md.

A PETITION

To the President of the United States On Amnesty for Smith Act Victims and Postponement of Trials

Dear Mr. President:

We respectfully urge you to grant an amnesty commuting the sentences of the sixteen men and women now in prison under the Smith Act (Alien Registration Act of 1940) to time already served, and to use your influence to secure the postponement of trials in the 180 cases presently awaiting Trial Court or Appeals Court decisions under the Act.

Those who present this petition are in fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and with essential elements in its program and are motivated in their present action by their attachment to the democratic way of life and the desire to maintain and strengthen it.

We call attention to Supreme Court Justice Black's description of the character of the Smith Act and the trial of Communist Party leaders under it in his dissenting opinion when appeal from the convictions under it was before the Supreme Court:

"At the outset I want to emphasize what the crime involved in this case is and what it is not. These petitioners are not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government.

"The charge was that they agreed to assemble and talk and publish certain ideas at a later date . . .

" . . . The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government."

Recently the Supreme Court itself, by agreeing to review the California Smith Act prosecutions, has recognized the appropriateness of a "second look" at the act.

Among the sixteen for whom we are requesting a Christmas amnesty are elderly and ill persons. The indictments and convictions in these cases were carried through in a period of the "cold war" and in an atmosphere often marked by hysteria. Fortunately, in recent months conditions have changed for the better and there is a noticeable trend to reaffirm the basic democratic traditions of our country.

It is our conviction that your acquiescence in our request would serve to give further impetus to this healthy trend, would give proof of our confidence in democratic institutions, would encourage and inspire our friends throughout the world and win new friends. Thus, we believe, it would also contribute toward peace in the world about which you are so deeply concerned and would be in line with the policy you set forth through Secretary of State Dulles on Nov. 18, 1955:

"I know that no setback, no obstacle to progress will ever deter this Government and our people from the great effort to establish a just and durable peace."

A. J. Muste
A. J. MUSTE
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BJJ/CAL

(names of other signers appear in column at left)

Signers are acting as individuals. Information about their associations is for purpose of identification.

ARTHUR L. SWIFT
Professor, Union Theological Seminary New York City

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.
Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation New York City

LOREN WALTERS
Staff, Evangelical and Reformed
Church Headquarters Philadelphia, Pa.

ROBERT F. WEISKOTTEN
Minister, St. John's
Lutheran Church Richmond Hill, N. Y.

NORMAN J. WHITNEY
Syracuse University Syracuse, N. Y.

HERMAN WILL, JR.
Vice-Chairman, Fellowship
of Reconciliation Lombard, Ill.

CHARLES W. FORMAN
Faculty, Yale University New Haven, Conn.

WALTER MITCHELL
Bishop of Arizona (Retired)
Protestant Episcopal Church Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.

ROBERT H. HAMILL
Minister, Ottawa St. Methodist Church Joliet, Ill.

LATE SIGNERS

ALAN BARTH
Author Washington, D. C.

GRANVILLE HICKS
Writer Grafton, N. Y.

B. F. MCLAURIN
Brotherhood of Pullman Porters New York City

WALTER M. MUELDNER
Dean, Boston Univ. School of Theology Boston, Mass.

JOHN OLIVER NELSON
Faculty of Divinity School,
Yale Univ. New Haven, Conn.

ANNALEE STEWART
Women's Intl. League for
Peace and Freedom Washington, D. C.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT
Publisher, The New Republic New York City

100-114575-63

Distinguished Supreme Court Justices viewed the Smith Act with apprehension:

"The doctrine of conspiracy has served divers and oppressive purposes, and its broad reach can be made to do great evil. But never until today has anyone seriously thought that the ancient law of conspiracy could constitutionally be used to turn speech into seditious conduct. . . . Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment. To make a speech unlawful because two men conceived it, is to raise the law of conspiracy to appalling proportions."

— U. S. SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS,
in his dissent in the same case.

"Public opinion being what it is, few will protest the conviction of the Communist petitioners. *There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society.*"

— U.S. SUPREME COURT JUSTICE HUGO BLACK,
in a dissenting opinion
in a Smith Act case in 1951.

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

DO YOU WANT
TO JOIN THESE CITIZENS
IN A STAND FOR
CIVIL LIBERTIES?

The following petition (see inside) was sent to President Eisenhower on December 20, 1955 on behalf of the signers listed above. A large number of requests for copies of the petition and list of signers for wider distribution has been received, and also inquiries as to how people who were not among the small number to whom the original petition went may associate themselves with it.

If you take substantially the same non-Communist position, as set forth in the petition, and desire to associate yourself with it, we shall be glad to list your signature and at an appropriate time, when a considerable number of signatures have been assembled, transmit them to the President and the press.

A. J. Muste

A. J. MUSTE
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

I agree in principle with the Smith Act Petition and wish to associate myself with the original signers:

NAME _____
TITLE, if any _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
SCHOOL, CHURCH or other organizational
connection _____

If you wish to send in a small contribution to help cover cost of printing and mailing it will be welcome.

see inside →

FB

July 10, 1956

100-114575-65

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTS/C/L

Dear Folks:

Your letter of the 8th came in late yesterday, and I read with considerable interest the letter from A. J. Muste, which I am returning with the petition, and suggested draft of your reply which I think has all the earmarks of becoming a classic.

The petition which they enclosed was the one that was released to the press last winter, and apparently they must contemplate getting up a new one. As you so aptly point out in your letter, Muste's letter to the President is filled with inaccuracies and distortions. The standard indictment in Smith Act cases not only alleges conspiracy but enumerates overt acts. I am enclosing a copy of the indictment covering the case of the second-string communist leaders in New York City. I have checked in pencil the names of those still in prison. In addition to these are the following: Gilbert Green, Gus Hall, Robert Thompson and Henry Winston. They were among the original eleven Communist Party leaders who were convicted in the first Smith Act case, which conviction was upheld by the Supreme Court in the same majority opinion from which the petition quotes the dissents on the part of Black and Douglas.

If you will recall, Green, Hall, Thompson and Winston promptly became fugitives from justice and forfeited their bonds. Hall fled the country and was apprehended in Mexico. Thompson was located in California, living in the mountains under an assumed name. Certainly the fact that four of the convicted Communist Party leaders would become fugitives from justice and thus place themselves in the category of a fleeing, common criminal takes them out of the realm of those advocating change.

The fifth Smith Act subject, which brings to a total of fifteen those presently in prison, is Philip Frankfeld of Baltimore.

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

55 AUG 1 1956

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet

July 10, 1956

I am also enclosing the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit which was handed down by Judge Learned Hand on August 1, 1950. This decision upheld convictions of Green, Hall, Thompson and Winston. You should read from page 1617 to 1638 and from 1657 to the end. I have marked a few of the pertinent portions.

Now with regard to the draft of your letter to Muste, I would like to make the following observations.

In paragraph one, you refer to the Supreme Court's deciding the law of the land. Would it not strengthen your position to point out that the Smith Act was enacted by Congress and the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act, as well as upheld the conviction of some of those imprisoned, and that the Supreme Court's decision is represented by the majority of the Court rather than by the minority?

On page 3, the third paragraph, I think your reference to whether the prisoners have "reformed" is classic. You might ask point-blank if any of those convicted and imprisoned have renounced the doctrine of the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence and substituting therefor a Soviet of America. Certainly Eugene Dennis who was convicted with Green, Hall, Thompson and Winston has not, and only recently Pravda ^{Picked} backed up his Daily Worker statement wherein he knuckled under and joined the Khrushchev thesis of demolishing Stalin and in addition, of course, raised the question of why Khrushchev and the others did not do something about it. This is a tactic which, no doubt, has been approved in Moscow or it would not have occurred. The uniformity of the statements of the French, Italian, Canadian and American Communist Party leaders suggests a modus operandi that was patently inspired and patently follows the same old line.

Your discourse on "political prisoners" is excellent. If you want any proof to substantiate your thesis, all you need do is refer to the fact that a total of 102 Communist Party leaders has now been convicted for Smith Act violations. Only 29 have actually gone to prison; 14 have been released upon completing their sentences; 15 are currently serving their sentences; and the remaining 73 are at liberty on bond pending appeal to the various circuit courts or to the United States Supreme Court. Thus for periods ranging up to 4 years, 73 Communist Party functionaries, following their convictions for teaching and advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, have been at liberty to continue their activities on behalf of the Communist Party. The question might very

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet

July 10, 1956

well be asked as to whether this coincides with political prisoners, and you might even contrast this with the practice in Russia. On page 15, of the Khrushchev speech as released by the State Department, of which you have a copy, Khrushchev makes public a Stalin directive which orders the execution of death sentences immediately after the passage of the sentence and makes impossible an appeal or a petition for clemency of any sort. It was this system which those convicted under the Smith Act were supporting until just recently when they started parroting the Khrushchev line.

All in all, I think your draft of the letter is excellent. It is really too good to be lost on Muste and I think you ought to give some consideration to giving it wider distribution.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

L. B. Nichols

Enclosures (4)

Release July 15, 1956

~~MAKING LIFE MAKE SENSE~~
By
Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

Add This Date

We picked up, the other day, a book that had been lying on our table unread for some weeks -- a book sent to us by our publishers. It was entitled "20 JULY" and was authored by Constantine FitzGibbon. We hadn't a ghost of a notion what the title meant. We knew about July 4 and July 14. Those were days that celebrated heroic efforts to make men free. But we knew nothing about July 20.

When we finished the book, we knew we had added another chapter to our knowledge of human courage.

The reader may not remember, but July 20 was the date of the extraordinary revolt against Hitler. We ourselves had pretty much forgotten about that revolt. In fact, like most Americans, we suspected we had known very little about it. We had thought of it at the time as a kind of petty palace revolution, carried out by a small clique of arrogant Prussian officers whom we didn't like anyway. When we finished the book, we knew we had made a profound mistake.

Here was one of the most remarkable incidents of our generation. Here were men who had come to see the horror that lay in Hitler, and who risked their lives -- and lost them -- to put him out of the way.

It was on July 20 that the bomb was exploded that damaged a lot of furniture but left Hitler still alive.

By Contrast

Perhaps we would not have been so deeply moved by the book except for the fact that the newspapers just at that time were printing the angry words of the Russian leaders in denunciation of Stalin. They were ordering down his status, removing his portrait from museum walls, denouncing his one-man rule. They were promising the world that this shameful sort of regime would not happen again.

It looked as if the sun was rising on a new era of the world.

Then we were suddenly jolted alive. Where were these men when this sadistic paranoid, Stalin, was bringing immeasurable tragedy to millions of people?

The answer was starkly simple: they were right there with him,

6 SEP 13 '56

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25 SEP 14 1956

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conferring in his office, taking his orders and executing them without a quiver or a question. They were making their daily genuflections to the great god Stalin; preaching his gospel of hatred to their people; jailing and killing them when the jailing and killing were ordered.

Khrushchev was Stalin's right hand man. He scowled when Stalin scowled and persecuted as he was told to persecute. Bulganin, Molotov and the rest did likewise. If they had any doubts about their god they made no peep about it. They acted as the obsequious handymen of the insane tyrant.

How New Is New?

These are the men who are now posing as the new leaders. But how new is new?

When we read "20 JULY," we were moved by the heroism of those German officers who risked their lives for human decency. When we read Khrushchev's angry whines, we were not moved; we felt only that a scoundrel had changed his suit of clothes.

We need to remember this in the coming days when these associates in Stalinist murder deck themselves out in their "new look." We may well put to them the scriptural question: "Where were you. . .?" Where were you when the horrors of Stalinism were so apparent to decent people throughout the world that half the world was ranged in protest? What small, brave stand did you take against the mad tyrant? What brave plot to end it all did you contrive?

Two Dates

In Germany, on July 20, there were brave men who went to their death because they could no longer stand the horrors. Where were the brave men among those associates of Stalin?

When the world begins to realize what those German officers attempted, it may place this July date with those two others to celebrate the willingness of brave men to die for human decency.

What was the date on which Khrushchev made his de-Stalinizing speech? We have forgotten. But does it matter? That date will never be recorded among the heroic days of mankind.

(Copyright 1956, John F. Dille Co.)

To receive your copy of the Overstreets' new booklet, "How To Stay Alive As Long As You Live," send 25¢ (coin only) and a stamped, self-addressed envelope to "Making Life Make Sense," care of this newspaper.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE 10-1-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Harry Allen Overstreet

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

I am attaching hereto a letter addressed to Dr. Harry A. Overstreet by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace. The Overstreets are not paying any attention to this but it can be expected that this communication will have rather widespread dissemination.

LBN:nl
(2)

Enclosure

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INDEXED - 10

100-114575-67
10 OCT 10 1956

ENCLOSURE

OCT 16 1956 265

SECRETARIAT

Vien July 31, 1956.

OF THE

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS

WIEN IV

MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5

AUSTRIA

Prof. Harry Allen Overstraat
46, Stelen's Lane,
Mill Valley
California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

Dear Sir,

Meeting in Paris from June 23-26, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace addressed an appeal for the stopping of test explosions of atomic weapons to the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.


This appeal has just been sent to the three Governments by Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace. It was sent, for information, to all the governments of the world and was communicated to the press. We take the liberty of enclosing a copy herewith.

We wish to bring the appeal to your notice, thinking that, like us, you are concerned to see a solution reached to the grave problem of periodical test explosions of atomic weapons. We do this not with any intention of getting your support for the ideas and activity of the World Council of Peace, but because we want to see all men unite in face of a danger that threatens all mankind.

We would be happy to have your comments on this questions and we are, of course, ready to send you any further information you may wish to have.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat
of the World Council of Peace


N. Fogliaresi
Secretary

World Council
of Peace

COPIES DESTROYED

29 APR 21 1974

Encl.: Appeal to the Governments

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

To the Governments of the United States of America,
the U. S. S. R. and Great Britain

Recent scientific surveys have shown that the experimental explosions of nuclear weapons have produced all over the world a radioactive fall-out in the form of dust and rain. Some of the radioactivity (notably that of Strontium 90) is of a persistent character so that the effects of successive explosions are cumulative. Human beings are being directly or indirectly exposed to the harmful results of radiation on a scale which cannot yet be precisely estimated. Even if the radiation dose is below the level at present accepted as tolerable, it is known that doses very much greater can be concentrated in edible plants, animals and fish. Exposed to such concentrations over long periods human beings will suffer genetic damage, which will cause distress, suffering and death over many generations.

If the tests continue, even on the present scale, these after-effects will become inevitable.

Explosions of atomic weapons are easy to detect since they cause world-wide radioactivity and so provide an automatic means of controlling their occurrence.

The cessation of the tests would be an earnest of the sincere desire of the powers concerned to seek urgently a wider settlement through controlled disarmament.

We therefore call on the Governments of the United States of America, of the U.S.S.R. and of Great Britain to conclude without delay an agreement to stop all tests and experimental explosions of atomic weapons and devices.

~~Frédéric Joliot-Curie~~

President

Paris, 26 June 1956

France

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP6 BTJ/CSL

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29 APR 21 1974

44-14575-1



Hotel Webster Hall
4415 FIFTH AVE., PITTSBURGH 13, PA.
MAYFLOWER
1-7700

IN THE HEART OF PITTSBURGH'S BEAUTIFUL CIVIC CENTER

HARRY A. OVER ^{Oct. 29th} STREET

HARRY A. OVER STREET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/

Dear Chief-

Harry wants you to see the enclosed
& let you know he's sent off a special
delivery request that his name be removed
from that petition they are to reprint.
He had assumed, having resigned from
the group, that that was that—but it
had never occurred to him to specify
the removal of his name from the
petition because he hadn't realized
they'd be using it again. Too bad!
Since their letter had to be forwarded
to him, his answer will probably
be too late to effect the removal of his
name. But he wants you to know
that he has not intended any such
"double take".

RECORDED - 7

We've had a reply from Mr. Higgins

in Chicago in response to our letter to him — & he is even more bitter & vituperative about both you folks & ourselves than in his first tirade. You'll see it when we get home.

We're holding our own — & rather better than that — in the midst of these intensive Pittsburgh days. Each work session, now, seems to go well & while neither of us is throwing any energy away needlessly, we aren't worried any longer about whether we can handle the rest of the trip.

If all goes well, we'll reach home Thursday noon — & I will phone to check up on how you are, & when we'll have a chance to see you.

With warm greetings from
Bonnie Overstreet
Barbara C.

Love
6-11-79

RECEIVED
NOV 9 3 38 PM '79
MR. JONES

November 5, 1956

100-114575-68

Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

Dear Folks:

I am returning herewith the letter of October 26, 1956,
which you received from Dr. Mary Owen Cameron.

It seems to me that it was presumptuous indeed for
them to dig out an old petition and merely notify you of its being used
after you had resigned from the organization. It would seem
unnecessary that you would have to request that your name be taken
off of an old petition and its reissue after the subject matter has been
injected into a political campaign. It seems to me as rather shoddy
treatment for those who permit their name to be used.

Thanks for letting us know.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

L. B. Nichols

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Lee R. Pennington
Americanism Commission
American Legion
1608 K Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

LBN:sak

(4)

67 NOV 13 1956

Release August 5, 1956

MAKING LIFE MAKE SENSE

By
Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

DIPLOMAS FOR LAW AND ORDER

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mason
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

We're old hands at attending commencement exercises. We've watched many a line of graduates stream across an American platform to receive their diplomas: badge of their finishing and "commencing."

The experience never grows stale, To each crop of graduates we give our silent blessing. For the visible ceremony, we know, bodes forth something far deeper: the honorable urge of the human being to move out of ignorance into knowledge; to become both a self-sustaining and contributing member of man's community.

Being more/familiar with both the outward trappings and the inner emotions of the commencement scene, we would hardly expect to be surprised, at this stage of the game, by any line of graduates -- or by our own thoughts as we watched them. Yet we have been surprised....

At the Departmental Auditorium, in Washington, D.C., we recently went to the graduation exercises of the 57th session of the FBI National Academy. It was a heartening experience: to watch ninety-eight men, from thirty-eight states, Puerto Rico, and Canada, round out their period of intensive, voluntary in-service training in the principles and practice of democracy's law enforcement.

Like any other graduating class, they moved in line up the stairs at one side of the platform, crossed the stage to receive their diplomas -- in their case, from the Attorney General of the United States -- and went down the stairs on the other side. But where were they headed from there?

They were headed straight back into the communities they had come from and the law enforcement agencies within which they already held responsible positions -- a significant number as chiefs of police. They were going home, back to their daily work, armed with new professional skills and standards; and also with a warm sense of belonging to a fellowship that has in its keeping the free world's basic concept of liberty under law.

There are two things a democratic society can never afford -- least of all in a time like the present.

- m o r e -

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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

63 JUL 24 1956

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It cannot afford to be indifferent to the quality of law enforcement at the local level: in the towns, cities, and countrysides where people's attitudes toward law are inevitably made in the image of officers as they have known them; and where the rights of individuals and of organized society have constantly to be respected, harmonized, and made secure.

And it cannot afford, in the name of law and order, or in the name of crisis, to set up a national police force. For the step between setting up a national police force and becoming a police state is too dangerously easy to take.

What course, then, can a free nation steer between indifference to what goes on in the local sheriff's office or police department and domination from the top down?

The FBI National Academy, founded by J. Edgar Hoover in 1935, represents one creative effort to answer this question. The FBI, Mr. Hoover has insisted -- often in the face of strong contrary urgings and pressures -- must remain precisely what it was set up to be, and nothing more: a top-level investigative bureau; never a national police force, and never a trespasser upon the domain of state or local law enforcement agencies.

Yet this policy of staying in its proper place need not mean that it hides its skills and experience under a bushel. It can quite rightly put these at the disposal of state and local officers who want to increase their professional competence. Through in-service training programs, voluntarily attended, it can encourage better law enforcement and higher respect for law as the guardian of individual liberties and organized freedom.

So we watched the ninety-eight men cross the platform, receive their diplomas, and go down the stairs on the other side. In our mind's eye, then, we saw them fan out over America -- to become part of the more than three thousand alumni of the National Academy.

"The leaven in the loaf," we said to each other -- and gave them a silent blessing.

(Copyright 1956, John F. Dille Co.)

EDITOR: For a copy of the Overstreets' new booklet, "How To Stay Long As You Live," send 25¢ (coin only) and a stamped, self-addressed envelope to "Making Life Make Sense," c/o this newspaper.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

DATE 7/25/56

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

I am attaching hereto a letter which Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet have sent to A. J. Muste declining to sign an amnesty petition calling for the release of imprisoned Smith Act subjects. This letter is a classic.

The Overstreets are going to circulate copies to several people who have signed the petition in the past, and I am trying to get them to make the letter public and to do an article on the subject which is excellently handled.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc
(4)

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DATE _____ BY _____

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

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NOT RECORDED
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16 AUG 1 1956

INT SEC

CENTRAL RESEARCH

ORIGINAL COPIES FILED IN 100-392047

81 AUG 23 1956

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GIR 4

DATE: November 5, 1956

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

HARRY OVERSTREET

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

100-114575

For record purposes, some years ago Dr. and Mrs. Harry Overstreet were members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The Overstreet's submitted their resignation to this organization several months ago.

At one time they signed a petition of the organization which called for a cessation of H-Bomb tests. They automatically assumed that their resignation asking that their name be stricken from the rolls would preclude this organization using their old petition.

While the Overstreet's were on a lecture tour, a Dr. Mary Owen Cameron advised that the organization was putting out another advertisement containing the old petition and this was notification of the so called add to appear during the past week. The Overstreet's naturally protested the use of their name on the petition but apparently it was too late and they wanted me to know of their action, and I naturally thanked them for calling it to my attention.

RECORDED - 97

INDEXED - 97

16 NOV 14 1956

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58 NOV 19 1956

GIR 1

December 7, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-19-86

BY SP8 BTJ/C

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I have just finished reading the most thought-provoking column by your wife and you concerning behavior based on your reading of Don Whitehead's book which appeared in the December 2 issue of the "Detroit Free Press." It was an excellent study of some of those segments in our modern civilization which stimulate the ever-rising crime rate in our country.

The encouragement and support which you have rendered Mr. Whitehead and the FBI in connection with his book have been extraordinary, and we are all deeply appreciative.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ENCLOSURE

MAILED 6
DEC - 7 1956
COMM - FBI

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INDEXED - 97

100-114575-70

23 DEC 11 1956

cc - Mr. Nichols, with copy of column

- Tolson
- Nichols
- Boardman
- Belmont
- Mason
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Nease
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

NOTE: Address per Mr. Nichols' Office.

JTM:jac

DEC 14 1956

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REC'D-READING ROOM

★ ★ Making Life ★ ★
★ ★ Make Sense ★ ★

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Boardman.....
Mr. Belmont.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Parsons.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tamm.....
Mr. Trotter.....
Mr. Nease.....
Tele. Room.....
Mr. Holloman.....
Miss Gandy.....

Crime's Face Looks Like Your Own

The Overstreets Explain Behavior

BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET

LAST WEEK we contrasted two books. Edward Crankshaw's "Gestapo" and Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story." Or to be more exact, we contrasted the two agencies described, each peculiarly in character with its own national and historical setting.

Today, we wish to look at "The FBI Story" from another angle.

It is not enough for us to learn that—in spite of all irresponsible, calculated, or anxious words to the contrary—the FBI is a very different kettle of fish from the Gestapo.

As working citizens, we need to know what Whitehead's book can teach us about the patterns of crime that have marred our national life in this century.

The history of our time has been told from many viewpoints. There are books aplenty on twentieth-century politics, economics, art, literature, transportation, education, science.

There are books in which we can read, if we are so minded, about how cultural changes are reflected in everything from mail order catalogues to motion pictures, from population trends to styles in kitchens.

IT CAN'T be said that our age hasn't put itself on record. Yet nowhere else have we found the body of information for the special angle of emphasis that Whitehead's book gives.

As the title states, the story is that of the FBI. But it is profoundly more than that.



Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

OVERSTREET

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- () Glos Ludowy
- () Michigan Editor-The Worker
- () The Daily Worker
- () Narodna Volya
- () Romanul American
- () Pittsburgh Courier
- () Michigan Chronicle
- () Detroit Free Press
- () Detroit News
- () Detroit Times
- () Michigan Daily
- () Wayne Collegian
- () _____

Date 12-2-56 Edition Final

Page C-6 Column 7

Let to Harry Overstreet
(name) 12-7-56
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ENCLOSURE

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It is the story of the types of crime which, one after another, our nation has felt impelled to designate as federal: As matters of more than local or state concern.

The book, in short, asks the responsible reader to appraise, not simply the FBI, but those crimes against the common welfare that have made the FBI not only necessary, and progressively skillful, but the most overworked of federal bureaus.

* * *
YEARS AGO, in his "Introducing Irony," Maxwell Bodenheim created a character named Jack Rose: A man who cowered

"Within the shrill, damp alleys of his time, Immersed in that brisk midnight known as crime."

The "brisk midnight" through which Whitehead guides us holds many a furtive Jack Rose. Yet most of the figures we here encounter are not of any obviously criminal type.

Nor are most of the places where we meet them "alleys" in the ordinary sense of that word.

* * *
OUR TOUR of this "midnight" world takes us into every part of America.

From mountain cabin to the hideouts of Chicago gangsters, from the wide open spaces of the Southwest to halls of learning and halls of government, from well-plushed offices, public and private, to the secret meeting places of Communist cells, it takes us.

All these places, so various in physical make-up, constitute, as it were, one vast psychological and spiritual "slum."

Within its "damp alleys," FBI agents have sought out persons wanted for the part played in the fraudulent use of public lands and monies.

They seek those involved in the white slave traffic; conspiratorial infringements of civil liberties; the building of gang "empires"; thefts involving federal reserve banks, or stolen goods across state lines; kidnappings; espionage; sabotage; and ideological conspiracies to overthrow the government by force and violence.

* * *
THE CRIMINALS we are

invited to appraise are an uncomfortably numerous lot.

Sizing them up, however, we ourselves seemed to glimpse beyond them a yet larger company — the legion of the "respectable" who have helped to make room for these law-breakers within the American scene.

Who are they—the "respectable" and guilty?

We note at least these: People whose flippant or proud flouting of the prohibition amendment was preface to the gang era and organized racketeering.

People who have not hated the blind bigotries of "hate groups" when these have been on the side of their own genteel prejudices.

People who, unshocked by the self-serving "deals" of unscrupulous office holders — or even profiting by these—have encouraged the feeling that corruption and democratic politics are virtually synonymous.

People who have tenaciously declined to make any realistic distinction between conspiracy and the exercise of freedom of speech and assembly.

These, at least, are "among those present": These, and others.

* * *
IN OLD fairy tale, we recall, there was a magic mirror. When people looked into it, it reflected back, not their physical features, but their hidden characters.

We ourselves, when we finished "The FBI Story" and laid it aside, had the feeling that his book possessed the strange properties of that magic mirror.

We, the American people, can look into it to size ourselves up.

But we had best be prepared for a shock.

December 18, 1956

July
Woo

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Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of the 8th and the "To Whom It May Concern" statement, which I have read with considerable interest. It seems to me that you make a pretty good case for your position, and I am placing it in the Bureau files where I think it really belongs.

Sincerely,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:hpf
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DATE 5-19-86 BY SP8 BTG/lac

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December 8, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-19-82

Dear Chief,

SP8BTJ/COL

Several months ago the National Congress of Parents and Teachers asked us to prepare a general statement that they could have on hand -- so that they would not have to ask us every time some desperate local or state PTAer wrote in wanting to know whether or not we were "Communists;" and so that they themselves would not have to write out the same old things time and time again. This is the general statement we sent them. Since then, the director of one university extension has asked for a copy for his use also. But it is not anything that is being published or circulated any more widely than necessity demands. We hope it will seem to you to be more or less what it should be.

We haven't run into any specific crises this Fall; and it may be that such crises now belong to the past. But we can never be sure, of course; for the efforts to paint us as subversive -- or as having been "brain washed by the Communists" -- have by no means come to an end. They have become, shall we say, endemic rather than acute. Since the Mr. Wetterman episode last Spring there has been a more or less constant "sniping" in the Ohio-Illinois-Indiana region-- most of it from ambush. Oddly enough, now, I seem to be the target more often than Harry; and the most persistent effort is to persuade the National Parent-Teacher to drop me from its list of advisory editors and from its list of contributors. We don't know what all the interlacing influences are, and we aren't really bothered about them much. But the uniformity of the attacks do point to their being somewhat less than spontaneous with the individuals who make them; the repetitive phrasing, for example, to the effect that "you can't expect us to try to get people to subscribe for the National Parent-Teacher as long as Bonaro Overstreet writes for it."

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① BANGOR W. OVERSTREET
 BANGOR OVERSTREET
 MRS. HARRY OVERSTREET
 HARRY OVERSTREET

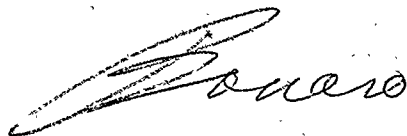
Such attacks, of course, have only nuisance value. No one around the National Congress is likely to be impressed by them, least of all the magazine board. As a matter of fact, I'll probably be the chief speaker at the magazine's 50th anniversary lunch, during the national convention in Cincinnati in late May. But it seemed worth while to respond to the Congress's request for a covering statement. And since that statement exists, you should have a copy.

It's such fun hearing about the book's progress. So continue to phone your "bulletins" as things happen. And we'll hope to see you soon, with or without saw in hand. I've just got hold of a recipe for old fashioned buckwheat pancakes (literally "the kind mother used to make"); so I may have to practice on you and Carroll some morning before long. They are the sort of pancakes that are raised over night -- and that are at their best when they are made paper thin and served up, piping hot, at just the right rate of speed to keep people eating.

As I write this, I see a Saturday morning group of Boy Scouts setting off down the road, trailed by friendly dogs, with packs on their backs. It looks good. (I hope that doesn't sound as though the dogs have the packs on their backs. It's the Scouts!)

Harry sends his greetings along with mine.

Cordially,



TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: FROM Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

We are writing this statement out of a sense of gratitude and responsibility to the many friends and sponsoring groups with which we have worked in all parts of the country for many years -- and particularly to our friends and fellow workers within the parent-teacher movement.

For the past several years, we have periodically faced the odd experience of having certain persons in communities where we have been invited to speak, or where our books and magazine articles have been in use, try to discredit us with our sponsors by charging that we are or have been Communists, pro-Communists, or fellow travelers. These persons have seemed, in some instances, to be acting simply as individuals. In other instances, they have claimed to represent one or another organization. And in yet others, it has been apparent that some organized or unorganized group was involved, though the method of attack was such as to render difficult the identification of the group. Thus, for example, in one western city, some months ago, one of our sponsors received five different phone calls, all anonymous, and all charging us in almost identical language with being Communists and atheists.

These incidents have never become frequent. In one sense, they have never become serious. Both sponsors and general public have shown a heartwarming firmness in standing by their own convictions and their own knowledge of our work. They have shown, also, a gratifying readiness to ask for facts rather than to accept rumors. Only in one community, on one occasion, has any sponsor yielded to pressure and actually cancelled a lecture. On that occasion, an alternative meeting was set up at which we were able to meet the public and clarify the situation; and we have since returned to that community for further engagements without facing any serious difficulty.

Nonetheless, we have not felt that these charges against us could be ignored or simply left to die out in their own good time. We have consistently adopted toward them a certain policy -- with such modifications as have been called for by the nature of the charge and the manner in which it was made. What we wish to do in this statement is simply to share with our friends and sponsors such facts about our record and about our manner of meeting these random attacks as may be useful for them to know if they are perplexed by rumors they hear about us or by so-called "documentation" that purports to prove us disloyal to our country.

What "factual" justification, then, do individuals or groups claim for the charges they make against us? The justification most frequently and persistently advanced is that Mr. Overstreet is "listed" in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee as having been "affiliated" with a number of "front" organizations; and that he must, therefore, be regarded as suspect. In support of this charge, a "list" of these "front" organizations is usually provided -- and sponsors are asked, in effect, to accept it as complete and conclusive. As submitted, however, it is invariably far from complete -- and is "loaded" rather than conclusive.

ENCLOSURE

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It is true that Mr. Overstreet, like a great many other people, occasionally failed to suspect Communist influence back of seemingly humanitarian causes. During the 1930s and the war years, and more recently in a very few cases, he therefore made occasional donations and signed certain petitions that he would not have supported for a moment had not their Communist originator "front" character been too well concealed to be visible to him in the materials put at his disposal. His "association" with these groups was, in every case, brief and tenuous. For the most part, it did not involve any membership at all. In one case, it involved membership in a group from which he resigned after the second meeting.

Those who have seen the official "listing" by the House Committee -- as we ourselves have seen it -- know that it specifies in each instance the exact nature of Mr. Overstreet's connection with each group. It does not rest on a vague statement that he was "affiliated" with all of them -- some ten or so in all. It sets down in black and white the simple facts -- that his name appeared on a petition that a certain group circulated at a certain time; that he donated to a certain cause on a certain occasion. These specifics, taken in their entirety, show how little evidence there is of his having been closely associated with or active in "front" groups. Not all of them together add up to any convincing evidence of pro-Communist leanings. Yet those who base on this official "listing" the "documentation" which they submit to our sponsors invariably leave out all the specifics that give the picture its perspective and state ambiguously that he was "affiliated" with these groups. Also, they consistently omit the statement with which the official document is headed: to the effect that nothing in it represents an investigation; that it is simply a collection of items from public sources; and that unless otherwise specified, it does not necessarily signify that the individual named is a Communist, Communist sympathizer, or fellow traveler. With this disclaimer omitted, it is easy to convey the impression that the House Committee has made up the list as a result of an investigation and that it intends to establish the individual in question as at least a Communist sympathizer.

We go into some detail about these deliberate omissions of material originally contained in the House Committee's listing for two reasons: first, because we think that omission shows a lack of good faith on the part of those who circulate the expurgated list as though it were complete; and because we think it would help enormously to clear the air if sponsors to whom such an expurgated list is submitted -- whether about us or someone else -- were to form the knowledgeable habit of asking for specifics in connection with each item. When did the individual belong to that particular group? For how long? What was the nature of his connection with it? Was he ever in a policy-making role? Neither the term "affiliation," in brief, nor the term "documentation" can be taken at its face value as it is commonly being used by those who charge others with disloyalty and are determined to make the charge stick, whether or no.

In our own case, however, another set of facts has also been withheld time and again: facts having to do with our own voluntary approach to the House Committee, in 1953, after learning of the "listing," to ascertain what procedure should be followed to clarify the record. On the advice

of the Chief Clerk of the Committee, Mr. Overstreet, at that time -- May 1953 -- wrote to the then Chairman, Mr. Velde, asked for a copy of the material in the files, indicated his wish to explain his connection with each group listed, and expressed his willingness to appear at a public hearing if the Committee desired. He was subsequently informed in a letter from Mr. Velde that the Committee saw no reason for a hearing; that his sworn affidavit he had submitted to the Committee served to clarify and complete the record; and that this affidavit would itself be entered in the file and made a part of any record submitted in the future in response to any inquiry about Mr. Overstreet.

For more than three years, in brief, that sworn affidavit, voluntarily submitted to the Committee, has been part of the public record and has been quite as accessible as the original listing itself. Yet in no single instance have those who have submitted a "documented" protest against our speaking to one or another of our sponsors ever included that affidavit or even a mention of it in their "documentation." When, moreover, the fact of its existence has been presented to them, they have consistently played down its importance or shifted ground to find some other basis for attack. Such a calculated slanting of the record certainly argues something less than good faith. We think it would clarify the situation if a sponsor, faced with a seemingly complete "list" from the House Committee records would ask about that affidavit -- and the reason for its not being presented as part of the record; and if, further, he would make clear his own knowledge that Mr. Overstreet voluntarily declared his readiness to appear at a public hearing and was told that there was no reason for him to do so. It seems logical to suppose that if the Committee, on the basis of its knowledge of his record, thought him to be dangerously sympathetic with Communism or active in behalf of Communist policies, it would have wanted him to appear at a hearing. It would not have said, through its Chairman, Mr. Velde, that his affidavit served "for the clarification and completion of the record."

During the past year, several odd things have happened. One man, for example, who claimed to be officially representative of a certain group, wrote to one of our sponsors that Dr. Overstreet had been invited to appear before a Congressional Committee and had declined to do so. When he was asked to make this charge specific, he said, in effect, that Dr. Overstreet -- having been listed by the House Committee -- must have been invited to appear under its ruling (Rule X) that anyone who has been named as subversive, fascist, communist, or associated with several front groups must be given a hearing if he is willing to appear; and since there was no record of his having appeared at a hearing, he must have declined to do so. Dr. Overstreet thereupon wrote to the present Chairman of the Committee, the Honorable Francis Walter, and asked in effect three questions: had there been anything irregular or unsatisfactory about his original procedure of submitting the affidavit? had anything developed in his record since 1953 to make desirable now a hearing not called for then? and had he ever, in fact, been invited to appear under Rule X? In a detailed and prompt reply, Chairman Walter specified that the original handling of the situation, in 1953, had been wholly in accord with established Committee procedures; that there was, from the Committee's viewpoint, no present reason for a hearing; that a search of the records showed no instance of Dr. Overstreet's ever having been named in a public hearing as subversive, fascist, communist, or associated with front groups; that Rule X would

therefore not apply to him and that he had never, consequently, been invited under that rule to appear at a hearing.

At this writing, the individual who made this charge against Mr. Overstreet has not seen fit to correct his original misstatement -- even though he has been informed of Mr. Walter's definitive response. He has, instead, sought to make good his original charge by, so to speak, compiling his own "list" -- indicating on the basis of it that we can still be counted as undesirable because of our recent or current affiliations with certain groups that he himself regards as Communistic but that, in fact, have not been officially cited as such.

If the information we have received is correct, he has given a wider circulation to his own unofficial "list" than he originally gave to his first letter of protest.

Thus, he appears to be making much of the fact that both of us, for a number of years -- and until quite recently -- were members of the Committee of 100 of the NAACP. This group has not been cited officially as a "front." It happens, however, that we had already informed the group of our resignation before he undertook to circulate the fact of our association with it. We resigned for the simple reason that we could not, with our schedule, keep closely enough in touch with its policies and practices to appraise these accurately at a time when they were inevitably being influenced by current tensions and pressures; and also because we were strongly opposed to the NAACP's support of the Powell Amendment.

Further capital is being made of the fact that for many years -- indeed; since its founding by Jane Addams -- Mr. Overstreet had maintained a sponsoring relationship to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This relationship expressed his interest, not in the pacifist attitudes of the League, but in the pioneering work it had done to foster understanding and good will among student groups around the world. From this organization also, however, he had resigned -- because he could not keep closely in touch with its various policies, some of which he agreed with and some of which he did not. His last response to one of its appeals, however, was to sign a petition against continued H-bomb experimentation. His interest here expressed his agreement with many of our top scientists that since no one knows what the long-range consequences upon the earth and its peoples will be if radiation is constantly increased by nuclear explosions, experimentation in this area can of itself mount to the point of destructiveness; and the destructiveness might be all too final to allow, then, a belated decision to refrain from setting off nuclear explosions. Unfortunately -- and not with his knowledge or choice -- the petition was reprinted in the Daily Worker. It is this reprinting of it that is now being held up as evidence that he has pro-Communist sympathies. The Women's International League, original sponsors of the petition, has not been officially cited as a "front" organization.

Perhaps this is enough about "listings," official and otherwise. What remains to be said has chiefly to do with some of the methods of attack that we and our sponsors have had to cope with, and some of the policies we have adopted in dealing with them.

The methods have not been uniform, but on a number of different occasions they have been similar. One similarity we have already indicated: the use of "documentation" that is, in fact, incomplete and slanted. Closely related to this is the habit of presenting only derogatory information even when favorable information that would balance the picture is available. To take a concrete instance that serves as typical, the man referred to above presented to our sponsor only the House Committee "listing" though, by his own later word, he knew that Mr. Overstreet had appeared as a friendly witness before the Senate Internal Security Committee, at the request of the Counsel of that Committee, to state his conviction that members of the Communist Party would, by virtue of their ideological devotion to that Party, be rendered unsuitable for teaching positions in the schools of a free society. The man who charged Mr. Overstreet with pro-Communist affiliations -- and, incidentally, with having a "nefarious philosophy" -- not only knew of his testimony before the Senate Committee but, by his own later word, found it "admirable." Yet he did not acquaint our sponsor with this information, but only with that which he considered derogatory. This has been common practice in so many of the cases we have dealt with that it might almost be called uniform.

Another almost uniform characteristic of these attacks has been their last-minute nature. Time and again, the tactic has been to wait until the eve of a lecture and then -- when it is seemingly too late for the startled sponsor to seek out correct information -- to launch the offensive; sometimes in a letter sent by Special Delivery; sometimes by a letter in the letter column of a newspaper; sometimes by phone call; on one occasion, by the printing of a protest in paid-for space in a newspaper -- after the paper had declined to print it otherwise.

Another characteristic is a marked reluctance to face the issue in the open: on the public platform with us, or even in private conversation with us. Time and again, we have taken the initiative in asking those who have charged us with pro-Communism to meet and talk over the evidence with us; and time and again, they have refused. They have not, it would appear, wanted to be as conspicuous themselves as they have wanted to make us be.

And that brings us to how we have, gradually, come to feel that situations of this sort should be handled. There are no hard and fast rules. But by trial and error, we have worked out for ourselves certain principles and practices. They come down to only a few in number; but we think they are vitally important -- not simply for the preservation of our own particular relationships to our public, but more profoundly for the preservation of emotional health in our society.

The first principle, as we see it, is not to let those who make unfounded charges against us put us on guard against the American public; for years of experience have given us reason to believe in the basic sanity and good will of that public -- and we feel that deep harm is done where a misinformed or extremist minority is permitted to loom so large in consciousness that it crowds out confidence in the sound majority. The practice that goes with this has been simple; we have tried, in every instance, to go to the public with the full story -- not meeting that public as though we were either abused or guilty, but simply as though it had a right to information on which to base its judgment. This has meant, on occasion, that we have told the full story from the public platform,

in place of a regular lecture or as a "postscript" to it. On other occasion, it has meant going on the air or on a TV show. On yet other occasion, it has meant writing full details to our sponsor for his use with others. Whatever the method dictated by a specific situation, we intend to continue trusting the American public enough to move toward it, not away from it in anxiety or suspicion, when we find ourselves put under attack by some misinformed or cynical minority.

The second principle is that of not letting those who attack us drive a wedge between us and our government. This has meant, in practice, not only our original approach to the House Committee on Un-American Activities to learn what a citizen who has been "listed" -- and who knows that he has certainly never intended to lend aid or comfort to the Communists -- should properly do to clarify his position; it has also meant that we have, for our own satisfaction, and not because they had any official relationship to these local situations, kept the FBI informed of our experiences and our ways of dealing with them.

The third principle is harder to express but is, we think, important. It is that of trying, wherever possible, to resolve the problem created by those who have called us Communists or fellow travelers without hurting them or making them needlessly conspicuous. In some cases, they have virtually forced us into a public exposure of their methods. In more cases, they have hurt themselves with the public by their extremism and recalcitrance. But we are deeply convinced that just "hurting back" is no solution in such cases -- for it takes no account of the fact that many of these individuals are doing what they oddly believe to be a service to their country; that many others have been so caught up in currents of fear and hostility that they see dangers everywhere; and that yet others, having started the attack, don't know how to back down.

The fourth principle is that of not judging whole organizations by an extremist few that claim to represent them. There have been a few cases -- very few -- where the governing group of some organization, or of some local branch of an organization, has had to be held responsible. In more cases, however, we have discovered, it is worth while to seek out the more reasonable members of the body that is represented as being against us and to share the problem with them -- even, in some cases, passing it over to them.

The fifth principle is that of not letting ourselves be cast as "martyrs;" and not letting the attack upon us be turned into a "cause" that can be exploited by left-wing groups or simply by individuals who would make capital of it. After the long and happy years of work we have had with the American public, and the warm support we have had on every occasion where we have suffered attack, and the responsive decency we have met when we have turned to duly constituted governmental agencies with our problems, we would look very odd indeed in the role of "martyrs." And never if we can help it will we add to the hostile alignments of individuals or groups against one another within our society.

Are we Communists, pro-Communists, or fellow travelers? The flat answer is No. We have given that answer on many different occasions. In the affidavit filed with the House Committee, we have given it on a notarized document: in effect, under oath. But even more consistently we have given it in all our work: work that has held pretty steadily, we believe, to the conviction that life calls for growth, and growth calls for freedom, and freedom can be experienced by individuals only within a non-totalitarian system.

Is our anti-Communism of only recent origin? Again, No. Like many other Americans, we were not brought up to suspect at first report the motives of our fellow Americans. Conditioned to believe that fortunate people like ourselves have a deep obligation toward the less fortunate, we have been inclined to respond positively when asked to give help. Conditioned to believe that eternal vigilance is, in truth, the price of liberty, we have been quick to protest anything that has seemed to us an invasion of civil rights. Our anti-Communism has not always and unerringly armed us, therefore, against appeals that have seemed to be in the best liberal and humanitarian traditions but that have actually been disguised means of encouraging Communist ends. We've made our mistakes. But on the record, in our books, as far back as 1937 and 1938 -- when it was almost respectable to be a Communist -- we were already saying that America must find its own solutions to its own problems, and that only tragedy could come from its resorting to any totalitarian solution, fascist or communist.

Can those who want to check up on our beliefs find materials readily available? We could refer them to the published hearings of the Senate Internal Security Committee with regard to Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, part II, pp. 1017 ff. Or we could refer them to almost any of the many articles and books in which we have stated what we think decent human relationships call for: in particular, perhaps, to Chapters XVI and XVII in THE MIND ALIVE and to our latest book, THE MIND GOES FORTH. To our minds, though we have stated time and again, as accurately and convincingly as possible, what we take to be wrong with all totalitarianisms -- and grossly wrong with Communism -- we hold to the conviction that in this area, as in others, it is the totality of interests, attitudes, and faiths that tells the story of any person's genuine opposition to tyranny: it is not simply the words he says on one specified subject. The best answer to Communism, we would hold, is a way of life -- daily life -- that is at the farthest possible remove from what Communism stands for in the way of human relations.

This statement, then, is offered to those who are told that we are, in some vague or specified way, less than loyal to the ways of democracy and who are puzzled by what they hear -- or puzzled, simply, about how best to answer what they hear. Also, in another sense, it is, perhaps, a kind of "conversation" with those who sponsor the work we do: a conversation about what is asked of us, all of us who believe in freedom, in a confused, fearful, and threatening age.

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National Parent-Teacher

THE P.T.A. MAGAZINE



FEBRUARY 1957

Objects of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers



To promote the welfare of children and youth in home, school, church, and community.

To raise the standards of home life.

To secure adequate laws for the care and protection of children and youth.

To bring into closer relation the home and the school, that parents and teachers may cooperate intelligently in the training of the child.

To develop between educators and the general public such united efforts as will secure for every child the highest advantages in physical, mental, social, and spiritual education.

*Membership
of the National
Congress
of Parents and
Teachers is now
10,130,352*

P. T. A. MEMBERSHIP BY STATES

Alabama.....	212,923	Louisiana.....	96,554	Pennsylvania.....	500,000
Arizona.....	65,788	Maine.....	26,284	Rhode Island.....	46,917
Arkansas.....	117,430	Maryland.....	154,030	South Carolina.....	81,037
California.....	1,529,756	Massachusetts.....	131,323	South Dakota.....	33,774
Colorado.....	147,482	Michigan.....	342,492	Tennessee.....	286,582
Connecticut.....	126,318	Minnesota.....	224,864	Texas.....	560,350
Delaware.....	28,193	Mississippi.....	77,784	Utah.....	92,658
D. C.....	37,881	Missouri.....	223,572	Vermont.....	24,765
Florida.....	265,135	Montana.....	31,201	Virginia.....	228,587
Georgia.....	214,515	Nebraska.....	65,601	Washington.....	206,675
Hawaii.....	64,183	Nevada.....	16,800	West Virginia.....	113,465
Idaho.....	49,474	New Hampshire.....	21,803	Wisconsin.....	127,438
Illinois.....	618,422	New Jersey.....	386,989	Wyoming.....	14,676
Indiana.....	257,084	New Mexico.....	36,164	Unorganized Territory..	12,575
Iowa.....	138,414	New York.....	447,912	Total.....	10,130,352
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Kentucky.....	168,261	North Dakota.....	39,614		
		Ohio.....	657,829		
		Oklahoma.....	161,032		
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Send check or money order to NATIONAL PARENT-TEACHER, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois

National Parent-Teacher

VOLUME 51

NUMBER 6

Member of the



700 NORTH RUSH STREET • CHICAGO 11 • ILLINOIS

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National Parent-Teacher: The P.T.A. Magazine is the official magazine of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. All officers and directors are members of the Board of Managers of the National Congress. The directory of the Congress will be found on the inside back cover.

Editorial Office

700 North Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois

The magazine is not responsible for loss or injury to manuscript or art material while in its possession or in transit.

Subscription Office

700 North Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois
Eleanor Twiss, Business Manager

Rates

\$1.25 a year—U.S. and possessions
\$1.50 a year—Canada
\$1.75 a year—Other countries
Single copy—U.S. and possessions, 15 cents
Single copy—Other countries, 20 cents

Make check or money order payable to the National Parent-Teacher and mail to the above address. Allow four weeks for first copy to reach you.

Notice of change of address must be given one month in advance and must show both old and new addresses.

The National Parent-Teacher is listed in the Education Index and the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

Published monthly, September through June, by The National Parent-Teacher.

Entered as second-class matter, October 3, 1939, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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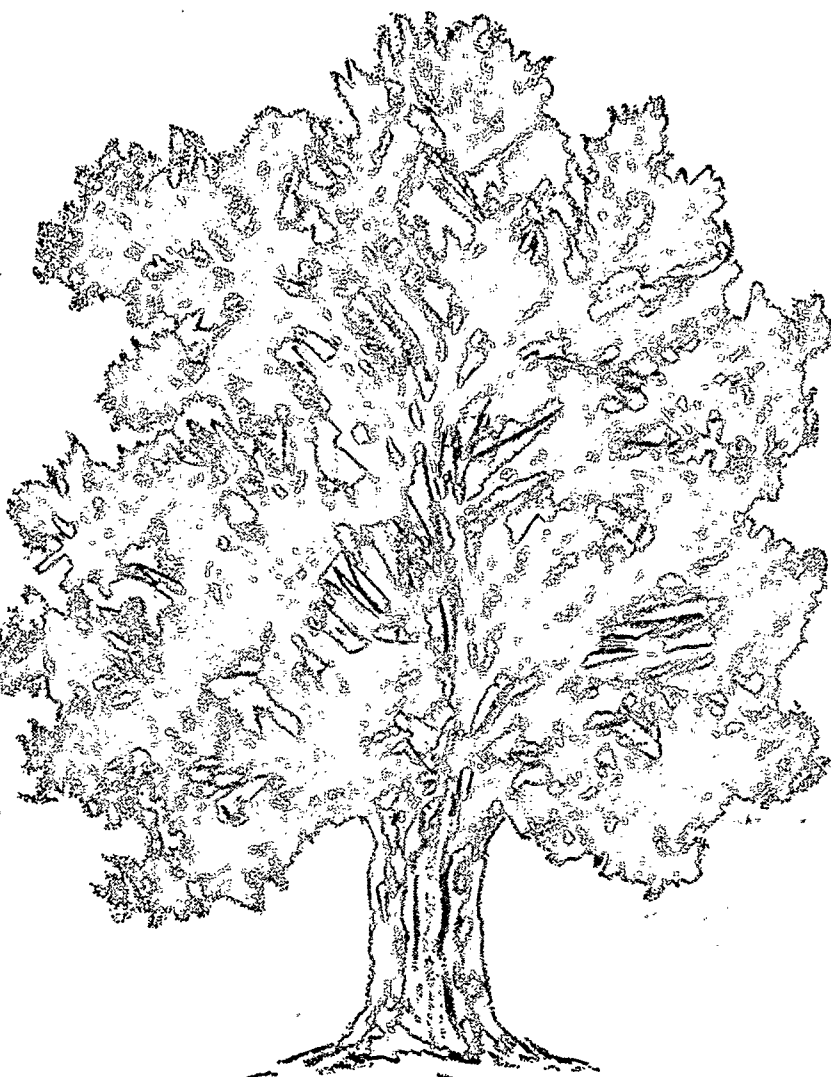
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History



THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

MEMORY IS A PRECIOUS GIFT, one of the most precious bestowed on mankind. Each man has his store of remembrances. Some of them are his alone. But there are also special memories that he shares with others, memories that belong to him as a member of an organization or as a citizen of a nation.

February is a month especially rich in recollections. For all Americans there are historical memories of the birth and the rebirth of this country, recollections that are reawakened by observances of the birthdays of Washington and Lincoln. For us in the parent-teacher movement there are also memories of the founding of this organization in February 1897.

On Founders Day, February 17, many members will be celebrating our beginning and quite understandably paying homage to memories that cluster around that long ago event. Whatever the outward form of the observances, they will brighten the armor of our faith in the parent-teacher movement.

OF COURSE, we know that the past can make no fair claim on reverence and homage simply because it is past. Glorifying yesterday for its own sake can be a sterile venture. Yesterday is no longer ours. Only today is within our control.

Memories of yesterday can serve us with greatest distinction, perhaps, as we use them to help us to fathom and to fashion today. The highest tribute we may be able to pay to yesterday and to those who helped make it is to turn the past to good account, not revere it indiscriminately.

Some areas of man's history, which is a sum of



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and Memory

the memories of yesterdays, are tragically repetitious. That repetition has given us a well-known observation: The only lesson history teaches is that history does not teach.

Other men in other times have faced some of the conflicts that confront men and nations today. The history of these struggles is on file and open to all. By turning to the record of this experience and using it wisely we can give the lie to the familiar saying about the only lesson that history teaches. We can expose ancient fallacies, avoid old errors, conserve precious human energy.

Yesterday has much to offer: light for understanding our own times, examples to be followed, pitfalls to be avoided. All of yesterday can add to understanding. The best of yesterday can inspire. The worst of yesterday can warn.

FORTUNATELY for us of the parent-teacher organization, we need not shun our memories. Nor need we be shy about the deeds of our time, deeds that will be memories for future generations of parent-teacher members. If we would truly acknowledge our deep and continuing debt to our Founders we shall, on their special day, stress our present achievements in the areas they marked for our concern—the family and the community. That is the way our Founders would want it. They clearly sensed the ongoing power of the parent-teacher program—and the need of each succeeding generation to prove itself a worthy trustee of the child's welfare.

Our Objects have remained the same throughout

our sixty years. Still the Congress has shown itself capable of growth, and its program has never been allowed to become rigid. Year after year that program has been conscientiously scrutinized to take into account new problems and new demands.

The Congress has never shirked important issues. At the same time it has never allowed issues to split the organization. Served by memory, we have held fast to the Objects of the Congress. Regardless of differences of opinion or emphasis, we have recognized that there can be no slackening of our service to children in the fulfillment of their needs.

THIS CONVICTION of ours is rooted in the memory that is part of our legacy as members of the parent-teacher organization. It doesn't matter what form we choose for our Founders' Day observance, whether we light candles or eat birthday cake. What does matter is that we light candles in our mind—that we remember our past and, building upon that memory, plan anew, better to serve the children and youth of this land.

President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers

How Early Does Discipline Begin?

George Sheviakov

*This is the sixth article in the 1956-57
study program on the
preschool child.*



WHEN DOES discipline begin in a child's life? The answer to that question depends greatly on our answers to two other questions: *What do we mean by discipline? What is our goal in discipline; that is, what end-product, what kind of child do we want?*

Let us take the first question. What do we mean by the word "discipline"? To some people it carries the idea of restriction—forcing a child to do certain things and to refrain from doing other things. Persons who hold to this narrow, one-sided concept tend to think of discipline as meaning punishment. That is why they may say they do not believe in discipline. They don't want to inhibit their child; they want him to be free.

It may help us if, for a few moments, we concentrate not on the word "discipline" but on what we mean by a "well-disciplined child." And perhaps we can agree that when a child shows gradual and progressive mastery of his impulses (to a varying degree, depending on his age and maturity), he is well disciplined. Let us put it this way: A hungry baby wants his milk immediately; he cries out angrily if that milk is not forthcoming. But a two-year-old, after he has announced his hunger, should be able to wait at least fifteen minutes until something is done to satisfy it. He is becoming disciplined.

Again, if another child snatches a toy away from this same two-year-old, we would expect him to cry

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or to hit the offender. Yet a five-year-old in the same situation might try arguing, begging, or appealing to an adult before hitting the offender. This child is less impulsive, more in control of his urges—in short, better disciplined.

If we think of discipline in this way, we can say that it means all the methods, procedures, and techniques that we create and use in helping a child progress in his ability to control and direct his impulses.

Training and Rearing—Two Different Things

Let us turn now to our second question: What is our goal in discipline; what end-product, what kind of child do we want? Once again we find a wide range of answers. Some people believe that a child's ability to control his impulses is developed through learning strict obedience. They argue that if his parents consistently reward him for desirable behavior and consistently punish him for undesirable behavior, he will eventually learn to act as they want him to.

This somewhat "mechanistic" view of child training (not child *rearing*) was prevalent in the 1920's and was the basis for much of the advice given parents by psychologists. That was the heyday of "habit psychology," derived to a great extent from studies of animal behavior and training. But later observations and studies of children and their motives have disclosed the fact that a child is much more complex than an animal. He is capable of abstract reasoning. He can make his own interpretations of things, his own generalizations about them, and act accordingly. His behavior is largely determined by his feelings, but he is capable of developing a moral and ethical sense. Finally, he has a powerful urge toward self-fulfillment.

So the old idea that by proper training one can make almost anything out of any child has had to be given up. Experience with children has taught us that much depends on the individual child—his unique make-up, his feelings about persons and things.

As a result we are now interested first of all in understanding the *feeling-life* of a child. We seek ways of establishing desirable feelings in him as well as correct perceptions of persons and of the world around him. We have come to accept the fact, too, that children, unlike animals, respond to the "training person"—parent or teacher—in terms of how they *see* that person and how they *feel* about him.

Unfortunately nothing is simple in human psychology. Yet, we may ask, is this really so unfortunate? Perhaps it is the very complexity of human beings that makes the rearing of children such a challenging adventure.

To return to the discussion of goals and methods, I do not presume to say that a simple system of rewards and punishments doesn't work, because at times it does work. Some parents and some teachers who use it seem to get almost perfect results—as far as

Never too late to mend, 'tis said. And we've an idea that it's never too early to start building a character that won't need much mending, early or late!

obedience and compliance are concerned. But *are* these the results we want? For part of the answer, let us examine two disturbing by-products of this kind of training.

Puppets Are Not People

First, training for obedience may or may not instill in a child *his own system of values*. He may indeed become merely an obeyer of someone else, without having arrived at a personal system of values by which he can live. In such instances we might say that the child's conscience resides in someone else, not in himself. So he invariably seeks direction from others regarding what to do and how to do it. He is comfortable for adults to live with, but is he on the road to citizenship in a democratic society? Such a person would never say "Give me liberty or give me death." Instead he would say "What do you want me to do?"

Second, a child's *self-confidence* is often undermined. In consequence, the urge toward creativity, exploration, and experimentation may be stifled. These children (and adults) tend to distrust themselves, to have a negative feeling about their own impulses. They are the ones who say, "I tried, but as usual I made a mess of it." That is, they have tried time and again to follow their urges, but they have been continually "smacked down." And they have learned too well that whenever they make an effort to do something on their own, they are bound to be wrong.

None of us wants our discipline to produce children like these. What kind of end-product, what kind of child, then, do we want? Probably most parents and teachers want to see children gradually develop a capacity for self-control. A child's values will be partially absorbed from others, of course, but he will in time have enough self-confidence and inner strength to obey his own conscience rather than the dictates of others.

Self-control; or self-regulation, means managing one's impulses. In the human personality there are two elements that are closely related to such controls—a *sense of reality* and a *strong sense of personal values, a conscience*.

Helping the Child To Look the World in the Face

A sense of reality means a correct view of how things work, seeing things in the right perspective, understanding the causes of one's acts and their effects on oneself and others. It seems to be the modern tendency to overprotect children from the realities of life. Many parents have gone too far in sugar-coating things, in shielding a child from unpleasant experiences. Thus they rob him of his right to learn to face life squarely, deal with it realistically, and gain the inner strength and fortitude necessary for meeting life's demands. There are three reality principles that will help parents in dealing with these problems:

Principle 1. Always tell a child the truth in language he can understand. Babies are born from the mother, not brought by the stork. Grandmother died; she did not go on a long journey. Not everybody is nice; there are mean and dangerous people. Sharp things cut. Hot things burn.

Don't give the three-year-old a razor, but let him learn to cut cake with a sharp knife. If he cuts himself a little too, don't fuss. Kiss the spot, put a Band-aid on it, and explain once more how dangerous a knife can be and how to hold it safely.

Principle 2. A child should learn that there are authorities, that Mother and Dad are boss and no question about it. Many modern parents, especially those who have read a good deal of child psychology, seem fearful of assuming the role of boss. But, after all, it is their role, both legally and by virtue of their experience.

As the child grows, one should take every opportunity to help him understand that democracy is not anarchy. He has to learn that there is a "scheme of things" and that we have different kinds of authorities (not autocrats) who are concerned with people's welfare and the decencies of human living. To the child his parents are the first of such authorities. We should make it clear in our own minds that being a person in authority is not being an autocrat. Children like—and know they need—strong adults. As a three-year-old once put it to me, "My mommy loves me. She's strict with me."

Principle 3. Punishment is necessary. It is a part of real life, a powerful deterrent and discourager. But like anything powerful, it can run away with us.

In my own view punishment should represent the logic of life rather than the impulse to retaliate. Often we punish a child because he has frustrated or annoyed us, and in our primitive anger we strike back. This is a misuse of our power. Punishment should be a logical consequence of the child's abuse of a privilege. It should "fit the crime" so well that he will see it as an inevitable outcome of his acts, not as an expression of hostility on our part.

If the child is too noisy, isolate him for a short time. If he kicks you in the shins, explain that it hurts. If he is a nuisance on a shopping trip, tell

him that next time you will go alone; then go alone—just once!

Spanking as a means of discipline is unknown among so-called primitive peoples. It is the civilized man's method, anthropologists tell us. Perhaps we civilized people resort to spanking because we are too much in a hurry about too many little things. And hurry is not a child's way of living.

There is only one time, it seems to me, when spanking can be justified. Suppose an intelligent youngster of three or four, who understands why Mother doesn't approve of his actions but is purposely testing her to see how far he can go, persists in doing something forbidden. In such a case he should be warned first, then spanked mildly—symbolically, one might say—without inflicting real pain. I emphatically disapprove of spanking with an object, like a strap or a stick, and of spanking being done by anyone but the parent.

Punishment should always be mild and immediate. It should be followed by complete forgiveness and an indication that the parent believes the child will do better in the future. The power of the positive approach is indisputable.

Never Too Early To Learn

Let us turn now to the second regulator of our impulses—conscience. As far as we know, a child is born with merely the *capacity* to develop a sense of values. These values have to be fostered in him, cultivated through a proper relationship with his parents. At first the child's mother is the conscience of the child—she who approves and disapproves, smiles or turns her face away, thereby indicating the values she lives by. If his relationship with her is on the whole a happy one, if he sees her as a lovable person, pain relieving and comfort giving, then the child becomes "tuned" to her, as it were. Not only does he learn to want her smile and approval, but he gradually comes to wish to be like her.

A little child once said to me, "Granny looks pretty when she gets cracks in her face" (meaning, of course, Granny's smile). What child would not want to be pretty, to be like the pretty person with cracks in her face? And here, through the natural desire to imitate, lies the secret of transmitting to the child values that he builds into his own system of feeling—ideas of what is good and what is bad. If we view child rearing in this light, then it may truly be said that discipline begins at birth.

George Sheviakov, nationally known for his contributions to our knowledge of discipline, has devoted years of specialized study to this field. He is co-author, with Fritz Redl, of Discipline for Today's Children and Youth—a pamphlet considered a standard work. Dr. Sheviakov is now on the staff of San Francisco State College as lecturer in psychology.

What Youth Worries About and Why

H. H. Remmers

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L. E. Taliana

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Purdue University



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ALTHOUGH MUCH THAT WE READ TODAY seems to picture teen-agers as a pleasure-loving, responsibility-avoiding, giving-in-to-impulse group, the results of scientific investigation tend to suggest otherwise. Recently we made efforts to determine whether it is characteristic of adolescents to think only of those things our society regards as frivolous and irresponsible and in general to take themselves and their world lightheartedly. The facts from these investigations indicate that we parents, teachers, and counselors who must help guide teen-agers should be a bit more hesitant in lumping them together as an irresponsible lot.

One phase of the study yielded anonymous letters and essays from some twenty-five hundred high school students. In these letters the students were requested to write about their most pressing problem. The results suggest strongly that teen-agers could hardly be called lighthearted. That the adolescent period is one of "storm and stress" is an understatement.

The worries revealed in the letters would be a heavy burden for people of more mature years. The depth of some of the thinking is startling. Although the problems were many and varied, they clustered into eight major categories: school, the future, personal (or self-) concern, getting along with other people, the family, boy-girl relationships, health, and problems of a general nature.

When analyzed, the letters showed that the two areas of greatest concern to the young people were home and family relationships (22 per cent) and school (21 per cent). Next in frequency (15 per cent) came worries about the future—choosing a career, the draft, college, and so on. Then came boy-girl relationships (14 per cent), personal concern (12 per cent), getting along with other people (7 per cent), problems of a general nature (5 per cent), and health (2 per cent).

Catalogue of Problems

The Purdue Opinion Panel, in a study a few years ago, also provided insights into teen-age problems and worries. In that study a nation-wide sample of high school youth responded to a check list of approximately three hundred problems. The average incidence of problems checked in the eight previously mentioned areas was as follows:

	Rank	Percentage
After high school	1	30.27
My school	2	23.18
Getting along with others.....	3	22.95
About myself.....	4	19.07
Things in general.....	5	15.53
Boy meets girl.....	6	15.16
Health	7	14.04
My home and family.....	8	9.58

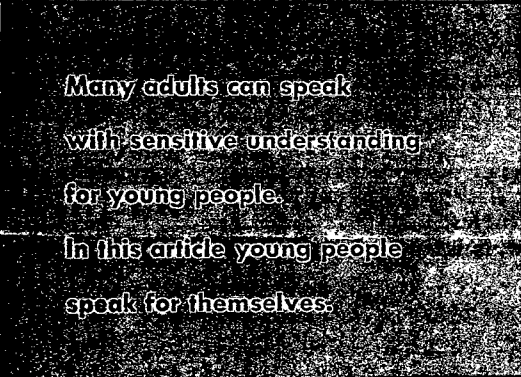
That home and family problems bulked largest in the essays and least in the check list need not be an

inconsistency. We can assume that when these problems do occur they are likely to be more intense and thus more salient.

Now for a few selections from the letters of those twenty-five hundred high school students. Some of the excerpts reveal not only what students worry about but why. Others also suggest various possible reasons for such concern. In the "School" category, for example, the second and third letters throw sharp light on the adolescent's conflicting desires to be himself, an individual, and at the same time to fit in with the group.

"My problem," writes one of the girls, "concerns trying to find a more effective way to study. Although I maintain an A or B average in all my subjects, I don't really feel that I am accomplishing what I should. . . .

"It seems that I just can't set my mind to what I would call good studying. I make very good resolutions to set aside a certain amount of time to spend



Many adults can speak
with sensitive understanding
for young people.
In this article young people
speak for themselves.

This is the sixth article in the 1956-57 study program on adolescence.

in doing my schoolwork, but somehow I always get distracted. . . .

"Isn't there some way in which I can develop more effective study habits? Since I plan to attend college I feel this is most important."

A tenth-grade boy has a different problem:

"I am labeled as a brain in algebra and mechanical drawing. Most of the guys in mechanical drawing hate me because I get A's, but are my buddies when they are told to draw something any more complex than a lollipop."

A senior girl has this to say about high school fraternities and sororities:

"These organizations have no place within our democratic framework, and yet they are very much in evidence in many of our high schools and most of our colleges. First of all, they limit the social life of their members by keeping it within a certain set of the 'accepted' few. Second, they do their best to make

miserable the lives of the nonfraternity and non-sorority students.

"I go to a school in which there is a sharp dividing line between the Jewish and Christian sororities and have been told that my chances of getting into either have been shattered by the fact that I have one Jewish and one Christian parent. The answer to this lies not in creating interreligious (and interracial) sororities, for people are excluded for reasons even more unreasonable than religion or race."

Present Imperative; Future Conditional

In the "After High School" category the problems of the draft, further education, and career choice are epitomized in these two excerpts, both from senior boys:

"I am quite mixed up about what I should do when I finish high school. I have a choice of college or the military. Which should I do first? I know for sure that I have to go into service for at least two years. My parents advise me to go to college first. But then after I get out of college I have to look forward to two years of service."

"The only problem I have at the present time," writes the second boy, "is the choice of my future occupation. I can't seem to decide what I would like to do. I like doing a great number of things, but none of them appeals to me as a lifework. I just can't seem to find something to suit me."

When a high school youngster writes "About Myself" he often discloses an awareness that may well lead to desirable self-insight. For instance, a girl in her junior year verbalizes what is probably an unexpressed problem of a good many young people in their teens:

"Sometimes at night I lie awake and worry (sounds silly for an adolescent, doesn't it?) about whether I am growing into the kind of adult person I want to be. Will I be mature enough, mentally and spiritually, to face my future?"

And a senior girl writes mournfully:

"The high school years are the most complicated and difficult time of your life, I have been told. I have found that this is true. One day I am up in the clouds, deliriously happy; the next, as unhappy as it is possible to be. These moods are usually caused by some simple remark from a teacher or a girl or boy friend. There is hardly ever a middle ground when I am just feeling all right."

Under "Getting Along with Others" many replies give evidence of the individual-versus-group conflict that is certainly not limited to adolescence. A junior girl says frankly that her big problem is "trying to get along with the so-called most popular girls, who are always bragging on how many dates they have and so forth. They just rub me the wrong way."

"They don't understand me!" is a recurrent theme in the letters grouped under "Home and Family." A

girl in her senior year echoes an age-old adolescent lament when she writes:

"To me one of the most pressing problems teenagers like myself face today is the lack of understanding shown us by our parents, our teachers, and the general public. Teachers refer to us as 'boys and girls.' Parents do not credit us with an ounce of sense, and the public refers to us as 'this younger generation of delinquents.'"

Another girl, a junior, expresses herself this way:

"I think that the problem I have the most trouble with is my parents. When I have a problem I would like to sit down and have a discussion with them, but they won't do it. They feel as if I'm old enough to figure out my own problems."

A tenth-grade boy says:

"Do parents really come half way? The relationship between a parent and a child is sort of a business deal. The parent comes half way, and the child comes half. Do parents really give their children the right kind of love? Do they spend enough time with them?"

A tenth-grade girl states a dilemma:

"I don't feel that my mother understands me. I know that she knows me well, but I do not believe she understands my problems. If I mention to her something that's bothering me, we always go off in an argument. For instance, the kind of job my father has calls for him to move around pretty much. I have just started a new year at a different school. I have been going to this school for about three months and like it quite well. Last week my mother told me that we were going to move again. . . . Instead of trying to understand how I feel she starts telling me that my problems are nothing compared with hers."

More Woes and Worries

Some youngsters are the saddened victims of family disruptions, like this sixteen-year-old girl, who writes:

"My parents are divorced, and my father has married again. I live with my father and stepmother because I have no choice. If I did, I would be with my mother. My father drinks, though not as much as before, and doesn't get along too well with his wife. Sometimes they are happy together, but other times they aren't even speaking. Maybe one reason is that my stepmother is very jealous of my mother, though he doesn't see her often and when he does it's only because it can't be helped. I don't want to live with my father because we do not get along, and I love my mother much, much more than my stepmother."

There is often a deep concern for keeping family life intact. For all his urge toward independence, the adolescent wants a secure, stable home.

"I don't think that parents should be gone for long periods at a time without their children, which mine have done several times, although they were important financial trips. Another thing I think is



© Bloom from Monkmeyer

a shame is when families are constantly quarreling about something that probably isn't even important."

The "Boy Meets Girl" category brought forth some not wholly unexpected observations. This junior boy echoes the complaint of male poets, dramatists, and novelists over the centuries:

"My biggest problem is women. I can't figure them out."

Another boy is concerned with a perennial puzzle:

"When you take a girl on a date, is it proper to kiss her good night? The way I look at it is if I like the girl very much I wouldn't kiss her on the first date because I would ask her for a few more dates afterwards. But if the date would be the last one I expect to have with this girl I would kiss her."

A high school junior (like many another girl) faces "the problem of necking and petting. How far are you supposed to let a boy go on a date? We all have read many books and articles on the subject, and most of them say a girl who lets a boy pet with her is heading for serious trouble. This could be very true. Most of the articles I have read say holding hands or kissing good night is far enough. This just doesn't work. . . . We all feel that it isn't right, but it just seems that if we don't give in a little, we are not in the date line."

Under "Health" a variety of individual worries comes to light. This seventeen-year-old girl could use medical and psychological therapy: "I have a terrible and embarrassing problem. I have wet the bed all my life. My folks are terribly strict, and my father used to lick me every night when I was smaller. I went to the doctor once for treatments, but they didn't work or cure me for good—just for a couple of nights after each treatment."

"What can I do? I plan on going to college. . . . I just can't go to the doctor again and tell him a seventeen-year-old girl is wetting the bed. I'm so ashamed. . . .

"Am I supposed to be doomed for life because of this? How could I ever get married and have to tell him I wet the bed? I'd go to the doctor again if I thought it would do any good. . . . I want to go to college, but in my situation now, living in a dorm with other girls, I'd probably be the talk of the campus when they found out, which wouldn't be hard."

The World Is Much with Them . . .

Our young people weigh their own future against the future of the world. And they anxiously brood about the impact international events will have on their lives. A high school junior boy observes thoughtfully:

"I find the great countries in the world today have lost something of the basic rule of living—namely, their sense of values. This disturbs me very much, for what those various countries do with their sense of values in some way will direct my life into some definite pattern. I realize that even if the countries had a good perspective on life, my life pattern would still be distorted in some fashion, but not as violently as it looks like today."

They are often confused by inconsistencies in thought and belief. Imaginative as they are, they sometimes fail to sense the spiritual meanings that may underlie what seem to them irreconcilable facts.

Some boys and girls, like a great many adults, write haltingly about the things that worry them. And it's not always easy to gauge the depth of a young person's anxiety from a few brief sentences. However, the letters reveal over and over again that the literary myth of carefree, joyous, lighthearted youth is clearly just that—a myth. To grow up in a bewildering world, to "learn the rules" (many of them inconsistent with each other), to plan for a none too certain future—all this makes for stress and strain that deserve the most insightful help we can all muster.

Many parents ask, "How can I help to alleviate some of the inner turmoil my son (or daughter) may be undergoing?" There can be no hard or fast rules to follow. What would help one young person might be harmful to another.

It seems that a guiding hand rather than a forceful one operates best in most instances. True, it is difficult, if not practically impossible, to detach ourselves emotionally from our children's troubles. But

if a relaxed atmosphere can be created between parent and child—one in which the parent listens sympathetically, openly, and calmly—this may promote better understanding. Suggesting alternatives to a problem may stimulate creative thinking on the part of both parent and child. Looking at the various facets of a problem rather than giving a yes or no solution frequently leads to wise decisions. Problem-solving in life rarely lends itself to either-or solutions but rather to what may be termed compromises, arrived at by integrating several possible solutions.

We should not—and could not—take over our children's problem-solving for them. Practice in working out the increasing number of increasingly complex problems through the adolescent years serves as valuable experience for solving adult problems. We parents and teachers must realize that there will soon come a time when a young person can no longer rely on the help of other people.

Specialized Counsel

Some of youth's worries, such as career selection or a need for vocational guidance, require specialized information that many parents may not be equipped to give. Often, however, they may be reluctant to acknowledge their inadequacies or to suggest seeking competent professional help. In many instances such counsel may be obtained from books, pamphlets, research articles, and so on, prepared by specialists.

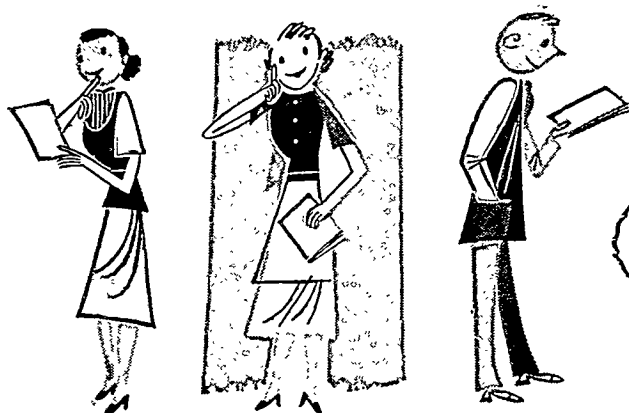
In our present-day world none of us can hope to be informed about everything. In many communities school guidance counselors may be a source of help to our young people. If not, a nearby college or state university may offer these services.

Before any of us—parents or teachers—can help a young person work out his worries, we must know and accept him *as an individual*. Frequently we forget that we are looking at his problem from our point of view, not his, and propose a solution based on our personal sentiments and desires. Then, too, our own problems often stand in the way. If we are unhappy and insecure, this state of mind will carry over into our relationships with the young people who look to us for help. Of course we all have problems, but those of us who sincerely try to face them will be most capable of guiding young people toward serenity and stability.

H. H. Remmers has written a new book, with Don Radler, about young people. It is entitled The American Teen-ager, and will be published by Bobbs-Merrill sometime this spring.

EMERSON ON LINCOLN

His heart was as great as the world, but there was no room in it to hold the memory of a wrong.—From *Letters and Social Aims*.



WORTH A TRY

Animals for the Asking

"May I borrow a porcupine, please?" If you were to visit the Junior Museum in Sacramento, California, you might well overhear a youngster asking just such a question, for the museum has a pet-lending library. A child under seven can borrow a turtle, rabbit, rat (white or hooded), hamster, or guinea pig. A ten-year-old may choose from among such fascinating creatures as lizards, snakes, owls, skunks, foxes, squirrels, and porcupines. Parents must accompany a child when he borrows the animal and must sign his "animal loan card." After he makes his selection, the young borrower is given full instructions about feeding and caring for his new-found friend.

Skin-deep Learning

To teach a small child the meaning of the word *hot*, should you: (1) Say "No, no, hot," whenever he nears a hot object? (2) Repeat "hot" and spank him each time he gets close to being burnt? (3) Touch something hot yourself and exclaim "Ouch, hot!"? (4) Let him touch something just warm enough to startle him, then say "hot"? The National Safety Council believes method four will have the most lasting effect.

For a Handful of Dollars

Probably more parents are spending more time reading aloud to their pre-school children in Gallatin, Tennessee, than in any other town of ten thousand in the United States. Why?

In a corridor of the factory where many Gallatin residents work, there hangs a "reading-aloud shelf"—a book-rack that has been stocked by the company with about two hundred dollars' worth of the best and most attractive children's books. Employees borrow the books without charge, without signing for them, without a time limit for returning them, and without penalties

if small, eager hands should damage or destroy them.

The imaginative industrialist who set up this successful venture in family reading-aloud is Gilbert W. Chapman, president of a manufacturing company and chairman of the National Book Committee. Describing the project in an article in *Harper's*, Mr. Chapman promises the cooperation of the National Book Committee to any company with "a handful of dollars to invest in the fostering of lifetime reading habits in the citizens of tomorrow."

Aid at C-Level

At Harvard University it's not only the A- or B students who can qualify for scholarships. Two Harvard graduates have established a \$5,000 scholarship fund at their alma mater for needy students who do not quite make scholarship grades. The donors, Robert and Arnold Hoffman, believe that "very often a student who is not too outstanding in college may make good in later life."

Thumping Debunked

What's the best strategy to follow when a child chokes on a foreign object such as a button or penny? Thump him on the back? Upend him? Probe for the object with your finger? J. Ernest Leuzinger, M.D., of Philadelphia, doesn't approve of any of these old-fashioned practices because they may lodge the object more firmly in the wrong place. Also, they may make the frightened child gasp, and then the button or coin may enter his larynx or bronchial tube and choke him. Most of the time, Dr. Leuzinger claims, the child will get rid of the object by himself. Here is what this doctor advises: "Pick him up gently, put him on your lap, and if he is old enough to understand, talk to him soothingly about spitting up the button or coin. Often the baby will cough up the item or swallow it."

Teens Take Over

Every week teen-agers are responsible for one entire page of the *Kalamazoo Gazette*, a Michigan newspaper. Their carefully written, signed articles make bright, lively, and informative reading. A regular feature of the teen page is "Teen Calendar," a listing for the coming week of school, community, and organization (including P.T.A.) events of special interest to young people. Another regular feature is "Teen Thoughts," a column in which teen-agers express themselves on topics of concern to them.

Teamwork for Troubled Children

It costs about \$50,000 a year to operate a child guidance center—a staggering, out-of-sight sum for most towns and small cities. Yet children with emotional disturbances and behavior problems need counseling and psychiatric aid wherever they live. How can a small community provide it? Six towns in Fairfield County, Connecticut, see a jointly operated center as their solution, and they've teamed up to establish one. A portion of the needed funds will be provided by the state under child psychiatric services legislation passed by the legislature last year. To raise the rest of the money, town committees have been organized to seek public support and special gifts from national foundations and local industry.

Dusting by Degrees

If you want to be a good housekeeper, don't be a perfectionist, say home management experts. Keep your standards flexible. For instance, you can dust in three different degrees, depending on which is appropriate for the occasion: (1) Dust everything. (2) Dust the tops of things that show. (3) Just pull the blinds. One busy housewife suggests a fourth degree—write "Welcome" in the dust!



Alice McLellan Birney



Phoebe Apperson Hearst

Anna H. Hayes

Past President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers
National Chairman, Committee on Programs and Founders Day

BLUE-EYED, GOLDEN-HAIRED little Lora sat in the doorway of an Indian wigwam watching old Nellie as she plied her needle back and forth over the cuff of a buckskin glove, linking tiny bright beads in a pattern of wild asters. Little by little the fragmentary sections of color grew into completed blossoms before her eyes.

Lora had learned to be silent—as old Nellie was silent, while the needle flashed in and out drawing magical birds, leaves, or flowers; but finally she spoke.

“Where is your pattern, Indian Nellie?”

There was no answer. After what seemed a long time in the rounding out of purple petals, the child asked again,

“Where do you get your patterns?”

Nellie put down her needle and spread the beaded cuff over her knee. The asters were so beautiful in the new light that Lora sighed ecstatically, but she was patient. Nellie might speak now, any minute. Soon she did speak.

“God, he make ‘em pattern. Me, I see ‘em. I sew ‘em.”

Targets of Yesteryear

Sometimes they who find success in P.T.A. leadership create wonderful designs that lift a whole community to new levels of vision and inspire gratifying changes in community living. Sometimes they become so enchanted with the power and grace of the end result that they forget whence came the pattern. In the day of success we may tend to ignore P.T.A. be-

ginnings and the far-visioned individuals who drew the pattern for our success. We forget the painful strivings and unrewarded efforts of the many thousands who have made the way clear for us. Sometimes they succeeded, in part at least. Sometimes they failed dismally in reaching a given objective, but invariably they rose again to strive toward the original goal—to build an environment favorable for the growth and development of all children.

Sometimes we hear people say that it is sentimental nonsense to eulogize our Founders on Founders Day—those modestly courageous women who lived and worked sixty years ago. It can be just that, but it *need* not be. The two women to whom we owe the most for our successes, Alice McLellan Birney and Phoebe Apperson Hearst, would want no sentimental nonsense spoken in their behalf. Their vision was too great, their perception of human values too deep. They saw in their present a prophecy of our future. They found in their past the substantial base upon which to build universal sympathy for the needs of children everywhere.

These two combined their vision, their talents, and their material resources to set in motion a genuine evolution of social concepts, elevating the child to a stature entirely new in the world. Mrs. Hearst, so well known for her philanthropies that she has been called an individual “community chest,” had made education her particular concern from the time she was a beginning teacher in a rural school. When Mrs. Birney appealed to her for help with a great new enterprise, the National Congress of Mothers, Mrs.

It's good for us to look backward and realize anew how clearly our
Founders saw when they looked forward.

Whence Comes the Pattern?

Hearst had already established and supported at least seven kindergartens and had sent hundreds of boys and girls through school. She expressed the belief that almost any child has aspirations for worthy, fruitful living, and should be given the chance to find his sphere of worthiness.

"Heritage is important," she said, "but good teaching during the early, formative years can do much to overcome a poor heritage and a bad environment. . . . Education of all people is the safeguard of our nation."

Small wonder that Mrs. Hearst found in Alice Birney's plan the instrument she had been seeking. It is remarkable, however, that the patterns our Founders established in 1897 should now guide nearly eleven million men and women in purposeful, orderly accomplishment for the well-being of children in this nuclear era.

Firm Purpose, Flexible Design

Our Founders set a pattern of thinking and doing that has changed the attitude of a nation, and to a considerable extent the attitude of the world, toward its children. They laid a pattern for parental awareness and genuine concern for the individual growth of a child. Our Founders knew that awareness is not enough and that learning is the ever present need of all parents—learning the marvels of human growth in mind, body, and spirit.

"Upon this knowledge," said Mrs. Birney, "rests the entire superstructure of human life."

Our Founders were completely convinced that

there exists in the heart of every parent an abiding love and deep-seated concern for the well-being of the children in the family—convinced, moreover, that children could be brought up to feel concern for all children everywhere. Thus they persuaded thoughtful women to form groups for learning about the child, naming them "mother study circles." There had been occasional meetings of parents called to discuss the hiring of a teacher or his dismissal, to consider how funds could be secured to keep the school going for a few months, or to plan for building a schoolhouse. But a regularly constituted organization of women for the purpose of studying about the growth and development of the child was a pioneer venture, made difficult by the caustic and scornful criticism of the public and the press.

Fearfully, but nevertheless with determination, those mothers set out to design the pattern for what is now the most widespread adult education program in the world, the parent education program of the parent-teacher association.

Our Founders gave us also the pattern of home-school cooperation that we now accept as a natural procedure in childhood education. They appealed to the teacher to open the door of the classroom, that parents might observe the child growth that takes place in the schoolhouse. Some teachers, endowed with clear vision, opened the doors. Some parents came to see. But most people still believed that the school was the teacher's business and that "meddling females" would do well to stay at home, where they belonged.

I.Q. of 130 or higher is gifted. One fourth (50) called any child having some "special talent" gifted. A smaller group used both I.Q. and academic achievement as measures. A still smaller group would add to these two factors such qualities as emotional stability, physical development, and social adjustment. (See what Dr. Witty has to tell us about this on page 17.)

A former school superintendent of Baltimore used to say that every child has some special talent. It is simply a question of finding and developing his particular ability.

This year a young man became the first entertainer to make a million dollars in one year. As a boy in school he showed no special gift. He has had no education beyond high school. Many will say he has no unusual ability. Nevertheless, acclaim and abundant hard cash flow in the direction of Elvis Presley.

Presley's success, in spite of indifferent schooling, parallels that of many persons in the entertainment field. Science and literature offer numerous cases in which expulsion from school was a stepping stone to high attainment. You will recall two famous ones—Thomas Alva Edison and Charles A. Lindbergh. John W. Studebaker, chairman of the National Congress Committee on School Education, says, "Sometimes I think the best thing a school can do for a gifted child is to get out of his way." What he means by this, I am sure, is that the school should not subject a gifted child to the tight restraints of a narrowly channeled curriculum.

Many school systems now make adaptations in their programs to suit the needs of the gifted. The New York State study shows that some schools offer an enriched curriculum. Translated, this means more work and more difficult work for the gifted student. Other schools accelerate; that is, they permit pupils to skip grades. Sometimes both devices are used. High schools organize separate classes for college-bound students. Latest innovation for the gifted is the Advanced Placement Program reported earlier.

Should the whole burden fall on the school? I find that leading educators and scientists would put heavy responsibility on parents. At a recent meeting of the Thomas Alva Edison Institute I heard speakers say that the recruiting and training of young scientists should begin as early as the "Mama, what is that?" stage. The parent who honestly answers the myriad of questions thrown at him, or who equips himself with reference books so that he can answer those he doesn't know about, may be doing more for the gifted child than any school can do.

• *Why don't you tell us something about the White House Conference on Higher Education?* —R. P.

The chances are you will hear some news on this Conference from the President himself. He is expected to ask for the \$650,000 that Congress author-

ized but forgot to appropriate to speed the Conference on its way. Nevertheless, planning goes forward.

Why a national conference on higher education? Why did Noah build an ark? To prepare for a flood. Ours will be a human flood. Enrollments went up 10 per cent this year. Higher education now serves three million students. By 1970—and that's not far off—an additional three to five million Americans will be knocking at the academic gates.

You may say, "Let them knock at some other gates. A college education isn't compulsory." But let's look at more figures. During the next two decades the U.S. demand for unskilled labor will decrease by about 25 per cent; the demand for professional and technical skill will *increase* by 75 per cent. We have no choice. If we would enjoy the fruits of the age of automation and atomic power we must provide higher education for millions more young people. That calls for more of everything that higher education requires: buildings, teachers, money.

Now, what about the Conference? So far there is no Conference, but there is a committee of prominent citizens—the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School. Its chairman, Devereux C. Josephs, life insurance executive, recently presented the first report. Some of the high points:

During the next six months five regional preparatory conferences will be held. "It is expected," reports Mr. Devereux, "that the regional conferences will give strong impetus to follow-up conferences and early action with the states." Thus the pattern of preliminary grass-roots discussions that preceded the 1955 White House Conference on Education will be repeated.

Since the general topic is education beyond high school; the conferences will also discuss extended high school training, apprenticeships, two-year general programs and subprofessional training, and adult education.

Mr. Devereux says we must find some less expensive setting for higher education "than campuses with elms, oaks, and other slow-growing trees." The report recommends that "institutions must experiment with means of extending the leverage of the faculty, including increasing the size of certain classes, reducing the number of courses, utilizing communication media such as television, and eliminating clerical duties."

In his preface, Chairman Devereux makes this sage observation: "Of one thing the committee is certain: The American people will decide the various kinds of post-high school education they want."

That puts the responsibility on every group of citizens, especially every parent-teacher association. In the months ahead the committee will assemble the facts to help you, the people, decide what kind of higher education you want and how it shall be paid for.

—WILLIAM D. BOUTWELL

Does the I.Q. Identify All Gifted Children?

Paul Witty

WHO ARE THE GIFTED? How can we discover them early enough to give them the guidance and encouragement they need? This is one of the urgent questions of our time. The intelligence test is the instrument most widely used to identify children of superior ability. For example, the I.Q. is a determining factor in selecting gifted pupils for special classes (such as the Major Work Classes in Cleveland) or special schools (such as Hunter College Elementary School in New York).

Classes and schools for gifted children, however, are few throughout our country. Most of them are in large cities, though at least half the gifted children of the nation live in small cities, towns, and rural districts. Accordingly the task of identifying many of these children lies in the hands of regular classroom teachers. To accomplish this task, teachers should rely not only on the results of tests, but on their own continuous and discriminating observation.

Many teachers know that the popular conception of a gifted child as a weakling and a social misfit is far from true. Instead he tends to be healthy and somewhat superior physically and socially. The youngster with a high I.Q. is usually attractive and well rounded, modest and well adjusted. He tends to excel in all his schoolwork. So rapidly does he progress that in the upper elementary grades his knowledge and skills often surpass those of children two or three grades above him. If he fails to do superior work in high school and college, it is likely that the schools have made few, if any, provisions for his exceptional ability. When gifted young people (those with an I.Q. of around 135) are discovered early and given wise guidance, many of them do outstanding work in college and achieve outstanding success in their careers.

AMONG our talented boys and girls are the potential scientists America so greatly needs. What abilities and qualities reveal the scientific turn of mind? Studies suggest that high verbal ability, high mathematical ability, and superiority in various scientific skills are typical of this group. So too is a searching, inquiring attitude as well as determination and "drive."

Some of these abilities are nurtured in a classroom

where a capable teacher, well prepared and enthusiastic, can stimulate the pupils and offer them rich opportunities to develop their interests. The shortage of such teachers is one of the most harassing problems in American education.

TESTS of intelligence and aptitude often identify the child with a high degree of abstract intelligence, particularly the child with unusual ability in science. But there are some children whose rare and distinctive gifts for music, writing, or the arts are not revealed by tests but rather by performance. Is it not desirable, then, to broaden our definition of the gifted to include any child whose performance in a valuable line of human activity is consistently remarkable? Both home and school should provide abundant opportunities for the expression of such talents. We need superb artists and musicians and writers just as much as we need scientists. Several promising techniques have been developed to help parents and teachers recognize unusual creative abilities early, but much more remains to be done.

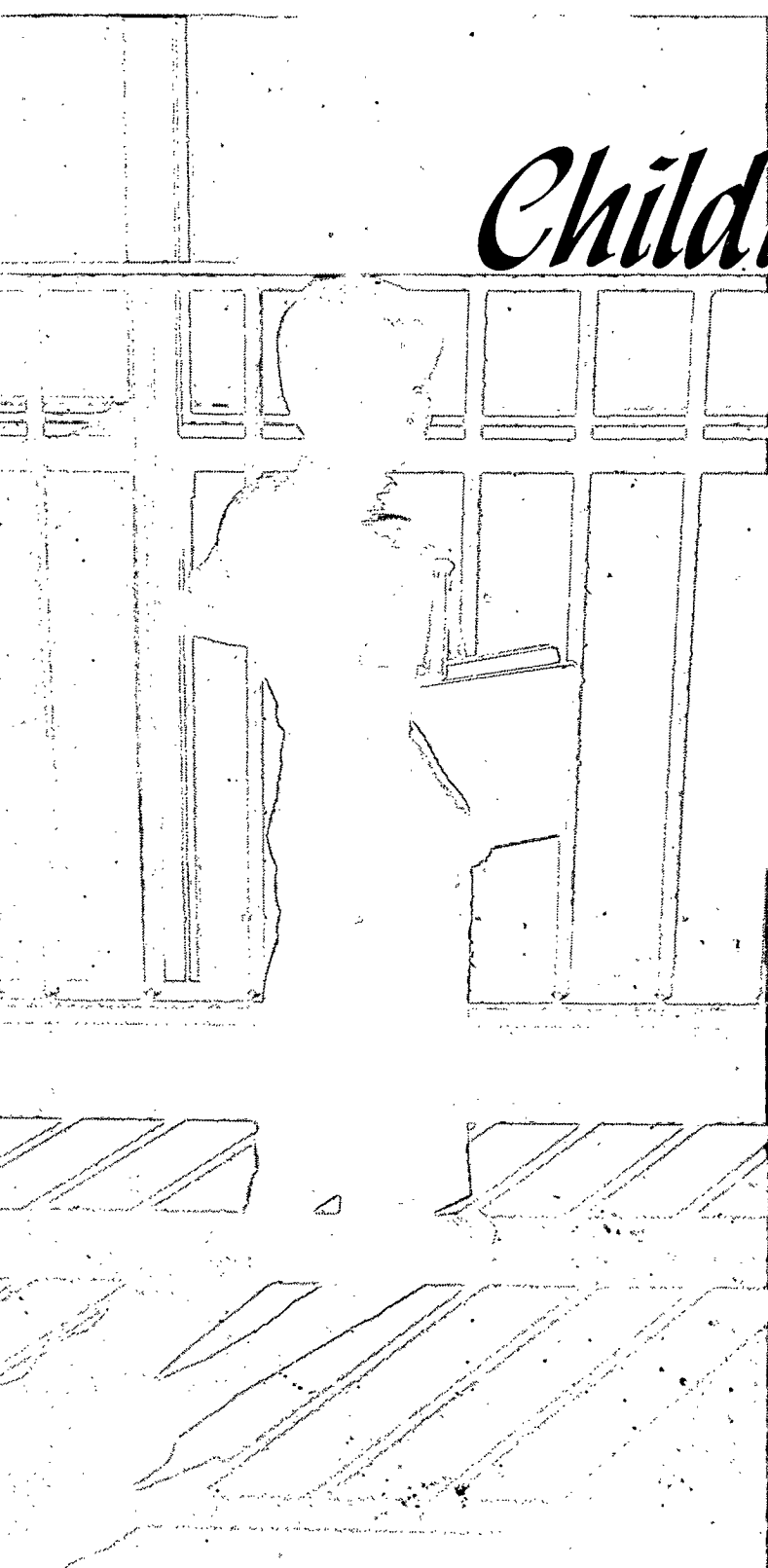
Nor do we yet have many dependable techniques for identifying another very important group of superior children—those with a gift for leadership. Most of them, fortunately, reveal their talents through group activities as well as in various classroom tests. Sometimes an "interest inventory" may locate the child who enjoys social activities and tends to be a leader in recreational pursuits. Then, too, student councils in junior and senior high schools help enrich students' social experience and bring to light potential leaders.

The United States today seeks men and women of superior ability as leaders in business, art, education, journalism, labor, science, and government. The task before us is clear. It calls for the combined efforts of home, school, and community. If we would serve the nation, which requires the best its young people can offer, we shall find ways to discover who the gifted are and help these boys and girls develop fully all the resources that lie within them.

Dr. Witty is now working on an article, soon to appear in these pages, that will develop further the challenging ideas he advances here.

Children Need

Time



IF ABOUT TWENTY YEARS AGO you were a photographer assigned to take a picture of a typical small boy, you would have set out, Graflex in hand, to find a fence, a field, and a hot sun. You would have perched the boy on the fence, had him dangle a piece of straw from the side of his mouth and idly stare at three or four brown cows basking in the sun. Given the same assignment today, you'd tackle it quite differently. You would reach for your motion picture camera, mount it on a jeep, and start trailing your small boy as he rushed—without a break—from school to playing field to scouts to crafts to music lessons to television.

In the past few years the child's world has expanded enormously. There are children's plays, children's orchestras, children's zoos. Toys and games have become big business, drawing upon every field of knowledge, including thermoplastics and atomic science. Camps are multiplying and becoming more varied. There are dramatics camps, music camps, travel and work camps as well as the standard variety. Hobby groups are growing, and sometimes include parents as well as children. Television sets are already found in almost 80 per cent of American homes. In spite of all this competition, more juvenile books are published than ever before.

Most of this new multiplicity of things to do and do with can be put on the plus side of the ledger, some on the minus side. But plus or minus, all of it means that our children's lives are likely to be busier than ever before in history. Yes, and richer too, for there is an undeniable advantage in a life that has a full store of experiences instead of a meager one.

Along with these benefits, however, have come some rather questionable developments. There appears to be a growing belief that activity is good in itself. We seem to be saying that children must be forever on the go, that their lives must have the pace and tempo of a western movie. Many of us have the feeling, usually unexpressed, that empty hours mean

Robert M. Goldenson

This is the sixth article in the 1956-57 study program on the school-age child.

What with school, music lessons, dancing classes, and clubs,
are our boys and girls getting the free time that children
(and all of us) need—time for browsing, for reflecting, for planning?
Or are we arranging for them lives as overscheduled as our own,
setting hurry-hurry patterns that will trail into adulthood?

of Their Own

an empty existence and that the worst sin of all is to miss something in life. There is an alarming neglect of privacy and solitude, of "quietness and slow time." And as a consequence of crowding everything in, leisure itself is often crowded out.

What are the roots of this overemphasis on action? Why do many parents, and teachers too, put their youngsters on a junior-size treadmill? (And then ask "How can we get them off it?")

Part of the whirl of activity is due to our desire to give our children all the advantages. We want to prepare them well for a full and varied life. We feel that a substantial fund of information and experience will stand them in good stead. We want to increase their security, confidence, and resourcefulness by seeing that they develop certain skills and abilities. Activity groups of all kinds, we say, help to make them sociable and cooperative. Moreover, we like to see them have fun, for we know how serious life can be.

The Tyranny of Activity

No one can quarrel with these objectives or the spirit behind them. It's only the way we try to reach them that must be criticized. Often we not only involve a child in too many activities at once; we also start him too soon and expect too much. Some boys and girls go to camp before they are ready for it, and by the time they need the experience most (usually around adolescence) they have already had their fill of it. On the theory that we must "start them young," they are given piano lessons before they are capable of developing an appreciation of music or the skill to perform it satisfactorily. Or we sign them up for courses in tennis or dancing or crafts at a time when they are bound either to fail and become discouraged or to succeed only in becoming rigid, unimaginative robots. As a result they may acquire a distaste for these activities before they have a chance to become really interested in them.

Frequently the activity treadmill is a reflection of the parents' own urges and attitudes—and sometimes the teachers' too. A father may push his child from one thing to another because he himself missed so much when he was young. A mother may feel, consciously or unconsciously, that dancing or tennis lessons are the key to social success. Perhaps she never achieved her own desire for popularity, and her children give her a second chance.

Now that nursemaids and governesses are out of circulation, some parents may shunt their child from activity to activity to get him "out of their hair" and thus be able to pursue their own round of activities without interference. Occasionally, too, some parents and teachers may misinterpret an educational approach that has served them well when followed wisely. They may put so much emphasis on the "activity method" and "learning by doing" that they keep youngsters too active, ceaselessly up and doing.

But even more often today's adults drive their children because they are driven themselves. They schedule every minute of the youngsters' lives because they feel compelled to schedule their own. In an effort to get away from their problems (or themselves) they keep continually on the move, fleeing into one reality in order to escape from another. In so doing, they set a pattern for their children's lives as well as their own, making it next to impossible for the young to relax and let their motors idle. Soon the children also begin to feel that they are wasting valuable time whenever they are not *outwardly* occupied. And the puzzled parent wonders why they are overtired, tense, and irritable!

In a day when life offers so much and the drive to be active is so intense, it is easy to lose sight of the need for letting down and enjoying the benefits of true leisure. And those benefits are many. The child who has time of his own will have an opportunity to ponder, to wonder, to create. Detached from the

direction and control of others, he can devise new wrinkles for his hobbies, new twists for old games. Away from the pressures of a gang or clique or "group," he will forget conformity and uniformity and express himself in his own individual ways. Alone at last, he can give his experiences a chance to sink in, and insights of his own will rise to the surface. Call it daydreaming, building castles in the air, or chasing rainbows; call it starry-eyed fantasy or just plain unwinding—every child and every adult needs this kind of escape. It renews our vitality, corrects our perspective, "restoreth the soul."

If we grant that children need a periodic vacation from restless, outward activity, just how can we help them find it? The ideal is not to point a threatening finger at them and say "You Must Relax!" (to quote the title of one popular book) or to have them lie down for twenty minutes a day with pillows placed beneath their necks, elbows, and knees, as another book recommends. Not all activity, only the tense and feverish kind, need be curtailed and counterbalanced.

Spaces for Solitude

We need to find quiet, relaxed pastimes that still appeal to our children—and there is quite a variety of them. There's browsing in a library or bookstore, looking through books and magazines instead of actively studying their contents. There are slow walks and meanderings rather than hikes to "get places." The silent companionship of a dog may be the answer for one overactive boy or girl; for another it may be listening to music in the dark. Youth has an affinity for age, and the chance to spend long hours alone with a grandfather or grandmother may be of inestimable benefit to both. And there's fishing that isn't done for the sake of catching, beachcombing without making a "collection" of shells, sun bathing without competing for a tan, canoeing in which the child drifts as much as he paddles.

Each family must find its own ways of slowing the pace of children's lives and giving them time of their own. But here are a few ideas that have already been found to be effective:

Try the "quiet hour" plan, particularly on Sundays and during the summer vacation. It works in camp, and it can work at home. A full hour of quiet—reading in the family circle, making a scrapbook, sewing—will be welcome relief for almost all our fast-moving youngsters. Even those who have trouble simmering down will accept the idea if it is made a regular family custom.

Don't overschedule. Although week-by-week planning can be helpful, scheduling every minute of every hour will do more harm than good. Blueprinting each day ahead of time allows the child too little chance to follow the inspiration of the moment. Nothing frustrates him more than to be rushed to another activity just when he is deeply absorbed in

the one at hand. The object of planning should not be to see how many things can be got in but to ensure a balanced life.

Bear in mind that activities don't always have to be constructive. There is so much emphasis these days on creative work and educational play that we are likely to overlook the value of activities that are not obviously constructive. Often, too, the child works only for credit of some kind. He rushes through the instructions in a manual in order to complete a whole list of projects before the next group meeting. But though he may receive his arrow points, he is probably missing the real point of the projects. What is more, he may be missing out on other creative activities, such as experimenting with electrical gadgets or wandering in the woods.

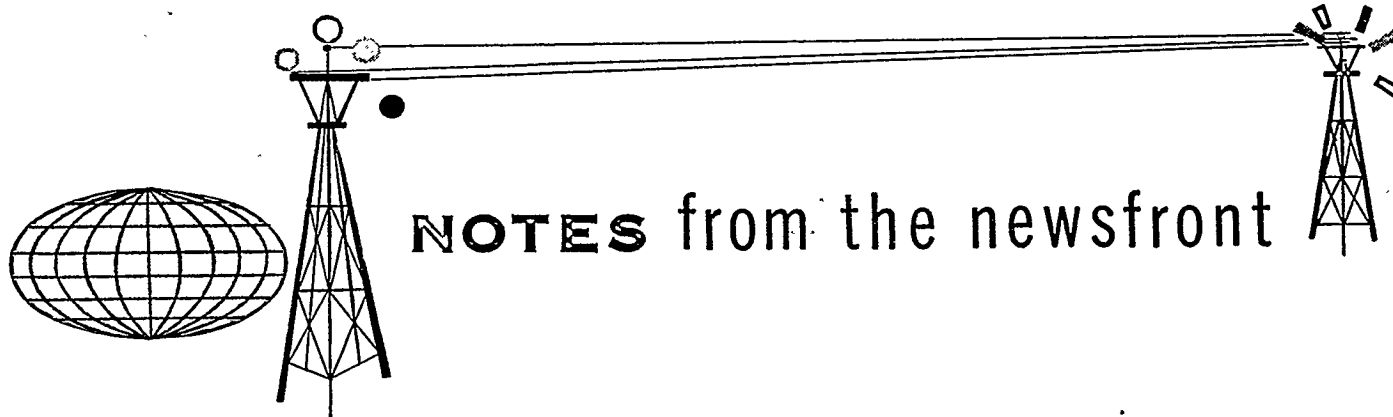
Encourage some solitary pastimes. Not all activities have to be done in a group. The value of social life has been so widely recognized in modern psychology that adults often look with suspicion on the child who likes to be by himself. The youngster who is not attracted to team sports like baseball or basketball is considered a bit odd. We need to reassure these children and give them the freedom to be themselves—as well as the opportunity to follow individual sports like archery, and individual hobbies like chemical gardening or photography.

Again Adults Set the Pattern

If we are to break through the round of restless activity and give our children time of their own, we'll have to begin with ourselves. Few youngsters will see the value of solitude unless they understand what it means for the adults in their lives. If Father finds that his best ideas come to him while he is alone, let him say so openly. If Mother likes to puzzle things out for herself, let her respect the sign "Private! Keep out!" on the door of her son's room. That is probably what he, too, wishes to do. If a teacher has experienced the refreshment of spirit that comes from sitting alone on a mountain top or in a house of worship, let her describe her feelings to her class without fear of being called sentimental or "corny."

It's good for children to keep busy and active. But moderation is the rule here. We don't want to run the risk of winding them up so tight that they will stay wound up for the rest of their lives. And in our effort to give them as many advantages as we can, let's not deprive them of the intangibles they need so much—time of their own and a chance to grow from within.

Assistant professor of psychology and philosophy at Hunter College, Robert M. Goldenson is also a well-known author of books and articles on children's play. His latest book, written in collaboration with Ruth E. Hartley, will be off the press next month. The title: The Complete Book of Children's Play.



NOTES from the newsfront

Acclaimed by All.—The nation's leading schoolmen had a hand in selecting the new U.S. Commissioner of Education, Lawrence G. Derthick. He was a top choice of virtually every educational leader with whom Herold C. Hunt, Undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, conferred during his search for a successor to Samuel M. Brownell. At the time of his appointment Dr. Derthick was superintendent of the Chattanooga, Tennessee, public schools. Though he refers to himself as a "country schoolteacher," he has had a varied and distinguished career in education as both teacher and administrator.

Pamphlets for Patients.—Why are people afraid to go to the hospital? Usually because they don't know what will happen to them in that hushed, mysterious building. To allay new patients' fears, 26 per cent of the nation's 7,000 hospitals are adopting a highly successful device—brightly written, informative pamphlets telling all about hospital routines, treatment, staff, and equipment. Cartoons enliven the pages, in which the maternity ward waiting room may be referred to as the "heir port" or young children reassured by such simple statements as these: "A mechanic fixes machinery. A doctor fixes people. . . . Doctors love children, and they work hard to make sick children well again."

Our Pampered Shoppers.—A supermarket in East Paterson, New Jersey, offers a battery of outdoor vending machines where shoppers can buy meat, eggs, and vegetables twenty-four hours a day. . . . A new shopping center outside Minneapolis boasts a glass-enclosed central garden court with year-round temperatures of "eternal spring." . . . And the Memphis shopper looking for a mynah bird, a monkey, or a Shetland pony can find them all in the pet department of a local drugstore.

Bird Talk.—It seems there's a language barrier in the bird world as well as among human beings. Birds of the same species but from different countries can't understand one another, say French and U.S. scientists who have been making an extensive study of bird sounds. Researchers in both countries classified the crow's caws into three categories: assembly calls, food-finding calls, and alarm calls. But when the calls of the American crows were played to the French birds, the foreign crows didn't so much as ruffle a feather in response.

Washingtonian Witticism.—George Washington seldom indulged in a joke or in sarcasm, so when he did it was all the more effective. During the debate on the establishment of the federal army, a member of Congress offered a resolution limiting the army to three thousand men.



Lawrence G. Derthick (right) being sworn in as U.S. Commissioner of Education by Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

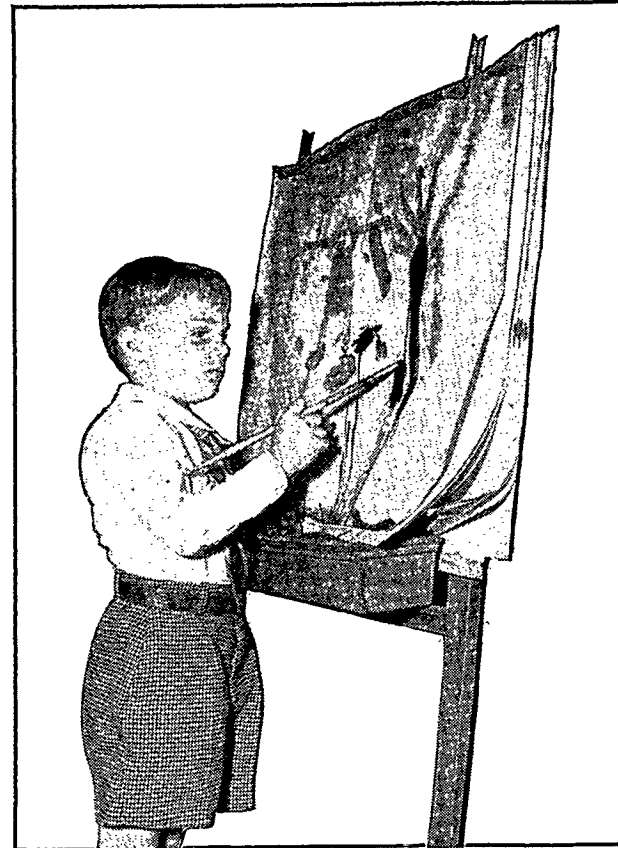
Washington then suggested an amendment providing that no enemy should ever invade the country with more than two thousand soldiers. The ensuing laughter shelved the resolution permanently.

The Urgency of Literacy.—Three quarters of the world's books come from only ten countries, and 70 per cent of the world's translations are produced in only four languages: English, Russian, French, and German. UNESCO presents these figures to point up the tremendous task facing the world—that of giving people everywhere full and free access to the printed word.

Windfall for Education.—The personnel division of the U.S. Office of Education has been humming with activity the past few months. Its task has been a pleasurable one—that of filling more than fifty top professional posts. During the last session of Congress the agency received an additional two million dollars for salaries and operations, enabling it to fill positions that had been vacant for months. Why the welcome windfall? Agency officials say that the findings of the White House Conference on Education spurred Congress to provide the much needed increase in appropriations.

Fashion Note.—A five-year-old girl came to kindergarten one day dressed in faded blue jeans, over which she wore a frilly petticoat and a party dress. Pinned to the dress was this note from her mother: "I hope you don't think this was my idea!"

Becoming Sensitive to Children's Fears



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WE HAVE SEEN THEM—line after line of school children waiting quietly to receive their polio shots. Physically Operation Polio Shot is spelling out a great and hopeful “Mission accomplished.” The operation also gives us a chance to probe more deeply into children’s emotions.

To some of us who have tried to be sensitively observant of these quiet, well-behaved children, a raft of not so quiet, not so well-behaved feelings have shown up. Behind the obedient acting-as-he-should-act, many a child has felt tremulous, unspoken fears.

We have listened. We have watched. We have let the children in our classes know they could speak their hearts out, tell or draw or paint how they have truly felt. We know that if we can help them meet their feelings with honesty, we may prevent hidden problems from growing apace.

Even if the shots are over now, the anxieties are not. They are tied in deeply with other fears of childhood—fears that come with the loss of a tooth, with a cut on the arm, with the skinning of a knee, with a broken bone or a sprained ankle, with having tonsils taken out, with a million and one fateful, painful happenings. It is true that children survive these hurts. But psychologically they call for steps that we parents and teachers can still manage, if we are to keep the hurts from taking a grave emotional toll.

When the polio shots were imminent, we teachers gave the children in our classrooms a chance to be honest. We did this in various ways.

One of us passed out the polio vaccination notices to her kindergarten class and asked, “Have any of you had your shots already?” Several hands were raised. “Will you tell the others what it was like and how you felt about it?”

Janie volunteered: “I didn’t like the needle.”

“It scared you,” the teacher said. “We’re all scared of needles and of getting hurt. Maybe the people who are getting their shots soon would like to draw or paint how they feel about them.”

In another school the first-grade teacher introduced the same subject. The first-graders, seated in a circle around her, listened attentively as she explained, “This paper says we are going to have polio shots tomorrow.”

Faces clouded. Chairs squirmed. One little voice said weakly, “I don’t think my mama wants me to come to school tomorrow.”

“Something happens inside of you when I say that, doesn’t it? We all have feelings about shots.”

A boy nodded his head vigorously. “Bad feelings!”

“We have the feeling that something bad is going to happen, and we’re afraid. We’re scared of the shots, and we’re mad because we have to have them. Let’s talk together about how we feel.”

In another class on the morning of “S-Day” the sixth-grade teacher asked, “Anyone a little scared about getting the shots?” Knowing from experience that in this classroom their real feelings would be accepted, most of the pupils raised their hands.

A child who is angry, anxious, or afraid is a child pitifully vulnerable to hurts of any kind, physical and mental. But there is a way to loosen the tight grip of these emotions—through talking, writing, painting, and dramatic play.

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Ferne Smidderks, and Ann Younger*

Teachers in the Los Angeles Area, California

The teacher nodded with understanding. "You know, sometimes it helps to make you feel less frightened if you play out in make-believe whatever you are afraid of. So let's dramatize the shot situation here in our own classroom now."

Acting Out Anxieties

That is what we teachers did and said. And this is what we saw and heard:

A kindergarten child shared her painting with the class. "This is me, and I'm crying because it hurts so much. And all this black—that was the doctor, but I just painted him out."

In another kindergarten class Mark sat silently at the clay table, first giving a shot to his little clay boy with a pencil point, then carefully smoothing away the puncture mark again and again.

"See that dark brown stomach," said first-grader Jerry, pointing to his picture on the easel. "I'm getting a shot, and I feel sick to my stomach. I feel just awful!"

More mature expressions of the same fears were evident during the dramatic play of the sixth grade.

"Come on, I'll let you in line ahead of me."

"Oh, no, that's all right. You can go first."

"Look at that doctor. I never saw such a long needle. Man, he's mean!"

In classroom after classroom, from kindergarten to sixth grade, such feelings appeared. We saw that the

children's fear was not only fear of a mere pin prick. Nor was it confined to one area of the body.

Five-year-old Joan made several paintings about her polio shots. Two of them pictured shots going in at every angle. Joan explained, "She's getting lots and lots of shots. They're coming in all over."

And strangely, we saw another fear—fear lest the shot would bring further or more extensive hurt.

"Will my arm come off?" Stephen asked his teacher.

A kindergarten child painted brown body pieces scattered all over the paper. "That's what it's like when you get a shot," he explained.

A little girl associated her shot with a recently lost tooth. "The hurt just zigzags all over."

Weeks after the second set of shots, one child daubed red paint all over his hands and face, saying, "Look, I'm bleeding from my polio shot."

Why the fears? After all, the pain is not grave; the event is soon over. Why should the anticipation provoke so much anxiety? Why should the anxiety persist?

We took this problem into a teachers' workshop conducted by Dorothy W. Baruch, a noted psychologist. As we compared our experiences and observations, we saw certain facts gradually emerging. We learned that what actually happens to a child is linked up with many things he imagines. We learned that the fear of being hurt is well-nigh universal in our culture. The children of today are born into an age of apprehension. Very early they hear of war casualties, street accidents, even rape and murder. They see the crippled and maimed. They see, too, that children of the opposite sex look different, and in their fantasies this anatomical difference is often associated with being crippled or maimed. This in spite of their being told otherwise.

A Chance To Channel Anger

In their minds children want to defend themselves. In their minds they grow angry—angry at the doctor, angry at the nurse, angry at the teacher who lines them up (as it were) for slaughter, angry at their parents for signing "yes" to their permission slips. And this anger hitches up with anger and resentment over many other hurts, psychological as well as physical—hurts over having been taken to the hospital, over having been spanked, over having been "cast out" by a new baby brother or sister.

And so we said to the children, "Hurts make you angry!" We gave them a chance to defend themselves in their most natural way against further hurt. That is, we gave them a chance to let out their anger, justifiable or not, at those whom they would like to hurt back. We said, "When you're angry at someone, you want to do things you know you can't really do but you *want* to do anyway!"

Many children wanted to hurt the doctor. "I'd like to give that doctor a shot—a big, hurting one!"

"I'd just like to drop him into the Atlantic with his hands and feet tied. Then I'd fire him!"

A sixth-grader drew a cartoon of a devil labeled ME and a chicken labeled DOCTOR. In the dialogue the devil said, "So you're chicken, eh?" And the doctor said, "I didn't mean to hurt you when I gave you that shot. *Please* don't."

When we were able to carry out such procedures beforehand, the children's behavior during the injections brought us confirmation. We observed that our children were more relaxed, more orderly, and caused less post-shot disturbance than those children who hadn't had a chance to express their feelings.

The visiting doctor and nurse in one school were so impressed by the behavior of a kindergarten first-grade group that they sent for the teacher and asked her how she had prepared her class for the shots.

Even those of us who had not used these techniques ahead of time found it was still not too late to do something about the experience. "Remember," we said, "when you had your polio shots? Perhaps you were more frightened than you let on—and madder too. And perhaps you had feelings about the doctor or nurse or somebody else and about what you wanted to do."

After the children's feelings had come out, we found that reassurance worked—though it had failed earlier, before the children had had a chance to let out their fear and anger. In reassuring them we stressed three things: First, the hurt was passing; it was all over. Second, the hurt left no permanent effects. And, third, it didn't spread. ("You were hurt only *there*, in your arm. No other part of you was affected—or could ever be.")

We have used similar procedures in connection with many other experiences the children face—with regular vaccinations and visits to the school doctor or dentist. In high school we have even tried them before that painful ordeal known as final examinations.

"Gripes" Safely Released

"How do you feel about the tests at this point?" a high school teacher asked her senior composition class on the third day of examinations. "I'm not asking what you *think* about them or what you think you should think. I want you to write about how you *feel*. Let your feelings flow straight out through your pencil onto the paper. This is a time when you can say just what you want to say. Remember, I'm not marking you on this assignment."

Instantly all were writing. Their first targets were the tests and the teachers who gave them.

"Tests are enough to drive anyone wild," wrote one boy. "After answering stupid questions by idiotic teachers hour after hour, day after day, I'm going nuts. In fact, I am now convinced that this is the primary purpose of all tests."

And another: "Most teachers don't know how to

teach school. To a great extent I have lost most of the respect I ever felt for the teaching profession, which is run by the outmoded method of the higher-ups' commanding those lower-down."

The principal was included, too. "I could have graduated last term if it hadn't been for our esteemed, difficult-to-talk-to principal, who seems to believe he's talking with a child when conversing with a high school student and uses flowing, glowing, round-about words to say a few simple, outright facts."

Then quite naturally some older and previously guarded resentments were released through the harmless, approved outlet that had been provided.

"I wish my mom would let me grow up! I'm in a club without her knowledge because she doesn't think I'm old enough to join. I wish she'd give up and let me join openly."

One student didn't even mention the tests. "All my parents do is push and push. All I feel is pressure—a constant pressure which tells me to push forward with every possible step, never stopping, never resting."

The intensity of their feelings was echoed in the scratching of their pencils. Some almost ripped the paper with the vehemence of their writing.

Just before the end of the period one girl put down her pencil with a tremendous sigh and said, "Gee, I feel better now." This was followed by a spontaneous heaving of breath throughout the room. Then the bell rang, and the class—tensions reduced and emotional barriers lowered—left to tackle more exams.

We teachers feel that all these efforts to release feelings into well-defined channels have been worthwhile. Our world is too full of people in whom the fears and angers of childhood have been lost from consciousness. Yet these unconscious fears and angers still influence feelings and actions.

We know that letting the feelings out serves a good purpose not only for the individual himself but for others with whom he lives. However, the outlets must be safe ones. One cannot turn to delinquency or destruction in a false attempt to make oneself feel whole and powerful as well as to give anger a release. Rather those feelings should be voiced in a straightforward, honest way to adults who are strong enough to accept them and wise enough to say, "This way of letting out is sanctioned; that way is *not*!"

Not the least important truth we have learned in the process is this: If our children can tell us what it is they fear and get angry at us for, they somehow come to love us better. They work along with us in a much sounder faith.

And our discovery has meaning not only for teachers but far more widely for parents. When a shot is imminent or past, when a tooth falls out, when a tonsillectomy is or has been needed, when a painful punishment has been endured—let the child be honest. Let him paint and play and talk out how he feels.



Brotherhood Week: February 17-24, 1957

That People Shall Live as One Family of Man

TO SAY WE BELIEVE IN BROTHERHOOD, and most of us do, is one thing; to practice it, and many of us do not, is quite another. Yet clearer and clearer grows the evidence that this shining and simple truth is no longer a vague ideal which some may strive toward and others shun. In our time brotherhood has become an inevitable and necessary part of a world that is fit to live in.

Perhaps a fresh reminder of some fundamental truths about the relationship of brothers can help us to live as a human family, each concerned for the welfare of the other. First of all, the brother relationship is independent of our volition or choice. We choose our friends; we choose our husbands or wives. But our brothers are bestowed on us.

Another fact is that the ties which bind brother to brother are inescapable. Whatever our brother may be, whatever he may do, he is still our brother. We may disapprove of his conduct or dislike his personality, but we cannot wish him ill, injure him, or cut him off from our lives without impairing our own spiritual and mental health. Our brother's welfare is essential to our own welfare, our own happiness and peace of mind.

Of course we would like our brother to be lovable and admirable. But though he may be unlovable, though his conduct may sometimes even be deplorable, we cannot forsake him. Nature and nurture together have made us our brother's keeper. To deny that our destiny is bound up with his is to deny both reason and faith.

WHAT, then, does brotherhood demand of us—the everyday citizen, the parent, the teacher, the community member sincerely dedicated to this ideal? It demands that we commit ourselves to an abiding concern for every member of the human race. It bids us extend the same kind of understanding, generosity, and caring that we have for the brother in our household to the brother in the house next door, in the next town, and beyond the sea.

It asks us to realize that our brothers—wherever they may be—experience love, joy, sorrow, hunger, cold, heat, and pain, even as the brother in our home does. It asks us to understand that they too resent injury and insult, that they too want respect and freedom. When they are angry or bullying or spiteful or cruel, the ideal of world

brotherhood asks that we seek to understand why they act as they do. And finally it asks of us that we carry over into our everyday lives the moral and spiritual values we affirm in our churches and our synagogues.

How much suffering and indignity must the family of man endure before we learn that cooperation, not coercion, is the law of life? Before we realize that unless brotherhood triumphs, there will be neither peace nor freedom nor spiritual health in this world? Must terrible, tragic events like those in Hungary and the Middle East be repeated endlessly? How much more anguish must the family of man endure before we realize that if we neglect our brother's need, bruise his spirit, or wound his dignity, we impoverish our own souls?

IN THIS country during the week of February 17-24 the American branch of the family of man will rededicate itself to the ideal of brotherhood. For the twenty-third successive year the National Conference of Christians and Jews will sponsor Brotherhood Week. The theme of the 1957 nation-wide observance is "Brotherhood for Peace and Freedom."

If we parents and teachers believe in brotherhood we will live it and practice it and rear children who believe it, live it, and support it. The home and the school are, or ought to be, the generators of friendship, compassion, and respect for the rights of others. Out of these qualities cooperation grows. In exact proportion as these qualities are fostered in the home and the school will they issue forth as our children grow up and take their places in the community. If we ourselves are men and women in whom righteous belief and behavior go hand in hand, we can rear children who will live as members of one family in our Father's house.

As Americans we know that nothing on earth provides such a challenge to our loftiest thinking as do the problems that confront us in building the world's peace. As Americans, too, we are resolved to live in peace and freedom and dignity, with brotherly concern one for another. Never have people of good will been more firmly resolved to attain the ideal of brotherhood, so that this earth, gift of God the Father, may be a happy home for all his children.

a tactical victory even where he has lost his case in court; for he has used the occasion to further one part of his strategic aim—that of dividing us against one another.

A third type of figure hovers on the border line between acting within the law and breaking the law. Powerful in his own right or as part of a pressure group, he thinks of laws and legislators as means to be manipulated for his own ends. Cicero long ago declared laws to be for the security of individuals and the preservation of states. The type of person we are describing would not see eye to eye with Cicero. His mind is more hospitable to the old proverb, "Every law has a loophole." Laws, as far as he is concerned, are to be put on the books or kept from being put on the books because they do or do not secure and preserve his own particular advantage.

Now back to ourselves. Most of us are casually law-abiding. But too few of us are, in any profound sense, *law-appreciating*. If we were, if we actually knew our stakes and our children's stakes in liberty under law—as opposed to lawlessness, tyranny under edict, and special privilege under law—the types we have named above would never have found our country a convenient base of operations. In no small measure their strength has been nourished on our indifference, confusion, and cynicism; on the fact that we have wanted to live under law, but not very much.

I am not trying here to scold or exhort us into doing our duty. I would rather try to discover what mixed ingredients have gone into the making of our mixed attitudes. For if we are less strongly affirmative than we should be in our faith that liberty can exist only under law, it may be because our own minds contain elements that, so to speak, neutralize one another—and make us neutral in the process.

The Danger of a Divided Mind

I first got this idea some years ago when I asked a high school boy how he had liked a certain assembly speaker who had talked on the relation of law to freedom. At first the student seemed reluctant to commit himself. Then, almost explosively, he came out with this: "He was all right, I guess. But all the time he was talking, half my mind said 'Yes' to him and the other half said 'Oh, yeah?'"

Maybe that puts our common problem in a nutshell. Maybe most of us, consciously or unconsciously, say both "Yes" and "Oh, yeah?" when we are told that law is the foundation of freedom. And these opposed reactions come so close to canceling each other out that we end up as neither lawbreakers nor clear-sighted, wholehearted exponents of liberty under law.

What mixed factors in our experience lie back of our "Yes" and our "Oh, yeah?" History, as we have learned it, may be one such factor. For history reports both the dignity and justice of law (Roman law, British common law, and our own Constitution

and Bill of Rights) and the no less impressive fact that, time and again, those who have wanted to improve the human lot have found the law ranged against them.

The headlined news of our own day can be counted as another factor. Here we see the sharp contrast between our own liberty under law and the terror of life under totalitarian edicts disguised as law. But here also we often see the contrast between law as it is ideally described and law as it is enacted and practiced.

Some of our attitudes have a strong story-book flavor. Our hero can be either the dedicated agent of law and order or the outlaw, as long as he fits our romantic image of what a hero should be like.

I suspect that many of our attitudes go back to the fact that few of us grow up without having mixed emotions with regard to authority. We have all come through our share of growing pains. Some of them made us draw close to our parents and other adults for guidance and companionship, and some made us pit our will against theirs. Thus we are *for* authority but also *for* the underdog and the rebel.

Maturity Achieves the Balance

I suspect that some of our attitudes go back to very deep sources—to the fact that our basic enterprise as human beings is that of learning to harmonize our wish to be our individual selves and our wish to belong to the social whole. These two *can* be harmonized. Where they are, the mature person *in all his areas of experience* subtly enacts liberty under law: spontaneity and self-discipline, experimentation and respect for rules, and assumption of his own rights as well as readiness to respect and, if need be, defend the rights of others. But a great number of people, we now realize, do not thus mature. When they do not, their attitudes toward authority tend to remain ambivalent. That is to say, they express not an inner harmony but an uneasy balance between love and hate.

These attitudes call for deeper exploration. But here I can only underscore a few facts. The first is that, whether in the home or in society at large, liberty under law is a condition of sound maturing. It is the only condition we know that does even remote justice both to the individual and to the social aspects of our complex nature. The second fact is that we do not preserve this condition by flouting law, being indifferent to it, or being fearfully and rigidly subservient to it. We can hope to preserve it—particularly when it is under threat from both lawlessness and totalitarianism—only by letting the drama of it sink into our minds and hearts. And even then we can preserve it only by taking on our mature responsibility for obeying law, calling for just and rational law enforcement, and working for better laws by "due process of law."

Can Poets Unseat the Comics?



© St. Louis Post Dispatch from Black Star

Hal Conkey

Are the pleasures of poetry only for a select few? Nothing of the sort, one teacher discovered. His students, once untouched by the magic of poetry, now seek it out.

EVERY YEAR at drugstores and newsstands, sweeping national polls are taken on a question of lively interest to thoughtful readers. The question? "Are our schools teaching children to appreciate and enjoy good literature?"

The polls have been overwhelmingly negative in their findings. Two years ago approximately a billion no votes were cast against only a fraction of yes votes.

The billion copies of comic books purchased each year loom as a serious indictment of the way we teach English, especially English verse. Poetry is for the birds, these polls seem to say. Yet an appreciation of poetry is one aim we set up for each of the thirty-seven million pupils now in our schools. There is scarcely a literate man or woman in America today who has not at one time or other been exhorted to seek solace and inspiration from the condensed outpouring of human emotion and experience that is poetry.

The hundred million dollars spent on comic books in one year shrieks out to the world some sort of message about us. But what that message is, beyond the fact that culture is being ill served, is not altogether clear.

Somehow, somewhere we have fallen down in our teaching of our cultural courses. The millions of student-hours spent in "English" in the grades, in high school, in college have frequently left youthful minds unmoved.

To suppose that it could be otherwise is perhaps wishful thinking. Perhaps it is impossible to impart to all children a love for the finest writing of the past—and of the present as well. If so, a continuation of our fumbling methods may be the only path to follow. However, T. S. Eliot has presented a less boring alternative. He says that if it is probable that you can never be right, the thing to do from time to time is to change your way of being wrong.

In such a spirit one Michigan teacher blundered onto a new way of teaching an appreciation of poetry. His approach shows signs of being not so entirely wrong that it couldn't in time undermine the devastatingly tragic allure of comic books.

The still too prevalent way of studying poetry in the classroom is to read poems in a textbook, poems that have been painstakingly culled by experts. Beautiful passages are pointed out. Meanings are minutely analyzed. Figures of speech are noted and named. The meter is examined and identified. Discussion is

invited and esoterically led. Finally, all or part of the poem may be learned by heart.

Many a teacher, having tried this routine, knows that it produces no rush at the box office. Here and there across the country skillful teachers have revamped the routine, with good results. But the fact remains that poetry is still drudgery in too many classrooms. Comic books still win hands down.

Sam Strikes Uranium

Sam Hall sneaked up on his kids, he told me happily. He did so without premeditation but with the fool luck of a prospector who stubs his toe on a rock and uncovers a deep vein of uranium. Appreciation of poetry was not his avowed aim. Poetry was a means to an end—skill in reading aloud.

A time was set aside for special practice in reading—once a week or sometimes once in two weeks. Each pupil was to find a poem he liked and read it to the class. This was the standing assignment. And Sam Hall, who himself loved to read poetry aloud, showed what alchemy could result from well-read poetry.

What limits did Sam set on the students' choices? None. "Bring in a poem—any kind of poem at all," Sam told his students. Actually Sam did insist on one requirement: "The poem must be one that *you* like," he said to the class. Sam made it clear that he would accept their choices, whatever they were. And Sam stuck to his bargain. If a high school girl chose a nursery rhyme, a typical Hall remark would be, "Some day you'll read that rhyme to your child. The better you can read it, the more he'll like it."

Sam made no effort to tell his students where to find poetry. They were turned loose, like the Hebrews under Pharaoh, to find their straw where they could. "It was surprising," he told me, "how quickly they found what pages in newspapers and magazines carried poems."

Surprising, too, were the sources from which other favorites came. The smell of dust was on some. Others had been set in antique print. There were even notebook anthologies, somewhat yellow of page, dated a generation back. Maybe a picture or two would be pasted therein showing thin, scrawny females with thigh-high skirts and haystack hair but revealing withal a deep-seated love and admirable taste in things poetic.

One day the school librarian asked Sam Hall, "What's cooking? More inquiries for poetry are coming in this year than I ever remember."

What *was* cooking? Sam tried to separate the ingredients. Why were his students, once disdainfully cool toward poetry, now reaching for it hungrily?

For one thing, students were hearing poetry. They were reading it aloud. This was as it should be. Poetry, like music, is primarily for the ears. Then, too, in classroom discussions Sam avoided chewing away at a poem till it lost its savor. Enjoyment of

poetry could be as fleeting as the enjoyment of a sweet in the mouth—and as cloying, through prolonged class analysis.

Something else was at work, too: free determination, free selection. For each poem a student finally selected, he invariably rejected a dozen others. This chance to make personal decisions could do something psychologically healthy for the students. Finally, with each member of the class bringing in his favorites, the poetry fare had a wide variety of appeal.

Tears and Triumph

By the middle of the second year, Sam Hall began to suspect that he had something by the tail far bigger than he had bargained for. One day during the regular poetry session a girl was reading a sentimental poem glorifying motherhood. The pupil read the lines superbly, but literary experts would surely have rejected the poem itself for its lack of finesse. As she read, Sam was surprised to see that a rather hard-boiled, seemingly unfeeling senior girl was in tears.

"Addie's crying, Addie's crying," chanted three or four of those nearest her.

Hall rebuked them gently. "Addie is having a perfectly normal reaction," he said. "Release of emotion is one of the fine things that poetry provides. It can do this because emotions are the stuff poetry is made of. A poet captures the emotions that all of us feel at one time or another and imprisons them in rhythmic lines—but so lightly and elastically that they escape us if we make the least attempt to pry apart their prison bars."

Moisture softened the hard lines around Addie's eyes. Salt water about her rouged mouth was not sympathetic to the customary sophisticated curl of her lips. As Addie looked up through her tears, the astonished teacher could not determine what quality predominated in her twisted smile. Was it shame, bravado, or something else that refused to be classified? Whatever it was, it made her look more her age, less worldly wise.

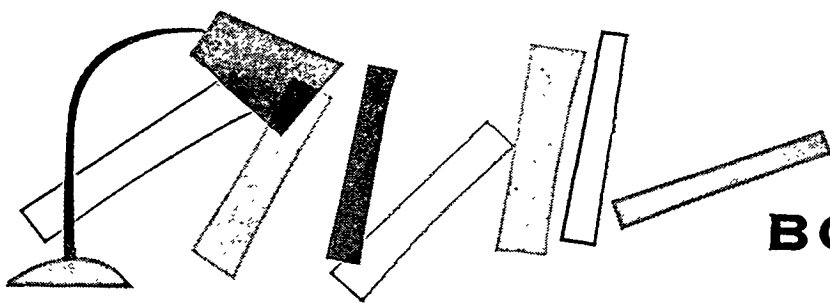
"You know, Mr. Hall," she burst out vehemently, as if to condone her weakness, "I *just* love poetry."

The class had become disturbingly still. As the teacher looked down into those upturned, expectant faces, a dark suspicion took shape in his mind.

"How many of the rest of you love poetry?" he asked.

He became dead certain then that he had reaped more than he had reckoned on. Without a single exception every member of the class shot up his arm.

Hal Conkey has taught high school English off and on over the past thirty years. During the depression he reluctantly left the teaching profession to operate a farm in Michigan, but in recent years teacher shortages have lured him back to the classroom.



BOOKS in review

THE FBI STORY: A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE. By *Don Whitehead*, with a Foreword by J. Edgar Hoover. New York: Random House, 1956. \$4.95.

This is a family book. By title it may not seem so, but it belongs where fathers and mothers read and talk together, and read and talk with their children. And not often does a book come along that is so uniquely right for fathers to give to their growing sons.

All responsible parents today realize that one chief job of "parenting" is to make vivid to youngsters and teenagers the concepts of law and order and of liberty under law. But they are puzzled about how to do the job. They are hard put to it, moreover, to find materials that palatably combine hard facts, dramatic action, the portrayal of sound character, and the sort of idealism on which the human spirit grows tall. *The FBI Story* combines these four. I do not quite see how any child, teen-ager, or adult could read it through without gaining new respect not only for the Bureau but for law itself as man's quiet alternative to chaos and cruelty.

One reason why this is a family book is that each member can find in it plenty of drama at the level of his own mental, emotional, and social maturity. Thus there are guns aplenty, and the skill to use them is as expert as any devotee of blood-and-thunder tales could wish. But to this reviewer, at least, the story is dramatic precisely because it so rarely becomes melodramatic. It is a story of skills, policies, and attitudes that have made the blazing gun a *last resort*. The agent who holds the gun is never a trigger-happy ego or a panic-stricken amateur. Never, certainly, is he the ruthless seeker of power or servant of power.

To borrow a phrase my husband coined some years ago for use in a different context, this book tells the story of men who are "armed to the brain." Those with whom these men have had to deal have not been seemly characters. They have been gangsters, kidnapers, profiteers of the white-slave market, inciters to riot, forgers, bank robbers, car thieves, fanatic invaders of the civil rights of their fellow citizens, corrupt public officials, saboteurs, and espionage agents. They have, in brief, been all those whom our society, over a period of fifty complex and violent years, has for its own self-defense designated as breakers of federal law.

Coping with such as these, the agents of the FBI have had, paradoxically, to be both quick on the trigger and disciplined never to draw a gun at all unless they must, in defense of life, shoot to kill. The youngster who listens to their story or who reads it for himself may be wide-eyed with excitement over "what happens." But subtly, and almost without his knowing it, he will be invited to appreciate much that the mature person will quickly see beyond the action story.

He will be introduced, for example, to the evolving science of crime detection as he reads of how, day by day,

year by year, those who work in the FBI laboratories are perfecting substitutes for gun play and the third degree. He will be witness to teamwork at its best: what it asks of an individual in the way of integrity, self-restraint, and devotion to his work and how profoundly it insures his being on the receiving end of these same qualities.

As he reads of the work of the FBI National Academy, he will be led to see that law enforcement is no hack job. One who enforces the law, whether at the local or the national level, belongs as rightly to an honorable profession as does one who writes the law or interprets it in the role of judge.

Finally, he is given a chance to size up the actual dangers faced by our society in this age—dangers from within and from without—and to distinguish these from the pseudo dangers noisily pointed to by fanatics of the right and the left.

From the psychological angle, it is interesting that the title of the book contains both the word *story* and the word *report*. It properly contains both. For the book is an exciting narrative, a true story that is often stranger than fiction. Also, however, it is a quietly factual account of crime in this period of our history and of the FBI's effort to meet the challenge posed by that crime. This the FBI does without moving, by one deliberate or unconscious step, beyond its rightful province as the investigative agency of the Department of Justice.

—BONARO W. OVERSTREET

FAVORITE RECIPES FROM THE UNITED NATIONS. United States Committee for the United Nations, 816 Twenty-first Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. \$1.50.

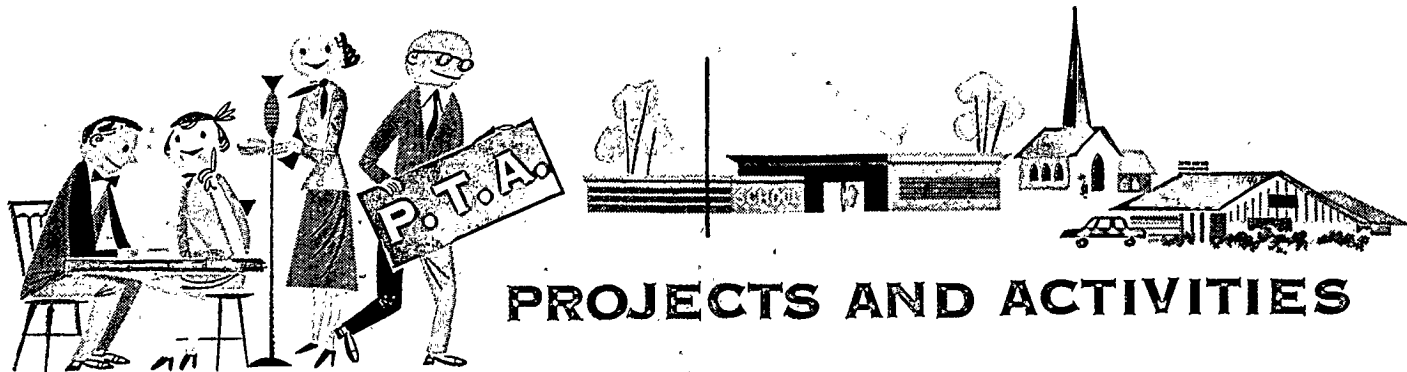
"Mom, can we eat in Saudi Arabia tomorrow?"

"Sorry, Steve. Daddy's bringing a guest, and I promised him we'd eat in Sweden. Next week we'll get to Saudi Arabia."

Who's talking? Mrs. Jones and her ten-year-old son of Plainsfield, U.S.A. No, they don't own a turbojet plane to whisk them from country to country. They own the new United Nations cookbook, containing 170 recipes from all 76 U.N. member nations.

Choice dishes from Afghanistan to Yugoslavia are all here to spice the American table with an international flavor. With every recipe kitchen-tested and put into standard form by the American Home Economics Association, there is adventure without risk. Even the most exotic dish can be easily prepared in the average American kitchen. For hard-to-get ingredients, substitutes are suggested.

These authentic recipes from other lands do more than delight the palate. They stimulate our appetite for knowledge of other peoples and nourish our appreciation of other cultures. In this colorful cookbook we have a pleasant and basic family approach to increased international understanding.



PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES

An Historic Occasion

On November 27, 1956, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, in observance of the fiftieth anniversary of its official magazine, had the rare privilege of presenting a collection of memorabilia to the Chicago Historical Society. Among the materials, to which future generations will be able to refer, were bound volumes of the *National Parent-Teacher* and a book of clippings and photographs showing the historic link between the National Congress and Chicago, its headquarters city. Shown here are, on the left, Mrs. Eva H. Grant, editor of the *National Parent-Teacher*, who made the presentation; Lloyd A. Brown, director of the Society; and Ruth A. Bottomly, director of the office of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. None of the three seems discomfited by the early Chicago scene in the background.



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Something Very Special in This Hawaiian School

A proclamation by Samuel W. King, governor of Hawaii, opened 1956 Membership Enrollment Month in the Territory. Here we see J. Ralph Brown, then president of the Hawaii Congress, reading the proclamation to a group of pupils in Kauluwela School, Honolulu, who, young as they are, seem to appreciate its meaning for them. Seated next to Mr. Brown is Manuel P. Silva, principal of the school and service director of welfare for the Hawaii Congress.



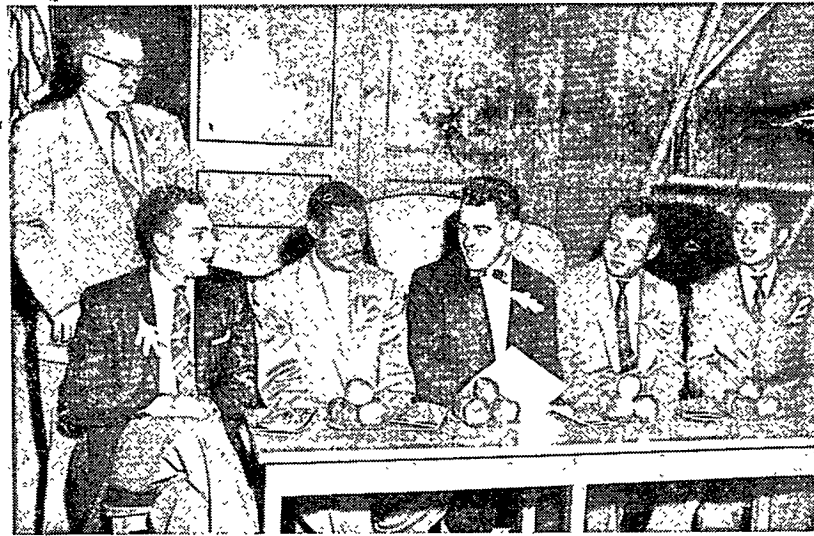
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"A Vital Protective Program for Our Children"

In these words Mrs. E. L. Church (standing at left), national chairman of the Committee on Juvenile Protection, expressed the broad aim of the conference of state juvenile protection chairmen held December 5-7 in Chicago. Called by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the meeting was attended by chairmen (or alternates) from the forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii. The conference will be reported in the March *National Parent-Teacher*.

Exchanging Ideas on Education

Student teachers from four countries took part in a panel discussion of education in their native lands at a recent meeting of the Cressona, Pennsylvania, P.T.A. In the picture, left to right, are Charles Flowers, registrar at Williamsport Technical Institute, where the P.T.A. guests are enrolled; Gerinaw Noguera, Bogota, Colombia; Yilma Desta, Ethiopia; James Romberger, local vocational agriculture teacher who acted as moderator; Parmoedi Hardjo, Indonesia; and Pedro Santos, the Philippines. Samples of two Pennsylvania products, apples and coal, were presented to the student teachers.



© Pottsville Republican



← Pin-Money Project with a Purpose

If a youngster at the Fremont, Nebraska, Junior High School wants a little extra money, he can enroll with the student employment service of the school's P.T.A. Two parent-teacher members take calls from townspeople who want baby sitters, snow shovelers, housework-helpers, or errand-runners. "It is surprising," writes Mrs. A. W. Sorenson, P.T.A. president, "what a varied number of things these young teen-agers can do. . . . We believe that helping them to find work is a real step toward preventing delinquency. . . . It gives the boys and girls that sense of usefulness so necessary to every individual." In the picture Mrs. Sorenson, seated at the table, is assisted by Mrs. W. L. Herbster, committee member.

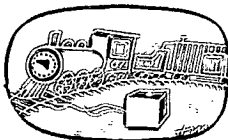
OF MENTAL HEALTH

Study-Discussion Programs

I. PRESCHOOL COURSE

Directed by Ruth Strang

"How Early Does Discipline Begin?" (page 4)



Points for Study and Discussion

1. The word *discipline* has many meanings. The author of our article suggests a most common one—that of restriction or punishment. ("I've got to discipline Johnny for breaking that vase.") Some people make *discipline* synonymous with order, as when they say, "There is good discipline in that home (or classroom)." How does the author define *discipline*? Another view of discipline goes back to the original meaning of the word, which comes from the same root as *disciple*: "the treatment that is necessary and desirable for a learner." This view of discipline focuses our attention on the future rather than on the past, on the child rather than on some "naughty" thing he does.

2. People also mean different things when they say that a certain method of discipline "gets results." Which of the results listed below may follow harsh methods of discipline?

- The child may stop doing the thing for which you are punishing him.
- He may become more skillful in not getting caught.
- He may link the punishment with the person who has punished him rather than with the act for which he was punished.
- He may feel that the person who punished him does not love him any longer.
- He may become overly submissive and afraid to take initiative.

3. Preschool children have to learn the ways of civilized life; they have to learn not to act entirely on impulse. Give examples of how a parent can, with sympathy and understanding, help a child learn self-control. Would it be helpful to act in the following ways?

- Recognize the child's feelings. ("I know this is hard for you, but it's something all children have to learn.")
- Give him just enough help so he can succeed before he becomes frustrated. ("Mother will help you this time, and next time you can do it all by yourself.")
- Role-play the situation. ("When Grandma asks you to go on an errand while you are playing, let's act out what's the best thing to do. I'll be Grandma, and you be playing with your fire engine.")
- Set a good example. (When something makes you, as a parent, angry, tell the older preschool child how you feel and how you're going to try to handle the situation, instead of flying off the handle.)

4. From your own observation, what has been the effect of reward or praise, as contrasted with punishment or

blame, on a preschool child of a certain age? How might genuine praise give him a concept of himself as capable, likable, acceptable? How might constant blame or criticism make him feel incompetent, "bad," unloved?

5. Describe and discuss several unpleasant situations that preschool children have to face—for example, having to go to bed instead of staying up to look at a TV program. How may parents and others in the child's environment help him face situations like these squarely and realistically?

6. How should parents' treatment of discipline problems change as the child progresses from infancy to six years of age? What did the psychiatrist mean when he said, "Infancy is the time for parents to be good and children to be bad"? During the middle preschool years, how can parents encourage normal independence without making a child obnoxious to others? During later preschool years, how can they help the child understand the need for authority and certain rules?

7. How does setting and holding firm, reasonable limits to a child's behavior give him a sense of security as well as help him behave in acceptable ways?

Program Suggestions

- Invite a person who has worked successfully with nursery school or kindergarten groups and who also has a good psychological background to tell how she has handled discipline problems and why she used a particular method.
- Ask members to write concrete descriptions of situations at home in which a discipline problem has arisen. After their reports have been read aloud, ask for volunteers to play the roles of the persons involved. In the discussion that follows, consider these questions:

Was the child's behavior part of the normal growing-up process, or was it detrimental to his best development?

How do you think the child felt at the beginning, during, and at the end of the incident?

What effect do you think the parents' treatment would have on the child?

How do you think the situation might have been handled more effectively?

In each role-playing situation make it clear that no criticism is directed at the players, since they are not portraying themselves but only the *roles* they have assumed.

- If members have the time and dramatic ability or if the cooperation of the school drama club can be obtained, present the American Theatre Wing community play, *Fresh, Variable Winds* by Nora Stirling (published by the National Association for Mental Health, 1790 Broadway, New York 19), or "Parents Are People" in *Guidance Through Drama* by M. Jerry Weiss (published by Morrow, New York). Use the plays as a basis for discussion of the complex forces that affect children's behavior in a family situation.

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- Bettelheim, Bruno. "Don't Deny Them Discipline." March 1955, pages 4-6.
- Bloch, Donald A., M.D. "Don't Be Afraid of 'Don't.'" December 1953, pages 4-6.
- Strang, Ruth. "Discipline—but by Whom?" April 1953, pages 23-25.

Films:

- Act Your Age* (13 minutes), Coronet Films.
- Helping the Child To Accept the Do's* (11 minutes), Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.
- Helping the Child To Face the Don't's* (11 minutes), Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

II. SCHOOL-AGE COURSE

Directed by Bess Goodykoontz

"Children Need Time of Their Own" (page 18)



Points for Study and Discussion

1. A little girl walking home with her father from a music lesson said, "Daddy, do you suppose we could arrange it so I could have one evening after school just to do what I want to do?" Thinking over her busy schedule, her father decided she had good reason for the suggestion. What are the "fixed points" on your child's weekly schedule for which he must save time, be dressed properly, make preparations, arrange to get there and back home? For the children you know is this sort of schedule typical?
2. The picture Dr. Goldenson draws of a child of twenty years ago seems to show that there was less pressure on children then. Is that the way you remember your childhood? What kind of weekly schedule did you have?
3. It is often said that our compulsion to work hard and long, to feel a little guilty when we aren't busy, to brag now and then about working overtime or working when we are sick, comes from our Puritan background. "Satan finds some work for idle hands to do" is an old proverb. Can you think of other sayings that push people to greater effort?
4. The author analyzes a number of reasons why parents put too much emphasis on activity for their children. Which reasons seem to you the most common?
5. Dr. Goldenson points out that this overemphasis may not only involve the child in too many different activities but lead to his beginning some of them too soon. What serious consequences may follow? What rea-

sons have you heard for starting piano lessons at an early age? Foreign languages? Football? Ballet? Do persons who urge an early start do so (a) because they are thinking of developing finished performers, (b) because the activity is an interesting and re-creative one for children that age, or (c) because adults like to watch children taking part in that activity? Which values do you consider important?

6. To what extent do commercial entertainment programs add to your child's schedule—such as five o'clock TV programs, Friday night movies, Saturday skating hours? Are such activities considered "the thing to do"?

7. The author makes it clear that the opposite of *too much activity* for children is not *inactivity*. What values or rewards does he see in enjoying "leisurely leisure"?

8. As families move out of the cities to suburban or country homes with space for gardens, pets, and outdoor play and games, in what ways do children's activity schedules change? What are the advantages and disadvantages of such changes?

9. Though the article deals with children's needs for time of their own, it has many implications for adults also. Have you found ways of reducing the pressure of activity in your life? Of getting a "quiet time" for yourself? Read Mary E. Courtenay's article (listed under "References") for suggestions.

10. What percentage of the children in your community do you think have the problem of too much social activity? Are there just as many children who do not have enough fun and social recreation? In what way is your parent-teacher association helping them?

Program Suggestions

• Some of the points made in this article invite readers to stop, think, reread, find illustrations, or maybe disagree. Let the group "worry" each of the following statements as a dog worries a bone—push it around, toss it, pull it apart:

"Our children's lives are likely to be busier than ever before in history. Yes, and richer too."

"Many of us have the feeling . . . that the worst sin of all is to miss something in life."

"In an effort to get away from their problems, [they are] fleeing into one reality in order to escape from another."

They "feel that they are wasting valuable time whenever they are not outwardly occupied."

"Youth has an affinity for age."

"Often, too, the child works only for credit of some kind."

• The article raises the important question of the age at which different activities are appropriate. Before the meeting you may wish to appoint several committees or teams to investigate what authorities say about the appropriate ages for camping, piano lessons, ballet, scouting, vocal lessons, bridge, skating, social dancing, and football and basketball.

• Possibly a program demonstrating hobbies might be arranged. Either children's or adults' hobbies could be selected to show how leisure time gives opportunity for creativeness and exploration. Hobby shows are common. Make this one different by letting each exhibitor show new things he has learned or done.

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III. COURSE ON ADOLESCENCE

Directed by Evelyn Millis Duvall

"What Youth Worries About and Why" (page 7)

Points for Study and Discussion

1. How prevalent among adults is the attitude that young people are an irresponsible lot? Have you heard recent references to the irresponsibility of teen-agers by parents, teachers, and counselors in your neighborhood? When some young person gets into trouble in your community, is the story usually told as though such misbehavior is typical of adolescents? Do many people in your community expect that young people will be mischief-makers unless they are kept under strict control?

2. The study reported in your article is based on an analysis of twenty-five hundred high school students' letters written about their most pressing problems. The problems the young people mentioned occurred in the following percentages, ranked from the most frequent to the least frequent problems mentioned:

Home and family relationships.....	22 per cent
School	21 per cent
Worries about the future.....	15 per cent
Boy-girl relationships	14 per cent
The "self"	12 per cent
Getting along with other people.....	7 per cent
Problems of a general nature.....	5 per cent
Health	2 per cent

Do these areas of concern look like the ones your own young people worry about? Can you think of specific instances in which an adolescent expressed anxiety to you over problems in one or more of these eight areas? In each case do you remember what he or she said and how you dealt with the young person's worry? How did the problem turn out eventually? Or is it still present?

3. Your authors suggest four major approaches for adults who want to help young people deal effectively with their worries:

- Guide, do not push.
- Encourage them to practice problem-solving methods.
- Get professional help when a need for it is indicated.
- Accept the teen-ager as a person.

What is your reaction to these recommendations? Looking back on your own experience, have you found that each of these methods works well with the young people

you know? Are there other ways of helping adolescents that you have found effective? What are they?

Program Suggestions

• Divide your group into eight subgroups, and have each subgroup discuss one of the eight problem areas revealed as most pressing in the Purdue team's analysis of high school students' letters and essays. Reconvene for reports and discussion. Conclude with a general summary of the important points made and further questions brought out in the various subgroups.

• Request that your high school principal have the students in one class write essays on "What Youth Worries About and Why." Devote your program to a review of these themes, with interpretation and discussion, led by a school counselor, a guidance director, a youth worker, a teacher particularly close to students, or the principal. Save time at the end for questions, discussion, and group reaction to the themes.

• If you have not previously done so, review the Franks' book *Your Adolescent at Home and in School* (see "References") with particular focus on why teen-agers worry about the things they do.

• Read aloud the review of *The Mind Goes Forth* by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet that appears in the October 1956 *National Parent-Teacher*, page 36, and discuss its relevance to the topic at hand: understanding helping young people to cope with their worries. If possible, read selected portions directly from the book, and discuss how they pertain to our relationships with adolescents.

• Send to the University of Michigan Television Center, Ann Arbor, Michigan, for its list of a series of kinescopes on teen-agers (1956). Select one or more of these for viewing at your meeting, with discussion by members of the group.

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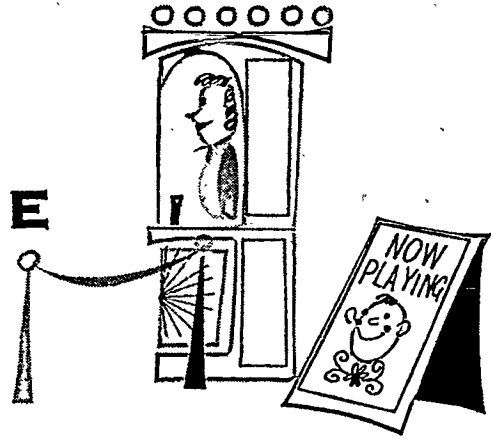
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MOTION PICTURE previews



PREVIEW EDITOR, ENTERTAINMENT FILMS
MRS. LOUIS L. BUCKLIN

JUNIOR MATINEE

From 8 to 12 years

Big Fun Carnival—Artists Producers Association. Direction, Marc Daniels. We commend the desire of Artists Producers Association to make films suitable for children. Unfortunately the format used in this film, with self-conscious masters of ceremony and uneven variety numbers, fails to arouse much interest. However, George Pal's old but exceptionally well-made puppetoon, "The Five Hundred Hats of Bartholomew Cubbins," is excellent; "The Busy Little Bears" is delightful; and "Monkey Business," with real-life monkeys acting like human beings, will entertain small children. Leading players: Marion Stafford, Jared Reed.

Family	12-15	8-12
Fair	Fair	Fair

FAMILY

Suitable for children if accompanied by adults

Albert Schweitzer—Hill and Anderson. Direction, Jerome Hill. An intelligent and thoughtfully prepared documentary. Mrs. Erica Anderson (photographer of *Grandma Moses*) made six trips to Lambarene, French Equatorial Africa, to put on film a complete picture of Albert Schweitzer's hospital-village. Dr. Schweitzer himself wrote the script and lent himself easily and pleasantly to the many scenes requiring his presence. Fredric March and Burgess Meredith speak the commentary with dignity and simplicity. The film captures the vigor and great, dedicated spirit of the man who gave the world the majestic and meaningful phrase, "reverence for life."

Family	12-15	8-12
Excellent	Yes	Yes

Dance with Me, Henry—United Artists. Direction, Charles Barton. Poor script and uncertain direction mar Abbott and Costello's attempt at a new type of film. Costello, bungling but warmhearted, owns a Kiddieland and is always adopting stray children, animals, and even adults—including Abbott, a gambler involved with the underworld. The plot hinges on Abbott's inability to pay a gambling debt and involves blackmail and murder. Leading players: Bud Abbott, Lou Costello, Gigi Perreau.

Family	12-15	8-12
Mediocre	Mediocre	Mediocre

The Happy Road—MGM. Direction, Gene Kelly. A small American boy decides to run away from his Swiss school and travel on his own to Paris, where his father lives. A wistful little French girl persuades him to take her along. Their ingenious "underground" adventures, as sympathetic French children whisk them merrily past the police, contrast with the frustrating experiences their parents share in searching for them. The French settings are charming; the children are captivating; and Gene Kelly (even without his dancing shoes) is pleasant to take, both as actor and as director. Leading players: Gene Kelly, Michael Redgrave, Barbara Laage, Bobby Clark, Brigitte Fossey.

Family	12-15	8-12
Entertaining	Entertaining	Entertaining



Paris is the destination of the two young hitchhikers (Bobby Clark and Brigitte Fossey) in *The Happy Road*.

ADULTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Above Us the Waves—J. Arthur Rank. Direction, Ralph Thomas. This realistic, suspenseful World War II drama concerns the heroic efforts of the British Navy to destroy the German battleship *Tirpitz*. Student reviewers agreed that the photography in general deserved high praise, and they rated the acting as superb. Leading players: John Mills, John Gresson, Donald Sinden.

Adults	15-18	12-15
Excellent of its type	Excellent of its type	Yes

Anastasia—20th Century-Fox. Direction, Anatole Litvak. This appealing romantic drama is based on an intriguing premise—that the young daughter of the last Czar of Russia was not killed with her family but escaped from Russia. Ingrid Bergman creates a lovely Anastasia, as she changes from an ill, half-starved, mentally confused woman into an assured and beautiful princess. Yul Brynner, as a White Russian general, is ready to exploit her for the sake of her ten-million-pound legacy, but love intervenes. Helen Hayes makes a tiny but touchingly proud Empress Dowager. Sympathetic direction and

excellent production values. Leading players: Ingrid Bergman, Yul Brynner, Helen Hayes.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Excellent romantic drama	Excellent	Good

Beautiful but Dangerous—20th Century-Fox. Direction, Richard Bartlett. Gina Lollobrigida, garbed in the elaborate and sumptuous costumes of the 1900's, enacts the role of opera singer Lina Cavallieri in traditionally heavy and romantic style. Working her way up from the music hall to grand opera, she becomes the toast of Paris, surrounded by an army of importunate admirers. The action tends to become static, and the dialogue is artificial. Leading players: Gina Lollobrigida, Vittorio Gassman.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Matter of taste	Matter of taste	Matter of taste

The Black Whip—20th Century-Fox. Direction, Charles M. Warren. An ex-member of Quantrill's raiders is leader of the vicious "Black Legs," who terrorize the countryside after the Civil War. A poorly produced, brutal, and sadistic western melodrama. Leading players: Hugh Marlowe, Coleen Gray.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Poor	Very poor	Very poor

Bundle of Joy—RKO. Direction, Norman Taurog. Debbie Reynolds, who has just been fired from her job in a department store, is scanning want ads in an employment office window when she notices a bundle on the steps next door. Discovering that it contains a baby, she attempts to deliver it to a foundling home but finds to her horror that the officials are convinced she is the mother. Her attempts to get rid of the infant involve the store owner's attractive son, Eddie Fisher. But the baby soon weaves his own spell, to capture not only her heart but his—and even that of Mr. Fisher's testy father. Leading players: Eddie Fisher, Debbie Reynolds, Adolphe Menjou.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Light musical	Entertaining	Yes

Edge of the City—MGM. Direction, Martin Ritt. Sidney Poitier does a magnificent job of portraying a warmhearted, decent human being in this drama of personality conflict on the water front. His efforts to develop the human qualities of a frightened, intimidated young dock worker clash with the ugly practices of the company bully. Although there are some rather brutal scenes, they are basic to the plot. The theme is tenderly illuminated in the happy relationships of Mr. Poitier, his wife, and the boy. Leading players: Sidney Poitier, John Cassavetes.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Excellent	Good	Good

Four Girls in Town—Universal-International. Direction, Jack Sher. A pleasant and diverting film, with a flamboyant plot. Annoyed at his top star's financial demands, a Hollywood producer holds talent contests in Europe and the United States. The four finalists go through the Hollywood mill of publicity, testing, parties, and conferences, each struggling desperately to be the one chosen. Well acted and produced, with deft directorial touches. Leading players: George Nader, Marianne Cook.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Pleasant light comedy	Pleasant	Yes

Full of Life—Columbia. Direction, Richard Quine. Judy Holliday lends her special brand of enchantment to this warm domestic comedy-farce concerning a young couple about to have their first baby. A student reviewer stated: "The movie is quite humorously frank about pregnancy. This might shock some people, depending on their background, but I do not think it is in bad taste. . . . Judy Holliday is superb in her part." The picture is based on John Fante's novel. Leading players: Judy Holliday, Richard Conte, Salvatore Baccaloni.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Entertaining	Mature	Mature

The Girl Can't Help It—20th Century-Fox. Direction, Frank Tashlin. This gaudy, bawdy film, handsomely dressed up in De Luxe color and Cinemascope, features Tom Ewell and Jayne Mansfield. Although her ex-gangster friend wants to develop her as a popular singer, Miss Mansfield yearns only for a husband and family. Needless to say, her wishes are granted, but not before the slick techniques of a star-maker are promenade across the screen. A crude farce polished to a fare-thee-well. Leading players: Jayne Mansfield, Tom Ewell, Edmond O'Brien.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Matter of taste	Matter of taste	No

The Great Man—Universal-International. Direction, José Ferrer. When a famous star of radio and television dies, commentator José Ferrer is given the job of preparing an elaborate memorial

broadcast. His interviews with former associates of the dead man reveal that, although the star was loved by the public, he was regarded by his acquaintances as a cruel and despicable person. This adult, acid study of life and integrity in the TV world is extremely well done. The acting is top level, particularly that of Ed Wynn in a serious role. Leading players: José Ferrer, Julie London, Ed Wynn.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Excellent of its type	Mature	Mature

Hollywood or Bust—Paramount. Direction, Frank Tashlin. Dean Martin, Jerry Lewis, and a new and highly diverting third partner, Mr. Bascom (a great Dane), ride gaily across the U.S.A. in their glittering convertible, won in a raffle. In the Middle West they pick up Pat Crowley and head for Las Vegas. Both boys sing along the way, and there are some fast-paced goings-on when they arrive in Hollywood. Leading players: Dean Martin, Jerry Lewis, Pat Crowley.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
	Martin and Lewis fans	

The Iron Petticoat—MGM. Direction, Ralph Thomas. Bob Hope and Katharine Hepburn join forces in an attractively mounted farce ribbing Communism. Miss Hepburn, a captain in the Russian air force, flies over Western Germany and is forced down by ace pilot Bob Hope. His reward is to have his leave canceled (much to the annoyance of his fiancée) so that he can act as bodyguard and salesman of democracy to the Russian captain. As in previous farces on Communism, the effectiveness of such salesmanship is indicated by the lady's dawn interest in lacy lingerie. Leading players: Bob Hope, Katharine Hepburn.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
	Hope and/or Hepburn fans	

The Night Runner—Universal-International. Direction, Abner Biberman. An emotionally disturbed patient who has been released from an overcrowded mental hospital before he is completely cured kills the father of his fiancée. Later he tries to drown his sweetheart but has a change of heart just in time. Leading players: Ray Danton, Colleen Miller.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Matter of taste	Matter of taste	Mature

The Rainmaker—Universal-International. Direction, Joseph Anthony. A robust and tender comedy in which a magic-maker ("con man" to those unfamiliar with the term) acts as catalyst in the life of a small-town family. He transforms a timid spinster into a warm and lovely woman, changes a clumsy and oafish younger brother into the beginnings of a man, and softens the hard heart of their righteous older brother. Burt Lancaster is superb as the necromancer, and Katharine Hepburn seems to have been created for the role of the frightened yet dauntless woman facing middle age and loneliness. The settings are excellent, and the direction has both verve and quality. Leading players: Burt Lancaster, Katharine Hepburn.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Good	Good	Mature

Rock, Pretty Baby—Universal-International. Direction, Richard Bartlett. A rock 'n' roll musical in which a youthful "combo" band leader is having trouble with his doctor-father, who wants him to study medicine. When the boy sells his medical books to buy an electric guitar, family discord mounts, but eventually the father becomes convinced of his son's passionate interest in jazz. The music is well played, but the pace is too hectic. The characterizations, particularly of parents, are unfortunate. Leading players: Sal Mineo, John Saxon.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Pretty poor	Poor	No

The Silken Affair—Dragon Films Production, RKO Distributors. Direction, Roy Kellino. David Niven again enacts to perfection one of those delightful English stereotypes—the decorous English gentleman with an adventurous heart. Mr. Niven is an excellent bookkeeper, perfectly happy "bullying and subduing fractious accounts." But a chance remark by his boss, "What a mark you might have made as an embezzler!" sets him off on a career of crime. The first half of the picture is great fun, but toward the end it becomes dull. Leading players: David Niven, Genevieve Page.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Fair	Yes	Yes

Three Brave Men—Herbert B. Swope, Jr. Direction, Philip Dunne. A careful and thoughtful drama in Cinemascope about a "disloyalty case." After the 1953 security program was inaugurated, it was inevitable that the government should make mistakes, in view of the gravity of the problems and the overzealousness of some officials. This is the story of the Bernie Goldsmiths, a loyal, warmhearted family, and what happened to them when Bernie was suddenly suspended from his job as

a security risk. Bernie's long struggle, aided by a public-spirited lawyer and friends, eventually ends with his name being cleared. Realistic settings and intelligent direction. Leading players: Ernest Borgnine, Ray Milland, Nina Foch.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Excellent of its type	Good	Good

We Are All Murderers—Kingsley International Pictures. Direction, André Cayatte. An intense, unforgettable study of convicts who are condemned to death. To describe the grim plot in factual terms could not do justice to the bold yet sensitive direction and brilliant acting in this film. Marcel Mouloudji is excellent as a youthful product of the Paris slums who was swept along with other patriots into the French Underground, there to be taught violent and murderous acts as a duty. Leading players: Marcel Mouloudji, Georges Paujouly.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Moving indictment of capital punishment	Mature	With discussion

Wild Party—United Artists. Direction, Harry Horner. Anthony Quinn lends the vigor of his colorful personality to the role of a one-time professional football player who has sunk to the dregs of society and has become unbalanced in the process. The picture makes an effort to maintain a decadent, sinister mood but breaks down in a few scenes to become mediocre melodrama. Leading players: Anthony Quinn, Carol Ohmart.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Matter of taste	No	No

The Women of Pitcairn Island—20th Century-Fox. Direction, Jean Yarbrough. An amateurish film about the native wives and children of the mutineers of the *H.M.S. Bounty*—how they fared on their own and what they did when they met a band of marauding pirates. Student reviewers agreed that acting, direction, and script are uniformly weak and that the dialogue is ludicrous in parts. Leading players: Lynne Bari, James Craig.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Poor	Poor	Poor

Zarak—Columbia. Direction, Terence Young. A Technicolor adventure story laid in northwestern India at the time of British colonialism. Victor Mature plays Zarak Khan, a legendary bandit. He is victorious against the British until the day he accidentally kills a holy man and is forced by his sense of guilt to turn himself over to the enemy. When the British are captured by a khañ whom he once tricked, Mr. Mature gives his life for his foes. Routine production values. Leading players: Victor Mature, Anita Ekberg.

<i>Adults</i>	15-18	12-15
Run-of-the-mill adventure story		Yes

16MM FILMS

Appointment with Youth—McGraw-Hill. 26 minutes. A young teacher reviews his own career to provide a searching and candid answer to his student's question, "Is teaching a good profession?" His experiences indicate the wide range of skills and the perceptiveness that are required of an effective teacher. As the teacher matures in his profession, he realizes that the greatest rewards are not good working hours, salary, and vacations, but the deep personal satisfaction of contributing to the growth of his students. An excellent film for high school vocational guidance groups and for programs designed to promote public understanding of the teacher's role in our society.

The Honorable Mountain—Ray Fielding Productions. 22 minutes. Delicate, sensitive photography evokes the atmosphere and feeling of the annual Japanese pilgrimage up the steep slopes of Fujiyama to the Buddhist shrine at its peak. The simple rites at the shrine are most impressive.

Learning—McGraw-Hill. Part I—*Reinforcement and Extinction*. 8 minutes. The learning processes in human beings and in various forms of animal life are the subject of the fascinating studies depicted in this film. At the Harvard Psychological Laboratories pigeons were taught to perform many functions other than their normal ones. Highly entertaining, as well as informative, the picture shows the same principles of learning being applied to the behavior of children in everyday situations. Part II—*Discriminations and Skills*. 10 minutes. The same pigeons, becoming more sophisticated, are taught to discriminate between different sounds, between colors, and between sound and silence. Known as "stimulus discrimination," this principle governs human responses to similar types of learning situations. Part III—*Controlling Behavior Through Reinforcement*. 16 minutes. The incredible birds are used to demonstrate how the rate of work and the way in which work is distributed within a given period of time can be controlled. Similar experiments are made in an elementary school classroom. Witty, interesting scripts.

MOTION PICTURES PREVIOUSLY REVIEWED

Attack—Children, no; young people, very mature; adults, interesting.

Around the World in Eighty Days—Children, long, but fun; young people and adults, delightful.

Baby Doll—Children and young people, no; adults, matter of taste.

Bandido—Children, poor but not overly violent; young people, poor; adults, mediocre.

The Bespoke Overcoat—Excellent.

The Best Things in Life Are Free—Children, yes; young people, lively musical; adults, nostalgic.

Between Heaven and Hell—Children, yes; young people and adults, matter of taste.

Beyond a Reasonable Doubt—Children, yes; young people and adults, mystery fans.

The Boss—Children and young people, mature; adults, matter of taste.

Bus Stop—Children and young people, mature; adults, very good.

Cha-Cha-Cha-Boom—Children, no; young people, poor; adults, matter of taste.

A Cowboy Needs a Horse—Children, amusing; young people and adults, good.

A Cry in the Night—Children, no; young people and adults, mediocre.

Curucu, Beast of the Amazon—Children, no; young people and adults, poor.

Davy Crockett and the River Pirates—Mediocre.

Death of a Scoundrel—Children, no; young people, poor; adults, matter of taste.

The Desperadoes Are in Town—Very poor.

Emperor Penguins—Entertaining.

Everything but the Truth—Good.

Finger of Guilt—Children, no; young people, mature; adults, good mystery.

The First Traveling Saleslady—Children and young people, poor; adults, contrived humor.

Flight to Hong Kong—Children, no; young people, poor; adults, matter of taste.

Friendly Persuasion—Excellent.

Giant—Children, not for the restless; young people and adults, highly entertaining.

The Girl He Left Behind—Poor.

The Grand Maneuver—Children, no; young people, quite mature; adults, good.

The Great American Pastime—Children and young people, poor; adults, mediocre.

Gun the Man Down—Poor.

High Society—Children, mature; young people, sophisticated; adults, amusing light entertainment.

Istanbul—Fair.

I've Lived Before—Children, mature; young people, yes; adults, matter of taste.

The Jaywalker—Excellent.

Julie—Tense thriller for all ages.

La Strada—Children, no; young people, outstanding but definitely mature; adults, outstanding.

The Last Man to Hang—Children, mature; young people and adults, mediocre.

The Last Wagon—Children, no; young people, poor; adults, matter of taste.

Love Me Tender—Matter of taste.

Madame Butterfly—Excellent.

Magnificent Seven—Children, mature and too long; young people, mature; adults, art film enthusiasts.

Man from Del Rio—Children and young people, mature; adults, fair.

Man in the Vault—Weak crime melodrama.

Marcelino—Children and young people, mature; adults, appealing.

The Mole People—Children, no; young people and adults, very poor.

The Mountain—Children, no; young people and adults, mediocre.

Nightfall—Children and young people, yes; adults, good of its type.

Odango—Children, yes; young people, good; adults, good of its type.

The Opposite Sex—Children, no; young people, very poor; adults, poor and dated.

The Peacemaker—Children, a bit slow; young people, yes; adults, pleasant.

Pharaoh's Curse—Children and young people, waste of time; adults, poor.

Pillars of the Sky—Children, yes; young people and adults, western fans.

Port Afrique—Children, no; young people, mature; adults, whodunit fans.

The Power and the Prize—Children, no; young people, mature; adults, contrived handling of an interesting theme.

Private's Progress—Children and young people, dialogue occasionally difficult to understand; adults, entertaining.

Reprisal—Western fans.

Revolt at Fort Laramie—Good western melodrama.

Riff—Children, no; young people, mature; adults, good.

Rumble on the Dock—Children, no; young people, poor; adults, matter of taste.

Running Target—An off-beat western.

The Search for Bridey Murphy—Children, poor; young people, possibly; adults, matter of taste.

Secrets of Life—Excellent.

The Seventh Cavalry—Children, second half is good; young people, yes; adults, commendable for lack of violence.

The Shark Fighters—Children and young people, poor; adults, matter of taste.

The Ship That Died of Shame—Children, mature; young people and adults, good.

The Silent World—Excellent underwater excursion.

The Solid Gold Cadillac—Excellent.

Stagecoach to Fury—Children, no; young people, poor; adults, matter of taste.

Suicide Mission—Good.

Tea House of the August Moon—Excellent satiric farce for all ages.

Tea and Sympathy—Children and young people, no; adults, provocative.

Teenage Rebel—Children, possibly; young people, yes; adults, well produced.

The Ten Commandments—Elaborate Biblical spectacle.

Tension at Table Rock—Children, tense; young people and adults, western fans.

These Wilder Years—Children, no; young people, mature; adults, matter of taste.

Three for Jamie Dawn—Children, no; young people, mature; adults, fair.

Three Violent People—Children, poor; young people and adults, western soap opera.

Toward the Unknown—Good.

Two Loves Had I—Children, slow; young people, yes; adults, matter of taste.

The Unguarded Moment—Children, no; young people, mature; adults, mediocre.

Utah Blaine—Children, yes; young people and adults, western fans.

The Vagabond King—Children, possibly; young people, yes; adults, nostalgic musical.

Vitelloni—Children and young people, no; adults, matter of taste.

War and Peace—Children and young people, yes; adults, brilliant achievement.

Wee Geardie—Very enjoyable.

White Squaw—Poor western.

A Woman's Devotion—Children, no; young people, poor; adults, matter of taste.

Written on the Wind—Children and young people, no; adults, matter of taste.

You Can't Run Away from It—Children and young people, mediocre; adults, matter of taste.

OPINIONS BY POST

Dear Editor:

Some time ago I became interested in a criminal matter involving juvenile delinquency. A manufacturing company that I represent as attorney had taken on a sixteen-year-old boy as its messenger. The boy, Carl, was hired through another employee, who knew his family. The company had carefully checked Carl's past. The personnel supervisor had talked with the high school principal to determine why Carl was not in school. He found that Carl had not done satisfactory work in his studies and had left before graduating.

One of the tasks assigned to Carl, as company messenger, was to go to the bank with the daily receipts—about ten thousand dollars. He usually left at one o'clock, since the bank closed at two. One day he was given seven thousand dollars in checks and three thousand in cash, along with the deposit slip made up by the cashier of the company.

That particular afternoon Carl did not return to the office at the usual time. The company cashier called the bank and learned that no money had been deposited to the company's credit that day. She telephoned Carl's parents, who said he had not been home.

At this point I was called in, and we notified the police. Eventually they discovered that Carl had gone to Texas by plane. There he was arrested when he tried to purchase a motor scooter and displayed a package of bills containing a little less than three thousand dollars. Seeing it, the shop owner became suspicious and called the local constable.

Being active in P.T.A. work, I sought to determine whether the P.T.A. might have helped develop some program that could prevent an episode of this kind. I talked with Carl's parents, both of whom were employed. His mother said that he never complained about schoolwork, just didn't seem to have "a knack for schooling." The father said his wife had never complained to him about Carl, so he assumed things had gone along satisfactorily. As a matter of fact, he thought Carl had completed high school.

I asked the mother if she had ever belonged to the P.T.A. when Carl was in elementary school or high school. She said she had refused to join because she was so embarrassed by the boy's low grades. Apparently the P.T.A. had not fallen down anywhere—unless in a remote way, by not having enrolled the boy's parents while Carl was still in school. But what a difference the P.T.A. would have made! If they had belonged, they would have come to know Carl's teachers and, through them, to understand his school problems.

These parents had failed in their duty to their child, to themselves, and to the community. They were now paying a high price for their sins of omission.

Cases like this bring home most effectively to all of us the fact that the P.T.A. is more than a link between parents and teachers and children. It is a vehicle for the successful, productive cooperation of parents and teachers—the value of which will manifest itself in the well-being of our children in years to come. Without active participation in a local parent-teacher association we are not being fair to ourselves, and we are not being fair to our children. If they cause us pain in the future we shall find it the more unbearable knowing that we did not grasp the opportunity available to us to assure their healthy physical, mental, and emotional development. Meditating on Carl's case I say to all parents, "Join your P.T.A. The time is now."

RAYMOND P. JANICEK

President, Emerson School P.T.A.

Berwyn, Illinois

Dear Editor:

I have just read in the *Reader's Digest* the condensed article, "College Two Years Sooner." [Editor's note: This article by Arthur D. Morse appeared in the *National Parent-Teacher* last October under the title "They're Breaking the Lock Step in Our Schools."]

I am now eighty-seven years old. The article brought to mind an experience of sixty or so years ago. In our local school I taught first-graders for two years. Then I was substitute teacher in other grades for a while. One year, a month before the closing of school, I noticed a young boy in section B. (Classes were divided into A and B for convenience.) He idled away his time but was brighter than his classmates, so I advanced him to section A. He not only did the work but was the brightest pupil in the class. Thus he was advanced a year in ten days' time.

By the end of the month, having consulted with the principal and the teacher of the grade above mine, I decided to advance the boy another year. We told him of this, with the understanding that it was a trial advancement only. If the work proved to be too much, he was to be put back into the A grade from which he was promoted. To this arrangement he joyously and readily agreed. He never had to be demoted.

From my own experience I also found that most children were put in school too young. Starting at seven or eight years of age they grasped the work sooner and advanced more rapidly. One country boy, minus any schooling, started at twelve. In a short time, a year or so, he reached the level of other pupils his age. . . .

The Ford Foundation and other scholarship programs can, I feel, do wonderful things for bright young people like these I have known.

GRACE D. DANFORTH

Charleston, Missouri

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Commemorate Founders Day...

February 17

Where Children Come First

* A STUDY OF THE P.T.A. IDEA *

by
Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

For sixty years the growth of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has been steady, at times spectacular, and always affirming the infinite worth of parent-teacher work. The story of this impressive growth and its meaning for countless children is told in the aptly titled social history of the parent-teacher organization—*Where Children Come First: A Study of the P.T.A. Idea*.

During the month in which we all commemorate the founding of the National Congress, it seems highly appropriate to announce that *Where Children Come First* is now available in a paper-back edition. Written by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, the book is an eloquent expression of the parent-teacher movement, its profound influence on the past, the present, and the future. Every member who wishes to be fully informed about the P.T.A. cannot fail to turn to this absorbing book for authentic information as well as for abiding inspiration.

The price of this paper-bound edition is only \$1.25.

Order from your state office or from the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

National Parent-Teacher

700 North Rush Street • Chicago 11, Illinois

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: March 28, 1957

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "THE FBI STORY"
BOOK REVIEW BY
DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

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In the Spring, 1957, edition of the American Association of University Professors Bulletin, Volume 43, Number 1, Dr. Harry A. Overstreet of Falls Church, Virginia, has an article entitled "For Our Professional Agenda" which contains favorable reference to "The FBI Story" by Don Whitehead.

Briefly, Dr. Overstreet speaks highly of the book and the professional qualifications of Don Whitehead. He suggests that "The FBI Story" be widely read and discussed in academic circles. He encourages fellow professors to ask the Director questions after thoroughly considering the book, stating that he has encountered no reluctance to lay the facts on the line.

Dr. Overstreet quotes Don Whitehead's preface in order to show why the book was written and to highlight the point that Whitehead made that the most important thing in the pioneering on the frontiers of law enforcement by the FBI was the struggle to achieve incorruptible enforcement of the law by professionals trained to protect civil rights. Overstreet states that the FBI is a type of national investigative and law enforcement agency that can stand the light of day. The Whitehead book, he explains, casts upon it that light of day and invites the people to make their appraisal. Dr. Overstreet ends by stating, "It is my hope that a great many members of the academic profession will be among those who accept the invitation."

DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET:

This is one of the best to date

Dr. Overstreet and his wife, Bonaro, are active in educational circles. Overstreet has been a member of several organizations which have been cited by the Attorney General as subversive and was affiliated with front groups in the 1930's and 1940's. The Overstreets came to the Bureau in May, 1953, at which time they talked with Mr. Nichols. They were concerned about public records as to their past activities, and they wanted to make clear their anti-communist position. Mr. Nichols did an outstanding job in "selling" the Bureau to the Overstreets, with the result that they have become his close friends, staunch defenders of the Bureau and rely upon Mr. Nichols

Enclosure sent 3-29-57

cc - Mr. Nichols

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Lones to Nichols Memorandum

for advice and guidance. They have appeared before several congressional committees testifying as to their past activities and have since written numerous articles and made many lecture tours devoted to the evils of communism and their experiences with the investigative process, taking strong exception to those who are critical of the process. The Overstreets have done the Bureau considerable good among honest liberal groups. The Overstreets have been described as being duped in the earlier days, but are doing their utmost to redeem themselves.

On May 27, 1955, the Overstreets were taken on a special tour of the Bureau. On October 25, 1955, Dr. Overstreet celebrated his 80th birthday at which time Mr. Nichols gave a party for him at his home. During the course of the party, Mr. Nichols personally delivered a letter from the Director congratulating him on his 80th birthday. On September 28, 1955, while at the Bureau, the Overstreets met the Director.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the attached letter be sent to Dr. Overstreet in response to his article.

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March 13, 1957

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Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

28715

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

Your fine review of "The FBI Story" which appeared in the February issue of the "National Parent-Teacher" has been called to my attention. Certainly, you have performed a most noteworthy service with this review which points out with great clarity the fact that Mr. Whitehead's book is a family book.

I was most pleased to read the conclusion of your review where you stated that the FBI is dedicated to the performance of its duties within its rightful orbit. This fact must constantly be brought before the public, for it is, after all, the cornerstone of law enforcement in a free society.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

RECORDED - 17

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COMM - FBI

MAR 13 1957

MAILED 20

cc - Mr. Nichols, with copy of column

NOTE: Bufiles reflect cordial correspondence with Mrs. Overstreet and her husband. Dr. Overstreet was written 12-7-56 in connection with a favorable story concerning "The FBI Story" which appeared in the 12-2-56 issue of the "Detroit Free Press."

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MAKING LIFE MAKE SENSE

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UNITED WE STAND. . .

Overstreet

Maybe this column is dated. Things become dated fast nowadays; and the incident we have in mind is more than two months old. But we want to get it off our minds; and we justify ourselves by the belief that somewhere at the core of this passing incident lies a permanent truth.

On the day Eisenhower took the oath of office for his second term, the inaugural edition of a newspaper lay spread out on our dining table, open at a page that featured a large photograph of the President and carried the caption, United We Stand Behind a Great Leader.

A reporter friend of ours, having found himself near our place on an assignment, had stopped by that afternoon to say hello. Restless, apparently, he didn't sit down. He dropped his overcoat on a chair and roamed broodingly around the room as he talked. Then we saw him stop by the table, look down at the outspread paper, and smile to himself.

"Sure," he said. "'United We Stand Behind a Great Leader. . .'" So if we belong to the opposition party or the other wing of his own party, we'll knife him every chance we get. We'll deplore his appointments, suspect his motives, question his intelligence, and accuse him of both neglecting his job and usurping power. 'United We Stand. . .'"

The irony in his voice was gentle rather than sharp; but it was certainly there.

"Hardly united enough," we suggested, "for a time of crisis."

He looked startled. "Not united. . .?" Oh, but we are.

That's the very cockeyed point of it all. Not many countries today

are as united as we are. That's why we can afford the luxury of NOT RECORDED knifing the President, deploring his appointments, suspecting his motives, questioning his intelligence. It takes a united people to afford, now, the old beautiful luxury of political opposition.

"The Communists certainly can't afford it. Maybe Russia is stepping up the production of consumer goods. Maybe the peasants are going to

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get a few luxuries they've never had. But there's one luxury no dictatorship can turn out in its factories: that's the freedom to belittle the man on top at the same time you're believing in him enough to hold the country together."

He reached for his overcoat. "Well. . .I'll be on my way. . ."

As he went out the door, he paused and turned -- letting in a stiff blast of January cold. "I'm a Stevenson man myself. I've got to get back to my job of deploring and suspecting. 'United We Stand. . .!'"

Perhaps one reason why we can still hear not only his words but the gentle irony of his voice is that the incident brought back to us an older memory.

One evening nine or ten years ago, we had twenty-four guests at a buffet supper in our New York apartment: half of them from various of the United Nations; the other half what we might call Americans at large.

A number of the foreign delegates who had children of school age were eager to learn about American education. The "natives" were more than willing to discuss it. And discuss it they did -- recalling their own schooling; commenting on their childrens'; and making some whopping generalizations about both.

As it happened, they had gone to schools pretty much all over the continent: schools large and small, good and mediocre, progressive and conservative and backward. Their children, moreover, were in widely varied types of urban and suburban schools.

No sooner, then, did they start "instructing" the outsiders than they started disagreeing among themselves: about both what goes on and what should go on in American education. On one point only, it began to appear, they all emphatically agreed: that our schools aren't what they should be.

A comment made by one of the foreign delegates at the end of the evening still lingers in our memory. He was from a certain Latin American country that has suffered many political upheavals and that was, at that time, in the throes of more than ordinary crisis. His voice was wistful as he lingered at the door a moment, and turned to say, "It must be wonderful to have such faith in your country that can criticize it like that. . ."

United We Stand. . .

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Release April 21, 1957

MAKING LIFE MAKE SENSE

By Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

NONSENSE UNLIMITED

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"And summed it so well that it came to

far more

Than the Witnesses ever had said!"

---Lewis Carroll

We have before us a United Press report of the conclusions reached by eight "impartial observers" who were permitted to attend the recent 16th convention of the Communist Party in America, a convention from which even the press was rigorously excluded.

In addition to A.J. Muste, who acted as chief spokesman, and Stringfellow Barr, former president of St. John's College and now lecturer and publicist, the group was made up of representatives from The Catholic Worker, the War Resisters' League, the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

The eight, according to UP, gave as their impression that the Communist Party in this country is too weak, now, to be considered any threat to our security; that no one faction dominated the convention; and that the sessions were "democratically conducted."

With regard to the Party's claim that it had broken with the Kremlin and become an independent American party, they recommended a wait-and-see attitude: said it would be best "to let the actual behavior of the party and its members determine the verdict."

While they criticized the Communists for not condemning Soviet military intervention in Hungary, their really harsh criticism appears to have been reserved, not for anything that took place at the

Communist Party convention, but for the Senate Internal Security Committee, which had issued a subpoena to Eugene Dennis, former General Secretary of the Party. To these "impartial observers" such a summons to Dennis was an "un-American practice of governmental inquisition into political opinions and activities."

New Day or Tactical Shift?

7 APR 1 1957

To our minds, this is nonsense: well-meaning nonsense, no doubt;

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but nonsense unlimited.

Immunity to investigation could properly be claimed by the Communists only on the basis that their Party actually came within the American structure of institutions and was not in any sense the conspiratorial tool of a foreign and hostile power. Yet the "impartial observers" themselves say they will have to wait and see whether or not the Party has broken with the Kremlin. How could it break with the Kremlin if it had not been tied to it? If it has been tied to the Kremlin, and if even these "impartial observers" are not sure that these ties have been broken, how in the name of common sense can a Congressional effort to learn the score be rated as an un-American inquisition?

Both Eugene Dennis and William Z. Foster have been unqualified exponents of the closest possible ties between Soviet Russia and Communist parties outside Russia. Neither has ever countenanced the idea of independent national Communist parties. To both, the Soviet "line," with all its abrupt twists and turns, has been the only true Communist "line."

Both these men were, at the 16th convention, voted out of long-held, top offices. Does this mean the repudiation of their viewpoint? The convention resolved that the "American Communist Party will interpret and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism." Does this mean a new day of policies made in America, in accord with American principles? Or does it simply mean one more tactical shift -- in the hope of lulling Americans into a false sense of security and forming a new "common front" with the lulled?

Some Things Seen

The "impartial observers" say, "Wait and see." But some things can be seen without waiting.

First, both Foster and Dennis were among the 20 delegates-at-large appointed to the national committee; and among the 11 appointed to the administrative committee -- the very formation of this latter being at Foster's suggestion. Does this argue the repudiation of these men and of their interpretation of "the science of Marxism-Leninism?" It seems a queer sort of repudiation.

Second, every "democratically conducted" debate during the convention in which anything of real moment was at stake ended with the triumph of Foster's point of view.

Third, the convention refused to take a stand on either of the two issues on which it might have registered a strong "American" reaction: namely, Soviet intervention in Hungary; and the growth of anti-Semitism in Russia. Both issues were simply passed along to the national committee.

Fourth, no authentic American political convention excludes the press -- and it's a safe guess that these "impartial observers" would be among the first to protest if it did.

Fifth, while the press was told that, in the judgment of the convention, Soviet Russia had made some mistakes, all specification of such mistakes was evaded.

We say: Look at the record; and then call nonsense, nonsense.

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Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

Your thoughtful letter of April 1, 1957, has been received, and you may be assured that I have no objection whatsoever to the quotation from my letter of March 29 in the enclosure.

Frankly, I am most dismayed to learn that many persons in the academic field have the assumption that it would do no good to ask questions of me or my associates. While it is true that an essential element of confidence attends much of the FBI's work, this does not prevent our furnishing specific information as to matters of jurisdiction, policies and procedures. Doubts and misunderstandings cannot be resolved if the persons who harbor them refuse to make an honest effort to learn what the facts actually are; and I am amazed that such thinking could prevail among the very persons whose lives are devoted to seeking truth.

Your efforts to overcome this attitude as it has been applied to this Bureau are greatly appreciated; and I wish you every success in convincing your colleagues that my associates and I welcome the opportunity to discuss any questions which exist now or arise in the future.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover
FBI

- Tolson
- Nichols
- Boardman
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
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cc - Mr. Nichols

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HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
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April 1, 1957

Mr. Tolson	✓
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Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
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Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Thank you very warmly for your generous letter about my article in the American Association of University Professors Bulletin.

I hope you will not feel that I have taken an improper liberty in quoting one paragraph of your letter to Dr. George Pope Shannon, Editor of the Bulletin. I attach a carbon of my letter to him. I have written it, as I am sure you will understand, simply to make explicit your willingness to help clear up any confusions or misinterpretations that may exist in the minds of educators with reference to the practices and purposes of the FBI. There has been, I know, a fairly wide-spread assumption among academic people that it would do no good to put questions directly to you or your associates: that the questioner would either be told that necessary secrecy precluded the giving of an answer or would be put off with a stereotyped response that really answered nothing. It is this assumption that I would like to undercut. I would like my colleagues to know not only that you will, to the best of your ability, weigh and answer their questions but also that you will give a fair hearing to their points of view, crediting them with integrity of intention, and recognizing that their views are shaped in the image of their lifelong experience and commitment.

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet

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April 1, 1957

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Dr. George Pope Shannon
American Association of University Professors
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, DC

Dear Pope, ~~Shannon~~

From our point of view, it is exceedingly good news that you are to be here for another year and a half; for we are by no means prepared to have you two absent yourselves from our vicinity. Too many things remain yet to be talked about -- including your own post-retirement plans.

Thank you for your explanation about the resolutions. We will both make ourselves familiar with the Sidney Hook - Ralph Fuchs "Joint Statement." We feel very strongly, as we are sure you do, that the still unresolved issues in the field of liberty-security call for the most generous will, on everyone's part, to explore what is deeply at stake and to weigh differences of viewpoint fairly, in the hope of helping our country to evolve tactics commensurate with both its crisis-born needs and its long-range intentions with regard to man in society. We have much regretted, through the years, the extent to which comments upon these issues -- from one side and then another -- have seemed to reflect what Eric Bentley calls "motive mongering" rather than a recognition of the actual complexities involved.

I think you may be interested in a paragraph from a letter that came to me a few days ago from Mr. J. Edgar Hoover: a letter indicating that he had read my article in the Bulletin:

"My associates and I hope that 'The FBI Story' will be widely discussed in educational circles and that many of your colleagues will take advantage of your suggestion to direct their questions to me. In this way, I am confident misunderstandings and erroneous conceptions, particularly in the field of civil liberties can be resolved."

For our own part, as you know, we feel that the more honest-minded discussion we can have across lines of real or assumed difference of opinion, the better; and, also, that there is never any substitute, when we want information, for going direct to the person in the best position to supply it.

With best wishes from both of us to both of you,

Cordially.

GEM:lmh

99397 March 29, 1957

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/cal

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

It has just been my pleasure to read your article, "For Our Professional Agenda," which appears in the Spring, 1957, edition of the American Association of University Professors Bulletin, and I am indeed grateful to you for encouraging others in the academic profession to read Don Whitehead's objective portrayal of our activities and responsibilities.

My associates and I hope that "The FBI Story" will be widely discussed in educational circles and that many of your colleagues will take advantage of your suggestion to direct their questions to me. In this way, I am confident misunderstandings and erroneous conceptions, particularly in the field of civil liberties, can be resolved.

We are most appreciative of your kind references to "The FBI Story" and, of course, hope that our efforts will continue to merit the confidence you have expressed in our work.

COMM - FBI
MAR 29 1957
MAILED 30

RECORDED - 8
Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

APR 16 1957

cc Mr. Nichols

NOTE: See Jones to Nichols Memo dated March 28, 1957, captioned "The FBI Story," Book Review by Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, Falls Church, Virginia, " GEM:lmh.

GEM:lvp

(4)

64 APR 15 1957

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Nease
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

326 W. MADISON STREET • CHICAGO ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

ROBERT C. DILLE, General Manager

Release May 19, 1957

DATE 5-20-82 BY SP8BTJ/COL

MAKING LIFE MAKE SENSE

By

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

DOUBLE TALK

At the recent 16th convention of the American Communist Party it was resolved that "the American Communist Party will interpret and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism."

When we think of what the word "science" genuinely means, it would seem to be time to give that old Communist cliché an overhauling. It has bemused and confused countless numbers of bright young people and invested dull Communist speeches with the aura of scientific authority.

It is time to say very simply but firmly, "The King has no clothes on!" Marxism-Leninism is not science for the very obvious reason that it doesn't act like science. It acts like dogma, and very questionable dogma at that.

The Greatest Pride

The very essence of science, as any informed person knows, is the willingness to examine not only all evidence at hand, but all that may later be revealed, and to change, without hesitation and equivocation, if the evidence calls for change. Every scientific conclusion presents itself as a hypothesis to be put to the test of experiment.

No genuinely scientific conclusion ever presents itself as a finality, to be imposed with force and rejected at peril. It never comes as a Manifesto, a public declaration of intention and action.

The greatest pride of science is its willingness to be proved mistaken. It accepts every genuine proof of a mistake as another truth to put into its bag.

The Difference In Brief

Communist thinking is the exact opposite of all this. It presents not a tentative hypothesis to be examined and tested by experiment. It presents an irreversible Truth, to be obeyed to the letter. To Communism, dissent is Heresy.

Thus Communism's pride lies not in a willingness to be proved

taken but in the fact of being right and absolutely right. Nor is

APR 17 1957

- more -

INDEXED-5

NOT RECORDED

14 APR 12 1957

W.C. Sullivan

Blay/B

file 4/1/mc

it ever grateful at having its mistakes revealed. "Let the critic beware" is Communism's grim warning.

In brief, the sharp difference between the two is that science is willing from beginning to end to preserve the tentativeness of a hypothesis. On the other hand, from the very beginning to the very end, Communism insists on being a finality, an enforceable and to-be-enforced Truth.

A Savage Science

What is most striking about all this is the sharply divergent qualities of mind that are encouraged by science on the one hand and Communism on the other.

Science encourages the seeking mind; the mind that asks questions; explores; doubts, tries out different angles of approach; isn't arrogantly sure. It thinks of alternative possibilities.

Communism, on the other hand, encourages the committed mind; the mind that does not seek because it already possesses; that does not knock because it has already entered and slammed the door shut. Communism encourages the arrogant, ruthless, intolerant mind, the mind that sees no alternative possibilities.

Science is creatively modest; Communism is uncreatively conceited. Science moves ahead; Communism is at dead end.

To call Communism "scientific" is like calling a savage scientific because he has learned unfailingly to discriminate between those who speak his own language and those who don't; and who splits the heads of those who don't.

The Hope Was Soon Dashed

Just how unscientific Communists can be was seen at this 16th convention in one of the final resolutions adopted. "Membership in the national working class or party includes the right and responsibility to make friendly criticism of brother parties or the actions of Socialist governments." (In short, it looked as if the Communists were at last admitting the scientific principle of open criticism and correction. But the hope was soon dashed for the resolution went

on:) "At the same time, it requires that such criticism shall be within the framework of recognition, that the fundamental conflict of

Page #3, May 19, 1957 Making Life Make Sense

all peoples is with the forces of imperialism." In other words, Communists were welcome to criticize, but never to criticize the Communist Dogma!

When Communism says "science" it means "dogma." Double talk.

It is said that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. Communism, calling itself "science," smells just as sour and rancid as any other ill-conceived and violently enforced dogma.

(Copyright 1957, John F. Dille Co.)

May 28, 1957

Hand - ?

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
Room 536
Emergency Hospital
1711 New York Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-82 BY SPBBTJ/CAL

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I was very sorry to learn of your hospitalization, but it was encouraging indeed to get the news of the success of your operation and that it will only be a matter of a few days until you are enjoying your usual good health. I do hope you will exercise every precaution to ensure your speedy recovery.

VR

With every good wish,

RECORDED - 51

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

100-44575-77

MAILED 2
MAY 29 1957
COMM - FBI

JUN 5 1957

(Note: Cover memo from Nichols to Tolson 5-28-57 re Dr. Harry A. Overstreet prepared by LBN:nl)

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Boardman _____
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Parsons _____
Rosen _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____

cc-Mr. Jones

LBN:nl:jmr

50 JUN 7 1957

Handwritten initials and marks

BONARO W. OVERSTREET

1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN

LAKE BARCROFT

FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

June 2, 1957

322

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
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Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ALG

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Mr. Overstreet has asked me to send
you his warm thanks for your thoughtful note.

As Mr. Nichols has probably told you,
he is coming along even better than we would have
expected and will probably come home on Tuesday. Then
it will be simply a matter of patient recuperation; and
with the clear Summer ahead, he will have ample time
for that.

Meanwhile, during this present stage of
hospital boredom, friendly letters such as yours are a
real help.

Sincerely,

Bonaro W. Overstreet
Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

Va { Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet

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RECORDED-92

EXP. PROC. 51

JUN 3 1957

50 JUN 1

100-114575-98

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: July 9, 1957

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

SUBJECT: MRS. BONARO W. OVERSTREET
SPECIAL TOUR - JULY 9, 1957

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Gandy	_____

Mrs. Overstreet was conducted on a special tour of both the headquarter's office and the Identification Building on July 9, 1957, by Special Agent Hoxie of Crime Records Section. While touring the Identification Building Mrs. Overstreet had her fingerprints taken for retention in Identification Division files. She was accompanied by Mrs. ~~X~~ Strawbridge of Mill Valley, California, and her two children, Roger and Daphne. All members of this party fired a machine gun and expressed their extreme pleasure for the courtesies extended to them.

As you will recall, they met briefly with you at the time of this tour.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information

100-114575-179
20 JUL 10 1957RECORDED
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EX - 116

HEH:mrh

(2)

60 JUL 15 1957

CRIME RECORDS

July 9, 1957

PERSONAL

RECORDED - 91

INDEXED

Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet
1098 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

100-114575-80

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

After looking over your article, "The Adult Educator and the World Communist," which appears in the June issue of "Adult Leadership," I could not let the opportunity go by without dropping you this personal note to tell you what a constructive job I think you have done in making available to educators materials through which they can acquire a better understanding of the objectives and methods of communism.

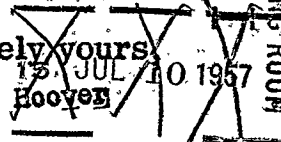
I was particularly impressed by the editorial note on page 36 which set forth your objective, namely "to clarify the nature of communism..." As you know, I have always felt that the investigative process is necessary when law violations occur from the broad preventive aspect of internal security. However, the ultimate fight against world communism must be conducted on the educational front, and as we move from one period to another it is becoming increasingly clear that the educational process needs to be heightened and extended to the end that every thinking person can be brought face to face with the realities of the basic tenets of communism. Only then will its menace become real and understandable.

I was so impressed with the article that I have taken the liberty of writing Mr. Nicholas P. Mitchell, the editor of "Adult Leadership." A copy of my letter is enclosed.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



JUL 9 3 39 PM '57

- Tolson
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- Belmont
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Trotter
- Nease
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

NOTE: Cover memo from Nichols to Tolson dated 7/8/57

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

July 9, 1957

PERSONAL

RECORDED - 91 100-114575-80

Mr. Nicholas P. Mitchell
Director of Extension
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

EX - 116

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have just had the opportunity of reading the June issue of your magazine, "Adult Leadership," which was devoted to the very excellent article, "The Adult Educator and the World Communist," by Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet.

As I read the article, I could not help but be impressed at the manner in which Mrs. Overstreet presented her subject and the urgent need to develop the educational process as our most effective means of combating the menace of communism. For many years I have held to the view that our law enforcement methods are necessary where laws are being violated. Nevertheless, in the final analysis, the communist menace can best be met through an energetic, vigorous and intelligent application of the educational process. The fact that your magazine is using it as a medium to carry the message into the educational world is heartening, and I could not let this opportunity pass without dropping this personal note expressing my appreciation on the fine job that has been done.

COMM - FBI

JUL 9 - 1957

MAILED 19

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

LBN:hpf
(6)

cc - Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet
cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

NOTE: Cover memo from Nichols to Tolson dated July 8, 1957

REC'D-READING ROOM

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Viper*

DATE: July 8, 1957

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

SUBJECT:

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 Gandy _____

I am attaching hereto the June issue of Adult Leadership. " This issue is devoted to a single article by Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet, wife of Dr. Harry Overstreet, entitled "The Adult Educator and the World Communist." It is excellent in every respect, bearing in mind that it is being directed essentially to school leaders and college professors specializing in education. It is being directed to an area where we have been woefully weak and where considerable missionary work needs to be done.

What Mrs. Overstreet does is to provide references to a body of materials which would give the educator an insight to the communist problem. There are a couple of portions that are well worth reading. On page 58 she deals with infiltration tactics and makes some exceedingly strong statements on why communists should not be teachers. At the top of page 60 she deals with the FBI through references to the book, "The FBI Story."

The idea for this article started approximately a year ago when the Overstreets had dinner with us one evening. I started urging them to take the offensive in the educational field. This they have done in an excellent manner against considerable obstacles which they had to overcome first of all with the editors of "Adult Leadership," selling them on the idea of devoting the entire edition to this one subject. Secondly, they had to cast the article in a way that it would be read by the ultra liberal educator who does not know the facts of life.

They have deliberately selected some materials which they put into this article as a tactic to direct attention of certain educators such as by referring to certain books in passing because of the weight these authors carry in ultra liberal educational circles such as Granville Hicks' book, "Where We Came Out," which tells of his conversion away from communism; "Civil Liberties Under Attack," which was a compilation by Henry Commager, Robert K. Carr, Gellhorn and others. The great bulk of the materials, however, are good

LBN:hpf

(4)

Enclosures *sent* 7-8-57

cc - Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont

SE 3

RECORDED - 91

INDEXED - 91

JUL 12 1957

ENCLOSURE

ENCLO. ATTACHED

EX - 116

ORIGINAL

5-45

Memo to Mr. Tolson .

substantial anticommunist references. I have the feeling that this is one of the finest things that has been done in the fight against communism directed into the academic world where so much fuzziness does exist.

I would like to recommend the Director write Mrs. Overstreet and Nicholas P. Mitchell, the editor of "Adult Leadership." Mitchell is director of the Extension of the University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina. There is nothing derogatory in our files on him. We investigated his son, Nicholas Pendleton Mitchell, III, in 1954 in an Atomic Energy applicant case. Nothing of a derogatory nature developed.

William Gaines, the City Editor of the "Greenville News," has been acquainted with the family since 1934 and stated that Mitchell, the editor, was Professor of Political Science at Furman University from 1934 to 1944, and since 1944 has been associated with the "Greenville News" as Associate Editor and with radio station WFBC.

So far as the Adult Education Association is concerned there is nothing of a substantive derogatory nature. A Four-Square Gospel preacher, Reverend Warren L. Koon, wrote in in December, 1954. He was prompted to believe that the magazine might not be to the best interests of American welfare. John W. Cuyton, Starkville, Mississippi, raised a question about the Adult Education Association since his sister-in-law received a letter in a folder describing the Adult Education Association from a Negro woman. Quite naturally the Adult Education Association takes the liberal view against segregation.

We also had a letter from J. C. Phillips, Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee of the American Legion, Borger, Texas. He takes issue because some members of the Adult Education Association, including the head of the Adult Education Association at Texas Tech and others. He commented that the 14th Amendment of the Constitution was written for the selfish purpose of property owners, but it nevertheless serves a good purpose by giving the Negro the right of citizenship by due law. Such comments can be expected.

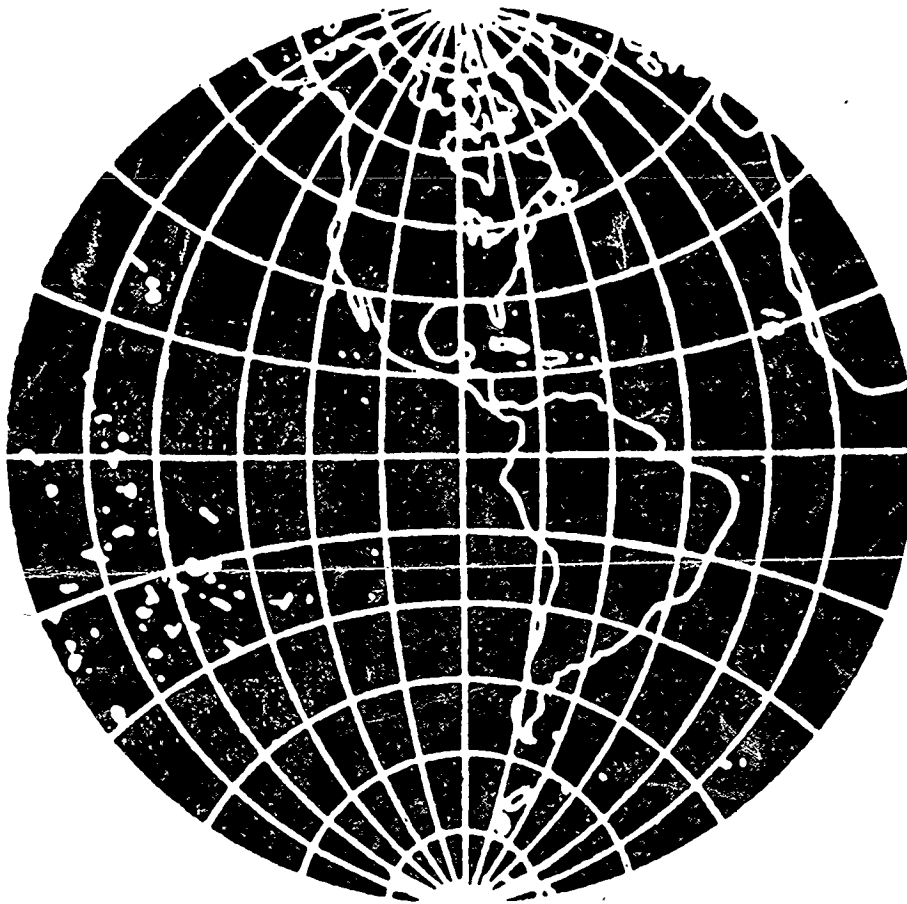
A letter to Mitchel and Mrs. Overstreet are attached.

✓ ✓ ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

100-114575-80 ENCLOSURE

ADULT leadership



SPECIAL ISSUE:

**The
ADULT EDUCATOR
and the
WORLD COMMUNIST**

100 - 114575 - 80

ADULT

Leadership

A publication of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.

Vol. 6

No. 2

June, 1957

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ADULT LEADERSHIP

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Columbia, South Carolina

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Annual fee for membership: \$5.00, \$2.50 of which is
for one year's subscription to ADULT LEADERSHIP.

Subscription price to non-members: Domestic, \$5.00
a year; Canada, \$5.50; Foreign, \$6.00.

Four weeks advance notice to the Circulation Of-
fice, including an old address label, is necessary
for change of address.

ADULT LEADERSHIP is published monthly, except
July and August, by the Adult Education Associa-
tion of the United States of America, with the
assistance of a grant from the Fund for Adult
Education. Copyright 1957 by the Adult Education
Association of the U.S.A. Published at 404 N.
Wesley Ave., Mount Morris, Ill. Second class entry
authorized at Mount Morris, Ill.

Address all correspondence on circulation, edi-
torial, and advertising matters to ADULT LEAD-
ERSHIP, 743 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago 11, Ill.

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SOME 26 distinguished educators are serving on the ADULT LEADERSHIP Advisory Board this year. They are: JOHN M. EKLUND, National Farmers Union, Denver; GORDON HEARN, University of California, Berkeley; LUCY MORGAN, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; COURTENAY BELL, Girl Scouts of Metropolitan Detroit; RUSSELL BARTA, Catholic Adult Education Centers, Chicago; LEON A. FELDMAN, Jewish Education Committee of New York City; SAMUEL HAND, Florida State Department of Education, Tallahassee; LEVI L. SMITH, University of Akron, Akron, O.; LAURENCE F. KINNEY, Memphis Adult Education Center, Memphis, Tenn.; LLOYD W. SCHRAM, University of Washington, Seattle; ELBERT W. BURR, Monsanto Chemical Co., St. Louis; JOHN R. MILES, Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., Washington, D.C.; MRS. FRED J. PANNUWITT, PTA and League of Women Voters, Evanston, Ill.; SAMUEL D. FREEMAN, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York; SIGRID EDGE, Simmons College, Boston; ALVIN ZANDER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; WILLIAM HOLLISTER, Public Health Service, Atlanta, Ga.; ETHEL CHRISTIANSON, Young Women's Christian Association, New York; DAVID HUNTER, Episcopal Church of America, Greenwich, Conn.; JEAN GRAMBS, Director, Adult Education, Prince George's County, Marlboro, Md.; MARGARET MONROE, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. HAZEL GABBARD, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.; WALTER A. GRAVES, NEA Journal, Washington, D.C.; GORDON LIPPITT, National Training Laboratories, Washington, D.C.; GLEN BURCH, Fund for Adult Education, White Plains, N.Y.; WILLIAM G. HOLLISTER, M.D., National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Md.

EDUCATIONAL
PRESS
ASSOCIATION
OF
AMERICA



Meet Our Associate Editors

ON THIS page are pictured the associate editors of ADULT LEADERSHIP, without whose enthusiastic cooperation the publication of our magazine, with its small professional staff, would be most difficult. All of them are distinguished educators, who have been good enough to add our work to their already busy schedules. One is missing—Marion E. Hawes, Coordinator of Adult Services, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, whose picture was not available. She is Associate Editor for Books and Pamphlets.

You as a reader of ADULT LEADERSHIP, whether or not you are a member of AEA, can help our volunteer editorial group with its efforts if you will suggest topics on which you would like to see articles written, and possible authors. We welcome material from all sources, and no one who feels the urge to write need wait for an invitation. Naturally, contribu-

tors must keep in mind the fact that ADULT LEADERSHIP's readers come from many walks of life. Their unifying factor is their common interest in the field of continuing education. Articles whose subject matter makes them of more concern to specialists in particular branches of the field belong in our quarterly publication, ADULT EDUCATION, and should be submitted to its editor, Dean Thurman White, Extension Division, University of Oklahoma.

It must also be made a matter of record that no compensation can be paid for contributions to either magazine. Your reward will have to be found in the knowledge that you have done your part to increase the material available in the most challenging branch of education.

It is our hope that during the summer months some of you will have the time and inclination to prepare manuscripts for our consideration. In

order that you may have the benefit of a little editorial guidance, for whatever it may be worth, please write the editor in charge of the particular content area in which you would like to help us. Tell him what you have in mind so that he may advise you how to proceed. Occasionally people get the same idea for a project. A little advance checking might avoid needless duplication of effort.

Our editorial staff is grateful for the assistance which it is receiving from the members of the ADULT LEADERSHIP Advisory Board, whose names are listed on the opposite page.

During the summer the format of ADULT LEADERSHIP is to be carefully studied, in order that there may be no doubt that our limited production funds are being used to the best advantage. If you have advice to offer, please direct your communication to our managing editor, Amy Fahlgren.

NICHOLAS P. MITCHELL, *Editor*



News of the Field

ROBERT A. LUKE, Assistant Director, Adult Education Division, NEA; Executive Secretary, NAPSAC.



Aims and Philosophy of Adult Education

GOODWIN WATSON, Professor of Education, Columbia University.



Developments in Social Science Research

ANDIE L. KNUTSON, Director, Russell Sage Project, University of California.



Practice in Informal Groups

ALAN F. KLEIN, Professor, Social Group Work, University of Pittsburgh.



Liberal Adult Education

A. A. LIVERIGHT, Director, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Chicago.



Practice in the Classroom

SAMUEL E. HAND, State Supervisor of Adult and Veteran Education, Florida Dept. of Education.



Practice in Community Development

H. CURTIS MIAL, Executive Director, New York State Citizens' Council, Inc.



Leadership and Executive Development

J. R. GIBB, Fels Group Dynamics Center and Professor, University of Delaware.



Audio-Visual Resources

ALBERT L. GOLDBERG, Assistant Professor, Audio-Visual Education, Wayne State University, Detroit.

The Adult Educator and

By BONARO W. OVERSTREET

ONLY yesterday, our western world came monstrosly close to being destroyed by a Fascism that not only consolidated its power under our very eyes but flaunted rather than concealed its intentions. Civilization still bears scars and festering wounds from that encounter.

Today, one-fourth of the earth's surface and one-third of the earth's people are within the orbit of Communism—a system which, in greater detail even than Fascism, has specified and reiterated its points of irreconcilability with us, its long-range plans of overthrow, and its interim tactics for winning piecemeal victories.

Never before in history have words on the printed page been so tenaciously and ruthlessly translated into action as by these totalitarian regimes; and the dreadful episodes go on and on. We might say, as matters stand now, that what was once written down in black and white—by Hitler; by Marx, Lenin, and Stalin—has become, for the West, the handwriting on the wall.

If the Communist purges, man-made famines, and hideous mock trials of the 1930's seem dated now in view of Stalin's down-grading; if the image of Hitler's concentration camps is blurred; if we find it hard to recall how the Nazis went into Poland, and into France, or how, later, one nation after another became a Soviet satellite; if even the events surrounding the Korean War and the rise of Red China have become vague, there are reminders nearer at hand of the long, steady encroachment of the "word" upon

the world of living people. Hungary, for example, is such a reminder.

It was the "new" Soviet regime, not the one that Stalin had made in his own image, that sent tanks and troops to support the puppet government of Kadar: the government which ordained, when the revolt had been crushed, that "the right of freedom is guaranteed only to those workers, peasants, and intellectuals who are faithful to the regime"; and that enemies of the regime "must face prosecution."

We know who those enemies of the regime chiefly were: students, workers, mature intellectuals, professional men and women. They were the Hungarian counterparts of those with whom we, as American educators, are accustomed to talk and laugh, think and work; and in whom we have invested much of our hope for mankind's future.

If there was still, on the eve of the Hungarian uprising, any breath of life left in the old illusion that Communism was a "people's movement"—or on the way to becoming so—it was snuffed out when the rebels, giving a new twist to an old phrase, begged the workers of the world to unite against Communism. Even if the illusion had been endowed with nine lives, as it sometimes seems to have been, it would still have died as the students and intellectuals, repudiating a system that had manacled their minds, made their desperate bid for freedom.

On Sunday night, November 4, 1956, three radio stations in Hungary bid for the world's listening ear. One of them, Radio Budapest, de-

tailed the Kadar government's official line: that reactionaries had fomented the uprising; and that Soviet Russia, under the terms of the Warsaw Pact, had "selflessly" responded to a call for help, thereby preventing "the rebirth of Fascism."

Radio Pecs (Soviet controlled) gave its version: "... the justified demands of workers, peasants, youth and intellectuals have been exaggerated by counter-revolutionary forces.

"Workers, support the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government established under the leadership of Comrade Janos Kadar. . . . Do not expect a better future from the counter-revolution but solely from the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government. . . ."

These two stations had things almost their own way. But not quite. Faint SOS signals and calls for help came over Radio (Free) Czokonyay. Then suddenly, out of the welter of background noises, came a voice speaking in English: "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. . . ."

The voice was lost, drowned in noise. Then briefly, it claimed the air again: "The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract."¹

¹See *The Revolt in Hungary, A Documentary Chronology of Events, based exclusively on internal broadcasts by central and provincial radios, October 23, 1956-November 4, 1956. Free Europe Committee, 2 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.*

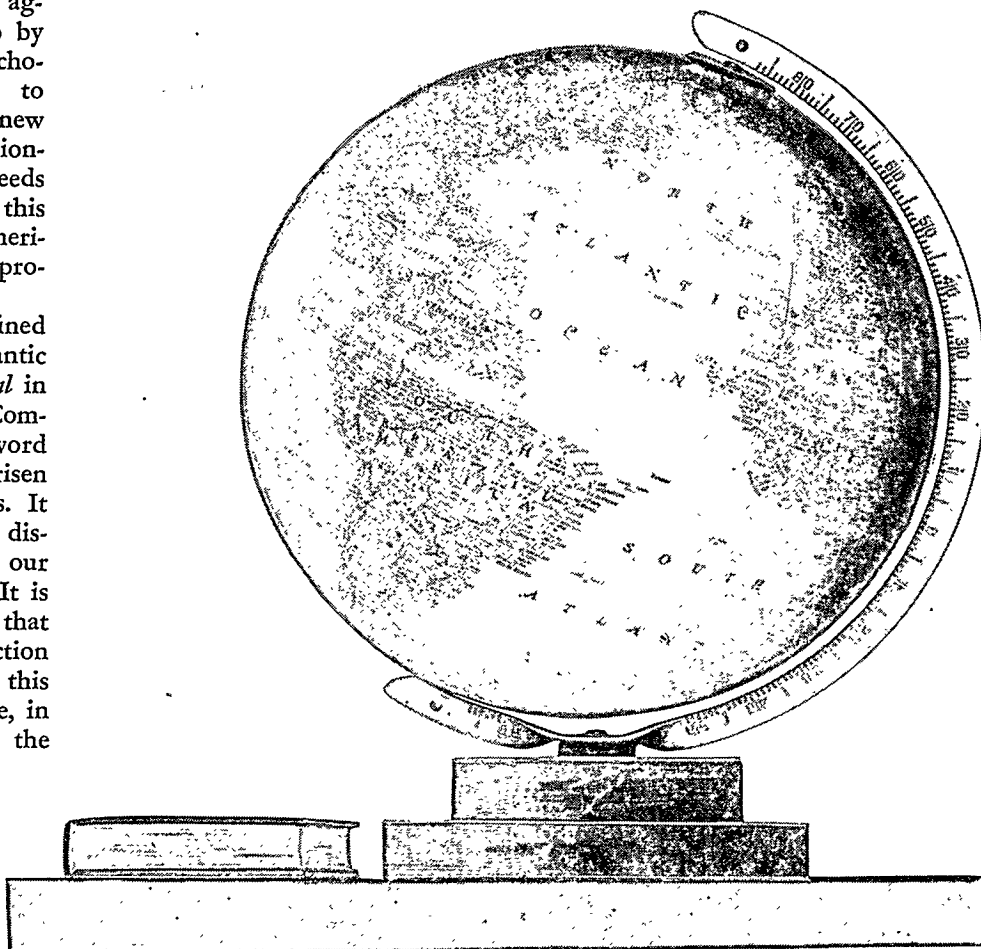
the World Communist

This is the first time that Adult Leadership has devoted an entire issue to a single article. We have departed from precedent in order to present to our readers the thoughts of a distinguished adult educator on one of the critical issues of our day. A variety of articles again will appear in the September issue.

That was all. The voice faded . . . was not heard again. But we can assume that it continued long enough to say, unheard, certain words so familiar that we can say them to ourselves: "It is for us the living rather to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us. . . ."

"The great task remaining before us." For the entire non-Communist world, this is the task of holding the line against any further Soviet aggression; of winning back, step by step, both geographical and psychological territories already lost to Communism; and of shaping up new patterns of free, cooperative relationships among nations to fit the needs and realities of today. Within this embracing task, we who are American educators must find our appropriate role.

This role, it seems to me, is defined for us by the fact that the gigantic struggle of our age is *ideological* in character. With Fascism and Communism alike, it has been the word on the page of the book that has risen in fanatic zeal to walk among us. It is this word which, in its shifting disguises, has become the agent of our confusions and cross-purposes. It is this word, converted into steel, that has cut a wide swath of destruction across Europe and Asia. It is this word that set itself to annihilate, in the streets of Budapest and in the



provinces, those very elements of the Hungarian population that were freedom's best resource.

Our special task as educators—because words, books, and structures of ideas are the ancient, perennial tools of our profession—is to come to grips with the *ideological* aspects of totalitarianism, both Fascist and Communist. In assuming this task, we neither forsake nor exploit our proper role as educators. We simply apply to the most critical problem of our age the skills and insights fostered in us by training and experience, and by our devotion to the mind's growth. While those with expertness in other fields devote themselves to the diplomatic, economic, and military defenses of our civilization, we must look to its informational and philosophical defenses.

One of the cherished sentences of our tradition is Thomas Jefferson's statement, made in 1787, that "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." It has been thus gruesomely "refreshed" in Hungary—as it has been refreshed, through the centuries, in place after place. But what Jefferson bluntly called its "natural manure" is not the only thing the tree of liberty needs. If it is to thrive, it must have also the service that can be rendered it only by the living gray matter of patriots.

We who are American educators do not lack gray matter. We have no corner on it, certainly. But we have enough to make some dent on a problem when we set our minds to it. The grim realities of our age have assigned us a problem: a tough and specific one. "It is for us the living" to take on the job—the *educational* job—of so clarifying the nature of Communism that its old disguises will no longer serve, its old appeals no longer attract, its old divisionary tactics no longer confuse and divide us.

Those whose minds have been trained to the disciplined accuracies of language are the very ones who must uncover the verbal snares which Communism has, from its beginnings, laid for the unwary.

Those who have been trained to respect logic are the very ones who must show up as fallacious the destructive pseudologicalities that

Communism has peddled as the inevitable logic of history.

This is the task the author assigns to adult educators: to clarify the nature of Communism and to reveal its disguises so that "its old appeals will no longer attract, its old divisionary tactics no longer confuse and divide us."

Those who have made some study of the tactics of propaganda and of human vulnerability to it are those who must puncture the falsehoods that Communism calls truths.

Those who have long worked, voluntarily and in good faith, to correct injustices and inequalities within our own society are those who have the greatest possible reason not to let the causes they have cared about be exploited by Communists in disguise.

Those who most profoundly respect "due process of law," who know by what hard effort it was introduced into human society and has been maintained there, and who have been vigilant to oppose every infringement of it here at home, are those best qualified to recall to the American mind and conscience the fact that Lenin, in his legal code of 1921, specified that the legal trial "is not intended to replace terrorism . . . but to base terrorism firmly on a fundamental principle and give it a legal form." If 1921 seems far away and long ago, there are facts nearer at hand with which to counteract any illusion that Lenin's words are obsolete: namely, that the de-Stalinization of Russia was officially labeled as a return to Leninism; that the current regime did not criticize Stalin for oppressive tactics as such, but only for their use against party members; and that the policy of the "new" Russia in Hungary fulfilled to the letter Lenin's dictum about the relationship of legal trial and terrorism.

Those who, in this psychological age, have studied the respective influence upon human personality of the emotions of love and hate, good will and animosity, inclusiveness and exclusiveness, are those best prepared to reject as intolerable Communism's "hymn of hate". Like the lover in the old song, Communists "can sing

both high and low." Recurrently, when to do so has suited their purposes, they have hummed their "hymn of hate" so softly under their breath that it has been almost inaudible; and time and again, we have let ourselves hope that this opportunistic "diminuendo" was a final fading away of the grim tune. Always, however, after a brief interval, they have again let the "hymn" come out at the top of their voices. It is time for us to make explicit the psychological reasons why both Fascism and Communism, by the very nature of their relationships to their own people and to the outside world, must have some "hymn of hate" as a national anthem.

In a world where events happen so fast that yesterday's news grows prematurely old, and news of a decade or so ago seems to many people to have almost as little immediate relevance as that of centuries ago, it is those who are schooled to handle resource materials, to look back of present happenings to past causes, and to work sequences of meaning out of endlessly mounting items of news who must prevent public opinion about both Communism and Fascism from being all foreground and no background; all reaction to the immediate and no perspective.

Those whose faith and practice are geared to evolutionary ways of change—ways that are those of growth and of "learning by doing"—are the very ones best qualified, intellectually and emotionally, to show up for what they are, all rigid ideologies that claim to have the truth so finally wrapped up in a package that they justify, in the name of their final truth, the liquidation of dissenters.

We do not want American public opinion about so critical a matter as Communism to be the contrived product of manipulation from the top down. Neither do we want it to be the product of manipulation by any unofficial group that lets fears rather than facts—or self-advantage rather than facts—or well-meaning ignorance rather than facts—shape both its definition of the Communist threat and its recommendations for dealing with it.

But neither anger at tactics we do not like nor a "pooh-pooh" attitude toward the danger itself is any adequate response to the crisis that now

confronts all free nations. Democracy's chance not only to survive but to prove itself more fit for mankind than totalitarianism ever can be, must depend upon some focusing of public opinion. We, therefore, who are accustomed to deal with facts, ideas, tools of communication, and people in democratic groups must earn our right not to get what we don't want by going at the problem in our own way: the educator's way.

The sound alternative to a manipulated public opinion is neither public indifference nor a jerry-built edifice made out of odds and ends of prejudice, rumor, and waves of emotion generated by first one event and then another. It is, quite simply, an *educated* public opinion: what we might call a "grown into" public opinion. Our broad and constant job, as educators, is that of helping people grow in mental competence and emotional discrimination. The specific and immediate subdivision of this job on which we must now focus is that of helping them grow into the sort of realistic acquaintance with totalitarianism that will make them steady in judgment and purpose for the long pull.

When we thus define "the great task remaining before us," we can scarcely help being astonished that so much of it *is* still before us; so little of it already done. Forty years have passed since the Communist revolution; 24 years since Hitler began his abrupt climb to power in Germany. Why have we not recognized long since that when the ideological "word" arms itself for conquest by terror, the educators of the free world must be first among the opponents of that "word"; and first not only in emotional readiness but also in understanding and information?

Time and again, during the Hungarian uprising, pleas for help came to the western nations from the beleaguered rebels; and time and again, so far as immediate and effective aid was concerned, those pleas went unanswered: the West was unready for the very type of revolt against Soviet domination which, in theory, it had most desired. It was unready in terms of any strategy that could be swiftly invoked; and it was unready in terms of public opinion. Having been caught off guard by its



BONARO W. OVERSTREET, author and lecturer, is the wife of Harry Overstreet, with whom she has collaborated in writing several books. Mrs. Overstreet holds that educators have a special responsibility not only to teach the dangers inherent in totalitarianism, but to develop critical thinking regarding the ideological principles and methods that threaten our freedom. This article is the result of Mrs. Overstreet's recognition that Communism is spreading and "its influence everywhere seems dangerously at odds with all the values we have worked for in human society."

enemies often enough, during the years, to have enabled Communism to take over one-fourth of the earth's surface and one-third of the earth's populace, it was now no less caught off guard by its friends.

A great many generous-minded people, standing on the sidelines of tragedy, cried out in agony of spirit, or in plain raw anger, against the West's indecisions and delays—asking again and again, "Why don't they. . . ?" It seemed a relevant question. Yet one fact could scarcely be overlooked: among those who thus protested there were a great many, including many American educators, who had never, during the years when Soviet Communism was converting word into conquering action, seriously devoted themselves to the spadework of penetrating the disguises of that system and revealing its true dictatorial lineaments. There were many who had been inclined, even, to regard a preoccupation with Communism and its threat to the free world as "bad form": as fanaticism and extremism.

There were many who had held back gingerly from calling Communism evil, in the tenacious hope that its excesses were only the temporary expedients of a society moving on

the double-quick to catch up with the modern world and then become free.

Also, there were many who had said, "Of course, we don't want Communism but . . ."; and who, from this preface, had habitually gone off on one or another tangential subject: homegrown injustices within our own society; the long-range ideal of human brotherhood; evils of western colonialism, past and present; threats to freedom inherent in such types of anti-Communism as are also types of demagoguery and anti-intellectualism.

Each of these tangential subjects is a legitimate one: is, indeed, a "natural" for those conditioned to the ways of freedom. But this is exactly why they and the Communist threat to freedom are not mutually exclusive but complementary subjects.

Even while we ask, then, with regard to the free world's policymakers, "Why don't they. . . ?" we must also ask, with regard to ourselves, "Why haven't we. . . ?"

One reason why we have shied away from the pressing issue of Communism has been our feeling that an active engagement with it would change us from educators to propagandists.

Yet it is well within our province to help people learn what is literally contained in books and other documents that have played a major role in history. The official writings of both the Fascists and the Communists certainly fall into this category; and the more intimately they are known the better. We need not "edit" them to make them safe for our people to read; nor set ourselves, in the role of propagandists, to make them more repugnant than they are.

If we can just get people to read what is down in black and white, and to think what it means to the world to have the "word" converted into conquering action, we are doing our job: our *educational* job. For the totalitarians have not thrived on our knowing too much about them, and being tempted by what they advocate and practice. They have thrived on our knowing so little about the inherent character of their system that we have repeatedly been confused, caught off guard, and misled into ill-founded hopes.

Again, it is well within our province to study and encourage others to study responsible, scholarly analyses of any political system; its history, philosophy, characteristic institutions, domestic and foreign policies. And again, where both Fascism and Communism are concerned, this is enough. There is no need for us to seek out, or to accept from those who may offer them, any secondary materials that distort the facts for the sake of doing a "hatchet job" on these regimes. On the contrary, the more reliable, objective, and well documented our materials are, the better; for what people most need to know about the history of the past 40 years is "the unvarnished incident that actually occurred."

Our fear of turning into propagandists is only one reason, however, for our having so largely failed to become informed realists with regard to Fascism and Communism. More potent reasons lie deep within the makeup of totalitarianism and within our own make-up. Here, too, education, including a sound dose of self-education, is called for.

ANTICIPATING BEHAVIOR

As we dig into the writings of the totalitarians, particularly their tactical programs, it becomes embarrassing to realize how often we have behaved exactly as they thought we would.

Thus, it was put down, years ago, that we would be vulnerable to the "big lie": the lie too enormous, too carefully planted, and too consistently maintained to come within our normal conception of the false. We have proved thus vulnerable, time and again.

It was similarly set down that we would be skeptical of the truth if this lay so far outside our normal conception of the rational and credible that we could not believe it without feeling like fools; or, worse, without having to give up some cherished belief about human beings and their behaviors. We have proved thus skeptical, about matters ranging from concentration camps to treaties that were made to be broken; from purges to infiltration. Time and again, our skepticisms have served the totalitarians as "go ahead" signals: as assurances that they could,

for the present at least, continue to enact their "incredible" policies.

In like fashion, it was spelled out that we could be turned against one another by properly planned divisionary tactics; that if we were kept reminded of such matters as colonialism and racial discrimination we would tend to be neutralized by our own guilt feelings; that we would hesitate to curtail behaviors that aimed at our own overthrow if we were persuaded by brazen and cynical arguments that these came within the frame of civil liberties.

Again it was specified that we would be highly susceptible to confusion by "double-talk": by the "poker-faced" use of familiar words to which unfamiliar and even reversed meanings were attached. We have been thus confused by such words, for example, as *peace, liberation, imperialism, war-monger, co-existence, non-aggression pact, even democracy.*

We educators have by no means been alone in behaving, often, as the totalitarians predicted. For before we were educators we were Americans and were members of the western community of nations. We were brought up to carry within us a whole tradition of human decencies: not always perfectly enacted, but broadly intended and honored. We might almost say that our vulnerability to totalitarian tactics has been a logical by-product of our most civilized traits. This is what now makes our situation and our problem so paradoxical: we have to remain ourselves in order to render fitting service to the way of life in which we believe; and we have, at the same time, to *remake* ourselves into people who have habits of mind appropriate to the strange attacks now being directed at our minds.

Our educability, as well as our skill as educators, is being put to the test. In part, we lack a solid body of knowledge about totalitarianism because we have not seen clearly enough that such knowledge is relevant to our work. But we lack it, also, because both our intellect and our emotions have curiously insulated us against it. I do not mean that these have made us *tolerant* of the ways of dictatorship, but, rather, that they have made us *incredulous*.

We educators tend, by and large, to be moderate as well as moderating persons. The melodramatic, starkly irrational, calculatedly destructive and unrelievedly hostile are not our customary fare. Our inclination, when these are reported to us, is to "edit" what we hear: to discount a good part of it as exaggeration.

Or it might be more accurate to say that while we credit the irrational, destructive, and hostile as limited phenomena, we find it hard to credit them on the scale presented by Fascism and Communism. Thus, while we all include among our working facts of life the misbehaviors of twisted individuals and thwarted groups whose anti-social conduct we can assess as conditioned, our credulity falters before the *senseless, gigantic, deliberate, many-times-compounded evils* of modern totalitarianism.

UNBELIEVABLE EVILS

These do not comport with any description of man or society to which we have been accustomed to gear our faith and works. We have never characteristically been suspicious enough of our fellow man, or despairing enough of him, or bitterly enough at odds with him, to find it easy to visualize him as, say, herding helpless people into gas chambers; mapping out policies based on "the big lie"; or devoting himself to around-the-clock conspiracy within our own nation. We have tended, therefore, to trim down to normal size, in our own minds, evils of abnormal proportions; and have preferred, where we have had a choice, to focus our attention on prejudiced, demagogic, and irresponsible behaviors that have not been too enormous to seem real.

William James gave us the phrase "the will to believe." But one of the most useful weapons in the arsenals of Fascism and Communism alike has been the average decent person's "will to disbelief." This incredulity of the decent—and most educators belong to the company of the decent—has dangerously delayed our crediting of evidence out of which a realistic picture of modern totalitarianism might long ago have been constructed.

It is perhaps too much to ask at this late date for any complete reading or re-reading of such basic texts as *Mein Kampf*, *Das Kapital*, *The Communist Manifesto*, and the works of Lenin and Stalin. It is not, however, too much to ask that we give ourselves a sort of refresher course in them. For with years of human agony back of us that were still ahead of us when these books first came to hand, even a partial re-reading of them is a sobering experience.

The events that took place in Germany and other nations so long as Hitler was able to maintain his power were a virtual projection upon the world stage of what was written in *Mein Kampf*. Yet on almost every page of this book we come upon sentences that we can be fairly sure left the decent reader incredulous on his first encounter with them: they were "senseless," "fantastic," the words of a "deluded paper-hanger."

On almost every page of the works of Lenin we come upon sentences that were widely discounted for a different reason. While they did, indeed, recommend violence and overthrow, and even the tactics of conspiracy and terrorism, they were the words of a man embittered by Czarist persecution; and they were—or seemed to be—bitter in behalf of the dispossessed. Hence, there must be in the writer of these words, so the decent, incredulous, "editing" mind argued, a hunger for justice and a will to put an end to needless human suffering. He would certainly countenance no more use of force than was absolutely necessary to get the old tyrants off the backs of the oppressed multitude, the decent mind argued.

Where the words of Lenin were concerned, it was particularly easy for the western mind to practice what we might call a selective incredulity. What he had to say about the suffering of the masses under the old regime was true enough. This did not have to be discounted. What he had to say about his determination to free the masses seemed a logical sequitor: therefore, it was credible. What he said about the terrorist tactics to be employed was, however, frequently toned down in the reader's mind: made to conform with our western conception of methods

of social change. "Dictatorship of the proletariat" thus became a phrase in which the word *proletariat* so overshadowed the word *dictatorship* that the latter lost much of its impact.

Whatever the reasons, the fact is that most of us do not know enough to handle with top-level skill the task assigned us by history and our stakes in freedom: that of treating totalitarianism, and specifically now Communism, as an educational problem.

A CURRICULUM FOR THE CONCERNED

I am venturing, then, to suggest certain books and other resource materials to which I myself feel indebted. They are a very small sampling of those now available; and better materials may be forthcoming tomorrow. They happen, however, to be those—or some of those—that I have read. I have left out books such as Whittaker Chambers' *Witness* that seem too well-known to need special mention. Also, where several books have covered much the same ground, I have made my choices, where other people might make different ones. I venture, then, a tentative curriculum for the concerned: for those who know that freedom today is far from safe; and who, knowing this fact, deeply care.

Though I may seem to be going off on a tangent, I think we might begin our self-education with two psychological books: *The Authoritarian Personality*, by T. W. Adorno and his research associates (Harper and Brothers, 1950); and *The Nature of Prejudice*, by Gordon W. Allport (Beacon Press, 1954).

The Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO, we recall, begins, "Since wars are made in the minds of men..." It is in the minds of men that ideologies, including those of Fascism and Communism, are also made; and they survive and spread only if they are accepted and "served" by the minds of men.

It would be unrealistic and unfair to assume that all who, in our time, have lived under these ideologies have had a natural affinity for them. It would be unrealistic and unfair, likewise, to assume that every individual who has been temporarily drawn into the service of Commu-

nism has, in his own personality make-up, been slanted toward totalitarianism. Sidney Hook has observed that Communism can often be best understood as a "disease of idealism"; and we know that many individuals, through the years, searching for an effective medium through which to work for equality and justice, have looked at Communism and have seen in it what their own eyes brought to the seeing, and have listened to the words of Communism and heard in these only the meanings that these same words have had in their own minds.

The fact remains, however, that a type of mind that we can call *authoritarian* or *totalitarian* is being recognized and studied as a psychological reality; that it tends, where it has influence, to create situations and systems in its own image; and that the more we know about it, the better equipped we are to cope with its tactics.

The two books named above bring into focus the most significant psychological researches to date on the type of individual who, in his personality structure, is totalitarian rather than democratic. He may support and enact a named brand of political totalitarianism. Or he may not. But he does not, in the very depths of his being, find all totalitarian concepts and practices repugnant; for the basic interpretations of man and society that undergird these are not unlike those that he himself enacts within the area of his own experience.

THE STATUS-MINDED MAN

What is he like—this authoritarian or totalitarian man? A first fact about him is that he is *status-minded*. He does not operate well as an equal among equals. His sense of knowing how to treat people is dependent upon his knowing how to pigeonhole them: as superiors or inferiors; as important or unimportant; as someone to look up to or look down on, to cultivate or to push aside; as someone to please, and if need be appease, or as someone who is fair game. Consistent with this urge to pigeonhole people, his definition of "authority" is couched in terms of *power over others* rather than in terms of objective accomplishment.

A second fact about him is that he tends to be what the psychiatrists call "cold." Other people are not real to him in their own right; and he never feels emotionally close to anyone; never feels spontaneously drawn to them in warm affection, trust, and understanding. Being human, however, and a member of a social species, he cannot actually go it alone. He seeks, therefore, the pseudo-belonging of identifying himself with one or another "elite" group that he tacitly exempts from the derogatory judgment he passes upon the rest of mankind. His characteristic method, in this regard, is to become an "insider" where specified other human beings—individuals or groups—are catalogued as "outsiders." Having thus rigged the situation, he both exaggerates and stereotypes the differences between "insiders" and "outsiders"; and he uses his distorted image of the "outsiders," to justify his not going near enough to them to have any corrective experiences.

DANGEROUS TYPES

There are other marks, also, of this peculiar and dangerous type of individual. He is not self-deterred from cruelties that are licensed by his social group or by those whom he regards as strong. His estimate of human nature is so low that he thinks of it as something that can be kept in line only by the most rigorous rules and disciplines. It does not go deeply against his nature, therefore, to employ or condone tactics that are, in mild or terrible degree, those of humiliation, brutality, torture, and liquidation. He can all too easily interpret these as necessary—necessary to maintain the rigorous order within which he experiences the only type of security he can understand.

Further, he tends to think of one or another kind of inexorable "fate" as dominating human affairs; and finally, his own feelings toward that which he counts powerful, whether this be "leader" or "fate," are strongly ambivalent: an uneasy compound of blind devotion and hostility.

As we become familiar with the personality types explored in these books, we cannot help seeing the kinship between the gigantic tyrannies of Fascism and Communism and such home-grown phenomena as the Silver

Shirts, for example, with their uniformed hunger to trample under foot the helpless and the resistant; or the Klan, with its secret rituals and orgiastic brutalities; or "hate-groups" that let nothing so "irrelevant" as truth set bounds for their defamatory campaigns. On the planetary landscape, these types may crop up in quite different places; but they all sprout from one psychological root-system. We dare not let them get out of hand anywhere.

BALANCE IS DESTROYED

Right now, however, the rampant growth of totalitarianism, with its appalling power to choke out competing types of growth, threatens to destroy the normal "psycho-ecology" of earth: the balance by which personality types capable of confidence, good will, and social creativeness have maintained their chance to exert a shaping influence upon the affairs of men and nations. The authoritarian personality can find an occasional root-hold almost anywhere and flourish if not choked. But under the totalitarian regimes, it is deliberately cultivated, while types likely to hamper its growth are weeded out. By the time we have finished reading *The Authoritarian Personality* and *The Nature of Prejudice* we are newly equipped to estimate the stark tragedy and danger inherent in this type of selective process.

There are other lessons also to be learned from these books. In *The Nature of Prejudice*, for example, we may seem to be reading about some reticent prejudice that comes to nothing more than a careful avoidance of those who belong to a certain race or religion: it intends them no harm. Suddenly, however, we are confronted by what Allport calls the "fateful progression" by which "harmless" prejudices become harmful: the stages by which mere avoidance can be made to lead in turn to discrimination, acts of violence, and policies of extermination; or to a passive tolerance of these that amounts to an encouragement of them.

Or we may seem to be reading about some isolated act of violence; or about the defacement of some particular church or synagogue. Suddenly, however, we are brought to see what the totalitarian dictator

gives to the general populace, and what he takes away, in the process of consolidating his power.

We have learned to say that freedom is indivisible; not secure anywhere in today's world if destroyed elsewhere. We need to state with equal firmness a corollary fact: that the forces that threaten freedom are indivisible. *The Authoritarian Personality* and *The Nature of Prejudice* underscore this fact.

There are so many books that can help us to gain historical perspective on today's crisis that it is hard to choose among them. Also, where totalitarianism is concerned, it is singularly hard to make any separate report on events and ideologies, so intimately have the two been woven together in cause-and-effect relationships.

There can be no adequate substitute, here, for some first-hand acquaintance with those basic texts of Fascism and Communism to which reference has already been made. But when we turn to more recent books for historical-ideological perspective, a good one to start with is *From Lenin to Malenkov: The History of World Communism*, by the English historian Hugh Seton-Watson (Praeger, 1953). Or there is a small book by Salvadori Massimo, with an Introduction by Norman Thomas: *A Brief History of the Communist Movement in the Twentieth Century* (Henry Holt, 1952).

One clarifying and altogether readable book is Edward Crankshaw's *Russia Without Stalin* (Viking, 1956). Crankshaw writes about Russia with warm detachment: "warm" because he has had enough intimate acquaintance with the Russian people, over a period of many years, to know their strengths and limitations and to wish them well; "detachment" because he knows Soviet Communism well enough to have no illusions about it but to give it its due, reporting its successes in no less detail than its failures. It is hard to see how any outsider could do a more balanced job of reporting than this experienced English observer has done—or a more hospitable job of taking the reader along with him to Russia's cities and remote villages, farms, churches, factories, and bureaucratic offices.

While this book was published before the Hungarian uprising, Crankshaw has since, in several articles, brought his report up to date. It seems probable that a revised edition of the book will make room for these materials.

If Crankshaw invites us to appraise Russia without Stalin, there is one extraordinary document that lets us appraise Russia *with* Stalin: a document that lets us listen in on a Communist reporting to fellow Communists. Issued by our Department of State, on June 4, 1956, and available through that Department, this "purports to be a version of the speech of First Party Secretary N. S. Khrushchev at a session of the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on February 25, 1956." The Department, in this introductory statement, uses the phrase "purports to be," and also states that it cannot vouch for the authenticity of the document, because the session at which Khrushchev delivered his speech "was limited in attendance to the delegates of the USSR." However, this version "is understood to have been prepared for the guidance of the party leadership of a Communist Party outside of the USSR."

For two reasons, it would seem, we can regard as authentic this text of the historic speech in which Khrushchev demoted the dead Stalin from the role of hero, even idol, to that of arch-villain. One reason is that the very cautionary words with which the Department of State offers the document to the public suggest an attitude of extreme care in checking sources. The other is that whatever Khrushchev said was enough, as we know by subsequent events, to send through the Communist world a shock of earthquake proportions.

Khrushchev directed his words only to the Party Congress. But there was no possible way for him to make a report so drastic in character without having the essentials of it, and the implications of it, become world news; and, more than this, become tantamount to an official history of Communism under Stalin. This history, as Khrushchev detailed it, was one of unbounded cynicism, deception, brutality, and blind economic and military ineptitude. What went on within Russia, during more than

25 years, was every bit as bad as the most fanatic anti-Communists had claimed.

What Khrushchev unwittingly did was to turn the tables on Communists around the world: they and their apologists were shown up as the dupes; the anti-Communists as the realists. So devastating were the consequences of his revelations that he and his fellows in the present regime have been desperately trying ever since to backtrack and pick up the pieces of splintered party unity. But what was once put on the record—and put there by official word—cannot be removed. This readily available document is one we cannot afford to miss. In striking measure, it both reports history and has made history.



Because Communism itself is complex, the materials that can contribute to our understanding of it are extraordinarily diverse. Lenin wrote in his *Left-Wing Communism*, in 1920, "The Communists must exert every effort to direct the working-class movement and social development in general along the straightest and quickest road to the universal victory of Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is an incontestable truth." He then spelled out in detail what "every effort" should mean. Party members, in whatever country, should "penetrate into the unions, societies, and casual meetings where common people gather." They should "hold the bourgeois to their word and utilize the apparatus they have set up, the elections they have appointed." They should carry forward unremittingly, in ways adjusted to the conditions of each country, "the work of propaganda, agitation, and organization."

What we need to become informed about are the many practical consequences of the party's long, dedicated obedience to Lenin's dictum; and

this means that we must take stock of how Communism has operated, not only within Russia, but around the world.

In Richard L. Walker's *China Under Communism: The First Five Years* (Yale University Press, 1955) we can study the workings of Communism where it has become the official system of a country very different from Russia in its history and traditions.

In Angelo Rossi's *A Communist Party in Action: An Account of the Organization and Operations in France* (Yale University Press, 1949) we can study its workings in a non-Communist country where the party carries on its effort both underground and in the open. This book puts grim specific meaning into Lenin's broad imperative that the party, within "bourgeois" countries, must "utilize the apparatus they have set up, the elections they have appointed."

For an understanding of how Communism operates in the satellite countries, I have found no book as serviceable as one monthly magazine. Formerly called *News from Behind the Iron Curtain*, its name has now been changed to *East Europe*—"since the magazine is not a compilation of news, but a scholarly analysis of the orbit on a month-to-month basis." I have found it to be that. At intervals, also, it goes further afield to report on current Soviet policies toward countries that are, so to speak, being prepared for satellitism. Thus, the September 1956 issue has an article on "The Soviet Bloc's Penetration of Africa and Asia". *East Europe* is published by the Free Europe Committee, 2 Park Avenue, New York.

A further source of absorbing information about the satellites is the Report of the Assembly of Captive European Nations—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Romania. This report, I believe, can still be obtained from the Assembly offices, 29 West 57th Street, New York 19.

When it comes to diplomatic relations between the Soviets and other nations, it is enlightening, and disheartening, to read Charles Turner Joy's *How Communists Negotiate*

(Macmillan, 1955). During the Korean armistice negotiations, Admiral Joy was Senior Delegate, United Nations Command; and for many successive months he studied at first hand the tactics of the Communists at the conference table. What this book reports helps us to understand, not only what went on in Korea, but also the conduct of the Soviets at Geneva and in the councils of the United Nations.

VEILED PROPAGANDA

Then there is the vast propaganda front: that of veiled propaganda and propaganda openly pronounced. *The Language of Communism*, by Harry Hodgkinson (Pitman, 1955), explores this subject from one important angle; for no nation in history has been a match for Soviet Russia when it comes to generating a verbal fog in which things are not what they seem. The manner in which such words as *peace, freedom, democracy, co-existence, and capitalist imperialism* have been endowed with mangled meanings is an old story now, but by no means a finished story. New chapters of it continually unfold.

To examine for its verbal "integrity quotient" even one Communist document is an illuminating experience. The issue of *International Affairs* that was published in Moscow on July 15, 1955 carried an article by A. Denisov, called "International Cultural Bonds of the Soviet People." Certain sentences from it are worth quoting for two reasons: (1) if we take them literally, we can agree with them; and (2) what they say has been flatly contradicted by virtually every policy that the Soviets have maintained through the years, and still maintain.

Thus, we read, "A country which isolates itself from the cultural life abroad . . . deprives its people of the opportunity to utilize the creative achievements of other peoples. Besides, by so doing it makes it difficult for other peoples to learn the truth about the life of its own people. And truth is a tremendous force against slander. . . ."

Will all in favor say, "Aye?" The chorus is that of unanimity. Nothing is wrong with these words, except that they were part of a stepped-up

propaganda program that called for multiplied and *explicitly managed* forms of cultural exchange between Russia and other countries.

Or we read again, "Another highly important principle of genuinely free and democratic cultural relations . . . is, the Soviet people believe, *equality* of all nations, both great and small, irrespective of their past history or the present standards of their political, economic, and cultural life." And yet again, ". . . the Soviet people look upon all other peoples as equal partners and respect their rights and legitimate interests." Before we say our unanimous "Aye" to these words, spoken in mid-1955, we might pause to remember events in Hungary in the Fall and Winter of 1956-1957.

This maze of astute deception is that through which we are having to learn our way. Communism has thrived mightily, and is still thriving, on its multiple misuse of certain words and ideas that deeply belong to the story of man's pilgrimage out of barbarism into some measure of civility. To the very extent that we cherish these words and ideas, we are obligated to point up their calculated abuse.

There is one book that is made to order for our self-education: Evron M. Kirkpatrick's *Target: The World: Communist Propaganda Activities in 1955* (Macmillan, 1956). This solidly documented book gives in minute detail just one year's activities on the propaganda front. But by implication, it shows what the Communists have learned, during the past 40 years, about the tactics of propaganda; and how hesitant and amateurish the western nations are by comparison.

Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "The place of the artillery barrage as a preparation for an infantry attack will in the future be taken by revolutionary propaganda. Its task is to break down the enemy psychologically before the armies begin to function at all."

While Hitler was no dub at propaganda, the Communists, as Kirkpatrick points out, "give greater attention to detail, make better use of the latest scientific knowledge . . . base their propaganda on a more careful and detailed knowledge of the intellectual, cultural, historical,

institutional, and moral terrain on which it is carried out, employ tactics better fitted to the special character of each nation against which they direct their propaganda attack, and their organization is more thorough and reaches from central headquarters further down into the local communities of the countries they hope to overcome."

Target: The World prepares us as explicitly, perhaps, as any book can, for our task of coming to grips with the conspiratorial nature of Communism and with some of the stubborn incredulities that cling like burrs in our own non-conspiratorial minds.

SOVIET "INVISIBLES"

Stephen King-Hall's *Communist Conspiracy* (Macmillan, 1953), introduces us to such "invisibles" of Soviet policy as infiltration, subversion, and espionage. While David Dallin's *Soviet Espionage* (Yale University Press, 1955) is chiefly a compilation of already published data on cases in Europe—with only one chapter given to espionage in the United States—its over-all effect is to present a fairly well-rounded picture of both the tactics and the targets of espionage.

One highly informative document in this area is, unfortunately, hard to come by. The chances are against its being available to any readers save those who have access to special libraries or to one of the few really comprehensive libraries in our country. This is the *Report of the Royal Commission on Espionage*, of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1945-1955. Its unique value lies in its detailed analysis of the operating system by which the Soviet M.V.D. carries on its assigned work of directing espionage, other than military espionage, in countries outside the Soviet Union. Here, through carefully sifted evidence gathered by the Royal Commission, we learn of the M.V.D.'s recruitment of helpers; its interest in the Department of External Affairs; and its operations concerning foreign diplomats, members of Parliament, journalists, persons in commerce, security organizations, and emigres.

To make specific what Kirkpatrick says, in *Target: The World*, about

the care with which the Communists tailor their propaganda to fit various groups, we can look at two documents having to do with their work among American Negroes.

One of these is *The American Negro in the Communist Party*, issued in 1954 by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives. I recommend this report for the testimony it contains from Negroes themselves about the Communist "line" specifically prepared for Negro consumption and the manner in which legitimate Negro causes have been exploited and frustrated by Communists who have pretended to come to their support.

The other is a document that emanates from Communist sources, the December 1955 issue of *Political Affairs*. This magazine, through which official Communist policies are channeled out to Party workers in America, contains an article by Edward E. Strong, entitled "The Till Case and the Negro Liberation Movement."

The Till Case was an indisputable outrage and was declared such not only by Negroes but by law-abiding citizens throughout America. It illustrates, therefore, a host of cases and causes that have, through the years, brought loyal Americans and conspiratorial Communists to a common point of focus that has seemed to argue their forming a common front. Time and again, with some genuine issue at stake, the Communists have made a great show of throwing in their weight on the side of the oppressed; and time and again, the cause itself has suffered ultimate harm from their presence.

The article in *Political Affairs* amounts to a directive as to how Party members are to interpret and exploit the Till case in order to promote Communism among American Negroes; and also to make underprivileged people, the world around, more susceptible to the appeals of Communists working among them.

Thus, we read, "The Till movement is a solid confirmation of the correct estimate by American Marxists . . . that events within this country would bring increasing class conflict between the Negro petty-bourgeoisie and big monopoly capi-

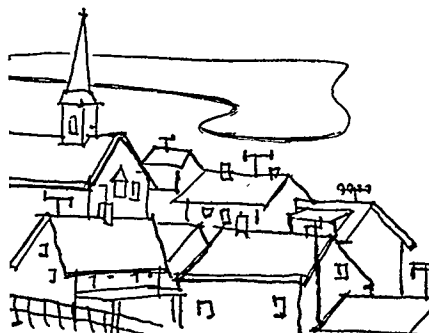
tal . . . it is of prime importance that this course of development be understood by Marxists, as one of their central tasks in respect to the Till movement is to assist this process in every possible way . . ."

And again, "Thus far the Till movement is still hampered and limited by narrow-minded provincial influences, with many leaders seeking to isolate this struggle from world currents and developments. The interests of the movement dictate a broader outlook, an outlook of conscious alignment and solidarity of the Negro movement with the national movements of Africa, with the struggles for national independence and development in People's China, India, Indonesia, and Burma."

Finally, from the last paragraph: "The embattled Negro liberation movement in our country stands urgently in need of the science of Marxism-Leninism. To bring to the Negro liberation movement socialist thoughts and ideas is to equip this movement with an invincible ideology and to assure its inevitable victory."

The Till case was an outrage. But so, too, are the tactics of Communists who exploit American problems in behalf of world revolution, and who prevent, wherever they can, the bettering of conditions by democratic means. Both American politics and American reform movements have, at times, brought together some strange bed-fellows. But by even minimum standards of decency, some bed-fellows are too strange.

Right now, if ever, we need to understand the sort of tactics that were spelled out for American Communists in this directive about the Till case. We need to understand them clearly enough to detect them even under the most convincing disguises; and to point them up for others to see. For the sixteenth con-



vention of the Communist party in America, held in New York this past February, had as one of its chief aims the planning of strategies for getting the Communists back into the good graces of American leftists and liberals, and for building a new "united front" with these. What they chiefly intend to offer as a bait to non-Communists is their readiness to support various reforms and to lend their strength to various good causes.

Carl Rachlin, a member of the board of directors of the New York Civil Liberties Union, attended this sixteenth convention of the Communist Party in America as an unofficial observer. Shortly thereafter, on February 20, 1957, he appeared as a voluntary witness before the Senate Internal Security Committee to give his impressions of what had taken place at the convention and to appraise the dangers he saw in the calculated tactics that were shaped up.

The main concern of the Communist party at the present time, he indicated, is its "isolation from the rest of the United States."

He went on to say in his testimony, that "this convention was designed to create the atmosphere and the machinery to return them (the Communists) to the main stream of American Life."

The pretense of cutting loose from the Kremlin was one part of this strategy—a part that would, moreover, serve a second purpose: that of making it harder for the government to restrain Communist activities by "due process of law."

But a second part of the strategy had quite specifically to do with edging in on "reform" movements, lulling the suspicions of unwary leftists and liberals, and building with these a new "united front."

Thus, Mr. Rachlin warned, "Now there are one or two things that we might watch for in the future. For example, a term we are going to hear with great frequency from now on . . . will be the anti-monopoly coalition. . . . Everybody, whether it was forced or real, used the term anti-monopoly coalition. And we can rest assured that the term is one that we are going to hear at great length."

"Another thing that they made quite clear at the convention . . . is

that the Communist party is going to make an extra special effort to infiltrate into Negro mass organizations."

Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, had, he reported, publicly repudiated the Communists. But, noting that five or six of the 20 persons appointed to the national committee of the party were Negroes, Mr. Rachlin testified that he felt no doubt at all "that the Communist party is going to make an extremely special effort to infiltrate and take over control of Negro groups."

The type of warning thus sounded by Mr. Rachlin was underscored, the following day, by another voluntary witness who appeared before the Committee. This was Arnold Beichman, chairman of the board of directors of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, who, as a newspaper man, had covered the convention for the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *AF of L-CIO News*.

NO BREAK WITH KREMLIN

Testifying with regard to the Communists' much-heralded break with the Kremlin, he showed how, at point after point, the actuality of such a break was disproved by the resolutions adopted and by the continued domination of party decisions by "hard core" members who have consistently, through the years, accepted the Soviet line as the only authentic Communist line: William Z. Foster, and Eugene Dennis. "... out of the 20 members elected to the national committee, 14 are men who have either been in jail or are under indictment under the Smith Act, or for harboring fugitives. . . ."

With regard to the highly publicized discussion and debates that were supposed to signal the birth of the new "independent" and "democratic" Communist party in America, Arnold Beichman said simply, "I think that this has been an example, gentlemen, of one of the great fakes of our time. . . . I think the Communist party is in a spot and has to come out of it. And I think they succeeded very well. . . ." Their success lay in the fact that purely tactical differences—differences about how to get back into the main stream of American life—had been

so dramatized as evidence of a new freedom within the party that many possible defectors had been held in line and various "impartial observers" had been convinced.

What did the debates really amount to? To Beichman, they sounded thus: "We are losing an election, we are losing a union, we are losing organizations, we are doing it the wrong way, let's try a different way, maybe if we say we are against what they are doing in Hungary we can attract more people. Maybe if we criticize Khrushchev for being anti-Semitic we can save some of our members who want to leave. Maybe if we are more emphatic on the Negro question we can keep people together in the party more close and so on."

In addition to this estimate of the general maneuvering that went on, Beichman sounded one additional warning: that the Communists are going to step up their perennial effort to infiltrate the unions. He quoted what Lenin wrote, in 1920, in *Left-Wing Communism*: "We must resort to all stratagems, maneuvers, illegal methods, evasions, and subterfuges, only so as to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs."

Then, with specific reference to what took place at the Sixteenth Convention, he said, "There is no question that this is their intent. Their draft resolution on trade unionism made it very clear that they intend to be more active, more skillfully active, if you will, than they had been before."

MANY VALIANT FIGHTS

Many valiant fights have been waged in America—for higher wages, equal rights, unionization, public housing. Many remain to be waged. The fact remains, however, that we have democratic machinery for waging those fights—and for emerging from them more skilled than before in the democratic arts of self-government. We do not need as allies those who have, on front after front, exploited problems they have pretended to be helping to solve. Certainly we do not need as allies those who, in their party convention, have devoted themselves to

figuring out tactics for lulling our suspicions and luring us into a new "united front" with Communist totalitarianism.

Most of us have been slow to credit tall tales of Communist infiltration. The conspirator in our midst has seemed almost as improbable as that visitor from outer space whom we meet only in science fiction. By now, however, it would take a very determined incredulity to continue in unbelief, or unconcern. Too much has been brought to light about the whole Communist apparatus. If we wish to size up this apparatus, there is at our disposal, now, one official document that brings together a multitude of facts: *The Communist Party in the United States of America, What It Is, How It Works*, compiled by the staff of the Senate Internal Security Committee and issued by that committee in 1956. This report is subtitled *A Handbook for Americans*. It should be read as such.

TACTICS OF ESPIONAGE

The tactics of which we have been speaking—infiltration, subversion, espionage—are employed by Communists against non-Communist institutions and nations. But equally part of the totalitarian picture, whether Fascist or Communist, are certain tactics by which those who live under the régime are kept in line and even, so far as possible, made over to fit totalitarian specifications. Chief among such tactics are terrorism and various types of mind-control.

Fascism and Communism alike have kept terror endemic wherever they have been in power by means of secret police and the liquidation of dissenters; and they have periodically brought such terror to fever pitch by means of the sudden purge.

Perhaps the best book that has been written about any secret police is Edward Crankshaw's *Gestapo, Instrument of Tyranny* (Putnam, 1956). Heinrich Himmler, Head of the Gestapo, said of the activities of that inglorious body, "This is a page of glory in our history that has never been written and is never to be written." But Crankshaw, his interest whetted by what did and did not come out at the Nürenberg trials, set himself to discover every scrap of

evidence that might illumine the history and conduct of the Gestapo. He has written the book that was "never to be written." To read it is to learn much that we have never known about the apparatus of terror in Nazi Germany. Also to read it, is to understand, with new realism, those reports from Hungary, during the uprising, that showed the intensity of hatred felt for the Communist secret police.

In some respects, the best account we have of terrorism in Russia is the Khrushchev speech. While Khrushchev's intention in marshalling his detailed evidence of terrorist tactics was simply to damn Stalin—thereby getting himself and his colleagues off the hook—what he succeeded in doing, against his own intentions, was far more. He damned the whole Communist set-up as one from which terror had never been absent; and he made it plain that Stalin's crime had not been the employment of terrorist tactics but simply their employment against loyal party members whom he, for personal reasons, had branded as disloyal.

Among many serviceable books on the subject, there are two which, taken together, do an excellent job of rounding out the picture drawn by Khrushchev. These are Alexander Orlov's *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes* (Random House, 1953); and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski's *Permanent Purge: Politics in Soviet Totalitarianism* (Harvard University Press, 1956).

Orlov's book is, perhaps, the best available record of the great purges in the Soviet Union between 1935 and 1939. Orlov was a high ranking official in the NKVD—was, indeed, head of the NKVD in Spain at the time, in 1938, when he defected to the United States. We can assume he was in a position to know his facts: he himself had been an agent of terror. His defection came about, we can judge from his report, when he finally reached a point where he realized that if terror is made a chief means for insuring order, reliance upon it is never outgrown. Rather, such reliance grows—toward the point where everyone fears everyone, and no foundations of confidence are left on which to build a personal life or a society.

Brzezinski's book shows that terrorism is no excrescence on the Communist body politic, but deeply part of its make-up. It exists because Communism tolerates no substitute for it. All the normal devices by which democratic societies manage to achieve a working balance between stability and change are ideologically ruled out. There is simply no provision for altering or reversing an established policy except by declaring it to have been a mistake for which someone, now slated for liquidation, was responsible.



Neither is there any way of living with ideological differences; what does not conform to a truth that is proclaimed absolute cannot, in the nature of things, have any tolerable measure of truth in it; it can only be wrong. What we get from this book, it seems to me, is not simply added information about the purge, but a profound insight into the monolithic rigidity of Communism.

MINDS MADE TO ORDER

Now we come to the second means by which totalitarian regimes maintain their power over their own people: a process that we might call that of *minds made to order*.

One familiar Communist device for the manipulating of minds is simply the Iron Curtain: the policy of cutting them off from access to any materials from the outside world save those officially approved.

Many years ago, Gilbert Murray, in his *Liberalism and Civilization* (Macmillan, 1938), told how dismayed and disappointed a friend of his had been, on a trip to Russia, to discover that it was impossible to do the very thing he had most hoped to do: namely, exchange ideas with Communist educators, and talk over with them the comparative merits and demerits of English and Soviet schools. He was not there to try to prove anything to them, or to tear down anything they had built up.

What he wanted was the sort of give and take that he was accustomed to enjoy with his fellow educators in England and with educators from other lands. But this was the precise thing he could not have, for two reasons: those assigned to explain to him the workings of the Soviet school system spoke by rote that which they had been taught to say, and gave rote answers to all questions and comments; and the ignorance they displayed with regard to English schools was not simply the ignorance of being *uninformed* but the far more destructive ignorance of being *calculatedly misinformed*: "Everyone knew that the working classes in England had no schools and were not allowed to read or write."

What Murray thus reported has become an old story now. Yet somehow it remains an astonishment to each person who encounters it. Frederick Charles Barghoorn, in *The Soviet Image of the United States: A Study in Distortion* (Yale University Institute of International Studies, 1952. Harcourt Brace), gives a vivid picture of what this sort of deliberate management of the mind can mean; and how completely it can disqualify a people for realistic relationships with the rest of the world.

A second way of manipulating minds is that of invading areas not normally called *political* and making these conform to political purposes. Julian Huxley's *Soviet Genetics and World Science* (Chatto and Windus, London, 1949) gives the detailed record and scientific implications of the much discussed Lysenko case: the effort of the Soviet State to dictate the "truth" about genetics. The fact that Lysenko's theory is no longer in official favor is incidental; for the basic attitude responsible for this strange chapter in the history of science remains unaltered. There has been no revision of the theory that the State is supreme and can define the "truth": scientific truth or any other kind.

Raymond A. Bauer, in *The New Man in Soviet Psychology* (Harvard University Press, 1952) reports a similar exercise of political authority over psychological research and theory. We are accustomed to the abrupt political about-face in Russia,

and among Communists outside Russia who take their orders from the Kremlin. But what Bauer gives us is the story, stretching over several decades, of the repeated psychological about-face in response to political demands. Now man is described as one kind of being in his essential nature; now he is, suddenly, described as another kind; not because new scientific insights have been brought to light but because the regime, in order to rationalize new policies, must have a new kind of human being whom these policies will fit.

The story of Soviet political domination over art and literature is old and familiar, but still both shoddy and tragic. There is, happily, some evidence that compulsions in these areas are being slightly eased; not because the regime has experienced a change of heart, but because the "creative" products of coercion have become so stereotyped and deadly dull that their "correct" message is lost; it wins no response.

SERVANTS OF PROPAGANDA

From the beginning, Communism has sought to manipulate, control, and use science, literature, and art; for it has needed these as servants of production and propaganda. But it has sought to eradicate religion; for here it has seen in prospect, not a servant, but a competitor for man's allegiance. "No man can serve two masters." To the Communists, this has meant just one thing: there must be no "two masters" between whom man *can* choose. There must be one only: the State.

The Communists have rationalized their war on religion by reference to the Marxist dogma that religion is the opiate of the people. But we are not obligated to take this seriously; for if the Communists really objected to the people's being "doped," they would not so carefully prepare their own opiates for the human mind and conscience.

They were able, at the outset, to make a show of reason because the orthodox Church in Russia before the revolution was more of a political than a truly religious institution. Far from protesting the cruelties of the Czarist regime, it countenanced

and profited by these. Church reform was as drastically called for as political, economic, and legal reform; and any realistic attempt to achieve it would have evoked a generous response from many of the world's religious people and religious bodies.

Communism, however, had neither capacity nor desire to effect such needed reform. It lacked the capacity because its ideology approved no method of basic institutional change except overthrow. It lacked the desire because while a political Church *might* prove a dangerous competitor, a genuinely religious church could *only* be such. There was no chance whatever that a church profoundly dedicated to the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man would acknowledge the State as supreme; or that a church that set high value upon every individual would be content to have millions of people herded together within that ideological compound, "the masses"; or that a church that taught people to forgive as they had been forgiven would countenance a theory of endless, hate-inspired class warfare; or that a church intent to foster the spirit of faith, hope, and charity would placidly co-exist with a political system that repudiated these as "bourgeois" virtues.

RELIGIOUS ADJUSTMENTS

Since religion has proved a lot harder to kill than the Communists expected, they have made their grudging, expedient adjustments. But these have never signified a lessening of the old hostility; as we discover if we read Gary MacEoin's well documented book, *The Communist War on Religion* (Devin-Adair, New York, 1951); or if we read an article that appeared, in May, 1955, in *Soviet Pedagogics*, an official Communist publication. This article, by E. I. Perovski, is called *Atheism for the Young*; and written as a directive to teachers, states:

"The Soviet school . . . cannot on principle take up any attitude towards religion other than the attitude of an implacable fight. . . . The general theoretical foundation of Communist education is Marxism, and that is irreconcilably hostile to religion."

From this beginning, the article

goes on to specify that the task of the school is to educate "the pupils, the future builders of Communism, to be conscious and convinced atheists. . . ."¹

In its early stages, Communism's war on religion struck a responsive chord in many persons who thought they saw in its *compelled atheism* a precursor of *religious freedom*: a drastic but perhaps necessary means of getting the old tyrannical, political church out of the way, to make room for new growth. This illusion is no longer even remotely tenable. Communism is against religion, first, because it can tolerate no divided allegiance; second, because it cannot allow its people to have a spiritual refuge within which they can stand firm and reject the State's authority; and, third, because its ideology forces it to repudiate a code of nurturing tenderness and a definition of man's nature that have deep religious roots.

When we wish to know what has taken place somewhere, we welcome, as a rule, the chance to listen to people who were on the spot: eyewitnesses; or better, participants. It is with some such readiness to learn from those who have had first-hand experience that we can best approach statements of ex-Communists.

I have mentioned one book that comes within this category: Alexander Orlov's *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*. The 1956 Report of the Senate Internal Security Committee indicates how much has been learned from Lieutenant Colonel Yuri Rastvorov—long a member of the Soviet Intelligence Service, with years of experience in Japan—since he defected to the United States in January, 1954. No one, perhaps, has given more explicit information than he about both Soviet espionage in the United States and the tactical maneuvers of the Communists in the Orient. To such "hard core" defectors as Orlov and Rastvorov the West is indebted for a store of invaluable facts that have helped our government to penetrate even the stubborn disguises of the Communist system and to look to our practical and psychological defenses.

¹For the text of this article, see the Appendix, pp. 254-256, of Edward Crankshaw's *Russia Without Stalin*.

For our self-education as educators, however, I would recommend two books by ex-Communists of a very different type: *The God That Failed*, edited by Richard Crossman, and containing "confessions" by Arthur Koestler, Ignazio Silone, Richard Wright, Andre Gidé, Louis Fisher, and Stephen Spender (Harper, 1949); and *Where We Came Out*, by Granville Hicks (Viking Press, 1954).

In his introduction to *The God That Failed*, Richard Crossman gives the basis on which he and Arthur Koestler selected the contributors from among the ex-Communists of their acquaintance: "Our concern was to study the state of mind of the Communist convert, and the atmosphere of the period—1917-1939—when conversion was common. For this purpose it was essential that each contributor be able not to relive the past . . . but, by an act of imaginative self-analysis, to recreate it, despite the foreknowledge of the present. As I well know, autobiography of this sort is almost impossible for the practical politician: his self-respect distorts the past in terms of the present. So-called scientific analysis is equally misleading; dissecting the personality into a set of psychological and social causes, it explains away the emotions, which we wanted described. The objectivity we sought was the power to recollect—if not in tranquility, at least in 'dispassion'—and this power is rarely granted except to the imaginative writer."

SHARED EXPERIENCES

This passage gives the secret of what the book uniquely succeeds in doing. It lets us share the inward experience of each contributor as he made his pilgrimage into the Communist Party, or, in three cases, into a close working relationship with it, and out again. Also, it recreates for those who lived through it, and creates for those too young to have lived through it, a highly significant period of history; that in which the western world, itself in a far from healthy state, had its first practical and ideological encounter with Communism. Granville Hicks, in *Where We Came Out*, covers similar ground. His book, moreover, "thickens" our

awareness of Communism in the American scene since only one among the six contributors to *The God That Failed* was American; and that one, Richard Wright, had to report on being not only an American but a Negro.

Unlike Alexander Orlov and other "hard-core" Communists of his type, all those who tell their stories in *The God That Failed*, and Granville Hicks likewise, had emotional roots that went deep in the western tradition. Not one of them intended his alliance with Communism to express a repudiation of those ethical and political standards that affirm the mutualities of men and declare human dignity and basic rights to be inalienable. The quarrel that each had with western civilization was its apparent inability to "deliver the goods" it had "contracted" to deliver to mankind: justice, equality of opportunity, devotion to values higher than self-interest and material comfort, and an economy in which there was some dependable relationship between work and its reward.

CONTRIBUTING CAUSES

Depression and political corruption after the first world war; America's repudiation of the League of Nations and its return to isolationism; the rise of Fascism in Italy; the stock market boom and bust; world-wide depression; the rise of Nazism; the Munich agreement that sold Czechoslovakia down the river and called the sale a guarantee of "peace in our time"; and the outbreak of the second world war: these were the events which, in conjunction with related personal experiences, made each contributor to *The God That Failed* ready to give the Communists a hearing and to translate their words first into a hope and then into a conviction that Communism was slated to carry forward the humane ideals which the West seemed unable or unwilling to fulfill.

As Richard Crossman observes, they first saw Communism "from a long way off—just as their predecessors 130 years ago saw the French Revolution—as a vision of the Kingdom of God on earth; and like Wordsworth and Shelley, they dedi-

cated their talents to working humbly for its coming. They were not discouraged by the rebuffs of the professional revolutionaries, or by the jeers of their opponents, until each discovered the gap between his own vision of God and the reality of the Communist State—and the conflict of conscience reached the breaking point."

NOT COMMUNIST TYPES

Not one of these men had the personality structure or the life-outlook to become and intractably remain a hard-core Communist. Why, then, do I choose their books rather than the confessions of one or another individual whose "breaking point," marked by his defection to the West, came *after*, not *before*, he had engaged in subversion and espionage; had helped to plan and execute the Soviet travesties upon "due process"; or had perpetrated well-nigh incredible acts of cruelty?

There are several answers to this question, all of them parts of one answer: I believe that the type of ex-Communist we become acquainted with in *The God That Failed* and *Where We Came Out* has, in some respects, more to tell us about Communism, and far more to tell us about ourselves, than has the hard-core defector; for the simple reason that he is emotionally allied to the same basic values as ourselves, and these values comprise the standard by which he has measured Communism and found it intolerable.

Or we might put the matter this way: the hard-core defectors have been well-nigh indispensable to the West as sources of factual information about the Communist apparatus; but since they were able, by their life-conditioning and their standards of value, to commit actions of deceit and cruelty over a long period of years before they reached the breaking point, even their confessions leave us in grave doubt, often, about how well qualified they are to speak to us about the deep rights and wrongs of human society. On the other hand, those who have, we might say, strayed into Communism because they thought they could thereby serve the very concepts of decency and justice that we share with them are the ones who can best

spell out for us, in precise chapter and verse, the reasons why Communism will not do as a social and political frame for human life: why it will not do; and why, therefore, in view of its program of constant aggression and its plans for eventual overthrow, it has to be opposed.

Also, Communists and collaborators of the type that tell their story in *The God That Failed* and *Where We Came Out* have done more than the hard-core Communists have to neutralize a great many thoughtful, generous-minded, and well educated people. These have known that individuals who have seemed much like themselves—and whose writings they have followed with appreciative interest—have been attracted by Communism. How, then, can Communism be as bad as the “fanatic” anti-Communists say it is? It must have its good points, or have had them *sometime*—even though, perhaps, extremists have now taken over. Neutralized by this line of thought, or sufficiently neutralized by it to hold back from any committed opposition to Communism, many persons have not asked with alert curiosity a second question: *why did people like themselves find Communism intolerable when they got close enough to its actualities to experience these at first hand?*

The two books we are considering here answer this second question in no uncertain terms. The authors who have put their experiences on record show that Communism had to be far more than merely disappointing or distasteful to make them reject it. It had to be *intolerable*—and intolerable, precisely, to the more civil and humane aspects of their own makeup. For their emotional stakes in it were tremendous: so tremendous that each individual, when he finally wrenched himself free from the party, or took a stand that he knew could only lead to his being expelled, felt a greater loneliness than any he had ever known. It was the loneliness of doubting that he would ever again feel the absolute faith and the satisfaction of unlimited self-dedication that he had, for a time, known in his relationship to Communism.

Richard Wright's story can, in this regard, stand for the stories of all.

It was in Chicago, on May Day, 1936, that his relations to the party were ultimately severed. Already he had become too much of a dissenter for the Communists to leave him alone. He had not been permitted simply to withdraw and go his way: on the contrary, his every effort to form other human relationships had been blocked. Yet in spite of the Communists' harassment of him, he felt himself irresistibly drawn, on this May Day in 1936, to the spot where the parade was forming, and drawn into the parade by an old party friend. But not for long: sudden angry hands—the hands of Communists to whom he was that most despicable of creatures, a defector—took hold of him and threw him out.



“Slowly I rose and stood. . . . I could not believe what had happened. . . . I had suffered a public, physical assault by two white Communists with black Communists looking on. I could not move from the spot. I was empty of any idea about what to do. But I did not feel belligerent. I had outgrown my childhood. “Suddenly, the vast ranks of the Communist party began to move. Scarlet banners with the hammer and sickle emblem of world revolution were lifted. . . . Drums beat. Voices were chanting. . . . A long line of set-faced men and women, white and black, flowed past me. . . .”

As he stood there, he remembered the stories he had written in which all honor and glory had belonged to the Communist characters. “. . . I knew in my heart that I should never be able to write that way again, should never be able to feel with that simple sharpness about life, should never again express such passionate hope, should never again make so total a commitment of faith. . . .”

“I headed toward home alone, really alone now. . . .”

What these authors, one after another, tell us is that *the road out of committed Communism is one of the toughest that human beings have ever traveled; that they nonetheless had to take it, because neither the party nor the ideology on which it rests can be tolerated at close range by the rational and humane individual who has misread their character from a distance.*

In a sense, the struggle of our age is reported in two brief sentences that I have quoted from Richard Wright: “But I did not feel belligerent. I had outgrown my childhood.” No one who could thus respond to the experience of having been manhandled by former friends could remain a Communist; nor, to put the matter in reverse, could Communism tolerate within its ranks a person who would respond thus. Cast out from the “paradise” of ideological absolutism into the world of many ambiguities, many mixed values, many indecisions and hard choices, Richard Wright's first spontaneous reaction proved that his roots were deep in the very tradition of charity and of moral responsibility that is Communism's arch-competitor.

Arthur Koestler's story underscores the same point. Moreover, it puts Communism firmly within the larger frame of modern totalitarianism. Serving with the Communists in Spain, Koestler was captured by Franco's troops. For four months he lived in daily expectation of death—and chiefly in solitary confinement. When, thanks to British intervention, he was released from prison, he was more strongly than ever an anti-Fascist. But also—though the fact did not dawn on him immediately—he had become a confirmed anti-Communist. What he had learned in prison about fear and pity, his own fear, and his pity for the sufferings he had witnessed, made him inclusively *anti-totalitarian*. He realized, not without astonishment, that the simple pity he had felt in the presence of humiliated and suffering fellow beings was not an emotion permitted to any confirmed totalitarian. His pity had to go; or his Communism had to go. Pity won.

He had to conclude "that man is a reality, mankind an abstraction... that ethics is not a function of social utility, and charity not a petty-bourgeois sentiment but the gravitational force which keeps civilization in its orbit." Any such conclusion "was incompatible with the Communist faith...."

This, then, is one lesson we need to learn from these authors: not that they were once in the party, but that they came out, and why they came out. *They came out because they were too much like ourselves to stay in.*

IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT

There is a second lesson, also, for us to learn. All the authors who here tell their stories were, during their years as convinced Communists, writing books that were widely read and hailed by non-Communists. The ideological bias in these books may or may not have been obtrusive; but the ideological impact of them upon our minds is something we now have no way of measuring. We learn from the writers themselves, however, that they were out to do a job for Communism with all the skills at their command; and that what they were best qualified to do was to spread Communist doctrine disguised as humanitarian and liberal doctrine; and to make even the smallest unresolved problem within democratic countries seem an expression of the moral bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie and an evidence of that inevitable class struggle that could end only with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These writers cannot, now, wind back on the spool, so to speak, the thread of influence left behind them in earlier years. But we can accept a warning from them: that we do not know the origin—the first source—of a great many things we have said and heard, during the past several decades, on the subject of Communists, ex-Communists, and anti-Communists. A significant number of our pet generalizations, in short, need to be re-examined: if not as to original source, since that is now impossible, at least as to current validity.

One further lesson emerges from *The God That Failed*. Among the peculiar phenomena of our peculiar

age has been the determination of many non-Communists to belittle the ex-Communist as a source of information about Communism. The all too common tendency has been to believe that the ex-Communist is fanatic, hysterical, or even contemptible if he exhibits any urgent wish to pass on, for the security of free nations, what he has learned the hard way about the inner workings of the party and its irreconcilability with our ethical as well as our political and legal system. This deprecation of the ex-Communist is invaluable to the Communists. It means that the one type of person best qualified to penetrate their disguises and reveal their tactics is either silenced or rendered ineffective by "the will to disbelief."

It would not be easy for any of us to dismiss as hysterics or as headline-seekers the writers we have here been talking about. They have not sought headlines. Moreover, we cannot forget their books: Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*; Silone's *Bread and Wine*; Granville Hick's *Great Tradition*; Wright's *Native Son*; the *Journal of Andre Gide*.

It is not unimportant, then, to note that *The God That Failed* grew out of a conversation between Crossman and Koestler in which Crossman was playing down the ex-Communist as a relevant source of information and Koestler was protesting this attitude. Crossman, in his Introduction, quotes Koestler as saying to him, "Either you can't or you won't understand. . . . You hate our Cassandra cries and resent us as allies—but, when all is said, we ex-Communists are the only people on your side who know what it's all about."

Nor should we lightly dismiss a remark that Silone reports having made to Togliatti, though he made it half in jest: "The final struggle

will be between the Communists and the ex-Communists." For Silone is no less convinced than Koestler that the ex-Communists—who, he tells us, are legion today—can bring urgently important information. He warns us that we cannot demand their being as relaxed with themselves or with the human situation as if they had never been through the mill: "It is not easy to free oneself from an experience as intense as that of the underground organization of the Communist party. Something of it remains and leaves a mark on the character which lasts all one's life." This "mark," however, does not make irrelevant what they have to tell us. Quite the contrary. If this is what Communism does to people, we ought to know it.

ROLE OF EXPIATION

We might say that the role of the ex-Communist is not unlike that of the Ancient Mariner. Having once made a fatally wrong choice—that of setting the cult of hate above the ways of charity and mutuality—he has had, in agony of spirit, to expiate that choice by reversing it. But his expiation, like that of the Ancient Mariner, can never be finished and done with; for he keeps seeing people who need to know what he has learned. If we happen to be among those whom he feels impelled to "teach," we do well to listen.

There are five remaining books I wish to speak about here, because each of them contributes certain insights that help to round out our picture of totalitarianism in today's world.

The first is *The Appeals of Communism*, by Gabriel A. Almond and his research collaborators at the Center of International Studies, Princeton University (Princeton University Press, 1954). This book reports a four-year study of two types of data: Communist doctrine and propaganda as set down by the party for different levels of its membership; and the stories of 221 carefully selected ex-Communists who agreed to tell as accurately as they could not only their experiences within the party but also their previous life-experiences and the stages by which they were converted to Communism.

Of these ex-Communists, 64 were



Americans, 50 British, 56 French, and 51 Italian. "One hundred and fifteen had joined the party before 1935, and 106 in later years; 111 were working-class and 110 were middle-class (primarily intellectuals) in occupational background; 51 had held top party posts, 73 middle and low positions, and 97 were rank and filers. The great majority were persons who had left in the 1940's and after."

By the time a reader has worked his way through this study, he knows more than he probably ever expected to know about both the types of appeal that Communism has learned to direct at different segments of society and different countries and the vulnerabilities of different individuals and groups to these appeals. We need this information—not only to know what we are up against, but to clarify our own affirmative projects: those of making democracy convincing by making it authentic; and those of building personality structures highly impervious to totalitarian appeals.

ATTACK ON RATIONALITY

The next two books, each in its own way, bring us face to face with the most terrible kind of warfare the world has ever known: a persistent, calculated attack upon our human powers of rationality and self-determination.

We first learned about this sort of attack from those who had been prisoners in Nazi concentration camps. Some of them, like Bruno Bettelheim, were trained psychologists who were able to report the deeper meanings of what they witnessed and experienced. The Communists have added lesson after terrible lesson in the same vein; and some of these lessons are spelled out for us in the two books of which I speak.

The Captive Mind, by Czeslaw Milosz (Vintage Books, Inc.) is a study of life in Poland under Communism; and it tells what happens to human beings, soon and late, where a whole country has been turned into a kind of concentration camp. It is a tragic story of the moral and intellectual erosion that take place where the tactics of terror are deliberately employed to keep hu-

man minds from coming to grips with reality.

The Rape of the Mind, by Joost A. M. Meerloo (World Publishing Company, 1956) is the most thorough analysis to date of the psychology of thought control, brain washing, and *menticide*. Dr. Meerloo, a Dutch psychiatrist, coined the word *menticide* for his own use—because he found that not even such a term as *brain washing* could express the full destructive reality of what he had witnessed in certain patients whom totalitarian pressures had pushed beyond the breaking point. Something, he felt, had been killed in these individuals. Some part of their native mental equipment for living a human life had been destroyed. He needed a word to convey to the world what he had seen; and no term less extreme than *menticide*—the killing of the mind—would serve.

The book is divided into four parts: *The Techniques of Individual Submission*; *The Techniques of Mass Submission*; *Unobtrusive Coercion*; and *In Search of Defenses*. There is not one of the 18 chapters grouped under these headings that we as educators can afford to miss. The mind is our business: its maturing; its preparation for a free, creative, contributive life. Attacks upon the mind are, therefore, also our business.

Important as the whole book is to the educator, however, the final part, *In Search of Defense*, is perhaps most important of all. It leaves no doubt whatever about the nature of our basic task. Freedom, Meerloo makes clear, is not simply a political condition but a condition so basic to the development of inner strength and integrity that he calls it our "mental backbone." This is no vague figure of speech. He states precisely what he means by it: that the type of personality structure that has proved, in case after case, most resistant to calculated attacks upon the mind is, not by happenstance, but in *essence*, the product of freedom.

This book left me with the feeling that the most fateful war of our time may be that between psychologies. One is Pavlovian stimulus-response psychology. Useful in many limited respects, this can—as both Nazis and

Communists have demonstrated—be carried to diabolical lengths as an instrument for destroying the mind's independence and integrity: *an instrument for making the individual the mental property of someone else*. The other is therapeutic psychology, in all its manifold developments and applications: in home, classroom, clinic, hospital, community. From Dr. Meerloo's experience, such therapeutic psychology is the best working tool at our command for helping people to take charge of their own value systems calculated both to preserve sanity under extreme pressure and, under normal conditions, to release powers of constructive good will.

The next book is *The Nürnberg Case, As Presented by Robert H. Jackson, Chief of Counsel for the United States, Together With Other Documents* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1947). This book might have been called *The Rape of the Conscience*. In *The Captive Mind* and *The Rape of the Mind* we learn what can be made to happen to the victims of totalitarianism. In *The Nürnberg Case*, we learn what happens to those who enact totalitarianism. Engaged in a calculated de-humanizing of others, they de-humanize themselves.

CRIMES AGAINST MANKIND

Those who stood trial at Nürnberg for crimes committed against mankind in behalf of Nazism showed what it can mean for human beings to let their consciences become the property of someone else: their superiors in command; Der Fuehrer; or simply the State. Whatever else they may or may not have been, the Nürnberg trials were history's most memorable example of buck-passing: no individual, it appeared, and no organization, was responsible for anything that had happened during the entire Nazi regime. Even Göring, second in command in the regime, insists throughout his cross-examination—significant portions of which are given in *The Nürnberg Case*—that he was not responsible for anything, not even for the orders that bore his name, because he was *only* second in command. The responsibility was Hitler's; and he was dead.

As Edward Crankshaw puts it, in his introduction to *Gestapo, Instru-*

ment of Tyranny: "The facts were there and could not be denied . . . It could not be denied, for example, that concentration camps existed and that innumerable men and women . . . had been tortured in them, or killed, or left to die of exhaustion and starvation; that there had been massacres of hostages and prisoners-of-war; that there had been a meticulously planned attempt to exterminate the Jews. . . . Cruelty and savagery unequalled in the history of modern Europe had been practiced on a scale unequalled in the history of the world. . . ."

Yet "anyone with patience and a twisted sense of humor could go through the verbatim reports of the major trials and prove that although all these things had been done . . . they had been done without the knowledge of anybody at all in Germany except a few men who were dead, or missing, and a handful of witnesses who, for one reason and another, found comfort in confessing to almost unimaginable crimes.

" . . . Several million men, women, and children from the heart of Europe had been put to death in the heart of Europe; and nobody knew who had done it or even that it had been done."

What Crankshaw here observes can scarcely be missed by any reader of *The Nürnberg Case*. Nor would it be easy to miss its psychological significance: namely, *that the person who commits himself utterly to the support of totalitarianism is granted a way out of sin that is not that of repentance, but simply that of passing on to someone else the responsibility for what he himself has done.*

RAPE OF THE CONSCIENCE

This is the rape of the conscience. We have seen it exhibited, not only at Nürnberg, but well on this side of the Nürnberg trials: Khrushchev spoke in the precise spirit of Göring when he assigned to the dead Stalin responsibility for all the crimes that had, during 25 years, been committed in the name of Communism.

The capacity of the totalitarian State to provide its adherents with an alternative to repentance is, in fact, the *sine qua non* of its existence. Without this, the gigantic organized

atrocities of Nazism and Communism could scarcely take place. With it, there appears to be no limit to what man will do to man. Once the State is made supreme and absolute, and each functionary's immediate superior is made his point of contact with the State, obedience to that superior becomes the only virtue that



counts. The person who obeys is not called upon to judge the act he performs. Even to presume to judge it would, for that matter, be tacit disobedience: a usurpation of power. Such a system leaves no room for moral responsibility. Buck-passing, we might say, is the devil's substitute for facing up to the character of one's own behaviors; and repenting of these where repentance is called for.

Here again we came upon the phenomenon of selective incredulity. While certain "hard" individuals remain stubbornly incredulous about brain washing and *menticide*, insisting that no pressure, however great, frees a person from responsibility for his own actions, certain "soft" individuals have exhibited their own type of dangerous incredulity: have refused to believe that even a totalitarian regime could or would dehumanize people enough to make them do to others what reports credit them with doing. The lesson of Nürnberg is in order. Where the rape of the conscience is part and parcel of the regime, *with an alternative to guilt and repentance ready at hand for whoever acts under orders, regardless of what he does*, the ultimate limits of evil become X: an unknown.

"Certain properties of this unknown X became, however, unfortunately known at Nürnberg. As Jackson himself comments, "A free citizen could learn few more useful lessons than Göring's Machiavellian exposition of the measures which every dictatorship finds necessary

to consolidate and maintain its power. . . ."

Among such measures, for example, were the concentration camps. During his cross-examination of Göring, Jackson questioned him about these camps and the legal procedures related to them: "You issued an order that acts of your political police

would not be subject to court review or to court orders, did you not?"

And Göring replied: "You must discriminate between two categories; those who had committed any act of treason against the new State were turned over to the courts. The cases, however, of those from whom one could expect such acts, were taken into protective custody and those were the ones who went into concentration camps. . . . If for any cause someone was taken into custody for political reasons, this could not be reviewed by any court."

Jackson again: "And protective custody meant you were taking people into custody who had not committed any crime but who you thought might possibly commit a crime?"

Göring again, "Yes. People were arrested and taken into protective custody who had committed no crime, but of whom one could expect that if they remained in freedom they would do all sorts of things to damage the German State."

Those who were tortured and killed in concentration camps were admittedly innocent of any specific crimes. Yet having been cast in the role of political prisoners because of crimes they might possibly commit if left at large, they were removed from all jurisdiction of the courts. They were left wholly at the mercy of persons who could inflict upon their bodies and minds whatever form of torture, or of "scientific experiment," a twisted imagination and an insatiable hunger for power might devise; and who could then, by pass-

ing the buck, evade all responsibility for what they had perpetrated. This much of X, the unknown, the unmeasured, ultimate evil, we now indubitably know.

When I myself finished reading *The Nürnberg Case*, I hunted up my copy of *Antigone*—still my favorite among the Greek tragedies—and turned to the passage where Antigone has been condemned to death for disobeying a law that she regards as blasphemous: an affront to the gods. Standing before the King, and given one last chance to save herself by obedience, she says what she feels morally compelled to say: "I serve a law higher than yours, O King."

DESTRUCTION OF WILL

Totalitarianism's worst crime against mankind has been that of taking away from its people the will and the philosophical basis for saying to anyone who represents the State, "I serve a law higher than yours..." From this embracing crime, the countless, specific, irresponsible crimes of cruelty follow. This, in essence, is what it means to call Nazism and Communism alike *materialistic* and idolatrous.

This brings us to the last book in this group: *The Myth of the State*, by Ernst Cassirer (Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955). Readers of this book may feel that the author, in laying his long historical perspectives, tells them more about myths than they are interested in knowing. If they persist, however, they get their sufficient reward. Or so it seems to me. For nowhere else have I found so adequate an analysis of today's political myths as in the last few chapters of this book.

The manner in which Hegel's idealization of the State has been converted into idolization of the State; Spengler's contribution to Nazi and Communist mythology; the uses made of certain types of words; the relation between ritual and the abdication of free and responsible judgment; the reasons why the dictators find it necessary to impart some element of *fate*, or inevitability, into their doctrines—all these and a host of other matters are made singularly clear in *The Myth of the State*.

These matters may seem academic. Yet in one sense, they are the very

core of our concern. Fascism and Communism alike are *contrived* regimes. They have not come into being by normal stages of growth, but have been fabricated. Not least among the contrivances by which the dictators have brought countless people to a state of submission *which they accept as not degrading, but "fated"—and even uplifting and glorious*—has been that strange intangible, the political myth.

Cassirer reminds us, "In order to fight an enemy you must know him. . . . To know him means not only to know his defects and weaknesses; it means to know his strength. When we first heard of the political myths we found them so absurd and incongruous, so fantastic and ludicrous that we could hardly be prevailed upon to take them seriously. By now it has become clear to all of us that this was a great mistake . . . we should carefully study the origin, the structure, the methods, and the techniques of the political myth. We should see the adversary face to face. . . ."

PROTECT BY LEARNING

Cassirer's words can sum up for us the importance not of his book alone but of all those we have been talking about: "In order to fight an enemy you must know him. . . . We should see the adversary face to face. . . ."

The more we learn about totalitarianism, the more frightful it seems. Yet the frightfulness that thus comes to light is not such that it leaves us paralyzed. Quite the opposite. Here, as in so many other human situations, knowledge fosters competence and planning, and thereby a self-respecting readiness to come to grips with reality. It is ignorance that leaves us at the mercy of circumstances, and of the adversary we do not understand. Totalitarianism has, from the beginning, thrived on our multiple confusions with regard to its basic character; our underestimation of its strength; our incredulity with regard to its tactics and long-range aims; our insistent imposing of simple definitions upon complex reality. Time and again, we have looked away indifferently from what we should have scrutinized with care; and have laughed at what we should have taken seriously.

Years ago, at the beginning of the 1930s—before Hitler came to power; before the concentration camps and gas chambers; before the great Stalinist purges in Russia; before the second world war; the subjugation of the satellites; the Korean war; the rise of Red China; the Soviet's tactical invasions of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East; and the revelations of espionage in one free nation after another; including our own—Archibald MacLeish encountered a number of noisy Communists in the New York City area, and did not like them. Their words, conforming in every repetitive detail to the Communist dialectic, were patently out of place in America; their posturing seemed those of colossal egoists. In his *Frescoes for Mr. Rockefeller's City*, MacLeish included, therefore, a section called *Background with Revolutionaries*, and in it he took these Communists for a ride.

Thus, he caricatured Comrade Devine, who wrote "most instructively" about America, having once gone as far west of New York as Hoboken; Comrade Ridge, who was in search of a new fundamentalism to replace one he had given up; Comrade Grilt, who needed something to feel strongly about in his mediocre verses. Listening to such as these shrill insistently, "You need the Dialectical Materialism," and thinking of his own native Middle West, MacLeish responded to incongruity with irony: "And the corn singing Millennium! Lenin! Millennium! Lennium!" And again:

"The New York Daily Worker goes a'blowing over Arkansas
The grasses let it go along the Ozarks
over Arkansas."

But even the absurdity soon palled: he brushed aside the whole dialectic: "She's a tough land under the oak-trees mister:

It may be she can change the word
in the book

As she changes the bone of a man's
head in his children:

It may be that the earth and the men
remain . . .

There is too much sun on the lids of
my eyes to be listening."¹

¹Archibald MacLeish, *Frescoes for Mr. Rockefeller's City*; POEMS 1924-1933, pp. 183-185. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933.

I quote these lines, 24 years after first reading them, because they quite precisely illustrate a type of mistake that has been made over and over again with regard to both Fascism and Communism; and that some among us seem still to be making. It is the error of assuming that the irrational will fall of its own weight; that after an ideology has been appraised as offensive, it can be cold-shouldered out of existence; put in its place as one might put a social boor in his place, by simply turning away. Or it can be laughed at, and forgotten. We might almost say, as we review the history of our time, that both Fascism and Communism have grown strong on being dismissed as nonsense.

Thus, when Communism first took over Russia, the cartoonists of the West stereotyped the Bolshevik revolutionist for us as a long-haired fanatic who lurked around a corner with a bomb in his hand. They invited us to laugh at him; and we laughed, and felt secure—for how could the absurd be dangerous? Today, Communism, with one-third of the earth's people at its mercy, confronts us as the most dangerous and astute enemy freedom has ever known.

When Hitler appeared on the world stage, the cartoonists had another field day: he was no one to take seriously, this strutting paper-hanger with an absurd mustache and a Napoleonic complex. We laughed; and when we turned from their cartoons to read *Mein Kampf*, we felt doubly reassured: this was paranoid nonsense; it could never be turned into fact. "There is too much sun on the lids of my eyes to be listening."

Had we—and by "we" I mean teachers, readers of books, communicators and interpreters of ideas, builders of public opinion—actually "listened" to *Mein Kampf*, we might have set ourselves to do what needed to be done: namely, strip away from Fascism the "protective coloration" of absurdity and show it for what it was. Had we done this; had we even seen what it was called for, the Munich Pact might never have been signed, the barbed wire might never have gone up around the concentration camps, the gas chambers might never have been constructed.

We can grant that MacLeish was right about the new noisy, egocentric, "parlor" Communists he caricatured. They were not likely to overturn the world. But when he turned away from them in boredom and disgust, he withdrew his attention also from what lay back of them; comrades who were made of very different stuff, and who despised Comrades Devine, Ridge, and Grilt no less than he himself did, even though they used them as a front.

Feeling in his bones the strength of America, he underestimated the strength of "the word in the book," *The Communist Manifesto*; the practical directives of Lenin. Enjoying the absurd image of *The New York Daily Worker* blowing over Arkansas, he did not foresee how the "word"—that seed of Communist revolution—would blow around the world and take root.

Many years have passed since MacLeish thus brushed aside the Communist in America. Rivers of blood have flowed since then under the bridges of the world; and many of us have learned that dangers we then counted fictional might far better have been dealt with as grim realities. Yet even today some of the old illusions linger on. We still hear people say that Communism will fall of its own weight: nothing in particular needs to be done to hasten the fall. We still hear people say that the Communist among us need not be bothered about: his dogma can never have any appeal, in this country, except to a few fanatics.

We still hear people say that America is strong; as though this were enough to exorcise all danger. "She's a strong land under the oak-trees mister." So she is: strong in

resources, know-how, production, people experienced in problem-solving, basic philosophy. But America is made up of human beings and human institutions. It is neither a mechanical nor an ideological contrivance. Its strength, in itself, and as leader of the free world, is not *absolute*, but *contingent*. It is contingent upon there being an ever-increasing body of Americans who know the score, the nature of the enemy, and what the stakes are in today's worldwide conflict; and who, without ever knowing all the answers, are ready to do realistic thinking about situations as they arise.

It seems fair enough, then, to say that America's strength for the long pull is, in no small measure, contingent upon our own willingness to treat the problem of Communism as an educational problem: getting as much knowledge about it as we can; exploring the practical implications of what we have learned; and then, as individuals and as a professional group, finding our ways—our proper educational ways—to help build a realistic climate of opinion.

No plan for our doing all this is going to come to us whole and perfect, like Minerva from the head of Zeus. Here, as always, we will learn by doing, and by comparing notes with one another, and with people outside our own profession who have relevant knowledge and experience. Our insights will evolve, not leap into sudden being. So will our projects; a wide variety of them, all sufficiently infused with the same purpose to have a cumulative influence, but never made sterile by uniformity. What we have ahead of us is a chance to show what educators can do in behalf of the freedom upon which their own profession depends. Where do we start?

After having given ourselves some solid background of reading, we might start by learning what we can from certain groups that have actually coped with Communists in America in one or another of their conspiratorial guises.

Take organized labor, for example. A significant number of top labor leaders, today—to say nothing of rank and file members—are scarred veterans of a strategic war to keep the Communists from taking over the



unions. They could tell us that there are certain illusions which organized labor has been denied the luxury of keeping.

One such is the illusion that Communists are "just talking" when they promulgate their doctrines. Organized labor has learned the hard way that when Lenin instructed party members to infiltrate the world's labor unions, he meant what he said; and he did not mean that it would be nice if they would move in and encourage free discussion.

A second is the illusion that any member of the Communist party ever acts as an independent individual. He may seem, for a time, to be just a theorist, on his own; or a trouble-maker, on his own. But once he is put on the spot, it becomes evident that he has the support of the Communist apparatus.

A third lost illusion is that Communism in America is, somehow, a gentler, more domesticated, more democratic phenomenon than elsewhere. Organized labor has learned that just as Communist ideology is an import, so are Communist tactics. They come straight out of the cult of ruthless revolution.

A fourth illusion, closely allied to the third, has also gone to the dust-heap: namely, that Communism in America is largely independent of international Communism; not really part of that world-wide conspiracy. Organized labor in this country is in closer touch with free trade unions around the world than most of us are with educational movements. The AFL-CIO has been able to compare Communist tactics here with those that have destroyed free trade unions in every satellite, and brought them close to destruction in various other countries. We would be hard put to it, for example, to say what the impact of Communism has been upon the school systems of France and Italy. But many American labor leaders know what the impact has been upon free trade unions in these countries. Not only this: they have given practical and strategic help to the beleaguered. If unions in France and Italy, today, have happily regained some of the strength they had formerly lost to the Communists, part of the credit goes to the AFL-CIO.

There is one final illusion which

responsible labor leaders have not maintained: that unions can claim the right to exist as independent islands within our larger society—answerable to none save their own officials. Sometimes, when a strike cripples a community, or when some leaders makes the headlines by his exhibitions of recalcitrance, we may feel that unions are the most high-handed and irresponsible of groups. But they have not proved so on the Communist issue. The realities of the situation have been too obvious and too compelling. Freedom's defenses, here and abroad—including the defenses of free trade unions—depend upon America's industrial potential. This, in a highly practical sense, is in the keeping of those who work in the factories. It would take dreadfully few subversives and saboteurs, at strategic points, to bring vital industries to a standstill. Therefore, labor has accepted the fact that it must clean its own house, and keep it clean, if it does not want the government to step in and do the job.

USING MINORITY GROUPS

Organized labor is not the only group from which we can learn what Communist infiltration means. Just as trade unions were specified by Lenin as vital objects of attack, so were all underprivileged groups. They, it was felt, would be readily responsive to appeals couched in Marxist terminology. Within such groups, moreover, particularly in America, Communist doctrines of social revolution and democratic doctrines of social evolution would meet and collide. Each group of this type, therefore, was to be counted as a laboratory in which "bourgeois democracy" was to be proved bankrupt: by the simple expedient of not letting it accomplish anything.

Minority leaders, particularly Negro leaders, are in a position, by now, to teach us a good many hard facts of the sort already referred to in connection with the Till case. We would do well to invite them to be, on this score, our instructors.

What they and the leaders of organized labor could tell us would, moreover, be confirmed by many other individuals and groups throughout our society. Lenin speci-

fied as axiomatic that Communists within western "bourgeois democracies" should exploit the very political system they were trying to overthrow by demanding for themselves all the rights and protections it granted while using its apparatus of free elections to move into positions of power. Among those who could tell us what this has meant in practice are the men and women, in New York State, who founded the Liberal Party when the American Labor Party was dominated by Communists.

Then, as added instructors for us, there are all those who have coped with Communists in social settlements, public housing projects, inter-faith and inter-cultural groups, and elsewhere; for the only reasonable conclusion to draw from the mountain of facts that have now come to light is that no group vital to our economy and our political structure, or to the shaping of minds and of human relationships, has been passed over as not worth bothering about.

Our government is now able to specify, indeed, on the basis of what it has learned about the structure of the Communist apparatus, that among the inner administrative groups of the Party are the following: National Labor Commission, charged with the responsibility of infiltrating labor organizations and recruitment of new Party members in the basic industries, especially defense industries; National Education, Agitation, and Publications Commission, in charge of Communist schools, bookstores, publishing houses, and propaganda outlets; National Nationality Groups Commission, directing the work of the party within various minority nationality groups in the United States; National Negro Commission, directing the work among American Negroes; National Veterans Commission, charged with the responsibility of infiltrating the various veterans organizations and of preparing propaganda designed to reach all veterans; National Cultural Commission, charged with the direction of the party's work in the fields of arts, sciences, literature, and religion, and among different professional groups; National Women's Commission, in charge of all Communist work among women and in connection with the infiltrating of

women's organizations; and National Affairs Commission, which devotes itself to planning, implementing, and coordinating party work in the political field, analyzing and taking action on pending legislation, and formulating the "party line" on various subjects.¹

For us to sit down in common conference with people who know at first hand what such infiltration means would be good for us; and for them; and for our country. The divisive tactics of the Communists, plus those of "home-grown" extremists, plus the stiffnecked "rightness" of those who have felt put on the spot, have dangerously splintered our society. Thus, the crisis of our time finds too many of us huddling within our own special fellowships—there to develop our in-grown stereotypes; and there to become more and more preoccupied with our own special interests rather than the common welfare. For us as educators, with the problem of Communism as a motive, to go toward other groups and show ourselves ready to learn from them would be an act not only of sound self-education but also of healing.

More than this: by talking over the problem of Communism with these other groups—groups that freely acknowledge their own encounters with it—we would issue to ourselves, as it were, a license to re-think some of our own preconceptions, and to do so with the calmness of self-respect.

As a first stage of such re-thinking, we might size up, in our private minds and shared discussions, some of the typical arguments with which we have commonly rejected all suggestions that the educational system has suffered infiltration. After all, why wouldn't it have? Communists were among us, and were going about their work with deadly seriousness, long before we were taking them seriously. In view of the tremendous stress they have laid on education wherever they have had a chance to determine its design, it seems improb-

able that they would have kept hands off our system while they were infiltrating other groups within our society.

Some educators have insisted, to be sure, that *all* talk of infiltration of American institutions is nonsense: because there are not and never have been enough Communists in this country to do any significant harm. This argument overlooks two vital facts. The first is that, on the frank testimony of those who have coped with it, infiltration has done plenty of harm in plenty of groups. The second is that Communism does not aim to achieve its victories, as American political parties do, by building up a numerical majority. Its strength lies in its close-knit discipline; its secret tactics; the around-the-clock dedication of its hard-core members; its trained capacity to divide the groups it intends to conquer; its policy of insinuating members into key positions in organizations; and, not least, its skill in getting non-members, with or without their knowledge, to help with its propaganda. We say that one man with God is a majority. We need to say, also, that one man with an ideology, the type of commitment to it that Communism requires, and a supportive apparatus back of him, can count for far more in an organization than does an absent-minded, half-committed majority.

INFLUENCING STUDENTS

Equally untenable, when we examine it, is the common argument that even if a few Communists have slipped into our educational system as classroom teachers or college professors, it does not much matter unless they actively "preach" Communism. This point of view plays down, almost to the vanishing point, the importance of the teacher's life-outlook and his quality as a person; for it says, in effect, that the teacher's impact upon students is limited to what he says in so many words or what he assigns as lesson material. This certainly does not comport with what we say in our teacher training programs, where we talk of the teacher's personality structure and his attitude toward other human beings as vitally important, quite apart from the subject matter he teaches.

Also, this argument ignores the fact that teachers and college professors are not always in the classroom. They are cast in various advisory roles to student groups. They develop friendships with students, and enter into counseling relationships with those who bring personal problems to them. They sit in faculty meetings, serve on committees, join professional associations and help to determine the "line" these take on various issues. Most teachers take on their fair share of such "chore-work"; but the Communist who has become a faculty member *because he is a Communist with an ideological job to do* will not be niggardly about doing even more than his share.

It has been a frequent practice to skirt around such points as these by assuming that the Communist teacher is a pure theorist: he is an intellectual Marxist in the same sense that one of his philosophical colleagues is; say, an Aristotelian and another a Pragmatist; and he has no more intention than these colleagues have of "sitting up nights" to convert the word on the page into a political actuality. He is not, they assume, a man of action at all; and to look at him askance because his particular philosophy happens to be currently unpopular is to infringe not only his freedom but that of the whole teaching profession.

There may, in truth, be such pure theorists; but their existence would not in itself prove that no other type of Communist has invaded the educational system: there to wear the guise, if need be, of the pure theorist. For the burden of evidence, not only in this country, but around the world, is that Communism is an action movement—with the "word" as stimulus, weapon, and directive.

Coming back for a moment to labor unions, minority groups, political parties, public housing projects, and the rest: it may be that one reason why these have recognized the tie-up between Communist word and action more swiftly and precisely than some of us have in the educational field is that they, too, are action groups. When they work out statements of policy or inspiration, they do not intend these to live only on the printed page—or mimeographed sheet; nor do they intend

¹Document No. 148, 84th Congress, 2nd Session: *Congressional Investigations of Communism and Subversive Activities: Summary Index, 1918-1956, United States Senate and House of Representatives, Compiled by Senate Committee on Government Operations, July 23, 1956.*

them to exert only a vague, undefined influence. They intend them, so to speak, to rise and walk: to get real results in the real world. They are not blocked, therefore, from recognizing the extent to which the Communist's verbal tactics are part of an action program.

Educators, anxious not to be propagandists, but to help students circle around human experience and size it up, commonly assign a far less definite and active function to the "word"—even their own word. Their hope is that the aggregate of facts and ideas that a student acquires will have a permeative influence upon him, so that, in addition to having some area of expertness, he will act with a fair measure of rationality, discrimination, and perspective in all situations and relationships. To push him into an active commitment to any one theory would be tantamount to putting a lid on his mind; stultifying his intellectual growth.

We as educators, then, by a simple process of projection, are inclined to assume that a colleague who happens to be a Marxist has the same intentions we have ourselves with regard to the "word." Why else would he have chosen teaching as his field? It is exceedingly hard for us to think of him as having been assigned to the educational front in an ideological war.

The real concern of the educator, underlying all surface arguments, is not to let the state, even in the smallest measure, infringe academic freedom. It would be hard to exaggerate the legitimacy of this concern; for academic freedom, like all other human freedoms, has been hard won. Like all other freedoms, moreover, it has to be constantly guarded to be kept; and to the extent that it is kept, dictatorship is warded off, even where its triumph seems almost absolute.

Thus, it is with deep pride in our profession that we read in *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, by Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski (Harvard University Press, 1956), that in Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Soviet Russia the universities have been one of the three types of institutions that have proved hardest to suppress or make in the image of the state—the other two

being the family and the church. The state may have at its command a total ideology, an all-powerful party, the secret police, the media of mass communication, all the machinery of propaganda, and an economy planned and controlled in every detail from the top down; yet through the family, the church, and the universities the spirit of man will still say "No" to its claim that its power is beyond challenge.

It is with pride in our profession, again, that we recall the role of the students and intellectuals in the Hungarian uprising. We know that the Communist regime has bent every possible effort toward shaping the minds of the young in its own image. Yet university students, when it came to a showdown, exhibited the old, beautiful recalcitrance of the scholar: of the mind tenaciously behaving like a mind, not like an automaton or a possession of the state.

DENY TEACHING PRIVILEGES

We think of these things and are immensely heartened. But we are not given an answer to all the questions we have to ask ourselves. For those who shot down the students in the streets of Budapest belong to the same ideological and tactical apparatus as those to whom we are asked to deny any slightest toehold in our own educational system; no matter how convincingly they may plead that their cause, like our own, is that of the mind's freedom.

In one sense, of course, it is true that the problem of active, confirmed Communist Party members within the American teaching profession savors of the academic. For it is a safe bet that only the smallest fraction of our schools or institutions of higher learning have ever had even one such person on the faculty. A statistical approach, makes the whole business seem like much ado about nothing. It lends considerable weight to the commonly expressed viewpoint that those who keep bringing up the issue, decorating it with all sorts of random, ill-founded charges, have done far more harm to our country by the fears and hostilities they have aroused than a handful of even the most dedicated Communists within the educational system could.

A statistical approach, however, leaves a great deal to be desired; for, by avoiding basic principles, it amounts to an avoidance of the whole issue. It simply decides nothing; clarifies nothing that we need to have clear in our minds for the long pull.

If one Communist teacher on a large faculty does not constitute any clear and present danger, at what precise numerical point would anxiety begin to be justified? Would two such teachers be a danger? Three? Seven? But even if theoretically, seven were present, would not the right of each of them *individually* be just as inalienable as the right of the first one? If that first one is immune to questioning or investigation because of those constitutional and academic safeguards that make a teacher's beliefs strictly his own business, so long as he does not stop being a teacher and become an obvious propagandist, then these safeguards—being founded in principle—could not be withdrawn from him simply because 10 or a dozen other Communists gradually moved in. Numbers have nothing to do with the case. They do not even remotely touch the question of whether a person whose chosen allegiance makes him an advocate—however secret an advocate—of the overthrow of our government by force and violence has a right to teach within our public system of education. Unless we come to grips with this question, we can play the "numbers game" till the end of time without really getting anywhere.

There is a second obvious reason why the statistical approach confuses us more than it clarifies. In all the school systems from A to Z, let us say, only one, school system R, has been infiltrated. Located in a large metropolitan center where Communists, through the years, have posed troublesome problems also to labor unions, social agencies, and intercultural groups, school system R appears to be harboring a Communist cell. True, no teacher is overtly preaching Communism in his classes or in faculty meetings. Yet, on the testimony of administrators and of ex-members of the cell, the Communists are there—and are there because this particular institu-

tion has seemed a likely one in which to recruit, by all the indirections of friendship and casual discussion, future Communists.

Do public authorities have a right to be concerned about this situation? Do they have a right to investigate it? Or would it be overzealous—hysterical, even—for them to start looking into the situation in school system R, in view of the fact that there was no sign of Communist infiltration in any of the other systems from A to Z? Again, numbers would appear to have nothing to do with the case. Communists within the teaching profession either are or are not a subject for public concern.

Forty years have passed since the Communist revolution; and Communist tactics, during those 40 years, have created many a wilderness in which our minds have wandered in confusion. No Promised Land is in sight. Perhaps, however, we can promise ourselves some new measure of clarity if, putting aside the angers, anxieties, rigid partisanships, and premature dogmatisms bred in us by our too long encounter with wilderness; we set ourselves, individually and as a professional group, to dig down to the basic questions and ask ourselves what we really believe *now* about the nature and tactics of Communism, academic freedom in relation to these, and the rights of public authorities to be concerned about Communists in the classroom.

To the extent that we do this, we earn whatever convictions we may come out with in the end. As we try carefully to distinguish legitimate public anxiety from illegitimate, and real threats to the mind's freedom from unreal, we earn our right to make strong, specific protests against specific unwarranted attacks upon our educational system. We earn our right, also, to help set standards for responsible investigations—and to call the turn on the irresponsible: a right we do not effectively possess so long as we make our own denunciations blanket in character. By moving back into our society, out of our "fortress education," and trying to see its problems whole in this curious age of conspiracy and extremism, we become all the more able to do justice to the problems

that are particular to our own profession.

One of the tasks that William James assigned to the study of philosophy was that of "making conventionalities fluid again." We, as educators, have both a chance and an obligation to make "fluid again" some of the one-sided conventionalities and stereotypes that have grown up among us during recent angry and anxious years—and that have given comfort alike to the Communists and our "home-grown" extremists of the right.



Out of all the books and articles that have been written on the general subject of Communism and academic freedom, it is hard to make choices. Six items, however, might give us our sense of the scope of the problem; and from these we can extend our reading, if we wish, almost indefinitely.

In *Conflict of Loyalties*, edited by R. M. MacIver (Harper and Brothers, 1952), there is a brief chapter by Ordway Tead on *Freedom and Interference in American Education*. The 13 close-packed pages of this chapter render us a peculiar service. They summarize the types of pressure upon public education that are hardy perennials in a democracy: that are, indeed, so natural and inevitable that we can never expect them to be obsolete. We can, however, as Tead indicates in summary form, learn to be wiser than we sometimes are—and more balanced than we sometimes are—in our handling of such pressures. The value of this all too brief analysis is that it puts our present specific problem of academic freedom into historical and social perspective.

From Sidney Hook's *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No* (John Day, 1953) we get another type of broad perspective: on the whole difficult problem that a free society faces when it is forced, by a deliberate appara-

tus of conspiracy, to find where the line actually lies between legitimate dissent and planned subversion that claims the prerogatives of freedom. In a profoundly philosophic sense, this book makes our conventionalities of thought fluid again.

When we go from the broad problem to the specific, we come upon George Stewart's *The Year of the Oath* (Garden City Press, 1950). Here we read in no uncertain terms the disruptive story of political attack upon academic freedom. The loyalty oath—since declared unconstitutional—which faculty members of the University of California were commanded to sign on pain of dismissal will do as a sample of the type of pressure that has to be resisted by the self-respecting educator who knows and properly values the tradition of freedom that is in his keeping. That this oath was resisted is, now, a matter of history.

Our fourth item shows a university faculty coming to grips in a different way with a different problem. In *Communism and Academic Freedom, The Record of the Tenure Cases at the University of Washington* (University of Washington Press 1949) we have a chance to study in detail the manner in which a university's Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom took on the responsibility of investigating charges that certain members of its own faculty were Communists. The case began, as many of us will recall, when certain members of the State Legislature called the university a hot-bed of Communism, and recommended legislative investigations. Instead of simply labeling these charges as nonsense, or of submitting to investigation by a legislative committee, the faculty set up its own machinery for assessing charges and making recommendations. The record of these proceedings sets a high standard of factuality, fairness, and realism.

We come next to *A City College in Action*, By Thomas Evans Coulton (Harper and Brothers, 1955): This book reports, among many other matters, the very considerable Communist infiltration of Brooklyn College, in Brooklyn, New York; the appraisal made by President Harry Gideonse and his fellow administra-

tors of the methods and effects of such infiltration; and the manner in which it was handled. This book is a "must" for all educators who have dismissed the whole problem of such infiltration as a fiction of hysterical or reactionary minds. President Gideonse learned better—the hard way.

Finally, we cannot claim to have weighed the issues and evidence—looking at the problem as we say problems should be looked at, from all sides—until we have made ourselves familiar with the Five-Part Report on *Subversive Influence in the Educational Process*, issued by the Senate Internal Security Committee (United States Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1953). For better or worse, this is the comprehensive testimony given, under oath, by a great many different individuals and types of individuals on the subject of our concern.

Here, again, for example, we meet President Gideonse, of Brooklyn College, reporting his experiences and stating the convictions that have emerged from them. Here, also, we meet certain teachers and former teachers who, having once themselves been members of Communist cells within the educational system, are able to make specific the aims and tactics of the party in regard to education; by telling what they themselves were supposed to do and supposed to accomplish. And here we meet a number of teachers who have been charged with being active Communists within schools or colleges, and who respond in various ways to these charges.

Whatever general conclusions we may draw, they should be drawn after an appraisal of this very considerable body of testimony, pro and con; not before such an appraisal. A dismissal of these Committee hearings, unread, and with the covering assumption that they are a parcel of trumped-up, demagogic nonsense is not good enough, by our own educational standards of research.

What we have said here does not pretend to cover all that might be said about the impact upon education of Communism, on the one hand, and, on the other, of shortsighted anti-Communism. The aim, however, has been to redress a balance rather

than to tell all. For years now our professional journals and the types of scholarly magazines that we, as educators, tend to read have been stressing one side of the problem: the injustices done to teachers and teaching by rumor-mongers, anti-intellectuals who wear the sheep's clothing of anti-Communism, jittery school boards, people who cannot distinguish between dissent and conspiracy, bungling investigators, and demagogues on the make.

Articles on these subjects have themselves ranged in quality from the accurate to the inaccurate, from the responsible to the irresponsible; but such have been the atmosphere of our time and the anxieties of our profession that we have tended to let all of them alike have their way with our minds. Even had every one of them been of top-level quality, moreover, the repetitiousness of their theme would still have made for one-sided judgments on our part. The time would seem to have come when, fairly well-informed about such threats to our profession, we need to put certain questions to ourselves and stay with them till we know what answers we are willing to give.

INFILTRATION TACTICS

In view of Communism's spread in the world, during the past two decades, and in view of all that has been brought to light, here and abroad, about the world-wide Communist apparatus and the calculated tactics of conspiracy, are people in positions of public trust and authority in America justified in their concern about infiltration: of labor unions, intercultural groups, media of mass communication, minority-group organizations, veterans' organizations, housing projects, reform movements, and government itself?

If we say "No" to this question, do we mean that what goes on in these groups, even if it draws its ideology and its assignments from Soviet sources, is simply none of our government's business? Or do we mean that official concern should wait upon greater danger—more "clear and present danger"—than has so far existed? If this is our meaning, what method for determining the state of danger would we recommend? That is to say, without investigation, how

are public authorities to spot the point at which it becomes legitimate to investigate? These are not questions asked for the pleasure of creating confusion. They are highly practical questions in our present world.

If we say "Yes" to our first question—Yes: concern about infiltration of such groups is justified—then what methods of investigation would we count satisfactory? It cannot be enough for us just to dislike certain methods. Not if the need is real. We have also to make clear what alternative methods would win our cooperation.

If concern about infiltration of these various groups is justified, is it justified also in the case of our educational system? If we say "No," on what basis do we say it? Do we mean that what goes on in the classrooms of America is less important to the security of our nation than what goes on, say, in factories? Or do we mean that what goes on is so exclusively the business of educational authorities themselves that the only proper relationship of the outside public to our schools and colleges is that of providing support?—that is to say, of "taxation without representation?"

If we feel that Communists should not be teaching in our public schools and colleges, how do we think they should be kept out? By outside investigation? By processes that we ourselves, within the system, devise to meet our own need: processes by which we can simultaneously take care of the problem of infiltration and justify our rejection of outside interference in educational affairs?

Until we set ourselves to wrestle with such questions as these and come up with some sort of realistic and practical answers, we are not doing our full job either as educators of the free world or as defenders of free education. What is more, so long as we stress only dangers to ourselves from official and unofficial investigations, and not the dangers to our society that have stimulated these, we run the psychological risk of getting lost in occupational self-pity and buck-passing. Rollo May, in his book *Man's Search for Himself*, defines self-pity as the emotion that never did anybody any good. It probably has never done any professional

group any good either; for to the extent that we feel put upon, we have a way of justifying our not facing issues, coming to grips with problems, and making innovations. We learn to say, in brief, that threats from the outside keep us from doing a great many things which we would not do anyway; being held back from them by inertia, lack of vision, our timidity before one another's judgments, vested interests of position and prestige, the rigidity of the system itself, and plain fatigue.

Most of us, today, are actually agreed that Communists should not be members of our faculties. We go as far, most of us, as to say, "Communists should not be teaching in our schools and colleges; but..." Perhaps what we need to learn is to say, "Communists should not be teaching in our schools and colleges; therefore..."

Trying to put specific content into that word *therefore* would be a good exercise with which to refresh our minds; and make certain conventionalities "fluid again."

In 1951, the University of Pennsylvania Press published a highly significant and useful book: *Civil Liberties Under Attack*, with Clair Wilcox, Professor of Political Economy at Swarthmore as its editor. The contributors were Henry Steele Commager, Professor of History at Columbia; Robert K. Carr, Professor of Law and Political Science at Dartmouth; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., University Professor at Harvard; Walter Gellhorn, Professor of Law at Columbia; Curtis Bok, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, No. 6, Philadelphia; and James P. Baxter III, President of Williams College. All of these men exhibit, in no uncertain terms, their profound concern about irresponsible attacks upon our civil liberties; whether these come from official or from unofficial sources. All of them exhibit, likewise, a realistic awareness of the nature and tactics of Communism. For our present purposes, the final chapter of this book, *Freedom in Education*, by James P. Baxter III, is particularly relevant. It does an extraordinary job of saying, in effect, two things: "The teaching profession must be kept free from irresponsible invasion from whatever

source"; and "Communists should not be teaching in our schools and colleges; therefore..." The manner in which President Baxter takes the problem whole, and assumes an educator's responsibility toward it, might well inspire and guide us as we practice to do likewise.

Perhaps another balance, also, needs to be redressed. Through the books, magazines, and professional journals that we typically read, lectures given at our conventions, countless personal conversations, pleas from various sources, and newspaper headlines, we have been kept well reminded, during recent years, that our government has made plenty of blunders with regard to investigations, the setting up of security machinery, and the defense of civil rights. Here again reports on abuses have themselves ranged from the accurate to the inaccurate, from the responsible to the irresponsible, from the honest to the deliberately slanted. Even if they had all been of top-level quality, however, the cumulative effect of them would have been to skew the picture: to create the impression that almost nothing has been well done in the security field; and that, in the name of security, civil rights have been treated as of small moment.



It can be firmly said that a period like this is one in which we dare not divert our attention from problems of civil rights, content with the illusion that all is well. An age of anxiety is, almost by definition, one in which a great many people will try to restrict the freedoms of others when these express themselves as unconventionality and dissent. It is one, also, in which hate-mongers and demagogues thrive; and one in which a great many people, by gradual stages, are persuaded to believe that ends justify means. Further than this, it is a period in which political

figures, intent to stay in office, keep a wary eye on their constituencies and lean over backward to make sure that no one can call them "soft on Communism." Finally, it is one when necessary secrecy, in high places, often grows into secrecy for convenience: into the tactic of avoiding public criticism of policies, or even public discussion of them, by the simple device of labeling as Classified much that should be open to citizens at large: citizens who are told that they should keep well informed even while the means of their doing so are withheld. We know these things, psychologically, about the type of age in which we live. Therefore, "eternal vigilance" also has to be clear and present vigilance.

The purposes of true vigilance, however, are not served by a feverish focusing upon what has been badly done, to a point where what has been well done is scarcely noticed. In the area of our democratic "house-keeping," as in all other areas, we need standards of excellence. When we as citizens get into the obsessive habit of shouting at our government, "No, no!"—and never saying, "That's good!"—we become much like parents who try to bring up well-behaved children on a constant diet of correction and reproach.

To redress the balance of anxiety and criticism with regard to governmental processes, it seems to me that we need to do two things. The first is to ask questions of our various governmental agencies that honestly are fact-seeking questions: ones that give them a chance to state the nature of the problems with which they are coping, the range and the limits of their authority, and the reasons why they have tried one solution rather than another. In plain fact, most of us, standing on the sidelines of public affairs, underestimate the complexities of almost every problem to which we respond by saying, in exasperation, "Why don't they...?"

The second thing we need to do is to read the types of material that make for a balanced view: that help us fairly to appraise the manner in which the constant chore-work of our democracy is being carried on. This is particularly important with regard to areas and agencies that readily become foci of controversy.

Take the FBI, for example. Here, at last, we have a book available that makes clear much that never has been clear before: Don Whitehead's *The FBI Story, A Report to the People*. Don Whitehead, twice Pulitzer Prize newsman, and currently head of the Washington bureau of the New York Herald Tribune, reports that he undertook this study of the FBI because he wanted to decide for himself whether or not the Bureau, as frequently charged, was playing fast and loose with our civil liberties. Once having got launched on it, and having at his disposal the records of almost 50 years of Federal efforts at law enforcement, he found that he had a far more significant story to report than any he had anticipated: and not only a significant but also a heartening story. Whatever statements we make from now on about the philosophy or the methods of the FBI should be preceded by a reading of this book.

Two other items with regard to the FBI are likewise clarifying, both of them articles by J. Edgar Hoover: one, *Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement: the Role of the FBI*, appeared in the Iowa Law Review, Winter 1952; the other, *Role of the FBI in the Federal Employee Security Program*, in the Northwestern University Law Review, July-August 1954.

Many different books—such, for example, as the various biographies of great Supreme Court Justices—help to give us a sense of how never-ending, how full of intricate details, and how profoundly dramatic is the constant effort of a democratic society to make law serve justice and freedom. Here, for our present purposes, two books of a different sort may prove mindstretching.

Alison Reppy's *Civil Rights in the United States* (Central Book Company, New York, 1951) gives a survey of all cases related to civil rights that were handled by the Supreme Court during 1948 and 1949 and up to the October term of 1950. What this book uniquely does is to remind us that the protection and extension of civil rights, for a society like ours, has to be carried forward on a broad front; and that it is always unfinished business. The cases that Reppy, dean of the New York Law School, here reports are classified under the

following topics: Civil Versus Military Authority; Civil Rights Proposals as they affect the Federal Criminal Code; Communism and the Constitution; the Four Freedoms; Group Discrimination and the Constitution; Labor and the Constitution; Criminal Law and the Constitution; Aliens and the Constitution. It would be hard to find any more useful summary than this of those very preoccupations with justice—with due process of law—that place democracy at the opposite pole from totalitarianism.

The second book I have in mind is *Federal Protection of Civil Rights: Quest for a Sword*, by Robert K. Carr (Cornell University Press, 1947). A brief quote from the Preface of this unique and reassuring book tells what it is about: "In an address delivered at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on June 29, 1947, President Truman said: 'We cannot be content with a civil liberties program which emphasizes only the need of protection against the possibility of tyranny by the Government. . . . We must keep moving forward, with new concepts of civil rights to safeguard our heritage. The extension of civil rights today means, not protection of the people against the Government, but protection of the people by the Government.'"

QUEST FOR A SWORD

In chapter one, Carr explains the book's subtitle *Quest for a Sword*: "In 1944, in the case of *Pollock v. Williams*, the United States Supreme Court invalidated a Florida statute. In the course of the opinion, written by Justice Jackson, it is stated that the individual in America is protected against slavery and involuntary servitude by 'both a shield and a sword.'" This book tells how the protective "sword" is constantly being forged within the frame of Constitutional law.

Two further documents on the legal front—available, probably, only through law libraries, but well worth the effort of hunting them up—are relevant to our concern because they help to give us perspective on one of the most controversial issues of our time: namely, the Smith Act, and the indictment of Communists under this act.

The first of these documents is the decision handed down in the United States Court of Appeals, during the October term, 1949, upholding the conviction of the 11 Communists by the District Court of the Southern District of New York. Presiding over the Court of Appeals was Judge Learned Hand; and the document to which I refer gives in minute detail his legal analysis of the case and his reasons for upholding the conviction.

The second document is the Supreme Court's decision on this same case a year later, October 1950. Here, Chief Justice Vinson announced the majority judgment of the Court: which upheld the earlier decision of the Court of Appeals and established the constitutional legality of the Smith Act.

Since most of us do not commonly read documents of this sort, I had best tell, perhaps, why I turned to them for clarification. I had been asked to put my name on a certain amnesty petition that was being circulated in behalf of the Communists convicted under the Smith Act; and both the wording and the implications of this petition made me feel that I had better go to legal sources to learn the score: to find out what the actual basis for the rulings had been.

The petition, for example, quoted a fragment of one dissenting opinion—that of Supreme Court Justice Black; but it said nothing about the reasoning on which the majority opinion had been reached. The implication, moreover, was that "due process" had been flouted: that the Communists were, in effect, "political prisoners," in the old, repugnant sense of that term; not criminals who had broken the law of the land; but persons who, under the influence of national hysteria, had been railroaded to jail in violation of their basic rights.

I did not find it easy to visualize the Supreme Court in a state of hysteria. Nor did its record seem to me to indicate any dangerous lack of concern for either legal regularities or civil rights. I found it even harder to visualize Judge Learned Hand, that veteran supporter and interpreter of human liberties, as flouting the rights of "even the least of these." So a look at something other than the

printed words of this petition seemed in order; and that "something" turned out to be the two documents mentioned above.

The judgment handed down by Chief Justice Vinson is clear and serviceable enough; but that of Judge Learned Hand is far more than this. It would serve as a classic example of the careful determination to do justice: to examine and analyze in minute detail every possible basis of appeal. More than this, it takes the whole matter of convictions under the Smith Act out of the welter of angers, fears, charges, and countercharges that have surrounded them and locates them in our legal tradition.

It would be hard to read these two court decisions in their careful entirety without concluding, as they do, that the Smith Act is constitutional; that, as law of the land, it is binding unless and until changed by due process of law; and that the conviction of the eleven Communists under this Act was by "due process," not by hysteria.

RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH

On the civil liberties front, there is one final item that seems too valuable for us to overlook. This is an article, *Speech: Public and Private*, that appeared in the Columbia Law Review in May 1953—under the joint authorship of Morris L. Ernst, Counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Arthur Joel Katz. What is here analyzed is the critical issue of whether or not *secret speech* that is part of a planned program to induce action that would be contrary to law can properly claim protection under our traditional guarantee of the right of *free speech*. This question of where free speech leaves off and action begins is, in a sense, basic to the whole concern we have been exploring. Until we clarify our minds, or at least "unfog" them a little on this issue, there will be a great many related matters on which it will be difficult for us to gain perspective.

When Al Smith was Governor of New York, he had a characteristic way of cutting through arguments that seemed to be getting nowhere, because they were made up of assertions that no one present could check

for accuracy. "Let's look at the record," he would say. It is inevitable, in the atmosphere of our time, that a great many controversies will be carried on in a manner that tells more about the habitual outlooks and deep allegiances of those who take part in them than about objective facts. It is inevitable, also in such an atmosphere, that partialities will all too often harden into stereotypes. Perhaps our role as educators, in relation to this whole problem we are facing, is that of saying, and of equipping ourselves to say, "Let's look at the record," and "Let's make our stereotypes fluid again."

On November 17, 1956, a Commission of the International Rescue Committee left for a survey of the Hungarian refugee situation in Austria. In a subsequent report, this Commission analyzed the revolution in Hungary, the exodus of refugees, and the significance of these events for the free world.

Under the title, *The Sorrow and Triumph of Hungary*, this report makes it clear that what took place in Hungary was no little thing: "The Hungarian Freedom Fighters have given us the most significant victory for liberty since World War II. The thousands of refugees who have sought temporary asylum have come not in the spirit of the vanquished but rather with the pride of conquerors. They know what the Free World has not yet fully realized: *that the Soviet monolith has been irreparably shattered and that the wreckage of Budapest has created a spectre that will terrify the Communist oppressors of all lands.* This victory will not be denied despite the staggering number of Hungarian casualties, despite the continued Soviet occupation of the country, and despite the apparent helplessness of the West to prevent Soviet aggression and barbarism.

"The origins of the Hungarian Revolution are not secret. It was a spontaneous outburst by a unified people against both Communist doctrine and Russian domination. It was a revolution without a recognized leader. It began as an orderly protest march and surged into violence because of brutal unexpected incidents....

"The World has witnessed the Sec-

and October Revolution. The First October Revolution was fought in 1917 and from its chaos came the foundations of International Communism. The Second October Revolution has begun the destruction of those foundations."¹

CULTURE vs. IDEOLOGY

We might say, in psychological terms, that what happened in Hungary was the uprising of a *culturally* united people against an *ideologically* united regime. Perhaps the whole struggle of our time is summed up in this contrast: between a way of life that has been "grown into" and one that has been arbitrarily contrived and imposed. What is being tested, today—and all of us are being tested in the process—is the tensile strength of freedom, expressed alike in personality and institution, and the tensile strength of totalitarianism.

While we are rooted in the past, we belong to the future. The past is ours to learn from; and among the lessons it has to teach is that while the tactics and strategy of the totalitarians can change overnight, when expediency dictates, their long-range objectives remain unchanged. These objectives have been stated in unequivocal terms; and there has been no swerving from them, and certainly no repudiation of them, during all the years of tactical maneuvering. The future is ours to build; and if it is to be built for freedom, we have to know totalitarianism well enough not to be taken in by any of its disguises, and well enough to know how profoundly different from it we want our own democracy to be. Our hope for the better—to borrow a phrase from Thomas Hardy—"exacts a full look at the worst."

The First October Revolution, in 1917, started something, but did not finish what it started: the consequences have already been four decades in the making. The Second October Revolution, in 1956, also started something that is very far from being finished. "It is for us the living... to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us."

¹*The Sorrow and Triumph of Hungary*, pp. 5, 15. International Rescue Committee, 62 West 45th Street, New York 36, New York.

in the news

Southeastern AEA Meeting at U. of Georgia

The 1957 Conference of the Southeastern Adult Education Association was held in the new Georgia Center for Continuing Education at the University of Georgia, Athens, April 7-9. The Conference theme was "Developing Plans for Action," following up the 1956 Conference on "Facts for Action."

The President's report on "Twenty Years of Adult Education in the Southeastern States" given by Dr. Lucy S. Morgan and reports from the Development and Organization Committees provided working papers for testing and developing plans for the Association's future activities. Groups organized by states checked degrees of concern over social, economic and educational problems revealed at the 1956 Conference, and groups chosen from across the region discussed these concerns and the working papers before making recommendations for action by the Association. Per Stensland, Chairman of the AEA Field Development Committee, summarized the Confer-

ence. He showed the significance of the group's concern over the fact that programs in the various fields of interest are not adequate to meet the challenge of rapid changes; he suggested the need for subordination of organizational machinery to the purpose and program of the Association; and he urged the Association to determine its values to its members and to the region.

The Association decided to sponsor a survey of personnel and training needs in the region, to develop some long-range plans for improving and extending adult education.

At the first session President O. C. Aderhold of the University of Georgia welcomed the members of the Association to the Center, and President Elbert W. Burr brought greetings from the AEA, adding a brief statement of the reorganization of the AEA which emphasizes the role of the individual member.

On April 8 the Georgia Center for Continuing Education presented case studies in continuing education. The staff produced a TV program on the interests and needs of adults with the curtains rolled back to show the production in process. Tom Gibson of the Georgia Department of Public Health was Chairman.

J. Carson Pritchard of the West Georgia College, and a group from a rural community participated in a demonstration of cooperative planning to show the College in the Country of West Georgia College in action. At an earlier session Dr. Hugh Masters, Director of the Center, had described the Center and its program of services.

Officers elected for 1957-1958 were J. Eugene Welden, President; Charles-anna Fox, Vice-President; and Sallie A. Pearce, Secretary-Treasurer. Serving on the Executive Committee will be representatives and alternates from each of the nine states in the region: H. F. Gibson and Mrs. Louise K. Hamil, Alabama; L. C. Reynolds and A. N. Anderson, Florida; Dr. John Griffin and J. Carson Pritchard, Georgia; Dr. J. H. Jones and M. E. Kossack, Louisiana; Mrs. Eugenia N. Hudson, Mississippi; Hoyt Galvin and J. E. Huneycutt, North Carolina; W. C. Jackson and L. R. Booker, South Carolina; Charles R. Moffett and Hugh Betts, Tennessee; Dr. Kurt Schneider and Franklin Bacon, Virginia.

AEA and President's Committee Beyond the High School

Adult educators have had a prominent role in several regional conferences of the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School.

An attractive factual brochure "Education Throughout Life" was distributed at all conferences through the good offices of the AEA Liaison Committee, Homer Kempfer, chairman.

Participating in the regional conference in Louisville, was Wilmer Bell, Director of Adult Education for the city of Baltimore. Elmer Mueller, Director of Adult Education for the Minnesota State Department of Education, attended the St. Louis conference.

R. J. Pulling, chief of New York's Bureau of Adult Education, and John McSharry and Everett Preston, president of the New Jersey AEA and Director of Adult Education in New Jersey took part in the New York conference. Paul Essert, former president of the AEA is a member of the President's Committee.

Educational TV in New Orleans

Educational television station WYES in New Orleans went on the air in April, ahead of schedule. WYES is operated by the Greater New Orleans Educational Television Foundation and operates on a yearly budget of \$165,000.

National University Extension Meets

One of the most important adult education events of the year, the annual conference of the National University Extension Association, was held in April at the University of Georgia. The convention program was built around the new intellectual concepts taking place in 20th century thinking and their effect on the responsibilities and opportunities of university extension programs.

Another national group strongly interested in adult education that plans a meeting soon is the National Audio Visual Association. Their conference will be in Chicago in July.

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AEA Education Conferences

The Minnesota Council for Adult Education held its meeting in Minneapolis in cooperation with the Minnesota Council on Family Relations and the principal resource person was Dr. Lester A. Kirkendall, Professor of Family Life at Oregon State College.

The Missouri Valley Adult Education Association met in Des Moines. The new officers of the MVAEA are: President, Ernest Brandenburg and Secretary-Treasurer, James K. Lehr, both of Washington University, St. Louis; Vice President, Elmer A. Mueller, Minnesota State Department of Education. The 1958 Conference of MVAEA will be held in Omaha.

At the annual meeting of the Missouri Adult Education Association the following officers were elected: Walter C. Brown, Columbia, President; Eli F. Mitler, Kirksville, Vice President; C. C. Damel, Jefferson City, Secretary-Treasurer. At the St. Louis meeting the Constitution was amended to provide for membership affiliation with the AEA of the U.S.A.

The New York Association of Public School Adult Educators held its 1957 state conference at Syracuse. R.C.S. Young, Director of Admissions at the University of Georgia was speaker. His topic: "Education for Tomorrow."

Vivien Cazayoux was elected president of the newly formed Louisiana Adult Education Association. The Louisiana Conference was a practical leadership training course. J. H. Jones, Rural Sociologist in the Agricultural Extension staff of the Louisiana State University was conference chairman.

The annual conference of the Arizona Adult Education Association was held in Prescott. The theme of the conference, "Recent Trends in Adult Education." Particular attention was paid to trends in health and welfare adult education. The following officers were elected: President, M. R. Eppert, Phoenix Union High School; Vice President, Mrs. Mary Noyes, American Red Cross of Prescott; Secretary, Mrs. Harold Leuba of the Arizona School of Business Administration, Phoenix; Treasurer, Dr. Roy Rice, Director of Extension at the Arizona State College at Tempe.

The Maryland Conference for Adult Education was held at the University of Maryland. Coolie Verner, Professor of Adult Education at Florida State University was the featured speaker. The conference plan gave opportunities for the study of various methodologies of adult education and for regional discussion groups which enabled adult educators from various parts of the state to meet in geographically related groups. Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Chief of the Adult Education Division of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare gave the closing address.

The Adult Education Association of Michigan met with the Michigan Association of Public School Adult Edu-

cators and the Michigan Council on Family Relations at Grand Rapids. Headline speaker for the combined conferences was Elbert W. Burr, President of the AEA. Other speakers included Dr. Howard McClusky, University of Michigan; Gorton Riethmiller, Highland Park; Dr. Allen S. Whiting, Michigan State University, and Dr. Ralph Rabinovitch, Northville.

Educational Broadcasters Now Represented in UNESCO

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters is now represented on the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO by its Executive Director, Harry K. Skornia. Mr. Skornia is one of five prominent Americans recently appointed to the Commission. Others are Howard Hanson, Director of the Eastman School of Music; Herman Finkelstein, General Attorney for the American Society of Composers; Joseph Dainow, Professor of Law at the Louisiana State University, and the Very Reverend Monsignor Francis J. Lally, Editor of the *Pilot*.

Dr. Hanson served education in another way during the month of April when he conducted the premier performance of "Song of Democracy" played by the Washington Symphony Orchestra. Dr. Hanson was commissioned to compose the "Song of Democracy" by the NEA for its centennial celebration.

Labor and Adult Educators Convene in Washington

Early in May the AEA's section on Labor Education brought together a group of about 50 adult educators and labor educators in Washington to discuss ways in which representatives of both groups could work together.

A substantial part of the program was devoted to joint planning of ways and means whereby stronger labor education could be built within the adult education movement. Tentative plans call for the group to bring this question to the attention of the AEA at its conference in San Diego.

Group Discussion Processes

374 pp. 1957. \$4.50.

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CORRECTION

In the April issue, the Boston University Summer Workshop in the Improvement of Human Relations was erroneously identified as an NCCJ Workshop. The Boston University Workshop receives support and sponsorship from several organizations in addition to the NCCJ, and its curriculum includes training in group and organizational relations as well as inter-group relations.



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IN PRINT

COMMUNITY EDUCATION IN WORLD AFFAIRS. By William C. Rogers. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956. 97 pp. \$1.25.

The frequently expressed need for a guide for organizations and program planners in the field of world affairs is filled more than adequately by this handbook which may well serve as a model for compilers of program planning and action guides in other subject fields.

Three outstanding practitioners have drawn upon their own experience and broad knowledge to analyze the problems and questions which are encountered in world affairs education. They then consider the "best and most effective methods by which people can get facts and evaluate them" and suggest ways to find new techniques and improve old ones, with action as the final goal. They emphasize the need for accurate information, for democratic discussions to reach decisions and adaptation of programs to the particular group and an ultimate hope that a community council on world affairs

may emerge for coordination of activities. There is a good chapter on finding and using speakers. The use of discussion, films, pamphlets, newspapers, radio and television are covered and, finally, three sample programs are presented. Each chapter ends with a Tool Chest of really useful sources of information.

HELPING PEOPLE LEARN ENGLISH: A Manual for Teachers of English as a Second Language. By Earl W. Stevick. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957. 138 pp. \$2.50.

A simple treatment of the inductive method, with exercises for oral and written language, phonetics and grammar. The author uses his knowledge of linguistics and experience in teaching adults of varied backgrounds to prepare a guide which should prove of value to those who are teaching English to foreign students, refugees and immigrants as well as Americans we are called on to teach English informally.

EDUCATION THROUGHOUT LIFE: The Need, The Trends, The Demand, Problems and Issues. Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 743 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois, March, 1957. 15 pp. 25c.

It is all or almost all here—in 15 pages of concise and graphic presentation: the need for continuous learning in a rapidly changing world; the number of adults whose education is obsolete for today's problems; the demand as shown by enrollment in various kinds of educational institutions for adults; the demand for trained workers and the problems to be faced.

Prepared for the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School by the AEA Liaison Committee the pamphlet should be widely useful for distribution by many adult educators who are looking for a vivid and effective statement of the need for funds and personnel.

PUBLIC RELATIONS FOR SOCIAL AGENCIES: A guide for Health, Welfare, and Other Community Organizations. By Harold P. Levy. New York: Harper & Bros., 1956. 208 pp. \$3.50.

A balanced interweaving of fundamental principles with basic facts and effective procedures produces a practical and readable handbook. It brings together a wide variety of public relations experience and case stories of day-to-day situations and shows that a big budget for public relations is less important than planned responsibility consistently carried out, using all channels: boards, staff volunteers and interested citizens. When and when not to use the expert; making the most of varied resources; the use of the various media and the how and why of publications are other areas covered. The chapter "What About Gimmicks" contains good advice. A good book for the office shelf in social and other agencies.

ENGINEERING ENROLLMENT IN THE U.S. Norman N. Barish, Editor. New York: New York University Press, 1957. 226 pp. \$7.50.

Studies trends in order to discover how rapidly we have been training engineers, the rate of growth in enrollment, the kinds of engineers and the effects of specialization. Future requirements in the various branches are discussed and a chapter on engineering education in the U.S.S.R. gives perspective. The author concludes that the current shortage of talent is critical, especially in the highly analytical and creative areas. A new pattern of education is proposed.

RESOURCES A-V

1957 CATALOG ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA FILMS. Available from Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, 1150 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, Illinois.

NATIONAL TAPE RECORDING CATALOG. 2nd edition. Jointly sponsored by the Department of Audio-Visual Instruction, NEA, The Association for Education by Radio-TV, and Kent State University, January 1957. 77 pp., \$1.00. Available from Department of Audio-Visual Instruction, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

The latest catalog of several hundred taped programs including Child Study, Citizenship, Education, Mental Health, Recreation, etc. Gives information on how to order materials and lists 29 state tape recording libraries where tape services can be obtained.

NET NEWS, official publication of National Educational Television. Published bi-monthly by the Educational Television and Radio Center, 2320 Washtaw Avenue, Ann Arbor. To get on mailing list write Box 777, Detroit 31, Michigan.

ASK THE BRAVE SOLDIER. Filmstrip, sound, b & w, 92 frames with long-playing record (20 min.). Produced for the National Conference of Christians and Jews by the Audio-Visual Materials Consultation Bureau, Wayne State University, Detroit. Available from local NCCJ offices.

Primarily for community organizations and human relations workshops. Depicts an incident arising from changing neighborhoods. Shows the role of the school and the community agency in helping to improve understanding through an urban workshop.

ANGER AT WORK. Motion picture, 16 mm., sound, b&w, 21 min., \$125.00. Produced by the Oklahoma State Department of Health. Available from International Film Bureau, Inc., 57 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Illinois.

Explains the displacement of anger onto other men and how this impairs human relations. Through the use of five incidents, the film shows techniques for handling anger, resentment, frustration.

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inside AEA

SECTIONS: Home and Family Life, under the chairmanship of Mary S. Lyle, Iowa State College, plans a variety of activities for 1957, including the revision of its "Annotated Bibliography on Adult Education for Home and Family Life" . . . The section on Education for Aging (Herbert Hunsaker, Purdue University, chairman) plans to continue its effort to secure financial assistance for a program of leadership training for adult educators working with the aging . . . The Fundamental Education group chaired by Ambrose Caliver, U.S. Office of Education, hopes to develop a publication on methodology in literacy education . . . The Community Development section (William Biddle, Earlham College, chairman) expects to develop a comprehensive bibliography of readings on community development, as well as to study the work of 12 state university departments of community development and to send to all section members brief case reports of community development work in process.

ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS: The AEA has joined the Joint Council on Educational Television and has appointed a representative to the Advisory Council of the Educational Television Center.

STAFF: Phillip E. Frandson, formerly Assistant to the Executive Director of AEA, has been named Assistant to Dr. Paul Sheats, Director, Extension Division of the University of California, Los Angeles. He had been with the conference section of the UCLA.

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Columbia University
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2. The Roots of Soviet Education
3. The Goals of Soviet Education
4. The General Education of the Younger Generation
5. The Political Education of the Younger Generation
6. The Moral Education of the Younger Generation
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IN AMERICA'S FUTURE

★ NOVEMBER 13

Panel of social analysts will give a sociological overview of the American scene.

★ NOVEMBER 14

Implications for adult education and adult educators of the previous day's panel discussion, followed by section meetings, and an address outlining the unique function of adult education in our society.

★ NOVEMBER 15

A symposium on how adult educators can fulfill their role in society, with special reference to what various groups can do individually and cooperatively.

The National Council of Organizations of the AEA will hold its annual conference in New York City, December 11, 12 and 13.

b6
b7c

July 17, 1957

RECORDED - 73

INDEXED - 73

Mill Valley, California

Dear

DC. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL

Mr. Louis B. Nichols has referred to me your kind note of July 9, 1957, and I was indeed pleased to learn that you and your party enjoyed your recent visit to our Bureau.

You may be sure it was a pleasure having you call and that both Mr. Nichols and Special Agent Herbert E. Hoxie were privileged to be of service. They both join with me in expressing deep thanks for your thoughtfulness in writing.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

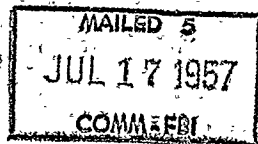
cc - Mr. Nichols, with copy of incoming

cc - SA Herbert E. Hoxie, with copy of incoming

cc - Personnel file of SA Herbert E. Hoxie, with copy of incoming
NOTE: See Jones to Nichols memo dated 7-9-57, captioned "Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet, Special Tour - July 9, 1957," HEH:mrh. SA Herbert E. Hoxie EOD 12-11-50, assigned Crime Records Section in GS-13.

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
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Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

JRH:jcs
(6)



MAIL ROOM ☐

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TRUE COPY

Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.

July Ninth

Dear Mr. Nicholls,

It would be impossible for me and my children to tell you how much we value your great kindness to us today. Thank you for giving us so much time in the midst of your formidable schedule.

Seeing the Federal Bureau of Investigation was the high point of our Washington trip.

Would you be so kind as to convey our gratitude to Mr. Hoxie for his generous hours with us.

I hope that we can adequately convey our respect for this wonderful institution to others, this seems more important than ever, to me.

This will long be a day to cherish, for all of us.

Sincerely,

/s/

[Redacted Signature]

b6
b7C

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*4 copies typed
7-15-57
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*PL 4/8/88
PL 7/1/88*

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Sheraton-Park Hotel
Washington, D.C.

July Ninth

Dear Mr. Nichols:

It would be impossible
for me and my children
to tell you how much we
value your great kindness
to us today. Thank you

for giving us so much
time in the midst of
your formidable
Selling the Federal
Bureau of Investigation
was the high point of

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JRB

our Washington trip.

Would you be so kind
as to convey our gratitude
to Mr. Hopie for his
generous hours with
us.

I hope that we can
adequately convey our
respect for this
wonderful institution
to others, this seems more
important than ever to me.
This will long be a
day to cherish, for all
of us.

Sincerely

b6
b7C

BONARO W. OVERSTREET

1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN

LAKE BARCROFT

FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

July 11, 1957

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
9th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BJS/CO4

Dear Mr. Hoover,

How good of you to write those two letters about my article, "The Adult Educator and the World Communist!" I am sure that Mr. Mitchell will be as pleased with your generous approval as I am myself.

As I have told Mr. Nichols, the editors and staff of the magazine have taken on the publication of this unusual one-article issue as a real labor of love. Not only have they been unstinting in their personal effort but they have stretched their lean budget to the limit to put out an extraordinary number of copies, in the hope that these will find an audience beyond their regular subscription list. I am, therefore, both personally and professionally grateful for the appreciation and encouragement you have expressed to them through your letter to Mr. Mitchell.

Miss Amy Fahlgren, the Managing Editor, has written me that they have already received many letters, "all very enthusiastic, commenting on it from various parts of the country. . ." The editors believe -- as we ourselves do -- that the time is precisely ripe for alerting the minds and focussing the interest of a great many people in the fields of education and of community relationships who have felt uneasy about the public's lack of understanding of Communism but also unready themselves to speak out firmly for fear they didn't "know their stuff."

Again, my thanks -- and warm personal greetings from both of us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

RECORDED-126

15 JUL 22 1957

EXP. PROC.

JUL 12 1957

July 16, 1957

MR. TOLSON:

9/15
HARRY A. OVERSTREET

FILE

Mr. W. C. Sullivan and I have discussed ways whereby we might be of some assistance to the Overstreets in their efforts to develop a greater conscientiousness of the menace of communism among educators. We both feel it would be well if we loaned them the attached monographs.

One deals with communist tactics. It is essentially public source material. The other deals with discipline in the Communist Party. A large portion of it is based upon public source material, although some is based upon Bureau files. Public source data is footnoted and I can arrange for the Overstreets not to use any material that is not footnoted to a public source.

I think these will make quite an impression on them.

L. B. NICHOLS

LBN:hpf
(2)

Enclosures

*above returned by
Overstreet 8/5/57*

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REC-101

100-114575-82X

13 OCT 10 1958

REC-101

66 OCT 15 1958

8/5

2/2/58

Mr. Nichols:

Mrs. Overstreet called on July 31 and asked if the following books were available:

1. Propaganda Handbook

~~(This secured from Library of Congress. Due in 2 weeks & appropriate note made on book.)~~

~~Handbook on Propaganda - this was charged out by Library of Congress & will be secured when available.~~

S.K.B. 15

2. The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy & Tactics (from our Library)

3. World Revolutionary Propaganda (from our Library)

I've made a followup on these.

Done 15 0.

fml

Mrs. Overstreet said these books were all listed in a bibliography which you had given her.

Done. H. C. Sullivan
H. C. Sullivan

File
J. H. Sullivan

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DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-82 R

over street's *Return to: [unclear] 8/14/86*

LIST OF BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS SENT TO THE OVERSTREET'S

Publications

~~Outline for the Study of the Economic System, Political Structure and Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union and American-Soviet Collaboration..~~
by J. Miudel 8/14

~~Outline on Fundamentals of Marxism . . .~~ Issued by Educational Committee,
LA County Communist Party

Outline for New Members' Class... Issued by Education Dept., New York
State Committee Communist Party

Outline, First Series (Lesson One-Capitalism and Capitalist Contradictions)

Outline on Marxist-Leninist Fundamentals.... Issued by State Education Comm.,
Illinois Dist. Committee,
Communist Party, U.S.A.

Books

Complete set of V.I. Lenin's Selected Works

A Handbook of Marxism

Pages from a Worker's Life....by William Z. Foster

Communism in the United States....by Earl Browder

The People's Front....by Earl Browder

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

~~The History of the Civil War in the U.S.S.R....~~ Edited by M. Gorky,
V. Molotov, K. Voroshilov, S. Kirov, 8/14
A. Zhdanov, J. Stalin

The United Front....by Georgi Dimitroff

Stalin....by Molotov, Mikoyan, Khrushchov, Shvern timer, Dvinsky, Voroshilov,
Kalinin, Beria, Shkiryatov, Shcherbakov, Kaganovich, Andreyev,
Malenkov, Poskrebyshev, Dimitroff

~~Dialectics of Nature~~ by ~~Frederick Engels~~ 8/14

Marx Engels - Selected Correspondence

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-82X

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS GIVEN TO THE OVERSTREETES

Pamphlet entitled "Under Arrest! Workers' Self-Defense in the Courts"
issued by the International Labor Defense.

Pamphlet entitled "International Cultural Bonds of the Soviet People"
by A. Denisov

Pamphlet entitled "Religion" by V. I. Lenin

Pamphlet entitled "Religion in the U.S.S.R." by E. Yaroslavsky

~~Pamphlet entitled "Theses and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International"~~

✓ ~~Book entitled "Handbook of Marxism"~~

Book entitled "Toward Soviet America" by William Z. Foster

Pamphlet entitled "Constitution of the Communist Party, USA."

Pamphlet entitled "Catholics and Communists" by Maurice Thorez

~~Pamphlet entitled "A World Christian Front? and The Anti-Social Ethics
of Red-Baiters" by V. J. Jerome~~ 8/14

~~Pamphlet entitled "The Way Out, A Program for American Labor"~~

Book entitled "Coup D'Etat: The Technique of Revolution" by Curzio Malaparte

✓ ~~Book entitled "The People's Front" by Earl Browder~~

August 7, 1957

99395

RECORDED - 6 100-114575-83

INDEXED - 6

Mr. Nicholas P. Mitchell
Director of Extension
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-20-83 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

EX 105

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of July 31, 1957, has been received.

In response to your request, I have no objections to your
utilizing my previous letter of July 9 in the September issue
of "Adult Leadership" as you mentioned.

MAILED 5
AUG 7 - 1957
COMM-FBI

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: The Director wrote to Mitchell on 7/9/57 expressing his
appreciation for the very fine article by Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet
entitled "The Adult Educator and the World Communist" which appeared
in the June issue of "Adult Leadership." Mrs. Overstreet was also
written a note of appreciation on the same date.

- Tolson _____
- Nichols _____
- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Trotter _____
- Nease _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

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AUG 14 1957

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ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION of the U. S. A.

743 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois

University of South Carolina
Extension Division
Columbia, South Carolina
July 31, 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-20-82 BY SP8BTJ/csl

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 9 with the favorable comment on our publication in ADULT LEADERSHIP of "The Adult Educator and the World Communist" by Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet. If you have no objections, we wish to carry your letter in our "letters to the editor" section in the September issue.

Sincerely yours,

Nicholas P. Mitchell

Nicholas P. Mitchell
Editor, ADULT LEADERSHIP

NPM:mp

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. Nease	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

RECORDED - 6

INDEXED - 6

4 AUG 9 1957

EX 105

~~EXP. PROC.~~
AUG 2 1957

HARRY A. OVERSTREE
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

Jan 25, 1958

Mr John McGuire
United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr McGuire:

Many thanks for sending us the data about Mr Hoover's book. We are particularly delighted with the title. It will, we think, go far to catch the attention of a public not given to responding to books on Communism. But "Masters of Deceit"! Americans will be wanting to know what has been put over on them.

We shall be looking forward to the appearance of the book in March and shall hope that the gods will send exactly the right kind of reviewers.

Meanwhile, please be prepared to let us in if we come knocking at your telephone some day and announce that we are coming to see you!

Sincerely yours,

H.A. Overstreet

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DATE 5-22-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

RECORDED - 23

100-114575-84
18 JAN 31 1958

F105
68 FEB 7 1958

EX-146

CRIME REC.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: March 20, 1958

FROM : G. A. Nease

SUBJECT: Harry Overstreet

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Nease _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Clayton _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

For record purposes, Dr. and Mrs. Harry Overstreet stopped by my office on March 18, at which time Mr. McGuire chatted with them and brought them in and introduced them to me. They were, of course, very charming, highly cultured persons and there is no doubt of their deep regard for the Bureau and in particular for some of our headquarters supervisors with whom they have come in contact. The Overstreets are very fond of Inspector W. C. Sullivan. They, of course, had utmost regard for former Assistant to the Director L. B. Nichols and advise they have been keeping in daily contact with the Nichols children since Nick and Mrs. Nichols are in Baton Rouge due to the illness of Nick's brother.

The Overstreets advise they have been doing a book on the span of Marxism-Leninism covering a period of fifty years. Dr. Overstreet had in mind inserting a paragraph that the Director had not advocated legislation outlawing the Communist Party. Dr. Overstreet was doubtful of this conclusion. We accordingly, straightened him out on this, going back to the Director's testimony some years ago when Congressman Vail had asked the Director the direct question on this point. The Overstreets were most appreciative for the clarification.

This was my first opportunity to meet them and I am sure the association the Bureau has had with them over the years can be mutually beneficial in the future and continue to our mutual satisfaction.

cc - Mr. Jones
 cc - Mr. Sullivan

JJM:rm
 (4)

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 DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/c

REC-59

100-114575-85

15 MAR 26 1958

62 APR 4 1958

CRIME RECORDS
 CENTRAL RECORDS
 PERS. FILE

June 13, 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I have read with great interest your review
of my book, "Masters of Deceit," in the June, 1958, issue
of the "National Parent-Teacher," and I am grateful for your
generous comments.

It is my sincere hope that this book will be
of assistance to the American people in their fight against
communism. Only by an informed citizenry can we hope to
defeat this atheistic menace. You were most kind to call the
book to the attention of your readers.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Overstreet is address per Mr. Nease's office List

FCS:jcs
(3)

ENCLOSURE
clipping

EX-102

REC-77

REC-77

EX-102

JUN 13 12 23 PM '58
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100-114575-33
JUN 15 1958

JUN 27 1958

MAIL ROOM ☐

Olson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MASTERS OF DECEIT: THE STORY OF COMMUNISM IN AMERICA AND HOW TO FIGHT IT By J. Edgar Hoover. New York: Henry Holt, 1958. \$5.00.

This book is a highly essential book for all parents and teachers to read and reflect upon. We live in a time of nationwide and worldwide anxiety. And there is one thing above all that we do not want to have happen. We do not want to have the confusions and cross purposes of Communism, which have so long plagued us, visited upon our children so that they will not know what to think or whom to believe.

In 1919, when the violence of the Russian Revolution was extending itself even into our own land with bombings, wreckings, and killings, the then Attorney General of the United States directed a young special assistant, J. Edgar Hoover, to prepare a legal brief on the newly formed Communist Party and Communist Labor Party in America.

Thirty-nine years have now passed, and Mr. Hoover is still at the job to which he was assigned. He is probably, in the whole country, the man most responsibly informed about what Communism is, what it does, and what it proposes to do.

Now, following that first assignment, he writes his thirtieth-year report on what he has since found out. Pulling no punches in his conclusions, he bluntly calls his book about Communism and Communists *Masters of Deceit*, subtitled *The Story of Communism in America and How To Fight It*.

Not only has Mr. Hoover been longer at the job of studying Communism than have most Americans. He has also been able, because of his official responsibilities, to get closer to the facts than has been possible for any of the rest of us.

Then, too, again because of his official duties—he has consistently gone at the problem of Communism in the manner of one who deeply believes in liberty under law. Finally, because of his personal dedication to liberty under law, Mr. Hoover has been able to treat the problem of Communism in the light of the broader American problem of building up, among young and old, a lasting respect for law and justice.

This is a book of fact piled on fact, written with a crisp concreteness and clear relevance to the issues at hand. It is the kind of book that tells us what we need to know.

In the anxious times ahead, many of us will want this book at our elbow. For here is dependable truth about the most ominous and baffling threat to the life, liberty, and happiness of ourselves and our fellow human beings that has ever appeared.

—HARRY A. OVERSTREET
Professor Emeritus, College of the City of New York
Author of *The Mature Mind* and *The Mind Goes Forth*

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DATE 5-20-82 BY SP5BJJ/CJL

Books in Review
National Parent-Teacher
June, 1958

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-96

①
to J. Edgar Hoover (mml)
6-13-58
Jae

- 1 - Original
- 1 - yellow
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

October 2, 1958

mark

Dr. and Mrs. Harry Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/JHK
243,468
5-20-86 SPB BTJ/COL

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet:

Your book "What We Must Know About Communism"
has been given to me by William C. Sullivan.

I wish to thank you very much for your consideration
in giving me a copy of your new book. Judging from the Table
of Contents, I must say it does look to me to be both interesting
and informative. I look forward to reading your study in the
near future.

Accept my appreciation also for the kind thoughts you
expressed in the autographed comment.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Cover memo Sullivan to Belmont dtd 10-1-58

Re: "'What We Must Know About Communism' by Harry and
Bonaro Overstreet," WCS:lmm/bea.

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REC-95

EX-135

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53 OCT 10 1958

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Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*Book detached
by Director
10/3/58*

100-774575-87

W.C.S.

[Signature]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: October 1, 1958

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-83 BY SPBBTJ/

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. AND BONARO OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

OVERSTREET

Tolson _____
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Belmont _____
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Reference is made to the enclosed copy of a memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont dated September 19, 1958, captioned as above, and also to the enclosed routing slip from Mr. Tolson, wherein he asked for information concerning the aid W. C. Sullivan gave the Overstreets in writing their book on communism entitled "What We Must Know About Communism." Mr. Tolson wanted to know in substance how much aid was given the Overstreets and what kind of aid.

The background of this matter is as follows:

(1) Sometime prior to Mr. L. B. Nichols' retirement from the Bureau he informed Sullivan of a book he had encouraged the Overstreets to write on communism which he hoped might be quite effective among the liberals and progressives of the country. The Overstreets are well known in these circles as educators and psychologists.

(2) Mr. Nichols asked Sullivan for public source material from time to time to give the Overstreets such as articles and books by V. I. Lenin, et cetera.

(3) At the time of Mr. Nichols' retirement he asked Sullivan to carry on with the Overstreets in view of his leaving the Bureau. He informed Sullivan that his name had been given the Overstreets and they would call him. They did. He pointed out that he thought a book of the nature they were writing on communism could do a great deal of good among the liberals and progressives, and, therefore, it was a worthwhile effort on our part.

(4) Mr. Nichols left with Mr. Gordon Nease a list of some materials which he had loaned to the Overstreets. Mr. Nease discussed this matter with Sullivan and Sullivan told him that he would see to it that the materials were returned when the Overstreets had finished. This has been done.

(5) In regard to the extent of Sullivan's assistance to the Overstreets, he advises that approximately one night each week (7:00 p. m. to about 11:00 p. m.) during the winter months were devoted to reading and analyzing the materials the Overstreets were preparing. Suggestions were made which would insure that this material would in no way interfere with the work that the Bureau was

Enclosures
WCS:Imm(5)
1 - Mr. Nease
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section tickler
1 - Mr. Sullivan

66 OCT 15 1958

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Re: DR. HARRY A. AND BONARO OVERSTREET

doing and would on the contrary supplement and help the work of the Bureau. Sullivan's analyses were made at the Overstreets' home at 1308 Fiddler's Green, Lake Barcroft, Falls Church, Virginia, and at no time did Sullivan invite them to come to the Bureau for these analyses. Sullivan thought it best that whatever was done for them be done in their own home.

(6) In regard to the material provided, it included items furnished by Mr. Nichols relating to books, magazines, public source monographs, et cetera, and by Sullivan his personal books, the Director's speeches, articles, magazines, booklets, pamphlets, et cetera.

It is hoped that this book will be read as previously indicated by liberals and progressives and that it will influence them away from communism. In view of the fact that the Overstreets are accepted by this group of people they may have more effect upon them than would otherwise be possible.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of Mr. Tolson.

DM *[Signature]* *V.* *[Signature]*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ah*

DATE: October 3, 1958

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. AND BONARO OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIAOVERSTREET

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
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Trotter	_____
Clayton	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated October 1, 1958, captioned as above.

Since the referenced memorandum was dictated, Mr. Gordon Nease has kindly furnished me with some more background material explaining the relationship between Mr. Nichols and the Overstreets and the basis for the assistance given them by W. C. Sullivan in the writing of their new book What We Must Know About Communism. An enclosed memorandum from L. B. Nichols to Mr. Tolson dated July 16, 1957, is especially pertinent to the inquiry raised. Enclosed is other material which further illuminates the question.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of Mr. Tolson.

Enclosures

WCS:lm

(5)

- 1 - Mr. Nease
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/83 BY SP-8 BTJ/col

#243,448

5-20-86 SP-8 BTJ/col

REC-101

100-114575-89
13 OCT 10 1958

52 OCT 15 1958

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. AND BONARO OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

DATE: September 19, 1958

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
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Gandy _____

W. C. Sullivan _____
J. Edgar Hoover _____

As we know, the Overstreets have long had national recognition in the fields of education, psychology, lecturing, and writing. They are liberals who have become very anticommunist and pro-FBI. Mr. L. B. Nichols developed them some time ago.

As we know also, Mr. Nichols encouraged them to write a book against communism directed toward liberals and progressives, et cetera, who would not normally read a book condemning communism. Mr. Nichols asked that I give them some assistance from the standpoint of public source material which I did evenings last winter and spring. The book is now ready for publication by the Norton Company in New York and is called What We Must Know About Communism.

The Overstreets just called me and said they had a special autographed volume for the Director and would I give it to him personally. I thanked them and told them that I would, but it so happened that today I was leaving town on a lecture schedule and wouldn't be able to drop by and pick up this book at this time. I informed them I would get it as soon as I returned and give it to the Director.

This book will be reviewed in the Central Research Section.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director. REC-20

WCS:lmml
(3)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/AL

57 OCT 21 1958

100-117575-90
23 SEP 24 1958
14 10 15
CENTRAL RESEARCH

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ABW*

DATE: October 1, 1958

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: "WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM"
BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET
MY + MVS

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated September 19, 1958, captioned "Dr. Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet, Falls Church, Virginia."

Enclosed with this memorandum will be found a copy of the above-captioned book autographed to the Director by the Overstreets as follows: "To J. Edgar Hoover - With personal gratitude for what you have superbly done for all of us. Sincerely, Harry Overstreet, Bonaro Overstreet."

The Overstreets are very desirous that the Director receive this copy and said they hoped it would do some good to the Bureau's cause in combating communism throughout the country. Attached is a brief review of the book.

There is also enclosed a letter from the Director to the Overstreets acknowledging the receipt of this book.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) For the information of the Director.

(2) That the enclosed letter be approved and mailed.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/22/85 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

243,468

5-20-86 SP8 BTJ/CL

Enclosures

WCS:lmw/bea
(6)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Nease
- 1 - Mr. Jones

57 OCT 21 1958

W.C.S.
REC-20 100-114525-91
MCT-47
OCT 1958
Falc Hess
CENTRAL RESEARCH

October 1, 1958

~~WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM~~

book
review

Wash DC

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet and Bonaro W. Overstreet, his wife, have long been regarded by both professionals and laymen in the fields of psychology and human relations as experts in the difficult art of making intelligible to persons not conversant with the technical aspects, psychology and sociology, the findings and hypotheses of researchers in these fields. Their books on these subjects have reached a broad section of the reading public, and are generally considered to have had a salutary effect. Now the Overstreets have turned their talents to an analysis of the socio-political phenomenon of communism, a task no less complex than the study of psychology, because the communist mentality is a phenomenon unique to the last one hundred years. It defies simplification.

Communism, in its attempts to consummate its goals, has set up a programme designed to confuse those strong men who would keep the weak from disaster. The communist world view offers men an alternative: shall they belong to the capitalist or to the working class? -- They can belong only to one, not both. This paradox, coupled with the corollary that only one class may rule, has divided the weak and confused the stalwarts of many free nations. The United States, say the Overstreets, has suffered along with other nations the pangs of internal discontent - discontent encouraged and intensified by the communists.

"Except where the aim has been to prevent actual subversion, sabotage, and espionage, governmental efforts to control the CPUSA have largely been stop-gap substitutes for a grassroots understanding of Communist tactics of multiplied influence." (p. 166)

It is not the official position of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to institute and direct organized program combating communism on the public or community level. We at the Bureau are morally obligated to combat the menace of communism and communist ideas where possible. Yet, our functions and limits as a government institution under law prevent us, in many cases, from acting where indignation demands action. We have hoped in the past for intelligent commentaries by extra-governmental persons, and in some cases, we have not been disappointed. The Overstreets' new book is a new aid.

What We Must Know About Communism attacks the myths and men of Marxism-Leninism, Sovietism and Khrushchevism where their influence is most difficult to destroy - the area of emotional appeal.

This book destroys the illusion that the communists have built for years; this is the myth that Marx and Engels were fine, idealistic crusaders, with unthinking respect for man and his worth, for facts and evidence. They destroy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

100-114575-96

piece by piece, the propaganda edifice which Soviet Russia has evoked about itself; they disclose the pettiness, the grasping, deceitful personalities of all those who have been significant and responsible in the rise of communism as a pre-eminent world problem.

Perhaps the most important achievement of this book is its disclosure of Soviet imperialism. They describe this imperialism as the attempt by the Kremlin to inflict upon the world "Soviet provincialism, extended to embrace the planet." (p. 277) Here the Overstreets distinguish six types of imperialistic techniques, and describe a seventh in development.

(1) "...old-line imperialism: the taking over of other countries by force and the incorporation of them within its own domain...."

(2) "...puppet-government imperialism...."

(3) the alienation of the "...new generation in each of the satellites from its own heritage and to effect its 'Russification.'"

(4) "demanding that all Communist-bloc countries, at all times and on all issues, present a united front to the non-Communist world...."

(5) "...ideological outposts: the Communist Parties in non-Communist countries...."

(6) "...front organizations...bridges between the Party and the non-Communist world; for countless persons who would never have made the jump across the deep crevasse...."

In addition, the new imperialism:

(7) "...trade imperialism: an effort to pry backward countries loose from their trade relations with the Western powers and bind them to itself...." (pp. 261-275)

In addition to labelling and analyzing Soviet expansionism for what it is, the book clarifies the facts surrounding currently accepted fables concerning present Kremlin foreign policy. They demolish the myth that "Khrushchevism" is distinct from, and a radical departure from Stalinism. They refute the notion that Leninism is "good" communism and that we need fear nothing from Russians labelled "Leninist."

This new book presents cogent advice to the thinking public. It reflects ideas common to the thinking which has gone on in the Bureau for many years. It mentions the FBI in a favorable light in several contexts, and includes the Director's work, Masters of Deceit, in its list of authoritative sources of information for further study.

What We Must Know About Communism, in addition to providing valuable information for the reader, also extends a much needed call - a call for a re-evaluated, dynamic, creative public stand - a re-newed effort on the part of thinking men everywhere to know communism, thence to combat it with re-newed weapons and vigor.

November 21, 1958

EX - 124

59148

REC-13

100-114575-92
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTS/col

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I was pleased to receive your kind note of November 18 and am grateful for the good report from your tour regarding the smear campaign against the FBI and me. This would indicate the public is not greatly concerned with the erroneous charges.

You, of course, were correct in assuming that the attack was a calculated job--first, "The Nation," then the "New York Post's" announced intentions of a follow-up article, and now "The Worker" has completed the picture with a driveling piece in its edition of November 16. Certainly, there can be no doubt that this drive was inspired by communists and left-wing apologists who share their sympathies.

Enclosed are some items concerning the issues which may be of interest to Mrs. Overstreet and you. My associates and I are deeply indebted to both of you for your encouraging support and confidence.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 11

NOV 21 1958

COMM-FBI

Enclosures (2)

Counterattack
American Coalition

1 - Mrs. Nease

CBF:jcs

(6) 100

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: November 25, 1958

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/7/82 BY SP8 BTJ/dd

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
MRS. BONARO OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
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Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum dated November 21, 1958, from Mr. Nease to Mr. Tolson captioned as above. It is of some interest to note the views expressed in this memorandum reflecting that the Overstreets' book may be receiving the "freeze treatment." If so, this is too bad, for while working with the Overstreets on this book I purposely had them direct 95% of their thinking to the world communist movement believing this would best supplement the Director's book which was directed almost 100% to the communist movement in the United States. It is even of greater interest to observe the statement of Jay Waldron to the effect that the book trade being unable to stifle the Director's book, "Masters of Deceit," has been giving the silent treatment to the Overstreets.

This may or may not be true, but if it is true, it is entirely possible that this lack of interest in a book on communism may carry over to an increase in the lack of interest in maintaining our internal security programs and in giving the Bureau the support it should have in combating subversive movements in this country from the left.

As I have pointed out in previous memoranda, Mr. Nichols arranged with Bureau approval for me to work with the Overstreets on this book, "What We Must Know About Communism." The Overstreets have now asked me to give them similar assistance on a new book which they contemplate "Courage Behind the Iron Curtain." This book would deal mainly with important men and women who have defected from the communist movement in communist countries and have fled from those nations. It would be more or less a psychological study of the defects of communism and the reasons why these people repudiated the communist philosophy and practices. I was noncommittal in regard to their request indicating it would be taken under advisement.

It seems to me we should look at this matter very coldly and realistically. While there is no doubt in my mind that the Overstreets as reformed liberals wish to use their talents in combating communism in the intellectual world, there is also no doubt in my mind that they are conscious of the fact that they make their living by writing books. In a sense, they are combining their desire to strike at communism with their livelihood. While there is nothing improper about this, I do think it is

Enclosures

WCS:lmm (5)

- 1 - Mr. Nease
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section tickler

REC-13

100-114525-92

CRIMINAL

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-901-104277-
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-901-104277-

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
MRS. BONARO OVERSTREET

something to be kept in mind when they ask the assistance of the Bureau in the preparation of this second book. It would seem to me that we should be practical ourselves about this. In what way can the Overstreets be of assistance to the Bureau? I know they have been putting in a good word for the Bureau during the lectures which they give in the field of psychology and education around the country. Further, they were quite disturbed by the article in the "Nation" criticizing the Bureau, and they informed me they would make inquiries about it where they traveled and would repudiate the material in the "Nation" when opportunities arose to do so during their lectures and conferences conducted. They are honorable people and when they make a statement of this kind, I fully believe that they mean it.

Enclosed also will be found a letter to the Director from the Overstreets dated November 18, 1958, wherein they gave some concrete evidence that they kept this question of the "Nation" magazine and its attacks on the Bureau in mind. Further, we know that the Overstreets, having a following among intellectuals particularly in the fields of education and psychology, will be read by such people when they write on communism or Russia, whereas some nonliberals who write on the same subject will not be read. Therefore, there is value in this for the Bureau, difficult though it may be to measure the extent of it.

In the light of the above, I do think it is worthwhile from the Bureau's standpoint to grant me the permission to give the Overstreets some limited assistance in the preparation of their new book, "Courage Behind the Iron Curtain." I wish to call attention to the word "limited." I don't think we should give them nearly as much assistance in this new book as was given to them in the preparation of their recent book "What We Must Know About Communism." As I have pointed out in another memorandum, I spent night after night last fall and winter and some week ends with the Overstreets on that book. I don't think that we should do this all over again. Yet, I think it would be realistic to give them a limited amount of help with public source material and with suggestions as to how to organize the book. By limited help, I mean sufficient to keep them interested in the Bureau and willing to be of assistance to us in the intellectual and educational circles in which they travel, write, and lecture.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Sullivan be given permission to give the Overstreets a limited amount of help with their new book "Courage Behind the Iron Curtain."

RECEIVED
FBI - NEW YORK

✓
G.H.Q.

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
November 18, 1958

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-28-88 BY SP-6/TIC/K

Dear Mr. Hoover,

My wife and I were naturally concerned and disturbed about the Nation issue dealing with the FBI: it seemed all too obviously to be a calculated smear job. So we started off on a recent extended lecture tour with our answers all ready for any questions or comments we might hear.

We have now home from that tour -- which took us into Michigan, Ohio, and New York; and we simply wish to report that on no occasion did we hear even a mention of the article. Since we were moving in groups where it might be supposed that the Nation might have at least a few readers, we were gratified by this seeming evidence that the smear effort has simply fallen flat.

We both profoundly hope that all similar efforts to misrepresent the Bureau will be equally ineffective.

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet
H.A. Overstreet

EX-124

ack-Seed
copies
Counterattacks
& Coalition
articles

13 ENCLOSURE

100-114575-92

5 DEC 4 1958

one (Reply)

11-21-58

clf

4

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 11/21/58

FROM : G. A. Nease

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY OVERSTREET
MRS. BONARO OVERSTREET

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
Mohr	✓
Nease	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Trotter	✓
W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

While talking with [redacted] a one-time former confidential informant of the Bureau concerning communist activities [redacted]

[redacted] advised Mr. McGuire on the night of 11/20/58 that he had done a little checking at Brentano's Book Store at Seven-Corners, Virginia, as he had been unable to find any copies of the recent book by the Overstreets, "What You Should Know About Communism." [redacted] stated he has been completely amazed at the lack of interest shown in this book, which he considers one of the great works on communism by authors whose other books have been consistently best sellers.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] could not find any copies of the Overstreets' book in the store but did find that some had been ordered and were due to be in the store on October 20. On that date, [redacted] made another check and there were still no copies of the book; [redacted] had found that only 5 books had been ordered from the publisher and they had not been received. [redacted] stated that eventually the 5 copies were delivered but they are not on the shelves or on front display. [redacted] is of the opinion that the Overstreets' book is being given the freeze treatment.

There has been practically no nationwide publicity or reviews on the book other than one by George Sokolsky [redacted]

[redacted] stated that the Overstreets' book complementing the Director's book, "Masters of Deceit," is one of the best combinations exposing the entire theory and actual practice of the Communist philosophy that he has ever seen and he has been convinced that the book trade, unable to stifle the Director's book, has been giving the silent treatment to the Overstreets.

ENCLOSURE

JJM:hpf
(3)

EX - 124

REC-13

DEC 4 1958

1 - Mr. Jones

CRIME RECORDS

Memo. to Mr. Tolson
DR. HARRY OVERSTREET
MRS. BONARO OVERSTREET

1/12/68



b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] has been very friendly to the Bureau down through the years and more recently [redacted]
[redacted] he has been a close contact of this office and is known intimately by Mr. Wick as well as by Mr. McGuire. He stated he would keep the Bureau informed on this particularly regarding the Overstreets' book.

~~1/12/68~~ ✓ Jgm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

December 5, 1958

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet: HARRY

I have seen the interesting article about
Mrs. Overstreet and you which appeared in the December 3,
1958, issue of the "Northern Virginia Sun." It is always a
pleasure to read about good friends because it serves as a
reminder of happy associations.

It is good to see your fine work recognized in
this fitting manner, and your many friends in the FBI join me
in sending our best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

WHS:jc
(3)

ENCLOSURE

MAILED 30
DEC 5 - 1958
COMM-FBI

DEC 10 1958

b6
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Tolson _____
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Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

67 DEC 13 1958

ber 5. 1958



Let to
Dr. Overstreet (only ref only)
12-5-58
WHS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/gsc/w

Northern Virginia Sun
Arlington, Virginia
December 3, 1958

106-114575-93
ENCLOSURE

The Mature Overstreets

Our Obligation is to Grow Up

By FRANCIS LANAHAN
SUN Staff Writer

Since the book that made them famous was "The Mature Mind," published in 1949 and now in its twenty-ninth printing, it seems almost too pat to say that the most striking quality shared by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet is the maturity of their minds—but it is. Meeting them is like being introduced to one of their own knowledgeable and entertaining volumes.

The Overstreets live at the end of Fiddler's Green in Lake Barcroft, in a big, glassy house tucked into a wooded hill they bought so they could "always look out at trees." Their own children (their 10th grandchild was born a few weeks ago) are all grown, and they enjoy giving parties for the neighborhood kids.

"IT'S SUCH fun to have them over for hot dogs and ginger ale in our back yard," says Mrs. Overstreet. "We're the only family without children on the block and we felt almost out of it until we got to know them all."

They aren't, however, home as much as most people. All fall, they've been commuting to Detroit every Tuesday, teaching together a psychology course at the University of Michigan's adult education center. They've worked out a teaching technique that's all their own, using the straight, back and forth of natural conversation.

"So often, when you're lecturing, you wish you could just stop and think and think a thing over. This way, we have a chance to pause, and the students have a chance to have a rest from each of us."

FROM NOW until March, they'll mostly be at home in Lake Barcroft, studying, reading, and making notes for their next project, the subject of which they won't yet divulge except to say that's it's a natural continuation of the work they've

been doing.

"Our latest book, 'What We Must Know About Communism,' was only an extension of our psychological work. At first we confined ourselves pretty much to the individual and the family—now we're getting more and more into national and international relations."

In the spring, they'll take to the road again for a lecture tour, taking part in various forums and institutes all over the country.

"We do a lot of thinking while we're driving," is Mr. Overstreet's explanation of how they manage to produce so many printed words while carrying such a heavy speaking load. "It's a very relaxing way to get your brain working."

ADULT education is the primary field of interest of both Overstreets. "We don't think of democracy as a gallant ship that sails the seas," they say. "We think of it as a raft on which your feet are always wet. The thing is to have rubber shoes and plenty of comfortable equipment, and somehow to learn to live together on it. Our job as educators is to help provide that equipment."

Back in the twenties, they explain, there was great skepticism in the U. S. as to whether adults were capable of learning new facts.

It was the Overstreets' efforts to get the adult education idea accepted at the grass roots local level which led them into the "largely misunderstood" field of mental health, and ultimately into writing the three "mind" books: "The Mature Mind," "The Mind Alive," and "The Mind Goes Forth." They have since had literally dozens of translations, the latest being the United States Information Agency's abridgment of "The Mind Alive" in Bengalese.

"WHERE there is no vision, they didn't interrupt each other once during the interview."

says the paragraph in "The Mature Mind" which perhaps best summarizes the Overstreets' conception of their task. "Where there is no maturity there is no vision. We now begin to know this: We realize that the evils of our life come not from deep evil within us but from ungrown-up responses to life. Our obligation, then, is to grow up. This is what our time requires of us. This is what may yet be the saving of us."

To accomplish this educational program requires untiring application, and this the Overstreets, in their quiet, good-humored way, have given in abundance. It might surprise his Lake Barcroft neighbors to know that Dr. Overstreet, formerly head of the philosophy and psychology departments at City College in New York, rises every morning at 5 a.m. and works solidly through until one or two in the afternoon in his sunny basement study.

Mrs. Overstreet ambles down "later," meaning around 7 a.m. Her study, the more austere, and neater, of the two, boasts an electric typewriter, since she does all the typing for the team.

"WE'RE BACK and forth between our two studies all the time," she says. "We have no fixed plan ahead of time about who's going to handle what—we just like to start working and go where our minds seem to want to take us."

By and large, they feel from years of experience, Americans are "very sound" when they're given access to the facts. That's why they wrote their recent "What We Need About Communism," a thorough but informal analysis of men and events in Russia since the first Bloody Sunday revolution in 1905; and that's why they intend to write a whole shelf-full more books before they retire.

And—most mature of all—they didn't interrupt each other once during the interview.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

December 10, 1958

Mr J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr Hoover:

Thank you for your letter about the interview. We always feel curiously embarrassed by those journalistic feats but there seems no way to escape them. In this case we were fortunate enough to have been taken in hand by an intelligent and friendly young woman who made the most of our wholly undramatic material.

I myself, however, did suffer in one respect: I was introduced to the reading public as the strong he-man who sallies forth at five a.m. As a matter of fact it is my wife who does the sallying forth. I amble in at seven a.m.

I
Now I am in the dilemma of either having to make full public confession or rising at five a.m.

Sincerely

H.A. Overstreet

REC-45

100-114575-94

DEC 16 1958

31 EXP. PROC.

DEC 11 1958

66 DEC 18 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KAL

1 - Original
 1 - Sec. tickler 1 - Yellow
 1 - Mr. Sullivan 1 - Mr. Nease
 1 - Mr. M.A. Jones
 1 - Mr. Belmont

January 21, 1959

Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
 1308 Fiddler's Green
 Lake Barcroft
 Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

Today I have been informed by Mr. W. C. Sullivan of your most thoughtful and gracious invitation extended to me for dinner at your home. He also informed me of your kind thoughts concerning my heavy official responsibilities and the need from time to time to enjoy an atmosphere of culture, calmness, and relaxation.

I wish to thank you both very earnestly for your invitation to dinner and the most considerate thoughts of me and my duties. At the present time my schedule is so heavy and I am committed officially so far in advance that I will be unable to accept your invitation, as much as I would like to do so. Nevertheless, I will keep it in mind and should conditions change to the point where acceptance of your hospitality is possible, you may be assured that I will communicate with you.

I do hope that your fine book "What We Must Know About Communism" will enjoy excellent sales and wide reading throughout 1959. We need more and more people like yourselves who will devote their nationally recognized academic talents to the exposure and ultimate defeat of the menace of world communism.

Sincerely yours,
 J. Edgar Hoover

WCS:lm

(7)

NOTE:

Cover memo Sullivan to Belmont, dated 1/20/59

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Re: Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, Info Concerning (CRM)

WCS:lm

JAN 21 1959

COMM-FBI

REC'D-READING ROOM

FBI

JAN 21 10 45 AM '59

Olson
 Belmont
 Mohr
 Nease
 Parsons
 Rosen
 Sullivan
 Tamm
 Trotter
 Tele. Room
 Holloman
 Gandy

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 20, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/

SUBJECT: MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING (CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Nease _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

While talking to the Overstreets recently concerning their new book "What We Must Know About Communism," Mrs. Overstreet shifted the conversation to the Director. She commented upon his contribution to the security of the Nation, to the many and diverse problems he must be faced with daily and the great strain that it must place him under. She then said that they have a very nice and quiet home in the relaxing atmosphere of woodlands (this is true from my own experience there) and she wondered if the Director would like to accept an invitation to dinner at her home. She said her thought was that he could drop by and have a good home-cooked meal and spend a very calm, quiet, and relaxing evening.

I told Mrs. Overstreet that I am sure that the Director would like to accept such an invitation but his schedule is so heavy and he is committed so far in advance through his official duties that it would be highly improbable that he could pull himself away from his schedule. She said she understood this but would like to have me convey her thought to the Director on the dinner and let him know that she was thinking about the heavy burdens he must carry. I assured her I would do this. Professor Overstreet joined in the conversation and said that his wife was certainly expressing his sentiments also.

My snap decision was that the Director did not want to become involved in this social arrangement; however, if he does, the door on the matter can be easily reopened. Assuming that he is not interested at this time, I have dictated a letter to be found enclosed thanking the Overstreets for their invitation.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-17

100-114575-96

23 JAN 26 1959

(1) For the information of the Director.

(2) That the enclosed letter to the Overstreets be forwarded.

Enclosure *Rec'd 1-21-59*

WCS:lmm (6)

1 - Mr. Nease

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Section tickler

1 - Mr. Sullivan

57 JAN 30 1959



CENTRAL RESEARCH

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

January 25, 1959

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KSL

Dear Mr. Hoover,

We are sorry, of course, that your present schedule does not permit of that dinner visit; but we are not surprised, knowing the many pressures under which you have constantly to work.

If and when you ever do feel free to come, we hope that you will, without hesitation, let us know. While we are recurrently away on lecture trips, most of the ones scheduled for the months ahead are fairly brief; and we look forward to many good intervals of quiet work at home. So the chances are very good that any date possible for you would be possible for us also.

Meanwhile -- and even if you never can come -- please know that we have you and your work, and your inevitable weariness, often in mind.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

EX-135

100-114573-97

REC-28

JAN 30 1959

Thanks for your generous word about our book. It seems to be moving ahead at a deliberate but encouraging pace; we hope it will progressively have some of the results we all wish for.

N.C. 1/27/59 PLS

77
FEB 3 1959

10:52 AM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/24/88 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

January 26, 1959

5-20-86 SP8BTJ/CSL

243,468

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. BELMONT
MR. NEASE

The Attorney General called with reference to the Roscoe Drummond column appearing in this morning's paper and which referred to the book, "What We Must Know About Communism" by Bonaro and Harry Overstreet. He stated that the Vice President had spoken to him about this book the other day. He wanted to know what I thought about this book and whether I agreed with Drummond's analysis and if so whether he should consider urging everyone in the Department to read the book if it is as good as Drummond indicates. I told him I thought this would be a good idea; that they belonged to the intellectual group and the book should therefore appeal to that particular group, especially to the college and university element where certain professors lean to the left perhaps. It would be a means of reaching them. I stated they are top writers and have had a number of best sellers. He also thought it might be possible to get others beside the Vice President to come out for the book. I commented that I was quite disappointed in noting a certain amount of coolness on the part of book reviewers toward this book, not that they were against it, but rather that they just ignored it. I also mentioned to the Attorney General that another book on communism written by Cleon Skousen, who formerly worked for the Bureau and who is now Chief of Police in Salt Lake City, has just recently come out. I stated that he also was a good writer and I thought his book had a little different approach. The Attorney General asked for any ideas I might have on the above suggestions.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-103186-1

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ENCLOSURE

cc-Mr. Holloman

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER (7)

53 FEB 5 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

3 FEB 3 1959

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 4:12 PM
DATE 1-27-59
BY [signature]

PEERS. FILE

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Nease _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Trotter _____
- W.C. Sullivan _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____

enc. 105
2-3-59
143

Roscoe Drummond Reports

Overstreet Book on Reds Called Required Reading

WASHINGTON.

If I had the opportunity to invite every adult American from eighteen to eighty-eight, including every Senator and Congressman and the highest policy-making officials of the Administration, to read one book in the next thirty days, I know the book I would name.



The effects of such a nation-wide reading of this book would be:

To increase the mental preparedness of the whole nation for whatever lies ahead in the cold war.

To help bring into being the private and public stamina and grasp of what we face so that we can see and support what needs to be done.

To enable us as a people and as a government to deal with the Soviet dictatorship more wisely and more productively—and to negotiate more securely—without losing the peace or losing the bombs.

This is a book for layman and expert alike from which each, individually, will, I think, benefit profoundly.

Drummond

The authors of this book have credentials.

They have credentials of character and accomplishment. Each is a teacher and a distinguished psychologist. Both are good writers.

The authors are Harry Overstreet, who wrote the pioneering work, "The Mature Mind," and his wife, Bonaro Overstreet, who wrote "Understanding Fear." Now, after years of research they have for the first time turned to the new field of public policy. The result is incomparable insight and persuasiveness.

The book is "What We Must Know About Communism," published a few months ago by W. W. Norton and Company, N. Y.

It deals with more than communism, though it plumbs communism's roots, its appeal and its delusions as nothing you have ever likely read. It sheds such new shafts of light on Communist teaching and tactics that everyone who reads it will be better equipped to do his part in arresting its encroachments.

It deals with more than what we must know about communism. It deals with what we must do about communism in our minds, in our nation and in our world.

I think it is a must for President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, for Lyndon Johnson, Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey, for Richard Nixon and Gov. Rockefeller—and for you and me.

Seven hundred words are inadequate to tell you what is in this book. But it is possible to indicate some of the searching questions which the Overstreets raise—and answer in a way which can make it possible for the free world to cope with Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Mikoyan in the arena of action and negotiation. Such questions as these:

Since Lenin and Khrushchev

look upon peace as "respite for another war," what do the Soviets mean when they preach "peaceful co-existence"?

What is the proof that the Communist world is engaged in a "permanent revolution" against every free society in the world?

What teaching of communism was Khrushchev carrying out when Kremlin arms shot down the workers of Hungary in 1956 as Kremlin arms had shot down the workers of Petrograd in 1921?

Since peace is only a temporary waypoint in the "permanent revolution," how can we negotiate even small dependable agreements (and the Overstreets believe we can) without being trapped into pseudo-agreements which only magnify the danger?

Why has communism won so many adherents by its appeal and lost so many adherents by their disillusionment?

If there is a philanthropist who wants to do something special for his country, he could well buy a few thousand copies of "What We Must Know About Communism" and give them to the 533 members of Congress, to the top policy-making executives in the government, to high school principals and to college political science teachers. He couldn't spend a few dollars and do more good.

But I don't want you to give it to anybody. I hope you will read "What We Must Know About Communism" and ponder it—and keep it.

© 1959, N. Y. Herald Tribune Inc.

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP8 BTJ/coc
#243749 5-20-86

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune 19 _____
N. Y. Journal-American _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
N. Y. Times _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date JAN 26 1958

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-98

one auto copy
2-3-59
143

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 27, 1959

FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: "WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM"

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Nease _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The above caption is a title of a book published in October, 1958, and written by Professor and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet.

On January 26, 1959, while Mr. Bartlett of the Liaison Section was in the office of General Persons, the Assistant to the President at the White House, General Persons's secretary, [redacted] made reference to this book. She stated that General Persons received a copy of this book from Judge Warren E. Burger, U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. According to [redacted] Judge Burger sent a note along with the book to General Persons saying that he thought it to be an excellent book and that if General Persons did not like it, he (Judge Burger) would buy him a dinner.

ACTION: Mr. & Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet

For information in view of the fact that the Bureau assisted somewhat in the preparation of this book.

OHB:bjt
 (7)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Nease
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Bartlett

REC-108

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BBT/HK
 243,468-86 SP8BTJ/COL
 100 - 114575 - 99

25 JAN 30 1959

53 FEB 5 1959

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AK*

DATE: February 2, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BJ/c

SUBJECT: PROFESSOR AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING (CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The Overstreets called today and informed me that they are to conduct a forum Wednesday evening of this week at the Cooperative Forum Club on 13th Street, N.W. The meeting is an invitation affair and will be attended by senators, representatives, and other similar individuals. The Overstreets will discuss their book "What We Must Know About Communism," but as they pointed out correctly, it will give them a point of departure to discuss other related issues. They wanted to know if I had any ideas to suggest concerning how they could assist the Bureau in this forum.

I told them that if the occasion arose that they could point out the need to maintain our internal security programs; the need for the American people to be constantly alert to the present dangers of communism; and the need for the American people to give full support to intelligence work being conducted to counteract communism and espionage in the United States. They said they would be certain to work this into their forum discussion. The Overstreets will also rebut the smear campaign against the FBI if any questions in the audience are raised in this connection.

On discussing the entire program which they have in mind for Wednesday evening, it was agreed that in addition to the above it would be well to emphasize to the educated group present the following basic points:

- (1) Communism is a permanent revolution.
- (2) Because it is permanent and going on all the time, communist conspiracy the world over is, therefore, permanent and will remain so as long as the communist empire exists.
- (3) Because the communist revolution and conspiracy are permanent as long as the communist empire exists, it is, therefore, necessary to keep up a continuous counterattack against it and to maintain adequate law enforcement and military defenses.

WCS:lm (6) *lm*
 1 - Mr. Nease
 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 1 - Mr. Sullivan

REC-76

100-114575-108

25 FEB 5 1959

EX-136

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Mémorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: PROFESSOR AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET

- (4) When officials of this country confer with communist officials and enter into bargaining discussions, they should always keep in mind that the communist officials do not want real peace, they only want negotiations which will further the communist conquest of the world.
- (5) The Soviet Union is a despotic empire and continues to seize every opportunity the world over for further expansion.
- (6) In dealing with the Soviet Union, therefore, we should keep in mind their unchanged objectives and we should not in any way compromise our own American and democratic principles and historic goals.
- (7) In dealing with the communist officials, we should bear in mind that there is a tremendous difference in the value systems of the free world and of the communist world, and we should not in any particular surrender our social values growing out of our various freedoms.

I thanked the Overstreets very much for being so thoughtful as to call to discuss their coming lecture. In addition to the discussion outlined above, the Overstreets informed me that 600 copies of their book "What We Must Know About Communism" will be distributed free to senators and representatives in Washington.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

Over *[Signature]* *V.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/col

100-114575-A-010NE

February 13, 1959

Dear Storer:

I appreciated your letter of February 12, and was certainly glad to hear that you were going to give the Overstreet's book some real advertising support. I think this book is taking hold, and it should be quite a shot in the arm and a very well-worth expenditure of your advertising dollars.

With reference to my old boss. You know, of course, that he has a very deep feeling of admiration for the Overstreets, and a great deal of appreciation for what they have done - and are doing - However, I do know from past experience that he is literally deluged with requests for comments on books, which he has been forced to avoid, because once the precedent is broken then his position becomes untenable.

I do hope to see you soon. With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

Mr. Storer B. Lunt,
W. W. Norton & Company Inc.,
55 Fifth Avenue,
New York 3, New York.

c.c. Hon. J. Edgar Hoover



W · W · NORTON & COMPANY · INC · *Publishers* · NEW YORK · 3

STORER B. LUNT · *Chairman of the Board*

55 FIFTH AVENUE
CABLES · SEAGULL · NEW YORK
ALGONQUIN 5-9210

February 12, 1959

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Lou:

Surely you have been hep to all the shenanigans that have been going on as a result of Roscoe Drummond's tribute to the Overstreet book. This was a very much needed shot in the arm and we are taking every advantage of it.

You will have seen the big ads in the daily Times and the daily Tribune I expect but vide the attached. We are ante-ing up \$20,000 in support of the book which really is a fair piece of change.

Lou, isn't it perhaps time for your old chief J. Edgar Hoover to climb aboard? Isn't this a book that he can quite properly endorse personally, and wouldn't such an endorsement really be creditable all around? It certainly would have a salutary effect on his own book in trade channels, and I am sure that you will agree that the book rates it.

How to achieve this -- can you tell me?

With best greetings, believe me

Sincerely yours,

Storer B. Lunt

SBL:mr
Encls.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. McGuire _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Parsons _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tamm _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BJC/LCL

URGED TO READ IT BY

ke Gets Facts on Communism

DULLES

from Overstreet Book

By ED EDSTROM

Hearst Headline Service Special to N. Y. Journal-American

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—What's in the book that President Eisenhower is reading at the urging of Secretary of State Dulles?

The President borrowed the book, "What We Must Know About Communism" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, while visiting Dulles in Walter Reed Hospital.

The book is vitally connected with our day-by-day relationships with Russia as typified in today's note from the U. S. Britain and France to Moscow proposing a Big Four Conference on Germany.

The Overstreets make the point that it is necessary for every individual American to thoroughly understand the dangerous and powerful force of communism in order to combat it.

"We cannot possibly get the feel of how Communists negotiate unless we keep in mind the fact that they do not expect peace—or even a significant lowering of tension—to result from anything that can take place at a conference table," the Overstreets write.

"They have come to learn what they can from the enemy and about the enemy; and in the light of this, to get what they can."

At the same time, the Communist fear is one of being influenced from the outside, for to them this means "to be subject to control," the book declares.

Communist negotiators like to delay progress, hoping to

gain advantage because of the well-known American impatience to get things done. The book also points out that "we cannot ask our negotiators to guarantee that the Communists will live up to the treaties they sign."

The Soviets in their 40 years of existence have "set a world's record for breaking pacts" and this is documented in the book.

"Why, then, negotiate at all?" Ask the authors. Their answer is that words are still better than bullets and that other purposes are served. These include the educative function, on a world scale. Limited agreements are also possible, the authors say.

Disarmament does not have to be taken whole but special aspects can be negotiated without overwhelming risks, they write.

"The final reason for continuing the effort to negotiate

is that every conference earns for the free world a further margin of time: and time is far kinder to freedom than to totalitarianism," the Overstreets say.

They point out that totalitarianism depends on the sudden attack when the enemy has been put off guard via a mutual non-aggression pact.

"During its period of intense drive against those who have not yet rallied their forces, totalitarianism always seems stronger than it inherently is," the book states. "It takes time for the internal weaknesses of a coerced 'unity' to make themselves felt."

The authors remind that the free world has psychological outposts behind the Iron Curtain of "conquered peoples; minds that have been educated to a point where they begin to want stretching space. Time is not kind to monolithic unity."

February 5, 1959

100-114575

Mr. C. A. Tesch
Director
Americanism Commission
The American Legion
700 North Pennsylvania Street
Indianapolis 6, Indiana

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

Dear Bud:

In regard to our little informal book reviewing committee, I have recently been in touch with Archie Closson and Stewart Lund concerning the book, "What We Must Know About Communism," by Bonaro and Harry Overstreet. We agree that it is a good one and would you please put it on your approved list.

I would also like to suggest that you add to the list the book on communism entitled "The Naked Communist" which was written by Cleon Skousen. Pres Moore and I have both read it and agree that it is a good one and should be on the list.

Best regards and will look forward to seeing you at the spring meeting.

Sincerely,

C. D. DeLoach

FEB 2 4 1959

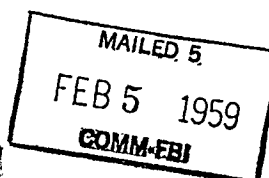
DEPT OF JUSTICE

FBI

REC'D - MAIL ROOM

DGH:mlw

(4) FEB 19 1959



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Belmont _____
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Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ORIGINAL FILE IN

94-1-17998-1398

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: February 2, 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

SUBJECT: "WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM"
BY BONARO AND HARRY OVERSTREET

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
DeLoach _____
McGuire _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Lovers Tree

The Director in his memorandum of January 26, 1959, stated that the Attorney General had called him with reference to Roscoe Drummond's column which appeared in the paper that morning and which referred to the book, "What We Must Know About Communism," by Bonaro and Harry Overstreet. The Vice President had spoken to the Attorney General about this book. The Attorney General was interested in knowing what the Director thought about the book, whether the Director agreed with Drummond's analysis and whether he should encourage everyone in the Department to read it. The Director told the Attorney General this would be a good idea. 8-1

The Director also commented to the Attorney General that he was quite disappointed in noting a certain amount of coolness on the part of book reviewers toward this book and he also informed the Attorney General of the book written by Cleon Skousen which has recently come out.

The Attorney General is interested in any ideas we might have for getting the Overstreet book and possibly the Skousen book before the general public.

The Americanism Commission of The American Legion has recently set up an informal book review committee. The purpose of this committee is to review books on communism, recommend them to the Commission and the Commission will then endorse them for general reading and particularly for use in high schools and colleges that are contemplating the teaching of communism. It is believed such endorsement would get such books considerable publicity and get them before the general public since the Legion itself has over three million members. If the Director desires, I can very easily and discreetly have the Americanism Commission give their stamp of approval to these two books. information concerning

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

100-114575-94
NOT RECORDED

FEB 12 1959

FEB 12 1959

PRIME REC.

ORIGINAL FILE IN

DGH:mlw (3)

February 18, 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSC

PERM. FILE

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Executive Vice President
Schenley Industries, Inc.
Empire State Building
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE BY

Dear Nick:

I received and carefully noted your letter of February 16, 1959, with the attached letter from Mr. Storer B. Lunt and your reply to him.

When the book, "What We Must Know About Communism," was first released, I had the opportunity of reviewing it most thoroughly. Naturally, this book appealed to me because of the tremendous impact it will no doubt make on the general public as to the dangers of international communism. From an educational or academic viewpoint, the book serves a great need. It should accomplish very much in straightening out the thinking of some individuals in the academic field.

While I regard the book highly, I must admit there are a number of viewpoints in it with which I must take issue. I refer particularly to the Overstreets' optimism regarding the possibility of disarmament negotiations and continued conferences. I also doubt the advisability of limited agreements with the Soviets.

This communication must, of course, be regarded as personal. I do not desire that my opinions, as expressed above, be used in any manner which might either endorse or hinder the progress of the Overstreets' book. For this reason, it will not be possible to give Mr. Lunt any comment regarding "What We Must Know About Communism."

Sincerely,
JCH

Tolson
Belmont
DeLoach
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

CDD:sak
(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 8

FEB 19 1959

COMM-FBI

LOUIS B. NICHOLS
350 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/1060 OVERSTREET

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing a letter which Storer B. Lunt of W. W. Norton & Company sent me on February 12. He is planning a rather extensive advertising campaign on the Overstreet's book - "What We Must Know About Communism".

The Overstreets have quite a following, as you know, in academic circles. The thought occurs to me that it might be well to give Lunt a brief comment on the book along the line that this is a real contribution to the educational process which, in the final analysis, is the lasting and most effective way to combat the inroads of Communism. When people know the Communists aims, objectives and tactics then they can be on guard and be more alert to its menaces.

I have written Storer and told him that the demands on you have been so great for comments that it would be rather difficult to break your precedent. However, if you did see fit to give him a comment it would then be doubly appreciated, and if not - nothing need be done.

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Storer.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely,

L. B. Nichols

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

ENCLOSURE
2 letters
1 clipping re book
ENCL ATTACHED

REC-46

EX 105

FEB 27 1959

CRIME REC.

I am willing to do
it but I don't
like the tone of
Storer's letter

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-49253

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: February 25, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: PROFESSOR AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
DeLoach	✓
McGuire	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Trotter	✓
W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

Overstreet, Harry A.

Last night, the Overstreets invited me to dinner and I accepted. Storer Boardman Lunt, head of Norton Publishing Company, was also a dinner guest. It will be recalled that Norton Publishing Company handled the Overstreets' book What We Must Know About Communism.

Mr. Lunt told me confidentially that Mr. James C. Hagerty of the White House had contacted him to inquire whether or not there was to be a Spanish translation of the book. Mr. Hagerty indicated that the Government would be interested in translating the book in some foreign languages.

Mr. Lunt also learned discreetly from Mr. Hagerty that the White House is interested in furthering the sale of this book believing that it is a good strong weapon to be used against communism. I thanked Mr. Lunt for conveying to me this information.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-9 GJS/ma

WCS:aml
(5)

1-Section tickler
1-W. C. Sullivan
1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. DeLoach

EX-135

REC-28

MAR 8 1959

50 MAR 9 1959

SENT DIRECTOR

2-26-59

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AMB*

DATE: February 27, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*BookSUBJECT: WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM
BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET,
INFORMATION CONCERNING
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER
OVERSTREET*G. DeLoach*
McGuire
W.C. Sullivan

Tolson	✓
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
Glavin	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Following the front-page photographs of President Eisenhower leaving Secretary of State Dulles' hospital room with a copy of above-captioned book, nationwide interest was stirred up in both the book and its authors. So intense was this interest that the current issue of U.S. News & World Report has devoted a full page to the photograph and a review of the book's contents. (The Evening Star, 2/14/59, p. 1; U.S. News & World Report, 2/27/59, p. 60)

Alignment of Thought

According to the magazine review, the interesting fact about the book's anticommunist philosophy is its close parallel to that of Mr. Dulles himself, especially with respect to the thorny problem of "out-negotiating" the Soviets. Three main points of similarity noted in the review between the outlooks of Mr. Dulles and the Overstreets are that: (1) "Communists negotiate not to establish peace, but to maneuver themselves into the best position for continuing war"; (2) "Communists will think it beyond reason to have any real meeting of minds with the capitalist West, although limited agreements may be made"; and (3) "In bargaining with the Communists... the free world has to be able to lead from strength."

Director's Book

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BJS/CL

In closing, U.S. News & World Report also recommended five other "recent books on Communism" to its readers, including Masters of Deceit, and The Naked Communist, by former Special Agent W. Cleon Skousen.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

JEM:nji

(7)

- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - John E. McHale Jr.
- 1 - Mr. Belmont

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

MAR 3 1959

57 MAR 10 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

REC- 58

100-114575-104

March 12, 1959

EX-135

Kenneth Clinton

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/ML

Mr. Charles Kenneth Clinton
President
New York State Society of the Cincinnati
850 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

#243468
5-20-86 SP8 BTJ/ML

Dear Mr. Clinton:

Your letter of March 6, 1959, was received during Mr. Hoover's absence from Washington, and I am acknowledging it for him. I know that he will appreciate the thoughtfulness prompting you to write him.

I thought you would like to know that, in keeping with a long-standing policy, Mr. Hoover has not made any public statement concerning the book you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

MAILED 33
MAR 13 1959
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles reflect cordial correspondence with Mr. Clinton in the past. It is being noted that in a letter to Mr. L. B. Nichols on 2-18-59 concerning the Overstreets' book, "What We Must Know About Communism," Mr. Hoover indicated that while he regarded the book highly there were a number of view points in it with which he took issue. He pointed out to Mr. Nichols that his opinions must be regarded as personal and must not be used in any manner to either endorse or hinder the progress of this book. The "Alibi Dinner" correspondent mentions cannot be identified in Bufiles.

- Tolson
- Belmont
- DeLoach
- McGuire
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Trotter
- W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

WHS:cr (3)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

MAR 12 11 04 AM '59
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

NEW YORK STATE
SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

Charles Kenneth Clinton
President
850 Park Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

6 March 1959

Dear Mr Hoover:

Many people these days are talking about a new book on Communism by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet.

I have read it and can't help feeling that it contains very subtle propaganda for the Communist cause.

The other evening I expressed my opinion to some friends and one man who said he had read it and liked it, was very indignant and quoted you as having told him at The Alibi Dinner in Washington, that it was one of the best books every written on the Subject.

If his statement was correct, I am certainly mistaken as you are an authority on the subject and I am not.

Faithfully yours

/s/

Kenneth Clinton

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/55 BY SP-8 BTJ/BHF

243,468
5-20-86 SP8 BTJ/CSL

ack name
3-12-59
WHS
1 true copy
3-11-59



NEW YORK STATE
SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

CHARLES KENNETH CLINTON
PRESIDENT
850 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/22/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/HSP
243,468
5.20.86 SP8 BTJ/CAL

6 March 1959

Dear Mr Hoover: Bonaro Overstreet

Many people these days
are talking about a new book on
Communism by Harry and Bonaro
Overstreet. HARRY OVERSTREET

I have read it and can't help
feeling that it contains very subtle propa-
ganda for the Communist Cause.

The other evening I expressed my
opinion to some friends and one man
who said he had read it and liked it,
was very indignant and quoted you as
having told him at the Alibi Dinner in
Washington, that it was one of the best
books ever written on the subject.

If his statement was correct I
am certainly mistaken as to your an-
authority on the subject and I am not.

Faithfully yours
Kenneth Clinton

ack mme
3-12-59
WHS
1 true copy
3-11-59

EX-135

REC- 58

100-114575-104

MAR 17 1959

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ABW*

DATE: March 30, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING (CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 McGuire ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Trotter ☒
 W.C. Sullivan ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Gandy ☒

On Friday, 3/27/59, I was talking to Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet. She informs me that their best-selling book "What We Must Know About Communism" is opening up new opportunities for them in this field. She said that Andrew Berding, Public Relations Officer, Department of State, and Ed Freer of the same Department, now wish to have the Overstreets go behind the Iron Curtain this summer while in Europe. The Overstreets had already planned on going to Europe, but did not intend to go behind the Iron Curtain. The State Department officials want them to visit Warsaw, Belgrade, Moscow, and possibly Leningrad.

Apparently, the State Department officials have in mind utilizing the Overstreets' writing talents to further expose communism as it exists behind the Iron Curtain. Mrs. Overstreet also informed me that a Marshall Green of the State Department suggested to them that in 1960 they take a trip to Asia and on their return devote their writing talents to exposing communism there. Mr. Green suggested that the Asian trip in 1960 should include Japan, Hong Kong, Viet Nam, Thailand, and also India. Mrs. Overstreet stated she wanted the Bureau to know about this in confidence.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

WCS:lmw *lmw*

(6)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. M.A. Jones
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BJS/BHR

5-20-82 SP8 BTB/CSL

901 X3

#243,468

REC-44

MCT-25

11 APR 1 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

57 APR 6 1959

RA

REC-75

100-114575-106

April 16, 1959

EX-102

Mr. John H. Weeks
Vice President - Personnel
The Glidden Company
300 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

Dear Mr. Weeks:

It was thoughtful of you to write me on April 7, 1959, and your kind expressions of confidence are indeed appreciated.

My associates and I are encouraged by the fact that we have earned your support particularly at this time when an irresponsible element has attempted to smear us with a campaign of slander and vilification. We earnestly hope that we will merit your approval in all our future activities.

In view of your concern about the menace of communism, I am sending you some material containing my views on this subject together with other data which I thought you would like to see.

MAILED 30
APR 16 1959
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

APR 16 10 48 AM '59
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Com. "New Look", How to Fight Com, God & Country or Com. ?
Remarks of Scherer & Preston,
Enclosures (5)

1 - Cleveland - Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent, and no identifiable derogatory data concerning his organization. In connection with the Overstreet's book, it is noted that the Director has indicated, while he regarded the book highly, there were a number of view points in it with which he took issue.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- DeLoach _____
- McGuire _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Trotter _____
- W.C. Sullivan _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

WHS:bla

APR 24 1959

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten signatures]

THE GLIDDEN COMPANY

900 UNION COMMERCE BUILDING

JOHN H. WEEKS
VICE PRESIDENT-PERSONNEL

April 7, 1959

CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of F.B.I.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Recently I read a book by Dr. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet which very clearly covered some of the history and more important philosophy of Communism.

As you know, probably better than any man in this country, there is a need for greater understanding of the purposes of the Communists and their determination to substitute a dictatorship for a democracy. Particularly the American people need to understand the way in which Communists work in various organizations and phases of our government if we are not eternally vigilant.

As one citizen I am writing to you to let you know I am appreciative for the very effective work the Bureau of Investigation has done in the past. You deserve all the support and understanding which a grateful country should give you.

Here's wishing you the very best of health for many years of continued dedicated service in the future.

Very sincerely,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL
JHW:jb

John H. Weeks

REC-75 100-114575-106

23 APR 20 1959



EX-102
FBI
RECEIVED - 10720H
APR 8 4 06 PM '59

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *amb*

DATE: April 21, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: PROFESSOR AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING (CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)

DeLoach	Tolson
McGuire	Boardman
W.C. Sullivan	Belmont
	Mohr
	Nease
	Parsons
	Rosen
	Tamm
	Trotter
	W.C. Sullivan
	Tele. Room
	Holloman
	Gandy

Mrs. Overstreet has advised me that on the basis of the success of their book "What We Must Know About Communism," which the Bureau helped them to prepare, they have been invited to give a lecture at The George Washington University. Further, they informed me that the Readers Digest will present the thought which they expressed in Chapter 17 entitled "Negotiating With Our Eyes Open." Lastly, she informed me that the Army has already contracted to purchase 200,000 copies of this Readers Digest reprint.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

WCS:Imm *WCS*
(6)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

REC-53

100-114575-107

APR 28 1959

62 MAY 1 1959

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: April 8, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/cst

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: PROFESSOR AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING (CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)

HARRY A. OVERSTREET

Last Friday I had a discussion with the Overstreets at their home. They talked about their coming trip to Europe and their next book which they intend to write about communism. It occurred to me that we should begin to give some thought to what could be put into this new book by the Overstreets which will redound to the benefit of the FBI. It will be recalled that their recent best seller, "What We Must Know About Communism," written with FBI assistance, was designed to supplement the Director's book, "Masters of Deceit." By that it is meant where the Director primarily attacked communism in the United States, the Overstreets' book attacked communism throughout the world. This time they intend to narrow their field of writing. We have discussed different approaches to the subject, one being an analysis of reasons why intelligent people have broken away from the Communist Party. In addition to the analysis, the book would contain appeals to other people now affected by communism to break with it. The setting of this second book will be again world communism rather than American communism; however, the point will be stressed that communism in the United States, being an integral part of world communism, is dangerous in proportion to the strength of world communism.

This book has not yet been outlined and it is something which I am free to do for the Overstreets. Therefore, it would be well if we considered this matter thoroughly with benefits for the FBI in mind.

While talking with the Overstreets, I suggested to them it may be well if they wrote an article directed toward liberals and intellectuals with an idea of explaining why these people should be in the forefront of opposition to communism and as to why these people should cooperate fully with the work of the FBI. They were very receptive to this idea and said they would do it gladly.

WCS:nji
(11)

- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Donahoe
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Roach

APR 30 1959

MAY 18 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Re: Professor and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet

and would I help them with the materials. I told them I thought I would be able to do so on a confidential basis. I have discussed this article previously with Mr. DeLoach who is of the opinion that it would be quite useful and that we may be able to get it published in The Reader's Digest or some similar reputable magazine with a wide circulation.

By doing this now we can benefit through the popularity of the Overstreet name recently accented greatly because of their "best seller" book endorsed by Secretary of State Dulles and given by him to President Eisenhower. Further, because the Overstreets are liberals and intellectuals they are the right ones to direct an article to this particular group.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. That approval be given to me to assist the Overstreets in preparing an article along the lines indicated above.
2. That Crime Records Division consider this matter and suggest to me any ideas or materials which they wish to have included in this article.
3. That all other Sections in the Domestic Intelligence Division consider this matter and suggest to me any ideas or material they wish to have included in the article.

over
I am opposed. I think
we have done enough
for the Overstreets.
We should concentrate - 2 -
on our work and problems 4-49

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: May 11, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT:

DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
MRS. BONARO OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNINGSEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BJS/K

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Please refer to the enclosed memoranda from W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont dated November 25, 1958, and the other dated April 8, 1959. Refer also to Mr. Tolson's comment on the April 8 memorandum which reads:

"I am opposed. I think we have done enough for the Overstreets. We should concentrate on our own work problems.

It is believed that it is a very good thing that Mr. Tolson has commented upon the Bureau's relationship with the Overstreets. Because the Overstreets continue to assume that the Bureau is interested in their anticommunist work, they have been calling W. C. Sullivan from time to time to raise questions and solicit answers. Therefore, in line with what Mr. Tolson said, it appears necessary to make it evident to them that the Bureau is not now in a position to maintain the relationship with them as it has in the past. Sullivan has reviewed the files in this matter in order to secure a complete and accurate picture of our relationship with the Overstreets.

It was under Bureau instructions that W. C. Sullivan first contacted the Overstreets and helped them in some detail with their book What We Must Know About Communism.

In the enclosed memorandum dated November 25, 1958, initialed by Mr. Tolson and approved by the Director, it was agreed that Sullivan should give the Overstreets help with their new book. It is to be noted that in this memorandum Sullivan pointed out rather strongly that he did not believe we should give the Overstreets the amount of help that we did with their first book on communism. Sullivan stressed that only limited assistance be given them, keeping in mind that the Overstreets make their living writing books and we should not further their livelihood without getting adequate returns for the good of the Bureau.

Enclosures

100-114575

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

1 - Section Tickler

WCS:bam (5)

EX-113

REC-53

MAY 14 1959

CENTRAL RECORDS

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
MRS. BONARO OVERSTREET
100-114575

Sullivan has had two main objectives in mind concerning the Overstreets. One--to develop and guide them in the most effective way possible for the purpose of combating communism, and two--to develop and guide them in the most effective way possible for furthering FBI goals through defending the FBI in their lectures, in personal conversations, letters, et cetera. (Even their book on the broad subject of world communism was directed deliberately and specifically at liberals and intellectuals in the U. S. who have been either unsympathetic to, or actually hampering FBI security work.) It was with this latter objective in mind that Sullivan suggested they write an article directed toward liberals and intellectuals with an idea of explaining why these people should be in the forefront of opposition to communism and as to why these people should cooperate fully with the work of the FBI. It was thought that if this article could be published in "The Reader's Digest" or some similar magazine with a wide circulation, we could benefit greatly through the popularity of the Overstreet name which has been recently accented because of their "best seller."

Sullivan assumes in view of Mr. Tolson's notation on the enclosed memorandum of April 8, 1959, the recommendation on the enclosed memorandum of November 25, 1958, is nullified. This notation suggested we not give any assistance to the Overstreets with their second book.

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) That W. C. Sullivan be authorized to inform the Overstreets tactfully that he cannot be of assistance to them in the preparation of their new book opposing communism.

I agree "due to other commitments"

✓

OK.

(2) That W. C. Sullivan be authorized to inform the Overstreets tactfully that it is not believed necessary for them at this time to write an article in defense of and in furtherance of the work of the FBI. (It will be recalled the Overstreets said they would do this but would need materials and Sullivan's assistance in the matter.)

OK.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: June 23, 1959

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY BONARO OVERSTREET

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 McGuire ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Trotter ☒
 W.C. Sullivan ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Gandy ☒

Wrote article for
 Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet called 6/22/59. She stated that Russell Kirk in the latest issue of "National Review" had written a "smear article" on her husband Dr. Harry Overstreet. She advised the purpose of the article was obviously to ruin the sales of their book, "What We Must Know About Communism." She stated that Kirk had taken a number of words out of context in order to accomplish his purpose.

Dr. Harry Bonaro Overstreet
 Mrs. Overstreet further advised that Dr. Overstreet had written a letter to Kirk in which he accused him of "mental illness." Holmes Alexander, a columnist, got word of this matter and has written it up. She stated that a number of other right-wing writers had also written up this matter.

Mrs. Overstreet stated that she merely wished to advise us that Dr. Overstreet had not meant to infer in any manner whatsoever that all critics of their book were possessed with "mental illness." She stated that Dr. Overstreet had merely meant to imply that any individual who took words out of context without any logic whatsoever might possibly be possessed with mental illness.

I told Mrs. Overstreet that her call would be made a matter of record.

ACTION:

For information. ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/caw

1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:geg
 (4)

EX-113

MCT - 2

REC- 92

JUN 25 1959

JUL 2 - 1959

CRIME REC.

July 23, 1959

REC-73

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

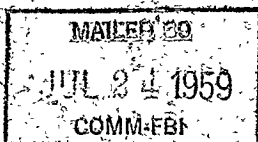
Thank you for your thoughtful letter of July 17, 1959. I wish it could have been possible for us to get together prior to your departure. It would have been a pleasure to talk with your wife and you and learn something of the plans for your new book.

I am sure that your trip abroad will be enjoyable, and I do hope you will keep in touch with us from time to time.

With best wishes to Mrs. Overstreet and to you,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



DCJ:CT:LCB
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

FBI

RECEIVED-READING ROOM
JUL 23 5 22 PM '59

- Tolson
- Belmont
- DeLoach
- McGuire
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Trotter
- W.C. Sullivan
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

62 AUG 17 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

July 17, 1959

9533

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BJA/CA

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Ever since my wife and I began, several months ago, a long trip abroad in Europe, we want to write, we have tried to find a way we had a legitimate reason to ask for a break in your intolerably crowded schedule and tell you what is on our minds as the next part of our life-long commitment to the fight against Communism. But it has been hard for us to reduce our part in this score to anything that would pass as a well-timed intrusion upon your schedule.

Yet as our leaving date -- July 28th -- grows near, we cannot reconcile ourselves to going off for five months of looking and learning without at least writing to you; for, after all, your Bureau remains in our minds not only as the original generator of our commitment but, by its contagious dedication, a major stimulant to the continuance of that commitment.

So, very briefly, may we say that what we want to work on now is suggested by our tentative title, What Men Can Do. We want to find, and to speak, for, the operation of freedom in as many forms as possible: within individual minds, in experimental ventures, and in established institutions which are learning how to take on new responsibilities both for checking the spread of Communism and for pushing back the frontiers of that appalling system on the face of the earth and within the human mind.

It seems extravagant to hope that we will learn anything that would be of specific worth to the Bureau; since your people so habitually know the score long before the rest of us. But it goes without saying that if we can learn anything at all that might be useful, it will be at your disposal when we return -- around Christmas time. At that time, if we may, we are going to follow through on our long restrained impulse and ask for an appointment with you.

REC-73

18 AUG 17 1959

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Bell
Mr. P.
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Winterrowd
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

JUL 20 1959

3
not 7-24-59
encl (ref only)
C-1

100-44575-111
C-1

Incidentally, we had thought that by going into the Soviet Union and Poland we might, even under the strict limitations that we knew we would confront, be able to get some useful feel of the atmosphere within which dissident minds have to try to keep their freedom-impulse alive. But when, after a more than reasonable delay, American Express went to pick up our passport and visa at the Soviet embassy, the passport -- with no comment -- was handed to them with a visa form entered in it, officially stamped but not filled out, and then stamped VOID. So we won't be able to put out the feelers of our mind in that alien atmosphere; and, all things considered, our regrets on that score are minimal -- and the alternative plans we have set up will, we feel, be far more fruitful.

May we take this occasion, finally, to send to you personally our warm best wishes for the months ahead?

Sincerely,


H.A. Overstreet

100-114575-111

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 11/5/59

FROM : Legat, Tokyo (80-2)

SUBJECT: HARRY and BONARO OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING

It will be of interest to the Bureau to know that Dr. and Mrs. OVERSTREET, authors of the recent best-selling book, "What We Must Know About Communism", are now in Japan and will remain here until 11/18/59, when they will return to the U.S. via Honolulu, Hawaii. They have been collecting material in the Orient for another book on the subject of communism and have given lectures in various areas on communism and psychology.

During several visits with Legat, the OVERSTREETS expressed intense admiration for Mr. WILLIAM SULLIVAN of the Bureau, whom they met during the course of research on the subject of communism.

They stated they hoped to call at the Honolulu Office while in that city.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

3-Bureau (1-Honolulu-Info.)

HLC:uw

(4)

REC-46

23 NOV 12 1959

CRIME REC.

PERS. FILES

63 NOV 23 1959

REC-9 100-114575-113

EX 109

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/COZ

November 27, 1959

Reverend Mother M. Immaculata Drees, O. S. U.
The Ursuline Academy
300 Augusta Street
San Antonio 5, Texas

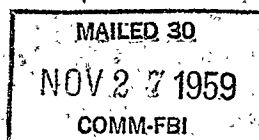
Dear Reverend Mother:

Your letter of November 19, 1959, has been received, and I appreciate your interest in writing me. I am deeply grateful for your kind remarks concerning me.

While I would like to be of assistance to you in response to your request, the function of this Bureau as strictly a fact-gathering agency does not extend to making evaluations of individuals, publications or organizations. Furnishing data of the type you requested would, in effect, constitute an approval or disapproval of the organization and the individuals you named; therefore, I am unable to answer your inquiry. Please do not infer in this connection either that the files of the FBI do or do not contain the information you desire. In view of your interest in communism, I am enclosing some material you might like to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosures (3), God and Country or Communism?

What You Can Do To Fight Communism

How To Beat Communism

NOTE: Mother M. Immaculata Drees is not identifiable in Bufiles, and we have had limited miscellaneous tour correspondence regarding the Ursuline Academy. We have had cordial relations with Dr. and Mrs. Harry Allen Overstreet and have furnished them considerable assistance in connection with their books.

ELC:djd

(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
DeLoach _____
McGuire _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Gandy _____

NOV 27 4 58 PM '59
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

The Ursuline Academy

300 AUGUSTA ST.
SAN ANTONIO 5, TEXAS

November 19, 1959

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____
M. A. [unclear]	_____

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In our social studies current events paper, Our Times, (September 28 - October 2, 1959), there was an article by Harry Allen Overstreet, entitled "Communism versus Democracy."

In American Opinion magazine of October, 1959, there appeared an article on "What We Must Know About Overstreet," by Edward Janisch. According to this article there were nine Communist front organizations with which Overstreet had associated himself. I wrote to the editor of Our Times concerning the disclosures of this article in American Opinion. The editor replied in strong defense of Dr. Overstreet.

Most of the Overstreet books are in our public library. I have made known to the library faculty what I learned from American Opinion. If the Overstreets are Communists, what can a private citizen, like myself, do about preventing such books from reaching the public?

You are very busy, I know, but could you spare a little time to let me know whether the Overstreets are Communists? Are they really affiliated with Communist front organizations? If you decide to give me the desired information concerning the Overstreets, may I use it in writing to the editor of Our Times, and with my students?

What is your opinion of American Opinion magazine and its editors? I'm sure you must be familiar with it. Mr. Robert Welch is the editor. His address: Belmont 78, Massachusetts. What about Public Action, Inc.? Do you think it helps greatly the cause of conservatives? National Review, as I see it, is the best magazine of conservative opinion. I'm sure you read it, too.

EX 109

REC-9 100-114575-13

1959

ack 11-27-59 ELC/jd

The Ursuline Academy

300 AUGUSTA ST.
SAN ANTONIO 5, TEXAS

Your book, Masters of Deceit, was read in our community refectory. Our students have also profited by reading it.

I, myself, am definitely conservative in my political philosophy. I teach all the social science classes in our High School. I am very anxious to direct the thinking of my students in the right channels. If you can be of any help to me, I would be most appreciative.

Congratulations to you on the splendid work you have done, are doing now, and will continue to do for our beloved United States! You may be sure that a rich reward for all eternity will be awaiting you when your task is completed, and you hear from the lips of our Divine Saviour those words: "Well done!" - when after all your struggles here you find yourself in the Divine embrace.

But I hope it will not be too soon. We need you. Our country needs you. My prayers are for your success - for God's continued blessing on you and your great work.

Very sincerely yours,

Mother M. Immaculata Drees,
Mother M. Immaculata Drees, O. S. U.
O. S. U.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: February 9, 1960

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: PROFESSOR AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING (CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER)

Tolson	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Belmont	_____
Callahan	_____
DeLoach	_____
Malone	_____
McGuire	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

Enclosed will be found a newspaper clipping from "The Evening Star" entitled "Lectures Slated by Overstreets."

Mrs. Overstreet advised me by telephone the other day that they have decided not to give the lectures scheduled at George Washington University. The reason for declining to give the lectures was ill health.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Section tickler
WCS:bam (4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/col

REC-71

100-114575-114

EX-130

20 FEB 10 1960

ENCLOSURE

64 FEB 17 1960

CRIME REC.

Tolson ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Callahan ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Malone ☒
 McGuire ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Trotter ☒
 W.C. Sullivan ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Ingram ☒
 Gandy ☒

Lectures Slated By Overstreets

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, the husband-and-wife authors of "What We Must Know About Communism," will deliver a series of eight Monday evening lectures at George Washington University's Lisner Auditorium, Twenty-first and H streets N.W. The talks will be held at 7:30 p.m. February 8 and 15, March 7, 14, 21 and 28, and April 11 and 18.

The Overstreets have just completed a three-month trip around the world on which they gathered material for their new book, "What Free Men Can Do."

Tickets for individual lectures or the entire series may be obtained through the College of General Studies at GWU.

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star ☒
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 Date _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

107 - 114 - 114 FEB 1960
ENCLOSURE

b6
b7c

February 17, 1961

Stratford College
Danville, Virginia

Dear

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP8 BTJ/CS

Your letter dated February 12, 1961, has been received.

The thought prompting your writing me is appreciated, and it is suggested that you may wish to contact N. N. Norton and Company, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York 30, New York, which has published the book "What We Must Know About Communism" by Dr. Harry and Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet. The copy retails for \$4.50

I am pleased to know of your interest in learning about the insidious methods and techniques of the Communist Party, and I want to thank you for your comment concerning "Masters of Deceit." Enclosed are publications available for general distribution by the FBI along these lines which you may find of interest and assistance in connection with your schoolwork.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 31
FEB 20 1961
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (9)

- What You Can Do To Fight Communism
- Communism and the College Student
- How to Beat Communism
- Director's Speech 10-18-60
- Press Release 12-22-60
- NOTE: We have had cordial relations with Dr. and Mrs. Harry Allen Overstreet and have furnished them considerable assistance in connection with their books. Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.
- Series from Christianity Today
- Communist Target--Youth
- Expose of Soviet Espionage
- McCarran Report

- Tolson
- Parsons
- Mohr
- Belmont
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ DCL:mb (3)

FEB 17 4 53 PM '61

FEB 21 1961

TRUE COPY

February 12, 1961

Dear Mr. Hoover,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/22/88 BY SP-8 BJS/DH/3-20-86 SP8 BTJ/ COL

I feel compelled to write this letter and bring a recent occurrence to your attention.

My history professor is requiring his entire class to read What We Must Know About Communism by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. Needless to say this book is one which every American should read and study in order to become well-informed on our enemy.

While we have several copies in my school library, I decided I would like this book for my very own, so that I might study it more carefully. I searched but could not purchase a copy in the stores of Danville, thus I asked my mother to buy me one and send it to me. We live in a large city, New Orleans, so naturally I believed my mother could find a copy. However she, too, has not been successful in acquiring this valuable book written by the Overstreets.

Mr. Hoover, I feel that this situation is an American tragedy. Why are we not able to buy a book like this in stores or on the newsstands of the United States? How can we stay alert on the subject of communism when cities such as New Orleans do not supply the public with such books? Or is it because the majority of Americans make no requests for such books thus the distributors find it an economic loss to stock books of this type?

I believe it is a degrading and base situation when a student finds only paper backs on crime and sex on the newsstands. Surely, this can not be the American tradition?

Presently, I am reading your book, Masters of Deceit, and am finding it most beneficial as I broaden my knowledge on the Communist Party.

Thank you for taking time to read a student's bewilderment.

Sincerely,

Stratford College
Danville, Va.

12 FEB 21 1961

b6
b7c

mmh
ack 2-17-61
1st 2-16-61
del/mb

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Malone	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Ingram	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

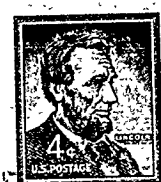
February 12, 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

243,468
Dear Mr. Hoover,

I feel compelled to write
this letter and bring a recent occur-
rence to your attention.

My history professor is re-
quiring his entire class to read What
We Must Know About Communism by
Harry and Benaro Querstreet. Needless
to say this book is one which every
American should read and study



FOR
PEACE

6 PM
FEB 13
VA.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Personal

EX-100

FEB 13 1961

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Malone	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Ingram	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

February 12, 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP8 BTJ/col

243,468
Dear Mr. Hoover,

I feel compelled to write
this letter and bring a recent occur-
rence to your attention.

My history professor is re-
quiring his entire class to read What
We Must Know About Communism by
Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. Needless
to say this book is one which every
American should read and study
in order to become well-informed on
our enemy.

While we have several copies
in my school library, I decided
I should like this book for my
own, so that I might study
Washington, D.C.

Personal

EX-100

FEB 13 1961

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Malone	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

Handwritten signature

Q. I more carefully. I searched but could not purchase a copy in the stores of Danville, thus I asked my mother to buy me one and send it to me. We live in a large city, New Orleans, so naturally I believed my mother could find a copy. However she, too, has not been successful in acquiring this valuable book written by the Overstreets.

Mr. Hoover, I feel that this situation is an American tragedy. Why are we not able to buy a book like this in stores or on the newsstands of the United States? How can we stay alert on the subject of communism when cities such as New Orleans do not supply the public with Washington, D.C.

Personal

COPIES
31

FEB 13 1961

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Malone	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. W. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

Handwritten signature

Q. 7P
Such books? Or is it because the majority of Americans make no requests for such books thus the distributors find it an economic loss to stock books of this type?

A. I believe it is a degrading and base situation when a student finds only paper backs on crime and sex on the newsstands. Surely, this can not be the American tradition?

Presently, I am reading your book, Masters of Deceit, and am finding it most beneficial as I broaden my knowledge on the Communist Party.

Thank you for taking time to read a student's bewilderedment.

Sincerely,

Stratford College
Denville, Pa.

Washington, D.C.

Personal

EX-100

FEB 13 1961

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 11-23-60

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/c/L

Tolson _____
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 Parsons _____
 Belmont _____
 Callahan _____
 DeLoach _____
 Malone _____
 McGuire _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

SUBJECT: REVIEW OF OVERSTREET BOOK "WHAT WE MUST
KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM" IN WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW, OCTOBER, 1960.

HARRY A.

The October, 1960, issue of World Marxist Review on pages 83-88, contains a review by E. Arab-Ogly of the Overstreet book on communism. The review which, of course, is very critical of the book, notes that "it is doubtful whether any recent book on a political subject has had such a 'success' in the United States...." It further indicates that the Overstreets unwittingly revealed that "propagandists of the American way of life are not equal to the occasion in the battle of ideas in winning the masses to their side." The review continues with the statement that the Overstreets falsely accused communists of wanting to export socialism to other countries through violence and war. According to the review, the Overstreets also resorted to illogical methods in an attempt to distort Marxism.

The review also points out that the Overstreet book "sets forth the official U. S. foreign policy in relation to the socialist countries." It notes that the authors got help in writing the book from anonymous experts in communism, including J. Edgar Hoover. It states that the part of the Overstreet book devoted to the CP, USA "resembles both in content and in style the book 'Masters of Deceit' by E. Hoover, head of the F. B. I. " "Ghost writers in the FBI, State Department and the Intelligence Agency" are alleged to have compiled the material for the Overstreet book. The review reflects that the huge success of the book is, in large, due to the tremendous publicity given it.

100-114575-

NOT RECORDED

126 NOV 29 1960

Bufiles contain a copy of an article by E. Arab-Ogly which appeared in the Russian language magazine "Kommunist" of May, 1956. The article praised socialism and derides reactionary imperialism.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

JVA:jag/par

(4)
63 DEC 1 1960

NOV 28 1960

CRIME RESEARCH

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-71639-28

January 30, 1961

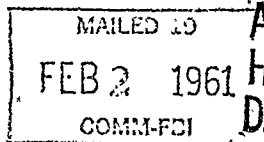
100-114575-
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I have received your letter of January 22, 1961, and it was good of you to write concerning Mrs. Jeffries' reaction to Chief Inspector William C. Sullivan's recent appearance on the Sunday Evening Forum in Tucson.

It is always reassuring to me to receive such generous comments regarding my associates, and I was most encouraged to learn of the favorable reception afforded Mr. Sullivan's talk. You may be sure he shares my appreciation of these kind remarks.

Sincerely yours,



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

1 - Mr. William C. Sullivan - Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information which would preclude sending this letter. Mr. Sullivan appeared on the Sunday Evening Forum on 1/15/61. Mrs. Mary I. Jeffries is Director of this Forum which is sponsored by the Catalina Methodist Church, Tucson, Arizona.
Title of "Doctor" per mailing list.

CJH:njs

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Trotter _____
Evans _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

51 FEB 10 1961
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JAN 30 3 22 PM '61
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EBT
REC'D UNIT 6

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

January 22, 1961

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Parsons ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Malone ✓
Mr. McGuire ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Ingram ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/cw

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I cannot resist sending you the following paragraph from a letter which my wife and I have just received from Mrs. Mary Jeffries, Director of the Sunday Evening Forum in Tucson, Arizona. She writes:

"I have time for only a hurried note but cannot wait longer to tell you that Inspector Sullivan's engagement on the Forum was a tremendous success! The auditorium was filled with over 2400 persons and they gave him a standing ovation which does not happen often at our meetings."

She goes on to say that many persons have made occasion, since the lecture, to tell her how particularly they liked the reasonable, dispassionate, objective character of his approach to the whole problem of Communism. It would appear from her report, as well as from another letter we have received, that what Mr. Sullivan did was precisely what needed doing in the often emotionally charged atmosphere of Tucson. He made the menace of Communism very real; made it a problem for minds and consciences to grapple with; and united rather than splintered the audience in the process. We are personally delighted with what he accomplished; and we feel certain that you will be both delighted and proud.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet

100 - 114575
NOT RECORDED
191 FEB 6 1961

FEB 8 1961

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-54760-7

ack 1/30/61
CJH/njs
1 attached 1/27/61
njs

will (ref only)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *atlas*

DATE: February 17, 1961

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW: THE WAR CALLED PEACE
BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTEROVERSTREET

Tolson	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Belmont	_____
Gallahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Malone	_____
McGuire	_____
Rosen	_____
Trotter	_____
Evans	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

An advanced copy of captioned book was furnished to the Director as an enclosure to a letter from Harry Overstreet, dated 2/11/61, and was acknowledged by letter dated 2/16/61.

This book, reviewed by Central Research Section, is a well-documented, hard-hitting, scholarly treatise on the nature of international communism and the communist man. It is typical of the anticommunist literature prevalent at this time. It points out that the objective of international communism to take over the entire world has not changed. Communists even alter the meaning of terms in their effort to obtain this objective. Thus, there is the term "war" called "peace." The reader is urged to understand the nature of international communism, its goal and its use of force wherever there is a "power vacuum."

Neither the Director nor the FBI is mentioned.

Bufiles reflect a cordial relationship with the authors.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CA

EX 100

JEK:meh
(10)

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - 62-46855
- 1 - Mr. Keating

REC-44

100-114575-116

12 FEB 24 1961

CENTRAL RESEARCH

b6
b7c

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-46855

February 23, 1961

100-114575-117
102
[Redacted]
Houston 16, Texas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CLL

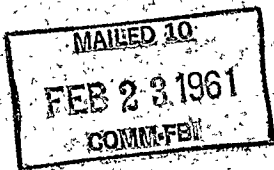
Dear [Redacted]

Your letter dated February 14, 1961, has been received.

Mrs. Although I would like to help you, the FBI has no copies of "What We Must Know about Communism," by Dr. Harry Allen and Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet, for distribution. If you are unable to secure a copy of it from your school or local public library, you may wish to contact its publishers, W. W. Norton Company, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, New York. Copies retail for \$4.50 each.

In view of your interest, I am enclosing material on the subject of communism distributed by the FBI.

Sincerely yours,



John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (7)

What You Can Do To Fight Communism
Press Release 12-22-60

Director's Speech 10-18-60

Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality

Communist Target--Youth
Expose of Soviet Espionage

17th National Convention CP, USA

NOTE: We have had cordial correspondence with Dr. and Mrs. Harry Overstreet and have offered them cooperation in the preparation of several of their books.

DCL:mb

(3)

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

50 MAR 7 1961

Tolson _____
Parsons _____
Mohr _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

TRUE COPY

[Redacted]
Houston 16, Texas
February 14, 1961
44
17

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Capitol of The United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Would be possible to get a Complimentary Copy of What
We Must Know About Communism by Overstreet, Harry and
Bonaro, W. W. Norton and Company, to use in Teaching Civil
Defense to Adults?

Thank you, sir, very much for your help in- with the above.

Respectfully yours,

/s/

[Redacted]
Fifth Grade Teacher
Shadydale Elem. School.

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

EX 101

REC-3

100-114525-117
10 FEB 28 1961

minl
ak 2-28-61
del hmb
1-7C-pnk
2-21-61

[Redacted]
Houston 16, Texas
February 14, 1961

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Capitol of The United States
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Would be possible to get
a Complimentary copy of
What We Must Know
About Communism by
Overstreet, Harry and Bonaro,
W.W. Norton and Company,
to use in Teaching Civil
Defense to Adults?

b6
b7c

Thank you, sir, very
much for your help in
with the above.

Respectfully yours,

[Redacted]

Fifth Grade Teacher
Ladysdale Elem. School.

mmh
ok 2-28-61
del/mh
1-12-1961
2-21-61

CORRESPONDENCE

EX-105

REC-12

100-114575-118

April 27, 1961

AIRMAIL

Mr. W. J. Riordan
Chairman
Americanism Committee
Waldo M. Slaton Post Number 140
The American Legion
3905 Powers Ferry Road, Northwest
Atlanta 5, Georgia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

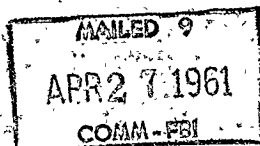
Dear Mr. Riordan:

Your letter of April 20, 1961, has been received, and the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

In response to your inquiry, I would like to point out that the files of this Bureau are maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and are available for official use only. The FBI has not made any public statement or evaluation regarding the individuals whom you mentioned in your communication.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Bufiles contain no derogatory information concerning Riordan. We have had cordial relations with Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet and have furnished them considerable assistance in connection with books they have written.

RWE:dmk

(3)

Tolson _____
Parsons _____
Mohr _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D-READING ROOM

APR 27 4 25 PM '61

LBI

pub

JPM

D

2hr

Keene

3 MAY 2 1961

AMERICANISM COMMITTEE

WALDO M. SLATON POST NO. 140

THE AMERICAN LEGION

3905 POWERS FERRY ROAD, N. W.

ATLANTA 5, GA.

April 20, 1961

Air Mail

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/col

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have just seen the following statement made in a letter about the listings these people have in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee:

"I can report to you that both Dr. Overstreet and his wife (1) voluntarily appeared as witnesses before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and (2) the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, and (3) that they have been completely cooperative with the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

It is my understanding that the Bureau does not publicly identify the individuals who have "cooperated" with it and if you will let me know whether an exception has been made in this case, I shall appreciate it very much.

If convenient, won't you please reply by air mail.

Sincerely yours,

W. J. Riordan
W. J. Riordan, Chairman

N/12

REC-12

EX-105

APR 28 1961

APR 20 1961

BREATHES THERE THE MAN, WITH SOUL SO DEAD.
WHO NEVER TO HIMSELF HATH SAID.
THIS IS MY OWN, MY NATIVE LAND!

May 1, 1961

EX-146

REC-60

100-114575-119

b6
b7C

Benton, Louisiana

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-82 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

Dear Mr. Fletcher:

Your letter of April 24, 1961, has been received, and the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or that we do not have data in our files relating to your inquiry.

In view of your interest in the menace of communism, enclosed is some literature dealing with that subject.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 25
MAY 2 - 1961
COMM-FBI

Enclosures (3)
Communist Illusion And Democratic Reality
Christianity Today Series
Director's Statement Re Internal Security, 4-17-61

NOTE: Bufiles indicate that we have had cordial relations with the Overstreets and have cooperated with them in the publication of some of their books. No record could be located in Bufiles identifiable with correspondent.

RWE:lmv

62 MAY 3 1961

TELETYPE UNIT

MAY 1 5 11 PM '61
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Re: Tolson _____
Parsons _____
Mohr _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

April 24, 1961

Benton
Louisiana

b6
b7C

JB-1

MP
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington
D.C.

Dear Sir:

As a teacher in Louisiana Public Schools, I am vitally interested in the whys, wherefores, who's, etc. Right now I am interested in knowing if Harry and Bonaro ^POVERSTREET, authors of WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., are on your list of Communistic authors.

This book, a pocketbook edition, has been made available to us for reference.

May I have this information at your earliest convenience.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/col

Benton High School
Benton, Louisiana

nmk
ask 5-1-61
RWE:lmw

Very truly yours

REC-60
EX-116

100-114575-1119
5-3
APR 26 1961

APR 26 1961

PLAIN TEXT

10-11-61

b6
b7C

EX-112 TELEGRAM

DEFERRED

REC-13 100-114575-120

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, COLORADO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/csl

Oct 11 5 21 PM '61
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

TELEGRAM RECEIVED. REGRET UNABLE TO ASSIST SINCE FBI AS
INVESTIGATIVE AGENCY DOES NOT MAKE EVALUATIONS OF CHARACTER
OR INTEGRITY ANY PUBLICATION OR INDIVIDUAL.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles. Reply not being sent
collect since positive information not being furnished. We have had cordial
relations with Dr. Harry and Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet, authors of "What We
Must Know About Communism," and have furnished them considerable assistance
in connection with their books.

COPIES DESTROYED

29 APR 22 1974

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 11 1961

WESTERN UNION

JH:LJT
(3)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

INITIALED
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 11 1961

WESTERN UNION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

BIA005 151P EDT OCT 11 61 AA132 KB073

[REDACTED] GLENWOOD SPRINGS COLO 11 1006- MST

SUBVERSION SECTION FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHDC

CHURCH STUDY GROUP USING POKET BOOK WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT
COMMUNISM BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET. ARE OVERSTREETS AND
BOOK UNTAINTED. REPLY COLLECT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten initials]

b6
b7C

REC-13

100-114575-120

OCT 12 1961

EX-112

[Handwritten signature]

and - LK

Telegram to

10-11-61

JH: LK

[REDACTED]

OCT 11 5 21 PM '61

682

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. MOHR

DATE: October 18, 1961

FROM : MR. J. F. MALONE

SUBJECT: BONARO OVERSTREET
CO-AUTHOR OF "WHAT WE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT
COMMUNISM"

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☒
 Malone ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Ingram ☒
 Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

On the evening of 10/17/61 Mrs. Overstreet called. I have known her from Los Angeles. She and her husband would stop in the office whenever they passed through.

HARRY OVERSTREET EUROPE
 Mrs. Overstreet stated that they had recently returned from a European trip where she and her husband, Harry, were gathering data for the next book they plan to write. Instead of approaching the problem of Communism from a negative point of view they plan to write a book pointing out the benefits of living in free countries as opposed to those under Communist domination. They plan to start a lecture tour in the near future. On November 17 and 18 they plan to lecture in Hollywood, Florida, under the auspices of the Parent Teachers Association. She was notified that the John Birch Society of that community has protested to their appearance and that the Parent Teachers Association faltered back and forth as to whether or not the engagement should be cancelled. They finally have gone through with it. She stated that they may have some trouble there but are hoping it will not materialize. They then plan to lecture in Dayton, Ohio; Memphis, Tennessee; and Los Angeles, California.

BOULDER, COLO. EDWARD J.
 Mrs. Overstreet pointed out that at a meeting of the Association of University Professors which was held at Boulder, Colorado, in the recent past she was in close contact with a Professor Rozak (phonetic) of the University of Denver, but she could not further identify Rozak other than the fact that he is a Polish professor and is extremely anti-Communist. She stated they gained the impression from Rozak that the President of the University of Denver, a man by the name of Norton, whom she could not further identify, has liberal Communistic leanings. According to Mrs. Overstreet, he was a former businessman in Denver and she believes he was also Mayor of that city. Rozak quoted Norton as referring to the FBI as "nothing but a Gestapo."

1 - Mr. DeLoach
 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
 JFM:wmj
 (4)

REC-23

EX 110

OCT 26 1961

62 NOV 1 1961

SUBV. CONTROL

Memo for Mr. Mohr
Re: Bonaro Overstreet

Mrs. Overstreet also pointed out that in their travels they have come upon a new group called Veritas, which seems to be a Harvard alumni right-wing group which is out to prove that President Kennedy and his Harvard cohorts are Communists.

RECOMMENDATION:

Inasmuch as an attempt to identify Rozak and Norton in the Bureau files, on the basis of the meager information furnished by Mrs. Overstreet, has been to no avail, it is recommended this might be turned over to the Domestic Intelligence Division for further evaluation and for whatever action may be desired.

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

*ERC
pww*

[Handwritten checkmark]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 10-23-61

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland *JFB*

SUBJECT:

**BONARO OVERSTREET
COAUTHOR OF "WHAT WE SHOULD
KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM"**

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Malone
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Pettit

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

Reference memorandum 10-18-61, Mr. Malone to Mr. Mohr, captioned as above. *8- W*

On 10-17-61 Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet advised Assistant Director J. F. Malone of a recent conversation with a Professor Rozak of the University of Denver in which Rozak quoted one Norton, President of the University of Denver, as referring to the FBI as "nothing but a Gestapo." She described Rozak as an extremely anticommunist professor from Poland. Norton was described as a former Mayor of Denver, Colorado.

Mr. and Mrs. Overstreet of Washington, D. C., have been in touch with various Bureau officials for a number of years. The Overstreets travel extensively and lecture on communism.

The person referred to by Mrs. Overstreet as Norton, President of the University of Denver, is undoubtedly Dr. Ouigg Newton, President of the University of Colorado and former Mayor of Denver, whose anti-Bureau attitude is well known to us. He supported a resolution in 1949 critical of the FBI's activities in training. In 1956 he was Vice-President of the Ford Foundation. In 1958 he brought staff members of the Fund for the Republic to lecture at the University of Colorado. These lectures contained comments critical of the Bureau. *Am*

Mrs. Overstreet was obviously referring to Dr. Edward J. Rozak, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, who has been very friendly to the Bureau. He is personally known to Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan and was instrumental in having Assistant Director Sullivan speak at the University of Colorado on 11-17-60. *100-114575-122*

REC-23

OCT 26 1961

ACTION: *254*

66 NOV 15 1961

None, for information.

BGLP:dew

(8)

Denver Office aware of this situation.
W. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86

SP8BTJ/COL

EX-115

REC-38
100-114575

January 24, 1962

Mr. H. A. Marshall
 Superintendent
 Orangeburg City Schools
 Orangeburg, South Carolina

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Mr. Marshall:

DATE 5-20-86

BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

FBI

REC'D-READING ROOM

JAN 25 9 11 AM '62

Your letter of January 18, 1962, has been received, and the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

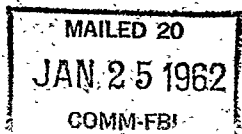
Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subjects of your inquiry.

Enclosed is some literature dealing with the general subject of communism which may be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
 Director



Enclosures (4) Director's speech 12-7-61 "The Faith To Be Free"
 The Deadly Contest
 Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality
 The Communist Party Line

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles. Dr. Harry Allen Overstreet is on the Special Correspondents' List.

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

JH:lc* (3)

JAN 25 1962

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORANGEBURG CITY SCHOOLS

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT

ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

January 18, 1962

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

There is a situation in this community where a group of people in one of our Parent-Teacher Associations is instrumental in attempting to get our P.-T. A. to withdraw from the National Congress of Parents and Teachers because of articles which have appeared in the National Parent-Teacher magazine. The whole issue is related to Dr. Harry Allen Overstreet and his wife Dr. Bonaro Overstreet, who have participated in National Parent-Teacher Association programs and have also contributed articles about Communism to the magazine.

The members of our P.-T. A. who are attempting to get our association withdrawn from the National Association are telling the group that the Overstreets are Communists. I understand, of course, that at one time they did participate in some organizations that were questionable. However, it is my information that they have withdrawn from these organizations and are spending their time attempting to inform people of the dangers, methods, procedures, and operation of the Communist Party in destroying our American system of government.

If you can possibly do so in your position, I should like for you to give me a very definite statement as to whether these people are classified as Communists or to what extent they have been questioned by your organization or the Committee on Un-American Activities. I should like to be in a position to defend the National Parent-Teacher Association because it has rendered valuable service to the youth of our nation through some very excellent programs.

It happens that it has come up in one of our P.-T. A's and yet has never been discussed or mentioned in four others. Naturally, I am placing the blame for the situation on just a few people who I believe are all-out to question every organization and every person who exercises any leadership in it.

I shall appreciate any information that you can provide which might be used if it becomes necessary for me to take a position in an open meeting.

EX-115
Sincerely yours,

H. A. Marshall

H. A. Marshall
Superintendent

13 JAN 26 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CCL

JAN 22 1962

PLAIN TEXT

2-2-62

TELEGRAM

DEFERRED - NIGHT LETTER

REC-21 100-114575-124
EX 105

MILLWOOD COMMUNITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
MILLWOOD, WASHINGTON

TODAY'S TELEGRAM RECEIVED, AND I APPRECIATE INTEREST
PROMPTING YOUR COMMUNICATION. ATTORNEY GENERAL HAS
NEVER PREPARED LIST CONCERNING PUBLICATIONS AND
INDIVIDUALS. ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS
BEING SENT UNDER SEPARATE COVER. SORRY CANNOT BE OF HELP
TO YOU.

COPIES DESTROYED

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

29 APR 2 1974

1 - Seattle - Enclosure

HHA:jrb
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/24/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/HF

243,460

5-20-86 SP8 BTJ/CAL

FEB 2 5 13 PM '65

NOTE: Correspondent was not identifiable in Bufiles. We have had cordial relations with Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet and have furnished them considerable assistance in connection with books they have written. Current inquiries are being made concerning their new publication "What We Must Know About Communism." Note that correspondent only asks about a nonexistent Attorney General List.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Ingram
Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FEB 2 1962

WESTERN UNION

INITIALED
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

TELETYPE UNIT

MAIL ROOM

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FEB 2 1962
WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

243,468

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/DHF
5-20-86 SP8 BTJ/COZ

BIA010 247P EST FEB 2 62 CTB167 PRA194

PR SKA251 RX PD 2 EX SPOKANE WASH 2 1116A PST

J EDGAR HOOVER OR ASSISTANT, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUSTICE DEPT WASHDC

DEAR SIR, WOULD APPRECIATE AN IMMEDIATE REPLY TODAY AS TO WHETHER
OR NOT BOOK BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET "WHAT WE MUST KNOW
ABOUT COMMUNISM" IS ON THE ATTORNEY GENERALS LIST OF BOOKS
SYMPATHETIC TO COMMUNISM. OR IF THE OVERSTREETS THEMSELVES
ARE ON SUCH A LIST. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO PROVIDE OUR PEOPLE
WITH A HISTORICAL STUDY OF COMMUNISM IN RELATION THE CHRISTIAN
FAITH AND CHRISTIANITY'S ANSWER TO COMMUNISM. ABOVE BOOK HAS
BEEN SELECTED AS TEXT BOOK. WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE IMMEDIATE
REPLY TODAY COLLECT. SINCERELY

[REDACTED] MILLWOOD COMMUNITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
MILLWOOD WASH.

EX-105
REC-21

MR. MOHR FOR THE DIRECTOR

100-114575-124

FEB 6 1962

cc. Mr. Lee Jones

Telegram to
2-2-62
HAB/mld



AMERICANISM COMMITTEE

WALDO M. SLATON POST NO. 140

The American Legion

3905 POWERS FERRY ROAD, N. W.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

April 7, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The enclosed study is an analysis of HARRY O the Overstreets which has been prepared by [redacted]

A more detailed study is under way which I will send you for your files as soon as it is completed.

Very sincerely yours,

J.B. Welden
J.B. Welden
Commander

b6
b7c

Enc.
JBW/n

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

EX-124
34 APR 9 1962

ENCLOSURE

REC-70

EX-124

10 APR 12 1962

62 APR 17 1962

BREATHES THERE THE MAN, WITH SOUL SO DEAD,
WHO NEVER TO HIMSELF HATH SAID,
THIS IS MY OWN, MY NATIVE LAND!

PUT NONE BUT AMERICANS ON
GUARD TONIGHT.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CCL

Dear [redacted] (not name. m)

March 27, 1962

Commander Welden has given me your letter, and has asked me [redacted] to give you my analysis of its enclosures. As you can see from the accompanying file, we have been aware for some time that our views on the Overstreets do not coincide with Mr. O'Neil's. Much as we regret this, the information that we have does not permit us to bring our appraisal of this couple into line with his. There are discrepancies, inconsistencies, even gaps that must be satisfactorily settled before we can issue a favorable verdict. Inasmuch as the Overstreets are now engaged in writing books that are having a profound effect on the teachers of our children--and hence on the children themselves--and inasmuch as they are missionaries for the dangerous "mental health" cult which is imposing revolutionary "norms" and radical "tests" for sanity upon society, we feel that while we have no desire to "harrass" the Overstreets, we would be doing a disservice to truth if we failed to offer our readers the unretouched picture of this couple.

Before I list some of the unexplained aspects of the Overstreet case, let me say that we do not regard Mr. Jenner's graciousness in dismissing the witnesses--who in this case were the Overstreets--as representing more than his customary courtesy at the close of a session. Mr. Jenner was always courteous. You will find that he dismissed even the Fifth Amendment pleader with a polite thank-you. Nor do we think that the questions asked by the Internal Security Subcommittee constituted a searching examination of these witnesses. Indeed, they testified more as consultants than as witnesses. We do not criticize the Subcommittee performance. It should be cited as proof that the investigating committees of the Congress do not hold inquisitions. Considerations are still before the Waldo Skton Post's Americanism Committee and its Research Staff that must be clarified before they can in conscience pave the way (into classrooms for children) of these two influential re-makers of the American mentality.

As an example of the difficulty in being uncritical of the Overstreets, yet fair to those whose personality they seek to "adjust" to such "norms" as those recommended by Brock Ghisholm and the other "mental health" cultists of the World Health Organization and the World Federation of Mental Health--let me cite some of the discrepancies which have not been resolved concerning these persuasive Social Engineers:

1. Why are their books on the one hand called "best sellers," while on the other, the claim is being made (for what reason?) that leftists are preventing the sale of their books? If an effort is being made to suppress their books, why can they be found in variety and quantity everywhere, and why do they still enjoy the adulation of those with whom they should presumably have parted company when they renounced the dubious associations? Why do they enjoy the homage of the leftmost names in Bonaro Overstreet's own "Freedom House" (which is listed by Sister M. Margaret Patricia McGarran as a link in the sinister "interlock")? Why does a professor with the Communist-front affiliations of Gordon Allport write the preface for the hard-back edition of What We Must Know about Communism, and supply a rave-notice

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-125

for it that is carried on the dust-cover of The War Called Race?

2.

2. Why is Harry Overstreet, "high priest and prophet of the mental health Left Liberals," acceptable to any critic who knows that forcing political or religious tests for sanity on a citizen is contrary to every American concept and every legal safeguard? Do Mr. Overstreet's conservative defenders know the solid contributions that he has made to this "mental health" tyranny in the name of which Americans have already been persecuted and even confined in mental wards instead of receiving a jury trial for whatever crime they were supposed to have committed? I quote now from Harry Overstreet's celebrated book, The Great Enterprise, in which the author has hand-tailored the specifications for a mental disease which he calls "rigidity" --but which I suspect might have been known in a sounder context as "conviction." I invite you to examine page 115 with me: See how the "mental illness" rigidity can be expanded through a purely arbitrary process of association into a "constellation of prejudice." Note that a hapless individual who resists the new "social" gospel and clings to the traditional doctrine of Salvation can find himself branded through association with a group of political views which are irrelevant to religion with a form of "mental illness" peddled by the NEA-PTA-UNESCO type of Social Engineer to whom the name Overstreet is so dear.

"A man, for example, may be angrily against race equality, public housing, the TVA, financial and technical aid to backward countries, organized labor, and the preaching of social rather than salvational religion. These intense dislikes, though they may seem to crop up separately, suggest a personality orientation....

"....Such people may appear 'normal' in the sense that they are able to hold a job and otherwise maintain their status as members of society; but they are, we now recognize, well along the road to mental illness." (Emphasis added.)

Do you wonder that the National Defense Committee of the D.A.R. warned the public that such an arbitrary diagnosis of "mental illness" could be directed at YOU?

Is such a classification of "mental illness" the pipe-dream of the Social Engineers for tomorrow, or is it upon us NOW? Surely, I do not have to tell anyone who followed the case of the Finn twins, A.R. Fitzpatrick, Fletcher Bartholomew, Lucille Miller, and others, that such contrived diagnoses as the above have already been used to deny due process of law to dissenters of one type or another, and to confine them as mental cases instead of permitting them jury trials for alleged infractions against specific laws.

Can there be any doubt that the whole system of jurisprudence will have been suborned if the American people can be softened unto acquiescence in such travesties as the denial of due process of law to defendants who have been pronounced "mentally ill" on the basis of political or religious convictions?

For almost two years, we have been conducting a work of research on this couple. We are interested in the fact that they have been sentimentalized to such a degree that it is hard to focus an objective light on them. We do not understand why even their most recent work offers some Communist-fronters as references. We want more light on the uncritical (and unrealistic) honor that they have paid to the American Civil Liberties Union on page 169 of the hard-cover edition of What We Must Know about Communism, since many patriotic organizations have found much fault with ACLU. This is the organization, you will remember, that the National American Legion noted in its 1960 resolution opposes loyalty oaths, defends Fascists, Communists, and Communist causes, seeks abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the FBI, and opposes all restrictions and laws regulating the sale of obscene literature. The regard for the ACLU expressed in this book is hard to reconcile with the persistent report that the book was written for the Overstreets by a responsible ghost-writer. We do not know why the plug for the ACLU was quietly

deleted from the paper-back edition, although it carried the statement that it contained "every word" of the original, higher-priced edition. Neither edition, I may add, of this "expert" work on Communism that was given by a dying statesman to his President just before he went into his final coma, contains a single reference to the role that was played by Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Owen Lattimore, or the Institute of Pacific Relations. The House Committee on Un-American Activities is listed in the index only once, and there its title is given as "the House Un-American Activities Committee," which is, of course, the way that it is described by those who are hostile to its work.

We are not alone in our reservations about this book. The review of it by Louis Budenz in the Tablet of May 23, 1959 was full of sharply qualifying phrases about "this much advertised work." "It does not live up to its title." "It does not contain a complete examination of dialectical materialism." "We are thereby robbed of any clear-cut understanding that the basid philosophy of Communism is the determination to 'prove' that God does not exist." "They fail to emphasize..." "...their omission of..." "There is also a seeming reluctance in their pages to discuss the practice of 'Aesopian language'..." "...they go only half-way in their subsequent conclusions..." It is impossible after noting this array of objections on the part of one of our greatest "experts" on Communism not to conclude that the Overstreet 'magnum opus' was far from adequate, whatever a dying Secretary of State thought about it as he slipped into unconsciousness.

Now I call to your attention the reasoned appraisal of Mr. Edward Janisch, and the comments that came to us from ex-Congressman Kit Clardy (formerly of the House Committee on Un-American Activities) shortly before his death.

I assure you that we will give Mr. O'neil the benefits of our findings, as soon as our documentation has been completed. We presented much of our case before the Americanism Commission of the American Legion in Indianapolis on May 2, 1961, and were sorry to learn that Mr. O'Neil was not present.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Yours very truly,

[Redacted Signature]

b6
b7C

Enc.

cc. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Mr. Benjamin Mandel, Research Director, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
Mr. Francis Walter, Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities
Mr. Robert Morris, Former Counsel, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
Mr. James F. O'Neil, American Legion Magazine

REC- 57 / 100 - 114575 - 126

August 22, 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL

[Redacted]
[Redacted]
Opportunity, Washington

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of August 14th has been received.

You may be assured this Bureau has not published a list of communists or communist sympathizers. Information in FBI files must be maintained as confidential and for official use only due to regulations of the Department of Justice. I would also like to point out that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In view of the foregoing, no representative of this Bureau has made any public statement concerning the individuals about whom you asked.

Enclosed is some literature on communism I hope will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (5)
See next page.

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent. We have had cordial relations with Dr. and Mrs. Harry Allen Overstreet and have furnished them considerable assistance in connection with books they have written. (100-114575)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Handwritten notes and signatures:
- "b6 b7C" (top right)
- "REC'D-READING ROOM FBI" (vertical stamp)
- "AUG 22 7 34 PM '62" (vertical stamp)
- "Harry Allen Overstreet" (signature)
- "epl" (signature)



b6
b7C

Enclosures:
Statement on Communism 7-15-62
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
Deadly Duel
Communism and The Knowledge to Combat It!
The Communist Party Line

TRUE COPY

August 14, 1962

Gentlemen,

OVERSTREET

A great furor has erupted in our PTA because of an article written by Harry & Bonaro Overstreet in the national PTA magazine. The charge has been made that the Overstreets have been identified by the FBI as communists. For this reason many people want to cut off ties with the National PTA organization. M 8-

First of all, does the FBI publish lists of names identifying people as communists, communist sympathizers etc?

Next, if such a list is-published, where may I get one?

Finally, has the FBI ever identified the Overstreets as either communists or communist sympathizers? If not, has the FBI ever made any public statement about them?

I would appreciate a prompt reply in order to deal more intelligently with the problem at our school.

Very truly yours,

[Redacted Signature]

Opportunity, Wash.

b6
b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BJT/CL

1 cc. 8-14-62 mky
2 cc. 8-14-62 22
set to [Redacted Box] 8-20-62

REC- 57 100-114575-126

18 AUG 23 1962

8-14-62

14 Aug 62

Gentlemen,

some (pre)for
A great furor has erupted in our PTA because of an article written by Harry & Bonaro Overstreet in the national PTA magazine. The charge has been made that the Overstreets have been identified by the FBI as communists. For this reason many people want to cut off ties with the National PTA organization.

First of all, does the FBI publish lists of names identifying people as communists, communist sympathizers etc?

Next, if such a list is published, where may I get one?

Finally, has the FBI ever identified the Overstreets as either communists or communist sympathizers? If not, has the FBI ever made any public statement about them?

I would appreciate a prompt reply in order to deal more intelligently with the problem at our school.

Very truly yours,

DF:

[Redacted]

vac

[Redacted]

b6
b7c

15C 8-17-62
22-62
22-62

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CS

OPPORTUNITY, WASH.

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *awb*

DATE: September 4, 1962

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT:

Book
"THE IRON CURTAIN" (C)Dr. Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet

1308 Fiddlers Green

Lake Barcroft

Falls Church, Virginia

The Overstreets contacted me and asked if the Director would have any objection if they listed his new book in the bibliography to the above-captioned work by them, which will be published late this year. I told them I felt sure that the Director would have no objection to listing his study in their bibliography.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Mohr
 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

WCS:baw

(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/col

SEP 11 1962

396
53 SEP 13 19625-WCS
for

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REC-1

100-114575 178

November 9, 1962

at

301 XE

Nov 9 5 03 PM '62
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

[Redacted]
[Redacted]

San Antonio, Texas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BJS/WL

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of November 4th has been received, and I am glad to know that you have enjoyed my books and addresses. Your thoughtful comment concerning my administration of the activities of the FBI is deeply appreciated.

In response to your inquiry regarding "The War Called Peace," by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, this Bureau is strictly a fact-gathering agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any publication, individual or organization. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subjects of your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

John Edgar Hoover
cc: [unclear]
[unclear]

del

MAILED 10
NOV - 9 1962
COMM-FBI

LP

NOV 12 03 PM '62

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. "The War Called Peace," reviewed by the Bureau in February of 1961, is a well-documented, hard-hitting, scholarly treatise on the nature of international communism and the communist man. Neither the Director nor the FBI is mentioned, and Bufiles reflect cordial relations with Mr. and Mrs. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. (100-114575-116) We have cooperated with them in the publication of some of their books.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

56 NOV 10 1962
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DCL:ped
(3)

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

TRUE COPY

Nov. 4, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

May I thank you personally for your many fine books written and speeches given on the subject of Communism. Your dedication to the exposure of this insidious disease in its many forms is truly inspiring, and with God's help may this wonderful land of ours always have a true champion of Americanism such as yourself, at the helm of its most vigilant internal security agency.

As a concerned citizen I constantly read books and other published articles written by responsible people. Very recently I was given to read a book called "The War called Peace," by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. Please inform me your views on the authors and the book, if possible.

L

Very truly yours,

[Redacted Signature]

b6
b7C

[Redacted Address]

San Antonio, Texas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BJTJ/CL
EX 109

REC-1

100-114575-128

11 NOV 13 1962

Jed

1 TC
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del-11-9-62

Nov. 4, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover;
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover;

May I thank you personally for your many fine books written and speeches given on the subject of Communism. Your dedication to the exposure of this insidious disease in its many forms is truly inspiring, and with God's help may this wonderful land of ours always have a true champion of Americanism such as yourself, at the helm of its most vigilant internal security agency.

As a concerned citizen I constantly read books and other published articles written by responsible people. Very recently I was given to read a book called "The War called Peace", by Harry and Donato Querstret. Please inform me your views on the authors and the book, if possible.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL

Very truly yours,

[Redacted]
San Antonio, Texas

COPY [Redacted]

b6
b7C

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b7C

REC- 42

December 12, 1962

Steamboat Rock, Iowa

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BJJ/CAL

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of December 6, 1962, has been received, and the interest prompting your communication is appreciated.

In response to your inquiry regarding Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, and their book "What We Must Know About Communism," this Bureau is a fact-gathering agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations nor draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any publication, individual or organization. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subjects of your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. In connection with this book, it is noted that the Director has indicated while he regarded the book highly, there were a number of view points in it with which he took issue. Doctor Harry Allen Overstreet is on the Special Correspondents' List.

DTP:may (3)

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Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D-READING ROOM

DEC 12 5 16 PM '62

FBI

CTP

put

DEC 12 1962

TRUE COPY

Steamboat Rock, Iowa
December 6, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of F. B. I.
Department of Justice
Constitution Avenue and 10 Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Overstreet

My sophomore English class recently discussed the book What We Must Know about Communism, written by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. After discussing the book, we debated as to whether the Overstreets were genuinely against Communism. Regarding this, I should be grateful for answers to the following questions:

1. Have the Overstreets ever been associated with Communist fronts?
2. What is your personal opinion of the book?

I will sincerely appreciate information on this subject. Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

[Redacted Signature]

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTS/CL

REC- 42

100-114575-129

DEC 13 1962

EX-116

129

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let to
DTP: nll
12/12/62
17c 12-10 62 per

Steamboat Rock, Iowa
December 6, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of F.B.I.
Department of Justice
Constitution Avenue and 10 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/WL

My sophomore English class recently discussed the book What We Must Know about Communism, written by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. After discussing the book, we debated as to whether the Overstreets were genuinely against Communism. Regarding this, I should be grateful for answers to the following questions:

1. Have the Overstreets ever been associated with Communist fronts?
2. What is your personal opinion of the book?

I will sincerely appreciate information on this subject. Thank you very much.

3.T.C 12-10-62
lit to
DTP: [initials]
2/12/62

b6
b7C

CORRESPONDENCE
Yours truly,

415 U. S. Post Office and Court House Building
Cincinnati 2, Ohio
December 7, 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KOL
245472

[Redacted]
Cincinnati 36, Ohio

Dear [Redacted]

LOIS

The FBI is unable to evaluate or comment on any commercial undertaking or any particular person. This is a long-standing policy, and I am confident you will understand my inability to respond to your question.

Sincerely yours,

E. D. MASON
Special Agent in Charge

- 1 - Addressee
- 1 - Bureau (Attention: Crime Research Section) (Enc. 1)
- 1 - Cincinnati (62-0)

EDM:MJH
(3)

ENCLOSURE

EX-116

REC-5 100-114575-130

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FBI

REC'D COMM & TOURS

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56 DEC 19 1962

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[redacted]
Cincinnati 36, Ohio

December 4, 1962

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-20-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

Dear [redacted]

245472

I am interesting in obtaining
some information concerning Harry
Quenstut author of what we must
know about Communism. I have read
the information on Harry Quenstut from
the files of the Committee on Un-American
activities.

a friend of mine said the
Quenstuts had clearance from the
F B I. I was unaware the F B I
gave clearance, as such, to people.

Also that Mr. Hoover had

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 3 1962	
FBI - CINCINNATI	

100-114575-130
ENCLOSURE

~~the records of the Association~~

~~Do the records have to do~~

Charles? Did Mr. Hoover recommend
the Association?

Thank you for your time.

Very truly yours,



b6
b7C

FBI - CINCINNATI	
DEC 6	1962
SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

December 13, 1962

REC-30

100-114570

131

REC'D-READING ROOM

FBI

DEC 13 3 05 PM '62

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

Assistant Director Sullivan has given me the copy of "The Iron Curtain," which Mrs. Overstreet and you left for me last Saturday. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in inscribing the book to me and I am looking forward to reading it.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

MAILED 5

DEC 14 1962

COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles reflect cordial relations with Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet. We have cooperated with them in the preparation of some of their books.

JET:nab

(3)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr J. Edgar Hoover

With warm appreciation
of your long service to
all of us.

Very sincerely
Benaro Overstreet

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJJ/CSL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *h*

DATE: December 10, 1962

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS 12-11-62*

SUBJECT:

DR. HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET
 Falls Church, Virginia

Saturday, the above-captioned authors stopped at the Bureau and gave me the enclosed book inscribed to Mr. Hoover, "~~The Iron Curtain~~." This is a new book which the Overstreets have written and which will soon be on the market. There is nothing in the book troublesome to the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be referred to the Crime Records Division where a letter of thanks may be prepared to the Overstreets.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL
245472

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. MA Jones

WCS/baw *for*
 (6)

REC-30

EX-118

100-114573-131
6 DEC 18 1962

for info only
Let to Dr. Overstreet
12-13-62
JET: jop/mab

REC-38

EX-112

March 13, 1963

100-114575-132

Mr. J. Walter Owens
Ray, Owens and Keil
924 Second Avenue
Columbus, Georgia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/col

MAR 13 5 20 PM '63
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Dear Mr. Owens:

I have received your letter of March 8th.

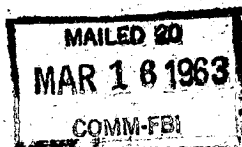
While I would like to be of assistance to you, the FBI, being an investigative agency of the Federal Government, neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, individual or publication. I regret I am unable to help you and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to Harry and Bonaro Overstreet.

Enclosed is some literature I trust you will find to be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

L. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (5)

Communism and The Knowledge To Combat It!
You Versus Crime
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
Bulwarks of Liberty
An American's Challenge, 10-9-62
1 - Atlanta - Enclosure

JCF:kcf (4)

See Note on Next Page

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAR 22 1963

Handwritten signatures and initials:
Hoyne
DMM
JCF
JCF

Mr. J. Walter Owens

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent. We have had cordial relations with Dr. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet and have furnished them considerable assistance in connection with books they have written. The above reply has been utilized in connection with inquiries received in the past concerning the Overstreets.

LAW OFFICES
RAY, OWENS & KEIL
924 SECOND AVENUE
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

JOSEPH S. RAY
J. WALTER OWENS
BEVERLY R. KEIL

March 8, 1963

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KOL

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The Georgia Parent-Teachers Association convention is to be held in Columbus, Georgia, in April. I understand that the main speakers for this event will be Harry and Banaro Overstreet who were formerly communists or associated with international communist conspiracy.

I understand that these people have appeared before the House Unamerican Activities Committee and that they have renounced their affiliation with communism.

As a citizen of Georgia and a member of the PTA, I am inquiring, at this time, if you can give me any information about these individuals, because some comment has arisen about their status and whether they should be permitted to appear here.

I have read their articles in the Parent-Teachers Magazine and some of their books and it is my personal opinion that they are as clean as "a hound's tooth". I do not wish, however, to rely upon my own judgment, having never met these persons and I would appreciate it if you would advise me whether they are considered by your department to be responsible American citizens, unconnected, at this time, with any communist leanings.

This is a personal request by a private individual for my own satisfaction and not information sought by any Parent-Teacher group or organization.

Thanking you and with kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

J. Walter Owens

JWO/wmr

MCT-12 / 00 - 114575-132

EX-112 REG-38

127 MAR 11 1963

CORRESPONDENCE
F13

TELEPHONE
Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 1-11-63

FROM : D. C. Morrell *gem*

b6
b7C

SUBJECT:

ATLANTA 18, GEORGIA

Tolson ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
DeLoach ☒
Evans ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

PURPOSE:

To recommend handling of correspondence received from captioned individuals.

BACKGROUND:

By mail postmarked 1-4-63, captioned individuals, [redacted] the Americanism Committee of the Waldo Slaton Post Number 140 of The American Legion, forwarded thermofax copies of their letter to the Foreign Policy Association (FPA); FPA letter to them; a letter from former Assistant to the Director Louis B. Nichols to the FPA; a notarized statement of Mr. Louis B. Nichols on behalf of Dr. Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet; a review by Herbert Philbrick, 11-1-58; "Time" magazine photostat 12-21-53; "Time" magazine photostat 1-18-54 and a column by George E. Sokolsky from the "Journal American," 8-12-59. Noted for the Director on the copy of their letter to the FPA was the comment, "We consider Mr. Louis Nichols' viewpoint to be less than objective since he is co-author of the Overstreet's book," ("What We Must Know About Communism").

ENCLOSURE

The problem represented in this matter stems from correspondents' apparent attack on the Overstreets as published in a booklet, "The Truth About the Foreign Policy Association." This booklet was published after the material therein was presented to the Fulton County, Georgia, Grand Jury in 1960 which recommended that the FPA be investigated by a national or Federal agency. As a result, "Great Decisions," (discussions of the FPA) were removed from Atlanta public schools.

BUFILES:

Several times in the past, the correspondents have brought to our attention the fact that FBI policy is not to evaluate, recommend or "clear" any

ENCLOSURE

DTP:ncr (2)

11 JUL 1963

CORRESPONDENCE
PERS. REC. UNIT

Morrell to DeLoach memo

RE: [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

organization, publication or individual. They have pointed out that through misquotes or by intention some individuals have furnished the public the impression the FBI has "cleared" groups such as the FPA which has never been investigated by the Bureau and which utilizes the services of [REDACTED] and others described as procommunist, pro-Soviet. Also, it is to be noted that correspondents' American Legion Post has had as a speaker Mr. Lee Pennington, described on their program as the Director of the American Security Council and former Assistant Director of the FBI.

CURRENT PROBLEM:

The FPA, meanwhile, has replied to them utilizing a sworn statement of L. B. Nichols in which statement he is fully identified as a former Assistant to the Director, and who has never seen anything reflecting unfavorably upon the loyalty of the Overstreets. In addition, Nichols' statement conveys the impression that he assisted greatly in the research for the Overstreets' book. Nichols said his sources of information were all those available in the Executive Branch of the Government as well as the Congressional Investigating Committees. Thus, this American Legion Post in Atlanta, graced with a former FBI official, is at odds with the Foreign Policy Association over the Overstreets, who have been backed by another former FBI official.

OBSERVATIONS:

A delicate, potentially embarrassing situation for the Bureau and past officials of the Bureau has occurred.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That no correspondence be sent to any of the above-mentioned individuals at this time.
2. That this matter be reviewed by the Domestic Intelligence Division for possible further action.

gmc

gm
12

V

RM

DeLoach
11/14

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: January 22, 1963

FROM : R. W. Smith *RS*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CLSUBJECT:

ATLANTA 18, GEORGIA

b6
b7c

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

Attached correspondence and memorandum from Morrell to Mr. DeLoach were referred to Domestic Intelligence Division for review and concerns controversy former Assistant to the Director Louis B. Nichols has become involved in with captioned individuals over loyalty of Dr. Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet. As noted in attached memorandum, this is a situation potentially embarrassing to the Bureau. The Director approved the recommendation that no correspondence be sent to any of the individuals involved in the controversy, as well as the recommendation that the matter be reviewed for possible further action by the Domestic Intelligence Division.

In the affidavit which he executed attesting to the loyalty and patriotism of the Overstreets, Mr. Nichols clearly exceeded the scope of his prerogative as a former official of the Bureau in revealing information that became known to him in an official capacity as a Bureau official. It is a breach which captioned individuals may make much of, if they so choose, to embarrass both Nichols and the Bureau. At the same time, it is clearly a technicality which would involve nothing more than the nuisance value it would represent to them.

It is difficult to conceive of Mr. Nichols, with his experience and knowledge of matters such as this, blundering in such an amateurish way. With his background, he should have known the futility of becoming involved in such a matter. Above all, he should have known that a signed statement of the type he furnished, including and playing up as it did his former association with the Bureau, would tend to involve and embarrass the Bureau. We will be fortunate if we are not dragged deeper into this mess and it is felt that anything we might do at this point would only increase that possibility.

ENCLOSURE RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

Enclosures

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 - Mr. Belmont | 1 - Mr. H. L. Edwards |
| 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr | 1 - Mr. D. C. Morrell |
| 1 - Mr. DeLoach | 1 - Mr. Sullivan |

1 - Section tickler

CDB/aab

51 JUL 16 1963

CORRESPONDENCE
PERS. REC. UNIT

ORIGINAL FILED IN 61-762-207

March 22, 1963

REC-45
EX-118
100-114575-133
Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

Your letter of March 19th has been received,
and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in arranging to have
Mr. Chu's book sent to me. Your comments on the book are
interesting, and I am looking forward to reading it.

Sincerely yours,

L. Edgar Hoover

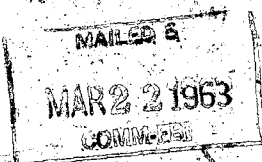
NOTE: Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet are well-known to representatives of
the Bureau. We have rendered assistance to them in preparation of the books
in the past.

JET:lm1

(3)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

REC'D



53 APR 4 1963

MAY 21 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
MAR 22 3 04 PM '63

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
March 19, 1963

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/lsc

Dear Mr. Hoover,

43

We are asking our publisher, the Norton Company, to send you an advanced copy of a book on Red China which will come out in April. The author, Valentin Chu, is a refugee journalist, now on the China desk of Time. He uses as his title the phrase in which Mao sums up the tactics of guerrilla warfare: TA TA, TAN TAN (Talk Talk, Fight Fight). Having followed the book in the course of its preparation, and having read it now in galley proof, we are profoundly convinced of its importance. Nothing else that we have read has given us so vivid a sense of the terrible impact of the Communist system upon both the people of China and the "good earth."

We first met Valentin Chu, at our own request, some four or five years ago -- after reading and being impressed by an article that he published in The New Leader. Later, we had some time with him and his wife in Hong Kong. Because he is able to read and speak the language of South China, while his wife can read and speak also that of the North, they have been able to keep in touch with people and materials in a quite unique way -- so that his book gives no feeling that his intimate knowledge of events stopped at the moment of his own escape from Red China.

In any case, we were convinced from our time of meeting him that he must write a book; so we began prodding -- and are most happy about the outcome. We hope that you too may feel that the book is a valuable addition to the free world's library.

With all good wishes from both of us,

EX-118

Sincerely,

REC-45

100-114575-

Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

17 MAR 20 1963

REC-10

100-114575-134

April 26, 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

EX-120

[Redacted]

The Sunday School Board
of the Southern Baptist Convention
127 Ninth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear [Redacted]

I have received your letter of April 22nd,
with enclosure. Although I would like to be of assistance,
the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the FBI, which is
strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government,
do not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments
concerning the character or integrity of any individual,
publication or organization.

I am enclosing some material I hope you
find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 20
APR 26 1963
COMM-FBI

REC'D
FBI
MAY 1 1963

Enclosures (5)

See encls. and NOTE next page

JET:pjt
(3)

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

MAY 3 1963

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

APR 26 3 46 PM '63
FBI
READING ROOM

63
30
33

[Handwritten signatures and initials: JET, JPM, R...]

b6
b7C

Enclosures
An American's Challenge
Deadly Duel
Why Reds Make Friends with Businessmen
Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality
One Nation's Response To Communism

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.
The enclosure in correspondent's letter is a booklet entitled
"What We Must Know About Overstreet" by Edward Janisch.
It is very critical of Professor Harry Overstreet and
contains numerous examples of apparently contradictory
statements from his books.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD

of the Southern Baptist Convention

127 NINTH AVENUE, NQRTH • NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

JAMES L. SULLIVAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER

EDUCATION DIVISION, TRAINING UNION DEPARTMENT
LE ROY FORD, EDITOR OF ADULT LESSON COURSES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/KSL

April 22, 1963

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Justice Department
Washington 25, D. C.

Harry Allen Overstreet

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Recently two of our periodicals recommended for further study the book What We Must Know About Communism by Overstreet. It was included because the writer and editor both felt it to be a valuable book.

Several readers responded by sending the attached pamphlet. We are planning to recommend the book again for a two-month unit this fall.

May I have your reaction to the pamphlet?

Sincerely,



Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

EX-120

REC-10

100-114595-134

30

APR 24 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

CONVENTION PRESS



BROADMAN PRESS



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-96 BY SP8BTJ/CSC

ENCLOSURE

100-44515 134

What We Must Know About

OVERSTREET

by

~~X~~
EDWARD JANISCH

U.S.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP-8 BTJ/OL

ABOUT THIS ARTICLE

These reprints of *What We Must Know About Overstreet*, by Edward Janisch, will be sent postpaid to any address in the United States, at the following prices:

In Quantities of	10- 99	10¢ each
In Quantities of	100-999	8¢ each
In Quantities of	1,000 or more	7¢ each

This article first appeared in the October, 1959 issue of AMERICAN OPINION, an informal monthly review edited by Robert Welch. The subscription rate to the magazine is five dollars per year, to any address in the United States and Canada; seven dollars to other countries. For either reprints or subscriptions address

AMERICAN OPINION, Belmont 78, Massachusetts

WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT OVERSTREET

by

EDWARD JANISCH

FEW BOOKS ON Communism have been favored with the bright publicity that has surrounded the Overstreets' *What We Must Know About Communism*. The late Mr. Dulles recommended that the President read it. Newspaper and TV pictures followed, showing Eisenhower with the book in his hand. With such high endorsement to help, the book has gone through many printings. Some metropolitan dailies have run it in installments. An inexpensive paperback edition of this "masterful study of Communism" has been prepared for use as a college text. And the ghost of Stalin must be whispering to Khrushchev, "for this, there should be dancing on our side of the street."

I say this because Overstreet, over the years, has lent his name to Communist causes and his pen to a program of softening us to the threat of the conspiracy. His recent book on Communism does not, in my opinion, represent a departure from the general line of his leftist thinking, except for a clever surface attack, on Communism. The book is dynamite for the unsuspecting general reader who may pick it up as a guide to Communism because of the official fanfares of praise he has heard. If what I say sounds alarmist, it is because I intend that it should. What we must know about Overstreet is just as alarming as what we must *really* know about Communism.

Harry Allen Overstreet, retired pro-

fessor and chairman of the philosophy department at City College of New York, and now lecturer and writer on psychology, mental health, adult education, and communism, has fostered in his writings a materialistic outlook that has ranged from orthodox Marxism to cultural relativism. It is Overstreet who fathered the notion of the "mature mind." If you agree with his radical beliefs, you are "mature." If, on the other hand, you are one of those *backward souls* who believes in God, love of country, free enterprise, investigations of Communism, and if you have other similar attitudes respected by the overwhelming majority of Americans, then you are "immature"; and quite possibly, according to Professor Overstreet, you are on the road to mental illness. What I have said is not *my* imagination running wild. It is the core of Overstreet's thinking, made abundantly clear for anyone who will take the trouble to read even a few of his books. Some of them are: *The Enduring Quest* (1931), *A Declaration of Interdependence* (1937), *The Mature Mind* (1949), *The Great Enterprise* (1952); and those books written jointly with his wife, Bonaro Overstreet, *The Mind Alive* (1954), *The Mind Goes Forth* (1956), and the recent, *What We Must Know About Communism* (1958).

All of these books have had wide circulation. But I must caution the prospective reader. Overstreet is as slick and slippery as an Owen Lattimore. His

What We Must Know About Overstreet

writings are one of the little webs which, along with many other webs, the Communists weave together to make up the Big Lie of their total web of deception. He does his work with half-truth, glittering generality, misplaced emphasis, significant omission, and other tricks that mark the prolific popularizer and propaganda hack. The trained reader, however, who is able to find his way through the silver linings into the dark clouds themselves, will soon see that what appear on the surface of Overstreet's writings to be the grandiose schemes of a super-idealist are, in fact, rank examples of leftist propaganda.

II

A SAMPLE OF THIS master of confusion at work might serve as a good introduction to his background. Professor Overstreet writes in *The Mind Alive*, 1954, that he and his wife recently "had occasion . . . to try to clear up, not only for the record but for our own minds, certain tenuous associations one of us had a decade or more ago with several groups that were later shown to be tainted by Communist infiltration . . . we went to Washington and to the office of one individual who . . . was known for his 'toughness toward anything that savored of Communism. We put our problem to him—particularly with regard to one organization which we could only vaguely place but that he told us had been practicing a calculated subversion even at the time when one of us had unsuspectingly signed one of its petitions. He laid the facts before us—and they were striking enough to make us feel abashed . . ."

Here is indeed a touching picture of

injured innocence, painted with tears. But it is highly deceptive. Before I deal with those "tenuous associations," I should like to skim over the social philosophy of poor, unsuspecting, abashed Professor Overstreet.

His *Mature Mind*, 1949, had an unusually profound respect for Karl Marx, whose "piled up proofs" of the abuses of the economic processes "was a job well done." For Overstreet, this was a "triumph of logic," and Marx's "urgent demand that working men stop taking the economic order for granted was a bid for the increased use of the mind." It's unfortunate though, the professor tells us, that the "social regeneration" was to be accomplished by force. What, other than Marx's exhortation to revolution and violence, does Overstreet mean by "urgent demand?"

Karl Marx in his own lifetime would have been delighted to know what an American professor would proclaim in 1949: Our economic system uses fear as a weapon to such an extent that everywhere, men and women are terrified over the prospect of losing their jobs; the system is so bad as to cause a *dominant* fear by ten-year-old American children that their fathers will lose their jobs and end up on the industrial scrapheap. And that's not all. According to Overstreet: "Our strange economy has never been interested in the whole human being, but only in those aspects of his nature from which some monetary profit could be derived." Unsuspecting, "abashed" Overstreet is of the opinion that industry, business and some of the professions have acted as a conspiracy to prevent raising the standard of living, so that they could make bigger profits.

I don't want to belabor the point, but

What We Must Know About Overstreet

one of Overstreet's earlier ideas, penned in 1931, is as good an index of his thinking as any: "Until various sharp-eyed men of a more realistic turn saw through the pleasant sham, it was a prevalent habit to praise the workers as the salt of the earth and quote Scripture to them about the virtue of industry . . . In those days the simple workers, thus bedazzled, would fling up their caps and cheer lustily in honor of their own greatness and glory." Marx put it much more simply: "Religion is the opium of the people." And Lenin, another favorite of Overstreet, used the words, "spiritual gin." When the facts were laid before him, unsuspecting Dr. Overstreet felt "abashed."

III

WITH THIS AS BACKGROUND, it might be well to investigate those "tenuous associations" that Overstreet could only vaguely recall. After all, this man-of-the-mature-mind tells us in 1949, the "thing we can do to make clear the image of maturing is to associate ourselves with groups that promote maturing." He associated himself with the following nine Communist front organizations, stretching from the 1930's to August, 1950:

Member, New York Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, as shown on letterheads dated September, 1939 and December, 1939. Signer of petition, January, 1940; sponsor, according to a leaflet, of a Rally held in April, 1940.

The Daily Worker, August, 1950 reported that Overstreet had signed a statement against denaturalization is-

sued by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. This Committee had been officially listed as *subversive a number of years before Overstreet lent it his support.*

Signed a public statement of the American Committee to Save Refugees. Again, this Committee had been officially declared subversive *before Overstreet gave it his support.*

Professor Overstreet was listed on the letterhead of the Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, February, 1938; also, he was Committee member of the Medical Bureau, American Friends (see their letterhead, November, 1936; *New Masses*, January, 1937).

Member of Descendants of the American Revolution, as shown by the *Daily Worker*, February, 1939. Also named as sponsor on the pamphlet, "Descendants of the American Revolution."

Signed circular for Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Signer, 1943, of message of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to United States House of Representatives. *Again, this front was listed before Overstreet lent it his support.*

Signer of a letter sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee, October, 1944. *Again, this front was listed before Overstreet lent it his support.*

"Children in Concentration Camps" reveals that Professor Overstreet was

a sponsor of the Spanish Relief Campaign.

Surely there is nothing "flimsy" or "slight" — or *tenuous* — about so impressive a background of Communist front associations. And when Overstreet writes "associations of . . . a decade or more ago," he apparently does not mean, by "decade," ten years. What of his claim that several groups "were later shown to be tainted by Communist infiltration?" A quick check of the list will show that American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Committee to Save Refugees, The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, The Schappes Defense Committee — *all of these*, as we have indicated above, *were listed before Dr. Overstreet lent them his services*. Some one is telling tales, and it is not the public record.

In sum, what Overstreet wrote in *The Mind Alive*, 1954, is a calculated mis-statement of the facts; the "associations" were specific, not "tenuous"; the "decade or so ago" omits his more recent activities; and the "later shown to be Communist-tainted" is a bold fairy tale.

Dr. Overstreet fails to mention, in *The Mind Alive*, that six months earlier, on July 21, 1953, he had filed an affidavit with the House Un-American Activities Committee at *his own* request. He did this, he claims in the affidavit, to set the record straight, and because patriotic groups were disturbing his lecture plans in California and Arizona. Possibly the Professor had other reasons for attempting to "purify" himself, but he has not made them public.

His reasoning in the affidavit is well

worth a close examination, and it is just as loaded as the statement on "tenuous associations."

Dr. Overstreet states that he has never been a Communist or a sympathizer with Communist tactics or philosophy, except for a brief hope that the Russian Revolution might lead to democracy in Russia. Also, that he never knowingly helped a movement or organization that had Communist aims. Can it be that this educated man, this professor of philosophy and psychology, this nation-wide lecturer, this "mature" mind, who is mentioned nine times as lending his name to Communist causes, did so *all nine times* without knowing what he was doing? Yes, he tells us, and without blushing.

He tells us that one of the reasons why he made these "mistakes" was because he was "profoundly aware of the rising menace of fascism," but that he was not "in any equal measure aware of communist infiltration." Our *new expert* on Communism adds, that when appeals came to him that sounded humanitarian, he had "little or no suspicion that they might be communist." How much, Professor Overstreet, is a "little?" Further, since his retirement at CCNY, he has led a "nomadic life," lecturing all over the country. Hence, he reacted to these organizations on "cursory" information. A most immature thing for a mature mind to do. Besides, claims Overstreet, as if to clinch his argument, in his writings he has consistently "stated and restated (his) confidence in our American way of life." This should prove that he was not favoring Communism. In this double talk Professor Overstreet could hardly have been referring to his passage on "Our strange economy," which

is a good example of his "confidence" in our way of life.

The specific reasons he offers for lending his name to the Communist fronts include: A number of names on a list were so impressive, he thought this reason enough to sign; a petition sounded convincing; he always tends to contribute to refugee causes; for the Spanish fronts, he had a complete belief and he was "very tardy and reluctant" about changing his mind on these; some strangers came to his hotel room and asked him if he would like to join a group more liberal than the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, and he said yes; he hated Schappes, a fellow teacher, and felt guilty about it, so he signed the petition to make sure he was being fair.

Time won't permit a detailed analysis of all of these tenuous excuses, but I do want to examine his statement on the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Here, he signed a Communist protest against the proceedings of the Dies Committee, and he adds, "I still feel that the House Committee hearings *as they were being conducted at that time* called for protest." Professor Overstreet adds that, "almost up to the present" he had underestimated Communist infiltration; hence, he did not see the need for the Committee.

The reader might get the impression that Overstreet is talking about the 1930's. I shall show shortly that one of the most savage attacks in either English or Russian was made by Overstreet, not only against the Hon. Martin Dies, but against the Committee in general, and "McCarthyism," in 1952! When Overstreet tells us in his affidavit of 1953 that he has now "definitely" changed his mind, he is using

Newspeak or his personality has undergone shock treatment—and I do not think it is the latter.

Professor Overstreet explains that "there may seem to be a discrepancy between my prolonged self-searching . . . and my signing . . . of petitions that I did not investigate at all. I can only say that . . . I was not yet suspicious of Communist infiltration of humanitarian causes." Seem to be? This is more calculated nonsense! These are listed *Communist fronts*, pure and simple, and *not* "humanitarian causes."

For what it's worth, our new expert on Communism ends his 1953 affidavit by stating: "I am no longer in doubt about the Communist threat." To show his good faith, he indicates that he testified before a Senate Committee, where he stated that Communists ought not teach; and, that he is writing a book about the psychological threat Communism poses. And woe to us from that book and the others he has written.

IV

OVERSTREET QUOTED from his own writings to demonstrate to his personal satisfaction that he had never been sympathetic to Communism. I shall use this method to examine his writings from 1949 to the writing of his book on *Communism* in 1958. From an examination of themes from his books, the reader can decide to what purposes Professor Overstreet has been sympathetic.

(1) First, though the order is not important, he *savagely denounces Congressional investigations of Communism*; and, later, he *steadily minimizes their work to nothingness*. Dr. Overstreet in 1952, shortly before he filed his affidavit with the House Un-American Activities Committee, wrote one of the

most vicious attacks on Congressional investigations ever printed. He pictures the Hon. Martin Dies as a malicious reactionary, who has used the cover of a feigned Communist threat to smash liberal ideas, and all ideas. Similarly, Overstreet finds "McCarthyism" a "ruthless" imitation of the techniques of totalitarianism. The professor charges that the House Committee, "far from guarding our nation against subversives," has used the trust of the American people "to subvert certain American freedoms . . . It has been able, in an alarming degree, to terrorize non-conformity into silence." Venom-spewing Overstreet insists that the Committee's practices "had been a favorite method of totalitarianism." The hearings "appear" to be imitating "the mass trials of Communist China (where) thousands of the accused were disposed of by the roar of the 'People's' Court—Kill—Kill—Kill!"

That is what Overstreet wrote in 1952. The discerning reader will not be amazed by the shifts and dodges concocted in *The Mind Alive*, two years later, 1954, where the professor piously tells us that, in 1952, he and his wife sat at a Senate Internal Security Committee Hearing and observed some cynical Communists "actually" using obstructionist tactics. It doesn't take "abashed" Overstreet long to get back to his line. The trouble is, he writes, these Committees were "amateurishly set up," because we are all amateurs to this "age of conspiracy," and, "the type of person to be hunted out and exposed was so vaguely defined that wide latitude was given to ignorance, prejudice, partisan animosity, political ambition, and/or the publicity hunter. Also, because the methods to be used

were so unprecedented, proper safeguards were not provided "against harming the innocent." What is the difference between this double talk and his vicious slander in 1952?

Overstreet next quickly gets rid of the various government listings with a slick discourse on: "What kind of research has preceded the listing? Does it mean . . . ?" And with a host of similar absurd questions, unsuspecting, duped Overstreet demonstrates that listings are subject to error and no answer to the Communist threat. Loyalty oaths go the same way. And he writes that the alternative to government investigations "is an effective inside program for preventing Communist infiltration."

This man who himself claims that he was duped, and who allegedly would not himself read the reports citing the Communist fronts to which he lent his name, is now asking citizens to do *their own* policing and to read about Communism.

His line two years later, in 1956, cautions us against "cynical Communists," and at the same time warns us against "subverting the constitution by using words such as 'Fifth Amendment Communist.'" In 1958 the House Committee is not mentioned, in what purports to be a guide to *what we must know about Communism*, except in *one* sentence, where the Committee is included among an assortment of groups that have said that Negroes are loyal.

Is it necessary to mention that Overstreet stated in his 1953 affidavit to the House Committee that he has "definitely changed his mind," and now recognizes the necessity for the Committee to investigate "undercover subversion" of the Conspiracy "on a full time

basis?" Maybe it is. He changes his supposed views so rapidly, so cleverly, and so boldly that you need a guide to keep up with him.

(2) A second important theme in Professor Overstreet's writings is his systematic *attack on anti-Communists, whom he likens to hate-mongers, fascists, and—especially—personality disorder cases.* The reader will remember that Overstreet stressed in his affidavit, 1953, that he has consistently "stated and restated" his "confidence in our American way of life." Let's look at some more of that "confidence," *à la Overstreet*, in 1949: "Political authoritarianism is now in such full swing," (that) "while a man looks silly kicking a chair, he can,—our political assumptions being what they are—look brave, loyal, and patriotic kicking an enemy who has been officially labelled 'kickable'." The Professor adds that if the man "kicks hard enough . . . he may even be appointed to office or receive a monthly stipend from his government." Freedom is slavery, and Orwell's ghost might well consult Overstreet to get the proper *Newspeak* that equals "confidence" in this age of brave, new experts on Communism.

Dr. Overstreet uses "psychology" as a weapon for his smear attacks on patriots. *Character structure* is a key phrase in his arsenal, and from 1949 on, the professor insists that there is something deficient or defective in the character or personality structure of Americans who are resolute in their fight against Communism.

Thus, in 1952, Overstreet whined that he and his ilk who "saw hope in the Russian Revolution," and who cared about "injustice," were now being hounded by patriots who were skeptical

of his dodges. More often than not, Overstreet claims, these *hounds* were satisfied with "prevailing inhumanities; or were ignorant of them; or were morally indifferent to them . . . They hate communism . . . much as communism hated fascism and Nazism." Sly Overstreet cautions his readers to: "*Beware of the wolves in our midst in anti-Communist clothing.*" All of this "hostility" and "disguised totalitarianism," claims the professor, is a conspiracy, not to root out subversives, but to "smash the liberals." And if you don't know this, you're "a lamb among the wolves. *And what are we among the Overstreets?*"

Dr. Overstreet wages the same psychological warfare in 1954, as he smashes out at the determined efforts of patriots by labelling them "exaggerated expressions of personality problems; as hostility and frustration on the rampage; as deep emotional insecurity venting itself."

The line doesn't change with time. In 1956 he simply has found more "scientific evidence" for his former notions on *authoritarian personalities* and *sick anti-Communists*. By 1958, our new what-have-you-in-Communist-expert-clothing has it that the "majority" of anti-Communists "are still inventing the Communism to which they are opposed: fashioning it out of what they have hated and feared in the American scene." Please note the use of the word "majority"—*Overstreet has not been attacking some lone crank or disgruntled clique.*

(3) The first two themes eliminated Congressional investigations of Communism and the vigilant work of private citizens. The next important theme represents one of Overstreet's *solutions*

to the problem of Communism. Dr. Overstreet would "enlighten" his readers about the *Communist Conspiracy*, but then tell them that "understanding," not tough laws, is the way to deal with it.

The time is 1952, as he asks: "Has the reader had the uncanny experience of being called a Communist because he has expressed a liberal view?" A few of Overstreet's liberal views in that year include his denunciation of security procedures for obtaining passports (the professor must be happy on that score today), and his belief that loyalty oaths are an imitation of "Communist methods" and an infringement on personal rights "so long as (the person) performs no acts that go counter to the laws of the land." They further include such a "liberal view" as that the way to resolve the conflict with Russia is through "contacts with cultures" or that we must achieve "the toleration of certain minimal differences within even the most tyrannical culture, with all such toleration implies in the way of the re-animation of men's minds." *Let's all get re-animated with a certain minimal amount of Communism.*

Overstreet in 1954 alerts us to the "new and startling story we are beginning to learn." "We must do something," to counter this "real and present danger." But contrary to the Court, which used 'real and present' instead of *clear and present danger*, to show that conspiracy to initiate a revolution when the time is ripe is a grave crime, Overstreet orders our common defense as follows: "The program does not invite us to do enough things to the enemy directly and forcibly." Rather, we are supposed to "do things to ourselves" — whatever that double

talk means —that will make us less vulnerable to a "Conspiratorial Communist." Overstreet tells us that a "direct hitting out" at Communism is a "dubious contribution." It's rather strange that Professor Overstreet can use the *real and present danger* language of the Court, and still recommend that we defend ourselves by doing nothing about Communism.

But it's not strange that Overstreet's 1954 "real and present danger" becomes a chapter on "Clear and Present Danger" in 1956. The double talk was no longer necessary by then. The professor now tells us that we must do the opposite of the "extremist" and adopt "the far more exacting and lonely tactics of the moderating mind." This means "respecting the established habits and attitudes, vested interests, traditions, and deep loyalties of the individuals and groups on both sides of a given issue." We ought to invite both sides to think of these issues "as able to be modified." After all, writes Overstreet, the position on a given issue is "partly, rather than absolutely right," and it is a product of "human history rather than 'nature.'" Isn't Dr. Overstreet saying, let's *respect* Communism, and *modify* our stand? After all, we're only partly right, and besides, our belief in natural principles will fall to pieces once we accept the human history concept of Marxism.

(4) The 'we're only partly right' tactic of Overstreet goes back to his *Mature Mind*, 1949, and serves as a key to the next interwoven theme: *Seek understanding and agreement with the Soviet Union*. Despite the Communist gobbling up of Eastern Europe, he tells us not to adopt the "we-are-good-and-you-are-not-so-good" attitude in dealing

with Russia.

In 1952, Dr. Overstreet gives us the startling news that the Soviet Regime has murdered upwards of 3,000,000 peasants (how modest he is with his statistics). But before long he advises us that people are never as bad or as good "as the doctrines they profess." It would be a "great mistake" to believe that "all of the Russian government" is "irrevocably committed in practice to the wholly collectivised man." And I think it would be a fatal mistake to believe Overstreet.

Professor Overstreet's defense program in that year of the Korean war called for "weakening the enemy from within" . . . making his resistance less because he finds less he is called upon to resist . . . we are fighting, "not an immutable doctrine called communism but mutable people who call themselves communists."

Two years later, in 1954, Dr. Overstreet writes approvingly that in Korea "the way to settlement is being sought without either side having won." It is not surprising that he is pleased that we were fighting a war we were not permitted to win. What is needed, Overstreet tells us, is participation in United Nations projects that foster "mutual respect." He isn't, of course, referring to a police action.

And what is our mature mind thinking in 1956? Nuclear developments are such "that the *danger inherent in war* now precludes the *danger of there being a war*." This new tactic of his, throwing a smoke cloud over the Kremlin's clear plan to use military stratagems and pre-emptive wars, depending on the chance of success, should be watched closely. The thing to do in this cold war, which Overstreet *insists*

will not get hot, is to work through the United Nations for "mutual understanding rather than . . . proud stand-pattism." Our "weapons" will be "ideas" and "patterns of human relationships." Overstreet's line doesn't change one bit in *What We Must Know About Communism*, in 1958.

(5) Now that we've got rid of every imaginable program of defense against Communism, and realize that our best defense is "mutual understanding," we might consider briefly the fifth theme from Overstreet which I have selected: *Renunciation of patriotism for world citizenship.*

Harry Allen Overstreet has no room in his heart for singular love of his country. He attacks patriotism as if it were a disease. In 1949 he tells us that "an emotional tie-up" with our own group, so that we think it is more right and reasonable than other groups, makes us "hostile." Dr. Overstreet especially denounces our political institutions for making us "hostile," and for shouting "treason" at those who are trying to build the "supra-ethnic mind."

In 1952, the professor lauds "the mature individual" whose "voice and vote can be enlisted in opposition to the chauvinistic nationalism and in support of the more genuine patriotism of a united mankind." Two years later, it is the same thing, only more so. Now, our "good-will" ought to include even the "enemy"; unlike the "emotionally disturbed individual" who is against the unfamiliar and the foreign, we need the "extraordinary health and faith" of a "sense of the species."

In 1956 Overstreet spells out precisely what he means by "one world." "Why," he asks, "should we lock ourselves up

with our tight walls of national suspicion—glaring at one another—when we might have a far better time of it by talking things over together; getting the hand of one another's problems; lending a hand?" *Lending a hand (tenuously?)*.

This brief picture I've developed — and it is brief in relation to all of the things Overstreet has said and written — represents the background of our new expert on Communism. His past record is enough to alarm even the most forgiving and gentle nature.

But what is truly fantastic, is that Professor Overstreet could take his former leftist notions, plus some deadly new ones, and boldly throw them into a book on Communism that has won the approval of our top policy-makers.

V

ANOTHER GENERATION—if we are still free—may well remember the Overstreets' *What We Must Know About Communism*, as a stupendous attempt that was designed to soften us at the very hour of our crisis. I say this, because the book attempts to make palatable certain notions which would, if accepted by large numbers of Americans, render us helpless in the face of the onslaught of World Communism.

Here is a book on Communism in which not one of J. Edgar Hoover's somber warnings is mentioned—(Overstreet mentions the F.B.I. chief as being opposed to outlawing the Party). Here's a book in which espionage, a major activity and purpose of the Party, gets less than a page of asides. In short, it is a book as conspicuous by what it omits as by what it includes. A brief examination of some of Overstreet's central ideas will show what I mean.

The first stick of dynamite planted by the professor is a "new look" for Khrushchev. The Red boss is a "leader of the Lenin type," who is opposed to a Stalinist cult-of-the-personality dictatorship. Good evidence of this is Premier Khrushchev's February, 1956 speech exposing Stalin. Actually, "Khrushchev adheres consistently and most strictly to the principles of collective leadership and fights energetically for the observance of the Leninist standards of Party life." *Every quotation in this paragraph is taken from the latest official Soviet biography of Khrushchev—and I have used it without fear because it summarizes concisely Professor Overstreet's position, and duplicates much of his language.*

The second phase of this "new look" is to picture "professional" Party-man Khrushchev as a "humane" sort of fellow who is opposed to using terror on a Stalinist scale, unless it is forced on him, as it was in Hungary, where he was protecting a vital interest of the Revolution. Thus, the Overstreets would have us believe that "No one, perhaps, has felt the brunt of Khrushchev's terror more decisively than have the Soviet writers." Hungarians, treated as an aside in this context, would hardly agree with Overstreet's estimate of Khrushchev's terror or its most likely target. They, as do countless millions of others, know him for the savage that he is.

What is the purpose of this "new look," which pictures Khrushchev as a humane, collective-type leader dedicated to Partyism? It is to show us that this "professional" does not want a hot war with us. This is Overstreet's second stick of dynamite.

Khrushchev wants to defeat us

through economic competition, and only in this way, claims Dr. Overstreet. The Russians intend to win, the professor tells us, and this new type of "co-existence" is part of the "permanent revolution." Watch the tricks of propagandist Overstreet:

"It would be sheer folly, however, for us to think that such competition with the Soviet Union can be peaceful. Khrushchev has already made clear that he rates it as a non-shooting phase of the 'permanent revolution' . . ."

Please reread that statement. It is perfect Newspeak: It's folly to think that the competition can be peaceful; but it is non-shooting! Let me complete the quotation to show once more what we are up against with Overstreet.

"... This means that every positive policy we adopt, every creative program we set up for cultural exchange or foreign aid, will be declared by the Soviet Union and all Communist Parties around the world to be a form of imperialism."

We'd like to have Professor Overstreet name for us just one Communist, of his acquaintance or otherwise, who is opposed to "cultural exchange"! No amount of build-up, with words like "positive policy" and "creative program," can alter the fact that "cultural exchange" is a dearly held Communist idea, never denounced. As to foreign aid, just where are the screams from Moscow about our aid to Tito, Gomulka, and Sukarno, among others?

It might be well to have Professor Overstreet sum up this second major notion of his: "Soviet Imperialism . . . is a specific product of the Khrushchev era of 'peaceful competition' and it represents one major aspect of the

USSR's effort to take over the world without the risks involved in open warfare." I could cite a dozen experts who are warning us about Soviet plans for limited war. [*And the very day this is being put in shape for the printer, the Communists are using armed forces in an attempt to take over Laos.* Editor.] The question to be asked is: *Why has Overstreet completely omitted military stratagems and force, the bolshevik standard tactics, as well as subversion and espionage, from his study?*

There are two possible answers. The first is, to soften us by giving us a dream world in which Communist tanks are absent. The second is what I consider to be the third stick of planted dynamite: *A demand that we negotiate and go to the Summit*—and by so doing, also give Khrushchev permanent title to Eastern Europe. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet insist that Khrushchev demands that the West respect the *status quo* in Eastern Europe at any Summit Conference. The Red leader will permit no discussion on the satellite countries, about whom we must forget. And what does our expert on Communism suggest?

"*We believe in negotiations.*" Dr. Overstreet insists that we negotiate "whenever there is hope of achieving even small dependable agreements." And he specifies that we dash off to the Summit.

Professor Overstreet, who knows all about these things, tells us that we must bargain with the Communists. And this *bargaining* "embodies both a respect for what each party has declared indispensable to *separate well-being* and what all parties have agreed on as indispensable to their *common well-being*."

In short, we are to run to the Summit

What We Must Know About Overstreet

after telling Khrushchev we have no more interest in Eastern Europe; and then, at the Summit, we will see what more we can bargain away.

The fourth stick of dynamite—there are more, the ones I've selected are simply more glaring—deals with an old problem of Overstreet's: *Communist control*, (or should I say, "understanding?"). The professor has a huge dialectical discourse on the problem of what to do with "conspiratorial communists," but he resolves it all with a quotation: "Freedom for the wise is so supremely important that it is worth the price of making the silly free, too." We have remembered this comment because it expresses a point of view which most of us Americans profoundly cherish. It is in the spirit of this viewpoint that a great many anti-Communists have opposed all attempts to make any legal distinction between Communists and non-Communists in terms of freedoms to be exercised."

Does the reader know any anti-Communists who consider Communists to be "silly," or who have opposed making laws to protect ourselves? Because we mustn't legislate or investigate or apparently do anything about Communists, the professor tells us, "We as citizens, therefore, must equip ourselves to do *by understanding* what cannot be done *by law*." This is Overstreet's plan of defense.

The book ends with pleas for more "tenderness" and less hostility; for more rights for the "individual"; for "inclusiveness," rather than narrow national-mindedness; and with a plea to halt nuclear tests. Dr. Overstreet — fittingly, we think — quotes Norman Cousins:

"The question is not what policy we should devise that makes sense for America alone but rather what policy makes sense in human terms." Of course the nine hundred million enslaved subjects of the Soviet tyranny do not come within the "human terms" for consideration. Their condition, as simply Soviet cattle without human rights, is a *fait accompli* which has no bearing on American policy to be determined with regard for the whole human race.

VI

THE REPORT OF THE 1958 American Bar Association Special Committee On Communist Tactics, Strategy, And Objectives, listed the following among the major Communist Tactics:

Nullification of the Smith Act and other anti-Communist legislation
The Peace Offensive
Summit Conferences
Cultural Exchanges
Halt Nuclear tests

You will note that Professor Overstreet batted one thousand for the Communist objectives in that list. And you will already have noted that the Overstreets' most distinguished reader, President Eisenhower, has invited the humane and professional Party man, Khrushchev—with some twelve million coldblooded murders in his record — to a summit of the summits. The only surprise left for you is the fact that, in the latest editions of that same Bar Association Committee Report, Professor Overstreet's book appears in the bibliography as suggested reading. As the little boy said, when he heard the clock strike fourteen, "it's later than it has ever been before."

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AMERICANISM COMMITTEE

WALDO M. SLATON POST NO. 140

The American Legion

3905 POWERS FERRY ROAD, N. W.

ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

August 28, 1963

PUT NON
GUARD TO

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

The enclosed correspondence with Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet is self-explanatory. However, I call your attention to the fact that she wishes this Post to publish a letter that you wrote to the Adult Leadership magazine which appeared, along with one of Norman Cousins'.

Mrs. Overstreet feels, I think, that your letter embraces more of her educational doctrine than I do. I think that it is likely that you agree with her as to the effectiveness of the educational process in general without intending to endorse, or even condone the specific socio-political, economic viewpoint (socialist-pacifist-world federalist) which along with radical religious views (anti-pietism, overtones of Brock Chisholm's militant atheism, an explicit war on "salvational" religion) constitute the educational program of Harry Overstreet, and to a less overt degree but not less pervasively the program of his wife Bonaro.

For the reason that the "mental health" cult, with its political and religious tests for sanity, is being promoted so aggressively by the Overstreets, this Post is reluctant to publish a letter of yours that was published years ago, at the request of Mrs. Overstreet. We do not wish to be unfair to these people. Neither do we wish to be the vehicle by which they exploit a letter of yours, written so long ago, which will have the effect of seeming to give their current educational theories the blessing of the most respected man in America.

We shall not publish this letter, therefore, without your specific permission.

Yours very respectfully,

J.B. Welden

Americanism Committee Chairman
Immediate Past Commander

B-12

Enc.

100-114575
NOT RECORDED
199 SEP 11 1963

62 SEP 23 1963

CORRESPONDENT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 9/3/63

FROM : D. C. Morrell *DCM/jm*

SUBJECT: J. B. WELDEN
 AMERICANISM COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
 WALDO M. SLATON POST NUMBER 140
 THE AMERICAN LEGION
 3905 POWERS FERRY ROAD, NORTHWEST
 ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Casper ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☒
 Gale ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holmes ☒
 Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

b6
 b7C

Captioned individual wrote August 28th and enclosed copies of some of his correspondence to and from Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet. He also sent a copy of a page from "Adult Leadership" Magazine containing a letter from the Director printed in 1957 commending an issue devoted entirely to an article captioned "The Adult Educator and the World Communist" written by Mrs. Overstreet. This American Legion Post has been active in attacking the Foreign Policy Association and in one of the articles it has published, Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet were attacked. The correspondence indicates a severe controversy and Mrs. Overstreet has demanded that the Director's letter written in 1957 be published, that an affidavit written by former Assistant to the Director Louis B. Nichols be published as well as other material she names favorable to the Overstreets.

You will recall that this controversy has come to our attention in the past and that there have been other efforts by both sides to inject the Bureau into it. We have received other correspondence along the same line from Welden and from [redacted] who apparently have done the research on the Foreign Policy Association for the Legion Post. It is pointed out that some of the correspondence sent in Welden's name and apparently signed by him is similar in content and form to correspondence sent by [redacted]

You will further recall that former Assistant to the Director Nichols has permitted himself to become injected into this controversy over loyalty to the Overstreets and has executed a paper attesting to the loyalty and patriotism of the Overstreets. This paper indicates his prior association with the Bureau and seems to exceed the scope of his prerogative as a former Bureau official. Regardless of which side the Bureau might support, only embarrassment would result and in the past we have been careful to avoid injecting the Bureau into this in any manner whatsoever.

- 1 - Mr. Tolson - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Belmont - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

JH:cal (6) *cal*
 62 SEP 23 1963

232

100-114575
 NOT RECORDED
 99 SEP 11 1963

12 SEP 11 1963

94-1-9347-30
 ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach
Re: J. B. Welden

The letter printed in 1957 in "Adult Leadership" was approved on the basis of a memorandum dated 7/8/57 from Mr. Nichols to Mr. Tolson. This memorandum pointed out the favorable remarks in the article concerning the FBI and stated that the article was excellent. The memorandum further stated that "The idea for this article started approximately a year ago when the Overstreets had dinner with us one evening." In addition to the letter sent to "Adult Leadership" a letter was also sent to Mrs. Overstreet dated 7/9/57 commenting favorably on her article and enclosing a copy of the letter sent to the magazine.

OBSERVATION:

The letter sent by the Director is a matter of public record. It was most complimentary of this specific article but certainly did not endorse all possible activity and writings of the Overstreets. Correspondent points out that it was published several years ago and while it might indicate the Director's agreement in general with Mrs. Overstreet's comments on the educational process, he feels it did not endorse or even condone her specific views. He stated that he would not publish the letter again, as requested by Mrs. Overstreet, without the Director's specific permission.

As indicated above, we have been careful to stay out of this controversy and information sent to us by various individuals has not been acknowledged. It is not believed that the Director should go on record at this point either authorizing or denying permission to reprint this old, out-of-date letter. Since it will not be printed without specific permission, failure to reply will be sufficient to prevent this Post from reprinting it.

RECOMMENDATION:

That no acknowledgment be made.

V *I concur.* *H. J. [unclear]* *DeLoach* *GR*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☐
Casper ☐
Callahan ☐
Conrad ☐
DeLoach ☒
Evans ☐
Gale ☐
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☐
Trotter ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Holmes ☐
Gandy ☐

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

DATE: January 15, 1964
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
1 - Mr. D.E. Moore

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8RTJ/CAL

Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet are, of course, well known to the FBI. Mr. L. B. Nichols, when he was Assistant to the Director, developed these people as supporters of the Bureau. Since that time they have manifested their friendliness in different ways.

The Overstreets have gotten in touch with me to advise that they are writing a new book which they expect will be published the first part of the summer. Their last three books have dealt exclusively with world communism. The present one will deal in the main with extremist groups in the United States, such as Max Lowman of the Circuit Riders in Cincinnati, the John Birch Society, et cetera. They will not treat any of what they regard as the ultraconservative groups which have a basic right to propound ultraconservatism. For example, they consider Senator Barry Goldwater to be a respected conservative. They advise me that they disapprove strongly of writers who have attempted to place such people as Senator Goldwater into the same category as extremists. They will try to separate the one from the other and concentrate only on those who are maligning people's characters and dealing in falsehoods.

The Overstreets showed me a few chapters of their proposed book. Different references and quotations were attributed to the Director, all of which were accurate and very favorable. They also, in reading John Birch Society literature, came across an attack that was delivered against a lecture I gave before the Freedom Academy in Utah last August by the John Birch Society. On looking over this material I did not think it well that any extensive quotations be attributed to Bureau representatives and the Director. I took the liberty of suggesting to the Overstreets to leave out some of the material so attributed. They have access, of course, to different speeches and articles by the Director and recently followed with considerable interest his comments delivered before the Hebrew Congregation in Washington and reported in the daily press. They were agreeable to leaving out the material I suggested and reducing greatly the references to the FBI. They did want, however, to use a few of the quotations as reported in the press, etc.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

WCS:djw
(6)

REC-16

100-114525-435

JAN 23 1964

CRIME RECORDS



AMERICANISM COMMITTEE

WALDO M. SLATON POST NO. 140

The American Legion

3905 POWERS FERRY ROAD, N.W.

ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

September 3, 1963

PUT NONE BUT
GUARD TONIGHT
GEC

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In re: Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

As a supplement to the letter that I wrote you on August 28, 1963, concerning Mrs. Overstreet's request that we publish a letter of yours which was written some years ago, I am enclosing the following pertinent materials:

1. Photocopy of p. 223 from Harry Overstreet's Influencing Human Behavior, showing the purpose to which he suggested that the educational process be put.
2. Human Events, December 15, 1958, quoting from Harry Overstreet's The Great Enterprise showing his political and religious tests for sanity, "mental health" style.
3. Photocopy of Bonaro Overstreet's Bibliography, pp. 238, 239, 240, for her Understanding Fear in Ourselves and Others, which she describes on p. 237 as "representative of the ins materials now happily available to us out of which the next age of man can be shaped... Among the works of other Communist-fronters she lists Owen Lattimore's Ordeal by Slander and Carey McWilliams' Prejudice.
4. Photo-offset of pages from Senate Report #2050, 1952 (Hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations) showing the official findings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations and Owen Lattimore.
5. Tear sheet from this Post's The Truth about the Foreign Policy Association in which is reproduced the H.C.U.A.'s Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace page showing Carey McWilliams listed among the eight sponsors of the conference who have been affiliated with from 41 to 50 Communist-front organizations.
6. Photocopy of p. 94 of Senate Document #117, 1956, showing Carey McWilliams on "List of most typical sponsors of front organizations."
7. Photocopy of p. 15 and identifying cover of 1944-46 Biennial Report of the Institute of Pacific Relations, showing Carey McWilliams' Prejudice listed in a group of "studies" which were sponsored by the American Council of the I.P.R. 1944-46.

With every good wish, I am,

NOT RECORDED
199 SEP 11 1963

Respectfully yours,

J.B. Welden, Chairman
Immediate Past Commander

Waldach
re: memo
9/3/63
B-12
56 SEP 1963
ENCLOSURE
167

10 SEP 9 1963

DEPENDENCY

ORIGINAL FILED IN 92-119347-1

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

EX-115

REC-44

February 20, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/LCL

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
1303 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I have received your letter of February 20th
requesting a copy of "God or Chaos?"

Our supply of this article was exhausted a
long time ago and it has not been distributed by the FBI for
a number of years. However, since you desire to know the
exact context of my statement, we have made a copy which
is enclosed for your information.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 5

FEB 28 1964

COMM-FBI

Enclosure

[REDACTED] with Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet. We are also well acquainted with
Edgar C. Bundy, a professional anticommunist with whom we have absolutely
no dealings. We are aware that in 1961 he circulated a "Special Report to
all Church League Supporters" attacking Louis Cassels who has written
articles suggesting that the communist influence in religion is not as great
as some of the right wing extremists have claimed. In this paper, Bundy
attacked Assistant Director Sullivan. He quoted from "God or Chaos?" which
appeared in "Redbook Magazine" in 1949. His quotation is the third paragraph
on page 7 of this article beginning, "Many Communist fronts..." and ended with
the next to last sentence in the paragraph. Bundy added emphasis to the first
word Many and to the words --in the churches --in the second sentence.
Although we have not distributed this article for a long time, a copy is being
sent to the Overstreets so they will be able to see the entire article and the
manner in which this quotation was taken out of context.

JH:bal (3)

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FBI

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UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 1045401

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

February 20, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

Is any copy available, at this late date, of an article of yours that appeared in Redbook Magazine in February 1949, under the title "God or Chaos?" If the supply has not been exhausted, we would greatly appreciate receiving a copy.

We have been reading -- with considerable distress of mind, I must confess -- a Special Report to All Church League Supporters, authored by Edgar C. Bundy. He quotes from this article of yours a paragraph that we would like to see in its full context. We would also like to be able to check on whether the italics in it are yours or his; for they do not seem, somehow, like ones that you would have put in. If we saw the paragraph in its context, however, we might discover that you had a reason for the italics.

In any event, when we compare the paragraph with, for example, your article in the Christian Herald of January 1962 -- "Let's Fight Communism Sanely!" -- we feel that the difference in emphasis probably reflects a difference in the time-settings of the two pieces. In any case, we do need to be able to compare one whole with another whole, and not just a paragraph with a whole. Hence, this request.

With cordial best wishes from both of us,

Sincerely,

Bonaro W. Overstreet
Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

EX-115

REC-44

100-114575-136

MAR 2 1964

NO RESPONSE

July 14, 1964

REC- 94

100-114575-137

b6
b7C

[redacted]
[redacted]
Shaker Heights
Cleveland 20, Ohio

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/HMS

Dear [redacted]

5-21-86 SP8BTJ/COL

#243,448

I have received your letter of July 5th, with enclosures, and I want to thank you for your kind remarks concerning my administration of the FBI.

It was good of you to make this material available to me. While I would like to be of service to you, it has been my policy over the years to refrain from evaluating the efforts or programs of any individual or group designed to fight the communist threat. For this reason, I am sure you will understand why it is not possible for me to comment in the manner you requested.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 19

JUL 14 1964

COMM-FBI

1 - Cleveland - Enclosures (2)

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles. The enclosures to correspondent's letter were a form letter concerning the communist threat in this country requesting the recipient to read "What We Must Know About Communism" by Dr. Harry Allen Overstreet and his wife, Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet, and a copy of this book. We have had cordial relations with Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet and have furnished them considerable assistance in connection with books they have written.

RR:cal

(4) cal

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

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56 JUL 22 1964

Handwritten signatures and initials

Handwritten signature

Handwritten initials

TRUE COPY

July 5, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/TJH

Dear Mr. Hoover,

5-21-96 SP8 BTJ/TJH

I would appreciate a reply as soon as possible, advising me on the judgment and effectiveness of my enclosed effort, to be sent to all administrators of our government.

I feel compelled to make known the frustrating position of the well-meaning, God loving, loyal, appreciative individual American today. We are caught in a sea of confusion and ignorance, created by the heavy battery of intellectuals to confuse, discredit, shame and silence the individual. The enemy is hidden behind the masses and has the power of communication to silence most protests.

In my own effort to speak the truth as I see it, I have been suspected of being a "John Bircher," laughed at as ridiculous and out of step with progress. Well educated people who like to consider themselves "progressive and liberal" scoff at any possibility of Socialism's relationship to Communism. They speak of the ideal dream of "One World; One Government" in the not too distant future. The clergy speaks of this openly. When I warn that total rule means totalitarian rule, I am ridiculed.

I am most appreciative of your tireless and brilliant efforts to educate America thru your articles and books. Now I feel it is up to the individual American to think and do what he deems necessary under law, to show that the great spirit that produced America is not apathetic and dying. There are Americans of all races who live our way of life and want to preserve it, but don't know how, the opposition is becoming so powerful.

I am becoming afraid to speak for fear of castigation and loss of effectiveness. I would appreciate your comments on my enclosed effort to reach our administrators. It involves time and expense I am grateful to be free to give, but I would feel grieved to have it end in a waste basket.

ENCLOSURE

I will always feel sincerely indebted to you as a Great American.

REC-94 100-114575-137

b6
b7C

1-TC 7/13/64

ack 7/14/64

RR: smd/val

mm

(20)

Shaker Heights, Ohio

3 JUL 15 1964

July 5, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Mr. Tolson
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/COL

I would appreciate a reply as soon as possible, advising me on the judgment and effectiveness of my enclosed effort, to be sent to all administrators of our government.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 4/22/85 BY SP8 BTJ/COL

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G-RR

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I will always feel sincerely indebted to you as a Great American.

b6
b7c

(50)
Shaker Heights, Ohio

From [REDACTED]
Shaker Hts. Co. Ohio
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

TRUE COPY OF FORM LETTER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

June 22nd, 1964

Dear Sir,

DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/DAF
5-21-86 SP-8 BTJ/DAF #243,468

Today's Supreme Court decision to supply Communists with passports, climaxes a series of decisions favoring Communists' rights, and alarms me, speaking as an individual American.

Individual Americans are unarmed and unprotected today. We are being battered about, accused of immorality, called fascists if we question internal subversive activities, crack-pots if we suggest public education on Communism and old-fashioned Federalists, if we show patriotism. Our homes are no longer secure and our way of life is vanishing gradually, surely and undefended.

If the people we elect to office are only half-informed and the citizens are slightly informed and the intellectuals who now dominate our government and communications are "so alienated from the going order of things, that we are left without spokesmen for our theories and institutions," we soon will be buried. The public ignorance about how Communism works is the government's fault. J. Edgar Hoover has warned us thru his books, but the underprivileged and many overprivileged do not read them. For two years I have tried to interest our news media in reprinting this easily understandable, comprehensive book, newspapers across the country printed in 1958, as a public service. I am told there is no need for this study because Communism is not a problem.

For the first time in my life, I am afraid to express my views and I do not know what to do to help this wonderful country I am so indebted to. Under the cover of our Civil Rights Moral struggle, our country is dividing, our defenses are weakening and Communism is gaining ground thru target groups.

I have decided to go to the effort and expense, "to invite," as Roscoe Drummond, of the New York Herald Tribune, says as a foreword in this find book, "every senator, congressman and the highest policy making officials of the Administration, to read or re-read this book. It deals with more than what we must know about Communism. It deals with what we must do about Communism in our minds, in our nation and in our world."

I am not writing you as a member of any organization, but the United States of America. If the individual voice still counts, I ask you to please read this book. I am sending this same letter to and book to President Johnson, tho I doubt he will receive it, or read it.

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-137

Any action on your part, if you consider the book of national value, will be humbly appreciated.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio

b6
b7C

P.S.

To substantiate the above, I quote from Eric Hoffer's book, "Ordeal of Change"--published by Harper & Row - N. Y.

"The baffling response we hear does not originate in the people we try to help but in a group of self-appointed spokesmen and mediators who stand between us and the mass of people. This group is made up of university teachers and students, writers, artists and intellectuals in general. It is these articulate people who are the source of the rabid anti-Americanism which has been manifesting itself in many countries since the end of the Second World War. It is not the quality of our policies which offends them but our very existence. The intellectuals every where see America as a threat. Their petulant faultfindings is the expression of an almost instinctive fear, and it is of vital importance that we should understand the nature of that fear.

There is no doubt that the intellectual has come into his own in the Communist world. In a Communist country writers, artists, scientists, professors, and intellectuals in general are near the top of the social ladder. They are the ideal of the rising generation." end of quote.

I say, the people who love and work for America are caught between the far left on one side and the far right on the other side with the intellectual force on top of us, squelching our protests with castigatums and ridicule, aligning us with the stigma of either side because in truth, patriotism is fervent and emotional and in parts does resemble the patriotic cloak used by both sides to hide other motives.

[Redacted Signature]

Jul 22nd, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

Dear Sir,

1-TC
emo 7/13/64

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED #243,468
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8 BTJ/DH

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b6
b7c

Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio

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I say, the people who love and work for America are caught between the far left on one side and the far right on the other side with the intellectual force on top of us, squelching our protests with castigations and ridicule, aligning us with the stigma of either side because in truth, patriotism is fervent and emotional and in parts does resemble the patriotic cloak used by both sides to hide other motives.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY SP-8BTJ/bHF

#243,468

5-21-86 SP8BTJ/COL

ENCLOSURE

100-114575 137

NOTICE

DOCUMENT CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

BOOK



POCKET
BOOK

7000

HARRY and BONARO
OVERSTREET

WHAT WE ITS BEGINNINGS, MUST KNOW

"...The most mature, perceptive,
clearheaded, radiantly illumi-
nating work on this subject I
can imagine."

— ROSCOE DRUMMOND
New York Herald Tribune

ITS GROWTH, ABOUT

ITS PRESENT STATUS

COMMUNISM

THE
COMPLETE
BOOK

HARRY and BONARO OVERSTREET



**WHAT WE
MUST KNOW
ABOUT
COMMUNISM**



A POCKET BOOK EDITION published by
POCKET BOOKS, INC. • NEW YORK

WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM

W. W. Norton edition published October, 1958

A *Pocket Book* edition

1st printing.....February, 1960

5th printing.....January, 1964



This *Pocket Book*** edition includes every word contained in the original, higher-priced edition. It is printed from brand-new plates made from completely reset, clear, easy-to-read type. *Pocket Book* editions are published by Pocket Books, Inc., and are printed and distributed in the U.S.A. by Affiliated Publishers, a division of Pocket Books, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N.Y.

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Printed in the U.S.A.

**The best-selling book
that tells
what YOU must know
about Communism**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/85 BY

- ★ How it started
- ★ What it really means
- ★ Where it is headed

The Overstreets have addressed this book to you and every other intelligent citizen. They have looked at Communism as it affects your life and have seen it as a force so powerful that no one can risk only half-understanding it.

Here, in language that is easy to comprehend, the authors explain how Communism works in Russia, the United States and other parts of the world. They tell what the true aims of the Soviet are and how the Communists are trying to accomplish these objectives.

The subject of Communism can no longer be left to the specialists in government. It creates problems which must be faced by you and every individual who believes in freedom. This is the book that presents the facts of Communism that each of us must understand and live with.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : *6/18*

Mr. A. H. Belmont *also*

DATE: June 19, 1964

FROM :

W. C. Sullivan *WC8 6-7/28/64*

SUBJECT:

NEW BOOK BY HARRY AND
BONARO OVERSTREET
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

On the above date, Mrs. Overstreet furnished me the enclosed excerpts from a new book which she and her husband are writing and which will deal with ultra-right spokesmen in the United States. She made these excerpts available because mention is made of the FBI.

The portion dealing with Edgar Bundy cites Bundy as claiming that only the FBI has a more complete file on subversives than his Church League of America (p. 5) and the Director as stating that communists are infiltrating religious groups (p. 12). Don Whitehead's book, The FBI Story is also mentioned (page 16).

Chapter IX, which deals with Dan Smoot, sets forth that he joined the FBI after he had been rejected by the U.S. Army because of color blindness (p. 3). The Overstreets discuss the Bureau's jurisdiction in the field of civil rights (pp. 6-10) and, in this connection, recommend an article in the October, 1962 Law Enforcement Bulletin and the Director's article in the August, 1963 issue of Yale Political (p. 7). The facts set forth by the Overstreets regarding the Bureau's investigation of the shooting of Medgar Evers in Mississippi and the bombing of a Negro church in Gillett, ~~Arkansas~~ are accurate. The Bureau conducted no investigation into the other cases cited because there was no indication of a violation of any Federal law.

The activities of both Bundy and Smoot are well known to the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this memorandum be forwarded to the Crime Records Section for its information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Section tickler

- 1 - Mr. Garner
- 1 - Mr. Condon

JFC:bb 66
(7)

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

EX-102

REC-52

100-114575-138

JUL 29 1964

AUG 4 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/cal

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ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-82 BY SP8BJT/CS THE DAN SMOOT REPORT

CHAPTER IX

Dan Smoot has a nationwide following; but unlike Welch, he does not head up a membership body. His Report takes the double form of a weekly publication and a "weekly news-analysis broadcast" which, he indicates, is for sale "to business firms, for use on radio and television as an advertising vehicle." His followers are those who rely on the Report, in one form or the other, as a guide to what they should think and feel about people and events. His materials are likewise widely recommended by various Radical Rightist leaders.

In our Introduction, we told of a friend's tossing into the wastebasket, unread, a copy of Dan Smoot Speaks. This publication first appeared in July 1955. When it was some eight months old, Smoot himself realized that the name sounded, in his own words, "frightfully pompous;" and he changed it to The Dan Smoot Report. He calls this outlet for his opinions a "weekly magazine." It is composed of two unbound sheets so folded together as to make eight pages of print in each issue.

Since the spring of 1957, the "weekly news-analysis broadcast" has been sponsored by D.B. Lewis, of Los Angeles, a manufacturer of dog and cat foods who, according to Smoot, believes

that "approximately 80% of everything the federal government is presently doing" is unconstitutional." 1. He does not say

1. The Dan Smoot Report, Special Anniversary Issue, June 1961, p. 8

how this estimate compares with his own; but his views on public issues, as well as his warm admiration for his sponsor, would suggest that the two men, generally speaking, see eye to eye.

Also, from a business angle, they both appear well satisfied with their relationship. Lewis made plain his own feeling on this score in an interview with Fletcher Knebel, of Look.

"We've sponsored everything from Hopalong Cassidy to Tarzan," he said, "but Dan is far and away the best seller." 2.

2. Fletcher Knebel, "Rightist Revival: Who's On the Far Right;" Reprint from Look, March 13, 1962.

Two items appear regularly enough in the published Report, in addition to its weekly quota of opinion-material and "news-analysis," that we can use them as guides to Smoot's personal history and to the feeling he has about his own work. One of these, about a third of a page in length, is entitled Who Is Dan Smoot? We find this in all the issues we have on hand except a Special Anniversary issue, dated June 1961, which is devoted wholly to The Dan Smoot Story. The second recurrent item, is a section headed What You Can Do.

From the biographical item and the longer Story, we learn that Smoot was born in Missouri, in 1913, and "reared in Texas." He got his BA and MA degrees at Southern Methodist University, and, in 1941, went on to Harvard to work for his doctorate. The war changed his plans. Rejected by the Army for red-green color blindness, he went into the FBI and remained in it until 1951, when he resigned to take on the radio program called Facts Forum, sponsored by D.L.Hunt, of Dallas.

During his years with the Forum, he "spoke to a national audience, giving both sides of controversial issues;" and he received, according to the Anniversary Report, "well over a hundred thousand letters, most of them from people who liked the nationalistic, pro-American, anti-Communist, anti-socialist, anti-big-government side of (his) broadcast." In 1955, he resigned from Facts Forum to start his own "free enterprise" publication, "to give only one side -- the side that uses old-fashioned American Constitutional principles as a yardstick for measuring all important issues."

This brings us to What You Can Do. "Washington officialdom," this recurrent item declares, "uses your taxes for programs that are creating vast cesspools of waste and corruption -- and dragging our Republic into the quicksands of socialism. . .

"If The Dan Smoot Report was instrumental in bringing you to the point of asking what you can do about saving the country

from mushrooming big government, here is a checklist for you: Have you urged others to subscribe to the Report? Have you sent them reprints of a particular issue of the Report? Have you shown them a Dan Smoot film? Have you ever suggested a Bound Volume of The Dan Smoot Report for use by speakers, debaters, students, writers? Have you ever read and passed on to others any of the Dan Smoot books -- The Invisible Government, The Hope Of The World, America's Promise?"

Thus, we come to an analysis of the materials in the Report knowing that its author, proudly and by choice, gives a one-sided rather than an all-around analysis of the issues with which he deals -- feeling this to be, it would seem, the distinctively American way to handle a subject. We know, too, that he feels that his interpretations of affairs can play a significant role in our country's defense against socialism and Communism -- if they can be made to reach enough minds.

Further, we know, from what he emphasizes in his own life-story, that we have a right to judge his work by two rather exacting standards. Because he went so far, education-wise, as work on his doctoral degree, we can fairly apply the standards of responsible scholarship to his use of quotes, his definition of terms, and his manner of shaping up an argument. And because of the importance he attaches to his FBI experience,

we can apply the scrupulous standards of this Bureau to his manner of gathering, evaluating, and presenting evidence.

In the July 15, 1963 Report, in an article called "More Equal Than Equal," Smoot spells out his position on the civil rights issue. The first page holds a twelve-point civil rights platform "which was announced by the communist party in 1928. . . ." Current federal activities in the field are then so presented as to make them seem a virtual implementation of this platform. Next, Smoot states that, while God's standards of evaluation are unknown to us, the Negro is clearly inferior to the white man by human standards of accomplishment. Finally, three courses of action are suggested: "to demand that the federal government quit meddling" with the race problem; to return this to localities and states; and, since white people outnumber the Negroes "by about 10 to 1," to vote out of office "every politician who is ruining the country by bidding for negro votes...

What we wish to focus on, however, in this Report, is a list of seven crimes of violence, all dating from June 1963, in which whites and Negroes were involved. From the way these crimes were handled, Smoot concludes that "civil rights for negroes, in the eyes of politicians hungry for votes, means that harming a negro is a national disaster which requires federal action even when such action violates the Constitution; but negro violence against whites is a routine matter beneath the notice of federal authorities."

We come, then, to the listed crimes that lead him to this conclusion:

"On June 12, 1963, Medgar Evers, negro field representative for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Mississippi, was murdered in Jackson. The FBI investigated the crime as a federal case. FBI agents identified a suspect and arrested him under authority of civil rights laws, later turning him over to state authorities for prosecution on a murder charge.

"On June 12, 1963, a white man was killed by a negro during a race riot in Lexington, North Carolina. Federal authorities showed no interest in this case.

"On June 12, 1963, two white men were injured by shotgun blasts fired into their private places of business, during a race riot at Cambridge, Maryland. Federal authorities showed no interest in the case.

"On the night of June 12, 1963, 6 negroes stabbed an 18-year-old white boy and raped his 15-year-old companion in Cleveland, Ohio. Federal authorities showed no interest in this case.

.....

"On June 19, 1963, three white soldiers were dragged out of their car in Washington, D.C., and beaten by a gang of negroes. One of the white men -- Edward Betcher -- was killed. . . The FBI did not enter this case. . .

"On June 19, 1963, a homemade bomb, thrown or placed by unknown assailants, damaged a negro church near Gillett, Arkansas. Newspaper accounts indicate that the FBI did enter this case." (Here Smoot gives a footnote reference to a UPI dispatch from Gillett, Arkansas, which appeared in the New York Times, June 20, 1963, p. 19).

"On the night of June 26, 1963, dynamite bombs blasted the homes of two white police officers in

Minneapolis. Prior to the bombings, both white men had received numerous threatening telephone calls from negroes. Federal authorities did not enter this case."

One does not have to be a lawyer or a judge to ask at this point, "What goes on here?" Cumulatively, Smoot builds up the impression that federal authorities are interested in crimes of violence only where the victim is a Negro, the criminal a white man; and not where the reverse is true. But why does he mention only one variable: that of race? It would seem that, with his background of experience, he would immediately have thought of a second variable: that of jurisdiction.

After pondering Smoot's list, we asked a judge whom we know how we could get hold of resource materials through which to study the jurisdictional aspects of the Medgar Evers case -- and, more broadly, the role of the federal government in the protection of Constitutional rights. Among the materials to which he directed our attention, we would particularly recommend two articles: "Full Safeguards of Civil Rights Are Constant Goal," FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, October 1962; and J. Edgar Hoover, "The FBI's Role in the Field of Civil Rights," Yale Political, August 1963.

The facts with respect to one of the cases mentioned by Smoot -- the Washington, D.C., case -- were already known to us, since we live in the general area and had given fairly

close attention to the crime and its aftermath. We rechecked, however, for accuracy. For information about the handling and jurisdictional status of the other cases, we wrote to the various local Chiefs of Police. In two cases, we did not get a reply, and turned to other sources of information: to the press, and to acquaintances who were in a position to check up for us and send us the facts. We will give our findings in list form to parallel the Smoot list:

The Medgar Evers case came under Section 241, Title 18, U.S. Code: Conspiracy Against Rights of Citizens. This section makes it a federal offense for two or more persons to conspire to prevent, by intimidation, a citizen's enjoyment of any right guaranteed by the Constitution. Race was not the determining legal factor in the case. This factor was evidence to the effect that the attack on Evers involved the element of conspiracy and that it stemmed from his having been active in voter registration, which is a constitutional right.

The Chief of Police in Lexington, N.C., knew of no killing there on the date Smoot gives: June 12, 1963. There was a race riot, however, on the night of June 6th; and a number of persons, white and colored, were arrested. "In this riot," the Chief of Police states, "Fred Link, white male, was killed. Joe Poole, colored male, was charged with murder" -- and later pleaded guilty of second-degree murder. "The local police department with the assistance of the State Bureau of Investigation handled the case." As for the FBI: "They immediately, as usual, contacted the local police department and we furnished them with all the information we had." There was nothing in this information, however, to suggest a basis or a need for federal action.

We have been unable to find out anything about "shotgun blasts" in Cambridge, Maryland, on June 12,

1963. On June 11th, however, two white men were struck by shotgun pellets as they sat in a car on the outskirts of the Negro section. Neither man was seriously hurt. Maryland State Police were on duty in Cambridge; and it is hard to see any basis for Smoot's apparent feeling that "federal authorities" should have wedged into the case.

In the Cleveland crime, the Police Department started with an immediate investigation, with more than fifty officers on the job; but, again, no federal statute was violated.

In the Washington, D.C., case, the local police promptly identified and arrested the criminals. Terrible as the crime was, there was nothing in its legal nature to bring federal authorities into it. And what should they have done, with the arrest already made?

Bombing per se, we learned, is not a federal offense. But one provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 prohibits the interstate transportation of explosives "with the knowledge or intent" that they will be used to destroy property or to intimidate persons.

In the Gillett, Arkansas, case, the FBI offered to follow up some out of state leads; but its help was not felt to be needed.

The Minneapolis police sent various items of evidence to the FBI Laboratory for examination. No one was injured in either bombing.

Dan Smoot could do much to remove certain ambiguities created by his handling of this crime list. As a rule, he is a strong upholder of local and state authority. Hence, it would clarify matters if he would explain why he reported these cases in such a way as to suggest that federal authorities

were remiss in not moving in -- we might say, barging in -- on all of them. It would help, too, if he would say why he directed attention solely to the racial factor, and not at all to the jurisdictional one.

But the best way in which he could show his good faith in the handling of such materials would, perhaps, be to take one category of crime that is clearly federal -- say, robbery of federal reserve banks -- and present evidence as to whether, in this province, the FBI has shown partiality to Negroes.

We turn, now, to a different type of subject matter. In the July 22, 1963 Report, in a section headed Where We Are, Smoot says that a "treacherous cowardice" now prevails among "intellectual and political leaders," manifesting itself in a wish "to abandon the national independence which our forefathers won with blood and valorous devotion to high ideals."

One item with which he "documents" this thesis is President Kennedy's speech in Frankfurt, Germany, on June 25, 1963: in which, in Smoot's words, he told "Europeans that Americans will risk destruction of their cities to defend Europe, because American cannot survive without European help."

At the time when President Kennedy made his Frankfurt speech, both the Soviet Union and de Gaulle were trying to convince West Europe -- and Germany, in particular -- that

the United States would, in a crisis, sell its allies down the river to save itself from nuclear destruction. Enough nervousness was thus being generated within the Western alliance to pose the threat of an every-nation-for-itself scramble for nuclear weapons.

President Kennedy injected into this atmosphere of uneasiness a note of reassurance which Smoot seems to regard as "cowardly." Drawing attention to the fact that people were saying that the United States would not "abide by its commitments," he asserted that "such doubts fly in the face of history. For 18 years the United States has stood its watch for freedom around the globe. . . But, in addition, these proved commitments to the common freedom and safety are assured, in the future as in the past, by one great fundamental fact -- that they are deeply rooted in America's own self-interest. . ."

He urged the nations not to turn "the clock backward to separate nuclear deterrents;" and within the context of this call for a unified rather than an anarchic Western defense system, in an age of nuclear weapons and Soviet aggression, he said, "The United States will risk its cities to defend yours because we need your freedom to protect ours." 3. He

3. Text of President Kennedy's address, Frankfurt Germany, June 25 1963. "President Kennedy Visits Europe;" State Department Bulletin, July 22, 1963, pp. 118-123.

did not say that "America cannot survive without European help."

Here, as in his presenting of the crime cases, Smoot leaves wide open the question of what he thinks should have been done. In the former instance, it is hard to know whether he means that the FBI should not move in on crimes of violence even if they come within federal jurisdiction, or that it should move in on all such crimes, without regard to jurisdiction. Here, by using President Kennedy's speech as an example of "treacherous cowardice," he raises like ambiguities. Does he regard our membership in the Western Alliance as inherently treacherous and cowardly? Or is he saying that if he had stood in the President's shoes, that day, he would, because of his "devotion to high ideals," have told the Germans that the United States would not risk its cities to defend theirs, because we could get along all right even if Western Europe were destroyed or lost to Communism.

It may be worth recalling how Great Britain risked its cities, and brought on the blitz, by going to the defense of its ally, Norway, in 1939, when Hitler invaded that country. Britain was honest in its self-interest -- which, in the face of Nazi aggression, it took to be inseparable from that of other free nations. In military terms, its first effort to help Norway was disastrous; but it represented an upholding, not an abandonment, of its national integrity and ideals. Or so it seems to us. Smoot may disagree: may feel that this

British policy, too, was one of "treacherous cowardice." But this has not been, broadly speaking, humanity's estimate of it.

To illustrate further what he means by such cowardice, Smoot writes, "Note Walter Millis (in a formal study which cost American taxpayers \$20,000 and which was prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) arguing for the necessity of a world so 'completely policed' by an international army that such uprisings as the American Revolution of 1776 would be suppressed, 'as was the Hungarian Revolution, with all the global forces of law and order cooperating.' Millis said:

"' One cannot resist the conclusion that there must be supranational autonomous police power, with veto-free sources of revenue. . .solely responsible to a supranational political authority.'"

The first thing that occurs, here, to a person who has read the Millis article is that Smoot has not. His footnote tends to confirm this. He is quoting from an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt, which Senator Strom Thurmond read into the Congressional Record, June 6, 1963. We do not know at what point inaccuracy took over; but we do know that the Smoot version comes remarkably close to being the exact opposite of what Millis said.

We doubt that Smoot would have hurried into the strange interpretation that he imposes upon the Millis article if he had carefully noted even the title of the over-all study of which it is a part. This title is QUIS CUSTODIET?: CONTROLLING THE POLICE IN A DISARMED WORLD. The study, in brief, is devoted, not to the question of how an international police force could control a disarmed world, but of how, in a disarmed world, such a police force could be prevented from becoming an uncontrollable menace.

But to come to the article itself, Millis sets down in plain black and white his conviction that, no matter what "pyramid of power" might be erected in behalf of international law and order, the right of revolution would have to be preserved: ". . .the world cannot be denuded either of the weapons or of the ideas which make revolution possible. Revolution is, of course, an exercise of coercive power. . .Yet a world in which a possibility of revolutionary violence did not exist would be repugnant to most Western ideas of freedom. . ."

-
4. Walter Millis, "The Political Control of an International Police Force; Vol. II, QUIS CUSTODIET?: CONTROLLING THE POLICE IN A DISARMED WORLD, p. A-10. United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Grant ACDV/LR-8. Washington, D.C., April 1963.
-

Millis does, indeed, say that in a "completely policed world" a revolution like the Hungarian one would be suppressed

"with all the global forces of law and order cooperating."

But whereas Smoot, presents this statement as proof that Millis wants to bring about this degree of police control, Millis makes it as part of his argument against the likelihood or desirability of "a completely policed world."

If an uprising like the Hungarian took place, he says, under any "foreseeable system of demilitarization," the course of events would be open-ended, because "contiguous states would find their interests involved." Thus: "It is difficult to see all the complications that might arise. . .but it is even more difficult to believe that all could be dealt with by an international police force alone." 5.

5. Millis, pp, A-14,15.

The chief guardian of law and order in a demilitarized world," Millis contends, should be "the national police forces rather than an international police force;" and he suggests that a principle which could be applied, both to secure law and order and to safeguard national sovereignty, is that which is embodied in Article II of our own Bill of Rights: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." In brief, Millis sees world order, under the hypothetical condition of general disarmament, as primarily

the additive result of the internal orders of the world's many sovereign states.

How, then, does the quote about the need for a "supra-national police force" fit into the picture? Millis sees the world as one in which, for a long time to come, there will be many states that are sovereign but that have not yet established even the rudiments of internal law and order: states that are politically inexperienced and torn by convulsive change. No one of these would be willing to have any single nation enter ^{its} into affairs to reimpose order in the event of violence. Yet, in a disarmed world, there would have to be some way to keep such violence within bounds. Millis concludes that the best solution would be to have a supranational police force, not subject to the dictates of any one nation, but no larger than it need be to perform its limited task of dealing with crises where no adequate system of internal order exists or where one has so broken down as to threaten the security of other nations.

We found the Millis article a welcome relief from hasty, emotion-born proposals that an unlimited measure of power be vested in an international police force. But we are not, here, defending his thesis. We are defending his right to be heard.

By presenting the Millis view as an instance of "treacherous cowardice," Smoot perpetrates an injustice. By pitting the simplistic stereotypes of Radical Rightist thought against the

FBI reference on next page.

to the effect that books "by Communist fronters, even if not on education or child problems, often get nice reviews in the National Parent Teacher. Books by known anti-Communists exposing Communism or critical of Soviet foreign policy, or distasteful or objectionable to pseudo-liberals, are completely blacked out with one or two minor exceptions."

The sentence that comes immediately under the heading Blackout on Books is simply not true; and how Bundy can offer it as truth after making, as he says, a "content analysis" of 220 issues of the magazine, we do not understand. This sentence reads: "Each issue of the National Parent Teacher carries several pages of reviews of a great many new books deemed to be of interest to parents and teachers."

We did not check 220 issues. But we checked 36, pulled at random out of our own file, and constituting a sampling of the magazine from 1946 to 1959. We found among these exactly one issue that had even two pages of ^{reviews} ~~books~~: the June 1955 issue, which made brief comments on 17 children's books for summer reading. In two issues, the review space was reduced to one column. But one page per issue, usually carrying three reviews, was fairly standard. We stress this because it has been the exception rather than the rule for the magazine to give space to general trade books. There have been exceptions:

the longest single review we came across, running to a column and a half was one we wrote ourselves -- about Don Whitehead's / THE FBI STORY.

"Incredible as it may seem," writes Bundy, "Arthur Bestor and Mortimer Smith were given some space to excerpt some of their more important points from their respective books -- EDUCATIONAL WASTELANDS and QUACKERY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. However, they were quickly blasted off the stage by some rather heavy return fire." This is one way of reporting the fact that the theses of two highly controversial books were presented by their authors and then discussed by educators who disagreed with them; but there would seem to be fairer ways. Moreover, when Bundy says that these two authors "were quickly blasted off the stage," he renders poor service to their books; for he is tacitly saying that they could not hold their ground against their critics.

Each issue of News and Views carries a title indicative of the subject to be covered. The type of approach Bundy makes to the National Congress of Parents and Teachers appears to be fairly standard wherever an enemy is to be brought down. The issue of March 1959, for example, is headed Left Wing Bias in the Religious Press; and its space is devoted in about equal measure to two publications: The Christian Century and Social

complexities of the world's problem of law and order, he perpetrates an absurdity. By denouncing to a nationwide audience a document that he appears not even to have read, he casts a curious light upon both his own claim to scholarship and his sense of responsibility toward those who turn to him for an interpretation of events.

If we had had to go through The Dan Smoot Report with the proverbial fine-toothed comb to hunt out the examples we have used of odd crime-reporting, misquotation, and misleading paraphrase, this chapter would not have been written. All writers and speakers, ourselves included, make their quota of errors. It is all too easy to misunderstand, and therefore misrepresent, another person's viewpoint; and to trust secondary sources that turn out to be less than accurate. Therefore, our preference is for giving the mistake-maker the benefit of the doubt.

The very fact, however, that two of the examples we have used come from a single article may serve to underscore a conclusion which we have reached after reading a representative number of issues of the Report. This conclusion is that Smoot has a much too cavalier way of dealing with evidential items. It is not simply that he makes ~~too many errors~~ errors of carelessness, or haste, or the pressure of work. Rather, it is that his errors -- regardless of their different subject

matter -- are all singularly alike in tone.

There may not seem to be much likeness between the statement that federal authorities "showed no interest" in a white man's being killed in Lexington, North Carolina, and the statement that Millis is advocating a type of supranational police force that would make impossible even a revolution like our own. Yet the likeness is there -- and the key to it is to be found in Smoot's own description of the "side" that his "free enterprise" business was designed to uphold.

Smoot's errors are all subtly alike, we have concluded, because they derive from two interlocked basic errors. One is his commitment to the idea that every issue can be sliced down the middle into pro-American and anti-American "sides," the way an apple is sliced with a knife. The other is his commitment to the idea that it is more American to decide in advance what is to be proved than to let facts speak for themselves.

have only the impressiveness given to them by "manipulated words." Not least, he is guilty -- not once, but many times over -- of an inexcusable "looseness of documentation."

Our use of the word inexcusable is justified, we believe, by a passage in the official brochure from which we have quoted Bundy's biographical data: "The Church League files contain nearly 400,000 3x5 cross-referenced index cards on individuals, organizations and publications which serve the communist cause in the United States in at least one or more of the three categories:

- 1) Communist Party members;
- 2) Fellow-travelers, party sympathizers or front-joiners;
- 3) Dupes.

"Thousands of ministers have written to the Church League headquarters saying that they have used source material received from the Church League headquarters as material for sermons and for instruction in religious institutions.

"There are not more than twelve files in the entire United States comparable to the Church League files."

Bundy has been quoted as saying, at a date later than that of the brochure's publication, that only the FBI has more complete files than the League; but we have not found this statement in his printed materials. The above passage, however,

A fine leap in logic comes toward the end of this passage by Dr. Weigle. Bundy tells his readers that a National Council report, dated 1954, shows Dr. Weigle to be working on a translation of the Apocrypha -- a body of writings of uncertain origin once included in the Old Testament, still included in the Vulgate Bible, but normally omitted from Protestant versions. In one leap, taking off from the simple fact that a translation is being made, Bundy arrives at a question packed with dire implications: "Are the Protestant churches of America now to be offered the Apocrypha through a great sales drive, as they were offered the Revised Standard Version of the Bible?" 2.

2. COLLECTIVISM, p. 55.

For another Bundy statement about the Revised Standard Version -- one that is a fit companion for McIntire's warnings that good Protestants should not expose their minds to it -- we will include here a publicity release that appeared in the Wichita Falls, Texas, Record on January 12, 1953:

"How are the Communists invading the Churches? Congress says they are! Mr. J. Edgar Hoover says they are! Captain Bundy will show how they are, with explosive documentation. . .!
Russia's Religious Fifth Column Within the U.S.A. Moscow's dearest friends discovered in pulpits and seminaries in the

100 - 114575 - 138

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Evans _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan ☒
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

July 23, 1964

Mr. DeLoach:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL
 1/31/87

Re: NEW BOOK BY HARRY AND
 BONARO OVERSTREET
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

We have looked over the excerpts from the proposed new book by the Overstreets which Bill Sullivan furnished you.

The material, from the Bureau's point of view, appears to be satisfactory. The Overstreets are attempting to disprove the statements of Edgar Bundy and his Church League of America and Dan Smoot. There are only a few pages dealing with Bundy but an entire chapter in reference to Smoot. The Overstreets, in this chapter, attempt to point out the unfactual and inaccurate statements of Smoot concerning national and international problems. They accuse him of poor quality scholarship, of misstating the facts and advocating a narrow and partisan point of view. The FBI's work in the civil rights field is mentioned but not in any way which reflects unfavorably on us.

The material has been reviewed and checked previously by the Domestic Intelligence Division. From our point of view, there does not appear to be anything objectionable.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

I'm glad they're
 doing this. It's
 about time someone
 called his book - M. A. Jones

FCS:sas
 (4)

REC-54 100-114575-139

JUL 31 1964

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AUG 6 1964 WY

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July 31, 1964

REC- 95

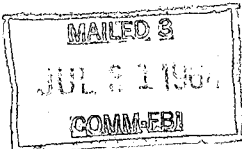
100-114575-140

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I received your letter of July 25th and it was indeed thoughtful of you to bring your observations to my attention. I also want to thank you for your expression of support.



Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

JUL 31 12 14 PM '64
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

NOTE: We have enjoyed cordial relations and furnished considerable assistance concerning the books written by Dr. Overstreet and his wife. No derogatory information appears in Bufiles concerning Charles M. Crowe and no record of his book, "In This Free Land," appears in Bufiles.

DTP:des (3)

des

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Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JUL 31 15 33 BN 24

RECEIVED DIRECTOR
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TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

July 25, 1964

Dear Mr Hoover:

We think you will be interested in a quotation confirming and approving a statement of Inspector William C. Sullivan on the non-Communist nature of the Protestant clergy. The book which thus speaks approvingly of Mr Sullivan is by the pastor of the Wilmette Methodist Church, Wilmette, Illinois, Rev Charles M. Crowe, and is called appropriately IN THIS FREE LAND. We have read the book itself with mounting interest.

Mr Crowe writes (p. 19): "Chief Inspector William C. Sullivan of the FBI labeled as 'patent falsehood' charges that 'Protestant denominations have been subjected to alarming infiltration and influence' by the Communist Party."

And Mr Crowe continues the quote: "The truth of the matter is that the Communist Party, U.S.A., has not achieved any substantial success in exerting domination, control or influence over America's clergymen or religious institutions on a national scale. There can be no question as to the loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the American clergy to our nation and the fact that they have been among the most consistent and vigorous opponents of communism."

We were happy to find this commendation.

Meanwhile may we extend to you our sympathy for all the extra anxieties our tumultuous times have thrust upon you.

EXP. PROC.

35 JUL 28 1964 31
Sincerely yours,

H.A. Overstreet
H.A. Overstreet

100-114575-
ack 7-31-64
only (for self only)
DTP/ps/ps

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTS/COL

100-114575-

8-3
10 JUL 28 1964

REFERENCE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Belmont
1 - Mohr
1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - D.E. Moore
1 - R.W. Smith
1 - Baumgardner

DATE: September 9, 1964

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO: MR. A. H. BELMONT

FROM: MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

As we know, the above two persons are professional psychologists and writers. In recent years they have turned their talents toward the field of anticommunism and have written different books of this kind. Their first book, "What One Must Know About Communism," was prepared with considerable assistance from the Bureau. The Overstreets are taking a moderate, liberal viewpoint on social phenomena and do have a liberal following of this kind. Before retiring some years ago, Dr. Overstreet had served as a professor of psychology in different colleges and universities.

This morning Mrs. Overstreet called me and very confidentially advised that yesterday afternoon she and Dr. Overstreet had been summoned to the White House to confer with Mr. Feldman, Assistant to the President. It appears that President Johnson believes it necessary to seek academic assistance and guidance in the problem of Communism. Mr. Feldman said the President at this time wanted them to prepare for him a thousand-word speech on communism to be given in Florida the end of this week. Mrs. Overstreet told me that while this did not give them much time they commenced last night to work out the plan of the speech and will continue to devote themselves assiduously to the task, expecting to complete it for the President by tomorrow morning.

Mrs. Overstreet also very confidentially told me that Mr. Feldman indicated that further requests of this kind would be made upon the Overstreets and it is not unlikely that they will be involved in the coming election campaign. They are active Democrats and strongly pro-Johnson. Mrs. Overstreet asked me two or three times to regard this as being extremely sensitive and confidential and she said she wished to pass it on to me because of the high regard which she and her husband have for the Director, believing that he would want to know.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

WCS:lab;hmm
(8)

REC-59

100-114575-14

EX-109

SEP 15 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

CRIME RESEARCH

68 SEP 21 1964

REC 30

100-114575-142

October 14, 1964

EX 109

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
1308 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia 22044

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/OSL

Dear Mrs. Overstreet: *BONARO W.*

Thank you for the letter of October 10th and
the kind sentiments from you and your husband.

You may be sure I deeply appreciate your
complimentary comments concerning my work as well as
the expression of support of my views.

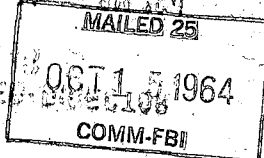
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is the wife of Dr. Harry A. Overstreet. We
have had cordial relations with the Overstreets in past years and
their recent book, "The Strange Tactics of Extremism" contains
favorable comments on the FBI. The above address is per our
last outgoing of 9-21-64.

DFC:rls (3)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OCT 14 2 37 PM '64
FBI
READING ROOM

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
1308 FIDDLER'S GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

October 10, 1964

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

We know that you do not need to be told, at this stage, how highly we value your integrity of method and steadfastness of purpose. But we cannot resist writing to say that your recent statement about the dangers of a police state and the steps that could, insidiously and unintentionally lead toward such a state, was a masterpiece.

We are unable to comprehend the curious misunderstandings that have arisen about the Bureau's policies. You have, however, weathered so many misunderstandings and misrepresentations in the past, that we know you are looking beyond the present confusion without your own vision's becoming confused in the slightest degree. In any case, you have contributed to our tradition another splendid document of freedom; and we are grateful.

With warm best wishes from both of us,

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJT/CAL

REC 30

100-174575-142

EX 109

OCT 17 1964

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 19, 1964

FROM : R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
(100-114575)

Mrs. Overstreet has made available the attached card, postmarked West Palm Beach, Florida, 11/19/64, and addressed to the Overstreets in care of their publisher, W. W. Norton Company, New York City.

Mrs. Overstreet expressed the belief that the card was not written by a communist but may signal a new type of attack from the far right: the tactic of using a post card containing a message that makes the recipient appear to be a "comrade."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Garner

RSG:cr
(4)

REC 61

100-114575-143

NOV 23 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/45 BY SP8BJT/CL

5-21-86 SP8BJT/CL

61 NOV 30 1964

(Florida Enroute)

~~Dear~~ Comrades: Greetings and appreciation for
your timely and devastating : *to record*

The Strange Tactics of Extremism

It is ~~what~~ we need from you dear friends of
intellectual substance to confound the right
wing who are steadily moving in on us and can
in time utterly defeat us. If we lose Nov. 3rd
the Goldwater-Miller victory will be due to the
devilish work of Billy Hargis and Robert Welch
and the other wretches who prate about patriotism.
That, as you both know, is a decadent philosophy.
We also hail your publishers for their loyalty to
our cause and in the name of anti-Goldwaterism
we go about working for victory and total defeat
of the fascists. Fraternally, ~~Carl & Anne~~

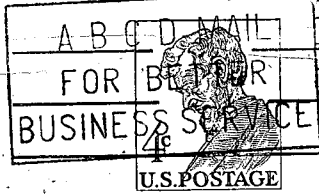
243467
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/85 BY SP8 BTJ/COL
5-21-86

1 ENCLOSURE

100-114575-143



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Harry & Bonaro Overstreet
~~C/O W.W. Norton Co~~
~~55 Fifth Avenue~~
~~New York, N.Y.~~

*1308 Fiddlers Green
Lakeside Bazaar
Falls Church, Virginia*

243467
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/22/85 BY SP8 BTJ/COL
5-21-86

1 ENCLOSURE

100-114575-143

REC- 44

100-114575-144

November 24, 1964

b6
b7C

EX-101

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/6

NOV 24 1 18 PM '64
READING ROOM
BI

Charlotte, North Carolina 28211

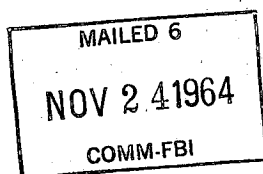
Dear [redacted]

Your letter of November 18th has been received.

The interest which prompted you to write is appreciated and I would like to be of assistance; however, I must advise that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not furnish evaluations or comments relative to the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication. I trust you will understand my inability to be of aid.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Harry and Bonaro Overstreet are well known to the Bureau. [redacted] is not identifiable in Bufiles.

SAW:med
(3)

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Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Evans _____
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Sullivan _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

[Redacted]
Charlotte, N. C.
Nov. 18, 1964

b6
b7c

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BT/col

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Harry Overstreet

I should appreciate very much any information which you can give me on the Overstreets, and on their new book, The Strange Tactics of Extremism. Having read their books on Communism (as well as yours), I feel almost like a traitor asking for a confirmation of their loyalty, or of their qualifications in writing about the Extreme Right. However, in view of the questionable books now on the market, and since I intend to review this book at a club meeting, I should be grateful if you could take the time to reply as to your opinion of the Overstreets, and of their new book, which I, myself, found to be most thought provoking. However, since I am a neophyte in such matters, I should like to have reassurance before going out on a limb-- or Crusading, so to speak.

H

Thank you for your time.

Yours very truly,

REC-44

[Redacted]

100-114525-144

EX-101

NOV 25 1964

b6
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Don/Son

*ack 11-29-64
SA W. M. M.*

*17c
12/23/64
HS*

[Redacted]
Charlotte, N. C., 28211

[Redacted]
Charlotte, N. C.

Nov. 18, 1964

b6
b7C

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I should appreciate very much any information which you can give me on the Overstruts, and on their new book, The Strange Tactics of Extremism. Having read their books on Communism (as well as yours), I feel almost like a traitor asking for a confirmation of their loyalty, or of their qualifications in writing about the Extreme Right. However, in view

117C
2/23/64
ml
CORRESPONDENCE

of the questionable books
now on the market, and
since I intend to review this
book at a club meeting,
I should be grateful if
you could take the time
to reply as to your opinion
of the Overstreets, and of their
new book, which I, myself,
found to be most thought
provoking. However, since
I am a neophyte in such
matters, I should like
to have reassurance before
going out on a limb —
or Crusading, so to speak.
Thank you for your time.
Yours very truly



b6
b7C

ack 11-24-64
JH:ubnd

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-96 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

100-114575-145
January 25, 1965

b6
b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL

Huntington Park, California

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of January 18th has been received.

While I would like to be of assistance to you, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. In view of this, I am sure you will understand why I cannot comment concerning the book, "What We Must Know About Communism," by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. In addition, I hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have information in our files regarding the subject of your inquiry.

It is always reassuring to hear from citizens who demonstrate an awareness of the evils of communism. I am enclosing some material on the general topic of communism, which I hope you will find of interest. You may also wish to refer to my books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." The former was written with the hope that it would help readers gain an insight into the true nature of the communist conspiracy in this country. The latter contains an analysis of international communist practices and contrasts totalitarian methods with life in a free country. These books may be available at your local library.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (5)

Our Heritage of Greatness
Counterintelligence Activities
WAM:eje (3)

Deadly Duel
U.S. Businessman Faces the Soviet Spy
Faith In God-Our Answer to Communism
NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
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Holmes _____
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60 FEB 2

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Clum

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

NOTE: One previous ~~on~~ 8-03-63. He had written suggesting making it a Federal offense to leave keys in cars. His own son had stolen 6 cars in which keys were left.

[Redacted]
Huntington Park, California

January 18, 1965

b6
b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Would you please let me know whether or not the book "WHAT WE MUST
KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet is an
authoritative and accurate work on this subject?

The reason I ask is because I began reading this book a few
days ago, and a friend who saw me with it told me that it is
not a good source.

I felt that you would be aware of the accuracy of books on
Communism, so I am bothering you with this request, although I
know you are very busy.

I would surely appreciate it if you could advise me on this
matter. It seems a good book to me, but I wanted to be sure.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

[Redacted Signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

REC-2

100-114575-145

JAN 26 1965

CORRESPONDENCE

b6
b7C

February 17, 1965

REC-44

100-114575 146

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
FEB 17 3 28 PM '65

Van Nuys, California 91406

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of February 9th, with enclosure, has been received.

While I would like to be of assistance to you, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. In view of this, I am sure you will understand why I cannot comment concerning the books about which you inquired. You may be interested in knowing that the John Birch Society has not been investigated by this Bureau.

It is always reassuring to hear from citizens who demonstrate an awareness of the evils of communism. I am enclosing some material on the general topic of communism which you may find of interest. You may also wish to refer to my books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." The former was written with the hope that it would help readers gain an insight into the true nature of the communist conspiracy in this country. The latter contains an analysis of international communist practices and contrasts totalitarian methods with life in a free country. These books may be available at your local library.

Your stamped, self-addressed envelope is being returned to you.

Sincerely yours,

WAM:pem
(3)

Enclosures (6)

(See Enclosures & NOTE next page)

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FEB 25 1965

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WAM
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Enclosures: Stamped, self-Addressed envelope
Why Reds Make Friends with Businessmen
Counterintelligence Activities
4-17-62 Internal Security Statement
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
The U.S. Businessman Faces the Soviet Spy

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with the correspondent and the Overstreets and their books are well known to the Bureau. The enclosure, a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is being returned.

[redacted],
Van Nuys, California,
February 9, 1965

b6
b7c

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

[redacted]
[redacted]
Van Nuys, California, 91406

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Would you please give me your opinion of the following books?

1. The Strange Tactics of Extremism
2. The Iron Curtain
3. What We Must Know about Communism

These books are authored by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet and published by W. W. Morton and Company in New York.

#1 is supposed to be a study of the methods and objectives of "The John Birch Society, Carl McIntire's Twentieth Century Reformation Hour, Billy James Hargis Christian Crusade, Dan Smoots' Facts Forum and Myer G. Lowman's Circuit Riders."

The Overstreets term these organizations as subversive radicals of the extreme right.

I read in a California newspaper sometime ago that the 1963 Calif. legislature has studied the John Birch Society and found nothing subversive about it. Has this changed?

I found an advertisement in a West Coast newspaper regarding the book, The Strange Tactics of Extremism. The statement was made that the above mentioned organizations were masquerading as conservatives "under a cover of super patriotism and holier-than-thou religion and are closer to Communists in their methods and objectives".

I want to know if these books are correct in their analysis. Are they worth my time to read?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CWL

REC-44

Yours truly,

100-114575-142
FEB 18 1965

b6
b7c

P. S. I am enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your reply.

COPY TO [redacted]
m17

February 24, 1965

REC-130

100-114575-147
Dr. Daniel M. Keller
1616 Rabb Street
Memphis, Tennessee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL

Dear Dr. Keller:

Your letter of February 16th has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. Further, it is contrary to my policy to comment on material not prepared by me or personnel of this Bureau. Therefore, I trust you will understand why I am not in a position to be of help in this instance and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the book and individuals you mentioned.

I am enclosing literature which I trust will be of interest to you. Perhaps you may also wish to read my books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." These were written in order to help readers gain an insight into the strategy and tactics of communists, both in this country and abroad. Copies may be available in your local library.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 5

FEB 25 1965

COMM-FBI

Enclosures (5)

Communism--The Incredible Swindle
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!

Our Heritage of Greatness
Domestic Intelligence

The Communist Menace

DTP:lsg (3)

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet are well known in Bufiles.

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DANIEL MARSH KELLER, M.D., PH.D.

1616 RABB STREET
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

February 16, 1965

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I am very much concerned about the content of the 1965 PTA Manual. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet are consultants to the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, are regular writers for the PTA Magazine, and are used as the number one reference for the study of Communism through the local PTA associations.

I have recently read What we must know about Communism by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, and am much alarmed. I think it a very subtle book which leaves the naive reader with a tolerant attitude toward communism.

I find it difficult to believe that this expert on Communism could have been innocently involved in nine Communist front groups (American Opinion, October, 1959).

I know that you and your staff have a very definite pro or con opinion as to the overall effect of this book and of the influence of these minds on the uninformed membership of the ordinary PTA group.

Would you please give me your help in this matter. I am concerned and am trying to inform others of this danger.

Respectfully yours,

Daniel M. Keller
Daniel M. Keller

DMK/oc

REC-130

100-114575-147

MAR 1 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-82 BY SP8 BTJ/csl

CORRESPONDENCE

nmk
ack
2-24-65
DTP:lsq

P 20

April 1, 1965

REC-11 100-114575-148

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/col

EX-102

Stanton, California 90680

Dear [redacted]

b6
b7C

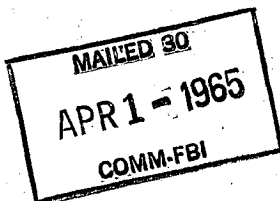
Your letter of March 25th has been received, and the thought which prompted you to write me is appreciated.

Although I would like to be of service, information appearing in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. I hope that you will not infer that we do or do not have information in our files concerning the individuals or book you mentioned. I regret that I am unable to be of assistance in this instance, and trust you will understand the reasons for this policy.

Enclosed is some literature which I hope will be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



APR 1 12 04 PM '65
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Enclosures (5)
"Our Heritage of Greatness"
U. S. News and World Report 12-21-64
Communism--The Incredible Swindle
Internal Security Statement 4-17-62
LEB Intro 4-1-61

NOTE: [redacted] cannot be identified in Bufiles. Concerning the Overstreet's book, we have had cordial relations in the past with the authors and their book contains favorable comments on the FBI. In 1942, the authors were the subjects of an Internal Security - G Investigation, but no pro-Nazi sympathies were developed.

KLS:pjf (3) pjo

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
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DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Room _____
s _____

610 APR 1 1965
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

Mr Hoover,

Recently I read a book called "The Strange Tactics of the Extremists" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. I thought it written well and full of valuable information.

On recommending this book to a friend I was told the authors have a "veryssshady" background " and are being "investigated" now. What these terms mean I do not know.

Could you tell me if the F.B.I. has connected these authors with any Communist front organizations and if so when.

Thank you,

[Redacted]
[Redacted]
Stanton, Calif. 90680

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/106L

4
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ITE: 3/31/65
KLS: 8

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3-25-65
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8/KLS

8
31
Mr Hoover,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/cor

Recently I read a book
called "The Strange Tactics of the
Extremists" by Harry and Bonaro
Overstreet. I thought it written
well and full of valuable information.

On recommending this book
to a friend I was told the
authors have a "very shady" back-
ground" and are being "investigated"
now. What these terms mean
I do not know. (u)

Could you tell me if the
F.B.I. has connected these authors
with any Communist front organization
and if so, where. —

EX-102 REC-11 100-114875-148
6 APR 2 1965

THANK YOU
CORRESPONDENCE

Stanton, Calif 90680

b6
b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *alb*

DATE: July 2, 1965

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
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I have been advised by the Overstreets, who have had cordial relations with the Bureau, that they have just received, for the South and Southwest region, a biennial citation from "Who's Who" for "Outstanding Contribution in the Field of Literature." The citation noted the Overstreets had used "perception, objectivity and forthrightness" in dealing with various subjects pertinent to the world of today.

It is noted that the Overstreets are currently preparing a book setting forth the work of the Bureau in a very favorable light.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

WCS
100-114575
JMS:vms
(9)

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - Mohr
- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - M. A. Jones
- 1 - Morrell
- 1 - W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - R. W. Smith
- 1 - Garner

WCS
enc
100-114575-149
~~RECORDED~~

10 JUL 8 1965

EX-112
REC-65

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJS/CL

69 JUL 16 1965

October 13, 1965

REC-41 100-114575-150
EX-117

R. W. [Signature]
J. M. [Signature]

[Redacted]

Birmingham, Alabama 35215

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJT/L

Dear [Redacted]

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI
OCT 13 2 05 PM '65

Your letter of October 7th has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I would like to point out that information in our files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sure you will understand why I cannot comment as you desire, and I hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have material in our files relating to the individuals you mentioned. In view of this position, you can be assured that I have never made such a statement as you describe being attributed to me.

Sincerely yours,

MAILED 3
OCT 13 1965
COMM-FBI

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Birmingham - Enclosure

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles.
Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet are well known to the Bureau.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
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- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
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- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

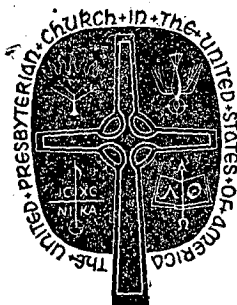
KLS:des (4)

OCT 26 1965

ed m [Signature]

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[Handwritten signatures and initials]



FIVE MILE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

1137 FIVE MILE ROAD, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35215

HAROLD B. KNOX
PASTOR

October 7, 1965

TELEPHONE
853-5500

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
The Department of Justice
Constitution Avenue and 10th Street, NW
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

The names of Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet have come under attack here because of articles written in the Parent-Teacher Association magazine on communism. I do not know the reasons for any accusations, but the charges have been made in a public meeting that the Overstreets are "known communists." The person making the charges contends that you, as Director of the F.B.I., have confirmed this by letter.

I am concerned to know the truth of this matter.
Are Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet known communists?
Have they ever been communists? Have they ever been involved in communist-front organizations? Do you consider them to be communists?

Your reply to the above questions and any additional comments or advice would be greatly appreciated.

Gratefully yours, REC-41

100-114575-113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

Birmingham, Alabama 35215

OCT 15 1965

b6
b7C

ack 10-13-65
KLS:des

CORRESPONDENCE

October 20, 1965

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

ST-107

REC 7

100 - 114575 - 151

Mrs. Daniel M. Keller
1616 Rabb Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38117

Your letter of October 14th, with enclosures,
has been received.

It was certainly good of you to forward this material, and I appreciate your interest in providing me with your observations and comments.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: We have had one prior outgoing to a Dr. Daniel M. Keller regarding the Overstreets in which he was advised of the confidential nature of the information in FBI files. The Overstreets are well known to the Bureau.

DFC:asf (3)

Polson _____
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MAILED 30
OCT 20 1965
COMM-FBI

SECRET

57 OCT 28 1965

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

2
7
Mrs. Daniel M. Keller

1616 Rabb Street

Memphis 17, Tennessee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJ/CAL

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Daniel M. Keller
1616 Rabb Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38117

ack
4
Dear Mr. Hoover:

I would like to bring to your attention
"How To Love A Country" by Bonaro W. Overstreet.
This is listed as the pamphlet on patriotism to
be used by units of the National Congress of
Parents and Teachers.

This seems to be a questionable way to instill
patriotism. Mrs. Overstreet quotes people like
Gordon Allport, who, I believe, is quite an enemy
of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and
Harold Laswell of similar make-up. The two pictures
of the flag are oddly flying to the left, which is
not the way the flag is usually pictured in the
Boy Scout Manual, and other books on patriotism.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. Daniel M. Keller

Mrs. Daniel M. Keller

ack 10-20-65
PFC/ang
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

REC 7

100-114575-151

ST-107

11 OCT 21 1965

mmf
ENCLOSURE
2

CORRESPONDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL



100-114575/51

ENCLOSURE

HIGHLIGHT SERIES
No. 3

REPRINTED FROM

The PTA *Magazine*

NATIONAL PARENT-TEACHER

X **HOW TO LOVE A
COUNTRY**

BY
Bonaro W. Overstreet

Co-author of
*What We Must Know About Communism
and
The War Called Peace*





The Verb Is "To Love"



These things we know about every kind of love: It is one. It casts out fear. It burgeons in creation. It brings self-forgetting and self-finding. And, like all our loves, love of country wells up from the springs of our emotional life.

Only where love is at work is life at its best. We can state this firmly now. We need not speak with the self-defensive cautions of those who seem to fear their own best words, as though these might prove them "soft" or "soft-headed." Two ancient spokesmen for the way of love—spiritual tradition and the human heart—have now been joined by a vigorous third: psychological science. These three together speak in unison, and what they have to say is both a statement of fact and a declaration of intent: *Only where love is at work is life at its best.*

Love, to be sure, is not the only emotion appropriate to our human state. Anger has its place. So has fear. Yet we know now, through clinical evidence, that the person whose experience is a long, painful, pain-inflicting round of tensions and conflicts is one whose emotional pattern is skewed toward hostility and away from trust and affection. He fails not because he feels fear and anger but because he feels too much of them, too often, toward too many

objects, and also because these emotions go their own anarchic way in his life and do not operate as disciplined servants of love.

Throughout this pamphlet we shall be thinking together about that special form of love which we call love of country. But we shall not be treating it as a thing apart, as though it were wholly different from love of children, husband or wife, home, friends, or work. We shall not be treating it as different from our love of truth and beauty or our love of God and of God's creation. Rather, we shall deal with love of country as part and parcel of the individual's sound, happy, affirmative relationship to the great environment, the all-inclusive environment, in which he lives and moves and has his being.

If love of country is less than this, it is not truly itself. If it is in contradiction to this, so that it stands apart from other basic elements in a person's commitment to life, it is an imitation—not love but a substitute for it, some different emotion in disguise.

The quoted passages at the end of various chapters are taken from other articles by Mrs. Overstreet that have appeared in *The PTA Magazine*.

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Price: 40 cents a copy.

It used to be common (and perhaps it still is) for farmers meeting each other in the country store or stopping to visit across a line fence to ask each other a question: "What do you know for certain?" In the pages that follow we shall be meeting one another as fellow residents of the psychological age, and we might well begin with a question: "What do we know for certain about love?"

Fears Fall Away

We know, for one thing, that love casts out fear. This is no vague, sentimental theory. It is literal fact, and we know in precise psychological terms what we mean by it. From birth on, the proper business of the human being is that of making himself at home in the world into which he has been born a stranger and an outsider. He makes himself at home in that world—and more and more broadly and happily at home—to the extent that he *reaches out* with his own powers to that which lies beyond himself.

Born without knowledge or skill, he gains knowledge and becomes skillful. Born dependent and helpless, he gradually acquires the status of an independent being, who freely and responsibly enters into the give-and-take of human society. He becomes friend, teammate, marriage partner, citizen, parent, fellow worker, fellow member. Born with no sense of proportion, with no definitions of good and evil or of the important and unimportant, he builds for himself a value system to live by.

And in terms of that value system he becomes a person whom others can rely on.

That is to say, he does all these things—and does them ever better and more widely—*provided his native impulse toward outreach is not inhibited by fear*. Fear makes the individual ward off not only the dangers of human experience but also its joys and possibilities. Fear makes him hit out at life; hole up, avoid situations, retreat from the unfamiliar, hurt others lest they hurt him.

Love casts out fear. Given and received, love underwrites a human being's native capacity and native urge to move *toward* his environment and make himself intimately, warmly, usefully at home in it.

Love Sets Its Seal

We know, again, that love is a creative force, not a static one. There is deep wisdom in our saying both that God is Love and that God is the Creator. For in our human experience love and creativeness go together.

It is when we love another person deeply enough to want to share the rest of our life with him that we think of building a home together and bringing children into the world.

It is when we love some working material—wood, for example—that our minds and fingers yearn to make something of it, or take it in hand and create from it something that expresses its own nature and our own purposes.

It is when we feel the surge of love

for our fellow men that we are moved to improve the rules and institutions that give them, or take from them, the chance to become their fulfilled selves.

It is when the love of God wells up in us that we know ourselves as servants of something greater than ourselves. It is then that we want to escape the static boundaries of self-concern and to say with Isaiah, "Here am I. Send me."

When Giving Is Keeping

In the third place, we know that love "seeketh not its own." Rather it seeks to understand and respect the nature and integrity of the beloved object. Psychologists say that when a person loves another, he *affirms* that other. By this they mean that he treats the other as important in his own right. He does not merely use the object of his love to build up his own importance or to secure his own comfort.

This aspect of love has become familiar to many of us. Throughout all our work in parent education, for example, we find that a parent who loves his child wants that child to fulfill his own capacities, not simply to do credit to his family or fulfill a parent's long lost daydream or become a flattering rubber-stamp copy of the parent.

When we set the fourth quality of love beside the third, we seem to encounter a contradiction. The third tells us that when we love we unstintingly give ourselves. The fourth tells us that when we love we most

happily find ourselves and most truly become ourselves. Self-forgetting is preface to self-fulfillment; this is the most dramatic paradox of our estate.

We can see why things work out that way. If, as we have noted, love gives us confidence to move toward our world and "invest" our powers in that world, and if it also gives us the incentive to do so, then it creates the condition under which our in-born capacities are so exercised that they become developed capacities. And as we put them to disciplined use in the service of something beyond ourselves, we become integrated selves. We grow beyond the flabby, whimsical, self-indulgent, indeterminate state of the person who has no purpose strong enough to integrate his habits and values. We become, mentally and emotionally, people of backbone.

With our powers thus wrought into unity, we are prepared to handle life, and enjoy life, with a surer touch and a happier touch. It is in this fact—that he who loses his life finds it—that we discover also another paradox of love: that it makes us feel at once humble and proud. It makes us aware of our shortcomings and ready to acknowledge them. It makes us aware that we fall short of the glory. Yet at the same time it makes us feel that everything we do, every smallest thing, has new significance.

A Semblance of Love

Finally, love—like every other excellent thing—is subject to imitation. The person in whom fear and hostili-

ty have become dominant forces will not be able to belong to life and to make life his own in the sound, happy ways that are open to the person who loves. Yet he will still have every human emotional need: the need to feel that he belongs, that he has some margin of security, that he is important. He tries to satisfy these needs but is not able to satisfy them after the manner of love. So he sets himself to possess, to dominate, to exclude, to build up his ego at the expense of others, to ward off others, and to belittle them in order that he may feel big. And all the while, strangely enough, he may be declaring that his acts are those of love.

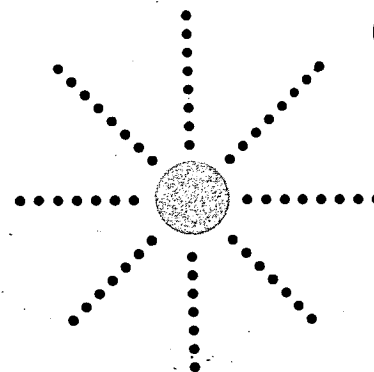
We seem to have said little here, in this first chapter, about love of country. But love is love, and the per-

son capable of loving a country will be the person who is also capable of loving the human beings around him, the work he does, the mystery of new leaves in the spring, the drama of society-making, and the ancient perennial search for the good, the true, and the beautiful.

No one who holds himself timidly back from life can love a country. No one whose daily associations with other people are marked by distrust and dislike can love a country. No one who gets a greater sense of importance out of tearing down than out of building up can love a country.

Edgar Lee Masters' character, Lucinda Matlock, declares, "It takes life to love life." We might say, in like vein, that it takes love to experience and to enact *love of country*.

A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another. No one of us can, by giving such a command, turn either ourselves or other people from nonlovers to lovers. But each of us can highly resolve, in every situation where we exert an influence, to give people every possible chance to grow in self-confidence and mutual confidence through successful experience and shared experience. It is in this way, if in any way, that we may contribute to the growth of human beings toward the love that casts out fear.



Any Day and Anywhere

The test of our democratic belief isn't always a sweeping, spectacular event. Our belief is put to the test—and perhaps even more severely—in our day-in-and-day-out way of living.

We cannot expect love of country to be always a staid and tempered emotion. We cannot ask that it never generate in us any moods save those to which the logical mind in its most grave and logical moments would say yes. Love of country is human love. If it be genuine, it will partake, like all such love, of the excellent imprudence of the heart.

A wife, glancing out of the window, sees her husband coming up the street. He has been gone only a couple of hours and has been no farther away than the lake at the edge of town, where he has been helping a friend calk a boat. Yet because there floods over her a sudden gladness that he is coming home and that he is her husband, she is not willing to wait for him to cover the few remaining yards of sidewalk and garden path that would bring him to the door. She drops her work and goes to meet him.

There is nothing reasonable about it—except that love has its own reasons, one of them being that when a husband and wife walk up a path together, because they want to be together, they create something that not even fate can take from them.

This same woman and her husband on another day happen to be driving through a town at the hour of morning when children are trooping to school. They seem to come in all sizes, these children, from some that look too small to be even first-graders to those who will probably be in high school next year. They come running, skipping, dawdling, walking sedately; alone and in pairs and groups; with and without dogs; with and without bicycles; with and without books and lunch pails. They cluster at the crossing until the parent who is that day's guardian of their safety (and of law and order), stops the traffic for them.

There is no reason why this wom-

an, watching the children cross in front of the car, should feel sudden tears in her eyes and should say with tears in her voice, "Oh, I *do* love America!" There is no reason why her husband should not comprehend-ingly and put his hand for a moment on hers.

No reason—except, again, that love has its reasons, one of them being that in the adult onlooker's mind every child on his way to school gets mixed up somehow with all children for whom public education has been dreamed and worked into reality. And public education itself gets mixed up in the heart with the idea of freedom of speech and conscience, of justice, of opportunity for all.

Standards To Measure By

We cannot expect love of country to be always staid and reasonable, but we can expect that its moments of extravagance will support rather than contradict the principles of reason on which our country stands—and on which alone it can stand firm.

There is, for example, a deep, acceptable logic in the fact that after this husband and wife have driven a few blocks in silence, he should say, "We've got to clear the decks so that we can get to that school board meeting Tuesday night."

And there is equally deep and acceptable logic in the fact that her thoughts should move from the children who crossed in front of their car to other children who, in David Morton's words, are "waifs of this roofless century," so that she asks her

husband a mile or so farther on, "Did you send the check to CARE?"

There is, in brief, a proper harmony between the impracticalities of the loving heart and the practicalities of the loving mind, if we may even pretend to divide the two. It takes both heart and mind to love a country, as it does to love a wife or husband, a child, or a friend. It takes both, takes them as partners and as equals, with no more basic contradiction between the works of the one and the other than there is between a wife's going needlessly but joyously to meet her husband and her shopping with careful intent to stay within her budget.

Scheduled and Unscheduled Devotion

The psychologist Gordon Allport reminds us that "the devotee of democracy adopts a lifelong assignment in his human relations." *Lifelong* and, we might add, *life-wide* and *life-deep*.

Translated into terms of personal experience, the privilege of living in a democracy is that it asks us to do in its behalf the very things that seem most appropriate to our human nature—those that relate us by bonds of constructive good will to the people around us and the people around the world and the peopled world itself, with its beauty to be valued, its resources to be used and neither misused nor abused.

Democracy asks us to be *for* life. Therefore the love we extend to our country as a democracy is no part-

time affair, no special-occasion sort of thing, nothing from which we turn to other matters. It is a permeating love that does not conflict with the other loves of our life but expresses itself in the way we serve these other loves and in the way we more and more embracingly extend our good will.

Democracy asks us to be for the life that is resident in ourselves, to develop our own inborn capacities to the point where they can be contributive capacities. It asks us to be for the life that is resident in each fellow human being because respect for man and belief in the dignity of man are the very sanction of democracy. Without such respect and belief there is no foundation for our kind of society.

In any situation, therefore, wherever we convert respect for man and belief in the dignity of man into a personal way of treating another person, we are loving our country. Wherever we belittle another person or humiliate him or refuse him a fair hearing or bear false witness against him in neighborhood gossip or treat him as a possession or as a means to our advantage, we are *not* loving our country. We are declining some of the chances that have come our way to serve its ideals and help build personalities that *can* serve its ideals "in spirit and in truth."

The parent who refuses to let a child explain what he has done before abruptly punishing him for it is, in spirit, flouting the principle of fair trial. He is also developing in that child attitudes toward authority that

are not those of the free person.

Just as love of country can surge over us without being "scheduled," so the opportunities to enact that love crop up without warning in all sorts of times and places. This is why genuine love of country has to reside in us as *readiness*, as an attitude toward human beings and human experience that can express itself through both planned and spontaneous behavior. This also is why none but the democratic personality can really serve democracy. It is the only type of personality that will spontaneously do, in all its interpersonal relations, what the concept of human dignity and freedom calls for.

Short of the Glory

Writing of most people's common image of the professor—the sort of image encouraged by many magazine stories and motion pictures—Harold Lasswell notes how little this image has to do with the actual processes of learning and of using knowledge. He suggests that it is "often concocted from those quaint articles of infrequent and slow-footed solemnity, the academic cap, hood and gown."

In similar fashion, it would appear, the image of the patriot is often concocted from trappings and symbols or from limited accomplishments rather than from the stuff of daily behavior and lifelong, life-wide, life-deep dedication.

We might take three responses given by three different small children who were asked to describe a

patriot: "He wears knee pants." "He can shoot better than anyone." "He always salutes the flag." We may well doubt that any one of these children would spontaneously translate such descriptions into a daily code for himself—into rules of fair play in games or kindness toward another child who was "different" and left out, or respect for the property of other people. The descriptions, in brief, tell us how the child would *play* at being a patriot but not how he himself would act as a member of his small society.

What is true of these children is, unhappily, often just as true of adults. It is wholly possible, and not uncommon, for people to take on years and weight without allowing their concept of patriotism to mature from one of symbols, special occasions, and spe-

cial behavior to one of permeating devotion and action.

There is, to be sure, a proper place for the symbols, and there is good reason for establishing dated occasions both for gratitude to past patriots and for rededication of oneself. But where these become the mark and sign of patriotism, without which it is not recognized as itself, they are all too likely to become also the boundaries of its practice.

Only the person who gives himself in little ways as well as big, and in consistent ways as well as remarkable, special-occasion ways, can be said to give himself in the way of love—whether to one individual who intimately shares his life or to a country that has a dream and an intention large enough to embrace mankind.

By whatever circumstances they were originally brought near to one another, neighbors on a street or on adjoining farms are also neighbors in the universe. All of them are subject to the vicissitudes of human life . . . and they are subtly bound together within a pattern of mutual helpfulness. Where this pattern is not recognized, there is no neighboring. Physical proximity alone cannot create it. There is nothing, I think, that Americans, by and large, know more profoundly than this: that neighbors are fellow mortals, with all the needs that characterize their human nature and their mortality.



Borrowed Memories

Nations, like individuals, have their yesterdays, today's, and tomorrows. How can the memory of yesterday serve men and nations? By yielding inspiration for today as well as a measure of greatness for tomorrow.

A person needs a past. We live by continuities. Yesterday is still ours in memory; tomorrow is already ours in prospect and promise. Nor is it only the world of outward circumstance that thus lies behind us, and ahead of us, in time. It is also the world of selfhood. Today I *am*, but what I *am*, or feel myself to be, holds both *what I used to be* and in some curious way *what I shall be*.

Sometimes it is when we least expect it that the span of life becomes for us a vivid reality. I remember how, one spring day a dozen years or so ago, I walked out from our New York apartment into Riverside Park. There was sunshine, after a long winter. There were new leaves on old trees, and crab apple blossoms. The grass was a green invitation to the running feet of children and the practicing feet of toddlers. It was spring, and summer lay ahead. And perhaps because summer lay ahead,

rather than because the actual temperature justified my doing so, I walked without a coat, in a light dress, and liked the tingling sense of being almost warm, almost chilly.

Then on a park bench I noticed a little old lady sitting alone, enjoying as I was the new reality of spring. Enjoying it—but just as I approached she made one of the immemorial gestures of old ladies. She hunched her shoulders a little against the breeze and drew her shawl closer.

My heart went out to her in sudden intimacy. I wanted to stop and say:

"Why, I know you—and know you well. You are all the old neighbor ladies of my childhood town. But most of all you are my mother as she grew old. You are my mother on a certain day when she and I, on one of her visits to my grown-up self, sat together in uncertain spring sunshine on a bench in Golden Gate Park."

The Span of Experience

This was memory. I was *back there*. Abruptly, however, to my own surprise, I was also years ahead. Because I am like my mother in many ways, I have often felt that I knew from her what my own later years would be like. But perhaps I never felt it as keenly as in that moment, and the feeling expressed itself in a few lines of almost-poetry that came to me ready-made and that have never grown into anything beyond that initial fragment:

*When I have lived double the years
I have lived,
I shall be old;
And even in sunshine I will wrap
thin shoulders
Against the cold.*

The lines pinned down, as it were, a vivid personal experience of time's reach on either side of the present. Also, however—and that is why I report it here—it was *human* experience. We are like that. "We look before and after . . ."

I cherish the memory of that moment in the park. In some odd personal and human way I am more myself, more consciously and distinctively a self, than I would have been without it. The pronoun in the fragment of poetry was I, the first person singular. But the experience was that of being contained within the human family—the family into which I was born, the larger "family" that was the neighborhood of my growing years, and the yet larger "family" that is womankind, a subdivision of the race of man.

We return, then, to our starting point: *A person needs a past*. Every child, given a chance, reports this fact in the questions he asks. I remember, for example, how the small son of a friend of mine pushed hard against her knee while he studied, wonderingly, the new infant she held in her arms. Then he looked up into his mother's face and asked, "Was I ever that little?"

The question was a natural and proper one, and it belonged within a long line of questions that the child had asked, and would ask in the years ahead. It was a part of his effort to locate himself in the scheme of things—his effort, we might say, to become *a person of background*, not a human isolate.

A Need That Goes Deep

The individual human being, out of the personal experience of being taller this year than last, of knowing what he did not know before, of not wanting to play any longer with toys that were once dear, of becoming interested in things he used to think were foolishness, of making plans that are a reasonable projection of the present, of discovering that other people (even, in time, his parents) seem different to him from what they used to seem, puts together into some sort of workable unity the ideas of *I was, I am, and I shall be*.

But personal experience is not all that he has to work with. He has also certain borrowed memories. One day when he and his father are fishing together something happens to

remind his father of a day long ago when he, about ten years old at the time, went fishing with *his* father. As the story is told and as the boy asks questions that lead from one thing to another, his father's boyhood becomes more real to him than it ever has been before. Oddly enough, what he finds out about this other human being who is his father becomes part of himself. His own identity becomes somehow a *surer* identity; he knows more confidently who he is.

As he thus learns, day by day and year by year, who he is, he also learns what is expected of him, what he has been given that is his to cherish and carry forward. Hence the sense of *identity* becomes part and parcel of the sense of *responsibility and integrity*.

The orphaned child—unless he has foster parents who become parents to him in heart and mind—is a deprived child. Not only does he get far less than his share of comfort and support and direction in the ups and downs of daily life, but also it is far harder for him to find out, in a way that has depth and certainty of meaning, who he is. It is far harder, therefore, for him to know what is his to carry forward into the future.

More Broadly Our Own

What we have said so far may seem to have little to do with love of country. Yet the pattern holds. When we human beings "look before and after," we need not look only as far back and as far ahead as our own memories and our own plans can

take us, or only as far back and as far ahead as the memories and plans of our particular family can reach. We can venture great borrowings from a more distant past, and these too can become part of our responsibility and integrity. These too, in brief, can be part of what we look through when we look ahead. They can be part of what we plan for, part of what we cherish, part of what we feel we must never let down.

This borrowing of cultural memories to make our own should take us, of course, far beyond the time and space limits of our own particular country. It should take us, appreciatively and responsibly, out into the wider neighborhood of countries and cultures, past and present—just as my experience of seeing the old lady on the park bench took me back not only to my mother when she was old and I was full grown but to neighborhood women who were already very old when I was very young and, through them, to woman-kind everywhere and always.

In a peculiarly intimate way, however, we can, and should, borrow our own country's past and make it our own, both as part of what we have come out of and as part of what we cherish and intend. A country is more than a colored area on a map or a name by which it is distinguished from other countries. *It is a set of assumptions about human nature*, and it is the way—indeed, the manifold ways—in which these assumptions have been built into practices and institutions. It is the record of personal lives that have enacted these

beliefs—as we, in our time and place, are expected to enact them. It is also an extension into the future; the not-yet-done, the yet-to-be-accomplished.

America, in short, is what it believes about mankind and what it has done in behalf of that belief. We act as Americans to the extent that we show forth our allegiance to that belief. Only thus do we make borrowed memories deeply part of our own identity and our own integrity.

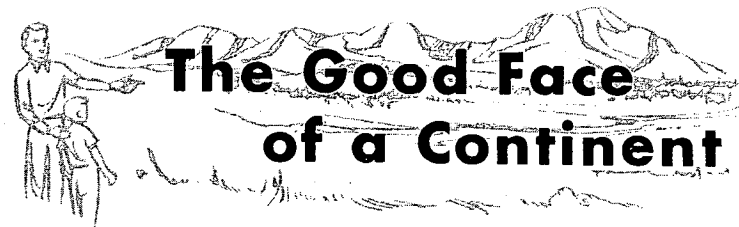
Again an Example

Not long ago a friend who works in a government office in Washington and lives in Virginia drove us home with him for dinner. On the way he talked of his work. Exacting work it was, not always pleasant to perform, often misinterpreted by the public, but deeply *his* because he saw in it his chance to serve and to pass on the American pattern of freedom. And as he talked about it he broke off suddenly to say that the highway we

were on was once a road familiar to George Washington.

Later, standing with us at a window in his home, looking out at the garden, he called our attention to a certain dark red peony and told us that it had been moved there from his mother's garden. Before that, it had moved with his mother and father from one midwestern home to another—and another.

This man loves his country in a way we can trust. He loves it with intimate pride in his home and family, loves it as it is symbolized in a peony plant that has been moved from place to place with homesteaders, loves it as a land of roads where greatness has traveled and travels still. And, not least, he loves it through daily work that he performs with an eye to fairness and decency in the present and, no less (to borrow a phrase dear to our American tradition), with an eye to "the welfare and happiness of millions yet unborn."



Wide skies and a wide land, stretching from sea to shining sea, have left their mark on a people—their laws, their vision.

We are people of a continent, we Americans. We, or our ancestors, came from the smaller places—from islands of the sea, or from political "islands." But this land has had its way with us now for a long time and has made us its own. We are people of a continent now, not of an island, not of a land mass so subdivided by boundaries that only a fragment of it is ours to think or care about.

American weather is continental weather. The wind makes a long journey to reach the maple tree beside our door. The clouds make a long journey to become the focus of a farmer's hope in the Middle West, the Southwest. Roger Williams, in his *Letters and Papers*, made note of this fact three hundred years ago. Answering the question why New England winters were colder than those of old England, in spite of there being no latitudinal reason, he wrote, "All islands are warmer than mainlands and continents. England being an island, England's winds are sea winds The northwest wind,

which occasioneth New England cold, comes over the frozen land, and over millions of loads of snow."

The skies of America are continental skies. The span is from sea horizon of the Atlantic to sea horizon of the Pacific, and between the two it is the horizon of the Great Plains. In Carl Sandburg's words ("Cornhuskers"):

Here the gray geese go five hundred miles and back with a wind under their wings honking the cry for a new home.

And the People, Also . . .

The five-hundred-mile span, the three-thousand-mile span—these have belonged not to the wild geese alone or to the winds and clouds alone. They have belonged to the people: to the many, from many places, who were becoming a continental people and to those of today who have become so.

They have belonged to the people

who went west to stake out the homestead or mining claim, and to their descendants, some of whom went farther west and some of whom turned east again, to the cities and new frontiers of intellect and industry—frontiers that in their turn were pushed westward.

They have belonged, the wide spaces, to those who have crossed them from job to job and from army camp to army camp. They have belonged to the airman who sets one record after another from New York to Los Angeles. And they have belonged to the tourist of this motor age, who stops at a motel at night; who means this motel when he says to his wife, after dinner in a restaurant he has never seen before, "Well, let's go home"; and who feels that the man who runs the diner is almost a neighbor because he was stationed for two years during the war in the tourist's own home state.

They have belonged—these wide reaches of continent—to the school children who, in California or Nebraska or Wyoming, learn of the New England beginnings of their country and who, in Massachusetts or New York or Ohio, read about the Southwest.

The continent has belonged to the people. They have lived by the resources of the land under their feet and by resources shuttled to them across the miles and channeled into markets where men go before daybreak to bargain for what housewives will buy across daylight counters.

The people have settled the continent. It is they who have given names

to the unnamed mountains. It is they who have built towns that had to be named so that they could have post offices and could be specified by people who wanted to tell other people where they lived or where they came from; and so that they could become, on a map, destinations that tourists could plan on reaching by nightfall.

And the Intangibles

The words are continental: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

These are words meant to have reach and scope. That they were so meant by those who framed them is made clear in Article VI: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State, shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

There were not as many states on that September day in 1787 as there are now—that day when "in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present" the Constitution became the supreme law of the land.

Wide areas westward that were later to become homelike places were still wilderness. But the law, which was that of more than any state, went where the people went and embraced what they brought within bounds.

This law did not go only as a document or as something for judges to interpret. It went in the hearts and minds of thousands and then millions. They could not quote it accurately, perhaps, and they could not have handed down meticulously correct decisions under it. Yet they did not forget that it was there and that, because it was there, some things could not be done by man to man:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble . . . The rights of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated."

And not only the law but the dream was continental. True, it might find lodging first in one state and then another, there to prove its worth and practicality. It was the dream of free public education, for example, or universal suffrage or the right of peaceful picketing or the definition of minimum standards for the training of teachers, doctors, and lawyers. True, it might remain—properly—a state concern. But where the winds of thought are continental, no less than those of space, dreams have a way of blowing across state

boundaries and of taking root, even as the seeds of wildflowers blow. And where the people move, their dreams go with them, to be planted in new communities and new states—even as the lilac and apple tree from the old home are parent to those that bring blossom and harvest to the new home.

The dream has become continental, moreover, through processes other than those of the statute book, federal or state. It has found its proving ground in business and industry and in all the voluntary associations of a free people, wherever the idea that feels as if it might be good is initiated—and contagiously proves its worth.

What, Then, About Ourselves?

We are people of a continent, we Americans. This is a simple fact to state in words. But it is not always simple to carry into daily practice. In her poem "Renaissance" Edna St. Vincent Millay has observed:

*The world stands out on either side
No wider than the heart is wide;
Above the world is stretched the
sky—
No higher than the soul is high.*

Even as ample a land as ours is not wide to the narrow spirit. Just as its prairie landscapes can be appalling rather than beautiful to the person who is at home only within walls, so the size of its dream can induce panic in those who suffer from mental and emotional *agoraphobia*, fear of wide-open places.

How do we make ourselves fit resi-

dents of a continent and fit inheritors and transmitters of a continental dream? First, we practice loving the near and intimate without becoming provincial, without forgetting that the far and the strange have also to be embraced in our caring because they are part of the larger whole.

We practice a deep appreciation of rich resources and a deep gratitude for them, without treating them as so endless that they can be wasted to suit our whims or our personal advantage and without letting their abundance make us look with contempt at peoples who have had less bountiful resources at their command.

We voluntarily enact and respect the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, showing forth the courage of our own convictions and respect-

ing the differences of experience, opinion, and devotion that are lodged in other people. For all the history of our land tells us that it takes many kinds indeed, and many venturings of the mind, to turn a continent into a homeland.

And we do not forget that for a continental people the horizon and what may lie beyond it are always part of reality—of mental, emotional, and spiritual reality no less than of prairie and seascape. We do not act, then, as if there were nothing left to be done except to travel the old ways and honor the past. We look ahead. We look beyond the present. We see new frontiers to which to carry the dream. We see that not even a continent is the *all* of man's home. There is a planet also.

The geography of our human experience has not, after all, been composed entirely of sloughs of despond, valleys of despair, swamps of ignorance, deserts of inertia, jungles of competitive selfishness. In large part it has been composed of spiritual hills and mountains that stand clear in the sunlight—acts of generosity and wisdom, some of them but modest mounds on the landscape, others soaring high above the mediocre and ordinary. Unless we lift our eyes unto these, as the Psalmist lifted his eyes unto the hills of his homeland, we are never likely to know how grandly life is worth whatever effort we are able to make in its behalf.



The pioneer wife keeping house on the prairie—the student wife making a home in a trailer—what can these two teach a nation about courage? About hope?

In a letter sent back to her home community from the Oregon Trail, Narcissa Whitman, more than a century ago, wrote: "We found it awkward to bake out of doors at first, but we have become so accustomed to it now that we do it easily. Tell Mother I am a very good housekeeper on the prairie. I wish she could just take a peep at us while we are sitting at our meals.

"Our table is the ground; our tablecloth is an India rubber cloth, used when it rains as a cloak. Our dishes are made of tin—basins for teacups, iron spoons and plates for each of us. . . . Each one carries his own knife in his scabbard, and it is always ready for use. When the table things are spread . . . we gather around. Husband always provides my seat, and in a way that you would laugh to see. . . . I fix myself as gracefully as I can, sometimes on a blanket, sometimes on a box just as convenient. . . . I never saw anything like buffalo meat to satisfy hunger."

Driving across the Southwest some

years ago we stopped at a state university to hunt up the daughter of a friend of ours and her G.I. husband. They were both in class when we arrived, but the Recorder's Office helped us to learn the young wife's whereabouts, and we waited outside the room until she appeared. There was surprise and joy in her greeting. My husband and I were friends from home.

"How's everybody? When did you see Mother? How is Dad now?" The questions poured out. But when she asked "How long can you stay?" and learned that we had a lecture date ahead of us and had to move on soon, she cut her questions short.

"Come along. The car's out back. You've got to see where we live, so you can tell the folks all about it. Jeff will be going home now, too, so you'll get to see him."

We had to see where they lived—a trailer in a trailer town of G.I. students and their wives and babies. Proudly they showed us every feature they had "rigged up" to make the trailer a home, a real home for

as long as they were in it. And the young wife, Joan, made two remarks that were an echo, with variations, of Narcissa Whitman's words of a century before: "It was hard to get meals at first. I didn't seem to have room to turn around. But it's easy now." And "I wish Mother could see us. . . ."

An Honorable Occupation

These two young women, one of whom would be only a history book character to the other, were both engaged in the ancient and honorable enterprise of *making do*—an enterprise without which no generation of our people (or, for that matter, of any people) could have lived and laughed and done its rightful work, in its own time and place, and made its own contribution to the ongoingness of life.

What is more—and this is what deeply counts—each of them was *making do* with style, we might say with spiritual style: Narcissa Whitman arranging herself as gracefully as she could "sometimes on a blanket, sometimes on a box just as convenient" and young Joan making her trailer "kitchen" gay with color and cleanliness.

Neither was feeling sorry for herself. Neither was feeling brave. *Each was simply doing what was to be done with what she had to do it with.*

From the beginning of our history this has been one of the basic ways—often an inarticulate way—in which the people of this land have given it their love. They have loved it in the

simplicity of courage: workaday courage, make-do courage, but courage with flair and with laughter along the edges. With song along the edges, too.

One thing that took almost more room than Jeff and Joan could afford to give it in their trailer, but for which they would have made room at any cost to things of lesser importance, was Jeff's guitar. As they laughed about its size, he took it out of its case. He didn't play anything, exactly. He just brought forth in random notes a sample, as it were, of what the guitar had to contribute to life.

We could not help remembering Sandburg's line about people with "song mouths connected to song hearts." He called them people "who must sing or die." Maybe so. In any event Jeff, with his fingers along the strings, and Joan, who smiled at him, were part of a long procession of human beings for whom laughter and song have been part of the business of doing what is to be done—and of making do.

Another Honorable Occupation

Professor Slichter of Harvard has pointed out an interesting development in our American economy since the nineteenth century. In that century, he reminds us, invention was the random product of individual genius. And in a society still skeptical about what he had to contribute, the isolated inventor often had hard sledding. But in the twentieth century invention has become continuous. It is expected, encouraged, provided

for. With a kind of snowballing ingenuity and intentness, America has become a land of *making new*.

It has always been so, of course. The two processes of *making do* and *making new* have always been teamed up in our history. The settlers of early New England, who had to make do with building materials different from those they had known in old England, brought into being the unique white beauty of churches that are almost a trade-mark of the towns they established. The Revolutionary soldiers who had to make do on short rations and the rifles they brought with them from home were creating a new nation. It has always been so.

Narcissa Whitman and her husband, sitting on the ground and eating off their iron plates, were able to make do in good spirit because they were on the trail. Emotionally no less than physically they were headed toward the new.

The new might not always be visible. In the letter quoted above, Narcissa Whitman wrote, "The face of the country today has been like that of yesterday." But the *new* was held in mind. It moved ahead of them like a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. And it had a way of cropping up unexpectedly, so that in her letter she wrote also, "We have seen wonders. . . ."

This, then, is a second honorable enterprise through which the people of our land have given it their love—and without which it would still be a physical and social wilderness: They have *made new*.

When a lot of things seem to be going wrong in our country—so that we wonder how to begin making a dent on the accumulated problems of crime, delinquency, divorce, Communist infiltration, hatemongering, mental illness, blind partisanship—we may well take a look at our basic pattern of *making do* and *making new*. Take a look to see whether it has, in one way or another, been skewed out of shape. For it is through the enactment of this pattern, both parts of it, that individuals and groups have most soundly related themselves to the tradition and the dream that we call America.

Things *can* go wrong with the pattern. They have gone wrong in many lives. In periods of crisis they have gone wrong for multitudes of people at the same time. And in some respects, it would appear, they have gone *cumulatively* wrong.

Where Trouble Starts

The pattern is skewed, for example, where *making do* is the whole of life, where the individual or the group is given little chance to experience anything but sheer drudgery. It is all right for the face of life today to be like that of yesterday—as Narcissa Whitman wrote about the face of the country. But in the very next sentence she wrote of something new, that they were "leaving the bluffs for the river." And in the sentence after that, "We have seen wonders. . . ." Making do is no proper end in itself. It is a means to an end. Where there is no vision, no hope of making new,

something within the mind and spirit of man perishes.

The pattern is skewed also where there is blind resistance to *making new*, where things as they are, or as they once were, are seen as the only right and natural things and where every proposal to make new instead of making do is viewed with alarm.

Once more, the pattern is skewed where only the new is taken to be worthwhile and where everything else is treated as "fuddy-duddy stuff."

It is skewed where individuals or groups want to grasp and enjoy the new without any preliminary stages of making do, without any patience or self-restraint, without any planning or any sound preparation of the self to work for what is wanted.

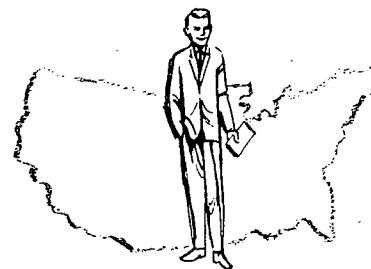
Straight Talk

It is skewed—and can be skewed dangerously—where in one part of our life there is a strong emphasis

upon making do, on holding back and keeping things as they are, and in another part of our life an equally strong emphasis upon making new. If technological and scientific newness, for example, far outrun newness of insight in human relations and social arrangements, we can run into serious trouble.

Finally, it is skewed where the ideology of total change takes over, where there is no acceptance of the evolutionary stages of making do *while* making new, but only the revolutionary insistence that the old be cast off utterly and the new be established utterly. This is the type of calculated skewing of the pattern that we are up against in all the totalitarian regimes of our time.

We who love our country do well to understand these skewed patterns and the problems they create. We do well also to understand the sound pattern of *making do* and *making new*—to understand it and to enact it in our own lives.



As Individual and as Fellow Member

Does a man cherish democracy—government by the people? Then he will not keep his silence or tiptoe away when questions are up for debate and decision. Democracy depends as much on deeds as on dedication to a belief.

"Half-citizen" is the term Harold Lasswell applies to the person who lives in a democracy, "believes" in democracy, but will not "stick his neck out."

When Harold Lasswell writes in this vein, he is not urging that we all go around either looking for issues we can angrily raise or fashioning utopias out of the stuff of daydreams and then denouncing as "reactionary" those who view these utopias with skepticism.

The Unavailing Self

He is simply taking account of the fact that in any society there are decisions to be made and values to be stated by *someone*. Suppose the citizens of a free society abdicate their decision-making role. They will soon

be having decisions made for them and imposed upon them by someone who has taken up the responsibility they have laid down. It will be someone, more likely than not, who has taken it up for his own advantage, not for theirs.

Lasswell is, therefore, making a vital distinction between the person who will and the one who will not assume responsibility for making the decisions and commitments that are part and parcel of the practice of freedom—part and parcel, we might almost say, of being a psychological vertebrate.

A half-citizen is one who pulls his head in, like a startled turtle, when he sees an issue ahead and who, if he sees it far enough ahead, circles around it, passes by on the other side. His chief tactic for living in society

is that of being quick to see what other people, the majority, think and do and then setting himself to do likewise. It is that of being quick also to sense what others, the majority, will object to, not only refraining from this himself but joining the ranks of the objectors.

Thus the half-citizen is one whose sense of security is made almost wholly from the outside. It is not made from the inside as is that of the person who knows in whom and in what he has believed. This is the person who can therefore work into strong unity, in his own purposes and behavior, such ideas, commitments, and venturings as belong together.

Our Proper Pilgrimage

In *The Crock of Gold* James Stephens tells of a young woman who chose to marry an old philosopher rather than either of two suitors her own age who competed for her hand. So shocking, so well-nigh incredible was her choice to the young men that they put aside their differences and went to her together to ask her reason.

"You have a right to ask that," said she, "and I'll tell you why I didn't marry either of you. You are only a pair of tinkers going from one place to another, and not knowing anything at all of fine things; but himself was walking along the road looking for strange, high adventures. . . . When did either of you go out in the daylight looking for a god and you not caring what might happen to you or where you went?"

"What I'm thinking," said the second man, "is that if you leave the gods alone they'll leave you alone. It's no trouble to them to do whatever is right themselves, and what call would men like us have to go mixing or meddling with their high affairs?"

"I thought all along that you were a timid man," said she.

Anyone whose membership in a free society is to be more than nominal needs to have in him some of the quality of the old philosopher. He needs to go "walking along the road looking for strange, high adventures," walking voluntarily along the road man has traveled from ignorance toward knowledge, from servitude toward freedom, from dependence toward independence and responsibility. He has, we might say, to go out in the daylight looking for the good. He cannot be so concerned about being called starry-eyed or foolish that he lets himself be embarrassed about any deliberate commitment he has made to what his reason tells him is a high cause. He must remember that being a "fool of God" is an unalienable human right.

The free person's proper pilgrimage is along a road where those who have been valiant in caring have traveled before him. But they have never traveled the whole way for him. They have set the direction. He has to explore for himself the section of the road that lies beyond where they left off. On the way he has to make his own decisions and commitments and run his own risks. Only as he does so will he—as whole citi-

zen, not half-citizen—earn his own inner sense of freedom and his own view of the future of man.

As an Individual

Many of the things we do in the wholeness of our citizenship we do as individuals. We love our country through the way we make up our minds about a certain issue or candidate. We love it through the atmosphere we create in our homes. We love it by doing within the walls of the home, within the walled places where we work, and on the streets and roads between, only such things as make it reasonable to believe that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights" and that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We love our country whenever we treat other individuals, wherever we meet them, as persons of worth and dignity and thereby help to release in them, for their own and the common welfare, their capacity to act after the manner of free people. Because our country is committed to a spiritual conception of human nature, we love it through countless "unremembered acts of kindness and of love"; through our personal sadness at human suffering and our personal rejoicing at human joy; and even through our affectionate personal laughter at the enormous absurdity that we know is part of human grandeur.

We love our country when we wake up at night and are alone with

our thoughts about it. Where is it headed, in the world as the world is now? What will its policies contribute to the spread of freedom in tomorrow's world?

As Fellow Member

We might quote again from *The Crock of Gold*: "Hold out thy hand—a brother shall seize it from afar." Nothing, perhaps, is more deeply and soundly embedded in the American dream than is the American practice of voluntary fellowship. Certainly it has been true since the beginning of our history that when the person who cares about human freedom starts out "walking along the road looking for strange, high adventures," he is likely to end up as a member of a committee.

Writing of America as a land of voluntary associations, Bradford Smith in *A Dangerous Freedom* tells story after story of how people—as whole citizens—have taken on problems related to the common welfare and have solved them by common effort. We might take here, as typical, his story of Tin Top, Texas: "Tin Top was an old broken-down store and two churches, only one of which had services and then only once a month. Tin Top had been built on cotton but when the crop had become unprofitable the cotton gin had moved away."

It was a dreary place—dreary in what it was and dreary in its lack of intention to become different. Then one woman decided the churches ought to be painted. "She persuaded

her husband to have it done. . . .

"The fresh paint on the two churches had an effect on the people of Tin Top. They began to look around for other ways to put the area back on its feet." At first, they saw chiefly *needs*. They needed electricity, telephones, better roads—almost everything, it seemed. Looking at these needs, however, they began to see one thing and then another that they could attempt together.

"As the men worked together, they began to feel like a community. So naturally they wanted a place where they could meet. . . . Once the community center was finished, Tin Top came to life. Committees were organized. . . . The women studied how to improve health and

child care and family life. The whole community put on a play. They got their telephones, and after a lot of work they got electricity. They pushed for bathrooms in every home, starting out with only two. They built two and a half miles of road, practiced delayed grazing, improved their homes, fixed up the churches, conducted rat and safe-water campaigns, sent a girl to college."

They acted, in brief, like Americans—loving their country enough to want to make it better *where they were*, with what they had to work with; and loving it all the better for making it better; and looking, again and again, beyond what they had somehow managed to do to what they could somehow tackle next.

Any political and social system puts people into some sort of relationship to one another. It asks them to think and feel in certain ways about themselves and their neighbors and mankind in general. It fosters in them certain attitudes toward their own capacities and how these are to be used, and it defines their rights and obligations.

If we are to have a deep, creative faith in our own system, it must be because we must have reason to believe that what it asks of us and of other people *fits our human nature*.

ADVENTURES

To Fit the Dream



*Sing out a welcome to the big dream.
For when big dreams course and
surge, they transform the dreamer, the
world within his horizon, and the
world beyond it.*

The citizens of Tin Top, Texas, *acted like citizens*, though it is doubtful that they talked much about this fact. They had too many other things on their minds. They were busy, we might say, with a problem of resurrection—of bringing a "dead" community back to life.

They did not have the time or the impulse, we can guess, to say to one another when they met on the street or in the community center, "What good citizens we are! What good Americans!" Neither did they have to hunt for subjects for desultory small talk, saying to one another, "Well, I hear that John Smith. . . ." There was too much to be said about getting props together for the community play, bringing in electricity, the new paint job on the church, the extermination of rats, the child study group, the girl they were cooperatively sending to college. Even the weather was more than a small-talk subject with which to pass the time

of day. Weather made a difference to their road-building project and their experiment in delayed grazing.

Wedging In on the American Dream

It's a nice question to ask and may be well worth asking: What is the relationship between Lincoln's saying, "I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free," or Jefferson's saying, "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time," and the talk of citizens in Tin Top, Texas, about the best way to put an end to a plague of rats? Do these so different ventures of the mind fit into the same frame of social logic? Do both express the same conception of human nature and of how it should engage itself with life?

We can answer yes. The words of Lincoln and Jefferson and those of

the citizens of Tin Top, sitting in committee in their community center, are part of the same dream. Both, we might say, wedge in on that dream, find their place in it, belong to it. The former declare and justify the dream; the latter are part of its workaday practice. Both are parts of the same enterprise of loving a country and making it a fit place for human beings to live in.

We have learned to talk, in this psychological age, about the I.Q., the intelligence quotient of an individual. But why should we not learn to talk of the F.Q., the freedom quotient? How would we judge it?

Clues to F.Q.'s

One clue, I believe, would lie in the way a person behaves when confronted by a problem. In what direction does he turn his face? Does he try to evade the problem by simply looking away from it and hoping it will solve itself? Does he look for someone to solve it for him? Does he shake his head gloomily as he contemplates it and say that nothing can be done—and proceed to dump cold water on any suggestion anyone else makes? These are not the ways of freedom.

Does he, on the other hand, size up the problem, find some point at which he can at least try something? Does he make his trial and take stock of how it works out? Does he enlist the cooperative insight and energy of others who will solve the problem with him, not for him, so that his "strength is as the strength of ten"

because of the nine others who are members of the same committee? These, in general, are the ways of the person with a high F.Q.

But method, of course, does not tell the whole story. Aims are, after all, the heart of the matter, and methods are good only as they are consistent with aims and effective in behalf of aims. The aims of the free person—or the committee or community or nation of free people—are in general for life, and more abundant life. Lincoln declared his personal wish "that all men everywhere could be free." The citizens of Tin Top undertook to free themselves and their children from certain specific shackles: of inertia, ugliness, ignorance, poverty, disease. Both were for the abundance of life—the enriching of it, the spread of goods and services to embrace more and more people.

That last point is worth dwelling on, because it is so characteristic of the persons or groups with a high F.Q. Theirs is the wish to spread the benefits of life, and not to keep them cornered for the self alone. Theirs is the belief that if certain things are so essential to one's own basic well-being that their absence would mean deprivation and wasted capacities, then those same things are important to other people also. This is (to carry on our alphabetical game) the G.Q. of the F.Q.—the *generosity quotient* of the *freedom quotient*. It goes right along with the *ingenuity quotient* and the *cooperation quotient*.

There is another curious and interesting mark of the free person:

the way he weaves together the immediately practical and the ideal and feels the drama of the two made one. He knows that man does not live by bread alone. If bread were enough, a dictator could hand it out. But he also takes stock of that word "alone." He does not make the mistake of ending the statement with the word "bread." For he knows that bread for the body and the Bread of Life are both needed to nourish mankind.

The citizens of Tin Top wanted roads that would let them get their produce to market. They wanted bathrooms in every house, not only in the two that had them already. They wanted to get rid of rats. Also, however, they fixed up their churches, put on an all-community play, sent a girl to college.

After they had done these things, they would be that much more likely to stand tall and to see, beyond the horizon of Tin Top, the horizons of the world—a world of people who could do with better roads, a good water supply, electricity, better sanitary conditions, better schools and colleges. Once men enter voluntarily into the service of freedom's dream, they do not easily say, "Thus far and no farther."

Looking Farther

"A mud village lies baking in the punishing sun of a Middle Eastern summer day. Up to its walls over the stony, treeless wasteland crawls an American-made jeep. . . .

"Driving the jeep is a lanky, mid-

dle-aged American named Smith, a former county agent half the world away from his native Arkansas. On the seat next to him is a staff worker from the local Ministry of Agriculture, a thin-faced man with dark skin and fine hands, his black hair whitened by the dust. . . .

"As the jeep proceeds along a narrow lane between high mud walls, scores of ragged children appear, as if out of the ground, and follow along. Several are carrying babies on their backs, their faces speckled with flies. . . .

"In a windowless adobe house slightly larger than most, the two men sit down on the dirt floor with the local elders. First there is hospitality; a tray is passed with glasses of water, tinted slightly pink with a kind of syrup, and sweet cakes. Smith would like to refuse, but he does not wish to offend his hosts. As unobtrusively as possible he slips a halazone tablet into the water glass. Brushing off a few flies, he nibbles at the sticky cake and pronounces it delicious.

"Then the talk starts. Smith and his companion ask what the village needs most. Malaria is bad, they are told . . . ; the village well is foul, and unreliable most of the year; the sheep have been dying off; there is no school for the children . . . ; the wheat crop has been poor. There are ways of coping with these things, Smith says, if the villagers will cooperate. . . ."

This is how Jonathan Bingham, former deputy and acting administrator of the Technical Cooperation

Administration, begins his book *Shirt Sleeve Diplomacy*, published a few years ago by John Day.

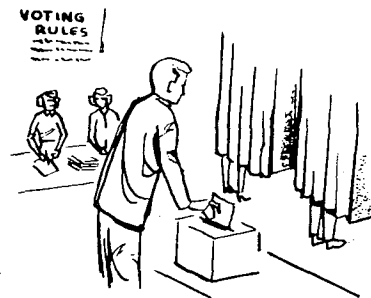
But this is not only the way in which a certain book begins. It is, we might say, the way in which the world's tomorrow may well begin if it is to be a free tomorrow: For the talk that went on in that "windowless adobe house" was mentally and spiritually akin to the talk that went on in Tin Top, Texas, when the citizens began sizing up their community needs and deciding that there were ways of coping with these things if they would all cooperate.

In short, the jeep that crawled over the dusty, treeless wasteland toward that mud village in the Mid-

dle East was not the only thing there that was American-made. The outlook and the intention of the man at the wheel—Smith, a former county agent from Arkansas—were also American-made. The program he represented was American-made.

And back of all of them—back of the jeep, the individual mind, the special phase of foreign policy that goes by the folk name of "Point Four" and the "federal prose" name of International Cooperation Administration—was the dream. It was a dream older than any of them, newer than any of them, at home in Tin Top or half a world away, fashioned out of our yesterdays for our tomorrows and the tomorrow of mankind.

A person inclines to like his neighbors as he comes to know not merely their surface selves but their hopes, plans, perplexities, and hunger for affection. Also he inclines to like them as he enters with them into shared experiences of work and play. We promote neighborly love—whether among the various children of our own family or among the various nations of the earth—as we create situations that foster mutual understanding and shared projects.



VARIETIES of VIGILANCE

When our forefathers handed down to us the precious gift of freedom, they did not mean for us to tuck it away in mothballs. It was to be guarded, yes, but also to be enlarged, cultivated, and strengthened.

It is a long while now—well over a hundred and fifty years—since John Philpot Curran declared liberty and eternal vigilance to be inseparable: "It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt."

The particular issue that moved Curran to speak thus, in 1790, may not now, on the face of it, seem fraught with enough drama to call forth immortal words; it was that of how the Lord Mayor of Dublin should be elected. Yet the drama was there, for what was at stake was the *right of election*. Curran spoke from strength because he felt strongly about the matter, and what he said was said "for keeps."

His words have been taken out of context, simplified, often misquoted,

but in essence they have been given permanent lodging in the minds and hearts of free men. Those minds and hearts know that he spoke truth: that liberty is not something to be won and then taken for granted. The conditions of its existence, continuance, and further development have to be watched and cultivated, and those who care about liberty have to do the watching.

They have to do the watching not only because it is not a job that can be delegated to someone else and then forgotten. They also have to do it because they themselves, through the experience of watching and the devotion and judgment it requires of them, consolidate their own attitudes and skills of liberty.

Our Own Position

No reasonable person, it seems to me, can doubt that we are living in a time when vigilance, *the right type*

of vigilance, is as deeply called for as it ever has been in the history of a free people. It is imperative for the exact reasons that Curran gave so long ago. To be "indolent" now in our concern about liberty is to invite its loss. The "active" are very active among us—skillfully, concentratedly, cynically active. They will not rest because we rest. With man's future as the prize to be won or lost, those who want to manipulate that future to their own advantage are not going to halt their activities, or call a truce, to oblige those who take their rights and freedoms for granted and think about something else.

Referring again to Curran's insight, vigilance is called for—now as ever, or more than ever—because of what happens if it is not exercised. Servitude, he pointed out, is both a result of people's not doing what is called for in the defense of freedom and their punishment for not doing it.

Our own position today, then, is that of a people who have enough liberty so that they are *at liberty* to be either indolent or active in liberty's behalf. Further than this, if they choose to be active, they have liberty enough so that they can be either wise or foolish, creative or destructive in liberty's behalf. They are *at liberty* to be clearheaded or confused, to make the flailing motions of panic (so that, like amateur lifeguards, they drag under and drown the life they seek to save) or to make the purposeful, disciplined motions of the person who knows what he is about because he has taken the trouble to learn.

Our position, moreover, is that of a people who have to do, at one and the same time, two things that are not normally done at the same time because they call for a different focusing of attention and energy. We have to *defend* our liberties against attack, and we have to *express and cultivate* those liberties through new, constructive programs that will strengthen our way of life and make it convincing to the world's multitudes.

Finally, our position is that of a people who have to defend their liberties without being able to identify the enemy with any consistent clarity and precision. As a matter of fact, our vigilance today has to take account of not only one chief enemy but of various enemies—and not all of them in the same camp. There are Communists—and as always, they are shielded from easy identification by the smoke screen of propaganda. But also, far over at the other extreme, there are irresponsible anti-Communists who are pro-democratic only in their words, not in their actions or personality structures. There are anti-Communist "liberals" who are as blindly and exclusively partisan as those whose blind and exclusive partisanship they deplore. And there are even such aspects of our own personalities as would tempt us to indolence, cynicism, neutralism, or the rationalized pursuit of our own advantage rather than the common welfare. Against all these, all of them at once, our vigilance must be exercised.

To put it mildly, it's quite a situation that we're in. If we are often

confused, so that we seem to make as many flailing, random motions as controlled, purposive ones, this need not occasion too destructive a measure of self-contempt. The important thing is to go ahead and learn how to make our "eternal vigilance" also a wise vigilance.

Of Confusion and Clarity

When we begin to take stock of all the kinds of vigilance being exercised among us today and all the directions in which they are turned, we are likely to be reminded of the jingling question, "Who takes care of the caretaker's daughter when the caretaker's busy taking care?" For we might well ask, "Who turns his vigilance on the vigilant while the vigilant is busy being vigilant?" The answer, it would appear, is "Every-one else who is being vigilant." Every individual, group, or agency among us that is today dedicated to vigilance in liberty's behalf is itself the object of anxious concern to other individuals, groups, or agencies that are equally dedicated and equally vigilant in liberty's behalf.

To speak mildly again, a certain confusion exists. It would be a mistake, however, I believe, simply to deplore this confusion. It is in itself a type of confusion—in many respects a painful one—that only a free people could "enjoy." The plain fact is that no individual, group, or agency could begin coping with the peculiar problems presented by modern totalitarianism, Communist or fascist, *as if already experienced and skilled in*

such coping. Confronted by new threats, many of them ambiguous and disguised, we as a free people have had to learn new tactics of vigilance. We have been learning them by trial and error and, not least, by *mutual* vigilance, by not letting any one type of endeavor have everything its own way.

It is as though we had, without knowing it, met this crisis of our time by once again resorting to the established American principle of checks and balances. The FBI, congressional committees, patriotic organizations, groups dedicated to the legal protection of civil liberties, churches, educational associations, unions, voluntary local groups, and countless individuals—of late all these have, in one way or another, been practicing an unaccustomed vigilance. Some have focused their attention on the Communist threat—specializing in this, so to speak. Others have focused on the defense of civil liberties here at home—specializing in such defense. Some few have managed to hold both in mind without (we might say) losing their minds. Where official bodies are concerned, I myself would say that this has been most dependably true in the case of the FBI. It has also, however, been true of many voluntary groups, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers among them, and it has been true of many individuals.

Anger has run high. So has fear. Policies with regard to security have seemed at times to be riding off in all directions and trampling down, in

hasty confusion, certain of freedom's safeguards. The arts of mutual denunciation have developed an astonishing versatility. The arts of self-justification have not lagged behind. In the process many individuals have suffered without due cause.

Yet (and this is something no totalitarian, Communist or fascist, could understand) *we are finding our way out of confusion, without lapsing into indifference, and we are doing so by democratic means.* In no small part, we are doing so because we have been mutually vigilant. We have not let any one form of extremism or any one form of obtuseness and partiality have its own way in our country.

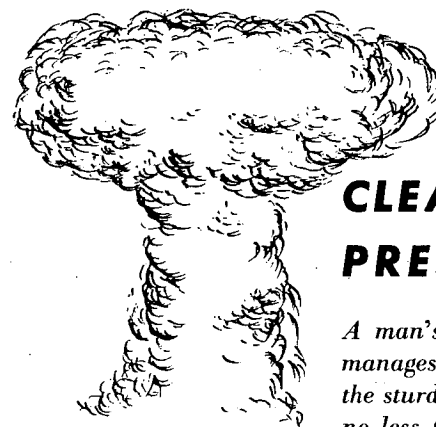
And gradually, even when we have not realized it and perhaps would have denied it, we have been listening to one another across our lines of angry difference and have been partially convinced by what we have heard. We see signs of it everywhere in modifications of attitude and policies, official and unofficial. The extremes are moving toward a middle

ground where a pattern of American vigilance can replace the factional vigilance of the past few years—and still be vigilance.

Sanity Ahead

A man in a high administrative post in one of the southwestern universities wrote us a letter in which he spoke about "the marked drop in the tension and hysteria of the past few years and the reassertion of a more equable temper in the discussion and management of public affairs."

What he thus stated, many of us feel in our bones. Sanity lies ahead. It is a sanity that may well, in time, be deepened and strengthened by the knowledge it holds. This is the knowledge that, though warring types of vigilance may temporarily confuse and well-nigh confound a free people, so long as that free people does not lapse into indolence it can find its way toward some new, creative form of vigilance to match the demands of a new age.



CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

A man's fears—what they are and how he manages them—will tell you something about the sturdiness of his spirit. A nation's fears, no less than a man's, are a measure of its spiritual robustness.

Perhaps the easiest way to characterize the dangers of our time would be simply to recite "Something old, something new. . . ." For these dangers *are* old and *are* new.

They are old, we might say, in essence. Dictatorship, crime, ignorance, mental illness, man's obtuse or calculated inhumanity to man, man's self-deceptions and self-justifications—reciting these, we are tempted to declare "There's nothing new under the sun."

Even as we speak, however, something new is likely to cross between us and the sun. It might be, for example, a jet plane, radar-controlled. For the dangers of our time are new in the means used for destructive ends. They are new also in the spread and in the terrible conclusiveness of the effects of these means. Perhaps it was not a jet plane but the mushroom-shaped cloud of an atomic ex-

plosion that came between us and the sun.

Some forty-five years ago there was published in this country a translation of the Danish book by Arthur Christensen, *Politics and Crowd Morality*. I picked up this book again the other day and reread certain passages, and the words seemed to come from a long way off, a long time ago.

Forty-five years—scarcely a big enough slice of time to make a work of very considerable insight seem dated. Yet Christensen's work did seem dated, almost quaint, because I opened to these words: "Fatal mistakes may be committed in the social as well as the political sphere, but society has a long life, and time to make good what is wrong."

As I read I felt a twinge of homesickness (if I may call it that) for the pre-atomic age, for the time when a realistic scholar could say in confi-

dent good faith. "Society has a long life, and time to make good what is wrong."

This is the dangerous "new" that makes the dangerous "old" different from what it ever was before: Time has closed in around us. We cannot afford, now, to make too many mistakes that call for slow correction. And there is one mistake we dare not make at all—that of starting, or letting anyone else start, an atomic war.

How Great a Change

Thirty-three years after Christensen's book appeared—that is, the length of time that the dictionary calls one generation—Harold Lasswell wrote, in *Power and Personality*: "Even today our physicists cannot guarantee the total destruction of mankind. It is not absolutely certain that chain reactions will reach an uncontrollable pitch of activity and end the story of the earth in a cloud of radioactive dust. Nor is it absolutely sure that biological warfare will exterminate each and every man, woman, and child."

Lasswell does not write these extraordinary sentences to recommend that we take a chance on the slim margin between total and almost total disaster and plunge ahead toward atomic war. He writes to warn us. "So long as the expectation of total destruction is not entirely credible, the rulers of a despotic state may prefer the gamble of victorious war to the certainty of losing power at home."

This is danger, and not a sort from

which we can safely turn our faces and thoughts. It is danger that bids us employ, for the saving of mankind, every bit of political wisdom, courage, and creative imagination we can focus on the international scene.

A few pages further on in his book, moreover, Lasswell points up another facet of hard reality: "We must not lose sight of the fact that even certainty of annihilation cannot protect us from the paranoid in a position of power who could imagine no grander exit than using the globe as a gigantic funeral pyre. And the paranoid need not be the leader of a great state. He can be the head of a small state or even of a small gang.

"Even a modicum of security . . . calls for the discovery, neutralization, and eventual prevention of the paranoid. And this calls for the overhauling of our whole inheritance of social institutions for the purpose of disclosing and eliminating the social factors that create these destructive types."

This, too, is danger, and, again, not of a sort from which we can turn our faces or thoughts. It bids us employ, for the saving of mankind, every insight we have into the workings of human personality and of social influences upon that personality. It is in the confronting of this danger that our tradition of political freedom and our new psychological knowledge must form their creative alliance. It is here that we must enlist the best intelligence and deepest compassion of every sound human being within reach.

Subdivisions of Danger

We have been writing about the gigantic danger of atomic war. To concentrate exclusively on this, however, is to condemn ourselves to either emotional paralysis or a simple wish to escape doom. It casts us in the role of the small girl who, returning from school after an air-raid drill, pleads with her mother, "Can't we go somewhere where there isn't any sky?"

If we are to have the sort of courage that Plato defined as "wisdom concerning danger," we need to look at the subdivisions of this gigantic threat. We need to find where we can begin to wedge in and make a difference—by what we ask of those in authority, what we do in our own areas of influence, and what we contagiously are in our own mental and emotional make-up. Without attempting to analyze, then, or even name all the dangers that today invite our wisdom, we can at least look at some of the types.

There is the danger posed by the presence of active Communists among us—and we dare not ignore this fact. These Communists even enjoy, right now, certain advantages that we need to understand. Since they are few in number, there are still people who judge their possible influence as something to which we can remain fairly indifferent because it cannot do much harm.

This traditional attitude of ours—sound enough in most cases, and part and parcel of our freedom—simply does not fit the present case.

It ignores the fact that those who are Communists today in this country represent the hard, disciplined core of the movement. They are those who "neither slumber nor sleep." It ignores also the fact that a hidden, disguised minority is a very different thing from an open minority. Even a few unidentified enemies in key places can do incalculable harm. Even a few in the nagging role of troublemakers can disrupt the democratic processes of voluntary groups if we do not exercise wisdom concerning danger.

The Communists enjoy other advantages as well. They stand to profit if we become so concerned about the uninformed anti-Communism of extremist groups in our own midst that we forget to be concerned about the presence of Communists. They stand to profit by our very hunger for peace, by the likelihood that we will respond to every appearance of international amity by a wish not to upset the applecart with undue criticism of Communists. They stand to profit—and have profited enormously—by the cold civil war that has set group against group in disputes over the very issue of dealing with Communists.

This brings us to another subdivision of our gigantic danger: extreme factionalism among ourselves. Such factionalism has at many points become exaggerated, vituperative, and encouraging to those whose personality structures are geared to fear and hatred or whose personal ambitions thrive on public fear and hatred. Thus it is going to take a large, pa-

tient reasonableness on the part of a great many individuals and groups—local and national, official and unofficial—to restore law, order, and decent generosity to our processes of thought and the words we speak about one another.

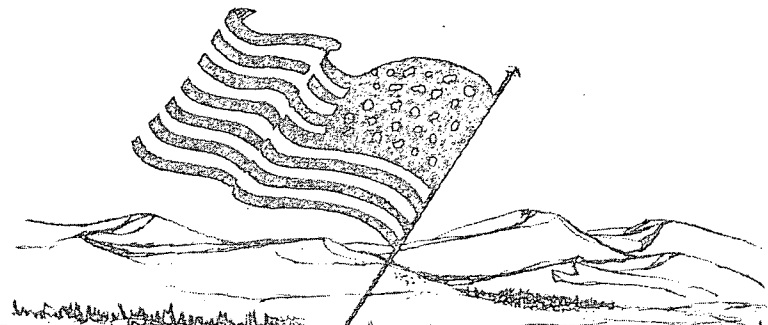
A further danger has lain in the actual clumsiness of many of our security measures. Many times these measures have seemed to miss the important and focus on the irrelevant; and they have been so variously interpreted and applied as to become measures of whim and bias rather than of calm, considered, predictable policy.

Still another danger comes very close home to all of us who live and move among people in family and community. This is the danger inherent in the acute unhappiness of individuals, the sort of disruptive unhappiness that is a forerunner of deep mental and emotional disturbance. Crime, delinquency, mental illness are the various fruits of such unhappiness. But so likewise are malice,

rumormongering, ruthlessness, fanaticism. So likewise is the kind of hostility that is passed down like a painful legacy from parent to child, from teacher to student, from manager to subordinate. Against this sort of danger we need to focus not only our personal generosity and understanding but also our society's resources of new psychological insight.

Love of country, in brief, must involve a steady, informed, emotionally balanced resistance to whatever threatens the continuance or the integrity of the country we love. Love that ignores danger is no real love. Love that goes hysterical in the face of danger or sees as dangerous only what is a projection of its own biases is no proper love for a time like this. Nor is love that sees only the gigantic danger about which it can directly do nothing, and refuses to see the many subdivisions of that danger, about which practical things can be done. This is a love that irresponsibly cries havoc but does not responsibly help to create a safer tomorrow.

The Communists have been adept at verbally identifying their aims with the ideals of non-Communist youth. This great deceit must be halted, and must be halted in the "target" minds of the young. The Iron Curtain points up the contradiction between what the Communists say and what they do where they hold the instruments of power.



CLEAR AND PRESENT HOPE

There's good hope for mankind. It's being built in the factories, in the fields, in the laboratories, at the conference tables—wherever men of heart and vision are setting themselves to the unfinished business of building a healthy, warless world.

With regard to his beloved city of Chicago, Carl Sandburg asked a question—and gave it an answer. He asked,

How should the wind songs of a windy city go?

And he answered,

Singing in a high wind the dirty chatter gets blown away on the wind—the clean shovel, the clean pickax, lasts.

With regard to the country we love, we might frame a similar question: "How shall the freedom songs of a free people go?"

The answer we elect to give must express our knowing—as Sandburg

knew—that "songs" are not made wholly of the breath of the mouth but also of the works of hand and heart.

Our answer, like his, will have to report what is to be "blown away" and what is to last. That answer will have to rest firmly upon our bedrock determination to get rid of the "dirty chatter" of cruelty, crime, violence, ignorance, malice, hatred, and fanaticism. It will rest on our determination to get rid of these not by "liquidating" someone or some group (as totalitarian regimes liquidate those who cross their purposes or whom they cannot use to advantage) but by building personalities that just naturally do not, in word or action, go in for this kind of "chatter."

Our answer will have to rest also upon our readiness to embody and encourage what is "clean" in method and purpose. Such cleanness does not need to apologize for being what it is or deceive itself about its own character or disguise itself from the eyes and consciences of men. It can stand tall and proud in the sunlight of self-knowledge and public appraisal.

What Has Already Begun

We know now that hope is not an airy nothing in human experience. All we have learned about ourselves in this psychological age tells us that where hope is attached to reality, and is not of the mere stuff of escapist daydreams, it makes energy. Nor is the energy it makes only physical. It is energy of mind and spirit as well. It is what we call *creative energy*.

When we talk, then, about points of clear and present hope in today's world, points where light is already glimmering in darkness, we are making ready the way for our love of country to become a healthy, dynamic love.

Richard Le Gallienne wrote a poem, once, that he called "A Ballad Catalogue of Lovely Things." As one strain in freedom's song, we might write our own catalogue of hopeful things. And we would not need to fabricate them or attach them wistfully to utopian fantasies. We can make our catalogue out of things that are actually taking place.

In the preceding chapter we appraised the total danger that resides in atomic warfare. But what of the

hope that resides in "atoms for peace"? At conferences of scientists in recent years that hope has taken on substance, as these men from all over the world have talked together of what could be done now that could never have been done before to "feed the hungry and clothe the naked."

At one conference, for example, Swedish delegates talked of crops reformed by radiation: new varieties of wheat, barley, peas, lupines, flax, mustard, tomatoes. The barley—to take one product—has been given a better capacity for absorbing vital nitrogen. Also it matures earlier, has a higher protein and oil content and better baking qualities.

They talked of these things as scientists talk, scientists whose words are a restrained, factual comment on what has been done and what can be done. Yet reading the reports of that conference I myself could not help feeling that their words were an invitation to the rest of us to talk in a certain way—one very different from the frightened way in which we have all too concentratedly talked about the severed atom. They were silently inviting us, in our layman's fashion, to talk sense about atomic energy. They were inviting us to make at home in our common consciousness the fact that hope, no less than hazard, was born in the atomic laboratories. With this fact at home in our consciousness, we, a politically sovereign people, would begin to know better what to ask of those we elect to office, what to tell them we want as fruits of the atomic age.

Other Beginnings

What else is going on among us to which we can rightly attach our hope and for which we need to learn to speak and act with creative realism?

However tentative and wary it may still be, there is a new determination on the international front to avoid war—and to find some reliable way of releasing mankind from the constant threat of war. Without letting our hope run too far ahead of fact, so that we relax our vigilance or begin making unrealistic demands for tax reduction by way of arms reduction, we can serve with mind and heart every effort to find the road toward durable peace. And we can, as a minimum contribution, refrain from building roadblocks of cynicism or fear to halt those who are searching out the path.

This brings us to a third change, one that is more subtle and less easy to pin to this or that event. There is among us a growing realization that we cannot scream our way into the world's tomorrow. Neither can we threaten our way into it. We have to resort to man's time-honored device of thinking. This means that wherever we are, whatever problem we are concerned about, we can be *on the side of tomorrow* as well as of what was best in our American yesterdays. We can encourage thoughtfulness, factuality, and mutual consideration and discourage extravagances of hostility and fear-ridden fantasy.

Again, on the international front there is a growing body of tried fac-

tual knowledge about how to make cooperation both good-willed and practical. UNESCO has brought together, on one human problem and then another, the world's educational and scientific experts. Those experts, who already talk some common language of knowledge, can, by pooling their information and their perplexity, create on the international front a sort of planetary New England town meeting. Programs for the exchange of students and teachers across national boundaries are, in essence, programs for planting seeds of good will and mutual understanding. And our technical assistance, even on its subsistence budget, is carrying out the Biblical dream of making the deserts of the earth bloom like a rose.

Here at Home

Here among ourselves, here at home, at least three other major developments should be noted. Each of them invites our understanding and our support.

Our economic order is maturing—by its own inner logic, we might say—into something truly new under the sun. Not only is it *productive* beyond all previous expectations, far beyond the expectations of even its most hopeful supporters, but it is proving itself remarkably *creative* on the human-relations frontier. From programs for better in-service training to agreements on guaranteed annual wages, our economy is proving itself vigorous with new possibilities for human well-being. There are injustices still. There are uglinesses. There

are practices that go counter to quiet self-understanding and mutual understanding among people. But we owe it to our economy to know what it is creatively doing and to speak of this no less than of what is yet to be done.

Again—and nothing today holds more hope than this—the mental health movement is becoming a grass roots movement, one through which the layman and the expert can mutually discover each other's strength and good will and through which they can jointly work for the mental and emotional betterment of life where people are. Whenever we join a PTA study-discussion group on child development or a premarital counseling service, wherever we give support to a psychological clinic or a movement to improve state hospitals, we reach out and touch the future.

Finally—and let no one underestimate the importance of this—we are putting behind us the empty forms of debunking and of spiritual neutralism. Instead we are setting ourselves once more to the honorable human task of searching out the deep meanings of life and dedicating ourselves to them.

Many efforts in this direction are hasty, ill conceived, backward-looking. They are, we might say, spiritual get-rich-quick movements. The rewards they offer, as in so many other get-rich-quick movements, are gold bricks rather than true gold. But the hunger for meaning is genuine; so are many of the searches for mean-

ing currently in progress. We do well to become searchers also, searchers and affirmers of the eternal worth of life.

How To Love a Country

Shall we quote Sandburg once again, from the same poem?

It is wisdom to think the people are the city. . . .

It is wisdom to think no city stood here at all until the working men, the laughing men, came.

It is wisdom to think tomorrow new working men, new laughing men, may come and put up a new city.

And he adds an afterthought:

Tomorrow shall have its own say-so.

That "say-so," however, will not be wholly its own. It will be made out of today, out of those of us who today "are the city," are the nation, are one significant portion of the world. It will be made out of what we say to one another. It will be made out of our ways of supporting what we believe, out of our multiple choices. It will be made out of what we think about when we lie awake at night, out of what we ask of those whom we endow with authority.

The way to love a country is, in essence, similar to all ways of creative, affectionate relationship. As we said in the first chapter, we here say in conclusion: "The verb is *to love*."

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NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

EX 109

October 22, 1965

REC-10 100-114575-152

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[Redacted Address]

New York, New York

Dear [Redacted Name]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

OCT 22 2 04 PM '65
FBI
RECEIVED-READING ROOM

Your letter of October 18th has been received, and it was indeed good of you to communicate with me.

In response to your inquiry, information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sure you will understand the reason for this policy and why I am unable to furnish the data you requested.

I would like to point out that I have never made any comments expressing approval or disapproval of the John Birch Society, and the FBI has not investigated this organization. Personally, I have little respect for the head of the John Birch Society since he linked the names of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles and former CIA Director Allen Dulles with communism.

Enclosed is some material which I hope you will find of interest.

MAILED 25
OCT 22 1965
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

[Handwritten signature]

OCT 27 1965
XEROX

Enclosures (2)
The Faith of Our Fathers
The Communist Menace: Red Goals and Christian Ideals
NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. We have enjoyed cordial relations with Dr. and Mrs. Harry Overstreet, and we have furnished them assistance in connection with their books.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- DeLoach _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
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NOV 2 1965
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TRUE COPY

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

October 18, 1965
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTG/KC G/H

Dear Mr. Hoover. The following "P.S" I am copying from a letter received recently from Bonaro Overstreet.

"P.S. People who don't like The John Birch Society and its tactics of labeling as Communists or pro-Communists any person or group with which it disagrees are not necessarily, you know, against patriotism and anti-Communism. J. Edgar Hoover, in his sworn testimony before the Warren Commission on May 14, 1964, made it perfectly plain that he considers those who make "allegations that Gen. Eisenhower was a Communist" and "disparaging references to the Chief of Justice" as just as dangerous on the Right extreme, as Communists are on the Left. "They don't deal with facts. Anybody who will allege that Gen Eisenhower was a Communist agent, has something wrong with him" And Mr. Hoover was speaking, I would emphasize, under oath. See Hearings before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy. Vol 2 p. 101. In like view, at the same press conference last fall, when he called Martin Luther King a liar, Mr Hoover said flatly that he had "no respect" for the John Birch Society. Would you contend that Mr. Hoover is against all anti-Communists?"

I do not belong to the John Birch Society but I believe the majority of members are upstanding American Patriots. Why Mrs Overstreet should add the P.S., which contains your name, to a letter with which it had nothing to do, is known only to Bonaro. I don't know the Overstreets personally but I have heard something of their activities. That I received the letter from Mrs. Overstreet is a strange thing and comes about because I objected to their endorsement by the United Church Women.

In a small way I have been trying to acquaint friends and others about the Communist Conspiracy. Would it be too much to ask if either or both of the Overstreets were ever called before the House un-American Activities Committee? They have been accused of it by a reliable source. Bonaro denies it about herself.

There is another question I have known for a long while that there was a man named Larsen connected with the robbery of Gov. documents in the Amerasia Case. He was in the State research dept. and an adviser to President Eisenhower, positions which Arthur Larson also held. I asked Mr. Dan Smoot. He wrote they were not the same. Somehow I cannot be satisfied that there is no connection.

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JEP: 8/20/65
1 TC: 10/20/65

REC-10

11 OCT 27 1965

PERS. REC. UNIT

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I am very concerned about the danger to the Churches. They will be the first to go if our beloved Country - so favored of God - becomes a Soviet State.

I would appreciate some word from you.

Sincerely

[Redacted signature block]

N. Y., N. Y. 10031

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John F. Edgar Hoover

Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C.

October 18, 1965
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ACK: 10/21/65 ITC: 10/20/65

Bonaro.

CORRESPONDENCE

TC

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Sincerely,

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

N.Y., N.Y. 10031

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b7C

Ignored
for

REC-56

EX 103
October 25, 1965

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
1 - Mr. Garner

gm
700-114595-153
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
3409 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I should like to extend to you my greetings on the occasion of your 90th birthday. Your years have spanned a significant segment of our Nation's history and your efforts to relate the individual to his surroundings in this era of rapid change are widely known and genuinely appreciated by those who are aware of the ever-increasing complexity of life today.

By utilizing your unique experience and abilities in the field of education and psychology in your analyses of communism and its threat to freedom, you have contributed significantly to the intelligent and, therefore, more effective opposition to communism.

Sincerely yours,

WCS:cr/vms
(8)

NOTE: See memorandum Sullivan to Belmont dated 10/19/65 re "Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, Falls Church, Virginia, Information Concerning," WCS:cr. Letter dated October 25, 1965, since that is birthday of Dr. Overstreet and letter to be delivered personally by Mr. W. C. Sullivan. Director's note paper used for special congratulatory purpose.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

57 FEB 3 1966

57 APR 12 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: October 19, 1965

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
INFORMATION CONCERNING

3409 Fiddlers Green
Lake Barcroft

MRS.

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet who is working with his wife, Bonaro, on a book favorable to the FBI is to celebrate his 90th birthday on October 25, 1965, at a social affair with friends present. The Overstreets, with whom the Bureau has maintained cordial relations and correspondence in the past, are nationally known in the fields of education and psychology, and have frequently quoted from the Director's articles and books on meeting the threat of communism in their lectures throughout the country and in their widely circulated writings.

Inasmuch as the Overstreets have been effective and staunch supporters of the Director and the FBI and the Director previously wrote a letter of congratulations to Dr. Overstreet on his 80th birthday in 1955, it is believed appropriate that the enclosed letter of greeting from the Director should be presented to Dr. Overstreet at his 90th birthday celebration to which I have been invited.

RECOMMENDATION:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/col

That the attached letter, if approved, be returned to me to read on the occasion of Dr. Overstreet's 90th birthday. I will be attending his birthday party.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Garner

WCS:cm
(7)

CRIME RESEARCH

Oct. 27, 1965

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover

Director of the Federal Bureau
of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KAL

Bonaro Overstreet

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I thank you so very much
for your answer to my letter of Oct. 15/65
in which I believe you have given me
the data I needed. Where it was not
possible I believe I can get it from the
House Un-American Activities Committee.

My original information on that sub-
ject came from a letter which Rev. Hargis
had written to the Editor of the Tulsa "World".
I think Rev. Hargis is a good fundamentalist
Christian who looks up facts before he
broadcasts an opinion. But I wanted
corroboration! Noack- reply Spaul

To
The head of the John Birch Society has
not a pleasing personality; of course the
three you mention are not Communists
but unfortunately Gen. Eisenhower was
badly misinformed on several occasions
and backed the wrong side. I haven't
gotten over it!

The papers you sent are most inter-
esting and I thank you for them.

I think I must tell you that the
letter to me from B. Overstreet which
contained the P.S. was full of lies
and threats. I am ignoring it.

Blessings on the work of the F.B.I.
Sincerely,

[Redacted signature]

P.S. I am enclosing a pamphlet which has
just come to my attention. Strange
that it should give the history of the
(over)

b6
b7c

new york, NY-10031

h

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

REC- 56

100-114575-154

ENCLOSURE

F 36

EX 109

9 NOV 1 1965

50 NOV 9 1965

8/pbr

Overstreets and the Methodist
involvement.

N. S.

b6
b7C



New York, N.Y. 10031

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/col

123

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-154



3 BIG QUESTIONS

....Has the Johnson Administration Given the Dominican Republic to the Communists?

....Is Fidel Castro the Mastermind Behind American Negro Revolution?

....Why is the Methodist Denomination Promoting a Book that is Authored by a Long-time Communist Frontier?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-82 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

DEAR CHRISTIAN CRUSADER:

We feel that you have a right to know the answer to these three important questions! For that reason, the research and journalism staffs of Christian Crusade have undertaken a challenging project to give you the facts...unlike Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense, we feel the AVERAGE American does have a right to know the facts!

The American people are getting sick and tired of managed news and biased, distorted Marxist style reporting. It is now apparent to me that the liberals of both political parties firmly believe that in order to serve their political ambitions and positions, the American people should be kept ignorant on many crucial matters. We saw how news about Castro's take-over of Cuba was distorted; how we were kept in the dark about the presence of nuclear missiles in Cuba, and currently we see how the liberal news media, apparently succumbing to the pressure of the Johnson Administration, is withholding from the American people the awful fact that we are financing a COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER of the Dominican Republic.

If it's humanly possible, we must get a million copies of our ^{NEW} book into the hands of the American people...a book exposing "news suppression" and the unobjective, biased and Administration-oriented liberal news media in the U.S. This book, which I wrote, is titled, "DISTORTION BY DESIGN". God only knows the impact for good this book would have on the American people if we could match the circulation of "None Dare Call It Treason" or "A Texan Looks At Lyndon" during last year. (We are offering this 317-page book, "DISTORTION BY DESIGN", to our friends at unbelievably low prices...1 copy - \$1; 3 copies - \$2; 10 copies - \$5; 25 copies - \$10; 100 copies - \$30; 500 copies - \$125; and 1,000 or more copies - 20¢ each, by writing to Christian Crusade, Tulsa 2, Oklahoma.)

~~IN ORDER TO ANSWER THE ABOVE THREE QUESTIONS THAT CONFRONT EVERY LOVER OF FREEDOM TODAY, we desire to rush you four RESEARCH publications dealing with them.~~

CASTRO'S AGENT DID INDEED PLAN RACE RIOTS!

If someone were to come up and tell you that since May 1964 there has been a blueprint for the different riots that have taken place in our country and the rebellion that shook Los Angeles, you would, no doubt, have difficulty believing that this is absolutely true. But, you will have no doubt at all that such a blueprint does exist when you read, and carefully study our reprint of the most amazing set of instructions we have ever read. They are contained in a booklet printed in Cuba entitled, of all things, "The Crusader", and published by a Negro communist named Robert Franklin Williams.

Now, some of you may know the facts surrounding the background and activities of Williams. But, for those who don't, let me just quickly give you a few items. In 1961, Williams was a chapter leader for the NAACP in Monroe, North Carolina. He then got into a lot of trouble and was accused by the FBI of being a kidnapper. Williams fled to Cuba where Castro decided to make him the spearhead of communist subversion, agitation and terror within the civil rights movements inside our country. By 1964, Williams had received minute training in the

art of treason and assassination, not only in Cuba, but also in communist China. He was the publisher of "The Crusader", and the director of a radio program called "Radio Free Dixie", that was, and is, beamed into the United States three nights a week from communist Cuba. It can be heard on long-wave in all of the eastern states and on short-wave all over our country. The program incites both American Negroes and Whites to rebel against the government of the United States and to initiate communist rebellions.

It wasn't until May 1964 that Castro ordered him to publish a blueprint for riots and revolts in the United States. This document was sent to Canada and then handed out in many of our states by communist agents and by Freedom Riders actually trained by the National Council of Churches in states such as Mississippi, Alabama, and many others.

You must read this document to believe what I am telling you. You will see why and how the rebellion at Watts took place. (You will notice that the revolt in the Dominican Republic is also a by-product of what is contained in this blueprint.)

The document tells much more than this, however. It reveals the life and death struggle going on between the civil rights leaders who follow the Peking, China line (such as Robert Franklin Williams himself presumes to do), and others such as Martin Luther King, who are closer to the Moscow "slow but sure approach" to our national liquidation under Marxism. No longer will you be in the dark on why the slogan at Watts was, "Let it burn - Let it burn!" It is contained in this blueprint. If you want to be well-informed, you simply must read this amazing piece of communist insolence and effrontery.

JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION IS SUPPORTING THE RED PUPPETS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Yet, there is much more that you must know in order to understand what the Reds are planning to do to our country, to our children, and to our Christian religion. You will find out when you read, "Will The Dominican Republic Become Another Soviet Colony in the Caribbean?" just written by Dr. Fernando Penabaz and published by Christian Crusade, which I want to send you. In this new booklet, Penabaz gives a blow by blow account of what is taking place in that tragic country and reveals behind-the-scenes facts seldom mentioned in our national news media. This well-researched booklet is a "must" for all of us. Once more, you will meet up with the same old names of the same men who sold out Central Europe, China, and Laos -- how they are opening the way for the final communist take-over of the second largest island in the Caribbean. If the Reds should accomplish this purpose, they will completely seal us off from South America and place Russia in absolute and total command of the southern land and sea approaches to our country.

Don't believe that Santo Domingo is something that you can afford to ignore. ~~It is all part~~ and parcel of Russia's pattern of conquest within our hemisphere and right off our shores, while our rulers in Washington aid them in their aims. I know this sounds fantastic, but after you read this new booklet, you will agree that truth is stranger than fiction, and that the facts contained in Penabaz's exposure are irrefutable. The rebellion in Santo Domingo, and the one in Los Angeles can be easily identified as part of one great big communist plot. Giving names, dates, and disclosing until now well-hidden political secrets, this new booklet will clear up in your mind many doubts and questions regarding what is actually taking place at this moment in the Dominican Republic. And, let me add, it is very, very bad for America and Christian freedom.

LET ME ASK YOU FRANKLY...

Do you know that Castro has succeeded in registering his agents in the United States with our Justice Department? Did you know that two New Orleans lawyers, Claude Waltzer and Benjamin Smith, who are the legal brains and leaders of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party, registered last year in Washington under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as Castro's official agents and that they are also the leader of COFR? Did you know that besides Marxist Bettina Aptheker, daughter of one of the top leaders of the Communist Party USA, the other

leaders of the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, California, were Jerry Rubin, Mickey Lima and Elizabeth Belle Flemming, all trained in Communist Cuba? Did you know that the "field secretary" for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is Marxist Joni Rabinowicz whose father, a New York attorney, is also registered in Washington as Castro's agent and that another one of his registered agents, George W. Crockett, Jr., is running for city alderman in Detroit and that he is officially endorsed by the Democratic Party, the Young Democrats, and the 13th Congressional District?

We could give another dozen pages of facts like this. It is a ghastly story, but one that if we persist in ignoring and if we refuse to become informed so that we can fight, these facts will, no doubt, bring about the destruction of freedom in our dear, beloved country.

METHODIST CHURCH IS PROMOTING BOOK BY KNOWN COMMUNIST FRONTER

"Adult Teacher" is a publication of the Methodist Church. In its September 1965 issue, this magazine recommended that adult Methodist discussion groups study a book entitled, "The ~~Strange Tactics of Extremism~~", by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. The publication also said that "a study of this book should do much toward opening the minds of churchmen to the realities of a struggle from which no Christian or non-Christian can escape." In fact, the September issue of "Adult Teacher" proclaims the Overstreet smear book required reading. Strangely enough, the Methodist leadership is not very worried about communism. Their pre-occupation is mainly with what they call "right-wing extremism". (One full chapter of this anti-anti-communist book is devoted to attacking Christian Crusade.)

Perhaps it is not as strange as it may seem because it would be difficult for the Methodist denominational leadership to really attack leftism when so many extreme leftists are preaching from Methodist pulpits. This can also explain why they have chosen the book by Harry Overstreet as their new Bible. Overstreet's background fits in very nicely with the new leftist ideologies that are to be found in far too many Methodist pulpits and seminaries. But, the Methodists aren't the only ones that are trying to make Overstreet's book popular. Left-wing circles throughout the entire United States are doing the same thing.

WHO IS HARRY OVERSTREET?

Harry Overstreet is now trying to say that he has had an awakening to the evils of Marxism and totalitarian socialism. We might believe it if it were not for the fact that he has been saying the same thing throughout his entire lifetime while zestfully belonging to notorious communist fronts and publicly associating with Reds of every hue. Harry is no little kid. He is now 90 years old. At the ripe age of 64 years, Harry belonged to the America Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, and the New York College Teachers' Union, local 537, identified communist fronts. He was a member of the "American Committee to Save Refugees", a typical communist gang. (On page 361, Appendix IX, of the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings, you will find that this committee had outposts throughout the world which served as a means of blackjacking refugees from communism.)

One of the most evil instruments of the Communist Party USA was a front called "American Friends of Spanish Democracy". Harry Overstreet was 63 years old, more or less, when he joined this group.

It would take more space than I can afford at this moment to cite all of the extreme leftists and unabashedly communist organizations to which Harry Overstreet has pledged his support and loyalty. Yet, just let me mention a few more: "Committee to Save Spain and China", "The Consumers' Union", "The Descendants of the American Revolution" (a communist front organization set up to oppose the Daughters of the American Revolution), the Communist Party-dominated "National Federation for Constitutional Liberty", the "Schappes Defense Committee", and so it goes. (We will send you the entire list upon request, plus a critique of the Methodist Church's new crusade to smear patriots.)

Overstreet has been allied with communists in attacking the Pope, leading Jewish Rabbis, and fundamental Protestant clergymen. Isn't it amazing that the Methodist leaders should identify themselves with a book written by such a character and use it to attack those of us whose only sin, in their eyes, is that we believe in God and consider atheistic communism an enemy of our Lord and Saviour. Maybe if we had been investigated by Congressional committees because of our subversive backgrounds, we would have been acceptable to the Methodist leaders and their leftist cousins throughout the country. Of men like Overstreet and his collaborators, the famous preacher, Henry Ward Beecher, once said, "Repentance may begin instantly but reformation often requires a sphere of years."

LET ME RUSH YOU THESE FOUR RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

So that you may have the facts in hand in your fight to preserve the orthodox Christian faith and individual American freedoms, I want to rush you these four publications: (1) a photo-stat copy of the Fidel Castro Blueprint for racial insurrections and civil war; (2) Dr. Penabaz's timely new book, "Will the Dominican Republic Become Another Soviet Colony in the Caribbean?"; (3) the communist front background of Harry Overstreet; and (4) our research publication on the Methodist Church and their endorsement of Overstreet's book. Please let me rush all four of these research publications to you. I await your instructions.

(EACH MONTH) Now, it is apparent that we cannot continue to bring the American people the facts about the subtle attacks on Christianity and freedom by the Marxists and their allies without financial support. No similar organization in America has the research department...PLUS the access to mass communications that Christian Crusade has. (Even our enemies often state we reach five million Americans daily with our hundreds of radio stations.) Remember, with your MONTHLY GIFTS, we are NOW: (1) broadcasting 4,000 radio programs monthly; (2) circulating one million pieces of pro-Christian, anti-communist educational material; (3) speaking to thousands with an average of fifty Christian Crusade Rallies in major cities in the United States; and (4) pursuing by every legal means the maintenance of fair play and justice in the land by fighting to retain our tax-exempt status in the courts of the land.

We need gifts...contributions...and we need help now. Our income is down. Our "out-go" is at an all time high. However, it is more than justified as we view the apparent success of our godless enemies and the need to challenge them with CHRISTIAN TRUTH! Cash gifts of \$1,000 or plus are desperately needed for radio and publishing expenses and the erection of the Christian Crusade Headquarters in Tulsa now in progress. Gifts of \$500, \$200, \$100, \$50, \$25, \$10 must be forthcoming if we meet every challenge presented us. This month, we are begging you to flood our Headquarters in Tulsa with \$5 gifts to underwrite this worthy cause. Also, smaller gifts of \$4, \$3, \$2, and \$1 are vitally important if we win this battle.

Stand with us, please...stand with us now...don't hesitate or delay sending your letter now to Christian Crusade, Box 977, Tulsa 2, Oklahoma, requesting these FOUR PUBLICATIONS offered in our October letter. I am awaiting your response believing that my request is right in the sight of God and your response will be forthcoming. God bless you...pray for me and our entire staff here on the front lines of this battle. You are our source of supply...no army can fight when its supply lines are cut.

Yours for Awakening,

Billy James Hargis
Billy James Hargis

Billy James Hargis

Box 977

Tulsa, Oklahoma 74102

Enclosed is my gift to underwrite the ministry of Christian Crusade amounting to \$_____.

() do () do not send me these FOUR PUBLICATIONS mentioned in October letter.

Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copies of "DISTORTION BY DESIGN".

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

HARRY A. OVERSTREET
3409 FIDDLER'S GREEN
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
22044

October 26, 1965

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very warmly for your generous greeting.
It came as a delightful surprise when it was read at the party
by Mr. Sullivan; and now I have it in hand to cherish.

Together with greetings from other valiant workers
in the vineyard, it will help to keep me on the job for as long
a time as by body can be persuaded to affirm my intentions.

Sincerely,

H.A. Overstreet
H.A. Overstreet

100-114575

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8GTJ/CAL

REC-50

100-114575-155

25 NOV 4 1965

* on Sunday eve, 10-24-65.

1-36
53 NOV 10 1965

No ack. ref.
8/
on page

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach *SLA*

DATE: 11-4-65

FROM : M. A. Jones *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: ARTICLE ENTITLED
"THE CHURCHES AND THE
EXTREME LEFT" BY
HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJJ/CL

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

100-114575

As a matter of record, there is attached a Xerox copy of the above-mentioned article which appeared in the November, 1965, issue of the "Christian Herald."

The Overstreets have done extensive writing on the subject of communism and are, of course, well known to the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information. *[Signature]*

Enclosure *[Signature]*

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan

100-114575

MAJ:jma
(5) *jma*

REC-70

100-114575-156

8 NOV 9 1965

EX-101

ENCLOSURE *[Signature]*

CRIME RESEARCH *[Signature]*

6 9 NOV 1965

EXTREMISTS ARE SPLITTING THE CHURCH

THE CHURCHES AND THE EXTREME LEFT

The first of two major articles.

Coming: "The Churches and
the Extreme Right."

By HARRY and BONARO
OVERSTREET

The word to Communists: "Your next task is to get yourself into a position where you can exert leadership over the minds and organizations of religious people. Penetrate their groups; draw them into activities where they will do—in behalf of their 'moral, ethical and humanitarian concepts'—what the Party wants done in terms of its long-range aims."

The Communists want to cut the church loose from its roots, loose from the view of God and man that competes with Marxist-Leninist ideology and that gives the Christian individual a standing place beyond the reach of the Party or of any earthly power.

In the area of racial injustices, the Party has to be the vanguard that demands justice at all costs, but it has to prevent the solution of the problem by established legal means and by across-the-lines association that tend to bind up the nation's wounds. . . . It is imperative to Communism that our problems in the area of race relations be kept in the headlines and be kept unresolved.

Any church is vulnerable that does not have its own program for enlisting the minds and energies of people in practical ways in human service, and that makes no organized effort to educate its people about the character of the Communist assault.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-82 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

CHRISTIAN HERALD
New York, New York
November, 1965
Page 16

100 - 114575 - 156

ENCLOSURE

FOR FORTY-FIVE YEARS, the Communist Party in the United States has talked to two audiences. Through its fronts and its whole battery of propaganda media, it has talked *outward*—with its calculated words aimed at all segments of our society. Through its own Party press, it has talked to itself; or the hierarchy has talked to the rank-and-file, spelling out the interlocking pattern of permanent ideology and current Party line.

If we do not wish to be unwittingly vulnerable to one or another aspect of the propaganda which the Com-

munist~~s~~ interminably wager that they can insinuate into our minds, and most potently, into the minds of the upcoming generation, it behooves us every so often to eavesdrop on the Party talking to itself. The same holds true with respect to the world Communist movement. We have to listen in on what the Soviet and Chinese leaders say to their own people about their historic role, about us, and about the situation outside the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. We need to listen also to what is being channeled outward, propaganda-wise, from the world centers of the movement to Parties everywhere.

To approach the subject that concerns us in this article, let's take a current quotation from the Party press. It was written by Gus Hall, executive secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., one of the most unwavering Communists this country has ever produced.

Gus Hall became a member of the Party in 1927. In 1931, he went to Moscow to attend the Lenin School, set up to train carefully selected members of Parties affiliated with the *Comintern* in the tactics of revolution, sabotage and civil guerrilla warfare. Back in this country, he was arrested in 1934 on riot charges in Minneapolis; and in the course of his trial, having been asked whether he would be willing to "fight and overthrow" the American government, he answered, "Absolutely."¹

That was in the days of open advocacy of revolution. Not since Stalin in 1935 ordained the change-over to the tactics of the united front has Hall made that kind of pronouncement. Today, he is one of the Party's spokesmen who are seeking and finding chances to talk to student audiences in ways that will make the Communists seem to be just a normal and respectable Ameri-

¹J. Edgar Hoover, *A Study of Communism*, p. 3. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

can Party that has been persecuted for exercising its right of dissent. His main thesis, presented from whatever angle the nature of his audience may dictate, is "peaceful coexistence." It was with this assigned task that he was elevated to the post of Executive Secretary in December 1959, in the wake of Khrushchev's visit to this country.

The Party's strategy for this nuclear era was spelled out with the utmost precision in the *Statement* signed in Moscow, in November, 1960, by representatives of 81 Communist Parties: "Coexistence between states with different social systems is a form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism. Under conditions of peaceful coexistence, favorable opportunities are created for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and of the national-liberation movement of the people of the colonial and dependent countries. . . ."

The *Statement* further laid down the line which is in however disguised a form Gus Hall's line at all times and places. This line branded the United States as "the mainstay of colonialism" and as "the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism." At the same time, it cast the Communist orbit as the world's "peace camp."

It asserted that the task of the Party everywhere, and particularly in the advanced countries, was to assume *leadership* over the organizations and movements of the people. Gus Hall spelled out for CPUSA, in its next national convention, its task of getting into the "mainstream" of American life, there to find ways to *lead* both going organizations and movements yet to be created around exploitable problems.

This summary of Gus Hall's long service to the Party is offered as background, and sets the scene for a quotation from his writings and helps to safeguard our minds against the hazard of merely reading words without thinking what they mean within the Communist frame of reference.

The passage is from Gus Hall's *Catholics and Communists* (pp. 8-9). It appeared as a boxed item on p. 14 of the June 1965 issue of *Political Affairs*, self-described as the "Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A." A boxed item in this journal is not just a filler as is often the case in the non-Communist press. It is an emphasized directive to the faithful, who know that it means *Next on the Agenda*.

"Religion as a set of beliefs and a code of conformity," wrote Hall, "remains basically as Marx described it, though we should perhaps restate it in more modern terms. But we must make a clear distinction between this and the church as an institution, and between our attitude toward religious belief as such and toward members of the church and the clergy. We must do so

if we are going to be a *vanguard party that leads, by and large, religious people.* (The italics are ours.)

"The moral, ethical and humanitarian concepts of religion are not evil, and have not played a negative role in history. Indeed, many have joined the Communist Party because in it they saw the practical fulfillment of these same concepts. Many see the Communist movement as a vehicle through which they can work concretely for the realization of the essence of the sermons they hear on the Sabbath.

"We cannot accomplish anything with the conception that we lead only those who are not religious. This is a fallacy, of which we must rid ourselves."

When Gus Hall makes such statements, he is not just talking. Neither is he simply stating a Party problem and leaving it to individual Communists to figure out what they can do about it. He is laying down the imperative for the period ahead. He is saying to every Party member, and to a host of persons in front organizations, "Your next task is to get yourself into a position where you can exert leadership over the minds and organizations of religious people. Penetrate their groups; draw them into activities where they will do—in behalf of their 'moral, ethical and humanitarian concepts'—what the Party wants done in terms of its long-range aims."

Is Hall talking preposterous nonsense when he declares the Party's assumption of leadership over the thoughts and activities of religious people to be possible and necessary? Before we congratulate ourselves that we are, by reason of our Christian faith, impervious to Communist tactics born of Communist atheism and amorality, we had better engage in a process of learning and also of self-examination.

The learning will have to do with the current Party line and with the tactics designed for implementing it.

The self-examination will have to do with our own vulnerabilities to the Communist type of assault upon our minds and consciences.

SO FAR AS the Party's line and tactics are concerned, ministers and lay leaders of the church and, indeed, all church people need to be doubly informed. They need to understand the "line" with respect to religion itself and to the church as an institution. But this is not enough, for the membership of a church is made up of all the segments of our society toward which the Party is directing specifically tailored propaganda.

Business men, housewives, young people, professional people, members of minority groups, farmers, members of labor unions—the word *congregation* over-spans them all. From the minister's point of view, each individual within all these groups is a *parishioner*—a person with problems and interests of his own, and also, in many cases, with a

deep hunger to perform some significant act of conscience.

The church enterprise is to serve all and each; and to release, in behalf of Christ's concept of how life is to be lived, the capacities and energies of all and each. *But the Communists want these capacities and energies, also.* They want to assume leadership over them so that what the church member does for the sake of God and man will, in practical effect, be done for the sake of the Marxist-Leninist concept of history's fated course.

Since the Party is competing with the church for its own people, the church has to know—and has to be able to communicate to individuals and target groups—just how the Party aims to exploit discontents on the one hand, and the idealisms of mind and conscience on the other.

What is the nature of the Party's assault upon the church as an institution? It is spelled out between the lines of the Hall statement. Also, it is spelled out in the incessant effort within the Communist orbit to (1) teach atheism and (2) to make use of any church that cannot be eliminated.

The church has its roots not in good works as such but in faith. It is rooted in a conception of the universe and of man's place in it that inevitably invites hand, intellect and heart to do justly and love mercy, to help the helpless and to bridge gaps of misunderstanding between man and man. Christian good works, in short, are the rich, natural, joyous fruits of faith.

They are the means by which we affirm spontaneously our spiritual awareness that we are part of a system within which only such works make sense. It is faith that spells out for us the beautiful logic of cleaving to that which is good.

The Communists want to cut the church loose from its roots, loose from the view of God and man that competes with Marxist-Leninist ideology and that gives the Christian individual a standing place beyond the reach of the Party or of any earthly power.

They want to drain the element of belief out of people's reason for going to church. They want to leave in its place only a sense of emptiness and an amorphous, exploitable wish to do good.

Are Christians immune to this type of Communist effort? Obviously not. So far as a definite and intimate belief

is concerned, many persons who sit in church pews are wandering in the wilderness. Even to make an effort to define their own faith would cause them to feel embarrassed and uneasy. It would bring them up against questions they would rather leave alone. Hence, the Communist who does not say that he is a Communist can almost enlist the aid of those whom he wants to cut loose from their roothold in Christian faith: he can use the sense of relief it gives them to feel that maybe, after all, the essence of Christianity consists in serving one good cause after another.

The corollary to this part of the Communist effort is that of getting Party members or persons friendly to the Party into positions of leadership that will give them a voice in determining which causes are good and how they are to be served. This is the crux of the matter. Communists have to choose as focuses around which to build propaganda and to organize demonstrations causes that enable them to tap real discontent or real concern to do justice, love mercy and promote peace on earth—or preferably both. That is to say, they cannot fabricate issues out of whole cloth. They have to choose among those that are real and available in our society at any given time. But no Communist can want to serve a cause within our frame of society by a means that makes for a great consensus of good will or by a means that actually gets a problem solved.

It has been true from the beginning that the Party in this country has had to perform a tight-rope act in relation to every discontent or injustice that it has turned into a cause. It has had to try to achieve leadership over minds and movements by demanding that injustice be eliminated, the problem solved. It has had to make a conspicuous show in behalf of the cause; establish itself as more zealous than other groups, more ready to do the slogging work that goes with getting things done, more courageous in fronting up to the forces of "reaction."

In brief, it has had to make people of good conscience able to tell themselves that even if the Communists do go "too far," they at least really care: they are not apathetic and smug. But at the same time, it has had to make the cause a divisive factor in our society—one that tends to split our people into mutually warring camps. And it has to try to prove, in the end, that our kind of society cannot solve its problems of injustice by its established

forms of voluntary association and "due process."

In addition to this, the Party has to erect intangible iron curtains to keep target groups which are being conditioned to an acceptance of its leadership from talking things over with those who are able to provide a corrective for distorting propaganda. Where Communism has seized power, it can, by means that range from censorship to electrified barbed wire, go far toward isolating the populace from any evidence that goes counter to the propaganda line. Here in the United States the Party cannot exercise censorship of the communication media or forbid contacts between groups that it wants to set against one another. But it can never achieve its ends in the open marketplaces of the mind.

Its line is so contrived, so unrepresentative of the full realities of things, that it can be realized only where competition is ruled out. Its "class-struggle" version of historical progress requires, always, that an attack on a problem be also an unrelenting attack on an "enemy." What it does, therefore, in a veritable host of ways, is to maneuver people into all-of-one-mind groups that feel superior and beleaguered and that are, in fact, highly suggestible. It catalogues as the "enemy" those most likely to break this pattern of isolation.

It is of prime importance to the Communists, always, that they capture the minds of the young. Hence, the Party tries in every possible way to do the following: (1) to make young people feel that they are outsiders in our society—victimized by entrenched stupidities for which they are not responsible; (2) to make them feel so misunderstood by adults that they can hope to achieve companionship only within their own age group; (3) to make them feel morally superior to the adult population—more concerned about "real" values, and less "materialistic;" and (4) to deindividuate them and keep them organized in suggestible "masses," particularly in

masses that carry on demonstration that are fairly sure to bring them into conflict with the forces of authority in one form or another, so that these forces can be cast as the enemy of all good causes.

It is of prime importance to the Communists—since our country has to be cast in the role of “imperialist” and “warmonger”—that all who speak for our government in the foreign-policy area be rendered suspect. In all Party propaganda, those who best know world problems in their practical aspects from having to shape policies with regard to them are dismissed as the last people from whom to learn anything reliable about the state of the world. This is emphatically true, now, with respect to our policy in Vietnam, for example. Everything our government says has to be discredited, because the Party line requires that young people, their parents, taxpayers in general and all who dread nuclear war and want peace on earth be made to rate the war in Vietnam as of our making and as an inexcusable intrusion into the affairs of another country.

Again, in the area of racial injustices, the Party has to be the “vanguard” that demands justice at all costs, but it has to prevent the solution of the problem by established legal means and by across-the-lines association that tend to “bind up the nation’s wounds.” At this stage of American history, the Communists cannot afford either to let non-Communists be credited with leadership of the civil rights movement or to lose the issue by having the situation become markedly better. With Asia and Africa as target areas for the world Communist movement, it is imperative that our problems in the area of race relations be kept in the headlines and be kept unresolved.

The Communists, for example, were the noisiest demanders of a voter-registration law until Congress caught them off guard by actually making plain its intention of passing such a law. Then they had to focus upon denouncing the law as inadequate and upon insisting that there be no let-up in mass demonstrations either before or after the passage of such a law. They are old hands at demanding solutions while preventing solutions.

WHAT are the main issues today, around which Party propaganda and agitation are organized?

On the domestic front, the racial struggle takes precedence, perhaps, over all others. The Party has never been able actually to gain control of the civil rights movement. Too many Negroes learned the score about Communist tactics two decades and more

ago; too many Negroes know that what they want is a fair chance to make their way within our going society—not a chance to destroy this society and to substitute for it one that would not let them push for their rights. But their failure to control the movement does not keep the Communists from exploiting it as a means of dividing group against group, and of alienating those who are absorbed in the movement from the institutions and representatives of law and order. Their strident, interminable effort to make the activities of the FBI in the civil rights field seem half-hearted is a case in point.

Another perennial domestic issue is that of our internal security provisions, which the Party has to portray as “police-state” infringements of liberty.

Another is military spending—since the Soviet Union never ceases to hope that we can be persuaded to lessen our national strength to the point where we can be blackmailed into yielding one part after another of the world’s surface to Communist control.

ARE CHURCH LEADERS—and members—vulnerable to Party propaganda?

Any church is vulnerable that does not have its own program for enlisting the minds and energies of people in practical ways for human service. Gus Hall tells the Party faithful—and thereby tells the rest of us, if we will listen—that many people can be persuaded to join the Party because they see in it a way to implement what they hear on Sunday in the church. But why should they see the chance of implementation in the Party, rather than in the church itself?

To our minds, also, any church is vulnerable that overdoes the pattern of segregating its people according to age-levels—so that the church becomes just one more place where the young are exclusively with the young; without any warm chance to be reminded that they are members not simply of a generation but of the human race.

Any church is vulnerable that makes

organized effort to educate its people about the character of the Communist assault. To an alarming extent, the Communists have made it “bad form” to be anti-Communist—so that people hesitate to criticize the Party in unequivocal terms for fear of seeming “intolerant.” It is up to the church to see to it that people know what the basic differences are between the Communist outlook on life and the Christian outlook, and what the tactics are that are being used to immobilize the Christian mind and conscience.

The church is vulnerable if it lets the attacks that are now being made upon it from the extremist Right persuade it that Communism is the lesser of two evils; that there is no current need to be particularly concerned about the Communists in our midst.

Perhaps a comment made to us by an ex-Communist—a man who was a hardcore Party member for years—is not irrelevant. He said that the Party was certain that there would always be enough non-Communist ministers who would refuse to take a strong stand against Communism to prevent the growth of a firm anti-Communist front.

“Why ministers?” we asked.

His answer was devastatingly shrewd. Ministers, he said—and he might have added “and a host of church members”—have a doctrinal interest in loving their enemies, but they do not find it much easier than other people do to love enemies who are near at hand and making daily trouble for them. They can, however, urge “tolerance” for Communism, which has no control over their lives and which is not advertising its attacks upon them; and this leaves them free to oppose the Far Right—a very present enemy—with vim, vigor, and a good conscience.

The philosophical gap between Communism and Christianity is, in essence, the difference between the concept that hate is the great dynamic that pushes the world forward and the concept that love is the great dynamic that lifts human experience to ever higher levels.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: November 16, 1965

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - W. Sullivan
1 - R.W. Smith
1 - R.S. Garner
1 - J.M. Sizoo
1 - F.J. Baumgardner

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL
245472

Attached is a Xeroxed copy of page 14 of an advertisement in a special section of the "San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle" of October 17, 1965, that was prepared to support the John Birch Society. Mrs. Overstreet, who has been working with her husband on a book favorable to the Director and to the Bureau, furnished the copy for the Bureau's information. The John Birch Society has not been investigated by the Bureau, and the Director has publicly stated that he has little respect for the head of that Society since that individual has linked the names of former President Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles, and former Central Intelligence Agency Director Allen Dulles with communism.

The attached page carries photographs of the Director; Ezra Taft Benson, former U. S. Secretary of Agriculture; Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina; former FBI Agent W. Cleon Skousen, who has exploited his former Bureau career for personal gain; and a Reverend J. L. Ward of Memphis, Tennessee, who is not further identified in Bufiles. The obvious intent of the page is to show approval of the John Birch Society by the men pictured. In fact, with the exception of the Director, the advertisement quotes statements of support for the Society from the others. Under the Director's picture, a quote is presented from his March 26, 1947, statement before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, regarding his concern for liberals and progressives who have been duped into joining hands with the communists. There is a notation that the Director's statement should not be considered an endorsement of the John Birch Society since the FBI endorses no organization. It is quite apparent, however, that both the Director's photograph and his statement on fighting communism have been used in the advertisement in an effort to bring the prestige of the Director to the aid of the John Birch Society.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Enclosure

JMS:11t

REC-69 100-114575-157

EX-113

16 NOV 23 1965

ENCLOSURE

6 DEC 2 1965

See ADDENDUM next page...

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-8-1117

JCF:jma

11-19-65

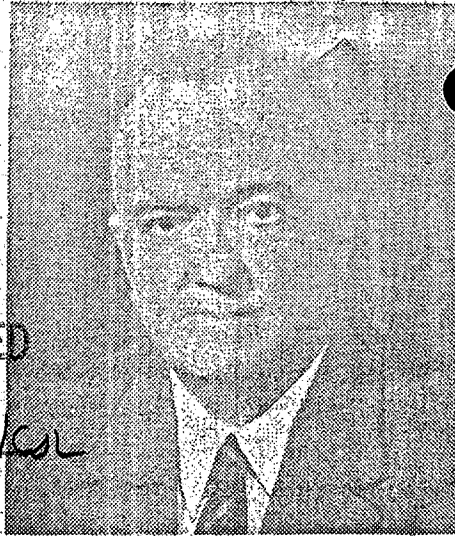
statement.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - W. C. Sullivan
1 - R. W. Smith
1 - R. S. Garner
1 - J. M. Sizoo
1 - F. J. Baumgardner
1 - C. D. DeLoach

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-96 BY SP8BTJ/KJL

245 472

NATIONAL LEADERS SAY:



J. EDGAR HOOVER, *Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation*
"I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence, and the industry to learn about this menace of Red fascism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the Communists."

This statement made before the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, March 26, 1947, should not be interpreted as an endorsement of The John Birch Society as the FBI endorses no organization.



EZRA TAFT BENSON, *United States Secretary of Agriculture, 1953-1960*

"When he (son Reed) joined I expressed my opinion that I was convinced that The John Birch Society was the most effective non-church organization in our fight against creeping socialism and Godless Communism. I also stated that I admire Reed's courage and applauded his decision."

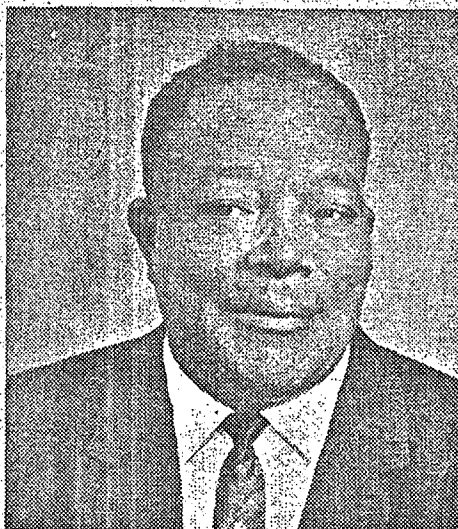
Address Delivered December 19, 1963, Boise, Idaho



STROM THURMOND, *United States Senator*

"I'm not a member of The John Birch Society or any of those organizations. I understand they're against Communism, and I'm for any group that's against it (Communism)."

Greenville News, Greenville, South Carolina, February 2, 1962



REVEREND J. L. WARD, *Minister, Memphis, Tennessee*

"The John Birch Society is one of the greatest organizations in the world today. It is not subversive. Its concern is with justice for all and the peace and dignity of everyone."

Statement made August 29, 1964



W. CLEON SKOUSEN, *Former FBI Agent and Chief of Police, Salt Lake City*

"I certainly would have no quarrel with anyone who wishes to disagree with some idea promulgated by The John Birch Society. In a Republic this should be expected. However, no American should stand by and see a legitimate group of American citizens dishonestly ridiculed and smeared at the instigation of the international Communist conspiracy."

W. Cleon Skousen, The Communist Attack on John Birch Society, Page 11

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-157

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *albr*

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *C*

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

DATE: October 13, 1965

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. J. M. Sizoo

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

As you know, I have been working with Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet on a book which they have been writing on the FBI. A special effort has been made to come up with a book that is unique and unlike any written previously on the Bureau. The book is being prepared so as to be thought-provoking and to appeal not only to the supporters of the Bureau but to those individuals "on the fence" and those in opposition to this Bureau. I have long felt that a book of this kind is badly needed.

Parenthetically, it should be noted that in a scholarly and incisive manner the Overstreets' new book discredits many of the claims and stereotyped attitudes of anti-Bureau critics such as the scurrilous Fred J. Cook, author of "The FBI Nobody Knows" (fully reviewed when published in the past year); James Wechsler, editor of the anti-FBI "New York Post"; and Max Lowenthal, enemy of the Bureau, whose book "The FBI," published in 1950, has been reviewed and refuted by this Bureau previously. The Overstreets' book also effectively attacks those individuals who believe that an anti-FBI attitude is a required sign of "liberalism."

Enclosed is the Overstreets' manuscript for Part 1 of the book and one chapter of Part 2 which is being submitted for your information and for reading by the Crime Records Division.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the manuscript be returned to me when it has been read.

WCS:vms
(8)

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

ENCL. BEHIND FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL

245472

54 MAR 3 1966

100-114575-157X
FEB 24 1966

Transmitted to WC Sullivan
5MS:mdp 11/17/65
26

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith *RS*

SUBJECT: DR. AND MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

1 - Mr. A. H. Belmont
1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

DATE: November 26, 1965

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. R. S. Garner
1 - Mr. J. M. Sizoo

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/COL
245472

By memorandum dated October 13, 1965, with same caption, Assistant Director Sullivan said he had been working with Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet on a book which they have been writing on the FBI. Referenced memorandum referred the manuscript of the first eleven chapters of that book to the Crime Records Division for reading. Suggestions for improving the manuscript made by that Division have been incorporated in the revised manuscript of eleven chapters which is attached hereto. This is the only portion of the book which has been completed to date. Assistant Director C. D. DeLoach has personally reviewed the eleven chapters and made suggestions for improving which have been incorporated also.

As noted by Mr. Sullivan in referenced memorandum, a special effort has been made to prepare a book that is unique and unlike any previously written on the Bureau. It is noted that the manuscript as it now stands is very thought-provoking and will appeal not only to those individuals who already support the Bureau but also to many individuals "on the fence" and others who are outright critics of the Bureau. It is the type of book needed at this time on the FBI.

The Overstreets among other things have presented in a rational and incisive manner a refutation of many claims made by such anti-Bureau critics as the scurrilous Fred J. Cook; James Wechsler, Editor of the anti-FBI "New York Post"; and Max Lowenthal, author of "The FBI," published in 1950, a book that has been reviewed and refuted by the Bureau previously. The Overstreets condemn individuals who feel that it is necessary to be "anti-FBI" in order to be regarded as a "liberal" in this country. The Overstreets also present a capable rebuttal to extremism of both the "right" and "left." They are working steadily to complete further chapters for the book which will be reviewed by us.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of and perusal by the Director.

Enclosure *attached*
JMS:mab (9)

69 JAN 7 1966

EX-103

REC-10

100-114575-158

15 JAN 5 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 1/19/66

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith *RWS*

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(RESEARCH-SATELLITE)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Wick

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
1 - Mr. Garner

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL
245472

b6
b7C

By enclosed letter signed [redacted] Massachusetts, the Director was requested to advise her if he had written a letter to Dr. Overstreet on his 90th birthday. Dr. Overstreet and his wife are currently writing a book favorable to the FBI. The completed parts of the book have been reviewed by the Domestic Intelligence Division and the Crime Records Division and suggestions for improvement were incorporated in the manuscript that was forwarded for the Director's information by memorandum from Mr. Smith to Mr. Sullivan dated November 26, 1965, captioned as above.

The Director did write letters to Dr. Overstreet on both his 80th and 90th birthday celebrations, the latter being on October 25, 1965. [redacted] is apparently questioning the Director's judgment in commenting in the October 25, 1965, congratulatory letter that Dr. Overstreet, by using his unique experience and abilities in analyzing communism, has "contributed significantly to the intelligent and, therefore, more effective opposition to communism." It is noted that in his writings and speeches Dr. Overstreet has never held any sympathy for communism and his recent books have, in fact, been dedicated to alerting our citizens to the tyrannical nature of communism and its tactics of deceit and violence in trying to subvert our freedoms.

Bufiles show that [redacted] writing on July 23, 1965, as [redacted] of the same address, requested to be placed on the Bureau mailing list. The Bureau determined that her husband, [redacted] was [redacted] of the John Birch Society. As a result of such information, she was advised by letter August 5, 1965, from the Director that it would not be possible to send her material on a continuing basis. In view of her husband's relationship with the John Birch Society, it is possible that she intends to draw the Director into a public controversy over Dr. Overstreet for the benefit of that "extremist" group.

The file copy of the Director's letter of October 25, 1965, to Dr. Overstreet is also enclosed with its cover memorandum.

Enclosures
JMS:ms (7) 1966
100-114575

CONTINUED - OVER

ENCLOSURE

REC-100-114575-159
JAN 20 1966
RESEARCH-SATELLITE

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan
RE: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of the writer's apparent questioning of the Director's judgment and her possible intent to draw the Director into public controversy on Dr. Overstreet, it is recommended that no answer be given to her letter.

D

MS

W.E.S.

N

JS

June
MS

gml

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Mass.

January 15, 1966

b6
b7C

40
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/col
245472

Dear Sir:

I was recently advised that you
had sent Mr. Harry A. Overstreet, on the
occasion of his 90th birthday, a letter commend-
ing him in his fight against communism.

In view of Mr. Overstreet's background of
affiliations with communist front organizations
as documented by the House Committee on
Un-American Activities, I question this. Will
you please advise if you did send Mr. Overstreet
a letter of commendation. If such
letter is a matter of public record, may I have
a copy? Thank you very much

ENCLOSURE

REC-4100-114575-159

18 JAN 17 1966

CORR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Wick
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

39

~~EXP. PROC.~~

39 JAN 17 1966

REFERENCE
1-6-66

Mass.

b6
b7C

VAN LOON BROS. MUSKEGON & OTTAWA COUNTIES, INC.

2187 LAKESHORE DRIVE • MUSKEGON, MICHIGAN • PHONE PL 5-1161

49441

MESSAGE

REPLY

TO

Mr. J. EDGAR HOOVER

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON - D.C.

DATE

2/8/66

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86

BY SP8BTJ

245472

CA

DEAR Mr. HOOVER,

OUR CHURCH (THE LAKESIDE METHODIST) IS
GOING TO HAVE A SERIES OF LECTURES
ON EXTREMISM USING THE BOOK "THE
STRANGE TACTICS OF EXTREMISM" BY HARRY
AND DONALD OVERSTREET. I HAVE READ
CONFLICTING REPORTS ABOUT THESE AUTHORS.
IS THERE ANY PUBLIC INFORMATION AVAIL-
ABLE ABOUT THESE PEOPLE? ARE THEY
COMMUNISTS OR ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNIST
BY FRONT ORGANIZATIONS? I DO NOT WISH

INSTRUCTIONS TO SENDER:

DATE

TO SEE A GOOD FELLOW CHURCH
MEMBER BE DUPED INTO GIVING
SOME INCORRECT INFORMATION TO HIS
FRIENDS AND FELLOW MEMBERS.

I HOPE THAT I AM NOT OUT OF LINE
IN MAKING THIS REQUEST. ANY INFOR-
MATION YOU CAN PROVIDE WILL BE
GREATLY APPRECIATED.

b6

b7C

Sincerely,

very interested in preserving
our heritage and our
Constitution.

COPIES DESTROYED

INSTRUCTIONS TO RECEIVER:

1. WRITE REPLY 2. DETACH STUB, KEEP PINK COPY, RETURN WHITE COPY TO

29 APR 22 1974

1. KEEP YELLOW COPY. 2. SEND WHITE AND PINK COPIES WITH CARBON INTACT.

2-11-66
OFF. K. R. R.
mail

February 15, 1966

REC 70

100-114575-160
b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL
245472

Muskegon, Michigan 49441

Dear [REDACTED]

Your communication of February 7th has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I trust you will understand the necessary reasons for this policy, and why I cannot furnish you the data you desire.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Dr. and Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet are well known to the Bureau, and we have assisted them in preparing books.

DFC:cao

(3)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 2

FEB 15 1966

COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

WILLIAMS-2/12/66

FEB 15 11 29 AM '66
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

TRUE COPY

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington - D. C.

2/7/66

Dear Mr. Hoover,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL
245472

Our Church (The Lakeside Methodist) is going to have a series of lectures on extremism using the book "The Strange Tactics of Extremism" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. I have read conflicting reports about these authors. Is there any public information available about these people? Are they communists or associated with Communist Front organizations? I do not wish to see a good fellow church member be duped into giving some incorrect information to his friends and fellow members.

I hope that I am not out of line in making this request. Any information you can provide will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

b6
b7C

[redacted] (an American very interested in preserving our heritage and our Constitution.

1cc
2-11-66
Kiss

REC 70

100-114575-160

18 FEB 18 1966

ack
2-11-66
D.F.C. Kiss
nmml



VAN LOON BROS.
ACCOUNTING SERVICE I.B.M. EQUIPMENT
2187 LAKESHORE DRIVE MUSKEGON, MICHIGAN
DISTRIBUTOR FOR STATE OF MICHIGAN

March 2, 1966

REC-48

100-114575-161

[Redacted]

Rochester, New York 14615

Dear [Redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL
245472

I received your letter of February 17th, with enclosure, concerning Dr. Harry A. Overstreet.

Let me assure you at the outset that the FBI does not issue clearances or nonclearances of any type. Over the years this Bureau has enjoyed cordial relations with Dr. Overstreet, and I did write him on his 90th birthday. However, I did not use the words attributed to me in the article you forwarded.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

- 1 - Buffalo - Enclosures (2)
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosures (2)

NOTE: [Redacted] is not identifiable in Bufiles. Dr. Harry A. Overstreet is well known to the Bureau and is currently preparing a book on the FBI which is very favorable to us. Smith to Sullivan memorandum 1-19-66 concerned an inquiry from a Massachusetts resident along the same general lines as the current incoming. It was noted that Mr. Hoover did write Dr. Overstreet on both his 80th and 90th birthday celebrations, with the latter on October 25, 1965. This letter was hand delivered by Assistant Director William C. Sullivan. A copy is attached. While the wording congratulates Dr. Overstreet for his contribution to the field of anticommunism, no specific statement calling him a "great patriot" is contained therein. In view of the issues involved, the above answer is deemed appropriate.

DTP:kcf (5)

66 MAR 15 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Wick _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. DeLoach ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Wick ✓
 Mr. Casper ✓
 Mr. Callahan ✓
 Mr. Conrad ✓
 Mr. Felt ✓
 Mr. Gale ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Sullivan ✓
 Mr. Tavel ✓
 Mr. Trotter ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Miss Holmes ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

[Redacted]
 Rochester, New York 14615
 February 17, 1966

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
 Federal Bureau of Investigation
 Washington, D. C.

b6
 b7c

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In reference to the attached clipping. I was not under the impression that a function of the FBI was to "clear" anyone. I thought that its only function was as investigative body. Could you tell me if you did indeed pay tribute to Harry A. Overstreet as a "great patriot". I personally can not believe that you did. The mention of citations against Mr. Overstreet (as outlined in the attached clipping from the Rochester, New York DEMOCRAT & CHRONICLE) I obtained from APPENDIX IX of which I have a copy.

Enc. attached

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CCL
 245472

REC-48

100-114575-161

38
 12 FEB 21 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

ROCHESTER New York

Defractors Answered

DEC. 12-1-65

Overstreet Deceived By Reds, Wife Says

If you discuss hatreds, you find haters.

As soon as The Democrat and Chronicle began publishing the current series EXTREMISM TODAY: A TWO-WAY THREAT, detractors of the authors took pen in hand or sat down at their typewriters.

Some of them went back 34 years to "uncover" the liberal leanings of the writers.

The following facts seem pertinent.

Harry A. Overstreet, co-author of the series, at one time three decades or so ago, unwittingly joined or supported five organizations listed as "subversive" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, his wife and fellow author said yesterday.

'Non-Communist'

But an investigation, made at his request in 1953 in California, declared him definitely a "non-Communist."

Following the California investigation, Overstreet was cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and since that time, the Overstreets have enjoyed a close relationship with the FBI.

On Oct. 25 last, Overstreet's 80th birthday, a portion of the celebration was the reading of a letter from J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, in which tribute was paid to the author as a "great patriot."

After the Overstreets published their "What We Must Know About Communism" in 1953, President Eisenhower suggested it, as a book "every American should read." It was widely hailed as a complete and compact analysis of the Communist conspiracy.

Background Checked

This was some of the background established before The Democrat and Chronicle started the Overstreet series.

Overstreet, author of about 20 books and professor emeritus of City College of New York, supported the groups without knowing they were Communist-inspired, Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet said in a telephone interview from their home in Falls Church, Va.

"Harry was so busy in those years," said Mrs. Overstreet. "His mistake was that when something seemed like a good and liberal cause, one that could

help people, he just naturally tried to do what he could."

Mrs. Overstreet said her husband never attended the organization's meetings, adding, "It was a tenuous sort of thing."

Wartime Groups

"The bulk of them were wartime things, mostly involving the Spanish Civil War," Mrs. Overstreet said.

She confirmed her husband's association with nine groups mentioned in one of the reader's letters to the editor. They are:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (signed statement); American Committee to Save Refugees (signed statement); Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (member); The Medical Bureau, American Friends (member); Descendants of the American Revolution (member); Friends of the American Lincoln Brigade (signed statement); Schappes Defense Committee (signed statement); Spanish Relief Campaign (member).

Wanted to Help

Mrs. Overstreet said her husband, "with no stimulating cause," went before the California House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953 and "asked what he could do as a person having made mistakes of this kind."

The committee, Mrs. Overstreet said, suggested that her husband draft an affidavit listing the Communist "fronts" he had unwittingly joined, plus any other organizations "to put the thing in perspective." It also advised him to seek a public hearing to "clear up ambiguities."

In October 1953, the committee chairman advised Overstreet there was "no need" for a hearing, Mrs. Overstreet said. In 1959, it advised the professor that he was regarded as a "non-Communist" who had been deceived into his connections with the "fronts."

- This
was
written
BY ME.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CO L
245472

114575-161

October 25, 1965

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
1 - Mr. Garner

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
3409 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I should like to extend to you my greetings on the occasion of your 90th birthday. Your years have spanned a significant segment of our Nation's history and your efforts to relate the individual to his surroundings in this era of rapid change are widely known and genuinely appreciated by those who are aware of the ever-increasing complexity of life today.

By utilizing your unique experience and abilities in the field of education and psychology in your analyses of communism and its threat to freedom, you have contributed significantly to the intelligent and, therefore, more effective opposition to communism.

Sincerely yours,

WCS:cr/vms
(8)

DATE 5-21-86
245472

SP8BTJ/COL

NOTE: See memorandum Sullivan to Belmont dated 10/19/65 re "Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, Falls Church, Virginia, Information Concerning," WCS:cr. Letter dated October 25, 1965, since that is birthday of Dr. Overstreet and letter to be delivered personally by Mr. W. C. Sullivan. Director's note paper used for special congratulatory purpose.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

March 16, 1966

100-114515-162
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl
205472

[Redacted]
Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania 18360

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of March 9th has been received.

With respect to your request, the FBI being strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 11

MAR 16 1966

COMM-FBI

NOTE: [Redacted] is not identifiable in Bufiles. The Overstreets are well known to the Bureau and are currently preparing a book on the FBI which is very favorable. This Bureau has assisted them in the preparation of books in the past.

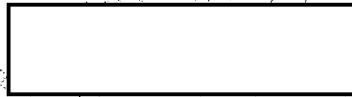
DFC:mel (3)

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Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
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Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

TRUE COPY



Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania 18360

Mar 9, 1966

F. B. I.
Washington D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJJ/CSL
245472

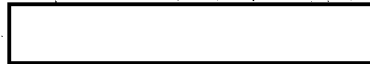
b6
b7C

Dear Sir -

Will you please research Harry & Bonaro Overstreet, authors of "What we Must Know about Communism," and let me know whether or not they are subversive?

Thank you,

/s/



REC-103

100-114575-162

10 MAR 22 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

156 16
ack 3/15/66
ATC:mel

b6
b7C

STROUDSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA 18360

Mar 9, 1966

J.B.J.

Washington

Dear Sir - 245472

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/col

Will you please
research Harry & Bonaro
Overstreet, authors of
"What we must know
about Communism", and
let me know whether
or not they are
subversive?

Thank you,

ite
ack 3/15/66
OFF: aep.

CORRESPONDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/col
245472

40 MAR 17 1966

EXP. PROC.

57 APR 12 1966

REC-117

100-114575-163
MAR 17 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

March 14-66

Dear Mr. Sooner:

In the January issue of Arizona's PTA Bulletin, there is an article on the 90th birthday celebration of Harry A. Overstreet. They have included your name in a list of birthday messages received by him but only quote from yours, which seems to me a subtle way of trying to clear him of the "rumors" going around of his subversive activities which the PTA has not acknowledged though the record shows differently.

They quote your message as being: "Your years have spanned a significant segment of our nation's history and your efforts to relate the individual to his surroundings in this era of rapid change are widely known and genuinely appreciated by those who are

aware of the ever increasing complexity of life today. By utilizing your unique experience and abilities in the field of education and psychology in your analyses of Communism and its threat to freedom you have contributed significantly to the intelligent and, therefore, effective opposition to communism.

I hope to have you comment on the above as I cannot feel that even the recent work of Mr. Overstreet warrants a note of gratitude for preserving the American way of life. Is it true that you are against outlawing the Communist party as it seems I recall Overstreet mentioning?

Has your assistant, William C. Sullivan, at this birthday gathering be-

cause of his personal friendship
with Mr. Overstreet, at your
request, or at theirs?

I am somewhat puzzled
by all this in view of your
past vigorous opposition to
anti-American attitude.

Sincerely,

[Redacted signature block]

Prescott,

Arizona

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Wick _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

March 14 - '66

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In the January issue of Arizona's PTA Bulletin, there is an article on the 90th birthday celebration of Harry A. Overstreet. They have included your name in a list of birthday messages received by him but only quote from yours, which seems to me a subtle way of trying to clear him of the "rumors" going around of his subversive activities which the PTA has not acknowledge though the record shows differently.

They quote your message as being: "Your years have spanned a significant segment of our Nations history and your efforts to relate the individual to his surroundings in this era of rapid change are widely known and genuinely appreciated by those who are aware of the ever increasing complexity of life today. By utilizing your unique experience and abilities in the field of education and psychology in your analyses of communism and its threat to freedom you have contributed significantly to the intelligent and, there, effective opposition to communism"

I hope to have you comment on the above as I cannot feel that even the recent work of Mr. Overstreet warrants a note of gratitude for preserving the American way of life. Is it true that you are against outlawing the communist party as it seems I recall Overstreet mentioning?

Was your assistant, William C. Sullivan, at this birthday gathering because of his personal friendship with Mr. Overstreet, at your request, or at theirs?

I am somewhat puzzled by all this in view of your past vigorous opposition to anti-American attitude.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

Prescott, Arizona

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 DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJJ/COL

245472

COPY:nm

MAR 29 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach

DATE: March 23, 1966

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(RESEARCH-SATELLITE)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Garner

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJT/KOL
245472

The enclosed letter from [redacted] Prescott, Arizona, is critical of the Director's congratulatory letter to Dr. Overstreet on his 90th birthday in view of his past record of "subversive activities." [redacted] stated that she does not "feel that even the recent work of Mr. Overstreet warrants a note of gratitude for preserving the American way of life." She wishes to know whether I attended Dr. Overstreet's birthday party because of my personal friendship with him, at the Director's request, or at the Overstreets'. She further inquired if the Director favors outlawing the Communist Party.

Dr. Overstreet and his wife are now preparing a book which is most favorable to the Bureau. The completed portions have been reviewed by the Domestic Intelligence and Crime Records Divisions and recommendations have been made for improvement in the manuscript.

The Director did write letters to Dr. Overstreet on the occasion of both his 80th and 90th birthdays, the latter being 10/25/65. I attended Dr. Overstreet's birthday party and personally delivered the Director's letter to him. The file copy of this letter, dated 10/25/65, is also enclosed with its cover memorandum.

In his writings and speeches, Dr. Overstreet has never manifested any sympathy for communism and his recent books have been devoted to alerting the American people to the subversive and totalitarian nature of communism as well as the evils of extremism of the far right.

Enclosures

100-114575

RSG:cr

(7)

CONTINUED - OVER

51 APR 19 1966

RESEARCH SATELLITE

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach
Re: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
100-114575

b6
b7c

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, at a press conference on 2/23/66, assailed Dr. Overstreet for his "filthy, criminal falsehoods" against the communist movement.

Bufiles reveal that [] has written the Bureau on four previous occasions, beginning in November, 1961. Her letters were always complimentary to the Director and the Bureau, but in a letter dated 2/26/62, she expressed sentiments for the John Birch Society and Major General Edwin A. Walker, indicating that she did not believe their views and activities were detrimental to the country's welfare.

In her current letter, [] is obviously questioning the Director's judgment in sending Dr. Overstreet a congratulatory birthday message and my presence at his birthday party. Since she seems intent on provoking a pointless controversy with the Director, I do not believe her letter should be acknowledged.

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of the writer's obvious questioning of the Director's judgment and her seeming intent to provoke a pointless controversy with the Director, it is recommended that her letter not be answered.

[Handwritten initials: P, WEL, J, S, RW]

March 29, 1966

b6
b7c

[Redacted]
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74114

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CS

Enclosed is copy of a letter I wrote to [Redacted] of
the Baptist Sunday School Board regarding reference material in
our Adult Teachers' Quarterly, along with a copy of his reply.

As you can see, [Redacted] apparently was not interested in my
observations regarding Dr. Overstreet's and Dr. Niebuhr's "alleged
activities". Since writing to [Redacted] I have further infor-
mation regarding these two men which I have also enclosed.

You will note further that [Redacted] quoted you but did not give
the source of his information. Will you please advise me whether
or not you actually made the statement quoted by [Redacted] I
would appreciate it very much if you could give me this information
at an early date so I can advise several other members of my church
who signed the letter I wrote to [Redacted] and who have ques-
tioned me about this.

If you have any other documentation regarding Dr. Overstreet's and
Dr. Niebuhr's activities, I will be grateful for any help you can
give me.

Sincerely yours,

[Redacted Signature]

100-114575-
NOT RECORDED
191 APR 13 1966

3 ENCLOSURE

APR 12 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-114575-20

February 9, 1966

Literature Department
Baptist Sunday School Board
Southern Baptist Convention
127 North Ninth Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl
245472

Attention:

Dear

We would like an investigation and an explanation as to why the writings of men like Harry A. Overstreet and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr are recommended to the teachers of adult Sunday School classes. We are referring to the article entitled "Some Helpful Books" by Joseph F. Green on page 6 of the Adult Teachers quarterly, the February, 1966 issue.

To those of us who have been studying the Communist movement in the United States, these names are familiar. Mr. Overstreet and his activities are mentioned in the following books and articles, among others:

None Dare Call it Treason by John Stormer
What We Must Know About Overstreet by Edward Janisch

b6
b7C

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr is mentioned in

Collectivism in the Churches by Edgar C. Bundy
Invisible Government by Dan Smoot
Democrats' Dilemma by Phillip M. Crane.

It seems strange that Mr. Green as editor of specialized books, Broadman Books Department, Baptist Sunday School Board could be so uninformed or misinformed about men like Mr. Overstreet and Dr. Niebuhr. In either event, we question Mr. Green's qualifications for writing the Sunday School lessons for young adults, or any other Southern Baptist literature.

This is the second time to our knowledge that a serious mistake in source material has appeared in our literature. We are referring to the July-August-September issue of the Young Peoples' Training Union Quarterly and the unfortunate recommended reading list.

We would appreciate hearing from you in regard to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Tulsa, Oklahoma 74114

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

100-114575-

The Sunday School Board

[REDACTED]

March 7, 1966

[REDACTED]
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74114

Dear [REDACTED]

Thank you for your letter of February 9. As I understand the letter, you are concerned with activities of Dr. Overstreet and Dr. Niebuhr.

The books mentioned by Dr. Green are The Mature Mind, by Dr. Overstreet, and The Nature and Destiny of Man, by Dr. Niebuhr. It is to whatever truth there may be in these books that Dr. Green's references are made, not to some alleged activities of the writers outside of the scope of these particular books.

We have yet to be able to find an author to recommend whose life is a perfect one. We do attempt to point teachers and students to the works of imperfect human authors which seem to contain views worthy of study.

It might be of incidental interest to you to know that only this past week I ran across a quotation concerning Dr. Overstreet. It was a statement made by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover on the occasion of Dr. Overstreet's ninetieth birthday. Mr. Hoover says, in part:

"By utilizing your unique experience and abilities in the field of education and psychology, in your analysis of communism and its threat to freedom, you have contributed significantly to the intelligent and, therefore, effective opposition to communism."

Thank you for giving us the opportunity of sharing these thoughts with you.

Sincerely,

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE 100-114575-

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b7C
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJJ/col
245472

The following information is taken from:

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the U. S.
Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives,
Seventy-Eighth Congress, Second Session, H. Res 282
Appendix Part IX
Communist Front Organizations With Special Reference to the National Citizens
Political Action Committee
1944

Harry N. Overstreet was affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

The American Committee Sponsors a Citizens Rally - to answer the attack on
Public Education, Carnegie Hall April 13, 1940

American Committee to Save Refugees (Exhibit #2- For the Rescue of Refugees)

Committee to Save Spain and China

Descendants of the American Revolution

Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties

Schappes Defense Committee

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr

American Friends of the Chinese People

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (Executive Committee)

American League for Peace & Democracy

American Student Union

Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression

Consumers National Federation

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo

German Supporters

Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union

Youth Committee for May Day

National Religious and Labor Foundation

Party and Party Line Publications - "Voice of Protestant Thought & Action"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY 88875/CL

ENCLOSURE 100-114575-

June 2, 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJT/cb

245472

Birmingham, Alabama 35215

Dear [redacted]

I received your letter of May 25th, with enclosure, and want to thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing as well as your favorable remarks concerning my work. You may be certain I will strive to merit your continued approval.

With respect to your inquiry, this Bureau has enjoyed cordial relations with Dr. Overstreet over the years, and I did write him on his 90th birthday expressing the sentiments to which you referred.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

- 1 - Birmingham - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. The booklet, "What You Should Know About the Overstreets," is critical of Dr. Overstreet and contains examples of apparently contradictory statements from his books. The letter from the Director to Dr. Overstreet on his 90th birthday was hand delivered by Assistant Director William C. Sullivan and a copy is attached.

DFC:jss (5)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	✓
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

May 25, 1966
Birmingham, Ala.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl
245472

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover Director
Federal Bureau Investigation

Dear Sir.

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet

On a recent visit to the Baptist Book Store in Birmingham I found a copy of Mind Alive by *Dr.* Harry Overstreet and his wife. I protested the sale of the book in the Baptist Book Store, because I feel Dr. Overstreet is somewhat of a dubious character. My complaint along with a copy of "What you should know about the Overstreets" by Mr. Edward Janisch was forwarded to the Office of Denominational Relations 127 Ninth Ave. No. Nashville Tenn. I have received a letter from Mr. Gomer R. Lesch Director of this office in which he states.

It is difficult to reconcile what he says (Mr. Janisch) with the statement J. Edgar Hoover recently made about Dr. Overstreet. The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation said:

"By utilizing your unique experience and abilities in the field of education and psychology, in your analysis of Communism and its threat to freedom, you have contributed significantly to the intelligent and, therefore, effective opposition to Communism."

Sir, I would like to know if you made this statement and if so would you care to explain? I have read your book Masters of Deceit. I have recommended it to other people, and have bought copies and given them away. I live in fear of the day when you may retire or be replaced. As you know without my saying so you are relied on heavily by the Anti-communist in this Country, but the statement referred to above has me stopped cold in my effort to get

CORRESPONDENCE

ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

copies
6-2-66
OFC/emo
me
and

REC-28 100-114575-165

MAY 31 1966

Hon J. Edgar Hoover

-2-

May 25, 1966

Dr. Overstreets book taken off the shelf of the Baptist Book Store.

Sincerely yours,

[Redacted signature block]

Birmingham, Ala. 35215

b6
b7C

P.S.

I am a member of the Center Crest Baptist Church in
Center Point, Ala.

October 25, 1965

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. E.W. Smith
1 - Mr. Garner

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
3409 Fiddler's Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I should like to extend to you my greetings on the occasion of your 90th birthday. Your years have spanned a significant segment of our Nation's history and your efforts to relate the individual to his surroundings in this era of rapid change are widely known and genuinely appreciated by those who are aware of the ever-increasing complexity of life today.

By utilizing your unique experience and abilities in the field of education and psychology in your analyses of communism and its threat to freedom, you have contributed significantly to the intelligent and, therefore, more effective opposition to communism.

Sincerely yours,

WCS:cr/vms
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL
245472

NOTE: See memorandum Sullivan to Belmont dated 10/19/65 re "Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, Falls Church, Virginia, Information Concerning," WCS:cr. Letter dated October 25, 1965, since that is birthday of Dr. Overstreet and letter to be delivered personally by Mr. W. C. Sullivan. Director's note paper used for special congratulatory purpose.

TELETYPE UNIT

TELETYPE UNIT

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL
245472

100-114575-165

ENCLOSURE

10



What We Must Know About

OVERSTREET

by

EDWARD JANISCH

Booklet

ABOUT THIS ARTICLE

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This article first appeared in the October, 1959 issue of AMERICAN OPINION, an informal monthly review edited by Robert Welch. The subscription rate to the magazine is ten dollars per year, to any address in the United States and Canada; twelve dollars to others countries. For either reprints or subscriptions address

AMERICAN OPINION, Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT OVERSTREET

by

EDWARD JANISCH

FEW BOOKS ON Communism have been favored with the bright publicity that has surrounded the Overstreets' *What We Must Know About Communism*. The late Mr. Dulles recommended that the President read it. Newspaper and TV pictures followed, showing Eisenhower with the book in his hand. With such high endorsement to help, the book has gone through many printings. Some metropolitan dailies have run it in installments. An inexpensive paperback edition of this "masterful study of Communism" has been prepared for use as a college text. And the ghost of Stalin must be whispering to Khrushchev, "for this, there should be dancing on our side of the street."

I say this because Overstreet, over the years, has lent his name to Communist causes and his pen to a program of softening us to the threat of the conspiracy. His recent book on Communism does not, in my opinion, represent a departure from the general line of his leftist thinking, except for a clever surface attack, on Communism. The book is dynamite for the unsuspecting general reader who may pick it up as a guide to Communism because of the official fanfares of praise he has heard. If what I say sounds alarmist, it is because I intend that it should. What we must know about Overstreet is just as alarming as what we must *really* know about Communism.

Harry Allen Overstreet, retired pro-

fessor and chairman of the philosophy department at City College of New York, and now lecturer and writer on psychology, mental health, adult education, and communism, has fostered in his writings a materialistic outlook that has ranged from orthodox Marxism to cultural relativism. It is Overstreet who fathered the notion of the "mature mind." If you agree with his radical beliefs, you are "mature." If, on the other hand, you are one of those *backward souls* who believes in God, love of country, free enterprise, investigations of Communism, and if you have other similar attitudes respected by the overwhelming majority of Americans, then you are "immature"; and quite possibly, according to Professor Overstreet, you are on the road to mental illness. What I have said is not *my* imagination running wild. It is the core of Overstreet's thinking, made abundantly clear for anyone who will take the trouble to read even a few of his books. Some of them are: *The Enduring Quest* (1931), *A Declaration of Interdependence* (1937), *The Mature Mind* (1949), *The Great Enterprise* (1952); and those books written jointly with his wife, Bonaro Overstreet, *The Mind Alive* (1954), *The Mind Goes Forth* (1956), and the recent, *What We Must Know About Communism* (1958).

All of these books have had wide circulation. But I must caution the prospective reader. Overstreet is as slick and slippery as an Owen Lattimore. His

writings are one of the little webs which, along with many other webs, the Communists weave together to make up the Big Lie of their total web of deception. He does his work with half-truth, glittering generality, misplaced emphasis, significant omission, and other tricks that mark the prolific popularizer and propaganda hack. The trained reader, however, who is able to find his way through the silver linings into the dark clouds themselves, will soon see that what appear on the surface of Overstreet's writings to be the grandiose schemes of a super-idealist are, in fact, rank examples of leftist propaganda.

II

A SAMPLE OF THIS master of confusion at work might serve as a good introduction to his background. Professor Overstreet writes in *The Mind Alive*, 1954, that he and his wife recently "had occasion . . . to try to clear up, not only for the record but for our own minds, certain tenuous associations one of us had a decade or more ago with several groups that were later shown to be tainted by Communist infiltration . . . we went to Washington and to the office of one individual who . . . was known for his 'toughness toward anything that savored of Communism. We put our problem to him—particularly with regard to one organization which we could only vaguely place but that he told us had been practicing a calculated subversion even at the time when one of us had unsuspectingly signed one of its petitions. He laid the facts before us—and they were striking enough to make us feel abashed . . ."

Here is indeed a touching picture of

injured innocence, painted with tears. But it is highly deceptive. Before I deal with those "tenuous associations," I should like to skim over the social philosophy of poor, unsuspecting, abashed Professor Overstreet.

His *Mature Mind*, 1949, had an unusually profound respect for Karl Marx, whose "piled up proofs" of the abuses of the economic processes "was a job well done." For Overstreet, this was a "triumph of logic," and Marx's "urgent demand that working men stop taking the economic order for granted was a bid for the increased use of the mind." It's unfortunate though, the professor tells us, that the "social regeneration" was to be accomplished by force. What, other than Marx's exhortation to revolution and violence, does Overstreet mean by "urgent demand?"

Karl Marx in his own lifetime would have been delighted to know what an American professor would proclaim in 1949: Our economic system uses fear as a weapon to such an extent that everywhere, men and women are terrified over the prospect of losing their jobs; the system is so bad as to cause a *dominant* fear by ten-year-old American children that their fathers will lose their jobs and end up on the industrial scrapheap. And that's not all. According to Overstreet: "Our strange economy has never been interested in the whole human being, but only in those aspects of his nature from which some monetary profit could be derived." Unsuspecting, "abashed" Overstreet is of the opinion that industry, business and some of the professions have acted as a conspiracy to prevent raising the standard of living, so that they could make bigger profits.

I don't want to belabor the point, but

one of Overstreet's earlier ideas, penned in 1931, is as good an index of his thinking as any: "Until various sharp-eyed men of a more realistic turn saw through the pleasant sham, it was a prevalent habit to praise the workers as the salt of the earth and quote Scripture to them about the virtue of industry . . . In those days the simple workers, thus bedazzled, would fling up their caps and cheer lustily in honor of their own greatness and glory." Marx put it much more simply: "Religion is the opium of the people." And Lenin, another favorite of Overstreet, used the words, "spiritual gin." When the facts were laid before him, unsuspecting Dr. Overstreet felt "abashed."

III

WITH THIS AS BACKGROUND, it might be well to investigate those "tenuous associations" that Overstreet could only vaguely recall. After all, this man-of-the-mature-mind tells us, in 1949, the "thing we can do to make clear the image of maturing is to associate ourselves with groups that promote maturing." He associated himself with the following nine Communist front organizations, stretching from the 1930's to August, 1950:

Member, New York Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, as shown on letterheads dated September, 1939 and December, 1939. Signer of petition, January, 1940; sponsor, according to a leaflet, of a Rally held in April, 1940.

The Daily Worker, August, 1950 reported that Overstreet had signed a statement against denaturalization is-

sued by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. This Committee had been officially listed *as subversive a number of years before Overstreet lent it his support.*

Signed a public statement of the American Committee to Save Refugees. Again, this Committee had been officially declared subversive *before Overstreet gave it his support.*

Professor Overstreet was listed on the letterhead of the Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, February, 1938; also, he was Committee member of the Medical Bureau, American Friends (see their letterhead, November, 1936; *New Masses*, January, 1937).

Member of Descendants of the American Revolution, as shown by the *Daily Worker*, February, 1939. Also named as sponsor on the pamphlet, "Descendants of the American Revolution."

Signed circular for Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Signer, 1943, of message of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to United States House of Representatives. *Again, this front was listed before Overstreet lent it his support.*

Signer of a letter sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee, October, 1944. *Again, this front was listed before Overstreet lent it his support.*

"Children in Concentration Camps" reveals that Professor Overstreet was

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a sponsor of the Spanish Relief Campaign.

Surely there is nothing "flimsy" or "slight" — or *tenuous* — about so impressive a background of Communist front associations. And when Overstreet writes "associations of . . . a decade or more ago," he apparently does not mean, by "decade," ten years. What of his claim that several groups "were later shown to be tainted by Communist infiltration?" A quick check of the list will show that American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Committee to Save Refugees, The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, The Schappes Defense Committee — *all of these*, as we have indicated above, *were listed before Dr. Overstreet lent them his services*. Some one is telling tales, and it is not the public record.

In sum, what Overstreet wrote in *The Mind Alive*, 1954, is a calculated mis-statement of the facts; the "associations" were specific, not "tenuous"; the "decade or so ago" omits his more recent activities; and the "later shown to be Communist-tainted" is a bold fairy tale.

Dr. Overstreet fails to mention, in *The Mind Alive*, that six months earlier, on July 21, 1953, he had filed an affidavit with the House Un-American Activities Committee at *his own* request. He did this, he claims in the affidavit, to set the record straight, and because patriotic groups were disturbing his lecture plans in California and Arizona. Possibly the Professor had other reasons for attempting to "purify" himself, but he has not made them public.

His reasoning in the affidavit is well

worth a close examination, and it is just as loaded as the statement on "tenuous associations."

Dr. Overstreet states that he has never been a Communist or a sympathizer with Communist tactics or philosophy, except for a brief hope that the Russian Revolution might lead to democracy in Russia. Also, that he never knowingly helped a movement or organization that had Communist aims. Can it be that this educated man, this professor of philosophy and psychology, this nation-wide lecturer, this "mature" mind, who is mentioned nine times as lending his name to Communist causes, did so *all nine times* without knowing what he was doing? Yes, he tells us, and without blushing.

He tells us that one of the reasons why he made these "mistakes" was because he was "profoundly aware of the rising menace of fascism," but that he was not "in any equal measure aware of communist infiltration." Our *new expert* on Communism adds, that when appeals came to him that sounded humanitarian, he had "little or no suspicion that they might be communist." How much, Professor Overstreet, is a "little?" Further, since his retirement at CCNY, he has led a "nomadic life," lecturing all over the country. Hence, he reacted to these organizations on "cursory" information. A most immature thing for a mature mind to do. Besides, claims Overstreet, as if to clinch his argument, in his writings he has consistently "stated and restated (his) confidence in our American way of life." This should prove that he was not favoring Communism. In this double talk Professor Overstreet could hardly have been referring to his passage on "Our strange economy," which

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is a good example of his "confidence" in our way of life.

The specific reasons he offers for lending his name to the Communist fronts include: A number of names on a list were so impressive, he thought this reason enough to sign; a petition sounded convincing; he always tends to contribute to refugee causes; for the Spanish fronts, he had a complete belief and he was "very tardy and reluctant" about changing his mind on these; some strangers came to his hotel room and asked him if he would like to join a group more liberal than the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, and he said yes; he hated Schappes, a fellow teacher, and felt guilty about it, so he signed the petition to make sure he was being fair.

Time won't permit a detailed analysis of all of these tenuous excuses, but I do want to examine his statement on the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Here, he signed a Communist protest against the proceedings of the Dies Committee, and he adds, "I still feel that the House Committee hearings *as they were being conducted at that time* called for protest." Professor Overstreet adds that, "almost up to the present" he had underestimated Communist infiltration; hence, he did not see the need for the Committee.

The reader might get the impression that Overstreet is talking about the 1930's. I shall show shortly that one of the most savage attacks in either English or Russian was made by Overstreet, not only against the Hon. Martin Dies, but against the Committee in general, and "McCarthyism," in 1952! When Overstreet tells us in his affidavit of 1953 that he has now "definitely" changed his mind, he is using

Newspeak or his personality has undergone shock treatment—and I do not think it is the latter.

Professor Overstreet explains that "there may seem to be a discrepancy between my prolonged self-searching . . . and my signing . . . of petitions that I did not investigate at all. I can only say that . . . I was not yet suspicious of Communist infiltration of humanitarian causes." Seem to be? This is more calculated nonsense! These are listed *Communist fronts*, pure and simple, and *not* "humanitarian causes."

For what it's worth, our new expert on Communism ends his 1953 affidavit by stating: "I am no longer in doubt about the Communist threat." To show his good faith, he indicates that he testified before a Senate Committee, where he stated that Communists ought not teach; and, that he is writing a book about the psychological threat Communism poses. And woe to us from that book and the others he has written.

IV

OVERSTREET QUOTED from his own writings to demonstrate to *his* personal satisfaction that he had never been sympathetic to Communism. I shall use this method to examine his writings from 1949 to the writing of his book on *Communism* in 1958. From an examination of themes from *his* books, the reader can decide to what purposes Professor Overstreet has been sympathetic.

(1) First, though the order is not important, he *savagely denounces Congressional investigations of Communism: and, later, he steadily minimizes their work to nothingness*. Dr. Overstreet in 1952, shortly before he filed his affidavit with the House Un-American Activities Committee, wrote one of the

most vicious attacks on Congressional investigations ever printed. He pictures the Hon. Martin Dies as a malicious reactionary, who has used the cover of a feigned Communist threat to smash liberal ideas, and all ideas. Similarly, Overstreet finds "McCarthyism" a "ruthless" imitation of the techniques of totalitarianism. The professor charges that the House Committee, "far from guarding our nation against subversives," has used the trust of the American people "to subvert certain American freedoms . . . It has been able, in an alarming degree, to terrorize non-conformity into silence." Venom-spewing Overstreet insists that the Committee's practices "had been a favorite method of totalitarianism." The hearings "appear" to be imitating "the mass trials of Communist China (where) thousands of the accused were disposed of by the roar of the 'People's' Court—Kill—Kill—Kill!"

That is what Overstreet wrote in 1952. The discerning reader will not be amazed by the shifts and dodges concocted in *The Mind Alive*, two years later, 1954, where the professor piously tells us that, in 1952, he and his wife sat at a Senate Internal Security Committee Hearing and observed some cynical Communists "actually" using obstructionist tactics. It doesn't take "abashed" Overstreet long to get back to his line. The trouble is, he writes, these Committees were "amateurishly set up," because we are all amateurs to this "age of conspiracy," and, "the type of person to be hunted out and exposed was so vaguely defined that wide latitude was given to ignorance, prejudice, partisan animosity, political ambition, and/or the publicity hunter. Also, because the methods to be used

were so unprecedented, proper safeguards were not provided "against harming the innocent." What is the difference between this double talk and his vicious slander in 1952?

Overstreet next quickly gets rid of the various government listings with a slick discourse on: "What kind of research has preceded the listing? Does it mean . . . ?" And with a host of similar absurd questions, unsuspecting, duped Overstreet demonstrates that listings are subject to error and no answer to the Communist threat. Loyalty oaths go the same way. And he writes that the alternative to government investigations "is an effective inside program for preventing Communist infiltration."

This man who himself claims that he was duped, and who allegedly would not himself read the reports citing the Communist fronts to which he lent his name, is now asking citizens to do *their own* policing and to read about Communism.

His line two years later, in 1956, cautions us against "cynical Communists," and at the same time warns us against "subverting the constitution by using words such as 'Fifth Amendment Communist.'" In 1958 the House Committee is not mentioned, in what purports to be a guide to *what we must know about Communism*, except in *one* sentence, where the Committee is included among an assortment of groups that have said that Negroes are loyal.

Is it necessary to mention that Overstreet stated in his 1953 affidavit to the House Committee that he has "definitely changed his mind," and now recognizes the necessity for the Committee to investigate "undercover subversion" of the Conspiracy "on a full time

basis?" Maybe it is. He changes his supposed views so rapidly, so cleverly, and so boldly that you need a guide to keep up with him.

(2) A second important theme in Professor Overstreet's writings is his systematic *attack on anti-Communists, whom he likens to hate-mongers, fascists, and — especially — personality disorder cases.* The reader will remember that Overstreet stressed in his affidavit, 1953, that he has consistently "stated and restated" his "confidence in our American way of life." Let's look at some more of that "confidence," *à la Overstreet*, in 1949: "Political authoritarianism is now in such full swing," (that) "while a man looks silly kicking a chair, he can,—our political assumptions being what they are—look brave, loyal, and patriotic kicking an enemy who has been officially labelled 'kickable.'" The Professor adds that if the man "kicks hard enough . . . he may even be appointed to office or receive a monthly stipend from his government." Freedom is slavery, and Orwell's ghost might well consult Overstreet to get the proper *Newspeak* that equals "confidence" in this age of brave, new experts on Communism.

Dr. Overstreet uses "psychology" as a weapon for his smear attacks on patriots. *Character structure* is a key phrase in his arsenal, and from 1949 on, the professor insists that there is something deficient or defective in the character or personality structure of Americans who are resolute in their fight against Communism.

Thus, in 1952, Overstreet whined that he and his ilk who "saw hope in the Russian Revolution," and who cared about "injustice," were now being hounded by patriots who were skeptical

of his dodges. More often than not, Overstreet claims, these *hounders* were satisfied with "prevailing inhumanities; or were ignorant of them; or were morally indifferent to them . . . They hate communism . . . much as communism hated fascism and Nazism." Sly Overstreet cautions his readers to: "*Beware of the wolves in our midst in anti-Communist clothing.*" All of this "hostility" and "disguised totalitarianism," claims the professor, is a conspiracy, not to root out subversives, but to "smash the liberals." And if you don't know this, you're "a lamb among the wolves. *And what are we among the Overstreets?*"

Dr. Overstreet wages the same psychological warfare in 1954, as he smashes out at the determined efforts of patriots by labelling them "exaggerated expressions of personality problems; as hostility and frustration on the rampage; as deep emotional insecurity venting itself."

The line doesn't change with time. In 1956 he simply has found more "scientific evidence" for his former notions on *authoritarian personalities* and *sick anti-Communists*. By 1958, our new what-have-you-in-Communist-expert-clothing has it that the "majority" of anti-Communists "are still inventing the Communism to which they are opposed: fashioning it out of what they have hated and feared in the American scene." Please note the use of the word "majority"—*Overstreet has not been attacking some lone crank or disgruntled clique.*

(3) The first two themes eliminated Congressional investigations of Communism and the vigilant work of private citizens. The next important theme represents one of Overstreet's *solutions*

to the problem of Communism. Dr. Overstreet would "enlighten" his readers about the *Communist Conspiracy*, but then tell them that "understanding," not tough laws, is the way to deal with it.

The time is 1952, as he asks: "Has the reader had the uncanny experience of being called a Communist because he has expressed a liberal view?" A few of Overstreet's liberal views in that year include his denunciation of security procedures for obtaining passports (the professor must be happy on that score today), and his belief that loyalty oaths are an imitation of "Communist methods" and an infringement on personal rights "so long as (the person) performs no acts that go counter to the laws of the land." They further include such a "liberal view" as that the way to resolve the conflict with Russia is through "contacts with cultures" or that we must achieve "the toleration of certain minimal differences within even the most tyrannical culture, with all such toleration implies in the way of the re-animation of men's minds." *Let's all get re-animated with a certain minimal amount of Communism.*

Overstreet in 1954 alerts us to the "new and startling story we are beginning to learn." "We must do something," to counter this "'real and present danger.'" But contrary to the Court, which used 'real and present' instead of *clear and present danger*, to show that conspiracy to initiate a revolution when the time is ripe is a grave crime, Overstreet orders our common defense as follows: "The program does not invite us to do enough things to the enemy directly and forcibly." Rather, we are supposed to "do things to ourselves" — whatever that double

talk means —that will make us less vulnerable to a "Conspiratorial Communist." Overstreet tells us that a "direct hitting out" at Communism is a "dubious contribution." It's rather strange that Professor Overstreet can use the *real and present danger* language of the Court, and still recommend that we defend ourselves by doing nothing about Communism.

But it's not strange that Overstreet's 1954 "'real and present danger'" becomes a chapter on "Clear and Present Danger" in 1956. The double talk was no longer necessary by then. The professor now tells us that we must do the opposite of the "extremist" and adopt "the far more exacting and lonely tactics of the moderating mind." This means "respecting the established habits and attitudes, vested interests, traditions, and deep loyalties of the individuals and groups on both sides of a given issue." We ought to invite both sides to think of these issues "as able to be modified." After all, writes Overstreet, the position on a given issue is "partly, rather than absolutely right," and it is a product of "human history rather than 'nature.'" Isn't Dr. Overstreet saying, let's *respect* Communism, and *modify* our stand? After all, we're only partly right, and besides, our belief in natural principles will fall to pieces once we accept the human history concept of Marxism.

(4) The 'we're only partly right' tactic of Overstreet goes back to his *Mature Mind*, 1949, and serves as a key to the next interwoven theme: *Seek understanding and agreement with the Soviet Union*. Despite the Communist gobbling up of Eastern Europe, he tells us not to adopt the "we-are-good-and-you-are-not-so-good" attitude in dealing

with Russia.

In 1952, Dr. Overstreet gives us the startling news that the Soviet Regime has murdered upwards of 3,000,000 peasants (how modest he is with his statistics). But before long he advises us that people are never as bad or as good "as the doctrines they profess." It would be a "great mistake" to believe that "all of the Russian government" is "irrevocably committed in practice to the wholly collectivised man." And I think it would be a fatal mistake to believe Overstreet.

Professor Overstreet's defense program in that year of the Korean war called for "weakening the enemy from within" . . . making his resistance less because he finds less he is called upon to resist . . . we are fighting, "not an immutable doctrine called communism but mutable people who call themselves communists."

Two years later, in 1954, Dr. Overstreet writes approvingly that in Korea "the way to settlement is being sought without either side having won." It is not surprising that he is pleased that we were fighting a war we were not permitted to win. What is needed, Overstreet tells us, is participation in United Nations projects that foster "mutual respect." He isn't, of course, referring to a police action.

And what is our mature mind thinking in 1956? Nuclear developments are such "that the danger inherent in war now precludes the danger of there being a war." This new tactic of his, throwing a smoke cloud over the Kremlin's clear plan to use military stratagems and pre-emptive wars, depending on the chance of success, should be watched closely. The thing to do in this cold war, which Overstreet insists

will not get hot, is to work through the United Nations for "mutual understanding rather than . . . proud stand-pattism." Our "weapons" will be "ideas" and "patterns of human relationships." Overstreet's line doesn't change one bit in *What We Must Know About Communism*, in 1958.

(5) Now that we've got rid of every imaginable program of defense against Communism, and realize that our best defense is "mutual understanding," we might consider briefly the fifth theme from Overstreet which I have selected: *Renunciation of patriotism for world citizenship.*

Harry Allen Overstreet has no room in his heart for singular love of his country. He attacks patriotism as if it were a disease. In 1949 he tells us that "an emotional tie-up" with our own group, so that we think it is more right and reasonable than other groups, makes us "hostile." Dr. Overstreet especially denounces our political institutions for making us "hostile," and for shouting "treason" at those who are trying to build the "supra-ethnic mind."

In 1952, the professor lauds "the mature individual" whose "voice and vote can be enlisted in opposition to the chauvinistic nationalism and in support of the more genuine patriotism of a united mankind." Two years later, it is the same thing, only more so. Now, our "good-will" ought to include even the "enemy"; unlike the "emotionally disturbed individual" who is against the unfamiliar and the foreign, we need the "extraordinary health and faith" of a "sense of the species."

In 1956 Overstreet spells out precisely what he means by "one world." "Why," he asks, "should we lock ourselves up

with our tight walls of national suspicion—glaring at one another—when we might have a far better time of it by talking things over together; getting the hand of one another's problems; lending a hand?" *Lending a hand (tenuously?)*.

This brief picture I've developed — and it is brief in relation to all of the things Overstreet has said and written — represents the background of our new expert on Communism. His past record is enough to alarm even the most forgiving and gentle nature.

But what is truly fantastic, is that Professor Overstreet could take his former leftist notions, plus some deadly new ones, and boldly throw them into a book on Communism that has won the approval of our top policy-makers.

V

ANOTHER GENERATION—if we are still free—may well remember the Overstreets' *What We Must Know About Communism*, as a stupendous attempt that was designed to soften us at the very hour of our crisis. I say this, because the book attempts to make palatable certain notions which would, if accepted by large numbers of Americans, render us helpless in the face of the onslaught of World Communism.

Here is a book on Communism in which not one of J. Edgar Hoover's somber warnings is mentioned—(Overstreet mentions the F.B.I. chief as being opposed to outlawing the Party). Here's a book in which espionage, a major activity and purpose of the Party, gets less than a page of asides. In short, it is a book as conspicuous by what it omits as by what it includes. A brief examination of some of Overstreet's central ideas will show what I mean.

The first stick of dynamite planted by the professor is a "new look" for Khrushchev. The Red boss is a "leader of the Lenin type," who is opposed to a Stalinist cult-of-the-personality dictatorship. Good evidence of this is Premier Khrushchev's February, 1956 speech exposing Stalin. Actually, "Khrushchev adheres consistently and most strictly to the principles of collective leadership and fights energetically for the observance of the Leninist standards of Party life." *Every quotation in this paragraph is taken from the latest official Soviet biography of Khrushchev—and I have used it without fear because it summarizes concisely Professor Overstreet's position, and duplicates much of his language.*

The second phase of this "new look" is to picture "professional" Party-man Khrushchev as a "humane" sort of fellow who is opposed to using terror on a Stalinist scale, unless it is forced on him, as it was in Hungary, where he was protecting a vital interest of the Revolution. Thus, the Overstreets would have us believe that "No one, perhaps, has felt the brunt of Khrushchev's terror more decisively than have the Soviet writers." Hungarians, treated as an aside in this context, would hardly agree with Overstreet's estimate of Khrushchev's terror or its most likely target. They, as do countless millions of others, know him for the savage that he is.

What is the purpose of this "new look," which pictures Khrushchev as a humane, collective-type leader dedicated to Partyism? It is to show us that this "professional" does not want a hot war with us. This is Overstreet's second stick of dynamite.

Khrushchev wants to defeat us

through economic competition, and only in this way, claims Dr. Overstreet. The Russians intend to win, the professor tells us, and this new type of "co-existence" is part of the "permanent revolution." Watch the tricks of propagandist Overstreet:

"It would be sheer folly, however, for us to think that such competition with the Soviet Union can be peaceful. Khrushchev has already made clear that he rates it as a non-shooting phase of the 'permanent revolution' . . ."

Please reread that statement. It is perfect Newspeak: It's folly to think that the competition can be peaceful; but it is non-shooting! Let me complete the quotation to show once more what we are up against with Overstreet.

"... This means that every positive policy we adopt, every creative program we set up for cultural exchange or foreign aid, *will be declared by the Soviet Union and all Communist Parties around the world to be a form of imperialism.*"

We'd like to have Professor Overstreet name for us just one Communist, of his acquaintance or otherwise, who is opposed to "cultural exchange"! No amount of build-up, with words like "positive policy" and "creative program," can alter the fact that "cultural exchange" is a dearly held Communist idea, never denounced. As to foreign aid, just where are the screams from Moscow about our aid to Tito, Gomulka, and Sukarno, among others?

It might be well to have Professor Overstreet sum up this second major notion of his: "Soviet Imperialism . . . is a specific product of the Khrushchev era of 'peaceful competition' and it represents one major aspect of the

USSR's effort to take over the world without the risks involved in open warfare." I could cite a dozen experts who are warning us about Soviet plans for limited war. [*And the very day this is being put in shape for the printer, the Communists are using armed forces in an attempt to take over Laos.* Editor.] The question to be asked is: *Why has Overstreet completely omitted military stratagems and force, the bolshevik standard tactics, as well as subversion and espionage, from his study?*

There are two possible answers. The first is, to soften us by giving us a dream world in which Communist tanks are absent. The second is what I consider to be the third stick of planted dynamite: *A demand that we negotiate and go to the Summit—and by so doing, also give Khrushchev permanent title to Eastern Europe.* Harry and Bonaro Overstreet insist that Khrushchev demands that the West respect the *status quo* in Eastern Europe at any Summit Conference. The Red leader will permit no discussion on the satellite countries, about whom we must forget. And what does our expert on Communism suggest?

"*We believe in negotiations.*" Dr. Overstreet insists that we negotiate "whenever there is hope of achieving even small dependable agreements." And he specifies that we dash off to the Summit.

Professor Overstreet, who knows all about these things, tells us that we must bargain with the Communists. And this bargaining "embodies both a respect for what each party has declared indispensable to *separate well-being* and what all parties have agreed on as indispensable to their *common well-being.*"

In short, we are to run to the Summit

What We Must Know About Overstreet

after telling Khrushchev we have no more interest in Eastern Europe; and then, at the Summit, we will see what more we can bargain away.

The fourth stick of dynamite—there are more, the ones I've selected are simply more glaring—deals with an old problem of Overstreet's: *Communist control*, (or should I say, "understanding?"). The professor has a huge dialectical discourse on the problem of what to do with "conspiratorial communists," but he resolves it all with a quotation: "Freedom for the wise is so supremely important that it is worth the price of making the silly free, too." We have remembered this comment because it expresses a point of view which most of us Americans profoundly cherish. It is in the spirit of this viewpoint that a great many anti-Communists have opposed all attempts to make any legal distinction between Communists and non-Communists in terms of freedoms to be exercised."

Does the reader know any anti-Communists who consider Communists to be "silly," or who have opposed making laws to protect ourselves? Because we mustn't legislate or investigate or apparently do anything about Communists, the professor tells us, "We as citizens, therefore, must equip ourselves to do *by understanding* what cannot be done *by law*." This is Overstreet's plan of defense.

The book ends with pleas for more "tenderness" and less hostility; for more rights for the "individual"; for "inclusiveness," rather than narrow national-mindedness; and with a plea to halt nuclear tests. Dr. Overstreet — fittingly, we think — quotes Norman Cousins:

"The question is not what policy we should devise that makes sense for America alone but rather what policy makes sense in human terms." Of course the nine hundred million enslaved subjects of the Soviet tyranny do not come within the "human terms" for consideration. Their condition, as simply Soviet cattle without human rights, is a *fait accompli* which has no bearing on American policy to be determined with regard for the whole human race.

VI

THE REPORT OF THE 1958 American Bar Association Special Committee On Communist Tactics, Strategy, And Objectives, listed the following among the major Communist Tactics:

Nullification of the Smith Act and other anti-Communist legislation
The Peace Offensive
Summit Conferences
Cultural Exchanges
Halt Nuclear tests

You will note that Professor Overstreet batted one thousand for the Communist objectives in that list. And you will already have noted that the Overstreets' most distinguished reader, President Eisenhower, has invited the humane and professional Party man, Khrushchev—with some twelve million coldblooded murders in his record — to a summit of the summits. The only surprise left for you is the fact that, in the latest editions of that same Bar Association Committee Report, Professor Overstreet's book appears in the bibliography as suggested reading. As the little boy said, when he heard the clock strike fourteen, "it's later than it has ever been before."

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
JAS. P. CANNON
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE SEC'Y-TREAS.
C. E. RUTHERBERG
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WM. F. KRUESS
DIRECTOR LYCEUM AND LITERATURE
ELMER T. ALLISON

WORKERS' PARTY
OF AMERICA



NATIONAL OFFICE
799 BROADWAY, ROOM 405
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

"THE WORKER"
OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN
\$1.00 PER YEAR
EDITORS
J. LOUIS ENGDAHL
JAY LOVESTONE
WM. F. DUKE
CARTOONIST
ROBERT MINOR

June 10, 1923

Prof. H. A. Overstreet,
College of the City of N.Y.,
New York City, N.Y.

My dear Prof. Overstreet,

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of my book "The Government--Strikebreaker". I have taken the privilege of autographing it.

I am sorry that I was unable to arrange my time so as to keep that appointment of mine with you. Court orders in Michigan broke up my plans.

There is nothing I would appreciate more than your going thru the book and giving me a criticism of it. Perhaps you could write a review of it and send it to some of your magazines?

By the way I wonder whether it would not be possible for us to get together for a few minutes during the last week in June. Am planning to be out of town for a few days beginning the 16th.

Hoping to hear from you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Jay Lovestone

The above letter did not appear in the original printing of Mr. Janisch's article, but was added in the December, 1965 reprint of "What We Must Know About Overstreet."

When Jay Lovestone sent this letter to Overstreet, Lovestone was the official, admitted, recognized head of the Communist Party in the United States, and *The Workers' Party Of America* was at that time the *official* name of what is now the CPUSA. Our reproduction here is from the *original* letter, and American Opinion assures Prof. Overstreet that it came into our hands through entirely legal and proper methods.

*Is Charles deGaulle a
Communist?*

FRANCE
The Tragic Years, 1939-1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

(de Gaulle's early career)

DATE 5-21-86

BY SP8BTJ/csl

245 472

THE TRAGEDY OF FRANCE

STAFF

(His recent career)

The two books that give you the
whole story in frightening detail

each: one dollar

Order from

AMERICAN OPINION — Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

April 7, 1966

100-114575-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/COL
245472

[redacted]
[redacted]
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74114

b6
b7C

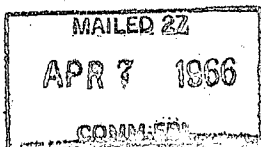
Dear [redacted]

Your letter of March 29th, with enclosures,
has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, the FBI does
not issue clearances or nonclearances of any type. In
addition, information contained in our files must be main-
tained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the
Department of Justice. Therefore, I am certain you will
understand why I am not in a position to furnish you the
specific data you requested.

With respect to [redacted] letter, I
wrote Dr. Overstreet on his 90th birthday and did use the
language mentioned.

Sincerely yours,



J. Edgar Hoover

b6
b7C

1 - Oklahoma City - Enclosures (4)

NOTE: [redacted] and Dr. Sullivan are not identifiable in Bufiles.
Dr. Niebuhr is well known in Bufiles for his left-wing activities.

DTP:cmc (4)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____

Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

55 APR 20 1966

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-33418-20

December 2, 1966

BY LIAISON

BONARO W. OVERSTREET

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BJT/CAL
245472

Dear Mr. Watson:

Reference is made to the name check request from
Mrs. Mildred Stegall regarding the forthcoming Women's White
House Supper Buffet.

The files of the FBI were checked and found to contain
no derogatory information identifiable with the following individuals:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

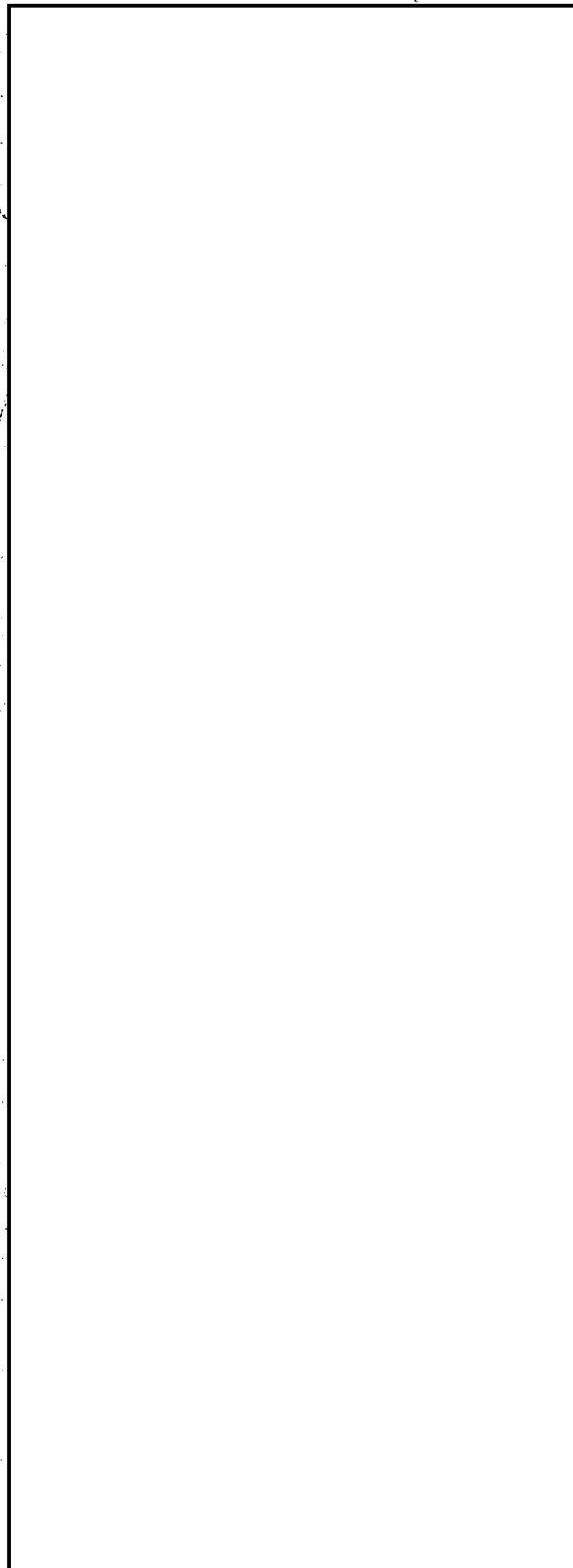
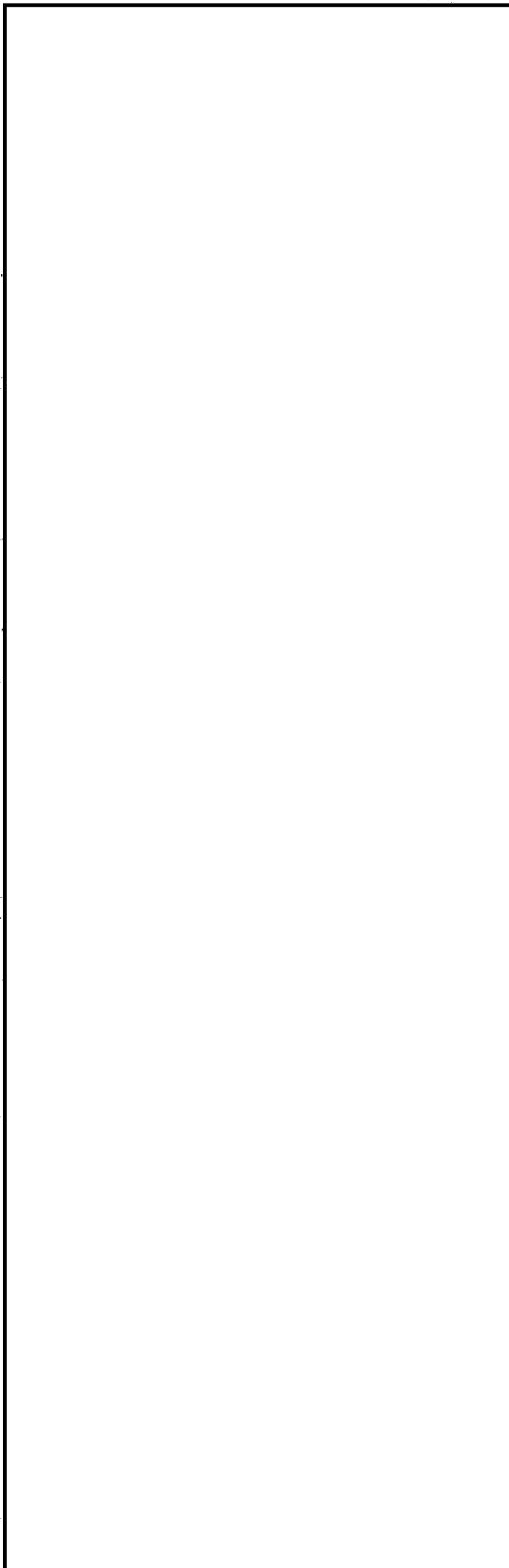
Delivered to Mildred Stegall
on 12-5-66 PM

100-114575-166
FC-15 NOT RECORDED
DEC 6 1966

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____

61 DEC 22 1966
Mr. DeLoach (sent direct)-Enclosures (13) 1-Mr. Gale-Enclosures (13)
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ Mrs. Rosen-Enclosures (13) JMM:jah (8)

Honorable Marvin Watson



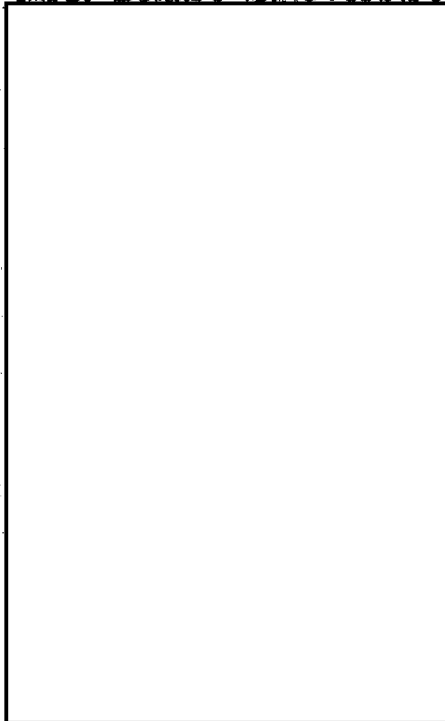
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b7C

Tolson _____
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Conrad _____
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Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____

Honorable Marvin Watson

D.C.

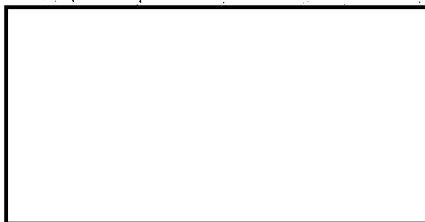
[redacted] SUMMARY
Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet



b6
b7C

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with the above-mentioned individuals based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Attached are separate memoranda on each of the following individuals:



With respect to the memorandum regarding [redacted] you may desire to inquire of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service for additional information concerning the allegation set forth in the memorandum. A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Acting Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (17)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Overstreet Bonaro W.

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 1011 Date 11/30 Searcher Initial 208Prod. 3

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Bonaro Mus.I 105-97148-144Bonardo (Var)The War called PeaceSee Bureau LibraryBonaro (Var)SDHarry A. Mus. (aka)ND 62-104401-2873ND 94-5-51653Harry Allan Mus. (Bu aka)SDWilkinson, Bonaro (Var)NKRef. on sp not listed

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

, 19__

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☐ Attention _____
☐ Return to _____
Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☒ Main *Sum & Sub* References Only

Type of Search Requested: *from 1960*

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☒ Buildup Variations

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KAL
245472

Subject *Overstreet, Bonaro W.*
Birthdate & Place _____
Address *3409 Fiddlers Green*

Localities

R# *671* Date *11/30* Searcher Initials *208*
Prod. *15*

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
<i>I</i>	<i>100-114575</i>	
	<i>Bonaro W. Mo.</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>94-1-9347-31</i>	
	<i>Bonaro Wilkinson (Bu)</i>	
	<i>Sub</i>	b2
	<i>Bonaro</i>	b7D
<i>I</i>	<i>62-107611-5</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>62-106364-A</i>	<i>Los Angeles</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>94-1-369-1836, 17472</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>105-97148-136</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>105-34237-8+31</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>105-119840-2 ex #7</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>" - 5 ex #2</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>94-61769-2</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>100-50869-13885</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>Bonaro Mo.</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>62-107261-1326</i>	
<i>I</i>	<i>62-109057-103</i>	

NOV 30 1966
(647)

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Mohr

November 27, 1968

1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
1 - Mr. Garner

John
Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
3409 Fiddler's Green
Falls Church, Virginia 22044

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CAL
245472

In response to your letter of November 25, 1968, it is a long-standing policy of this Bureau that all appointments to the position of Special Agent are based entirely on the current needs of the service and on the qualifications of the individual applicant. In the past some of our Special Agents who have resigned for personal reasons have been reinstated at their request when these prerequisites existed.

As a matter of normal procedure, Special Agents do have extensive experience in the field prior to reassignment to headquarters as training instructors or for supervisory duties. In addition, as you suggested in your inquiry, these men have special abilities and have maintained a quality performance over a prolonged period of time.

You have my permission to quote this reply.

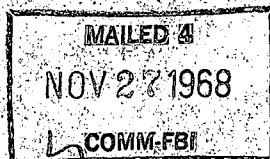
Sincerely yours, *74*

J. Edgar Hoover

ee B. gmt
JEK:ebp
(9) *lp*

NOTE:

See memorandum Sullivan to DeLoach, dated 11/26/68, captioned "Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet, Falls Church, Virginia, Information Concerning, (Research-Satellite)," prepared by JEK:ebp.



DEC 2 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach

DATE: November 26, 1968

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(RESEARCH-SATELLITE)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/KC

This is to recommend that a letter over the Director's signature, which sets forth Bureau policy on reinstating Special Agents and assigning Special Agents to headquarters, be sent to Mrs. Overstreet and that she be given permission to quote this letter.

For the past three or four years, Mrs. Overstreet and her husband, who are strong supporters of the Bureau and well-known authors, have been writing a book regarding the FBI. The writing of this book is nearing completion.

In her incoming letter, which is attached, Mrs. Overstreet states that she has been unable to find anything in the public domain pertaining to Bureau policy on the reappointment of Special Agents and the assignment of Special Agents to headquarters, particularly to the Training Division. She asks, therefore, for a statement on this policy which she could quote, if necessary, to refute allegations emanating from the likes of Fred Cook and Jack Levine.

In view of the fact that her intention is to support the FBI, I believe that we should honor her request.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to Mrs. Overstreet.

Enclosures

JEK:ebp (8)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. R. W. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Garner

54 DEC 16 1968

REC 36

25 DEC 2 1968

ENCLOSURE

BONARO W. OVERSTREET

3409 FIDDLER'S GREEN

FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA

22044

November 25, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL

245472

In The FBI Nobody Knows, p. 39, Fred Cook, on the theme of Jack Levine's unsuccessful effort to secure re-appointment as a Special Agent, says that it was

naive of Levine to suppose that, once he had resigned, he would ever be reinstated, much less given a more responsible post in the training department. The FBI does not work that way, and he should have known it.

We have been unable to find in the public domain any official statement that would clarify Bureau policy with regard to the matters touched upon by Cook. We are venturing, therefore, to ask the two questions that follow -- in order that we may be able properly to evaluate what he says:

1. Have there been instances of the reinstatement of Special Agents who have resigned for personal reasons and have then indicated their wish to return to the FBI?
2. Would it not be most unusual for any Special Agent to be assigned to the training "department", or to Washington headquarters in any capacity, until he had had extensive and diverse experience out in the field; and, with respect to the training department, until he had acquired specialized expertness in some phase of the Bureau's work?

We would be most grateful for whatever answer you can give to these questions and for permission to quote it, in whole or part.

Sincerely,

ENCLOSURE

Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

BONARO W. OVERSTREET

memo to Mr. Sullivan to let to Mrs. Overstreet
CD DeLoach 11/26/68
JEK:alp (Encs)
JEK:alp

January 28, 1969

gm
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
3409 Fiddlers Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia 22044

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-82 BY SP8BJJ/COL
245472

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

It was certainly thoughtful of Mrs. Overstreet and you to send me an autographed copy of your book, "The FBI In Our Open Society."

Your writings should do much to neutralize and minimize the vicious attacks which have been made upon this Bureau by several of its outspoken critics.

Sincerely yours, REC 13

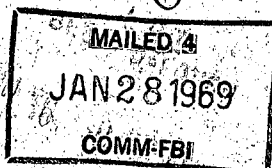
Clyde Tolson

ST-115
Clyde Tolson

100-114575-169
19 JAN 28 1969

NOTE: Based on memorandum, W. C. Sullivan to Mr. DeLoach, dated 1-24-69, captioned: "The FBI In Our Open Society" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet"; WCS:dgl.

Red
PDW:rlf (3)



Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

54 FEB 5 - 1969
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop *fb*

DATE: 2-18-69

FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ*

SUBJECT: "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY" BY
HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET
PUBLICITY APPEARING IN THE MARCH
ISSUE OF "THE INVESTIGATOR"

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

W. J. Jones

#243,466
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-85 BY SP-8 BJS/lakr
#243,466

Captioned book has just been published by the W. W. Norton Company and represents the FBI in a favorable manner. It is easy to read and highly informative. Special arrangements have been made with the publisher to secure copies for sale to Bureau employees at the special discount rate of \$3.75. This is an outstanding offer and one which should be publicized because the price to the Bureau is \$3.47 1/2 per copy for 1,000 copies, plus a trucking charge of \$40.00 per 1,000 copies. This would mean a cost of \$3.51 1/2 per book. It will be necessary to add a small handling charge and it seems that \$3.75 is an excellent price. It is proposed that the following write-up to publicize the book appear "boxed in" at the lower right-hand corner of page six on the proof copy of "The Investigator." A photograph appears at that location; however, it will be deleted from the magazine:

"THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"

by

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

5-21-86 SP-8 BJS/lakr
An excellent new book about the FBI by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, well-known scholars and educators, has just been published by the W. W. Norton Company. It is entitled "The FBI in Our Open Society" and emphasizes that the Bureau's operations do not in any way represent a threat to the freedoms of our free and open society. This interesting and intellectually stimulating work exposes the false charges made against the FBI by a few detractors. By a special offer limited to FBI employees, the book is available at a discount price of \$3.75. The FBIRA is handling orders, which can now be placed through your office representative."

RECOMMENDATION:

That the write-up appearing above be approved for inclusion in the March, 1969, issue of "The Investigator."

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

JRP:faj/ksf

55 MAR 19 1969

REC-30

FEB 20 1969

CRIME RESEARCH

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 2-17-69

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"
BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

for BUCHANAN

Reference is made to Mr. DeLoach's note to Mr. Tolson, 2-4-69, indicating that Norton Publishing Company had advised that it would make available copies of captioned book to FBI personnel for approximately \$3.50 per book. We ordered 1,000 copies and asked the publisher to verify for us the exact price per copy so that we could advise FBI employees. We have just received word from the publisher that the price to the FBIRA for 1,000 copies is \$3.47 1/2 per copy, plus a trucking charge of \$40.00 per 1,000 copies. This would mean a cost of \$3.51 1/2 per book to the FBIRA.

In order to take care of handling charges, it is felt we should offer the book at \$3.75 to our employees. An appropriate note is being placed in the March issue of "The Investigator" that the book is available at this price.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached SAC letter be approved and disseminated to the field.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Casper - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Callahan (Attn. Mr. Rogers) - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn. Mr. Gray) - Enclosure

59 JVA:rog (9)
MAR 4 - 1969

CRIME RESEARCH

#243,466
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-85 BY SP8 BTJ/jah
5-21-86 SP8 BTJ/jah
245472

REC 43
100-114525-171
ST-106
FEB 25 1969

February 24, 1969

REC-113

100-114575 172

b6
b7c

INFORMANT

Rome, Georgia 30161

Dear [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL
245472

In reply to your letter of February 17th, this Bureau
has enjoyed cordial relations with Dr. Overstreet over the years
and I have corresponded with him.

Sincerely yours,

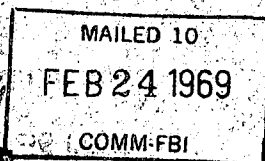
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Dr. Harry A.
Overstreet is well known to the Bureau and has published a book on
the FBI which is very favorable.

JBT:dla (3)

dla

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

19
24
[Redacted]
ROME, GEORGIA 3-0-61
[Redacted]
[Redacted]

February 17, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL
245472

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20000

b6
b7c

Dear Sir,

I have just been conversing with a friend of mine and we are in some disagreement. He stated that you were a good friend of Dr. and Mrs. Harry Overstreet and said that he could prove it. Is there any truth to this statement?

I would sincerely appreciate your reply to this question.

Cordially,
[Redacted Signature]

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

34 FEB 19 1969
EXP. PROC.
[Signature]

REC-113

100-114575-172

12 FEB 19 1969
26

ack/nml
2-24-69
JBT/ala

CORRESPONDENCE
[Signature]



PERSONAL ATTENTION
SAC LETTER 69-14
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

February 25, 1969

RA

(A) "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY" BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET -- W. W. Norton Company has just published "The FBI in Our Open Society" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. This is an excellent book and portrays the FBI in a most favorable way. Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet, well-known scholars and educators, have carefully studied and refuted the false charges made against the Bureau by such vicious critics as Max Lowenthal, Fred J. Cook and William W. Turner. The Overstreets emphasize that the operations of the FBI do not in any way represent a threat to the freedoms of our free and open society and that charges that the Bureau is a national police agency are completely false. The book is highly readable, intellectually stimulating and extremely lucid.

The Bureau has made arrangements with W. W. Norton Company to secure copies of this book for sale to employees at the special discount rate of \$3.75.

You should survey your personnel and advise the Bureau promptly of the number of books to be sent to your office. All initial orders should be submitted by routing slip marked "Attention, Crime Records Section" and should be accompanied by one check payable to the FBI Recreation Association covering the entire order. Subsequently, of course, additional orders can be submitted in the same manner.

In order to facilitate the handling of orders, one employee should be designated in each office or section at the Seat of Government to coordinate the orders. All books mailed will be addressed to the SAC but should be distributed in the various offices by the employee handling orders. The Bureau should be notified if books ordered are not received within a few weeks so they can be traced through the mails.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL
245472

100-114572

NOT RECORDED
128 MAR 5 1969

56 MAR 6 1969

66-04-3648
ORIGINAL FILED IN

March 10, 1969

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
3409 Fiddlers Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia 22044

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-81 BY SP1 BTJ/CA
245472

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

It is a pleasure to enclose a copy of the
March, 1969, issue of "The Investigator," our employee
publication in the FBI. An announcement of the splendid
new book written by your wife and you appears on page 6,
and I thought you might like to have this copy.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

REC-104

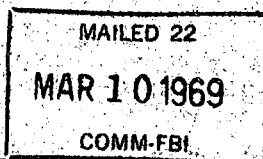
100-114575-173
19 MAR 11 1969

Enclosure

NOTE: Our relations have been cordial with the Overstreets.

JRP:faj (6)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



56 MAR 17 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Tavel *ST*

DATE: 3-10-69

FROM : F. W. Waikart

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION OF BOOK,
"THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"
ON "CAPITAL TIELINE"
CHANNEL 4
3-7-69

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Bishop ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
Felt ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

By Bonaro Overstreet

*Harry Overstreet
Bonaro Overstreet
Mrs. Harry Overstreet*

Reference is made to the attached memorandum from Mr. Jones to Mr. Bishop dated 3-7-69 reporting an interview of Mrs. Overstreet, author of captioned book, by Mac McGarry during which a woman caller stated she had called the FBI locally about two weeks ago and it was obvious to her that the Bureau's telephone operators "did not know their own department." She said it appeared that they did not know to whom she should be referred to discuss the matter with which she was concerned. She went on to say that this was very common in Washington and felt that all telephone operators should have been better trained. The Director noted, "Look into operation of our telephone room."

All of our telephone operators have been interviewed and cannot remember receiving such a call. For the Director's information, every effort is made to promptly and accurately handle incoming telephone calls. This normally involves identifying the person being called and/or the extension number. If neither of these is known by the caller and he is vague or uncertain as to subject matter, he is immediately connected with the Complaint Desk in the Washington Field Office where someone is on duty at all times during the day. After hours and on week ends and holidays, such calls are referred to the Agent on duty in one of the investigative divisions at the Seat of Government.

ACTION:

100-114575-174
NOT RECORDED

MAR 12 1969

As indicated, we cannot identify the caller in this instance because she did not identify herself or what she was calling about. However, all telephone operators have been alerted and will use exceptional care to promptly complete all incoming calls.

Enclosure
1 - Mr. Bishop
FWW:bpr

(4) 100-414580-14
3-11-69

55 MAR 27 1969 226

It is imperative that our telephone operators be courteous & knowledgeable-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-22-85 BY SP8 JLP/ldk

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3093 519

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 3-7-69

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION OF BOOK,
"THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"
ON "CAPITAL TIELINE"
CHANNEL 4
3-7-69

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

Author of captioned book interviewed by Mac McGarry. She said no evidence uncovered supporting allegation that FBI exceeds authority. In reference to relations between the Director and the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Mrs. Overstreet pointed out the problem arose after King had made exaggerated statement and that she and her husband had found no evidence that the statement by King was true. One telephone caller complained she had called the Bureau previously and it appeared Bureau telephone operators did not know to whom she should be referred. Mrs. Overstreet refuted contention of another caller that Bureau should have kept a closer watch on Lee Harvey Oswald. She also corrected another caller who alleged that the conviction rate for major crimes was decreasing.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Tavel

CJH:nls (8)

ENCLOSURE

100-114525
NOT RECORDED

47 MAR 13 1969

DETAILS - OVER

MAR 12 1969

CRIME RESEARCH
COMM. SECT.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 166-3093-579

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-85 BY SP8 BTJ/lah

245472 5-21-86 SP8 BTJ/lah

Transmitted to Tolson
File: 3-10-69

M. A. Jones to Bishop memo
RE: "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"

DETAILS:

Captioned book, which was written by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, was the subject of a discussion on captioned television program this morning. Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet was the guest and she was interviewed by Mac McGarry. It is noted our files contain no derogatory information regarding McGarry, who also moderates another television program, "It's Academic," where Mr. DeLoach appeared recently as a guest.

Mrs. Overstreet discussed in general the contents of the book. At one point, she noted that there seemed to be a great deal of criticism these days concerning the FBI allegedly exceeding its authority. Mrs. Overstreet said that she and her husband had uncovered no evidence whatever that this was true.

When the program was opened to telephone callers, one person mentioned the relations between the Director and the late Dr. Martin Luther King and wanted Mrs. Overstreet's opinion concerning Mr. Hoover's characterization of King. She pointed out that this came up after King had made "an exaggerated statement" that there was a disproportionate number of southern FBI Agents serving in southern offices. She said that she and her husband had examined this matter and had found no evidence whatever that the statement by King was true.

Another caller wanted to know who would be in line to succeed the Director upon his retirement. Mrs. Overstreet replied that she had no information concerning this, but hoped that the person selected would come from within the organization. She mentioned the desirability of maintaining a continuity of leadership and avoiding political influences within the FBI.

At this point, Mrs. Overstreet gave a brief historical run-down of the Bureau and dwelled at some length on the matter of professional-type police officers, which the Director has always advocated. She said it was absolutely necessary to upgrade the caliber of local officers and insure that there was better training, more discriminating selection, and higher salaries for local officers.

M. A. Jones to Bishop memo
RE: "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"

One woman caller stated that she had called the FBI locally about two weeks ago and it was obvious to her that the Bureau's telephone operators did not "know their own department." She said it appeared that they did not know to whom she should be referred to discuss the matter with which she was concerned. She went on to say that this was very common in Washington and felt that all telephone operators should have better training. Mrs. Overstreet had no comment, but McGarry said, "If the FBI is listening, you can bet that's happening right now."

Mrs. Overstreet briefly discussed the Bureau's jurisdiction, mentioning in particular kidnaping, the history behind the presumptive clause, etc. At this point, a male caller wanted to know why the Bureau had not kept a closer watch on Lee Harvey Oswald. Mrs. Overstreet replied that the Bureau had no reason to believe that he was inclined toward violence. The caller responded by stating that this should have been apparent from a very abusive letter Oswald directed to the top echelon of the Navy. Mrs. Overstreet said she was aware of this letter but indicated it was unfair to criticize the FBI in this manner because the Bureau had never been given a copy of the letter by the Navy. The caller then tried to illustrate Oswald's proclivity toward violence by maintaining that he was active in distributing pamphlets in New Orleans after which he went to Cuba. Mrs. Overstreet replied that Oswald went to Mexico, not Cuba. She concluded by pointing out that the Bureau, on at least two occasions during its investigation of Oswald, had interviewed him and had been given no reason to believe that he was violence prone in any way.

The final caller wanted to know what the FBI was doing while our conviction rate for major crimes, including bank robbery, was decreasing drastically. When told that this was not the case and asked where his figures came from, the caller replied that these were his "personal statistics," based upon what he read in the newspapers. Mrs. Overstreet said that this was hardly valid and emphasized that just recently the Attorney General had issued a report emphasizing that the rate of conviction of these crimes was increasing. McGarry concluded by noting that setting one's self up as a bureau of statistics is "not the type of thing we would want to be governed by."

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
3409 FIDDLER'S GREEN
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
22044

March 13, 1969

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
FBI
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very warmly for
sending us the copy of the March
Investigator, with the announcement
about our book. Not only were we
glad to have this item but also we
enjoyed going through the entire
issue.

We do hope that the book will
be useful.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL
245472

MAR 12 1969

[Handwritten scribble]

*no oil
received
8/18*

REC-103

100-114575-175

MAR 19 1969

34 MAR 25 1969

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

[Handwritten signature]

March 12, 1969

REC-49
REC-49

100-114575-176

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL

EX 106

[Redacted]

Rome, Georgia 30161

Dear [Redacted]

Mr. Hoover has received your letter of
March 4, 1969.

With regard to your comments, he asked
me to advise you that the files of the FBI are maintained
as confidential pursuant to Department of Justice regulations.
However, Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet have been most coop-
erative with and helpful to the FBI over the years.

Sincerely yours,

[Handwritten signature: Helen W. Gandy]
Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

FBI
JAH
S 52 PM, 4/1

MAILED 22
MAR 13 1969
COMM-FBI

NOTE: [Redacted] in 2-69 wrote the Director asking if he was a good
friend of the Overstreets, and was advised the Bureau has enjoyed cordial
relations with them. [Redacted] current letter gives the impression that he is
very right wing, with preconceived ideas of the Overstreets as
"pseudo-liberals" and "anti-anti-communists." It is felt a letter over
Miss Gandy's signature is feasible.

1 - Mr. Sullivan

JVA:pls/clw
(5)

- Tolson _____
- DeLoach _____
- Mohr _____
- Bishop _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- Felt _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

MAR 28 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[Handwritten notes and signatures]
RECEIVED
MAR 15 1969
TELETYPE

ROME, GEORGIA

March 4, 1969

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/KCL
245472

Dear Mr. Hoover,

HARRY A. OVERSTREET

Please forgive me for belaboring a point with you but I am quite confused with regards to your answer of February 24, 1969, about cordial relations with Dr. Harry Overstreet.

My understanding is that Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet have been affiliated with nine communist front organizations and that he was an officer in the League for Industrial Democracy and the Student Intercollegiate Socialist Society. His book "What We Must Know About Communism," offers socialism as the answer to prevent communism and also his book "The Strange Tactics of Extremism" is strangely anti-anti-communist and only has a shallow inditement of Communism. With his involvement in the LID and the ISS, this is understandable; but your answer to my letter with regards to the cordial relations of the F.B.I. with Dr. Overstreet leaves me quite confused and perplexed; particularly after your statement to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 26, 1947, in which you said, "I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence, and the industry to learn about this menace of Red fascism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the Communists." And, there are many other statements you have made in this vein regarding pseudo-liberals and anti-anti-communists.

I have read your books "Master of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism" and have read most of your testimony regarding communism to the House appropriations committee and I respect you as a great American. That is why your opinion weigh's heavily with me.

Your answer will sincerely appreciated.

Cordially,

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

EXP. PROC.

MAR 6 1969

EX 106

MAR 19 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop
FROM : G. E. Malmfeldt

DATE: 4-1-69

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT: TELEVISION PROGRAM "TOPIC"
WRC-TV (CHANNEL 4)
SUNDAY, 3-30-69ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTS/CSL
045472

This memo is to advise that the subject of captioned program was "The FBI Today." The moderator was Syndicated Columnist Roscoe Drummond, and the guests were Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet and Admiral William Mott, former Judge Advocate General - USN.

After introduction of the guests, during which Mrs. Overstreet was recognized as the author of the book, "The FBI In Our Open Society," the discussion centered around five main issues, namely; (1) Why the FBI is controversial, (2) Has the FBI done its job in enforcing Civil Rights laws, (3) Criticism regarding selection of the Ten Most Wanted List, (4) Is it proper for the Director of an agency to serve for 45 years when the President can only serve eight years, and (5) Is the Director an empire builder. It was generally agreed the criticism of the Bureau's work is due to a misunderstanding of its functions and the content of the laws over which it has investigative jurisdiction. Drummond made the observation that he sees no particular reason why the FBI should be loved in order to do its job properly, but it must have understanding and respect.

Regarding the job in the Civil Rights field, both guests agreed that the Bureau has done a dedicated job, and Admiral Mott stated he is impressed with the thoroughness of FBI investigations and pointed out that the FBI is not an enforcement agency; consequently, it has no authority for enforcing the law. It was also mentioned the Bureau has furnished enough information to the Department of Justice for it to make its decisions with respect to prosecutions in these cases.

In discussing the criticism with regard to the selection of individuals designated to appear on the Ten Most Wanted List, it was indicated the press is advised when an individual is placed on the list and when they are apprehended, and it could inform the people with respect to this information if it chose to do so. Mrs. Overstreet pointed out that in some instances the press has failed to do this. She also made mention of the fact the list is often made up of individuals wanted by the local police rather than the FBI, and the average time a person stays on the list is approximately 148 days.

They all agreed the Director has had the confidence of the people as well as the present and past Presidents. There is no need for change just for the sake of change, and Mrs. Overstreet indicated she thought there is a need for continuity of investigative agencies when Attorney Generals come and go so frequently.

1 - Mr. DeLoach 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones CONTINUED - OVER

1 - Mr. Bishop

1 - Mr. Sullivan

ALA:kce (6)

APR 22 1969

CRIME RESEARCH

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-114375-29

Memorandum to Mr. Bishop
RE: Television Program "TOPIC"

It was also mentioned that the Director is not an empire builder and that the growth of the Bureau has been due to the increase in crime and the increase in its investigative responsibility. It was stated the Director has always been against a National Police Force and that he refused President Roosevelt's suggestion that he head all Federal investigative agencies.

Bufiles disclose we wrote Dr. Harry A. Overstreet on 1-28-69 thanking him for the excellent portrayal of the work of this Bureau in the book written by Mrs. Overstreet and him.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

gfb *✓* *TEB* *am* *hs*
D

April 7, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL
245 472

Mrs. Harry A. Overstreet
3409 Fiddlers Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia 22044

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

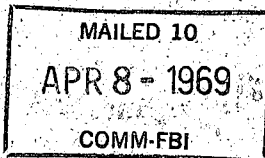
It was kind of you to comment as you did
on the television program "TOPIC" on March 30th con-
cerning my administration of the FBI. Your support of
the activities of this Bureau is indeed gratifying and my
associates join me in expressing sincere thanks.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Dr. Harry A. and Bonaro Overstreet are the authors of the book,
"The FBI In Our Open Society," and this letter was recommended by
memorandum from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. DeLoach dated 4-2-69 and
captioned "Television Program "TOPIC," WRC-TV (Channel 4), Sunday,
3-30-69." Address per mailing list for Dr. Overstreet.

ALA:ekw (3)



REC-10

100-114575-177

APR 9 1969

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Bishop
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

66 APR 16 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 3-26-69

FROM : M. A. Jones ✓

SUBJECT: "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"
Book BY DR. HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Mr. Tolson has requested a report on the sale of the above-titled book to date. On 2-6-69, we ordered 1000 copies of this book. We were advised the books would arrive here about March 1. When they did not arrive by March 4, the publisher was contacted, and it was determined the books had not been shipped as of that date. A company official explained there had been a misunderstanding within the company and said the books would be sent immediately. They were shipped the next day and received about March 10. From that time through today, we have disposed of 818 copies. Twenty-five Field Offices and Legats have ordered 332 books. Forty-five Field Offices and Legats have not yet ordered. The balance of the books disposed of, namely 486 copies, have been sold to the various Divisions here at Headquarters. A statistical summary is attached.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

HARRY OVERSTREET

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Tolson - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
- 1 - Miss Gandy - Enclosure

BMS:scd
(8)

REC-106

100-114575-178

APR 14 1969

CRIME

Bond

51 APR 22 1969

243 466
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-85 BY SP8 BTJ/col
245472 5-21-86 SP8 BTJ/col

THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY

Field offices that have already ordered

Number of Books

Albuquerque	5
Anchorage	13
Baltimore	20
Birmingham	14
Chicago	70
Cleveland	22
Detroit	23
El Paso	3
Honolulu	11
Jackson	18
Louisville	9
Memphis	11
Milwaukee	15
Philadelphia	8
San Antonio	11
Sacramento	16
Salt Lake City	9
Springfield	15
Tampa	10

Legats

Buenos Aires	4
London	15
Manila	2
Ottawa	2
Santo Domingo	2
Rome	4

TOTAL 332

Number of Field Offices and Legats that have ordered - 25
Number of Field Offices and Legats that have not ordered - 45

100-114575-178
ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-85 BY SP8 BTJ/cw
245472 5-21-86

April 7, 1969

REC-84

100-114575-179

Rear Admiral William C. Mott, USN (Retired)
Executive Vice President
United States Independent
Telephone Association
438 Pennsylvania Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CAL
245472

Dear Admiral Mott:

I did not want this opportunity to pass
without extending my appreciation and that of my
associates for the kind comments regarding my work
and the activities of the FBI which you expressed on
the television program "TOPIC" on March 30th. Your
support means a great deal to me.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
APR 8 - 1969
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Admiral Mott is on the Special Correspondents List. This letter
was recommended by memorandum from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. DeLoach
dated 4/2/69 and captioned "Television Program 'TOPIC', WRC-TV
(Channel 4), Sunday, 3/30/69."

ALA:cae (3)

gar

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

APR 24 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 14 1969

APR 14 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach

DATE: April 2, 1969

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: TELEVISION PROGRAM "TOPIC"
WRC-TV (CHANNEL 4)
SUNDAY, 3/30/69

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/col
245472

Reference is made to memorandum, same caption, G. E. Malmfeldt to Mr. Bishop, dated 4/1/69, advising that Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet and Admiral William C. Mott, former Judge Advocate General, U. S. Navy, appeared on captioned program to discuss the book, "The FBI In Our Open Society," by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet which is highly favorable to the Bureau.

Mrs. Overstreet and Admiral Mott did an extremely effective job on the program in presenting the Director and the Bureau in an objective, favorable light, as noted in referenced memorandum, and I have learned that they both went to considerable personal effort and time to contribute to the presentation that so capably outlined the jurisdiction of the Bureau and so graciously acknowledged the important place of the Director and the Bureau in our society of freedom under law.

RECOMMENDATION:

That if the Director approves, this memorandum be forwarded to the Crime Records Division for the preparation of letters of thanks to Mrs. Overstreet and Admiral Mott for their support of the Bureau on captioned program.

WCS:ebp
(5) *ebp*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

cc to Mott
4-7-69
ALA/see

cc to Mrs. Overstreet
4-7-69
ALA/ekw

WCS
REC-84
100-114575-179
APR 16 1969

1. APR 14 1969

PERS. REC. UNIT

94-45505-30

April 16, 1969

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
3409 Fiddlers Green
Lake Barcroft
Falls Church, Virginia 22044

Dear Dr. Overstreet:

I am enclosing a copy of an editorial by
Mr. Mike Kingston which appeared in the April 11th
issue of "The Dallas Morning News" and which I thought
you might like to read.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Overstreet
and you,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

LMG:kas (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/LCL
245472

MAILED 9
APR 16 1969
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
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Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

FBI
REC'D DELOACH

REC 44

100-114575-180

51 APR 22 1969

19 APR 17 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

4/11/69

AIRTEL

*Encl
p. 1*

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

ATTENTION: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN

FROM: SAC, DALLAS

RE: THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY BY
HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/col

245472

There are transmitted herewith three copies of a very favorable editorial on this book which appeared this date in The Dallas Morning News. This editorial and review of the book was by MIKE KINGSTON, Editorial Staff Writer, Dallas Morning News, Young and Houston Streets, Dallas, Texas 75202.

It is recommended that a letter from the Director be directed to KINGSTON. It is noted that he recently wrote a very favorable editorial on the Director's book on Communism and he is most friendly with the office.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 3)

1 - Dallas

JGS:mfr

(3)

ENCLOSURE

100-114575

NOT RECORDED

15 MAY 7 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-8-81-370

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

'The Problem With the FBI Is...'

By MIKE KINGSTON
Editorial Staff Writer

"THE PROBLEM WITH the FBI is . . ." So runs the theme of critical books and articles about the investigative arm of the Justice Department.

The criticisms cover a lot of political territory: The FBI is a police-state agency; it's communist-infiltrated; it's fascist; it's pro civil rights; it's anticivil rights. So goes the endless list of charges that range to the FBI's organization in 1908.

The Communist party of the United States regularly charges the bureau with police-state tactics and opposition to basic constitutional rights. This figures, since the party has been under close observation for more than 50 years. Civil-rights groups are equally critical, but for a different reason. They claim the FBI ignores their cause.

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet have taken a new look at the agency in a recent book published by W. W. Norton, Inc., "The FBI in Our Open Society."

MOST CRITICISM arises from a lack of understanding of the bureau's basic nature. It was organized as the investigative branch of the Justice Department. Prior to 1908, the department's investigations were carried out either by private detectives or by agents "borrowed" from the Secret Service.

Atty. Gen. Charles Joseph Bonaparte, who was considered an outstanding liberal of his day for his record in social reform

work in Maryland, felt that neither investigative practice was acceptable.

Bonaparte called on Congress for creation of the department's own staff. The proposed bureau's investigators would owe allegiance only to the Justice Department.

There were abuses of power during the early days of the FBI. Finally, the corruption and abuses of power during the Harding administration prompted a housecleaning. Atty. Gen. Harlan Stone, later a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, named a young attorney, J. Edgar Hoover, as director of the bureau with orders to clean it up.

HOOVER'S COURSE was simple: The FBI would operate within the jurisdiction designated by orders from the attorney general, the president and laws by Congress. And this is the course it has followed.

The FBI's responsibility is to investigate certain alleged violations of federal law. If Congress does not grant investigative powers to another agency, it automatically falls under the FBI's jurisdiction.

Some critics claim that growth of the bureau reflects Hoover's personal quest for power. But more accurately, it reflects expansion of federal laws the bureau is called upon to enforce.

The bureau is charged with national security under presidential order, and in this jurisdiction it has kept domestic Communists under surveillance for many years. When a law is broken, the violator is prosecuted. The CPUSA, consequently, is a vehement critic of the FBI.

Unfortunately, many liberals see the bureau in the same light. Civil-rights activists have charged that FBI agents have worked in consort with Southern officers to deprive Negroes and others of their civil rights. Some have suggested that enforcement of civil-rights laws be taken out of the bureau's hands and given to some other agency.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2D

"The Dallas
Morning News"
Dallas, Texas

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DATE 5-21-86

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BSP8GTJ/COL

Date: 4-11-69

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Jack B. Kruger

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

Dallas

☐ Being Investigated

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ENCLOSURE
ENCLOSURE

HARRY OVERSTREET

Typical of misinformation on which some liberals base their criticism is the death of civil-rights worker Medgar Evers in Jackson, Miss., in 1963. Many charged that the bureau should have given Evers and his family protection following threats on his life. Its failure to do so was judged proof that enforcement of civil-rights laws should be removed from the bureau's jurisdiction.

The bureau, however, is not empowered to provide protection for anyone. This is the responsibility of the local police, and Hoover has meticulously separated federal and local jurisdictions to keep the FBI from developing into a police-state agency.

In the Evers case, the FBI did investigate and develop a case against a suspect for conspiring to violate another's civil rights. The evidence and the suspect were turned over to local authorities, who filed murder charges. Juries later acquitted the suspect on two occasions.

Criticism from the far right and the Ku Klux Klan is of a different stripe. According to them, the FBI's activities in enforcement of civil-rights laws is an indication that it has been infiltrated by Communists, although Director Hoover is spared direct criticism.

AND SO it goes. From the left and right, the criticism continues. Many critical exposes, the Overstreets observe and document, contain so many inaccuracies and innuendoes that at best they are "intellectually dishonest."

So the real problem with the FBI seems to be that it is operating within the framework of law and presidential order as it should. The "problem" will remain only a figment of imagination until the agency starts trying to anticipate what Congress will pass into law or sets its own standards as to which laws it will enforce and which it won't. Under Hoover's leadership, neither course is likely.

Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. DeLoach ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Bishop ✓
 Mr. Casper
 Mr. Callahan
 Mr. Conrad
 Mr. Felt
 Mr. Gale
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Sullivan ✓
 Mr. Tavel
 Mr. Trotter
 Tele. Room
 Miss Holmes
 Miss Gandy

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
 3409 FIDDLER'S GREEN
 FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
 22044

Bonaro

April 14, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/COL
 245472

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
 FBI
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very warmly
 for your generous letter about the TV
 program. I could not have wanted more
 knowledgeable, concerned, and stimu-
 lating persons with whom to talk than
 Admiral Mott and Roscoe Drummond. We
 all felt when the time was up that we
 had scarcely begun our exchange of
 ideas.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
 Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

REC-104

100-114575-

181

10 APR 15 1969

*no file
 4/16/69*

off

54 MAY 21 1969

Frank Robinson
 CORRESPONDENCE *over*

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

(April 29, 1969)

212-831-2462

From the desk of Dr. Ruth Alexander

To Mr. Hoover:

Please don't be mad at me for not giving the Overstreet book a rave review. John (Malone) sent it to me and said you liked it. But I could not in, good conscience, do other than I did.

If you want any last minute changes, phone me. I'll phone my Executive Editor Sterling Noel of the Baltimore News-American. Otherwise, I'll let it stand.

Love

(Dr. Ruth Alexander)

(Ruth Alexander, Ph.D., L.L.D.
11 East 86th Street
New York, New York 10028)

COPY:nm

~~EXP. PROC.~~

APR 29 1969 20

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

MR. TOLSON _____
MR. DELOACH _____
MR. MOHR _____
MR. BISHOP _____
MR. CASPER _____
MR. CALLAHAN _____
MR. CONRAD _____
MR. FELT _____
MR. GALE _____
MR. ROSEN _____
MR. SULLIVAN _____
MR. TAVEL _____
MR. TROTTER _____
MR. JONES _____
TELE. ROOM _____
MISS HOLMES _____
MRS. METCAL _____
MISS GANDY _____

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JOHN ALEXANDER
MAY 4TH, 1969

C-O-P-Y

OUR AMERICA

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THAT WELL KNOWN HUSBAND-AND-WIFE TEAM OF BONARO AND HARRY OVERSTREET HAVE JUST COME UP WITH A NEW BOOK CALLED "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY". IT MIGHT MORE ACCURATELY BE CALLED "THE FBI IN OUR PERMISSIVE SOCIETY", WHERE ANYTHING GOES. THIS INCLUDES VICIOUS SNIPING AT ITS DIRECTOR, JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, BY EDITORS, COLUMNISTS, CRIMINALS, SELF-STYLED LIBERALS AND OTHERS IN NEED OF AN UNDER-ARM DEODERANT. IT IS THE TRAGEDY OF THE 20TH CENTURY THAT THIS GREAT MAN, ON WHOM OUR SURVIVAL DEPENDS, SHOULD BE SUBORDINATE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AND THE SUPREME COURT WHOSE WARPED IDEA OF INTERPRETATION OF LAW ENCOMPASSES LEGISLATION OF LAW. BUT HOOVER IS LIKE THE MAN ON THE FLYING TRAPEZE. HE OBEYS THE LETTER OF THE LAW AND NEVER LOSES HIS FOOTING. NOR HAS HE EVER SOUGHT THAT ABSOLUTE POWER WHICH SO CORRUPTS SO MANY OF HIS SUPERIORS--POLITICIANS ALL.

I ASSUMED THE OVERSTREET BOOK WOULD BE A CHRONICLE OF THE MAGNIFICENT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FBI THROUGHOUT THE VAST AREA IN WHICH IT OPERATES. INSTEAD, THE BOOK IS A VERITABLE CATALOGUE OF ATTACKS BY HOOVER'S MOST HOSTILE AND ARTICULATE CRITICS WHO ARE IN POSITIONS TO INFLUENCE OPINION. I AM SURE THE OVERSTREETS MEANT WELL BY ATTEMPTING TO REFUTE THESE CRITICS. BUT HOOVER'S ENEMIES WILL NOT BELIEVE THEIR PAINSTAKING PROOF OF FALSITY AND MAY WELL PROFIT BY THE PUBLICITY INADVERTENTLY GIVEN THEM, FUTURE POTENTIAL CRITICS AND FENCE-SITTERS. AS FOR HOOVER'S FRIENDS, WHO NUMBER MILLIONS, MANY WILL BE OUTRAGED FOR A TIME AND THEN SINK BACK INTO THAT PASSIVITY ENGENDERED BY OUR NATIONAL NARCOTIC ADDICTION TO COMMERCIAL AMUSEMENT. A FEW FURIOUS ONES WILL MAINTAIN THAT THE PERFORMANCE OF THE FBI, OUR BUREAU OF SURVIVAL, NEEDS NO FURTHER DEFENSE, EVEN BY WELL-WISHERS SUCH AS THE KINDLY AND CONCERNED OVERSTREETS.

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

I CAN'T REMEMBER THE TITLES OF THE ARTICLES AND BOOKS CITED. BUT I REMEMBER

TURNER AND MAX LOWE ~~ET AL~~ --ALL CLAIMING TO HAVE INSIDE KNOWLEDGE OF THE WICKED WORKINGS OF THE FBI. ONE MAN CALLED HIS THING, "CRIME IS TOO BIG FOR THE FBI". NOTHING IS TOO BIG FOR THE FBI, IF ITS DUTIES WERE NOT OVER-EXTENDED OVER OUR VAST WASTELAND OF EVIL. SINCE SURVIVAL SHOULD BE OUR PRIMARY CONCERN, EVEN TO POLITICIANS, ~~HOOVER'S~~ HOOVER'S HANDS SHOULD NOT BE MANACLED BY EXTRA-CURRICULA ACTIVITIES. HE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY, WITH EVERY DETAIL OF WHICH HE IS MASTER, FROM THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PORNOGRAPHY TO DIALECTIC MATERIALISM, --EACH CUNNINGLY DESIGNED TO DEBAUCH AND CONQUER OUR AMERICA.

CURIOUSLY ENOUGH, THE FBI HAS VIVID ANSWER TO ITS CRITICS IN TELEVISION. WE ARE INDEBTED TO ABC FOR DRAMATIZING "THE FBI" EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT, BASED ON ACTUAL CASES. PICTURES HAVE REPLACED THE AUTHORITY OF PRINT, AS WE HAVE REGRESSED TO OUR ANCESTOR, THE CAVE MAN, TO WHOM VIOLENCE IS DOING WHAT COMES NATURALLY. WHY NOT? THEN, AS NOW, NO PUNISHMENT ATTACHES TO VIOLENCE. ON ABC'S "THE FBI" WE ARE EYEWITNESSES TO A PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE MIRACLES PERFORMED BY THE BUREAU AGAINST OUR VARIED ENEMIES WITHIN AND WITHOUT. SINCE TELEVISION IS PRIMARILY A SALES MEDIUM, "THE FBI" IS NOT SO PRETENTIOUS AS TO ADVERTISE ITSELF AS "EDUCATIONAL" --PERISH THE WORD! YET IT GIVES THE MOST CONSISTENTLY INFORMATIVE AND EXCITING DRAMA ON ANY NETWORK ALL WEEK LONG.

BEFORE MR. HOOVER RETIRES, I WOULD LIKE TO SEE HIS MAGNIFICENT FACE, ITS STRONG FEATURES UNCOMPROMISED BY FLATTERY, IMMORTALIZED IN STONE, BESIDE WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN, ON MOUNT RUSHMOORE IN THE BLACK HILLS OF SOUTH DAKOTA. IT WOULD BE FOREVER A SMALL TOKEN OF OUR GRATITUDE FOR THE MAN WHO WILL HAVE PRESERVED OUR AMERICA FROM DESTRUCTION.

RUTH ALEXANDER
MAY 4TH, 1969

May 28, 1969

REC-91

100-114575-182



Oswego, New York 13126

Dear 

b6
b7C

I have received your letter of May 24th and appreciate the favorable remarks as well as your expression of support for this Bureau.

In response to your inquiry concerning unwarranted criticism of the FBI, it is suggested you read "The FBI in Our Open Society" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. This book contains data concerning some of the vicious attacks leveled at this Bureau over the years by its most persistent critics and also sets forth the true facts which speak for themselves and completely negate their allegations. It may be available in your local library.

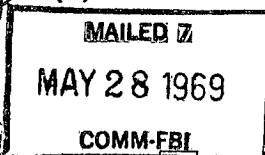
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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245472 5-21-86 SP8 BTJ/KCL

NOTE: Bufiles disclose an outgoing to correspondent on 11-8-67 acknowledging his favorable comments concerning the Director and his high regards for the Bureau.

FMG:kce (3)



Tolson _____
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Callahan _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

79 MAY 29 1969 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

w/ Lethers - 4718

Memorandum from A.W.Gray
to Mr. W.C.Sullivan

Re: Summary of "The FBI in our Open Society,"
a book by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

ADDENDUM (6/9/69), CDD:csH

I believe that the attached monograph, if disseminated to all field offices, will represent a quick source of reference in connection with the greater majority of questions that might come up regarding criticism of the Director and the FBI.

The thought may arise that it is inadvisable to disseminate this in the form of a monograph to field offices, inasmuch as someone may give it out to our enemies. While this may happen, I doubt that there is any danger involved, since this monograph or memorandum is based strictly on the Overstreets' book and therefore is of public source origin.


C. D. DeLoach

OK.
X

✓

TCB
NR

done 6-16-69
for
Very well done. Sign
should be recommended.
X

Copies sent Field Office
+ SOG offices 6/24/69
JCS

Oswego, New York
May 24, 1969

per D's

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Dept. of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Friday, in the lab., some discussion of Communist activity in this country came up, and I mentioned something about the F.B.I.'s information on the subject. A young woman employee said to me: "Are you serious? Do you really believe anything the F.B.I. says? "

My reply was: "I believe the F.B.I. and you'd better too. If you can't believe in the F.B.I. you can't believe in anything. You might as well go back to believing that the world is square." I asked her where she ever got the notion that the F.B.I. was untrustworthy. She said that her impressions had been arrived at largely on the basis of some story about the connection of the F.B.I. with the Warren Commission Report on the death of John Kennedy, and from remarks heard on a T.V. interview from the author (said to be a former F.B.I. employee) of a book critical of the F.B.I. & its director.

I've heard that young people today rarely read anything, and they apparently accept anything they hear uncritically - especially if it's something against what the rest of us have always considered the Right, the True, and the Beautiful. But the young woman's remarks have bothered me so much that I have to write to you to ask whether you might be willing to suggest what you consider to be the best, and the quickest way to correct false impressions held about the F.B.I.

It's only a guess on my part, but I imagine that the F.B.I. is "generously" allowed to take the "credit" for a number of things which the Public finds hard to swallow, and which have really been perpetrated by other elements in the Justice Department or the Executive Branch. And some misconceptions arise because of a misunderstanding of the legal responsibility of the Bureau & its proper role in our society. I hope you can throw a little light on this touchy subject of the Bureau's public image, and what to do to keep it accurate.

Sincerely yours,

OSWEGO NY 13126

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

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5-21-86 SP8 BTJ/KOL
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EXP. PROC.
34 MAY 27 1969

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MAY 27 1969

ack/mn
5/28/69
Tell him to read
the Overstreet's Book.

b6
b7C

May 1, 1969

100-114575-

Dr. Ruth Alexander
11 East 86th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Dr. Alexander:

Your letter, enclosing a copy of your review relating to "The FBI in Our Open Society," was received on April 29th. It was most thoughtful of you to send it on, and I have no changes to suggest. I would, however, like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the kind comments which you make concerning the FBI and me.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

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DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CL
245472

NOTE: Dr. Alexander is on the Special Correspondents List.

TDH:paa/ccb (5)

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55 JUN 18 1969

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94-43309-130

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach

DATE: May 26, 1969

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"
ENDORSEMENT BY PRESIDENT OF
SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

For your information, Dr. Willis M. Tate, President, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, has informed me that he has authorized his public endorsement of "The FBI In Our Open Society," the new book in which the Overstreets set the record straight on some of the disgusting attacks which have been made against the Bureau through the years.

Dr. Tate, whom I have known for some years, told me that he rarely endorses books, but, having read it, he was so impressed by its contents that he wanted to publicly support it. Tate feels very strongly about the necessity for wide dissemination of this factual information about the Bureau and said he hopes that his endorsement of it will be of assistance to the Director and the FBI.

I have told Dr. Tate that support from an educator of his stature is indeed welcome.

ACTION:

None. For information of the Director.

WCS:ebp

(3)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

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REC-81

100-114575-183

MAY 29 1969

59 JUN 13 1969

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-1-9453-19

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: June 4, 1969

FROM : A. W. Gray *AWG*

- 1 - Mr. C.D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. A.W. Gray
- 1 - Mr. R.S. Garner
- 1 - Mr. J.M. Sizoo

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Bishop ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
Felt ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF "THE FBI IN OUR
OPEN SOCIETY," A BOOK BY
HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET
MONOGRAPH
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

HARRY OVERSTREET

Approval requested for captioned monograph prepared by the Research-Satellite Section to be disseminated to all field offices and Legal Attaches.

"The FBI in Our Open Society" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet portrays the FBI in a most favorable way and the Director in thanking the authors for an autographed copy of the book stated that he intended to refer people to their perceptive writings. This has been done when appropriate in replies to persons writing to the Director. The book was called to the attention of Bureau personnel in SAC Letter 69-14 dated 2/25/69 which noted the book refutes false charges of such vicious critics as Max Lowenthal, Fred J. Cook, and [redacted] and that Bureau personnel can obtain the book at the special discount rate of \$3.75.

b6
b7c

Attached summary has been prepared to provide a ready reference for Bureau personnel in rebutting numerous unfounded claims against the Bureau and will also serve as a guide to the reading of the book's detailed and thorough analysis of FBI operations.

This document has been proofread by the Reading Room. Upon approval, the Research-Satellite Section will arrange for printing and distribution.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this monograph, the file copy, and Xeroxed copy of the original which are enclosed, be approved for dissemination to all field offices and Legal Attaches.

Enclosures

JMS:wh
(6)

(SEE ADDENDUM - NEXT PAGE)

REC-54

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EX-111

JUN 19 1969

51 JUL 1 1969

RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION
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SUMMARY
OF
"THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"
A Book by
Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

(Not for Dissemination Outside the Bureau)

June 9, 1969

John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
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Casper _____
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Gandy _____

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FOREWORD

"The FBI in Our Open Society," written by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet and released for sale in February, 1969, is an inquiry into the nature and operations of the FBI. It discusses in detail many of the virulent charges that the FBI runs "amuck" without regard to the rights of individuals and groups and is, therefore, a danger to our democratic society. The conclusions reached by the authors state that such criticism is unfair, not factual, and that the FBI, far from being a danger to our society, has capably and properly stood as a defense of law and the rights of citizens.

This document has been prepared to summarize the authors' analysis of many of the unfounded, slanted, or distorted charges against the FBI and its leadership. It should be a helpful reference in rebutting the various anti-FBI charges. In addition, it is designed to serve as a guide to the reading of the book which is highly readable and intellectually stimulating. Certainly, the book deserves to be read because of its detailed and thorough analysis of FBI operations and its conclusions that present the FBI in an objective and favorable light.

In their rebuttals of anti-FBI claims, the authors rely, not on "inside information," but on sources available to public viewing. That approach, of course, increases the effectiveness of their survey of FBI critics, for it makes obvious the bias of those who carelessly or purposely neglect or distort what is "on the record."

PART I

PART I--Introduction to Complexity--covers the origin and history of the FBI up to the appointment of Mr. Hoover as Director in 1924.

CHAPTER ONE--The Past That Was Prologue-- concerns the creation of the FBI as a result of growth of Federal laws. It traces the origins of the Attorney General's position and the Department of Justice, and notes the investigative resources of the Federal Government during the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt.

1. The FBI is a by-product of the expansion of Federal laws.
2. The Attorney General's position was created by Congress in 1789 and the Attorney General was given administrative control over United States district attorneys and marshals by Congress in 1861.
3. The Department of Justice was created by Congress with the Attorney General as its head in 1870.
4. Congress first voted \$50,000 for the detection and prosecution of crimes against the United States in 1871.
5. Secret Service agents, hired detectives, and examiners were used by the Attorney General in investigations of alleged violations.
6. Opposition developed to the use of hired detectives since some had criminal or unsavory backgrounds.

7. President Theodore Roosevelt was opposed by politicians and business interests in his efforts to control the "trusts" and fight corruption in Federal land dealings.

CHAPTER TWO--Challenge and Decision--discusses the action of Attorney General Charles J. Bonaparte in establishing the Bureau of Investigation to provide the Department of Justice with its own investigators.

1. Attorney General Charles J. Bonaparte sought a permanent detective force for the Department of Justice to end the practice of "borrowing" investigators from the Secret Service.

2. In 1908, Congress denied money for payment to Secret Service agents detailed or transferred for use by other agencies.

3. Attorney General Bonaparte on July 1, 1908, created a force of detectives, special agents, and examiners under a chief examiner, and this group became a permanent subdivision of the Department of Justice on July 27, 1908, under Presidential instructions.

4. Conflict arose immediately between President Theodore Roosevelt and Congressional figures over the creation of the special subdivision.

5. The subdivision was named the Bureau of Investigation in 1909 by Attorney General George W. Wickersham under President Taft.

CHAPTER THREE--The Making of Dark Years-- depicts several questionable activities of the Bureau of Investigation during and shortly after World War I that are in contrast to Mr. Hoover's policies. It concludes with the naming of Mr. Hoover as Director in 1924.

1. At the urging of A. Bruce Bielaski, head of the Bureau of Investigation, Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory used a private group, the American Protective League (APL), to investigate and report disloyal acts during World War I. Badges and cards bearing "Secret Service Division" were sanctioned for APL members. Mr. Hoover, by contrast, has never allowed volunteers to invade FBI areas of responsibility.

2. In World War I, "dragnet" methods were used against draft dodgers, a procedure for mass arrests never authorized by Mr. Hoover.

3. The "Palmer raids" under Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer in 1919 and 1920 involved excesses in arrest procedures that were directed by William J. Flynn, then head of the Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Hoover, then in charge of the General Intelligence Division of the Bureau, had no control over the Bureau's field work.

4. Mr. Hoover was named Director of the Bureau of Investigation in 1924 after a long search by Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone and a careful inquiry into Mr. Hoover's background and performance in the Department of Justice since 1917.

PART II

PART II--Men at Work--explores the modern FBI, including the means of control over its operations.

CHAPTER FOUR--The Searchlight of Tragedy--considers the testimony of Mr. Hoover and former Assistant to the Director Alan H. Belmont before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy (Warren Commission). Mr. Hoover expressed reluctance to install extreme security measures as smacking of a "police state."

1. In discussing before the Warren Commission in 1964 the security of a President, Mr. Hoover said that "absolute security" would be impossible without a "police state" and "we don't want that." He noted further that the "enforcement of security and the enforcement of laws dealing with subversion ought to be handled in the American manner." In this regard, Mr. Hoover voiced his concern that increased security measures tend to "diminish the area of the rights of the individual."

2. Drew Pearson, Harold Feldman, and former Special Agent William W. Turner were critical of the FBI's handling of Oswald after his return from Russia and prior to the assassination of President Kennedy. The three "would all give far more weight than would either Hoover or (Chief of the Secret Service) Rowley to personal erraticisms, a professed belief in Marxism, and overt, but nonviolent, manifestations of pro-Communism."

It is pertinent to ask if the critics would have said the FBI "persecuted" Oswald had it taken him into custody or closely surveilled him because of his background.

3. The Warren Commission report noted that the new standards for referring individuals to the Secret Service as threats against the President are still too narrow and might not have resulted in "referral of Oswald to Secret Service."

CHAPTER FIVE--The Bureau's License to Act--
affirms that the FBI must have proper authority before investigation.

1. While the FBI's jurisdiction is continually being expanded, there are limitations on its actions. Only when Congress makes some act a Federal crime can the FBI investigate. Also, if the Supreme Court, on constitutional grounds, reverses a conviction in a Federal case involving the FBI, the FBI then must end investigations under the invalidated law.

2. The FBI cannot be properly charged with infringing on constitutional rights by conducting investigations under laws or sections of laws which are later declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. For the FBI to refuse to investigate alleged violations of certain laws or sections of laws it believes unconstitutional prior to such court decisions would be to arrogate to itself the right to anticipate Supreme Court rulings.

CHAPTER SIX--The Intelligence Assignment-- discusses the FBI's activities in the intelligence field and notes that neither Congress nor the Supreme Court has questioned the FBI's right to carry out its responsibilities in the security and intelligence fields.

1. The FBI was ordered into the intelligence field in 1939 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
2. Mr. Hoover has been condemned for exaggerating the threat of espionage, specifically by Fred J. Cook, although Mr. Hoover's statements and policies refute such claims.
3. Mr. Hoover refused to accept help from volunteer "investigators" in World War II and vigilantism was kept to a low level during this period. This rational approach to security is also noted in Mr. Hoover's opposition to the internment of the West Coast Japanese at that time.
4. The Supreme Court, in deciding that the State of Pennsylvania's sedition law was pre-empted by Federal statutes in national security matters, made "unassailable" the right and duty of the FBI to carry out both its law enforcement and its intelligence functions in the national security field.
5. The Supreme Court, while holding against several statutes of Congress in the security field, has not questioned the right of Congress to legislate in that field.

CHAPTER SEVEN--The Problem of Size-- provides refutation to the claim that Mr. Hoover seeks to expand the size and influence of the FBI.

1. Mr. Hoover has stated his preference for a smaller FBI despite critics' charges that he seeks to enlarge it.

2. Former Special Agent Turner has charged that Mr. Hoover uses the automobile theft statistics to justify the "Bureau's appropriation," but the House Subcommittee on Appropriations knows the meaning of the statistics and can evaluate them accordingly.

3. In 1940, the "New York Daily News" warned that Congress should withhold funds for Mr. Hoover if it did not want an American OGPU. By way of contrast, in the same year Mr. Hoover turned down the plan of then Attorney General Robert H. Jackson to have Mr. Hoover assume direction of all Federal investigative and intelligence agencies.

4. Mr. Hoover stated in his testimony for the 1962 FBI appropriation that the additional work given the FBI had been absorbed with present personnel despite the fact that the hearing indicated he could have had more funds for the asking.

5. The growth of the FBI cannot be seen as an isolated phenomenon, for it has been given duties that eventually required more personnel.

6. In his book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," Max Lowenthal uses a statement of Senator Kenneth McKellar who claimed astonishment at the growth of the "secret service" of the Department of Justice in the 1930s. The Senator was a member of the Congress that had passed kidnapping and extortion

laws and a packet of laws called the Federal Crime Act--laws that Mr. Hoover did not author, but which drastically enlarged FBI jurisdiction.

7. Calls for reduction in the size of the FBI have not been constructive, but destructive, in spirit. Alternatives to continued growth of the FBI would involve greater assumption of responsibilities on local and state levels and also by private interests.

CHAPTER EIGHT--Checks and Controls--analyzes internal and external controls on the FBI which prevent it from being a "runaway" agency.

1. The primary danger from FBI growth is that of decentralization which would weaken the structure of accountability.

2. The FBI chain of command with strict channels of operations and reporting provides an important internal control.

3. The external controls of the FBI include the letter of the law, the Attorney General, Department of Justice policies, Congressional appropriation committees, and the courts. Mr. Hoover himself has stated that the FBI should never be permitted to become an independent agency operating without checks and controls.

4. The growth of the FBI has not necessarily resulted in a decrease in control by the Attorney General as size alone does not determine the degree of accountability. What is important are the means used to review and control FBI operations and personnel.

5. One problem in insuring proper use of the Bureau can come from an Attorney General who wants to use the FBI for his own purposes. Attorney General Palmer and Attorney General Harry Daugherty are two Attorneys General who infected the old Bureau of Investigation with the spirit of illegality.

6. Former Special Agent Jack Levine has claimed that FBI agents use wiretaps not known to FBI officials or the Department of Justice in order to secure high conviction statistics reportedly demanded by Mr. Hoover. If true, such a situation would mean that wiretap evidence could be smuggled into the Government's evidence, a most implausible circumstance.

7. Critic Fred J. Cook has charged that Mr. Hoover's concern for the letter of the law leaves little room for the "free-wheeling detective work" needed to fight organized crime. This belief is unusual since Cook has accepted Levine's charge that FBI Agents wiretap illicitly and smuggle data into evidence. Such free-wheeling would obviously be the "surest way" for the FBI to help criminals remain free from court sanction.

CHAPTER NINE--The Eavesdropping Problem--
concludes that surveillance by electronic means is essential to the security of our society, although its use must be balanced against the constitutional rights of our citizens to privacy.

1. The problem in the use of electronic surveillances in our open society is to achieve a balance of society's rights and those of the individual.

2. Mr. Hoover's longtime approach to wiretap activities has called for close controls and includes written authority from the Attorney General.

3. Lowenthal states in his book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," that Senator Burton K. Wheeler acknowledged that a Senate Committee report in 1940 was aimed at the FBI because of its wiretapping. Actually, Senator Wheeler never did acknowledge what Lowenthal claims and the hearings covered in the report are related not to FBI wiretapping, but to private wiretapping of political figures.

4. Legislation sought by Attorneys General Robert F. Kennedy and Nicholas Katzenbach would have outlawed private and public wiretaps and then spelled out, in the public interest, a few exceptions to the general rule.

5. Morris Ernst, then counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, stated in 1950 that he had checked into charges of misconduct by FBI Agents, but concluded that a smear campaign was being carried on against Mr. Hoover since the charges could not be substantiated. Lowenthal in his book published in 1950 claims uninhibited indulgence in illegal wiretapping by the FBI, but offers no evidence of having investigated those matters as did Ernst.

CHAPTER TEN--The Informant--outlines the role of informants in FBI operations and presents support for the use of informants from prominent public officials and agencies.

1. Criticism of Mr. Hoover, as in "The Nation" of November 30, 1964, for finding "informers" to be "truly patriotic individuals" seems to convey a high moral tone. However, those who have criticized the FBI's use of informants are selective in their thinking and thus do not condemn the use of informants "across the board" as a matter of principle--only when the informants are used against themselves or those with whom they are sympathetic.

2. The double standard the critics advocate in informant use is typified by the writings of Fred J. Cook in his book, "The FBI Nobody Knows." Cook condemns FBI informants who are witnesses against communist defendants as an unstable lot while calling for penetration of underworld mobs by persons less law-bound than FBI agents.

3. The use of informants is defended by statements of Judge Learned Hand, former Attorneys General Kennedy and Katzenbach, other former Justice Department officials, and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

4. While critics have voiced a fear of informants, a safeguard on the use of informants is provided by the courts which must pass on the admissibility of evidence given by informants as witnesses.

PART III

PART III--This Controversial Bureau--analyzes the controversial nature of the FBI as a reflection of the various segments of our society which hold strong and clashing viewpoints.

CHAPTER ELEVEN--The FBI in the American Scene--sets the stage for other chapters by noting several aspects of the FBI's controversial nature, including its need to remain silent about much of its work.

1. The FBI is controversial since groups--criminal and subversive--whose interests may suffer as a result of FBI investigations attack the FBI and its methods to divert attention from the groups' activities.

2. Another reason the FBI is controversial is that it bears "the burden of man's ancient, well-justified fear of a secret police." This is compounded because much of the FBI's work must remain unpublicized.

3. A third reason for the FBI's being controversial involves the complexity of jurisdiction in the United States. The FBI is attacked by those who believe the Federal Government is imposing its will on the states as well as by those who believe the Federal Government is yielding to States' rightists.

4. Several cases, including the Weinberger kidnapping case in 1956, the bombings in and near Birmingham, Alabama,

in 1963, and the murder of Medgar Evers, NAACP field representative, in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1963, illustrate the controversy regarding overlapping jurisdictions and demands for either more or less action by Federal authorities.

5. James A. Wechsler, "New York Post" writer, has falsely accused Mr. Hoover of failure to push FBI investigations to discover those responsible for racial violence in the South because Mr. Hoover wanted to remain in favor with "Southerners" who controlled the FBI's budget. At the time of his charge, only one member of the House Subcommittee on Appropriations was from below the Mason-Dixon Line--Congressman Robert L. Sikes of Florida. Also, Wechsler implied that the FBI should have been guarding Medgar Evers as a result of previous threats against him. This, of course, is a police function which the Justice Department could not have authorized.

CHAPTER TWELVE--Out of Communism's Lexicon--
covers the Communist Party, USA, propaganda efforts to reduce the "power" of the FBI.

1. The Communist Party, USA, has conducted a long campaign of rigid, repetitious anti-FBI propaganda that tries to create in the American people a distrust of the FBI which will do what the Party by itself cannot do: curtail the FBI's power to do its job.

2. The nature and continuity of the anti-FBI campaign are illustrated by reviews that have appeared in the Communist

Party press about two anti-FBI books--"The Federal Bureau of Investigation" by Max Lowenthal and "The FBI Nobody Knows" by Fred J. Cook. These books, being strongly critical of the FBI, are praised for revealing the "dangers" of the FBI to our society. However, the reviewers note that neither Lowenthal nor Cook gives a Marxist-Leninist interpretation to the FBI's existence and actions.

3. In their lengthy campaign against Mr. Hoover, the communists have labelled him a "Gestapoman" and leader of a "frame-up gang." They have likened the FBI to the secret police of the Russian czars--the Okrana--while not mentioning Stalin's secret police.

4. Cropping up from time to time in communist propaganda is an effort to name Mr. Hoover as the "hatchet man" in the "Palmer raids" of 1919-1920, although Mr. Hoover did not set the pattern of the raids and did not participate in them. Rebuttal to such charges is shown in a speech by Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York in 1940 as well as in a Congressional inquiry into the raids that did not place any blame on Mr. Hoover.

5. Many who believe the FBI is a threat to our type of society are not communists, but they are intellectually dishonest by "loading" the evidence, as do the communists, to make a case against the FBI.

6. The FBI and other Government agencies must be measured against standards of our own society, not by those of a Party forbidden to do other than denounce any institution that thwarts communism's "historic mission" to control all countries of the world.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN--Babel, U.S.A.--develops the theme that claims of inadequate or improper FBI activities need checking before acceptance as statements of fact.

1. In judging statements about an agency like the FBI, it is necessary to note contradictions, to assign varying degrees of importance to the different types of evidence, and to seek the authority for the statements.

2. Criticism of the FBI's Most Wanted Program by a "Las Vegas Review-Courier" article in 1963--that when criminals are put on the list the FBI has them staked out and picks them up as soon as wanted notices are published--and by Negro activist Dick Gregory in 1964--that the "top ten" are wanted for minor crimes or moral matters--is refuted by facts overlooked or omitted purposely by those critics.

3. Charges by columnists Chalmers Roberts and Drew Pearson in 1963 and 1964 that Mr. Hoover has long feuded with the Secret Service and the CIA are contrary to voluntary statements placed on the record by those presently or in the past in key posts in those agencies, including Secret Service

Chief James J. Rowley and the late Allen Dulles, former Director of the CIA.

4. Drew Pearson charged in 1963 that Mr. Hoover wanted to take over the work of the Criminal Investigative Division of the Army in the continental United States. But, in claiming unnamed members of the Army agency as the source, Pearson has relieved the reader of accepting such "pig-in-a-poke" evidence.

5. Rumors picturing Mr. Hoover as seeking to enlarge his power assume he wants the FBI to grow bigger and have his jurisdiction expanded. Repeated so often that it is hardly questioned, this assumption is in contradiction to Mr. Hoover's opposition to various plans to place him over several agencies or to absorb them into the FBI.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN--Expose after Expose--
notes that "The Nation" magazine, in presenting its anti-FBI articles, does not represent a truly liberal approach.

1. "The Nation" has a right to believe what it wants about Mr. Hoover and to express its opinions in editorials. However, its expose articles on the FBI are not editorials and it is relevant to ask what level of reportage they represent.

2. The continuance of our system may not depend on Mr. Hoover, "The Nation," or the authors, but one thing indispensable is a liberalism that shows fairness to those criticized, respect for rules of evidence, and a sense of responsibility to those asked to believe our words.

3. "Hoover and the Red Scare," an article by former Special Agent Jack Levine in "The Nation" of October 20, 1962, should be viewed in the light of his admitted short career in the FBI and an admitted lack of experience in the internal security field.

4. Also to be questioned are several contradictions in the Levine-based criticism of the FBI. For instance, contradictory versions of his reason for joining the FBI are presented--(1) curiosity to see what the FBI was like and (2) attraction to the lofty ideal the FBI projected of "honest, dedicated law enforcement and unselfish public service." There is a contrast also in two public versions of why he left the FBI--(1) disillusionment with the FBI and (2) desire to aid his parents overburdened with business responsibilities.

5. Levine's article charges that the Communist Party, USA, was so weak and so largely composed of FBI informants that it was no threat. However, Mr. Hoover, Levine claims, called it a threat to justify huge budget requests. Levine also claims that White House and Justice Department officials were astonished when informed by him of the number of informants and the FBI's plan to neutralize the American communists if a Soviet-United States war becomes likely. That information of such sensitive and classified matters was given, according to Levine, to new Agents in training but not to top Government officials is implausible.

6. "The Nation," in accepting Levine's statements as gospel, did more than various Congressmen and newsmen who asked Levine to document his charges of misconduct against Mr. Hoover and the FBI. The fact that newsmen asked for documentation caused Levine to regard the newsmen as fearful that publication of criticism of Mr. Hoover would cause an adverse reaction among advertisers. This explanation by Levine appears melodramatic.

7. "Oswald and the FBI" by Harold Feldman in "The Nation" of January 24, 1964, presents the theme that Oswald was probably an FBI "informer" and that is why his name was not given to Secret Service prior to the assassination of President Kennedy. Feldman claims that statements supporting the FBI's investigation of the assassination should be suspect as leaked on FBI orders or slanted by intimidated witnesses. While seeking to show itself as well documented, the article actually relies on several questionable sources, especially those identified as anonymous, to make a case that Oswald was an FBI informant, a conclusion not substantiated by the Warren Commission inquiry.

8. If "The Nation" can find only rumor-laden and implausible material to undercut the FBI, then the FBI cannot be doing too bad a job.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN--Who Thinks He Wants What?--
discusses criticism of Mr. Hoover and the
FBI by "New York Post" writer James A.
Wechsler.

1. Those virulent individuals who want Mr. Hoover removed are similar to John Birch Society followers who have proposed that Chief Justice Earl Warren be impeached. They would want the FBI to become responsive to their values alone. Their demands, therefore, must be scrutinized to prevent the FBI from becoming an investigative body that would be intolerable.

2. Wechsler charges in a "New York Post" column in 1963 that the FBI was keeping the Communist Party alive and actually strengthening it through informants and their activities. Curiously, while protesting against FBI penetration of the Party, in the same year Wechsler condemns the FBI for alleged failure to penetrate the "racist mobs." Actually, the FBI had penetrated the Klan groups to the point that those groups had imposed security measures making it difficult for informants to operate.

3. Another of Wechsler's criticisms, made in "The Progressive" magazine in 1964, is that all Federal activity in the civil rights field should be taken from the FBI and given to some agency that could protect the "freedom fighters," since the FBI had failed to do so. What Wechsler was demanding, again curiously, was that a duly assigned part of FBI work

should be transferred because the FBI was not trespassing beyond the limits of its assignments to perform strictly police functions.

4. Despite Wechsler's above demand, he does not provide the answers to pertinent questions such as: Does he propose an alternative agency to be given broader power by Congress than that given to the FBI? Does he advocate a constitutional amendment to transfer police powers vested in the states? Does he visualize an agency that, when a good cause is at issue, would not be inhibited by law?

5. Wechsler in a 1965 "New York Post" editorial attacks Mr. Hoover for "again trespassing into dubious areas," primarily the University of California at Berkeley. Inquiry showed that FBI Agents were only "looking on" since the FBI has intelligence responsibilities requiring it to collect data about incidents and persons on and off campuses in the national security field.

6. It is unfortunate that Wechsler has ignored the FBI's performance of its role in the civil rights field and has chosen to condemn it for not doing what it could not do legally. His hostility to Mr. Hoover and the FBI actually renders a negative service to the cause that Wechsler supports.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN---The FBI According to Lowenthal--
is a refutation of much of Lowenthal's
criticism of the FBI in his book, "The Federal
Bureau of Investigation."

1. Published in 1950, Lowenthal's book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," contains the most extensive criticism of the FBI. While Lowenthal as an author is granted the privilege of selecting material for his anti-FBI presentation, he abuses that privilege by omitting data needed to properly evaluate the propriety of his choices.

2. Lowenthal uses the 1908 statements of several Congressmen concerning the dangers of a central police or spy system in the Federal Government to imply that they held the view that the creation of the Bureau of Investigation would result in an undesirable agency. However, the statements were actually directed against the use of the Secret Service as a central source of investigative manpower and not against the type of departmental force that Attorney General Bonaparte wanted to establish.

3. Lowenthal states that Congress in 1908, by ending the practice of Government agencies borrowing Secret Service agents, showed the intention of denying the Attorney General the right to employ detectives. However, Congress did vote money that the Attorney General sought in order to employ detectives and, as a result, he created the Bureau of Investigation on July 1, 1908.

4. Lowenthal's book is slanted toward showing that the modern FBI is the realization of Congressional fears of 1908 that a "Federal police force at the Department of Justice would some day adopt practices...abhorrent to democracy."

5. In addition to being unwanted, Lowenthal charges that the Bureau of Investigation was unneeded since its early cases were of a "somewhat makeshift character." He passes over the fact that there were important cases under investigation at the time, including antitrust cases.

6. The Mann Act, passed in 1910, according to Lowenthal, gave the Bureau of Investigation its taste for cases that make headlines. He omits mentioning, however, that publicized Departmental policy in 1911 was that the focus on Mann Act investigations should be strictly on cases involving commercialism in interstate transportation for immoral purposes. Lowenthal, not looking at the full picture of the Mann Act cases during Mr. Hoover's direction of the FBI, omits discussion of commercialized incidents.

7. Lowenthal charges that the 1940 arrests of individuals in Detroit and Milwaukee for alleged criminal action in recruiting for Spanish Civil War service raised doubts that the FBI was successful in indoctrinating its agents in the "true meaning and purpose of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." He also claims that Attorney General Robert H. Jackson's investigator reported that FBI Agents had engaged in conduct possibly violating the Constitution. This claim is contradictory to the actual statements of Attorney General Jackson and his aide which exonerated the FBI Agents of illegal methods of arrest and questioning in the above matter.

8. While Lowenthal's book presents much documentation, sources used actually disprove the points made by him, for they are generally taken out of context. It appears, therefore, that the long listing of sources is designed not to encourage the reader to read those materials, but to impress the reader that further inquiry is not necessary.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN--The FBI According to Cook--
covers criticism of the FBI presented by Fred
J. Cook in his book, "The FBI Nobody Knows."

1. Most of Cook's case against Mr. Hoover and the FBI comes from secondary sources, including Lowenthal's book which Cook claims "was not factually discredited in any respect" when published.

2. Cook's opinion that Congressmen were enraged by Attorney General Bonaparte's creation of the Bureau of Investigation in 1908 makes Bonaparte a villain. By contrast, Bonaparte actually fought political corruption and could not be bribed or intimidated by the "trusts" then attempting to extend their economic control--a cause to which Cook himself has addressed much sympathy.

3. Cook relies also on former Special Agent Jack Levine, depicting him as having an "all-American-boy look" and a successful FBI career before resigning. Needless to say, numerous facts in the public domain have been omitted by Cook, for they contradict his views of Levine and the FBI.

4. Levine, in his campaign attacking Mr. Hoover, offered information on FBI activities in organized crime,

civil rights, and infiltration of the Communist Party, USA, to various Government officials who, Levine improperly surmised, had not been advised of such matters by the FBI.

5. Cook at one point berates Don Whitehead, author of "The FBI Story," as an FBI apologist. Later in his own book, Cook grants Whitehead more authority than he possessed in quoting from Whitehead as a person having "access" to FBI files.

6. Cook also discusses, as did Lowenthal, the arrests of recruiters for the Spanish Civil War in 1940. To buttress his anti-FBI bias in this case, Cook uses the anti-FBI remarks of Senator George W. Norris whose views of the arrests were admittedly based upon an editorial in an issue of "The New Republic" in 1940 which was not alleged by the Senator to contain "facts" known to him personally.

7. Cook claims that official Washington is intimidated by Mr. Hoover, citing a situation in which the publisher of the "New York Post" had found that "some of the most distinguished figures on the Hill simply will not be quoted on the subject of Hoover." In addition, Cook, through quotes from unnamed liberal Congressmen who express fear of Mr. Hoover, attempts to make Mr. Hoover responsible for an atmosphere of conformity. It can be said that the unnamed Congressmen seem to be feeble carriers of the liberal tradition if they are afraid to express their views.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN--The Turner Story--refutes some of the criticisms by former Special Agent William W. Turner.

1. Former Special Agent William W. Turner wrote an article for "Saga" magazine of March, 1964, entitled "The FBI Could Have Saved President Kennedy's Life!" The article claims that Turner's inquiry into the assassination showed that the FBI had included Oswald's name on a "risk list" that was given to Secret Service somewhat reluctantly due to FBI jealousy of the Secret Service. Actually, evidence shows there was no such list.

2. Turner claims in this article that a Dallas FBI Agent had interviewed Oswald ten days before the assassination, contrary to later testimony in the Warren Commission inquiry that determined Oswald had not been interviewed by the FBI after his return from Mexico in early October, 1963.

3. Turner concluded in 1964 from his inquiry that Oswald was the lone assassin with no plot involved. In 1967, he changed his opinion by advocating a conspiracy thesis in several "Ramparts" magazine articles, the plot allegedly designed to prevent a detente with Cuba which President Kennedy was supposedly planning.

4. In an article in "The Nation" of November 8, 1965, entitled "Crime Is Too Big for the FBI," Turner falsely alleges that the FBI avoids coming to grips with organized crime and has "pet crimes"--bank robberies, kidnappings, and car thefts--in

which it "specializes." Such crimes, Turner wrongly asserts, are mostly "amateurish" capers easily investigated to a conclusion.

5. Turner is contemptuous of the FBI's war on criminal gangs in the 1930s, charging that Agents indulged in reckless gunfire. This charge recalls a statement made by Senator Kenneth McKellar in the 1937 Senate Appropriations Committee hearings that he saw no excuse for so much gunfire by FBI Agents in gangster investigations. The then Senator Harry Truman asked at that point, "How would you catch them, Senator, if they commenced shooting at you?"

6. According to Turner, Mr. Hoover would not cooperate with a special Justice Department group on organized crime in the late 1950s. The group was actually satisfied with FBI help at first, but later wanted a substantial number of FBI Agents assigned to it. Mr. Hoover turned down the request to avoid making the FBI an agent-lending bureau.

7. Turner also charges that the FBI had authority for a massive campaign against organized crime but was "legalistic" in saying it had little jurisdiction in such matters. While listing several laws available to fight organized crime, Turner forgot to mention that the more significant of those laws were not enacted while he was with the FBI and that Robert F. Kennedy, while Attorney General, stated that the laws passed in 1961 and 1962 gave the FBI jurisdiction "for the first time" to investigate large-scale gambling, the primary source of wealth for the criminal syndicates. Since the passage of those laws,

the FBI has been increasingly successful in bringing hoodlums to justice.

8. Documents related to Turner's discharge from the FBI and his later attempts to gain reinstatement are discussed in some detail from court records. Turner's basis for demanding re-employment in the FBI is his claim of immunity from FBI action resulting from his efforts to discredit Mr. Hoover and the FBI--and not a claim that the accusatory statements he made were true.

CHAPTER NINETEEN--The Exploitative Adulators--
probes the "far right" in its selective support of Mr. Hoover and the FBI.

1. Several elements of the "far right," such as the United Klans of America and the National States Rights Party, have prepared anti-FBI propaganda no less virulent than that of the communist left. For example, the National States Rights Party labelled three FBI informants in the 1964 Mississippi civil rights workers murder case as "lying paid pimps."

2. Other less extreme groups of the "far right" praise Mr. Hoover and quote him extensively, but in a way that seeks to justify their own views. For instance, the Church League of America tried to dissociate Mr. Hoover from Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan's speeches in the early 1960s which

denied "an extensive and substantial infiltration of the American clergy" by communists. The League tried to show that these speeches contradicted Mr. Hoover. Another group explained that Mr. Hoover was pressured by the Kennedy Administration to have the speeches made.

3. The "far right" quotes Mr. Hoover often, but it also ignores his statements that are unpalatable to them--such as his statements to the Warren Commission that the "extreme right is just as much a danger to this country as is the extreme left," and that he found no evidence of any foreign or domestic conspiracy "that culminated in the assassination of President Kennedy."

4. The anticommunism of the "far right" and Mr. Hoover are not cut from the same cloth, for Mr. Hoover is committed to liberty under law. He shows no obsession with the "communist menace" as do the "far rightists" who even see a communist plot in the enactment of gun control measures. Communist domination of major organized groups in the civil rights field is alleged despite Mr. Hoover's publicized disclaimers that the legitimate groups have by and large warded off communist efforts at penetration.

PART IV

PART IV--Unfinished Business--concerns the unwarranted criticism of the FBI in the fields of civil rights and organized crime investigations.

CHAPTER TWENTY--One Federal Suit--discusses an FBI-investigated case in which the Department of Justice successfully sought an injunction to prevent the harassing of Negroes and civil rights workers in Bogalusa, Louisiana.

1. The FBI provided extensive evidence for the Department of Justice in connection with the Department's civil suit in 1965 seeking an injunction against the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Anti-Communist Christian Association, and 38 individuals in and around Bogalusa, Louisiana. The suit sought to prevent them from interfering with persons seeking to exercise rights guaranteed under the Constitution.

2. The evidence against the defendants was so overwhelming that the defense admitted what many witnesses would have been called to prove in order to reduce the revelation of numerous assaults and acts of intimidation and harassment. A three-judge panel in Federal Court granted the injunction in December, 1965.

3. The FBI's task of gathering evidence to use in court against a Klan defendant calls for ingenuity, courage, and patience as shown in the Bogalusa trial through revelation of

Klan procedures to screen and prevent members from serving as FBI informants.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE---FBI vs. KKK---is concerned with the FBI's efforts to investigate the Ku Klux Klan and to develop informants within Klan groups.

1. The FBI has been involved in investigation of Klan activities since 1921 and was investigating 14 Klan-type organizations 100 years after the founding of the KKK in 1865.
2. The Klan groups attempt to create a public image of patriotism, dedication to Christian principles, and ardent anticommunism as a "respectable" cover for the terror and violence of hard-core members.
3. The impulse killing of Lemuel Penn, the Washington, D. C., Negro educator, in 1964 in Georgia points to the fact that FBI informants are unable to give advance warning of violence when Klan-type individuals follow impulse rather than plans. The suspects in the Penn case were arrested by the FBI and with evidence collected were turned over to state authorities for murder charges. Acquitted of the murder charges, several of the suspects were later convicted in Federal court of conspiring to deprive a citizen of his civil and constitutional rights.
4. The charge of James A. Wechsler of the "New York Post" that the FBI has shown neither the will nor capacity to cope with anti-Negro violence in the South is ill-founded since

the FBI has identified and arrested numerous suspects in anti-civil-rights violence and has been praised in the past by such groups as the NAACP for its investigations in such matters.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO--Federal Law and Civil Rights--considers the Federal statutes under which the FBI operates in the civil rights field.

1. Statutes under which the FBI investigates in the civil rights field are in two categories: (1) older criminal statutes surviving from the Reconstruction Era, including Sections 241, 242, and 371 of Title 18, U.S. Code, and (2) the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, 1965, and 1968 which are both criminal and civil.

2. Section 241 of Title 18, U.S. Code, forbids a conspiracy by two or more persons to deprive a citizen of constitutional and legal rights. The Supreme Court has for almost a century been ruling as to specific rights involved and now there is usually a precedent when the Department of Justice orders the FBI to investigate an alleged infringement of rights or to arrest a suspect under Section 241. The section is limited to citizens, not aliens, and as a conspiracy statute is useless when the threat to civil liberty comes from the action of one person alone.

3. Section 242 of Title 18, U.S. Code, forbids willfully depriving the rights of persons under color of law,

statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom and is commonly called the police-brutality statute.

4. Section 371 of Title 18, U.S. Code, is the general conspiracy statute aimed at reaching persons willfully encouraging and helping the commission of any Federal crime and is used in conjunction with both Sections 241 and 242.

5. There was a broad attack on the FBI's use of Section 242 in the early 1950s. Mr. Hoover, in a letter in "The New York Times" of August 26, 1953, replied to the then Governors Fine, Battle, and Dewey of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New York respectively by stating that Section 242 was still the law of the land and that the Attorney General had the duty to set policy for the FBI to investigate alleged violations of laws enacted by Congress.

6. In a decision in the case of the three civil rights workers killed in Mississippi in 1964, which the FBI solved, the Supreme Court in 1966 held that private persons "jointly engaged with state officials" in a violation of Section 242 are acting under "color of law" for the purposes of the statute.

7. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, 1965, and 1968 deal primarily with the area of civil law and are aimed at protecting and promoting the exercise and enjoyment of civil rights and basic opportunities in various fields, including local and national elections, housing, entertainment, education, and

acts, to share investigative know-how, and to discuss mob control.

3. Civil rights cases are hard to prosecute because of the limits of Federal law and because of the verdicts often given by juries with no seeming relation to the evidence presented. The results of FBI investigations and Federal prosecutions cannot be measured solely by convictions. For instance, following vigorous FBI investigations in lynching cases in the 1940s, the number of lynchings declined. Also, each conviction under the police brutality statute--Section 242 of Title 18, U.S. Code--has been a lever to end practices inimical to due process.

4. In 1961, the FBI, at the instruction of the Department of Justice, conducted a survey in 294 cities in 17 states regarding segregation practices in interstate bus facilities. The evidence was used by the Department to gain an Interstate Commerce Commission ruling to end such segregation.

5. In 1961 and 1962, the FBI investigated allegations of racial discrimination in voting in more than 100 counties. The Department of Justice used the data collected in filing 30 suits in five states. One former Department official has noted that the mere starting of an FBI investigation frequently brings compliance with laws providing equal rights for Negroes.

6. James A. Wechsler, in alleging that the FBI has been a failure in the civil rights field, has quoted from four

religion. The 1968 Act has sections of both criminal and civil law, several forbidding interstate travel to aid, incite, or participate in rioting and to teach the manufacture or use of firearms and explosives to foment civil disorders.

8. While the FBI assignments in the civil rights field are broader than in 1957, in no statute is there any authority for the FBI to protect individuals and civil rights workers as is often demanded.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE--The FBI and Civil Rights--relates to FBI handling of complaints in civil rights matters.

1. FBI procedure after the receipt of a civil rights complaint in police brutality cases is to make a preliminary investigation and refer the matter to the Department of Justice for consideration as to further action. Other complaints in the civil rights field are referred to the Department of Justice which decides whether or not Federal prosecution is justified and, if so, the FBI is then instructed to investigate to collect evidence.

2. The FBI has sought good working relations with local officers interested in doing a responsible job in the civil rights field and has furnished such officers information from informants that has helped identify perpetrators of non-Federal crimes. In addition, the FBI has participated in many police training schools, providing instruction to clarify elements and constitutional significance of the civil rights

paragraphs of a 1947 report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. His presentation of the quotes would indicate the FBI had been singled out for criticism for inadequate performance in civil rights matters at that time. Actually, the paragraphs are from a section of the report containing broad recommendations for improvement of Federal civil rights enforcement machinery, for the Committee found perfection at no point in that machinery. Wechsler also omitted mentioning the Committee's praise for the FBI, United States Attorneys, and the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice in handling civil rights matters. The record shows that, despite Wechsler's attempt to claim otherwise, the FBI has been active and successful in its civil rights investigations.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR--The What and How of Organized Crime--discusses organized crime and the effectiveness of the FBI in fighting it.

1. Organized crime's accumulation of wealth enables it to purchase power by corrupting officials. Its primary source of funds is gambling, followed by loan-sharking. Becoming more important as its source of wealth is its infiltration of legitimate business.

2. La Cosa Nostra, which dominates organized crime, uses murder to eliminate those it cannot control. With a membership of about 5,000, it is divided into 24 "families" throughout the country.

3. To combat organized crime, law enforcement needs to penetrate a shroud of secrecy. The FBI for several decades has collected "inside" data for its own use and for dissemination to aid local and national law enforcement agencies. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice said in 1967 that the FBI alone had been able to "document fully the national scope" of La Cosa Nostra groups. This assessment contradicts the claims of Fred J. Cook and former Special Agent Turner that Mr. Hoover and the FBI have been unwilling and unable to penetrate and come to grips with the underworld. Turner also goes so far as to imply that Mr. Hoover himself may have been under the influence of organized crime forces.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE--Elements of a Counter-Offensive--summarizes the cases of several high-ranking criminals in La Cosa Nostra in which the FBI investigated and collected evidence for the convictions.

1. Despite the problems of obtaining witnesses to testify, convictions of high-echelon hoodlums in organized crime are increasing. In cases investigated by the FBI in whole or in part, 281 convictions of organized crime figures were secured in fiscal year 1968.

2. The convictions of such hoodlums have consequences that adversely affect organized crime. These include the creation

of fear of prosecution among other hoodlums, the closing of income sources, and a struggle for leadership involving gang warfare.

3. The elements of an effective counteroffensive against organized crime include Federal laws that reach into various aspects of the crime group operations; improvement of local police forces to be more competent and less corruptible; the concern of citizens at the grass roots; and a body at the Federal level--the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Department of Justice--to aid interagency collaboration.

4. Anti-FBI propagandists, particularly former Special Agent Turner and Fred J. Cook, claim that, while Mr. Hoover has failed against organized crime, the Justice Department's Special Group on Organized Crime of the late 1950s was necessary for a successful attack on the crime syndicates. Twenty of those at the 1957 Apalachin, New York, hoodlum meeting were convicted under a Federal conspiracy charge promulgated by the Special Group, a development applauded by Cook. The convictions, however, were reversed on appeal--a fact admitted by Cook but without his indicating the reasons which certainly cast doubt on the Special Group's tactics. The court's decision of reversal castigated the Group's approach as a travesty upon due process, and one judge said the prosecution should not have been initiated. This, of course, places Cook in the position of supporting questionable procedures in fighting crime.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX--The FBI and the Concerned Citizen--lists citizens' responsibilities to the FBI and closes with a discussion of the FBI's part in the Federal employee security investigations.

1. In our system of government that is committed to preserving a balance between heritage and heresy, the FBI performs a dual role of gathering intelligence about forces threatening our society and of helping to bring to prosecution those forces which have violated laws in crossing the line between legitimate dissent and lawbreaking.

2. If our system of freedom under law is to be maintained, citizens must not claim a special privilege to break the law nor must the law be changed except by duly provided means. In addition, the criminal must not be regarded as a hero or underdog. To help reduce crime, the public should also respond positively to suggestions that serve to lessen crime, such as locking the doors of parked cars.

3. The public owes the FBI--and every other agency of our Government--in this time of irresponsible and calculated rumor-mongering a refusal to repeat criticism until the charges are checked as to accuracy.

4. The FBI should be able to count on community interest in police-improvement programs that are needed to raise law enforcement standards in our Nation.

5. In the Federal Government applicant screening process, the FBI operates under a fixed policy that those who investigate

must not evaluate, and no evidence has been found that the FBI departs from the policy established in two executive orders.

6. There is a complaint that the FBI's so-called "dossiers" on individuals are receptive to malicious falsehood. The FBI does take all types of information, for how could it select and reject information from citizens and agencies without substituting for investigation some "intuitive" method to separate fact from falsehood. Also, FBI files must be confidential in order for it to remain a neutral recipient of data.

7. The Federal employee security program which was initiated after World War II was condemned by some as a gigantic "witch-hunt" used by Mr. Hoover in his "war" on liberals and dissenters. Morris Ernst, as counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, checked out numerous complaints and concluded there was no convincing evidence to support the charges. Ernst, reporting on his findings in an article, "Why I No Longer Fear the FBI," in the "Reader's Digest," December, 1950, notes that the FBI was being attacked for conducting a "witch-hunt" by some, while others attacked it for not finding as many subversives as they thought it should.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
3409 FIDDLER'S GREEN
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
22044

July 31, 1969

Mrs. H. A. Overstreet

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

May I send for both
of us our very warm thanks for the
autographed copy of your ON COMMUNISM?
We are pleased and proud to have it.

And since we do have it,
we will give our own earlier copy to
our local library. It is a great
gathering place for students in search
of resource materials; so we try to
insure there being on the shelves as
many useful items as we can provide.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
Bonaro Overstreet
(Mrs. H.A.)

MCT-19

EX-111

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REC-19

CORRESPONDENCE

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DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
ATTENTION: RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION

DATE: 8/5/69

FROM : SAC, SALT LAKE CITY

SUBJECT: ~~"THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"~~
DIVISION 5 SUMMARY OF CAPTIONED BOOK

W.C. Sullivan
Gordon

Harry
The Salt Lake City Division has already had two occasions to utilize the Summary of the Overstreets' book prepared by the Research-Satellite Section, and found it to be exceedingly well prepared and most useful. The brief but very much to-the-point arguments as set forth with regard to each of the controversial points concerned make the summary exceptionally adaptable to preparing material for speeches designed to show the falsity of allegations by certain of the Bureau's detractors.

The summary will undoubtedly be useful in the future in preparing material for public appearances and in answering questions in connection with these appearances.

2 - Bureau
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September 23, 1969

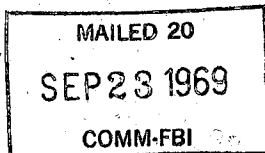
Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Congressman:

Thank you for your comments in the September 19th issue of the Congressional Record regarding our operations as described in the Harry O. Overstreets' book, "The FBI in Our Open Society." As you indicated, it is a forthright and factual portrayal of the FBI's activities, and I am grateful to you for bringing this work to the attention of your colleagues.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



1 - Richmond

NOTE: We have had previous cordial relations with Congressman Marsh.

HCS:kce (4)

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SEP 24 1969

Tolson
DeLoach
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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—Extensions of Remarks

THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 19, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, there was recently published by the W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., the book entitled "The FBI in Our Open Society" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, which I think is worthy of mention to members.

In their book, "The FBI in Our Open Society," Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, present a careful and well-documented study of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Having become interested in the work of this investigative and law-enforcement agency and having heard tales of its so-called interference with the processes expected in a free society, the Overstreets set about studying the facts behind the establishment and operation of this organization. And what they have found is presented here in an objective and highly informative portrayal of the Bureau and its work.

The book tells the story of the FBI—its founding and the reason behind its existence; its relation to the Secret Service, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Justice Department; and its work on the American scene, especially with regard to the movements of communism and civil rights. Throughout there is an acute awareness of the problems involved in a free society where each individual is granted certain fundamental rights under the Constitution. The place of an enforcement agency which must protect the rights of its citizens, but must also assure the national security of the country becomes a highly delicate one of carefully drawing the line between the needs

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of its double jurisdiction. The Overstreets do not gloss over this difficulty. It is a very present factor in their presentation. But because they readily admit the problems to be faced, they are also able to show how unfair much of the criticism leveled against the FBI and its Director, J. Edgar Hoover, has been.

The Overstreets also point out how Hoover's personal direction of the FBI has been to avoid bringing ever increasing areas of jurisdiction under its authority. They answer criticism of the agency by pointing out how ambiguous this criticism has been. While the FBI has been denigrated, for instance, for its failure to protect the lives of civil rights workers, it is likewise criticized for the extent of its authority. The two are incompatible. The one implies that the FBI should increase its jurisdiction into the area reserved to State and local law enforcement officials while the other asks for a decrease in the areas over which the FBI exercises its power.

Most importantly, the book shows how the FBI is limited to areas in which Federal statutes have been enacted. The agency operates in the fields of intelligence and of law enforcement where Federal legislation has been passed—and, as such, the Overstreets show how very well the Bureau has stayed within its authority. They summarize the essence of the complexity of the situation in the concluding paragraph of the book:

The work of the FBI is far less melodramatic than it is often made to appear and far more quietly dramatic than is commonly realized. The drama stems from its relationship of freedom's enterprise.

This book is an especially valuable reference for one who wishes to trace the history of the FBI and its performance and record in the highly sensitive area relating to civil liberties. To those who are concerned about this aspect of the Bureau's operation, it should be reassuring.

To the serious reader, or student, who wants to learn more of the operation of this highly effective and valuable American agency, the book is a valuable source.

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October 28, 1969

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DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CLY

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Ligonier, Pennsylvania

Dear

Your letter, with enclosure, was received on
October 23rd.

While I wish to be of assistance to you, I am
unable to comment with respect to your specific inquiries since
information in our files must be maintained as confidential in
accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice.
Harry and Bonaro Overstreet are authors of "The FBI in Our
Open Society," which is an accurate portrayal of some of the
operations of this Bureau. Over the years the FBI has enjoyed
cordial relations with the Overstreets.

Although it is not possible to send you material on
a continuing basis, I am enclosing some literature which I trust
will be of interest to you.

Your enclosure is being returned as requested.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (4)

An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism
Director's Testimony 4/17/69 re Organized Crime
Director's Testimony 4/17/69 re Communist, Racial and Extremist Groups
NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent.
Bu. Confid. Return Address used on address label.

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Walters _____
Mohr _____
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Callahan _____
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October 1969

Director John Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

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8-1

Dear Sir:

I know you are very busy and are doing a tremendous job to protect the security of our nation from those who choose to be our enemies from within and outside the continental boundaries of the United State of America, but I would appreciate a service from you on information on whether or not the author of "The strange tactics of Extremism" - Harry Overstreet is a past registered Communist with the government or is there sufficient evidence that he he is a member of the Communist Party in the United States.

My reason for asking is this: I am a member of the Herb Philbrick "ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS" and in a recent discussion with a local liberal pastor who^{se} church is a member of NCC, I mention^{ed} that he did not act in the best interest of his congregation when he recommended that his members read the book "The strange tactics of extremism" and they will learn more about the right-wingers.

I mention^{ed} that the author had been publicized as being a member of known and registered communist organizations. He remarked,

You can't prove it- you can't prove it. I told him that if I did prove it, would he evaluate his opinion of this man and advise

his congregation not to read such publications. He said, "e would,

but the facts would have to be official and not heresay or that he member of fringe area organizations of the new left. Will you help me Sir.

REG-33/20-114375/87

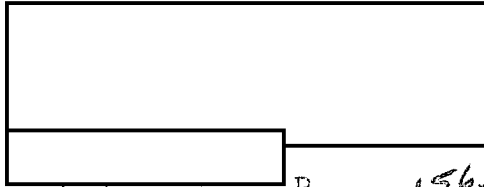
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Ligonier, Pa.

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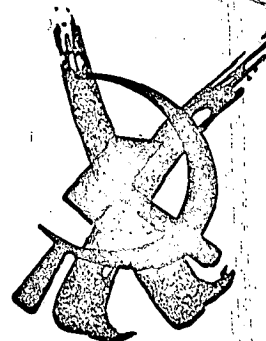
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Telephone (202) 638-6010

UNITED STATES ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS, Inc.

1221 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NORTHWEST WASHINGTON D.C. 20005

'RESPONSIBLE ANTI-COMMUNISM'



July 8, 1969

[Redacted]
[Redacted]

Twin, Pa. 15642

Dear [Redacted]

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245472

Enclosed you will find the latest edition of the
Washington Intelligence Report, a sample copy of the
Congressional Record, and your membership card.

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b7C

Sincerely Yours,

[Redacted Signature]

National Director

Dear Sir: Here is the proof of what I have said is true.

I would like this returned as is Sir. Thank you.

Special note: I have taken a job as a free lance reporter with
a news paper that covers a local area of over 50,000 people and if you
have press releases that can help our people to help themselves please
place me on the mailing list to receive these publications and I
promise that the people will receive them.

~~Confidential~~

I request your confidence and please note what you

ENCLOSURE

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original returned
to [Redacted] by outgoing
letter 10/20/69
acc

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 2/26/70

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY"
BY HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
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Felt _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

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Back
OVERSTREET HARRY

Yesterday your office received a call from [redacted]

[redacted] W. W. Norton and Company, publisher of the above-mentioned book, which is most favorable in its treatment of the FBI. [redacted] stated that his company was over stocked on this particular book, which originally sold for \$6.95, and he wondered whether the FBI Recreation Association or the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation would be interested in 17,000 copies of this book at \$1.00 per copy. [redacted] recalled that the FBI Recreation Association and the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation had each purchased copies of the book in the past.

[redacted] was thanked for his call and, while no encouragement was given to him, he was told that he would be called back concerning this matter (area code 212 [redacted] in New York City).

At the present time the Bureau's Library has an ample supply of this particular book. No additional copies are needed in the foreseeable future. While this would be a good bargain if the books were needed, it is not felt that additional copies should be purchased at this time for sale to Bureau employees through the FBI Recreation Association.

RECOMMENDATION:

That [redacted] be called back, thanked for his most generous offer and told that additional copies of the book are not needed at this time by either the FBI Recreation Association or the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - M. A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

REC-6

100-114575-188

Suggest the JEH Foundation purchase 2500 additional copies to give to colleges.

5 MAR 18 1970

Suggest the JEH Foundation purchase 2500 additional copies to give to colleges.

D.

8 APR 24 1970
MAJ:pa

*2,500 Books
Orders Let
Case I*

*3-23-70
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CRIME RESEARCH

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HARFORD JUNIOR COLLEGE

401 THOMAS RUN ROAD

BEL AIR, MARYLAND 21014

PHONE: 301-734-7171

Viper

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

218

Harford Junior College Library
May 21, 1970

The J. Edgar Hoover Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I wish to acknowledge with grateful appreciation the gift copy of Overstreet, The FBI in Our Open Society recently received by Harford Junior College Library. It will be made available to the college community as soon as processed for circulation.

b6
b7C

Sincerely yours,

[Redacted Signature]

Head Librarian

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40 MAY 25 1970

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Noack Inc.

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LENOIR COMMUNITY COLLEGE

KINSTON, NORTH CAROLINA 28501

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 19, 1970

Harry Overstreet

The J. Edgar Hoover Foundation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Thank you for sending me the copy of The FBI
in Our Open Society by the Overstreets. I look
forward to reading this book and shall place it in
our college library when I finish.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

N.C.

[Redacted Box]

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
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Miss Holmes	_____
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CORRESPONDENCE

Gordon Military College

BARNESVILLE, GEORGIA

ROBERT M. RUE
PRESIDENT

June 8, 1970

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

The J. Edgar Hoover Foundation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

HARRY This is to acknowledge and to express our appreciation for the book by Overstreet, The FBI in our open society, which you recently sent to our library.

This book will, I am sure, prove of great interest and great worth to our students. It is already available to them.

We appreciate your interest in our school as indicated by your gift.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

Augusta Lambdin Library
Gordon Military College
Barnesville, Georgia 30204

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CORRESPONDENCE



GUILFORD TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

JAMESTOWN, NORTH CAROLINA 27282

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

June 12, 1970

The J. Edgar Hoover Foundation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

With great appreciation the Guilford Technical Institute Library acknowledges the receipt of The FBI in Our Open Society by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. This book is a welcome addition to our library.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl
245472

cc: Dr. Luther Medlin
President, GTI

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OVERSTREET

EXP. PROC.

JUN 15 1970

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JUN 15 1970

CORRESPONDENCE

60 JUN 23 1970

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop *TJB*

DATE: 6/11/70

FROM : M. A. Jones *MJ*

SUBJECT: "THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY" BY HARRY AND BONARO
OVERSTREET, PUBLISHED BY W. W. NORTON & COMPANY,
INC., NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Tolson _____
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Mohr _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

When "The FBI In Our Open Society" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet was first published, the Bureau Library, through the FBI Recreation Association, ordered what we felt to be an adequate supply for sale to Bureau employees at the reduced price of \$3.75 per copy. While the book sold quite well for several weeks, the sales have tapered off, and this seems to be due to the fact that the publisher was overstocked and has been selling the book through book stores for \$1.00 per copy or even less.

As a result of the diminishing sales, the Bureau Library has approximately 1,000 copies of the book on hand. Rather than hold these books indefinitely and run the risk of our supply becoming completely worthless, it is felt we should reduce the price to \$1.00 per copy and so notify the SACs and Bureau officials by routing slip at this time.

Mr. Joseph A. Sizoo, President of the FBIRA, is in agreement with this proposal.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the approximately 1,000 copies of "The FBI In Our Open Society," which are on hand, be offered for sale to Bureau employees at \$1.00 per copy, and the employees be notified.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Callahan

BMS:sel

(6)

5 JUL 1 1970

F467

EX-109

REC-36

JUN 26 1970

CRIME RESEARCH

Pom

#243466
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-85 BY SP8 JLD/ldk
245472 5-21-86 SP8 JLD/ldk

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
HOPKINSVILLE COMMUNITY COLLEGE
HOPKINSVILLE, KENTUCKY 42240

July 13, 1970

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Walters ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Soyars ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

The J. Edgar Hoover Foundation
Washington,
D. C.

Gentlemen:

Harry Overstreet

I have received a copy of The FBI In our Open Society from The J. Edgar Hoover Foundation and am grateful to you for forwarding this excellent book by the Overstreets to me. The publication is being placed in our College library for the use of our many students.

Thank you very much for providing this book to me and to Hopkinsville Community College.

Very truly yours,



b6
b7C

dlw

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ccl
245472

EX-117
REC-51

100-114575-194

14 JUL 20 1970

F183
56 JUL 24 1970

*No ack necessary -
reply would be
wonderful for records.*

8-19-70

PLAINTEXT

REC-32

TELEGRAM

URGENT

MRS. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
3409 FIDDLERS GREEN
LAKE BARCROFT
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA ~~22644~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/CL
245472

I WAS DEEPLY SADDENED TO LEARN OF DR. OVERSTREET'S
PASSING AND WANT YOU TO KNOW YOU HAVE MY DEEPEST SYMPATHY.
WORDS CERTAINLY ARE INADEQUATE AT A TIME LIKE THIS, BUT I HOPE
YOU WILL DERIVE SOME MEASURE OF COMFORT FROM KNOWING THAT
OTHERS SHARE YOUR SORROW. MY ASSOCIATES AND I ARE MOST
APPRECIATIVE OF THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WHICH WE IN THE FBI WERE
PRIVILEGED TO HAVE WITH DR. OVERSTREET. YOU CAN BE
JUSTIFIABLY PROUD OF THE MANY CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH HE MADE TO
HIS COUNTRY AND THE HIGH ESTEEM IN WHICH HE IS HELD.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 19 1970

WESTERN UNION

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

- 1 - Mr. Bishop (detached)
1 - Mr. Sullivan (detached)

- 1 - Mr. Brennan (detached)
1 - Miss Gandy (detached)

NOTE: See M. A. Jones to Bishop memo dated 8/17/70, captioned
"Dr. Harry A. Overstreet." Address per Special Correspondents List.

FCS:mcb^{mcb} (10)

2
Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop *Bur*

FROM : M. Jones *M. Jones*

SUBJECT: DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET

DATE: 8/17/70

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
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Gale _____
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Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/csl
245472 *M. Jones*

We learned that captioned individual died this morning. As you know, Dr. Overstreet, and his wife Bonaro Overstreet, were ardent friends and supporters of Mr. Hoover and the FBI. In fact, they had just authored an excellent book about the FBI entitled "The FBI In Our Open Society" which has been well received. *8-17-70*

Dr. Harry Overstreet is the author of numerous books and articles and is extremely well known for his scholarship. He formerly was a university professor and has maintained an active interest not only in education but also in law enforcement. The Overstreets were personally known to Assistant to the Director Sullivan. Over the years, the Bureau received a number of inquiries from citizens accusing the Overstreets of being either pro-communist or extremely liberal. Actually, neither in his writings nor his speeches did Dr. Overstreet ever manifest any sympathy for communism. His recent books have been devoted to alerting the American public to the subversive nature of communism as well as the evils of extremism of the far right. The Director wrote letters to Dr. Overstreet on the occasion of both his 80th and 90th birthdays, the later being 10/25/65. *O*

It is felt the Director would want to write a ~~letter~~ telegram of sympathy to Mrs. Overstreet.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached ~~letter~~ telegram be sent to Mrs. Overstreet.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Brennan - Enclosure

FCS:dkg/mjl
(7)

4 AUG 25 1970

EX 106

REC-57

100-114575-176

August 26, 1970

b6
b7c

[Redacted]
Trites Stationery and Books
21 Mississaga Street East
Orillia, Ontario, Canada

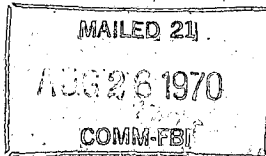
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8BTJ/CSL
245472

Dear [Redacted]

In answer to your inquiry received on August 21st, this Bureau does not have for distribution a copy of the book, "Hoover's FBI: The Men and the Myth," by William W. Turner. You may wish to inform your customer that this publication is nothing more than a collection of old, time-worn, discredited and grossly inaccurate material of the nature that Turner and other enemies of this Bureau have repeatedly put out in an effort to undermine public confidence in the FBI and in me.

Although it is now out of print, I am sending to you, under separate cover, a copy of "The FBI in Our Open Society" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet which you may wish to furnish to your customer. This book contains data concerning some of the vicious attacks leveled at this Bureau over the years by its most persistent critics and also sets forth the true facts which speak for themselves and completely negate their allegations.

Book sent 8/27/70



Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

del

1 - Ottawa - Enclosure

Attention Legal Attache: Neither correspondent nor this book firm is identifiable in Bufiles.

DCL:llk (5)

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

6 SEP 8 1970 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Handwritten signatures and initials:
HLS
gen for...
EPLA
Boat
WILLIAMS-4778



Trites

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August 14, 1970

Handwritten signature/initials

The Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ccl
245472

Gentlemen:

We are interested in obtaining one copy of
"Hoover's F. B. I. - The Men and the Myth", by
W. W. Turner.

As our customer is most anxious to purchase this
book, could you possibly send it to us, or forward to
us the name of a publisher who could supply it.

Handwritten signature/initials

Thanking you in advance for the attention, I know
this request will meet, we remain,

b6
b7C

Yours truly

TRITES STATIONERY & BOOKS

EX 106

REC-57

100-114575-196

18 AUG 27 1970

CORRESPONDENCE

PERS. REC. UNIT

*ask/and
DCL
8/28/70
Nme*

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
3409 FIDDLER'S GREEN
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
22044

August 25, 1970

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-21-86 BY SP8 BTJ/lsc
245472

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very warmly for your generous telegram and for the beautiful basket of flowers that came from you and your associates. Both were deeply appreciated. Both served as part of the fabric of friendship by which I felt myself supported: the fabric of friendship and shared concern.

We have lived here for almost fifteen years, having bought our house on October 1, 1955 -- less than a month before Harry's 80th birthday. One morning several years ago I saw him looking meditative, with a sort of quiet half-smile on his face; so I asked him what he was thinking about. He said, "It doesn't seem quite normal for a person who's had as long and happy a life as I've had to feel that his happiest decade began when he was eighty." But he did feel that. We both have found our years here enormously educative and rewarding -- and our relationship with the FBI has been one chief reason for our having found them so.

It does not seem at all irrelevant, therefore, to include in this letter a word about the deep satisfaction it gave us to have William Sullivan prompted to his present post. He has become very much part of our own lives; and as our acquaintanceship has deepened so has our conviction that he is one of the most unique (and intelligent; and dedicated) personalities that we have ever been privileged to know.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
Mrs. H.A. Overstreet

REC-36

100-114575-197
10 SEP 3 1970

59 SEP 16 1970

REC. UNIT

EXP. PROC.

AUG 26 1970

March 19, 1976

Mrs. Harry Overstreet
Northern Virginia Doctors Hospital
601 South Carlyn Spring Road
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

Your friends in the FBI were indeed sorry to learn of your hospitalization and they all join me in sending you this note of best wishes. We did want you to know that our thoughts and prayers are

with you and we wish you a quick and complete recovery.

MAR 19 1976

FBI

Sincerely,

Clarence Kelley

b6
b7C

NOTE: Mr. and Mrs. Overstreet wrote a book about the FBI and our relations with them over the years have been cordial. SA [redacted] was telephonically advised that Mrs. Overstreet suffered a heart attack and is in the Northern Virginia Doctors Hospital.

REC-94

100-114575-198

awt:acr (3)

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

APPROVED: [Signature]
Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Gen. Inv. _____
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Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Rec. Mgmt. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____

19 MAR 22 1976

56 MAR 30 1976

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

April 26, 1976

REC-85

EX-104

Mrs. Harry Overstreet
3409 Fiddler's Green
Falls Church, Virginia 22044

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

I was pleased to learn from your letter of April 18th that you are out of the hospital and regaining your strength.

I have heard and read nothing but compliments of the work of you and your late husband, and it would indeed be a pleasure to meet you. Please contact my office and my Secretary will arrange a mutually convenient time and date.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

b6
b7C

- 1 - [redacted] - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Moore - Enclosure
1 - Telephone Room - Enclosure

NOTE: Mr. and Mrs. Overstreet wrote a book about the FBI and our relations with them over the years have been cordial. Mrs. Overstreet suffered a heart attack and Mr. Kelley extended his best wishes for a quick and complete recovery by letter 3-19-76.

MN:glh (6)

APPROVED:

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Admin.

Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.

Laboratory
Legal Coun.
Plan. & Eval.
Rec. Mgmt.
Spec. Inv.
Training

Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Files & Com.
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.
Laboratory
Legal Coun.
Plan. & Eval.
Spec. Inv.
Training
Telephone Rm.
Director Sec'y

10 MAY 1976

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

BONARO W. OVERSTREET
3409 FIDDLER'S GREEN
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
22044

April 18, 1976

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep.-A.D.-Adm. _____
Dep.-A.D.-Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Rec. Mgmt. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director _____

Mr. Clarence Kelley
Director
FBI
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Kelley,

My warm thanks to you for the generous letter you sent while I was in the hospital. I appreciated it very much indeed. I am at home again and am gradually regaining strength.

Your letter encouraged me to say something that I have been tempted to say ever since you became Director -- or at least ever since the pattern of your directorship began to take visible shape. What has held me back has been a reluctance to intrude upon your busyness.

Sometime, if there ever is a time of respite for you, and if I am again able to trek into the city, I would greatly value a chance to meet you. This is not a self-indulgent wish. The fact is that, because of our authorship of the book, I am asked so many questions about the FBI and where it is going that I think I could be more useful if I knew more. Obviously, I am not asking for inside information; but when I am asked about you and how you are handling things, I find it a practical disadvantage to have to say that I have never met you. John Malone, incidentally, agrees with me on this: he thinks I should become acquainted.

Use your own judgment about this. I simply want you to know that I am, in all the informal ways that open up for me, still trying to emphasize the merits of the Bureau.

Sincerely,

Bonaro W. Overstreet

Copy made for Tele. Rm.

4/20/76

4 APR 20 1976

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Moore

DATE: 11-4-76

FROM : C. P. Monroe

SUBJECT: MRS. BONARO W. OVERSTREET
3409 FIDDLERS GREEN
FALLS CHURCH, VIRGINIA
(703) 256-4144
DINNER INVITATION EXTENDED TO THE DIRECTOR
AND HIS WIFE

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

PURPOSE:

To advise the Director of Mrs. Overstreet's dinner invitation to Mr. and Mrs. Kelley.

SYNOPSIS:

Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet, co-author of "The FBI in Our Open Society," on October 29, 1976, telephonically advised she had seen Mr. Kelley in late July, 1976, and indicated she would call the Director to arrange a convenient time for him to have dinner at her home. Mrs. Overstreet now was calling to invite the Director and his wife to dinner at a time and date to be left to Mr. Kelley's discretion. She indicated she would like Mr. Kelley to return her call for the above-stated purpose. Mrs. Overstreet indicated she would thereafter forward to the Director directions to her home, should Mr. Kelley accept her invitation. Bufiles reflect a cordial relationship with Mrs. Overstreet and her now-deceased husband, Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, in the past. Records indicate Mrs. Overstreet met with the Director on June 29, 1976, at FBI Headquarters. There is no record of her meeting with the Director in July, 1976.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1) That, should the Director desire to accept Mrs. Overstreet's dinner invitation, he (Mr. Kelley) select a convenient date and time.

b6
b7C

- 1 - Mr. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt
- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - Telephone Room

WET:slr (8)

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

EX-109

REC-86

100-114575-200

94-64862-2

24 DEC 1 1976

Mr. Kelley had dinner with Mrs. Overstreet on Nov. 30, 1976. GWC

CONTINUED - OVER

Monroe to Moore memo
RE: MRS. BONARO W. OVERSTREET

2) That, following the Director's decision, this memorandum be returned to the Research Section, External Affairs Division, in order that Mrs. Overstreet can be accordingly advised.

APPROVED:	Adm. Serv.....	Legal Coun.....
	Ext. Affairs.....	Plan. & Insp.....
Director.....	Fin. & Pers.....	Rec. Mgt.....
Assoc. Dir. <i>H/K</i>	Gen. Inv.....	S. & T. Serv.....
Dep. AD Adm. <i>H/K</i>	Ident.....	Spec. Inv.....
Dep. AD Inv. <i>H/K</i>	Intell.....	Training.....

DETAILS:

On October 29, 1976, Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet co-author of "The FBI in Our Open Society" telephonically contacted the Director's Office and was referred to the External Affairs Division Interview Room.

Mrs. Overstreet stated that she knows the Director personally and had visited him at FBIHQ in late July, 1976. At that time, she had indicated she would call the Director and arrange a convenient time for him to have dinner at her home.

Mrs. Overstreet advised that the purpose of her present call was to invite the Director and his wife to dinner at her home, the date and time of which would be left to the Director's discretion. She indicated she would like the Director to return her call for the above-stated purpose.

Mrs. Overstreet advised she has forwarded no written invitation because she has only limited use of her right hand. Should Mr. Kelley accept her invitation, she would forward to him (Mr. Kelley) the necessary directions to her residence.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Bufiles indicate Bonaro W. Overstreet and her scholar-author husband, Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, co-authored "The FBI in Our Open Society," which was released for sale in 1969 and concluded that the FBI has capably and properly stood as a defense of law and the rights of citizens. The Bureau has

Monroe to Moore memo

RE: MRS. BONARO W. OVERSTREET

maintained a cordial relationship with the Overstreets over the years. Dr. Overstreet passed away in 1970. Mr. Kelley by letter dated 3-13-76, extended his best wishes for a quick and complete recovery to Mrs. Overstreet when she was hospitalized for a heart attack. Mrs. Overstreet, by letter 4-18-76, expressed a desire to meet the Director; and, by letter 4-24-76, Mr. Kelley agreed to such a meeting on a mutually convenient date. Records indicate that Mrs. Overstreet met with Mr. Kelley on 6-29-76 at FBIHQ. Possibly, at that meeting Mrs. Overstreet mentioned extending a dinner invitation to Mr. Kelley at a future date. There is no record of Mrs. Overstreet meeting with Mr. Kelley in July, 1976.

"Devastatingly informed"

**HARRY & BONARO
OVERSTREET**

authors of *The Strange
Tactics of Extremism*

THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY

MAR 13 1969

SECOND LARGE PRINTING
BEFORE PUBLICATION

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

gton Post _____
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ork Times 37 _____
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World _____
Leader _____
Street Journal _____
nal Observer _____
World _____
(Washington) _____

14 1969

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170 MAR 12 1969

HARRY and BONARO OVERSTREET

present a thorough, unbiased, always fascinating report on the FBI in all its areas of activity. What is the truth about the FBI and the civil rights movement? The FBI and organized crime? The FBI and Communism? The FBI and the Warren Commission Report? The FBI and applicants for Federal posts? Does the Left appraise J. Edgar Hoover accurately? Does the Far Right? Here, at last, is a book which gives full, impartial answers to every question about the FBI's policies and practices and its significance for our democracy.

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for anyone who writes or speaks about the FBI — there is really no excuse now for an honest critic to entertain rumor or gossip when such a wealth of truths and facts are there in **THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY**. And it is important reading for anyone who is interested in the safety of our republic and the continuance of its freedom.” —HELEN MACINNES

“Provocative and rewarding...

I suggest three kinds of people who will find the Overstreets' **THE FBI IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY** provocative and rewarding: (1) those who distrust and hate the FBI; (2) those who trust and esteem the FBI; (3) those who are indifferent to it. I doubt if anybody can be indifferent to this devastatingly informed book.”

—ROSCOE DRUMMOND

“Enlightening, highly useful...

There is no clear understanding, even among supposedly sophisticated Americans, of what the FBI is and is not. This book makes that clear. It is an enlightening and highly useful book. It provides a service that ought to be widely appreciated.” —LEONARD R. SUSSMAN, Executive Director, Freedom House

“Much-needed...

It is a great book because with vibrant writing and calm facts it sets the record straight.” —MORRIS L. ERNST

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Central Research Sect

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 McGuire _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

These Days An Unwise Feud

By George E. Sokolsky

IT WOULD SEEM that among anti-Communists there is always a little feud as to who is more anti-Communist than the others, and which one was first in discovering the grand conspiracy and who is absolutely pure and sincere in his opposition, and who understands strategy and tactics.



Sokolsky

The current quarrel is over a book by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet on "What We Must Know About Communism." To anti-Communists, the Overstreets are converted liberals who belatedly discovered the truth. Precisely what difference the lateness or earliness of the discovery makes is a bit difficult to understand. It seems to me that the return of a prodigal is a great gain and no one can deny that the contributions of Whitaker Chambers or Arthur Koestler to the fight on Marxism have been as great and as sacrificial as anybody's.

When the Overstreet book appeared, I praised it because it is competently written and

will serve to reach a class of Americans who distrust many of those whom they describe as reactionaries. Some anti-Communists have been so stodgily fanatical that they have been rejected by those whom they most wish to reach, namely, the youth of this country. And if that is not their purpose, what is their purpose?

THERE IS A POINT to be made about book-reviewing. Assuming that a man's mind and ideas and experience grow, there is no advantage in starting to review one book and then saying, "Hark! But he said something quite different five or 10 years ago." Suppose he did, let's thank the Lord for belated wisdom!

The "National Review" takes the position that it is an exaggeration to say that the Overstreet book is the best that has been written against communism from the liberal point of view. A writer in that publication calls attention to the work of Sidney Hook and the writers for the "New Leader" as having done the same job better. That, of course, is a matter of taste, but it is also unimportant. Sidney Hook and the "New Leader" reach a certain

audience, and the Overstreets reach another audience and both are valuable. If the Overstreets reach a larger audience, to an anti-Communist their work must be valuable.

Anti-communism springs from many sources. Perhaps one of the strongest streams of opposition often represented in the thinking of the National Review is the Roman Catholic moral position which views the materialism, the pragmatism of Marxism as an evil equivalent to the anti-Christ, but there are also social scientists, economists, historians and natural scientists who are opposed to Marxism for other than moral reasons. Are they to be rejected in this great battle by sectarianism? There are anti-Communists who oppose what the Russians are doing on the basis of undiluted patriotism; they prefer the American way of life and require no philosophic position to justify their stand. And there are those who dislike the way the Russians go about things. That is enough justification for them to be anti-Communists.

(Copyright, 1959, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

The Washington Post and Times Herald *A-13*
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 Date *8/12/59*

NOT RECORDED
149 AUG 13 1959

57 AUG 14 1959

4

*for
Bumby
D. J. [unclear]
P. 2*

WHAT WE MUST KNOW

ABOUT COMMUNISM

Stakes in Cold War: Liberty Under Law, Individual Rights

THE HOUSTON POST
5/21/59
Houston, Texas

17
JUN 4 1959

100-14575-7-
NOT RECORDED
133 JUN 2 1959

Reprinted from "What We Must Know About Communism" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright 1958 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

By **HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET**
DESIGN FOR COMMITMENT (CONT'D)

Here are certain matters that are at stake in the Cold War that is not peace: The principle of liberty under law; respect for the integrity and uniqueness of the individual; the right to enact friendliness and compassion as broadly and spontaneously as our own stage of emotional growth makes possible; the right to apply moral judgments, not merely political judgments, and to assume moral responsibility for our own actions; and the right to learn what we need to know in order to make our enactment of freedom a living proof that freedom is the proper condition for our human selves.

THESE STAKES are not psychological museum pieces. The rights which we affirm for ourselves and others are designed for use in the open market places of man's society. We have, therefore, a stake in certain methods as well as in basic principles.

In the first place, we have a stake in the very method of "reformism" which all Communists from Marx down have despised and deprecated. To them, "reformism" has meant doing just enough to ward off the necessity of doing what should be done. They have seen it thus because they have conclusively "known" what should be done. Believing themselves possessed of a total answer to social ills, they have rejected the thesis that

this ideological answer can co-exist with any other except on a temporary and tactical basis. Also, being under no moral compulsion to respect the rights or the lives of persons outside one favored class, they have been able to want total revolution in behalf of their total answer.

FOR OURSELVES, in contrast, "reformism" has meant going as far in action as we have, to date, gone in insight. Claiming no total answer, we have claimed instead the right to keep the future open and to discover answers on a broad front without our search for these being restricted by arbitrary power.

"Reformism" has meant growing in our awareness of what needs to be done next by doing what we see to do, and then moving beyond this. If reform has the gradualness of evolution, not the swiftness of revolution, it has, also, we believe, the soundness of organic growth.

WE HAVE a stake, likewise, in a second method which the Communists have condemned: Parliamentarism. This, as we are here using the term, is not a political concept only. More basically, it has to do with the right of human beings to have their point of view represented wherever their basic welfare is at issue; and it expresses our common faith that social problems are best worked out in the long run, by the pooling of insight and experience across lines of difference—not by totalitarian edict that tolerates no dissent.

FURTHER, we have a stake in what we have called federalism. Again, we would say, this must be regarded as

far more than a political concept. It has to do with the existence—and the peaceful co-existence—of many different experiment centers within society.

Reform, the parliamentary process, federal structure: Communism cannot tolerate any one of these three, and a free society needs all of them. It needs them because they provide for getting things done while keeping the future open.

THE COMMUNISTS continue to declare, in Lenin's words, that "the only choice is: Either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course...." They continue to declare that "humanity has not created a 'third' ideology...." We must learn to say to the peoples of the earth, with their many different cultures, that they need not choose between the Soviet brand of Communism and our particular brand of capitalism; nor between the "monolithic state" represented by the USSR and our particular type of democratic state.

We must learn to say to them that the mind of man is more socially ingenious than the Communists give it credit for being; that the planet is large enough for many experiment centers, many trial-and-error learnings, many points of view that deserve to be represented.

THE COMMUNISTS are telling the peoples of the backward countries that their quickest and surest course to a high standard of living is through the dictatorship of the proletariat. But so far the Soviet Union has chiefly demonstrated two things. The first is that a "monolithic

state," by wholly subordinating the individual to its own purposes, and wholly subordinating the present to the future, can coerce heavy industry into being.

The second is that when a country is "liberated" by Communism, it is forthwith subordinated, both politically and economically, to the Soviet Union.

TWO STATEMENTS that may well serve us as a conclusion. The first was made by a body of American scientists; the second by an American editor.

"Man is breaking with the past," said the scientists; "its limitations, and its safeguards. The prize is greater than ever before—and so are the risks. The question is not 'Do we like this?' The question is 'What role do the people of the United States wish to play in the drama of the future?'"

IT SEEMED almost as if in direct reply to this question that Editor Norman Cousins spoke. He was talking to an American forum about nuclear weapons and the acute crisis in our foreign policy created by these weapons. "The question is not what policy we should devise that seems to make sense for America alone but rather what policy makes sense in human terms."

These two statements, we believe, pose the issue as we now must see it: We Americans not only have a role to play but have one that is as wide as mankind. The scientists, obviously, in saying that man is "breaking with the past," were not calling for any total repudiation of the cumulative experience of man nor of the principles of respon-

sibility and relationship that have been distilled from this experience.

THEY WERE not, in short, advocating the type of break with the past which Communism seeks to enact in the name of Marx's theory of the state. That theory which contends that the only way to better the human lot is to replace one owning class by another; and that when this replacement has been made, all the codes and institutions of society must be changed to support the regime inaugurated by the new power class—the new "dictatorship."

What the scientists were talking about is made explicit in their reference to limitations and safeguards. They were saying that man is breaking out of old confines and is taking a larger social and physical universe for his province. As we face the hazards and the promise of the future, we will need all that mankind has ever learned about the factors that release life for new growth.

WHAT WE are seeking to preserve and carry forward from liberty under law to multiple experiment centers is of great worth, not simply because it has served us well in the past, but because it can be stretched to serve the peoples of earth. The emphasis of the two statements we have quoted is on inclusiveness.

The age ahead is to be one of a new compelling morality. An age in which the powerful can survive only if they care enough about what happens to "the least of these" to exact mercy, justice, and humility.

NEXT: Design for Commitment (Continued).

Birchers Tactics Cited

By ANN WOOD

Star Staff Writer

To the John Birch Society "education" means the same thing as the Communists mean by "indoctrination," author and lecturer Harry Overstreet said last night.

Speaking with his wife before the YWCA seminar on public affairs on "The Strange Tactics of Extremism," he pointed out that both the extreme right and left "begin with an answer" and "downgrade their opposition." The society claims to be educational, but only presents its own viewpoint, they said.

The Overstreets asked the dinner audience of about 200 how many had read the John Birch Society Blue Book. When few hands were raised, they recommended that everyone read it. Understanding the methods of the society is valuable preparation for dealing with its tactics, they said.

Some of these tactics, which any organization with "wide open membership" must guard against to avoid becoming dominated by the John Birch Society, were borrowed directly from the Communists, the Overstreets said.

Infiltration into such positions as program chairman of a parent-teacher association by a John Birch Society member would mean that he would determine who the members would have, as speakers, they pointed out.

The speakers declared that Birch members also have been able to pass important resolutions by outstaying the majority of the membership at civic meetings. To prevent measures being "rushed through" late in the evening, a policy of introducing resolutions at one meeting for action at the next can be adopted, they said.

The tactic of using "pseudo documentation" was described as lending an "air of authority" to the book, "None Dare Call it Treason."

Individual attacks may come in the form of "character assassination" or phone calls in middle of the night, the speakers said.

Periodicals which print article critical of the society have had their advertisers

besieged by mail from Birchers, they added.

The Overstreets advised the women to "keep in touch with the press" in their efforts to

protect freedom of expression. "The press is in itself a democratic institution," they said.

Closing speaker of the four-

day seminar tomorrow will be Mrs. Mary D. Keyserling, director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. She will speak on New

Horizons for Women at 10:30 a.m. in the Interdepartmental Auditorium, Constitution Avenue between 12th and 13th Streets.

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Callahan _____
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The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star 312 _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Baltimore Sun _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
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American Opinion
Volume II No. 9
October 1959

Article

What we must know
about Overstreet
by Edward ~~X~~ JAMES
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OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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 Mr. Belmont _____ ()
 Mr. DeLoach _____ ()
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 Miss Gandy _____ ()

See Me _____ ()
 Note and Return _____ ()
 Prepare Reply _____ ()
 For Your Recommendation _____ ()
 What are the facts? _____ ()

Remarks:

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

EUROPEAN SURVEY

William S. Schlamm

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT

A Regular Feature

WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT OVERSTREET

Edward Janisch



A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Revilo P. Oliver

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume II Number 9

OCTOBER 1959

50¢

AMERICAN OPINION

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September 10, 1959

Dear Reader:

If you receive more than one copy of this issue, please do not think that we have become wasteful.

For the first time in many months we are using some "outside" lists, in a drive to expand our circulation. And as any of those beleaguered souls who publish magazines will tell you, it is far cheaper to send out extra copies than to cull the duplications.

So we hope you will simply pass on that extra copy, if you get one, to some friend—if you have one. And there is more sadness than humor in that conditional premise. For if you care enough about what is really happening, to be a subscriber to this magazine, the chances are that many of your former friends now ignore your existence.

This is not because they *think* you are wrong, however, but because—deep down inside—they *know* you are right. The human mind will use every conceivable dodge and defense to keep from being awakened out of the euphoria of self-deception. When events are increasingly proving a person wrong, it is much more self-convincing for him to be wrong at the top of his voice and with rising anger.

But when Washington turns out *ten* brass bands and two Eisenhowers, to greet Khrushchev at the airport, with cameras grinding to flood the whole world with pictures of this greatest Communist triumph since 1917, something has to give. The delusion that our government is still run by loyal Americans has become too difficult for even a brainwashed moron to hang onto in his own thoughts. So maybe this is a good time to give a friend a copy of *American Opinion*.

Or even a subscription.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch.

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WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT OVERSTREET

by

EDWARD JANISCH

FEW BOOKS ON Communism have been favored with the bright publicity that has surrounded the Overstreets' *What We Must Know About Communism*. The late Mr. Dulles recommended that the President read it. Newspaper and TV pictures followed, showing Eisenhower with the book in his hand. With such high endorsement to help, the book has gone through many printings. Some metropolitan dailies have run it in installments. An inexpensive paperback edition of this "masterful study of Communism" has been prepared for use as a college text. And the ghost of Stalin must be whispering to Khrushchev, "for this, there should be dancing on our side of the street."

I say this because Overstreet, over the years, has lent his name to Communist causes and his pen to a program of softening us to the threat of the conspiracy. His recent book on Communism does not, in my opinion, represent a departure from the general line of his leftist thinking, except for a clever surface attack, on Communism. The book is dynamite for the unsuspecting general reader who may pick it up as a guide to Communism because of the official fanfares of praise he has heard. If what I say sounds alarmist, it is because I intend that it should. What we must know about Overstreet is just as alarming as what we must *really* know about Communism.

Harry Allen Overstreet, retired pro-

fessor and chairman of the philosophy department at City College of New York, and now lecturer and writer on psychology, mental health, adult education, and communism, has fostered in his writings a materialistic outlook that has ranged from orthodox Marxism to cultural relativism. It is Overstreet who fathered the notion of the "mature mind." If you agree with his radical beliefs, you are "mature." If, on the other hand, you are one of those *backward souls* who believes in God, love of country, free enterprise, investigations of Communism, and if you have other similar attitudes respected by the overwhelming majority of Americans, then you are "immature"; and quite possibly, according to Professor Overstreet, you are on the road to mental illness. What I have said is not *my* imagination running wild. It is the core of Overstreet's thinking, made abundantly clear for anyone who will take the trouble to read even a few of his books. Some of them are: *The Enduring Quest* (1931), *A Declaration of Interdependence* (1937), *The Mature Mind* (1949), *The Great Enterprise* (1952); and those books written jointly with his wife, Bonaro Overstreet, *The Mind Alive* (1954), *The Mind Goes Forth* (1956), and the recent, *What We Must Know About Communism* (1958).

All of these books have had wide circulation. But I must caution the prospective reader. Overstreet is as slick and slippery as an Owen Lattimore. His

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writings are one of the little webs which, along with many other webs, the Communists weave together to make up the Big Lie of their total web of deception. He does his work with half-truth, glittering generality, misplaced emphasis, significant omission, and other tricks that mark the prolific popularizer and propaganda hack. The trained reader, however, who is able to find his way through the silver linings into the dark clouds themselves, will soon see that what appear on the surface of Overstreet's writings to be the grandiose schemes of a super-idealist are, in fact, rank examples of leftist propaganda.

II

A SAMPLE OF THIS master of confusion at work might serve as a good introduction to his background. Professor Overstreet writes in *The Mind Alive*, 1954, that he and his wife recently "had occasion . . . to try to clear up, not only for the record but for our own minds, certain tenuous associations one of us had a decade or more ago with several groups that were later shown to be tainted by Communist infiltration . . . we went to Washington and to the office of one individual who . . . was known for his 'toughness toward anything that savored of Communism. We put our problem to him—particularly with regard to one organization which we could only vaguely place but that he told us had been practicing a calculated subversion even at the time when one of us had unsuspectingly signed one of its petitions. He laid the facts before us—and they were striking enough to make us feel abashed . . ."

Here is indeed a touching picture of

injured innocence, painted with tears. But it is highly deceptive. Before I deal with those "tenuous associations," I should like to skim over the social philosophy of poor, unsuspecting, abashed Professor Overstreet.

His *Mature Mind*, 1949, had an unusually profound respect for Karl Marx, whose "piled up proofs" of the abuses of the economic processes "was a job well done." For Overstreet, this was a "triumph of logic," and Marx's "urgent demand that working men stop taking the economic order for granted was a bid for the increased use of the mind." It's unfortunate though, the professor tells us, that the "social regeneration" was to be accomplished by force. What, other than Marx's exhortation to revolution and violence, does Overstreet mean by "urgent demand?"

Karl Marx in his own lifetime would have been delighted to know what an American professor would proclaim in 1949: Our economic system uses fear as a weapon to such an extent that everywhere, men and women are terrified over the prospect of losing their jobs; the system is so bad as to cause a *dominant* fear by ten-year-old American children that their fathers will lose their jobs and end up on the industrial scrapheap. And that's not all. According to Overstreet: "Our strange economy has never been interested in the whole human being, but only in those aspects of his nature from which some monetary profit could be derived." Unsuspecting, "abashed" Overstreet is of the opinion that industry, business and some of the professions have acted as a conspiracy to prevent raising the standard of living, so that they could make bigger profits.

I don't want to belabor the point, but

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one of Overstreet's earlier ideas, penned in 1931, is as good an index of his thinking as any: "Until various sharp-eyed men of a more realistic turn saw through the pleasant sham, it was a prevalent habit to praise the workers as the salt of the earth and quote Scripture to them about the virtue of industry... In those days the simple workers, thus bedazzled, would fling up their caps and cheer lustily in honor of their own greatness and glory." Marx put it much more simply: "Religion is the opium of the people." And Lenin, another favorite of Overstreet, used the words, "spiritual gin." When the facts were laid before him, unsuspecting Dr. Overstreet felt "abashed."

III

WITH THIS AS BACKGROUND, it might be well to investigate those "tenuous associations" that Overstreet could only vaguely recall. After all, this man-of-the-mature-mind tells us in 1949, the "thing we can do to make clear the image of maturing is to associate ourselves with groups that promote maturing." He associated himself with the following nine Communist front organizations, stretching from the 1930's to August, 1950:

Member, New York Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, as shown on letterheads dated September, 1939 and December, 1939. Signer of petition, January, 1940; sponsor, according to a leaflet, of a Rally held in April, 1940.

The Daily Worker, August, 1950 reported that Overstreet had signed a statement against denaturalization is-

sued by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. This Committee had been officially listed *as subversive a number of years before Overstreet lent it his support.*

Signed a public statement of the American Committee to Save Refugees. Again, this Committee had been officially declared subversive *before Overstreet gave it his support.*

Professor Overstreet was listed on the letterhead of the Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, February, 1938; also, he was Committee member of the Medical Bureau, American Friends (see their letterhead, November, 1936; *New Masses*, January, 1937).

Member of Descendants of the American Revolution, as shown by the *Daily Worker*, February, 1939. Also named as sponsor on the pamphlet, "Descendants of the American Revolution."

Signed circular for Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Signer, 1943, of message of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to United States House of Representatives. *Again, this front was listed before Overstreet lent it his support.*

Signer of a letter sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee, October, 1944. *Again, this front was listed before Overstreet lent it his support.*

"Children in Concentration Camps" reveals that Professor Overstreet was

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a sponsor of the Spanish Relief Campaign.

Surely there is nothing "flimsy" or "slight" — or *tenuous* — about so impressive a background of Communist front associations. And when Overstreet writes "associations of . . . a decade or more ago," he apparently does not mean, by "decade," ten years. What of his claim that several groups "were later shown to be tainted by Communist infiltration?" A quick check of the list will show that American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, American Committee to Save Refugees, The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, The Schappes Defense Committee — *all of these*, as we have indicated above, *were listed before Dr. Overstreet lent them his services*. Some one is telling tales, and it is not the public record.

In sum, what Overstreet wrote in *The Mind Alive*, 1954, is a calculated mis-statement of the facts; the "associations" were specific, not "tenuous"; the "decade or so ago" omits his more recent activities; and the "later shown to be Communist-tainted" is a bold fairy tale.

Dr. Overstreet fails to mention, in *The Mind Alive*, that six months earlier, on July 21, 1953, he had filed an affidavit with the House Un-American Activities Committee at *his own* request. He did this, he claims in the affidavit, to set the record straight, and because patriotic groups were disturbing his lecture plans in California and Arizona. Possibly the Professor had other reasons for attempting to "purify" himself, but he has not made them public.

His reasoning in the affidavit is well

worth a close examination, and it is just as loaded as the statement on "tenuous associations."

Dr. Overstreet states that he has never been a Communist or a sympathizer with Communist tactics or philosophy, except for a brief hope that the Russian Revolution might lead to democracy in Russia. Also, that he never knowingly helped a movement or organization that had Communist aims. Can it be that this educated man, this professor of philosophy and psychology, this nation-wide lecturer, this "mature" mind, who is mentioned nine times as lending his name to Communist causes, did so *all nine times* without knowing what he was doing? Yes, he tells us, and without blushing.

He tells us that one of the reasons why he made these "mistakes" was because he was "profoundly aware of the rising menace of fascism," but that he was not "in any equal measure aware of communist infiltration." Our *new expert* on Communism adds, that when appeals came to him that sounded humanitarian, he had "little or no suspicion that they might be communist." How much, Professor Overstreet, is a "little?" Further, since his retirement at CCNY, he has led a "nomadic life," lecturing all over the country. Hence, he reacted to these organizations on "cursory" information. A most immature thing for a mature mind to do. Besides, claims Overstreet, as if to clinch his argument, in his writings he has consistently "stated and restated (his) confidence in our American way of life." This should prove that he was not favoring Communism. In this double talk Professor Overstreet could hardly have been referring to his passage on "Our strange economy," which

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is a good example of his "confidence" in our way of life.

The specific reasons he offers for lending his name to the Communist fronts include: A number of names on a list were so impressive, he thought this reason enough to sign; a petition sounded convincing; he always tends to contribute to refugee causes; for the Spanish fronts, he had a complete belief and he was "very tardy and reluctant" about changing his mind on these; some strangers came to his hotel room and asked him if he would like to join a group more liberal than the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, and he said yes; he hated Schappes, a fellow teacher, and felt guilty about it, so he signed the petition to make sure he was being fair.

Time won't permit a detailed analysis of all of these tenuous excuses, but I do want to examine his statement on the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Here, he signed a Communist protest against the proceedings of the Dies Committee, and he adds, "I still feel that the House Committee hearings *as they were being conducted at that time* called for protest." Professor Overstreet adds that, "almost up to the present" he had underestimated Communist infiltration; hence, he did not see the need for the Committee.

The reader might get the impression that Overstreet is talking about the 1930's. I shall show shortly that one of the most savage attacks in either English or Russian was made by Overstreet, not only against the Hon. Martin Dies, but against the Committee in general, and "McCarthyism," in 1952! When Overstreet tells us in his affidavit of 1953 that he has now "definitely" changed his mind, he is using

Newspeak or his personality has undergone shock treatment—and I do not think it is the latter.

Professor Overstreet explains that "there may seem to be a discrepancy between my prolonged self-searching . . . and my signing . . . of petitions that I did not investigate at all. I can only say that . . . I was not yet suspicious of Communist infiltration of humanitarian causes." Seem to be? This is more calculated nonsense! These are listed *Communist fronts*, pure and simple, and *not* "humanitarian causes."

For what it's worth, our new expert on Communism ends his 1953 affidavit by stating: "I am no longer in doubt about the Communist threat." To show his good faith, he indicates that he testified before a Senate Committee, where he stated that Communists ought not teach; and, that he is writing a book about the psychological threat Communism poses. And woe to us from that book and the others he has written.

IV

OVERSTREET QUOTED from his own writings to demonstrate to *his* personal satisfaction that he had never been sympathetic to Communism. I shall use this method to examine his writings from 1949 to the writing of his book on *Communism* in 1958. From an examination of themes from *his* books, the reader can decide to what purposes Professor Overstreet has been sympathetic.

(1) First, though the order is not important, he *savagely denounces Congressional investigations of Communism: and, later, he steadily minimizes their work to nothingness*. Dr. Overstreet in 1952, shortly before he filed his affidavit with the House Un-American Activities Committee, wrote one of the

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most vicious attacks on Congressional investigations ever printed. He pictures the Hon. Martin Dies as a malicious reactionary, who has used the cover of a feigned Communist threat to smash liberal ideas, and all ideas. Similarly, Overstreet finds "McCarthyism" a "ruthless" imitation of the techniques of totalitarianism. The professor charges that the House Committee, "far from guarding our nation against subversives," has used the trust of the American people "to subvert certain American freedoms . . . It has been able, in an alarming degree, to terrorize non-conformity into silence." Venom-spewing Overstreet insists that the Committee's practices "had been a favorite method of totalitarianism." The hearings "appear" to be imitating "the mass trials of Communist China (where) thousands of the accused were disposed of by the roar of the 'People's' Court—Kill—Kill—Kill!"

That is what Overstreet wrote in 1952. The discerning reader will not be amazed by the shifts and dodges concocted in *The Mind Alive*, two years later, 1954, where the professor piously tells us that, in 1952, he and his wife sat at a Senate Internal Security Committee Hearing and observed some cynical Communists "actually" using obstructionist tactics. It doesn't take "abashed" Overstreet long to get back to his line. The trouble is, he writes, these Committees were "amateurishly set up," because we are all amateurs to this "age of conspiracy," and, "the type of person to be hunted out and exposed was so vaguely defined that wide latitude was given to ignorance, prejudice, partisan animosity, political ambition, and/or the publicity hunter. Also, because the methods to be used

were so unprecedented, proper safeguards were not provided "against harming the innocent." What is the difference between this double talk and his vicious slander in 1952?

Overstreet next quickly gets rid of the various government listings with a slick discourse on: "What kind of research has preceded the listing? Does it mean . . . ?" And with a host of similar absurd questions, unsuspecting, duped Overstreet demonstrates that listings are subject to error and no answer to the Communist threat. Loyalty oaths go the same way. And he writes that the alternative to government investigations "is an effective inside program for preventing Communist infiltration."

This man who himself claims that he was duped, and who allegedly would not himself read the reports citing the Communist fronts to which he lent his name, is now asking citizens to do *their own* policing and to read about Communism.

His line two years later, in 1956, cautions us against "cynical Communists," and at the same time warns us against "subverting the constitution by using words such as 'Fifth Amendment Communist.'" In 1958 the House Committee is not mentioned, in what purports to be a guide to *what we must know about Communism*, except in *one* sentence, where the Committee is included among an assortment of groups that have said that Negroes are loyal.

Is it necessary to mention that Overstreet stated in his 1953 affidavit to the House Committee that he has "definitely changed his mind," and now recognizes the necessity for the Committee to investigate "undercover subversion" of the Conspiracy "on a full time

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basis?" Maybe it is. He changes his supposed views so rapidly, so cleverly, and so boldly that you need a guide to keep up with him.

(2) A second important theme in Professor Overstreet's writings is his systematic *attack on anti-Communists, whom he likens to hate-mongers, fascists, and — especially — personality disorder cases.* The reader will remember that Overstreet stressed in his affidavit, 1953, that he has consistently "stated and restated" his "confidence in our American way of life." Let's look at some more of that "confidence," *à la Overstreet*, in 1949: "Political authoritarianism is now in such full swing," (that) "while a man looks silly kicking a chair, he can,—our political assumptions being what they are—look brave, loyal, and patriotic kicking an enemy who has been officially labelled 'kickable'." The Professor adds that if the man "kicks hard enough . . . he may even be appointed to office or receive a monthly stipend from his government." Freedom is slavery, and Orwell's ghost might well consult Overstreet to get the proper *Newspeak* that equals "confidence" in this age of brave, new experts on Communism.

Dr. Overstreet uses "psychology" as a weapon for his smear attacks on patriots. *Character structure* is a key phrase in his arsenal, and from 1949 on, the professor insists that there is something deficient or defective in the character or personality structure of Americans who are resolute in their fight against Communism.

Thus, in 1952, Overstreet whined that he and his ilk who "saw hope in the Russian Revolution," and who cared about "injustice," were now being hounded by patriots who were skeptical

of his dodges. More often than not, Overstreet claims, these *hounders* were satisfied with "prevailing inhumanities; or were ignorant of them; or were morally indifferent to them . . . They hate communism . . . much as communism hated fascism and Nazism." Sly Overstreet cautions his readers to: "*Beware of the wolves in our midst in anti-Communist clothing.*" All of this "hostility" and "disguised totalitarianism," claims the professor, is a conspiracy, not to root out subversives, but to "smash the liberals." And if you don't know this, you're "a lamb among the wolves. *And what are we among the Overstreets?*"

Dr. Overstreet wages the same psychological warfare in 1954, as he smashes out at the determined efforts of patriots by labelling them "exaggerated expressions of personality problems; as hostility and frustration on the rampage; as deep emotional insecurity venting itself."

The line doesn't change with time. In 1956 he simply has found more "scientific evidence" for his former notions on *authoritarian personalities* and *sick anti-Communists*. By 1958, our new what-have-you-in-Communist-expert-clothing has it that the "majority" of anti-Communists "are still inventing the Communism to which they are opposed: fashioning it out of what they have hated and feared in the American scene." Please note the use of the word "majority"—*Overstreet has not been attacking some lone crank or disgruntled clique.*

(3) The first two themes eliminated Congressional investigations of Communism and the vigilant work of private citizens. The next important theme represents one of Overstreet's *solutions*

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to the problem of Communism. Dr. Overstreet would "*enlighten*" his readers about the Communist Conspiracy, but then tell them that "*understanding, not tough laws, is the way to deal with it.*"

The time is 1952, as he asks: "Has the reader had the uncanny experience of being called a Communist because he has expressed a liberal view?" A few of Overstreet's liberal views in that year include his denunciation of security procedures for obtaining passports (the professor must be happy on that score today), and his belief that loyalty oaths are an imitation of "Communist methods" and an infringement on personal rights "so long as (the person) performs no *acts* that go counter to the laws of the land." They further include such a "liberal view" as that the way to resolve the conflict with Russia is through "contacts with cultures" or that we must achieve "the toleration of certain minimal differences within even the most tyrannical culture, with all such toleration implies in the way of the re-animation of men's minds." *Let's all get re-animated with a certain minimal amount of Communism.*

Overstreet in 1954 alerts us to the "new and startling story we are beginning to learn." "We must do something," to counter this "'real and present danger.'" But contrary to the Court, which used '*real and present*' instead of *clear and present danger*, to show that conspiracy to initiate a revolution when the time is ripe is a grave crime, Overstreet orders our common defense as follows: "The program does not invite us to do enough things to the enemy directly and forcibly." Rather, we are supposed to "do things to ourselves" — whatever that double

talk means —that will make us less vulnerable to a "Conspiratorial Communist." Overstreet tells us that a "direct hitting out" at Communism is a "dubious contribution." It's rather strange that Professor Overstreet can use the *real and present danger* language of the Court, and still recommend that we defend ourselves by doing nothing about Communism.

But it's not strange that Overstreet's 1954 "*real and present danger*," becomes a chapter on "Clear and Present Danger" in 1956. The double talk was no longer necessary by then. The professor now tells us that we must do the opposite of the "extremist" and adopt "the far more exacting and lonely tactics of the moderating mind." This means "respecting the established habits and attitudes, vested interests, traditions, and deep loyalties of the individuals and groups on both sides of a given issue." We ought to invite both sides to think of these issues "as able to be modified." After all, writes Overstreet, the position on a given issue is "partly, rather than absolutely right," and it is a product of "human history rather than 'nature.'" Isn't Dr. Overstreet saying, let's *respect* Communism, and *modify* our stand? After all, we're only partly right, and besides, our belief in natural principles will fall to pieces once we accept the human history concept of Marxism.

(4) The '*we're only partly right*' tactic of Overstreet goes back to his *Mature Mind*, 1949, and serves as a key to the next interwoven theme: *Seek understanding and agreement with the Soviet Union*. Despite the Communist gobbling up of Eastern Europe, he tells us not to adopt the "we-are-good-and-you-are-not-so-good" attitude in dealing

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with Russia.

In 1952, Dr. Overstreet gives us the startling news that the Soviet Regime has murdered upwards of 3,000,000 peasants (how modest he is with his statistics). But before long he advises us that people are never as bad or as good "as the doctrines they profess." It would be a "great mistake" to believe that "all of the Russian government" is "irrevocably committed in practice to the wholly collectivised man." And I think it would be a fatal mistake to believe Overstreet.

Professor Overstreet's defense program in that year of the Korean war called for "weakening the enemy from within" . . . making his resistance less because he finds less he is called upon to resist . . . we are fighting, "not an immutable doctrine called communism but mutable people who call themselves communists."

Two years later, in 1954, Dr. Overstreet writes approvingly that in Korea "the way to settlement is being sought *without either side having won.*" It is not surprising that he is pleased that we were fighting a war we were not permitted to win. What is needed, Overstreet tells us, is participation in United Nations projects that foster "mutual respect." He isn't, of course, referring to a police action.

And what is our mature mind thinking in 1956? Nuclear developments are such "that the *danger inherent in war* now precludes the *danger of there being a war.*" This new tactic of his, throwing a smoke cloud over the Kremlin's clear plan to use military stratagems and pre-emptive wars, depending on the chance of success, should be watched closely. The thing to do in this cold war, which Overstreet *insists*

will not get hot, is to work through the United Nations for "mutual understanding rather than . . . proud stand-pattism." Our "weapons" will be "ideas" and "patterns of human relationships." Overstreet's line doesn't change one bit in *What We Must Know About Communism*, in 1958.

(5) Now that we've got rid of every imaginable program of defense against Communism, and realize that our best defense is "mutual understanding," we might consider briefly the fifth theme from Overstreet which I have selected: *Renunciation of patriotism for world citizenship.*

Harry Allen Overstreet has no room in his heart for singular love of his country. He attacks patriotism as if it were a disease. In 1949 he tells us that "an emotional tie-up" with our own group, so that we think it is more right and reasonable than other groups, makes us "hostile." Dr. Overstreet especially denounces our political institutions for making us "hostile," and for shouting "treason" at those who are trying to build the "supra-ethnic mind."

In 1952, the professor lauds "the mature individual" whose "voice and vote can be enlisted in opposition to the chauvinistic nationalism and in support of the more genuine patriotism of a united mankind." Two years later, it is the same thing, only more so. Now, our "good-will" ought to include even the "enemy"; unlike the "emotionally disturbed individual" who is against the unfamiliar and the foreign, we need the "extraordinary health and faith" of a "sense of the species."

In 1956 Overstreet spells out precisely what he means by "one world." "Why," he asks, "should we lock ourselves up

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with our tight walls of national suspicion—glaring at one another—when we might have a far better time of it by talking things over together; getting the hand of one another's problems; lending a hand?" *Lending a hand (tenuously?)*.

This brief picture I've developed — and it *is* brief in relation to all of the things Overstreet has said and written — represents the background of our new expert on Communism. His past record is enough to alarm even the most forgiving and gentle nature.

But what is truly fantastic, is that Professor Overstreet could take his former leftist notions, plus some deadly new ones, and boldly throw them into a book on Communism that has won the approval of our top policy-makers.

V

ANOTHER GENERATION—if we are still free—may well remember the Overstreets' *What We Must Know About Communism*, as a stupendous attempt that was designed to soften us at the very hour of our crisis. I say this, because the book attempts to make palatable certain notions which would, if accepted by large numbers of Americans, render us helpless in the face of the onslaught of World Communism.

Here is a book on Communism in which not one of J. Edgar Hoover's somber warnings is mentioned—(Overstreet mentions the F.B.I. chief as being opposed to outlawing the Party). Here's a book in which espionage, a major activity and purpose of the Party, gets less than a page of asides. In short, it is a book as conspicuous by what it omits as by what it includes. A brief examination of some of Overstreet's central ideas will show what I mean.

The first stick of dynamite planted by the professor is a "new look" for Khrushchev. The Red boss is a "leader of the Lenin type," who is opposed to a Stalinist cult-of-the-personality dictatorship. Good evidence of this is Premier Khrushchev's February, 1956 speech exposing Stalin. Actually, "Khrushchev adheres consistently and most strictly to the principles of collective leadership and fights energetically for the observance of the Leninist standards of Party life." *Every quotation in this paragraph is taken from the latest official Soviet biography of Khrushchev—and I have used it without fear because it summarizes concisely Professor Overstreet's position, and duplicates much of his language.*

The second phase of this "new look" is to picture "professional" Party-man Khrushchev as a "humane" sort of fellow who is opposed to using terror on a Stalinist scale, unless it is forced on him, as it was in Hungary, where he was protecting a vital interest of the Revolution. Thus, the Overstreets would have us believe that "No one, perhaps, has felt the brunt of Khrushchev's terror more decisively than have the Soviet writers." Hungarians, treated as an aside in this context, would hardly agree with Overstreet's estimate of Khrushchev's terror or its most likely target. They, as do countless millions of others, know him for the savage that he is.

What is the purpose of this "new look," which pictures Khrushchev as a humane, collective-type leader dedicated to Partyism? It is to show us that this "professional" does not want a hot war with us. This is Overstreet's second stick of dynamite.

Khrushchev wants to defeat us

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through economic competition, and only in this way, claims Dr. Overstreet. The Russians intend to win, the professor tells us, and this new type of "co-existence" is part of the "permanent revolution." Watch the tricks of propagandist Overstreet:

"It would be sheer folly, however, for us to think that such competition with the Soviet Union can be peaceful. Khrushchev has already made clear that he rates it as a non-shooting phase of the 'permanent revolution' . . ."

Please reread that statement. It is perfect Newspeak: It's folly to think that the competition can be peaceful; but it is non-shooting! Let me complete the quotation to show once more what we are up against with Overstreet.

"... This means that every positive policy we adopt, every creative program we set up for cultural exchange or foreign aid, *will be declared by the Soviet Union and all Communist Parties around the world to be a form of imperialism.*"

We'd like to have Professor Overstreet name for us just one Communist, of his acquaintance or otherwise, who is opposed to "cultural exchange"! No amount of build-up, with words like "positive policy" and "creative program," can alter the fact that "cultural exchange" is a dearly held Communist idea, never denounced. As to foreign aid, just where are the screams from Moscow about our aid to Tito, Gomulka, and Sukarno, among others?

It might be well to have Professor Overstreet sum up this second major notion of his: "Soviet Imperialism . . . is a specific product of the Khrushchev era of 'peaceful competition' and it represents one major aspect of the

USSR's effort to take over the world without the risks involved in open warfare." I could cite a dozen experts who are warning us about Soviet plans for limited war. [*And the very day this is being put in shape for the printer, the Communists are using armed forces in an attempt to take over Laos.* Editor.] The question to be asked is: *Why has Overstreet completely omitted military stratagems and force, the bolshevik standard tactics, as well as subversion and espionage, from his study?*

There are two possible answers. The first is, to soften us by giving us a dream world in which Communist tanks are absent. The second is what I consider to be the third stick of planted dynamite: *A demand that we negotiate and go to the Summit*—and by so doing, also give Khrushchev permanent title to Eastern Europe. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet insist that Khrushchev demands that the West respect the *status quo* in Eastern Europe at any Summit Conference. The Red leader will permit no discussion on the satellite countries, about whom we must forget. And what does our expert on Communism suggest?

"*We believe in negotiations.*" Dr. Overstreet insists that we negotiate "whenever there is hope of achieving even small dependable agreements." And he specifies that we dash off to the Summit.

Professor Overstreet, who knows all about these things, tells us that we must bargain with the Communists. And this *bargaining* "embodies both a respect for what each party has declared indispensable to *separate well-being* and what all parties have agreed on as indispensable to their *common well-being.*"

In short, we are to run to the Summit

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after telling Khrushchev we have no more interest in Eastern Europe; and then, at the Summit, we will see what more we can bargain away.

The fourth stick of dynamite—there are more, the ones I've selected are simply more glaring—deals with an old problem of Overstreet's: *Communist control*, (or should I say, "understanding?"). The professor has a huge dialectical discourse on the problem of what to do with "conspiratorial communists," but he resolves it all with a quotation: "Freedom for the wise is so supremely important that it is worth the price of making the silly free, too." We have remembered this comment because it expresses a point of view which most of us Americans profoundly cherish. It is in the spirit of this viewpoint that a great many anti-Communists have opposed all attempts to make any legal distinction between Communists and non-Communists in terms of freedoms to be exercised."

Does the reader know any anti-Communists who consider Communists to be "silly," or who have opposed making laws to protect ourselves? Because we mustn't legislate or investigate or apparently do anything about Communists, the professor tells us, "We as citizens, therefore, must equip ourselves to do *by understanding* what cannot be done *by law*." This is Overstreet's plan of defense.

The book ends with pleas for more "tenderness" and less hostility; for more rights for the "individual"; for "inclusiveness," rather than narrow national-mindedness; and with a plea to halt nuclear tests. Dr. Overstreet — fittingly, we think — quotes Norman Cousins:

"The question is not what policy we should devise that makes sense for America alone but rather what policy makes sense in human terms." Of course the nine hundred million enslaved subjects of the Soviet tyranny do not come within the "human terms" for consideration. Their condition, as simply Soviet cattle without human rights, is a *fait accompli* which has no bearing on American policy to be determined with regard for the whole human race.

VI

THE REPORT OF THE 1958 American Bar Association Special Committee On Communist Tactics, Strategy, And Objectives, listed the following among the major Communist Tactics:

Nullification of the Smith Act and other anti-Communist legislation
The Peace Offensive
Summit Conferences
Cultural Exchanges
Halt Nuclear tests

You will note that Professor Overstreet batted one thousand for the Communist objectives in that list. And you will already have noted that the Overstreets' most distinguished reader, President Eisenhower, has invited the humane and professional Party man, Khrushchev—with some twelve million coldblooded murders in his record — to a summit of the summits. The only surprise left for you is the fact that, in the latest editions of that same Bar Association Committee Report, Professor Overstreet's book appears in the bibliography as suggested reading. As the little boy said, when he heard the clock strike fourteen, "it's later than it has ever been before."

HOW COMMUNISM REMADE THE WORLD DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

THE LIBERATION OF ITALY

by

Luigi Villari, Jur. D.

The dean of Italian publicists and diplomatic historians, Dr. Villari has written the sequel to his authoritative work on *Italian Foreign Policy under Mussolini* (Devin-Adair). Of this definitive book, the reviewer in *Current History* wrote:

"Mr. Villari, who saw and interpreted the events of this period, does not throw any bouquets at the Italian Foreign Office with which he was associated, but tells the story from the Italian's point of view, presenting his facts with organized precision and offering an interesting picture of the political scene during this controversial period."

The Liberation of Italy brings the story down to date with the same "organized precision" in presenting the facts. Dr. Villari was an almost uniquely equipped and experienced eye-witness of the Allied "liberation" of Italy, and his whole book is entitled to rank as a documentary source for the period.

While the volume is devoted mainly to the Allied "liberation" of Italy following the deposition of Mussolini in July, 1943, it has much wider significance in that it presents the Italian experience against the broad background of world events and policies from 1939 to 1947.

It makes clear the manner in which Communist ideology, semantics, imperialistic aims, political biology and juristic euthanasia supplanted the quickly discarded Atlantic Charter as the basis and guidepost of Allied policy and procedure when Axis defeat was assured.

The book shows how the very term "Liberation" was derived from Communist propaganda and had been devised to disguise and ennoble Communist aggression in China, Spain, eastern Poland, Finland, the Baltic region, and the Balkans before June 22, 1941.

It reveals how Communist policies and demands dominated the "Summit Conferences" during the War and its aftermath, thus creating the Cold War and the threat of world-wide nuclear extermination which now hangs over the world.

Publicly announced by the Allied victors as a benevolent crusade to deliver oppressed peoples from tyranny, the actual "liberation" imposed a far more drastic tyranny over hundreds of millions who had previously been free from Axis dominion. It led to the wholesale massacre of hundreds of thousands of helpless and patriotic citizens of Germany, Italy, France, Poland, the Baltic area and the Balkans. Fifteen million Germans were expelled from their ancient homelands, some five million of them perishing as a result of murder, starvation and exposure. Millions of Japanese were driven out of Asia back into their already overcrowded island homeland.

In Italy, the "liberation" episode produced the revival of Communist power, with the special support of the United States, which later spent billions of dollars to bring Italian Communism under temporary and incomplete control. It also led to the freeing of the *Mafia*, whose agents were thus enabled to revive and extend their organized criminality on an international scale.

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WHAT WE MUST KNOW

ABOUT COMMUNISM

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Taking Stock of Our Strengths in the Long Battle Ahead

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By **HARRY AND BONARO**

OVERSTREET DESIGN FOR COMMITMENT

It will not be at the conference table alone that the free world will be required, in the period that lies ahead, to act on its hard-earned knowledge that Cold War is not peace. The rediscovery and reaffirmation of what we hold to be utmost worth will have to go on all across the board.

AS ISAIAH once heard in the temple the voice of the Lord saying, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" and replied, "Here am I; send me," so each of us is called upon to recognize that the challenge of our time is directed to him as an individual no less than to the organized society and embracing tradition which he calls his own.

"It is often said," Sidney Hook reminds us, "that democracies cannot successfully wage Cold Wars. They are not geared for it. They are

too self-critical. And the factions of normal political life sometimes regard each other with more hostility than the enemy at the gate. All this is true. But a democracy also possesses the virtues of its defects. Once it is informed, its voluntary discipline can accomplish more than columns that are dragooned into goose steps. It is tougher in crisis than its totalitarian enemies."

IT IS tougher in crisis—if it is aware that a crisis exists. But before our "voluntary discipline" can provide the cause of freedom with the support it needs, we as a people must know the nature of Communism deeply enough to know why it simply will not do as the controlling force of the future and must also know what we take to be the indispensable of a civil order. What are the elements of civilization which must not only be preserved but carried forward if we wish this earth to be a suitable home for the type of creature we take man to be?

LAW, CERTAINLY, is one such element; for where there is no law, the people perish

from the perversions of power. The designation of May 1, 1958, as the first Law Day, USA (by proclamation of the President) was a dramatically sound choice.

For while Khrushchev, in Moscow's Red Square, proclaimed the growing might of Communism to be the world's best safeguard against the "war aims" of Great Britain and the United States, Roscoe Pound, Dean Emeritus of the Harvard Law School, spoke a different language: "The law is the highest inheritance the sovereign people has, for without the law there would be no sovereign people and no inheritance."

ACROSS THE continent, other spokesmen—lawyers, judges, teachers of jurisprudence—affirmed this same truth in words of their own and in words borrowed from a tradition centuries old. There were great ghosts abroad that day: Hammurabi, Moses, Justinian, Blackstone, Coke, Marshall, Holmes; and there were great living advocates of law as a living force.

By their common testament, and by that of man's experience, law is not that which

coerces human beings who would otherwise be free; it is that which stands between human beings—even the least—and that which would otherwise coerce them, rob them of their freedom, force them to live in terror.

LAW, BY their common testament, moreover, is no static element in society. It changes as problems change, grows to keep pace with growing insight and conscience. Again and again that day, for example, jurists declared international law to be that which must come next on our human agenda. The essential thing, Roscoe Pound stated, is "a world regime of due process of law."

Significantly, speakers in a score of different places made note—some, almost with surprise—of the free world's resurgent interest in the moral content of law and in natural-law philosophies. The very attitudes, in brief, which fostered British Common Law and the American Constitution are again coming to the fore.

Judge Charles E. Wyzanski, of the United States District Court of Massachusetts, gave a reason: "No one trained in

the Anglo-American tradition, who paused to consider what law was as administered by Hitler's judges, or who has tried to grasp the essential theories of Soviet jurisprudence, could remain entirely satisfied with a positivist, empirical approach to his profession."

NO ONE, we would believe, whose mind has been shaped by the Anglo-American tradition—be he lawyer or layman—can become familiar with the terrible tawdriness of what passes for law within the Communist orbit and not feel obligated to rededicate himself to the spirit and practice of "liberty under law." Rigged trials, forced confessions, arrests for no specified reasons, the abolition of the writ of habeas corpus, the abolition of civil rights, secret police: These are the essence of terror; and these are the demonstrated essence of Communist class law. Also, therefore, they are a basic reason why Communism must not be permitted to extend its empire to embrace and have at its mercy—let other human beings.

NEXT: Design For Commitment (Continued).

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WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM

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Negotiating With Communists Is a Game With Its Own Rules

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By HARRY AND BONARO

OVERSTREET

NEGOTIATING WITH OUR EYES OPEN

While Warren Austin was heading our delegation to the United Nations, he was reported as having been taken to task, one day, by a disgruntled critic who complained that all they ever did in the United Nations was to talk, and as having countered with a question: "Would you rather we were shooting each other?"

MOST RATIONAL persons would regard this question as containing its own answer—and all the more conclusively so if it were rephrased to read, "Would you rather we were bombing each other?" As matters now stand in the sphere of armaments, we can assume that not only all the peoples of earth but all the heads of states—including the USSR—prefer words to bombs.

Thus, we can take it for granted that—barring some trigger incident which unleashes nuclear war—the era ahead will be one in which a vast amount of talk will go on. It will go on inside the United Nations and outside; and it a way of resolving problems.

ALL THIS being so, we as citizens owe a peculiar new

will go on across the line that divides the Communist world from the non-Communist.

A **SIGNIFICANT** portion of this talk will have to do with formal negotiations—at the summit or at some level below the summit. It will be talk that explores the feasibility of negotiations; talk that is equivalent to an approach to the council table or to a retreat from it; talk that shapes an agenda; finally, talk that takes place where the heads of State or their representatives sit down to wrestle with specified problems about which some measure of joint agreement has been deemed possible.

The United States will again and again be involved in this complex pattern of words instead of bombs. We, no less than any other people, have a survival stake in the avoidance of war. Also, we hold a position of power that makes us morally accountable to mankind.

We cannot, in conscience, refuse to negotiate wherever there is the slightest chance that even the slightest lowering of international tensions might be achieved. Beyond these reasons for our country's involvement, moreover, there is a third. It can be simply stated. We believe in negotiation. It makes sense to us as duty to our government. It is not enough for us to demand that it negotiate whenever the

USSR calls for a summit or pre-summit conference.

It is not enough, certainly, for us to join in the charge that our government is recalcitrant and even war-mongering because it does not hurry into negotiations where the USSR has refused even to allow on the agenda the very problems the resolution of which the West—and equally, of course, the anti-Communist East—counts basic to justice and peace.

OUR GOVERNMENT, we must hold in mind, owes us a double duty. Not only to negotiate wherever there is hope of achieving even small dependable agreements but also to avoid being trapped into pseudo-agreements that simply magnify danger—because all the good faith is on one side. We, therefore, owe it to our government to learn enough about the special difficulties and hazards involved in negotiating with the Communists that we will not demand pseudo-agreements.

We cannot learn what we here need to know by engaging our minds solely with foreground events. With what the latest Soviet note has proposed, and what our government has said in reply.

NEITHER CAN we simply translate our country's long experience in negotiating with non-Communist nations into an understanding of what it means to negotiate with the

USSR—or any other Communist nation. Least of all can we impose upon the vastly complex problem a simple faith that something good always happens where people just sit down and talk out their differences.

Within a shared frame of reference, this faith has many times over, removed both mountains and molehills of confusion and misunderstanding. But how shall those who represent our society—and our Western heritage, and our children's stake in this heritage—talk out their differences with those who have, on ideological ground, declared these to be irreconcilable?

What are the best and most honest hopes we can attach to negotiations under these circumstances? What false hopes must we guard against—lest these, disappointed, turn into either a blanket rejection of the whole conference method or into an uninformed denunciation of our own government, or of all the Western governments, for not accomplishing the impossible?

WE OWE it to those who must decide when and when not to enter into negotiations, and who must bear the brunt of Communist methods at the conference table, to become realists about the differences that can and cannot be talked out within the frame of "permanent revolution." This means that we must under-

stand both the Communist theory of negotiation and the tactics and stratagems which derive from it.

WE CANNOT possibly get the feel of how Communists negotiate unless we keep in mind the fact that they do not expect peace—or even a significant lowering of tensions—to result from anything that can take place at a conference table.

"... To Bolsheviks, high tension is the normal state of politics. They do not experience it as something that just cannot go on, but rather as something that necessarily persists. What Westerners call a 'real agreement' seems to Bolsheviks inconceivable. It is often predicted in the West that if particular issues... could be settled with the Politburo, an easing of the over-all tension might ensue. For Bolsheviks, this does not follow. There might be less 'noise,' but the basic situation—the presence of two blocs attempting to annihilate each other—would be unchanged."

FROM THE Communist point of view, in brief, the delegates to a conference do not merely represent their nations. Far more deeply, they represent one or the other party to the class struggle, and this is not a struggle which can, in any basic sense, be negotiated.

NEXT: Negotiating With Our Eyes Open (Continued)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM

Karl Marx's 'Infallible Science'

Predicted Violent Revolution As the Inevitable Result of Capitalism

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By HARRY AND BONARO
OVERSTREET

THE THEORY BEHIND THE SYSTEM

When the Bolsheviks seized power, in 1917, they seized also—as exclusively theirs to interpret, apply, and defend—against deviation—the “scientific socialism” of Marx and Engels. This, they expanded into the “science of Marxism-Leninism”; and thus equipped, set themselves to build a new society from scratch—on a foundation of “infallible” theory, not on a foundation of cumulative human experience. Further, they undertook to make this society not one among others but by world revolution, the arch-type of all human society.

Thus there has come about one of the strangest situations imaginable. We, today, who turn to our daily papers to find out what the current Communist leaders are doing—or proposing that we do—cannot read what is written between the lines unless we have some grasp of Marx's “scientific socialism.”

BY MARX'S DAY, Western humanitarianism had done its work well enough so that countless individuals felt both compassion and guilt when they saw fellow human beings reduced to misery and saw no way to set matters right. Yet no institution, religious or secular, seemed ready for an all-out attack on exploitation and poverty. Many persons, therefore, of good mind and conscience were emotionally at large. They went their way as lonely reformers. Or they joined one or another of the small, zealous groups which were organized, dissolved, and reorganized along the margins of the established order.

By Marx's day, again, capitalism had brought the production of material goods to a point where, for the first time in history, a decent standard of living for all began to seem within human reach; and it had bred a new type of worker. Exploited though he was,

The Houston Post
March 31, 1959
Houston, Texas

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100-114575-A
NOT RECORDED
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VBB J TARA

this worker did not look at his world with the eyes of a serf or slave. He was beginning to see himself as possessed of rights, and himself and his fellow workers as possessed of power.

WHAT CAPITALISM had not done, however, was to prove that it could or would produce economic justice. The workers' every gain, it seemed, had to be won not through the capitalistic order but in spite of those who controlled this order. Thus, paradoxically, the vision of a better future was the product of a system which seemed stubbornly set against delivering this future. Under these circumstances, many persons began to look for an alternative system on which to focus their hopes.

In physical science they saw unlimited promise. Yet, as often as not, they saw science treated as a mere adjunct of industry. Scientists themselves, moreover, preoccupied with segments of the physical world, sought no directive role with regard to broad human affairs. Even science, then, was disappointing to those who saw it as capable of great social ventures but as either held back from these by reactionary forces or simply holding aloof from them.

ENTER, KARL MARX—with what seemed like a creative fusion of humanitarianism and science. What Marx did, in effect, was to "prove" that while the going order could never rectify its own faults, its accomplishments need not be lost. These, with the dross all washed away in revolution, could be lifted up to a higher level where their intrinsic promise would be fulfilled.

Marx was a man consumed by what appeared to be humanitarian anger. Also, he was a man with a theory—dialectical and historical materialism—which seemed to bring all reality within one frame. This theory, for those who accepted it, both took the guesswork out of history—past, present, and future—and guaranteed a happy ending to earth's long story of injustice. Finally, Marx was a man with a revolutionary program—scientific socialism—in which

because it was "scientific," countless persons felt they could invest hope and effort to some clear end, with no danger of being let down.

Marx dated all history from the point where mankind, itself a material part of a material universe, took a fateful step from which there was no turning back. To secure material necessities, men set up a system of production rooted in private property, and within this, a division of labor. A "class" system. On the one hand, there were those who owned the means of production; on the other, those who did the work.

Once human beings were related to one another within this system, they produced, moreover, not only material goods but also a "superstructure" of institutions and moral codes which "of necessity" reflected class relationships at the level of material production. While legal and political institutions expressed and enforced the will of the propertied class, moral and religious systems rationalized their privileges and fostered in the workers a voluntary compliance.

AS MARX SAW it, the process which was thus started would follow one certain course—and could not be diverted from it. Society would be ever more sharply divided into the exploited "masses" and the exploiting few. The latter, because they owned the means of production, could dictate the terms and conditions of labor; and they could impose unemployment and destitution upon those who tried to talk back. Also, they could compel the workers to produce a "surplus." Goods not to be used by the owners, but to be marketed by them.

In this advantageous position, Marx insisted, the capitalists—owners of capital goods—would never feel that they had enough. With "unlimited avarice," they would exact more and more "surplus" effort from the workers for the sake of profits, and they would pare wages down to the level of bare subsistence, for the sake of saving

money. They would never voluntarily yield up one iota of wealth or privilege; nor, until this "inexorable" trend had run its course, could they be resisted. The workers could not resist. Neither could the petty bourgeoisie nor the intellectuals; for these would gradually be absorbed into the two major classes. Some few would rise into the propertied class. Most would sink into the proletariat. In either case, they would then share the fate of their class. The rich would become richer; the poor, poorer. It was thus, according to Marx, that capitalism had, by a predetermined course, come into being and then produced rich factory owners and impoverished masses.

MARX ARRIVED at this version of history—which he called "scientific"—by imposing upon events and institutions, with all their variables and complexities, a dialectic which the philosopher Hegel had developed to account for the progression of ideas from lower to higher levels.

Hegel's conception was that every line of thought—every thesis—when once started, goes too far. Its own unfolding logic brings it to a point of exaggeration where, instead of revealing further truth, it becomes false. At this point, it is confronted by its antithesis. Its logical opposite. Out of the clash of thesis and antithesis comes a new synthesis. An idea which embodies the essential truth of both, but which is qualitatively different from either, being on a higher plane of reality. On this plane, it becomes a thesis—and the process goes on.

AS A LOGICIAN, Hegel carried this pattern through to its fulfillment in a final perfect synthesis, Pure Reason—which he took to be the basic form of reality. Marx, as a materialist, had no room within his frame of reference for Pure Reason. What he did with the dialectic was to apply it to events and institutions in such a way that he coerced all past history into the "trend" noted above—and then projected this trend "inexorably" into the future. Thus he made it predictable, with "scientific

exactness," that under capitalism the exploitation of workers must in time reach its intolerable extreme. Where wages would be at the bare subsistence level, but where profit-hungry owners would still demand a marketable "surplus." With a glut of goods and no buyers, a matured productive system would be brought to a halt—by a lag in the pattern of class relationships. At this point, the dialectic of history would be fulfilled in revolution. In the "expropriation of the expropriators."

The workers would seize the means of production, and the whole "superstructure" of ideas and institutions that had enforced and rationalized the power of the owning class would crumble—to be replaced by one reflecting the new order. Socialism would now be established—but not yet Communism. Exploitation would end. But the state, as "dictatorship of the proletariat," would still have two coercive functions to perform. It would have to see to it that each person got a just return for his work, and it would have to defend the new order against counter-revolution. Eventually, however, all reactionary elements would have been liquidated or "educated," and world revolution would have taken place—now in one country, now in another, as capitalism matured. Thus, the working of "inexorable law" would usher in Communism. The state, no longer needed, would "wither away"; and in a "classless society," each would produce according to his ability and receive according to his need.

IT WAS MARX, the revolutionary, who named as "infallible science" the formula thus worked out by Marx, the dialectician. For while the theory could not, in any scientific sense, be proved—least of all the projection into the future—it had to be believed. The workers of the world had to be so won over by it that they would act on it, without proof—and thereby bring its "proof" into being.

NEXT: Marx's "Immutable Science."

Mr. Tolson _____
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WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM

1905's Bloody Sunday Spark Of '17 Revolt

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By **HARRY and BONARO OVERSTREET**
 FROM SAINT PETERSBURG TO
 BUDAPEST

When it comes to understanding Communism—and our own confusions and cross-purposes with regard to it—we do well to move forward by going back: Back beyond the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 to the early years of the century when this revolution was in the making. For every item of world news in today's paper is a product of history; and our reaction to it likewise comes out of the past.

We can begin, then, with one landmark day which both summed up "a long train of abuses" and anticipated tragedy to come. On Bloody Sunday—Jan. 22, 1905—the Tsar's Cossacks were turned loose on striking workers in Saint Petersburg. It amounted to that: to their being turned loose. More than a thousand unarmed persons were killed, and twice that number wounded. Russia was never the same again.

The general strike spread from Saint Petersburg to every major city. Mutiny flared in the navy. Peasants were stirred to revolt. Before the blood-soaked year ended, some 2,800,000 persons had taken part in the rebellion. Lenin spoke with reason when he said that "the year 1905, the year of struggle, the

mad year, definitely buried patriarchal Russia."

WHAT MADE Bloody Sunday so utterly senseless was that the strikers had not intended any resort to violence; nor had they been looking toward revolution. Their aims were specific and were embodied in a petition for "redress of grievances." They hated and feared the Cossacks and secret police; and experience had taught them to expect from their employers neither concession nor compassion. But they were loyal to the Tsar, whom they regarded as the father of his people. If only they could reach him, past the armed guards by whom he was ringed, and tell him the facts, they felt sure that justice would be done.

The Houston Post
 March 30, 1959
 Houston, Texas

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Thousands Gather To See Tsar

On Jan. 22, therefore, with the Orthodox priest, George Gapon, as their leader, and with ikons carried before them, they converged — thousands of them, from all parts of the city, — on the great square in front of the Winter Palace, to beg the Tsar to appear to them, listen to their leader, and judge their case.

Their petition asked five benefits: Amnesty for strikers already arrested; basic civil liberties; a living wage; a gradual program of land reform, and universal suffrage. It followed, in brief, the line laid down by the Western democracies. But the manner of the appeal was pure Russian: "We workers," the petition began, "inhabitants of Saint Petersburg, have come to Thee. We are unfortunate, reviled slaves. We are crushed by despotism and tyranny. At last, when our patience was exhausted, we ceased work and begged our masters to give us only that without which life is torture. But this was refused . . ."

And it ended: "Sire, do not refuse aid to Thy people! Throw down the wall that separates Thee from Thy people. Order and swear that our requests will be granted, and Thou wilt make Russia happy; if not we are ready to die on this very spot. We have only two roads: Freedom and happiness or the grave."

FOR ALL TOO many it was to be the grave. The Tsar did not appear. It is doubtful that he was even in the Winter Palace at the time. In any event, the Cossacks were turned loose on the packed crowd in the square — and Bloody Sunday took its place in history as the turning point beyond which the Tsar could do nothing to regain the standing he had lost in the eyes of the people.

Concessions Were Too Late

When, later, he tried to make concessions, it was too late. What would, at the outset, have been more than enough to offer was by then too little. The workers replied, through their leader-priest Gapon: "We no longer have a Tsar. A river of blood separates the Tsar from the nation. Long live the fight for freedom!"

Lenin appraised the situation. Found it much to his liking: "Events are developing with marvelous speed." And he amended the words of Gapon: "Long live the revolutionary proletariat! say we!"

THIS REVOLUTION of 1905 was suppressed. The Tsar was not deposed. Workers and peasants seemed, in the end, to be back where they had started from. A number of the significant revolutionary leaders were exiled — Lenin among them. Yet in spite of these outward ap-

pearances, Russia was not the same after the "mad year." Reforms were gradually instituted: Reforms that started the lumbering nation on its way into the modern world, but that did not suffice to quiet the tides of unrest. Those who had seen political freedom almost within their grasp did not forget the vision.

What appeared to be on the way in was an order of life which would roughly approximate the one which had, over a period of several centuries, been developing in the West. The strikers' petition for "redress of grievances" seemed to forecast such an order. So did the attitude taken by many individual members of the aristocracy. So did the compassionate writings of intellectuals who, even as they portrayed the defeat of life, affirmed its inestimable worth.

Russian Revolutionaries Divide

This seeming groundswell of freedom distracted attention, however, from two determinative elements in the situation. One was the political naivete and vague abstractionism which characterized many phases of the liberal movement in Russia: A movement which had developed at the level of thinking, but not at the level of practice, for the simple reason that Tsarism afforded no room for daily, trial-and-error democracy. The other element was a fateful division within the revolutionary forces of Russia, with regard to the methods and goal of social change. This division had existed, with varying degrees of tension and acrimony,

prior to 1905; but it had not yet become so sharply defined as to prevent a common front of struggle in that trial-run revolution. From then on, however, the cleavage became wider and deeper. On the one hand, there were those—comprising a number of different groups—who re-

Continued From Page 1
arded the reforms which followed the uprising of 1905 as both a proof that parliamentary government could and should come next in Russia and as a means of working for its achievement. On the other hand, there were those who felt this uprising had failed so completely that it had disproved, once for all, the efficacy of spontaneous, popular rebellion; the methods of gradual reform, and the goal of parliamentary government. This latter group were the Bolsheviks.

FIFTY-ONE YEARS after Bloody Sunday, in Budapest, barricades hastily erected by Hungarian fighters presented a first obstacle to the Russian advance. The Hungarian Army,

the National Guard and group of freedom fighters, fought side by side against the advancing tanks.

This was November, 1956.

Back of the events of that day were those of October, and further back, a mounting discontent with the rigid Soviet-controlled regime in Hungary. In Budapest, as in Saint Petersburg half a century before, those who sought "redress of grievances" had intended to stay within the law and induce change by peaceful means. But, like the striking workers, they had asked more than tyranny could give. They had asked for a kind of freedom that would inevitably point toward more freedom and the habits and attitudes that go with it.

Student Demands Draw AVH Fire

On Oct 22, a number of student gatherings had taken place in Budapest, the most important of them at the Building Industry Technological University. There, "the students adopted a list of 16 demands which expressed their views on national policy. They included: the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops . . . free elections, freedom of expression, the re-establishment of political parties, and sweeping changes in the conditions of both workers and peasants."

"Early next morning, the students' demands had become known throughout Budapest. Witnesses speak of an atmosphere of elation and hopefulness."

THAT EVENING—Oct 23—some of the students went to the Radio Building to try to have their demands broadcast to the people of Budapest. "A large crowd gathered at the Radio Building, which was guarded by AVH or security police. The students sent a delegation into the building to negotiate with the director. The crowd waited in vain. . . . Shortly after 9 PM tear gas bombs were thrown from the upper windows, and one or two minutes later, AVH men opened fire on the crowd. . . . In so far as any one moment can be selected as the turning point that change a peaceable demonstration into a violent uprising it would be this moment when the AVH . . . attacked defenseless people."

Word of what had happened was swiftly phoned to workers in outlying districts. They "seized trucks and drove into Budapest, obtaining arms on the way from friendly soldiers or police, or from military barracks and arms factories." By midnight, the Radio Building reported clashes throughout the city.

After that, it was too late for governmental concessions—inadequate and too long delayed—to mean peace so long as Soviet troops remained on Hungarian soil and a puppet regime in power. As the struggle was renewed with the coming of fresh Soviet forces, and as it spread to the provinces, more and more

of the freedom fighters—workers, civil police, soldiers, students, mature intellectuals—reached a state of mind where they might well have paraphrased the words of Gapon: "We no longer have a government. A river of blood separates the government from the people. Long live the fight for freedom!"

HOW DID IT happen? By what perverse logic did the unfolding history of 50 years lead from Saint Petersburg to Budapest: From the workers' petitioning the Tsar, and being shot down, to the students petitioning the puppet Communist regime in Hungary and being shot down?

It is to questions of this type that we shall seek answers in this book: Questions that have to do with the nature of the new tyranny—the Communist tyranny—which has come in the wake of the old; and which has strangely come where the tides of unrest have been those of a seeking for freedom.

In spite of the seeming parallelism of events in Saint Petersburg and Budapest, this new tyranny, this new dictatorship, is, we know, very far from being a duplication of the old. It has an ideological thrust toward the future which Tsarism, seeking only to preserve the past, wholly lacked. It is totalitarian to an extent not conceived of by anyone—ruler or ruled—prior to the 20th century. It is international in a sense which undercuts—and contradicts—the developing internationalism to which a myriad liberal minds around the world have long been devoted. It has introduced a concept of revolution so different from our Western concept that we mislead ourselves when we use the familiar word as though it applied to both types. Most strangely of all, it is—as Tsarism never was or could have been—a form of absolutism which has, like a magnet, drawn to itself millions of people who have sought to set men free.

We know these facts; and yet we do not know them.

NEXT: The Theory Behind the System.

Belated Look

IT IS SOMEWHAT ironic that the most publicized American book on communism has come from the pen of a man whose name seems to have popped in and out of Communist front movements a great part of his adult life.

This book is "What We Must Know About Communism," written by Dr. Harry Overstreet and his wife, Bonaro. Dr. Overstreet, now 83, must have turned 80 before he sat down to put together his version of what communism means and how people, some innocent and some not, were lured into supporting movements in this country.

His book rather unconsciously bares much of what perhaps did happen to him. He describes how intellectuals (and he is a doctor of philosophy and author of sociological books) joined or contributed to movements out of humanitarianism or in their idealistic eagerness to change society to meet their own critical demands upon men and events.

Now Dr. Overstreet bears down heavily on communism and its evils. The book is an insight into one American intellectual's experiences and thinking. It is intriguing to wonder, though, how late in life and under what circumstances came some of the realizations about which he now writes so feelingly.

In another direction, it will be recalled that many avowed American radicals were bewildered by the revelations of Stalin's crimes and the crushing of the Hungarian revolt. They, too, turned on communism. But many of these only turned on Russian-type communism. Many of these still blindly and misguidedly grope for socialism, or government control of everything, as the only hope of mankind.

100-114575-A
NOT RECORDED
126 APR 14 1959

Editorial Page
THE SAN DIEGO UNION
Issue of 28 March 1959

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FROM

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

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 Mr. McGuire _____ ()
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 Mr. Parsons _____ ()
 Mr. Rosen _____ ()
 Mr. Tamm _____ ()
 Mr. Trotter _____ ()
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 Mr. Holloman _____ ()
 Miss Gandy _____ ()

See Me _____ ()
 Note and Return _____ ()
 Prepare Reply _____ ()
 For Your Recommendation _____ ()
 What are the facts? _____ ()

Remarks:

WHAT WE MUST KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet's story of the beginnings, growth and present status of Communism

What is Communism? What should we
as Americans know about

Communism? You as a Post reader

will be introduced to one of the
most important books of the decade,

if not of the century, that

will give you a new insight as to
what Communism really is.

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126 APR 2 1959

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The Houston Post
March 25, 1959
Houston, Texas

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The authors see Communism as a
force so powerful that no
American can risk being in ignorance
of it. W. P. Hobby Jr. of The
Post will condense the Overstreet's
report on Communism in 41
installments. . . Don't miss it!

starts Monday, March 30 in

THE HOUSTON POST

Written and Edited to Merit Your Confidence

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 Mr. Belmont ✓
 Mr. DeLoach ✓
 Mr. McGuire ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
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AUTHORS OF BOOK ON COMMUNISM

COVERSTREET
 Bonaro and Harry Coverstreet are the authors of "What We Must Know About Communism," a condensation of which will start on Page 1 of The Post next Monday. Their important book explains in simple terms the thought and forces behind a world movement. The book, briefed into 41 installments, will appear in The Post through arrangement with the publisher, W. W. Norton & Company Inc.

THE HOUSTON POST
 3/23/59
 Houston, Texas

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—URGED TO READ IT BY DULLES—

Ike Gets Facts on Communism from Overstreet Book

By ED EDSTROM

Hearst Headline Service Special to N. Y. Journal-American

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—What's in the book that President Eisenhower is reading at the urging of Secretary of State Dulles?

The President borrowed the book, "What We Must Know About Communism" by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, while visiting Dulles in Walter Reed Hospital.

The book is vitally connected with our day-by-day relationships with Russia as typified in today's note from the S. Britain and France to Moscow proposing a Big Four conference on Germany.

The Overstreets make the point that it is necessary for every individual American to thoroughly understand the dangerous and powerful force of communism in order to combat it.

"We cannot possibly get the feel of how Communists negotiate unless we keep in mind the fact that they do not expect peace—or even a significant lowering of tension—to result from anything that can take place at a conference table," the Overstreets write.

"They have come to learn what they can from the enemy and about the enemy; and in the light of this, to get what they can."

At the same time, the Communist fear is one of being influenced from the outside, for to them this means "to be subject to control," the book declares.

Communist negotiators like to delay progress, hoping to gain advantage because of the well-known American impatience to get things done. The book also points out that "we cannot ask our negotiators to guarantee that the Communists will live up to the treaties they sign."

The Soviets in their 40 years of existence have "set a world's record for breaking pacts" and this is documented in the book.

"Why, then, negotiate at all?" Ask the authors. Their answer is that words are still better than bullets and that other purposes are served. These include the educative function, on a world scale. Limited agreements are also possible, the authors say.

Disarmament does not have to be taken whole but special aspects can be negotiated without overwhelming risks, they write.

"The final reason for continuing the effort to negotiate

is that every conference earns for the free world a further margin of time; and time is far kinder to freedom than to totalitarianism," the Overstreets say.

They point out that totalitarianism depends on the sudden attack when the enemy has been put off guard via a mutual non-aggression pact.

"During its period of intense drive against those who have not yet rallied their forces, totalitarianism always seems stronger than it inherently is," the book states. "It takes time for the internal weaknesses of a coerced 'unity' to make themselves felt."

The authors remind that the free world has psychological outposts behind the Iron Curtain of "conquered people" minds that have been educated to a point where they begin to want stretching space. Time is not kind to monolithic unity.

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Belmont ☒
DeLoach ☒
McGuire ☒
Mohr ☒
Parsons ☒
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W.C. Sullivan ☒
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New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
Date FEB 17 1959

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A 'Must' Book By Roscoe Drummond

'What We Must Know About Communism'

IF I HAD the opportunity to invite every adult American from 18 to 84, including every Senator and Congressman and the highest policy-making officials of the Administration, to read one book in the next 30 days, I know the book I would name.



Drummond

The effects of such a Nation-wide reading of this book would be:

- To increase the mental preparedness of the whole Nation for whatever lies ahead in the cold war.

- To help bring into being the private and public stamina and grasp of what we face so that we can see and support what needs to be done.

- To enable us as a people and as a government to deal with the Soviet dictatorship more wisely and more productively and to negotiate more securely without losing the peace or losing the bombs.

This is a book for layman and expert alike from which each, individually, will I think benefit profoundly.

THE authors of this book have credentials. They have credentials of character and accomplishment. Each is a teacher and a distinguished psychologist. Both are good writers.

The authors are Harry Overstreet, who wrote the pioneering work, "The Mature Mind," and his wife, Bonny Overstreet, who wrote "Understanding Fear." Now, after years of research they have for the first time turned to the new field of public policy. The result is incom-

parable insight and persuasiveness.

The book is "What We Must Know About Communism," published a few months ago by W. W. Norton & Co., New York.

It deals with more than communism, though it plumbs communism's roots, its appeal, and its delusions, as nothing you have ever likely read. It sheds such new shafts of light on Communist teaching and tactics that everyone who reads it will be better equipped to do his part in arresting its encroachments.

It deals with more than what we must know about communism. It deals with what we must do about communism in our minds, in our Nation, and in our world.

I think it is a "must" for President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, for Lyndon Johnson, Adlai Stevenson, and Hubert Humphrey, for Richard Nixon and Gov. Rockefeller — and for you and me.

SEVEN HUNDRED words are inadequate to tell you what is in this book. But it is possible to indicate some of the searching questions which the Overstreets raise — and answer in a way which can make it possible for the free world to cope with Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Mikoyan in the arena of action and negotiation. Such questions as these:

Since Lenin and Khrushchev look upon peace as "respite for another war," what do the Soviets mean when they preach "peaceful co-existence?"

What is the proof that the Communist world is engaged in a "permanent revolution" against every free society in the world?

What teaching of communism was Khrushchev carrying out when Kremlin arms

shot down the workers of Hungary in 1956 as Kremlin arms had shot down the workers of Petrograd in 1921?

Since peace is only a temporary waypoint in the "permanent revolution," how can we negotiate even small, dependable agreements (and the Overstreets believe we can) without being trapped into pseudo-agreements, which only magnify the danger?

Why has communism won so many adherents by its appeal and lost so many adherents by their disillusionment?

IF THERE is a philanthropist who wants to do something special for his country, he could well buy a few thousand copies of "What We Must Know About Communism" and give them to the 533 members of Congress, to the top policy-making executives in the Government, to high school principals and to college political science teachers. He couldn't spend a few dollars and do more good.

But I don't want you to give it to anybody. I hope you will read "What We Must Know About Communism" and ponder it — and keep it.

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These Days

Two Useful Books

By George E. Sokolsky

PROFESSOR Harry Overstreet and his wife, Bonaro, form an interesting team of psychologists who approach political problems not from the standpoint either of the politician or the journalist but as technicians in the science of human behavior, which makes much difference. Most of their writings have been in the field of how the mind works and perhaps as we approach their newest book, What We Must Know About Communism, it is still in their disciplined field of the mind.



Sokolsky

For communism is a curious phenomenon which is sweeping much of the world and yet seeds down in the least expected places. Certainly Karl Marx never expected that his particular form of Dialectical Materialism would assume the proportions of a religion in Orthodox backward agricultural Russia; nor could anyone have foreseen that its second center of strength would be China.

In fact, the Overstreets point out that as recently as 1943, Fortune showed through an opinion poll conducted by Elmo Roper that 48 per cent of the group specified as "executives" were confident that Soviet Russia would not try after the war to bring about Communist governments in other countries. Roper could, of course, find no such figure among working journalists who write on this subject for journalists are a suspicious folk who disbelieve words and turn to deeds. Nevertheless, the Overstreets report that in March of that same year, Gardner Cowles, Jr., publisher of Look, wrote that

Stalin wants just what the United States wants—security and peace. Life devoted its entire issue of March 29, 1943, to Soviet-American cooperation—without which, the editors stated, there can be no stable, peaceful world. As for the restrictive character of the Communist regime, "When we take into account what the USSR has accomplished in 20 years, we can make allowances for certain shortcomings, however deplorable."

This is very sad, indeed, for the years since then have clearly proved these judgments to have been wrong, and I can list a number of American journalists and experts who were warning the American people at that very time that the Trojan Horse is a Communist device which must be suspect at all times.

The Overstreets do an excellent job of objective writing in this field, as they would in any other and this book is well worth reading.

AT THE same time, another volume comes to me from my old colleague in China, Edward Hunter, entitled, The Black Book on Red China. It may be difficult to get in book stores, as it is published by The Book-mailer, New York 16, N. Y. Edward Hunter has devoted many years of his life to China and adjacent areas, knows Oriental languages, and has a keen understanding of the people among whom he has lived and worked. His is no distant casual view nor is he objective about a world in which he lives. He writes with passion and zest and assurance of knowledge. He also has the advantage of using original source material which seems to be a dying art except in specialized books for the learned. His book therefore is full of quotations, something that I like very

much, I always preferring a direct quote to a confused paraphrase.

I was particularly interested in Hunter's chapter on "Martyred Religion" which, of course, is to be expected in any Marxist country where religion is regarded as an opiate for the people, to be extirpated as soon as is convenient.

China had, before the Communist Revolution, a small number of Christians, comparatively. The Roman Catholics were more numerous than the Protestants, who were of many sects and denominations. The influence of Christianity, however, was enormous. In my day, for instance, nearly every one in the foreign service had studied at a Christian university either in China or abroad.

The Chinese Communists not only persecuted the Christian churches but took them over and converted them into agencies of political action. Hunter tells of the publication of a Protestant magazine, "Heavenly Wind" which is Communist government-owned and which is used for Communist propaganda among the remaining Christians. Catholics are treated worse than Protestants.

Hunter's book, The Black Book on Red China, is particularly worth while at this moment when the propaganda machine is at work to give the impression that Chinese Communists might be good ones like Tito.

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These Days

Two Useful Books

By George E. Sokolsky

A-25 Mrs. Harry Overstreet

PROFESSOR Harry Overstreet and his wife, Bonaro, form an interesting team of psychologists who approach political problems not from the standpoint either of the politician or the journalist but as technicians in the science of human behavior which makes much difference. Most of their writings have been in the field of how the mind works and perhaps as we approach their newest book, "What We Must Know About Communism," it is still in their disciplined field of the mind.



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THESE DAYS:

2 Useful Books On Red Tactics

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

PROFESSOR HARRY OVERSTREET and his wife, Bonaro, form an interesting team of psychologists who approach political problems, not from the standpoint either of the politician or the journalist but as technicians in the science of human behavior, which makes much difference. Most of their writings have been in the field of how the mind works and perhaps as we approach their newest book, "What We Must Know About Communism," it is still in their disciplined field of the mind.



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OPINION AND READ IT

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Mr. Parsons
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Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

2 Useful Books On Red
Tactics

(By George E Sokolsky)

NY Journal-American, Oct. 2

There are two useful books which have just come out explaining Communist tactics and methods. The first is "What We Must Know About Communism" written by Prof. Harry Overstreet and his wife. This book shows how Americans of considerable learning were taken in by Communist tactics. As late as 1943, Life Magazine devoted an entire issue to Soviet-American friendship and observed that the Russians would not seek to bring other nations into the Communist orbit and desired only peace and security. People must learn that the Trojan Horse is a favorite Communist device and has been employed with great success in many countries.

The second book which should prove interesting to students of Communism is "~~The Black Book~~ on Red China" by Edward Hunter, who knows the area intimately and who details how the Red Chinese removed all traces of Christianity from China. The Christian churches were persecuted and the Christian religion extirpated. This should convince one all that the Red Chinese are incapable of reform.

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At Arlington Meeting

2 Women Tangle on Subversion Issue

By Connie Feeley
Staff Reporter

A former woman chairman of the Arlington School Board and a conservative housewife nearly came to blows yesterday in the gymnasium of Washington-Lee High School over alleged "subversive activities" of visiting speakers.

A high-pitched argument, punctuated by shoving, developed between Mrs. Edmund D. Campbell, former School Board chairman, and Queenie C. Brookshire following a lecture given by man and wife psychologists before 2300 students.

The two women approached the speaker's bench on the gymnasium floor to speak to Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, psychologist duo who have written a number of books and lectured around the country.

Mrs. Brookshire shouted that the Overstreets were connected

with "subversive organizations" and demanded an explanation.

Mrs. Overstreet stepped forward to explain, holding out a letter from the House Un-American Activities Subcommittee.

Mrs. Campbell passed the letter to Mrs. Brookshire, who refused to read it, saying she had a copy herself. As Mrs. Campbell began reading the letter aloud, Mrs. Brookshire snatched it from her, saying, "I don't need you to read me that."

In a tense moment, the two women tugged at the letter and pushed each other. Finally they calmed down and Mrs. Brookshire left.

Later in a school office, the Overstreets told reporters what brought on the flareup.

The lecture was criticized earlier by Helen S. Lane, newly-appointed conservative member of the School Board, and Jack Rathbone, chairman of the Board of Directors of the De-

fenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties.

Mrs. Lane said she would ask for a special School Board meeting next week to discuss the matter. A protest was also made by the Parents Educational Research Organization, School Board chairman L. Clark Keating called the protest "irresponsible."

The Overstreets told reporters: "There was a time when we gave help to groups, we did not know had any connection whatever with Communists. As soon as we discovered there was any question about them, we went voluntarily to the House Un-American Activities Committee and cleared it up."

Overstreet, former head of the philosophy and psychology department at New York's City College, said that between 1934 and 1945 he had unknowingly signed petitions for supposedly worthy causes sponsored by groups later listed as subversive.

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When the Overstreets learned in 1953 that their names were in the Committee's files, they voluntarily went to the Committee, presented a full written affidavit on Overstreet's former affiliations and requested a public hearing.

Committee Chairman Velde replied in writing that he was "satisfied that the affidavit by you was sufficient" and that a hearing was unnecessary. This reply was the letter which Mrs. Overstreet offered to Mrs. Brookshire in the gymnasium.

"We hate Communists, so passionately we write against them," Overstreet told reporters. "But we've never been able to talk with the people who are making the charges against us."

Mrs. Brookshire, 3536 N. Dimwiddle St. Arlington, said she is a member of the Parent Educational Research Organization.

"Manners in Arlington"

Reference is made to the article which you wrote on March 2 and the letter appearing in your "Letters" column March 5, signed by Elizabeth Campbell, regarding the "discussion" which took place following the lecture given by Dr. and Mrs. Overstreet recently at Washington-Lee High School. It will be appreciated if your editors will extend the grace of publishing both sides of the story.

The record of the Overstreets was brought to my attention by a reliable group of parents the evening preceding the lecture, whereupon I and these parents became alarmed that persons who had been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee were to be presented to our children. I had in my possession at the time the complete record of their association with subversive organizations.

On Friday morning I attended the lecture, representing no organization or person except myself, taking with me the above-mentioned record. Following the completion of the address by Dr. and Mrs. Harry Overstreet, I proceeded to the speakers' stand, in an unhurried manner, and began to speak with the assistant principal, Mr. Norris, questioning him in a moderate tone as to who is in charge of the Speakers' Bureau. Mr. Norris then introduced me to Mrs. Vice, who is the teacher adviser to the Bureau.

Mrs. Campbell approached me first at the back of the audience, and when I ignored her, she followed me to the speakers' stand. As I spoke with Mrs. Vice, she attempted to wedge herself in front of me by pushing and waving a letter in my face to keep me from speaking. During this activity, she also shouted at me: "read this letter" so that even Mrs. Vice couldn't be heard above the din. I finally managed to get a word in, and asked one

question of Mrs. Overstreet when Mrs. Campbell shouted at her, "You don't have to answer that!"

I would like to add that Mrs. Campbell's discourtesy was not confined to me alone, but extended to all those who attempted to answer my questions. Seeing that Mrs. Campbell was bent upon thwarting all efforts toward any discussion between Mrs. Overstreet, Mrs. Vice, Mr. Norris and myself, I left with my questions still unanswered.

I am amazed and shocked at such conduct on the part of a former chairman of the Arlington School Board. As a parent and a citizen I have a right to ask questions of persons with controversial backgrounds who are to be presented to our children. Not only have I had this right denied, but in the course of denial, I was subjected to insults and abuse; to say nothing of misrepresentation.

QUEENIE C. BROOKSHIRE
Arlington

My wife and I warmly appreciate both your editorial, "Manners in Arlington," and Mrs. Campbell's letter (both published March 5), which we have just read.

It may seem carping on our part, therefore, to ask that you print this letter in order to clarify one matter of fact, but I am going to ask you to do so, if you will, out of justice to the House Un-American Activities Committee. Your editorial states that this Committee "has cleared them of any implication of sympathy with communism." This wording might lend itself to misinterpretation; for the Committee does not, in fact, have any machinery for actual clearance of anyone. The most it can do, I believe, is to indicate that it does not consider that information at its disposal, with regard to an individual, is of such a nature as to call for any

hearing—even if the person has himself asked for it.

What happened in my own case was as follows. In 1953, having learned of a "listing" against my name in the files of the House Committee, my wife and I went directly to the Chief Clerk of that Committee to ask about the procedures for a citizen—without Communist leanings!—to use in such a case.

We were advised to write to Mr. Velde, requesting a copy of the items in the file; to send in, then, a statement regarding these items; and to ask for a public hearing if the Committee thought it was called for. We followed this procedure as advised. Subsequently, on Oct. 7, 1953, Mr. Velde wrote that he did not think a hearing was called for, "believing that the sworn affidavit will serve as a clarification and completion of the Committee's records."

That, I take it, is as close an approximation of a "clearance" as the machinery of the Committee makes possible; but it is clarification of a particular record, at a particular time, not of myself as a total individual. I'm definitely not a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. I believe there is ample evidence of this fact in my own work. But I don't want the Committee to be put on the spot by any statement that seems to indicate its having exceeded its proper authority, which doesn't extend to the granting of clearances, because of its lack of legal machinery or authority for such clearances.

Thank you again for your generous editorial. Through your columns, also, my wife and I would like to express our thanks to the school authorities of Arlington and to the students who made up an intelligent and responsive audience. H. A. OVERSTREET
Falls Church, Va.

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Date MAR 7 1957

BONARD W. OVERSTREET

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Making Life Make Sense

FBI Keeps Democracy

By HARRY and BONARO OVERSTREET

We're old hands at attending commencement exercises. We've watched many a line of graduates stream across an American platform to receive diplomas.

The experience never grows stale. To each crop of graduates we give our silent blessing. The visible ceremony, we know, bodes forth something far deeper: The honorable urge of the human being to move out of ignorance into knowledge; to become both a self-sustaining and a contributing member of man's community.

Being more than familiar with the commencement scene, we would hardly expect to be surprised, at this stage of the game, by any line of graduates—or by our own thoughts as we watched them. Yet we have been surprised.

FBI Graduation

At the Departmental Auditorium, in Washington, D. C., we recently went to the graduation exercises of the 57th session of the FBI National Academy. It was a heartening experience to watch 98 men from 38 states, Puerto Rico, and Canada, round out their period of intensive, voluntary in-service training in the principles and practice of democracy's law enforcement.

Like any other graduating class, they moved in line up the stairs at one side of the platform, crossed the stage to receive their diplomas—in their case, from the Attorney General of the United States—and went down the stairs on the other side. But where were they headed from there?

They were headed straight back into the communities they had come from and the law enforcement agencies within which they already held responsible positions—a significant number as chiefs of police. They were going home, back to their daily work, armed with new professional skills and standards; and also with a warm sense of belonging to a fellowship that has in its keeping the free world's basic concept of liberty under law.

Taboo in Democracy

There are two things a democratic society can never afford—least of all, in a time like the present.

It cannot afford to be in-

different to the quality of law enforcement at the local level: in the towns, cities, and countryside where people's attitudes toward law are inevitably made in the image of officers as they have known them; and where the rights of individuals and of organized society have constantly to be respected, harmonized, and made secure.

And it cannot afford, in the name of law and order, or in the name of crisis, to set up a national police force. For the step between setting up a national police force and becoming a police state is too dangerously easy to take.

The FBI National Academy, founded by J. Edgar Hoover, represents one creative effort to answer this question. The FBI, Mr. Hoover has insisted, must remain precisely what it was set up to be, and nothing more: A top-level investigative bureau; never a national police force, and never a trespasser upon the domain of state or local law enforcement agencies.

Mr. Tolson _____
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Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

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★ Making Life ★ ★ Make Sense ★

'So Jim Said to Me...'

The Overstreets Explain Behavior

The famous authors of "Mature Mind" and "The Mind Alive," Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, today present their third Sunday Magazine column.

By Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

THERE WERE EIGHT of us at the dinner table, but one man was doing most of the talking; and most of what he said was about important people.

People the rest of us knew only by reputation were to him Bill and Jack and Mary. We knew more or less about what they had done—what they were famous for. But he reported easily, "I said to Jim..." and Jim said to me.

He was talking about some of the most interesting men and women alive today.

Yet surprisingly what he said about them was dull—and it seemed more and more dull as the evening wore on.

What Was Wrong?

HIS INTIMATE reporting should have held us spell-bound but it did not. Everyone at the table began to show signs of restless boredom.

Even those who tried hard to go on looking interested reached the point, after a time, where their faces held a fixed look—as though an old-fashioned photographer had set their heads at the right angle and said, "Now, hold."

What was wrong? Gradually one of us, laying down the paper, might have said—and

This man was talking about important people; but he



Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

showed no sign of knowing what was important about them. "Jim said to me..." But what Jim had said, as thus reported, was pretty flat stuff. Any one of us who had read the morning paper might have said the same.

"I said to Jim..." what any one of us, laying down the paper, might have said—and the world would have been none the wiser for our words.

What Really Interested Him

WHAT STRUCK us, after a while, was that this man was not really talking at all about the important people whose names and nicknames came so readily to his tongue.

He was simply talking about himself as one who moved intimately with the great. He was saying in effect, "Just look at the important people I know."

As he made himself big, those he named and quoted were mysteriously made to seem smaller and less interesting than we knew them to be.

It was as though they were being cut down in size until they were nothing more than building blocks in the tower of his ego.

What Makes Importance

HERE IS something to think about. Something we can all afford to think about. Maybe we know a lot of important people or maybe we do not.

But what really matters is to know what is important in people. Those whose names never get into the newspapers as well as those who are featured in the headlines.

Only if we have some sense of what is important in the other person—in the human being who is not ourselves—are we likely to say anything really interesting about anyone.

MR. BOARDMAN
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

AFTER ALL, who is an important person? He is not somebody who stands entirely outside the human race.

He is someone who does better than most of us do something that we think is important—something we would like to do ourselves, or that we have to do, or that we need to have done.

Maybe he shows more creative power than the rest of us. Or he has more skill in organizing things. Or he has a broader outlook on public affairs. Or he has traveled more. Or he has a more dramatic power to say things that move other people to think and feel and act. Or he has shown more courage. Or he has a warmer sympathy than most for those who are in need.

Highest Honor

WE DO NOT honor him best by draining his importance into ourselves—as we might drain air from the tire of a car to inflate a volley ball.

We honor him best by knowing that what makes him important is the high development in him of what makes the human being—any human being—an important resident of the universe.

Detroit Free Press
June 19, 1955

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MRS. HARRY OVERSTREET

64 JUL 7 1955

Making Life Make Sense

When It Pays To Wait

The Overstreets Explain Behavior

The famous authors of "Mature Mind" and "The Mind Alive," Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, today present their second Sunday Magazine column.

The column appears to be about a little boy's troubles with his parents. But those familiar with the work of the husband-wife interpreters of human relations won't be surprised to find that it's actually a column that has a lesson applicable to much larger problems.

Hundreds of thousands—including particularly those in P-TA work—have been aided by the level-headed couple. Now you can enjoy the Overstreets each week as they explore with warm, human understanding the nature of our stresses and strains, our anxieties and fears, and show how to make life make sense. Hereafter look for their column "Making Life Make Sense" on Page 6 of the Sunday Magazine.

By Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

ONE DAY A twelve-year-old boy came home late for supper, his face dirty, his clothes disheveled. As he entered the house, both parents took one look—and pounced.

What did he mean, getting messed up like that? Wasn't he ever going to grow up and show some responsibility? Under the barrage of angry questions the boy opened his mouth... closed it again... and went to his room.

It was later that night that a grateful neighbor came to the door to pour out her thanks for his having pulled her five-year-old out of an irrigation ditch.

"Why didn't you tell us?" the boy's parents asked pleadingly, when the neighbor had gone.

"Why didn't you give me a chance?" the boy countered.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Sizoo	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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The Detroit Free Press
June 12, 1955

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The Unnecessary Hurt

WHAT HAS HAUNTED US about this story is the plain sadness of it: the fact that parents and son stood facing each other as emotional strangers when they might have stood together in affectionate pride.

It was the sheer needlessness of the thing that made it seem so tragic—and so akin to countless other tragedies, large and small in the area of human relations.

What happened need not have happened.

All that was needed was a willingness to wait before passing judgment.

The poet Coleridge once wrote of that "willing suspension of disbelief" for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith.

"We would like to speak of that willing suspension of disapproval for the moment which constitutes faith in man."

"Why didn't you tell us?" the boy's parents asked.

"Why didn't you give me a chance?" he asked in reply. Had he been older, and a student of Coleridge, he might have asked, "Why didn't you suspend your disapproval for the moment, showing your faith that I might not be as bad as I seemed?"

In Today's Angry World

NOTHING, PERHAPS, more destructively marks our life today than the quick harshness of our mutual disapprovals. We see in a headline, for example, that some public figure who is not on our side of the political fence has said so and so; and we denounce him even before we read the rest of the article.

Or we hear that some foreign nation has adopted some policy different from our own; and again we denounce first and look for the reasons for the policy only later—or not at all.

Most often, NOT AT ALL. For once we have voiced a strong disapproval, we commonly defend it. We defend it because our pride is at



Harry and Bonaro
Overstreet

stake. We do not like seeing ourselves as persons who have been unfair.

Even the parents in the above case, although they knew they had jumped on the boy the moment he entered the door, were self-defensive. Why hadn't he told them what had happened? Why, in brief, hadn't he prevented their doing what they now had to regret?

Give a Fair Hearing

OFTEN, THE easiest way to keep our good standing in our own group or party seems to be to join in criticizing and denouncing whatever that group or party is against.

Even after we have postponed judgment and given a fair hearing, we may, of course, feel that firm criticism is called for. The boy in the story might have had a poor reason, instead of a good one, for coming home late and disheveled.

But waiting to find out the reason would not have deprived his parents of their eventual right to pass judgment.

It would, rather, have given their judgment the weight that only fair judgments can ever carry.

Until Proved Guilty

THIS, AFTER ALL, is the principle we are here talking about. The question is not that of our being "soft" or easily taken in—as some people today seem to fear.

It is, rather, a question that has to do with our own mental and emotional integrity; the respect we have for facts and the value we put upon fairness.

It is a question that has to do, also, with how ready we are to support in our personal lives with our personal habits, our profound cultural rule that people are to be treated as innocent till proved guilty.

Where guilt is actually present there will be time enough for criticism and disapproval.

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*Matthew -
Here it is, and good*

MR. STORER B. LUNT

[Signature]

PRESIDENT
W. W. NORTON & COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

HARRY *and* BONARO
OVERSTREET

The Mind Goes Forth

The Drama of Understanding

*The new book for readers of
The Mature Mind and The Mind Alive*

July 16

\$3.95

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THE MIND GOES FORTH

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Books by H. A. Overstreet

ABOUT OURSELVES
INFLUENCING HUMAN BEHAVIOR
THE MATURE MIND
THE GREAT ENTERPRISE

Books by The Overstreets

THE MIND ALIVE
THE MIND GOES FORTH

Books by Bonaro W. Overstreet

UNDERSTANDING FEAR (Harpers)
HANDS LAID UPON THE WIND



THE
MIND
GOES FORTH

The Drama of Understanding

HARRY AND BONARO OVERSTREET



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NEW YORK

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First Edition

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FOR THE PUBLISHERS BY THE VAIL-BALLOU PRESS



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TO
L. B. N.

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FOREWORD

IN THIS book we try to come to grips with what we feel to be the central problem of our time: the growth among us of extremisms and hostilities. Curtains of anger and suspicion have everywhere been lowered, not only between nations, but between individuals and generations under the same roof; and between groups and races that must work constructively together if our kind of society is to have a future. Today, all too often, we look upon one another with guarded eyes.

How can the will to make room for one another's minds replace the almost automatic readiness to shut others out? Through what wider ventures of knowing and more seasoned action can we restore creative confidence among ourselves?

We believe that the most appropriate drama in which we humans can engage is that of understanding. This is the drama of the mind's going forth to meet life more than half way. It is the drama of trying to see the other person's point of view; of trying to look at problems through other people's

FOREWORD

concerns and life conditions. Wherever this drama is enacted, the qualities that make us *human* have a chance to find expression and endow life with meaning.

This book is about the ways in which the will to understand can create conditions that make life a spacious and rewarding experience.

Our debt to the experts in our field is, of course, a constant one; and we again give our thanks. In this book, however, we want also to express a wider gratitude. We remember the many persons in many callings with whom, during the past few years, we have had the privilege of talking things out. They have given us the chance, in many ways, to start over again; to break up our too rigid assumptions, and to think with a new freshness about human perplexities.

"To be old," wrote Martin Buber in his *Eclipse of God*, "is a glorious thing when one has not unlearned what it means to begin." It is a glorious thing, we would add, to have friends who can invite us into new beginnings.

H.A.O. AND B.W.O.

Falls Church, Virginia
February, 1956

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1 Mind Goes 11 Caledonia 24-13 March 2 CL * 7

P A R T O N E

THE DRAMA OF UNDERSTANDING

O N E

THE PRACTICE OF
UNDERSTANDING

THERE ARE many directions the human mind can take; but the most exacting—and rewarding—is toward another human being. There is hazard in taking this direction; as there is hazard, for that matter, in all use of our human powers. Living itself has to be counted as an act of faith; and there is a faith appropriate to every venture life offers.

The faith appropriate to the drama of approach to one another is that where mind meets mind, the rewards of mutual discovery and the satisfactions of mutual confidence are worth all the risks.

However, while the willingness to venture and to run the risks that go with venturing is necessary, there is no reason why the manner of the mind's going forth to meet other minds—even those that widely disagree—should not be as expert as any other well-learned skill. In this greatest of our undertakings, there is no virtue in being clumsy.

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To be skilled in our approach to other minds does justice to them and to ourselves. It lets us pay respect to what is subtle and unique in each human being. Man must live with man. He does well to make generous room for his fellow man; and he may rightly hope that generous room will be made for him.

The voice of anger is louder than the voice of love; that of fear more strident than that of understanding. Mental and emotional values, however, are not measured in decibels of sound. Life is not more dramatic in noise than in silence, in conflict than in peace.

Most of us know this—though we often seem to forget it. We know it from experience. The moments when we have most keenly felt the astonishment of life have not been those when someone was calling someone else a fool, or outshouting him in argument, or knocking him down. They have been those in which we have met understanding in some unexpected place. It is in such moments that we have felt within ourselves the sudden upsurge of life's possibilities; and it is where understanding and shared purpose have been built into a going relationship that life feels good at each day's return.

Unless we are deeply disturbed in our emotional make-up, we know that destructive conflict is a poor substitute for the adventures of searching things out together. There may be a crescendo of noise and action when two men get going in argument and pass from angry words to angry blows. Yet far more is actually happening—more human powers are at work—when two men, finding themselves on the edge of angry argument, veer away from that edge and sit down to talk things over—until, finally, one of them gets up, takes a few turns back and forth, stops and looks down at the other, and says quietly, "Yes . . . I think I understand."

We recall here a cartoon. It shows two duelists standing back to back, poised for the signal that will make them pace off the fatal distance from which they must shoot to kill. All is in order for one of the traditional, formalized dramas of conflict. Their seconds, standing in the background now, have seen to the proper preliminaries. All is in order . . . except that one duelist has turned his head enough to say wistfully to the other, over his shoulder, "I don't feel very insulted this morning, do you?"¹

¹ Burr Shafer, "Through History with J. Wesley Smith," *Saturday Review*, January 29, 1955.

He does not feel very insulted. Yet in a few moments he may be dead. For the drama of conflict does not easily set free even those who start it, once it has taken over and cast them as its victims.

It would be impossible to estimate the number of human lives and relationships that have ended in ruin because individuals, groups, and nations that no longer feel "very insulted," but only tired and trapped, still see nothing to do except pace off, as it were, the final irrevocable steps to dis-

aster.

However useful and stimulating, in brief, conflict may be as an emergency measure, it can never serve as the sustaining drama of life. It too easily brings all parties involved to a point where pride, fear, and an inability to see any choice except to "liquidate" or "be liquidated" makes broad the way that leads to destruction.

In this day when we have new psychological insights to work with, we can perhaps take a fresh look at this oldest of problems. We can ask why we so frequently get ourselves into hostile situations from which we cannot then extricate ourselves.

One answer seems to lie in the way we set up our alternatives. Whenever our will is pitted against that of another person, we tend to move into the rigid pattern of *winning or losing*: of overcoming or submitting; of saving our pride or being humiliated; of proving ourselves right or being proved wrong. What this means, in effect, is that our sense of personal integrity is staked on how much fighting strength of one kind or another we can marshal, rather than on how close we can keep ourselves to the realities of a situation.

The importance of changing our mental image from that of *winning or losing* to that of *understanding or misunderstanding* can scarcely be overestimated. It may well be the very thing on which the survival of the race depends. Certainly it is that upon which a multitude of human relationships depend; for if we began to feel as embarrassed about misunderstanding another person as we now feel about having him prove us weak or mistaken, the whole focus of our pride would change. We could then no longer preen ourselves on our simple capacity to argue him down or knock him down: recourse to such methods would mean that we had gone off half-cocked or had somehow fallen short of a proper engagement with the allover facts and values that are at stake.

When people talk about man as a combative creature, much of what they say is beside the point. The real question is not whether conflict—self-defensive, oppositional, competitive—is ever "natural" and necessary, but *how much* of it is necessary and under what conditions. Our common trouble is that we tend to think of it as a *first* resort where there is disagreement or antagonism, instead of as a *last* resort. Thus, to a quite needless extent we let it take over our personalities and our practices.

The reason why conflict in any of its destructive forms should be regarded as a last resort is that it has at most a limited utility. If it gets out of hand, it loses even that. It then becomes not life-preserving but life-inhibiting, and even life-destroying. On the other hand, the utility of understanding is unlimited. It opens up further and yet further vistas of aliveness.

When a personality or group is strongly slanted toward understanding and good will—as in a sound family—it can accomodate its share of conflicts without letting them get

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out of bounds in either their intensity or their spread. Such conflicts rarely do the sort of harm that cannot be undone. They do not get wholly out of hand; nor do they spill over to permeate with open or latent ferocity all relationships and undertakings. They remain *conflicts limited*.

Where, on the other hand, a personality or group is strongly slanted toward conflict—so that attention and energy are more often focused by fear and hostility than by confidence and good will; and where the maintenance of pride and security is made to depend upon winning and dominating—disaster lies ahead. Such a personality or group will more and more insistently start what it cannot finish, and will tear down what it cannot rebuild; and as the tensions of conflict become the very condition of its being, it will progressively deny itself the types of growth by which it might save itself.

What do we mean, in psychological terms, when we say that conflict has only a limited utility and, if not kept well within bounds, loses even that? ✓

Take a family quarrel, for example. This particular quarrel began, perhaps, as many do, in a disagreement too small to matter—or so it would seem. It has taken on size, however, from the hurt pride of each party and the growing determination of each to prove his point and have his own way. Now husband and wife, tense with rage, spit out bitter reproaches; call each other names; drag up past mistakes; generalize each other's faults: "You never . . ." and "You always . . ."

With tempers and prides thus at fever pitch, what can happen? Or, to start with, what cannot happen? The latter question is easily answered: the quarrel cannot continue for long at its present level of intensity. It has to stop being what it is and become something else.

It may become a thing of the past—with anger swallowed up in affection, mutual respect, and a shared sense of the stupidity of the whole thing. That is to say, the drama of conflict may be superseded by the drama of understanding.

Or it may become a thing of the future, developing through stages of bickering, nagging, stiff silence, and recurrent rage to the point where the home becomes a perpetual battlefield or is broken up by divorce.

We may well agree that differences of opinion—even occasional angers—are a normal part of family life. Within the close confines of the home, someone is sure, at times, to get on someone else's nerves. Prides are sure to be ruffled. Desires bred of mood and preoccupation are certain, many times, to pull individuals in opposite directions: no one will always want to lay down his book or his tools at the precise moment when someone else says it is time to be up and going somewhere. Things that seem important to one person—who has been privately thinking about them for days—may be brushed aside as unimportant by another person who is told about them for the first time. Some things that are said are sure to sound sharp and unperceptive.

The utility of such disagreements, however, is certainly limited. They may seem, now and then, to clear the air. But they do so only if they are infrequent, and if they end when they end—with no destructive aftermath of sulks, broodings, hurts, and resentful daydreams about getting even. They invite disaster when they become either chronic or extreme in violence: whether because no one knows how to put an end to them, or because one party or the other is neurotically incapable of feeling stimulated by the drama of peace and wants quarrels and reconciliations to punctuate what he would otherwise experience as a boring dead level of life.

Or we can turn from private conflict to public. Politically, we believe in a two-party system. We believe that there are always enough legitimate differences of viewpoint and enough truth on both sides of most issues to make a one-party system a coercive monstrosity. We believe that periodic campaigns conducted along party lines, and the steady division of legislative bodies into majority and minority groups, make for soundness. They keep those in power and those out of power on their mental toes, and prevent any one group from having exclusive command of the public ear and mind. Here, *within limits*, the drama of conflict appears normal and healthy. This is organized conflict, with rules of order.

But again if conflict limited becomes conflict unlimited, disaster is the outcome. We say that one man's freedom leaves off at another man's nose. There is a similar point at which partisanship must leave off—if it is not to destroy the frame of its own existence. It has to leave off where the common welfare begins. Also, it has to stop short of those extremes of partisan self-eulogy and denunciation of opponents that move outside the frame of reality: excesses that treat politics as exempt from ethical standards; that make rancor and distrust the order of the day; that call black white and white black if party loyalty dictates; that exploit national problems for partisan ends; that cynically revise history for the sake of making campaign capital; and that foster in a weary public the readiness to say, "A plague on both your houses." It has been remarked that every political party dies in the end of swallowing its own lies. We can be fairly sure that where such suicide occurs, healthy partisanship has already been replaced by *conflict unlimited*.

If conflict must be kept within limits, so also must our reliance upon it. There are things it can usefully do for us. As a drama of defense and of competitive choice in a world of many possibilities, it plays its role. Within rules that set bounds to its destructiveness, it stimulates ingenuity, channels effort, and provides a legitimate test of strength and skill.

But equally important are the things it cannot do. Because the drama of conflict is primarily that of gaining our own ends—of self-defense and self-advantage—it does not make for broad perspective. It does not make for a searching appraisal of either our own faults or our opponent's virtues and rights. It tends to make us see both our opponent and ourselves *as we are not*; to act on what we thus see; to justify our

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own actions; to intensify them more and more as the conflict continues; and thus to arrive at a point where even to consider reconciliation except wholly on our own terms seems dangerous, soft headed, and even morally reprehensible. This way madness lies: the madness of a progressive retreat from the shared realities of our living together into a private world where *our* truth is *the* truth.

All this brings us to certain practical considerations. If we cannot rely upon "againstness" as a first or sufficient method of self-defense and self-proving, what can we do instead? Shakespeare, we recall, pointed out that

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

We might paraphrase Shakespeare: there is a point in the conflicts of men where good-willed initiative has a chance to take over; omitted . . . all the voyage of individual lives, or the lives of nations and cultures, may well be bound in shallows and miseries.

One of the most dramatic and creative arts that we human beings are privileged to practice is that of learning how and when to take the initiative in good will; and one of the most stringent tests by which personality can be measured is its courage and skill in trying to resolve conflicts that threaten to assume the proportions of *conflict unlimited*.

We cannot take such creative initiative if we are obsessively concerned with saving face. Neither can we take it if our only definition of success is getting our own way. Sometimes, to be sure, we may find ourselves in predicaments where the disaster of being overcome would be so ultimate a disaster—to our own lives, the lives of those who depend upon us, and the deepest values we cherish—that there may seem nothing to do except resist and, if possible, overcome. Here the law of survival must prevail. In most of the conflicts that mark our personal and group lives, however, this is by no means the case; and even where we can see no immediate thing to do except defend ourselves, there is still the obligation to welcome any reasonable alternative to mutual liquidation that may appear. There is still the obligation, also, to look beyond the intense immediacies of conflict and take some thought of tomorrow—and of the many tomorrows in which the results of conflict will have to be lived with. Carl Sandburg has written,

"Pity us when we shackle and kill each other
And believe at first we understand
And later say we wonder why."¹

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¹ Carl Sandburg, "The Windy City," in *Collected Poems*, p. 277. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950.

One of the basic arts of civility is that of "wondering why" at an earlier stage of the conflict: before damage has been done that cannot be undone.

In any event, the harm we would suffer from offering

good will and having it rejected is, in most cases, greatly exaggerated. We tend to see this harm as overwhelming—as something we dare not risk—less because we have made a realistic appraisal of the threat than because we are unable to experience rebuff without also experiencing deep humiliation and self-distrust.

The likelihood of having good will rejected if it is rightly offered is also, in most cases, exaggerated. Too many of us define this likelihood in terms of a few painful incidents we have not known how to handle, rather than in terms of what most commonly and naturally happens between human beings.

There is, in plain fact, nothing wholly predictable—nothing cut and dried—about what takes place in situations of actual or impending conflict. Both responses and outcomes are various.

We might illustrate with three experiences reported to us by a man of our acquaintance: a man who has worked for many years in the field of adult education and has spoken from many platforms across the country. In three different communities, during a single recent season, he found that there were being circulated about him certain derogatory "facts" that were either plain falsehoods or misinterpretations. On all three occasions, in short, he felt himself undeservedly put into a position to suffer harm.

In one case, he told us, he gave a prize demonstration of the "self-defensive reflex." His not to reason why—nor ask why. His but to bristle; argue; and denounce. Had he lived in the age of the duel, he might have found himself, by the next morning, irrevocably committed to killing or being killed. Having at his command, however, more time to cool off than had the hasty duelist, he was able, in the end, to get into touch with his accusers and to work his way through with them to a tardy, makeshift sort of understanding. But the experience, he felt sure, had left at least minor scars on both himself and his erstwhile opponents. It might have left fewer scars, he suspected, if he had made in the beginning the same approach that, with far greater difficulty, he made in the end.

In the second case, his effort to clear things up with the individuals "on the other side" was promptly and, he thought, reasonably made. Yet it came to nothing. Those who had labeled him as dangerous simply refused to meet or talk with him. Having described him in certain derogatory terms, they were unwilling, it would appear, to run the risk of having to modify their description or to admit an error. They found it easier to keep him outside the pale.

In the third place, he was able—after taking a long walk by himself and thinking the thing through—to go to the individual who seemed responsible for what was being said about him and simply ask about it. He learned that this person had been honestly misled by "evidence" that he had accepted in good faith; but that he was more than ready to put his mind at the disposal of contrary evidence. In this

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instance, the effort to move out of self-defensiveness into understanding brought results that our acquaintance felt to be greatly worth while: new insights for himself; a relaxing of stereotypes that had almost kept him from venturing the approach; a warm new friendship; and a certain confirming of his faith that it makes better sense to try to resolve misunderstandings than simply to take them as final.

These three examples may seem to prove nothing—except, perhaps, that the rewards of effort are unpredictable. They may seem to cancel one another out. We believe, however—as did the man who told us about them—that, added together, they carry a subtle charge of meaning. They constitute, in fact, a kind of imperative. They suggest that the rewards of understanding are so valuable that they far outweigh the risks involved in seeking them. They also suggest that while there is no guarantee that an effort to replace misunderstanding by understanding will succeed, the batting average is about as good as in most other human endeavors.

After all, we live by batting averages, not by perfect scores. The research scientist does not expect that every hypothesis he sets up will prove out. The teacher does not expect every day's lesson to set aflame the minds of youth. We live by making plans and by making efforts that are, so far as we can see, in line with the results we want; by improving our plans and efforts as experience dictates; and by believing that a fair batting average constitutes enough success to justify our staying on the job.

The curious thing, however, is that when it comes to human relationships our ego-preserving mechanism¹ is often so

¹ James Plant, in *The Envelope*, pp. 46 ff. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), uses the term "status-preserving mechanism" to cover much the same thing we mean here by "ego-preserving mechanism"; and he analyzes in clarifying detail the way it often develops in children and the effect it has upon their growth.

rigidly geared to the win-or-lose pattern that we take a single setback as a sufficient reason for giving up the effort. We even take the possibility of setback as a sufficient reason for not making the effort. All too often, therefore, we let a small conflict grow into a large one. Instead of conflict limited we get conflict unlimited—and final disaster.

What is the essence of the drama of understanding? Most of us experience it most vividly, perhaps, in personal love. Here, we say, the barriers go down. Why is such love an experience, at once, of astonishment and "homecoming"—of heightened awareness and deep peace? What makes it roomy enough to hold, at one and the same time, a new sense of personal worth, a new readiness to give one's self into another's keeping, and a new sense of the unique worth of this other person?

The answer seems literally to be that love casts out fear. Extended from one human being to another, it is an emotion that says, in effect, "I single you out as valuable. You don't need to be on guard with me. I won't think any of your thoughts are queer. You aren't alone any longer. Your plans

are my plans, your security my security, and your hopes my hopes."

Thus it is through love that we come closest to harmonizing our sense of separate identity and our deep need to belong. Love tells us that we do not have to choose between maintaining the inviolability of the self and enjoying that sense of togetherness for which all members of our social species are fated to hunger. In love, we can have our identity and also give it away.

Writing of the physical joy that is much more than physical where love is genuine, E. E. Cummings says,

"i like my body when it is with your
body. It is so quite new a thing."¹

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¹ *Collected Poems of E. E. Cummings*, #96. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938.

He might equally well have said, "I like my mind when it is with your mind; my words when they mingle with yours; and my laughter when it is you I am laughing with. I like even my sorrow when you share it, and my shortcomings when you redeem them by your understanding. When I am with you, these are all such quite new things."

This is the sort of experience we hunger for. As it releases us from fear, it releases us into an enriched contact with the world around us and into an enriched use of our own inner powers. Through such experience we come our closest, perhaps, to a type of fulfillment that is not static but growing: that holds both security and surprise; that operates through both giving and receiving. This is what we seek in the most intimate of relationships; and it tells us, if we have the wit and courage to face the implications of our own experience, that the practice of understanding has far more to contribute to the drama of daily life than has the practice of conflict.

To appraise what we most want in our relationships with one another, we need not, however, hold to instances of intimate personal love or even of close friendship. We can take an example from the workaday world. For business reasons, let us say, we have to approach a stranger who has the power to help us if we can get our project across to him, or the power to turn us down. We dread the interview: approach it warily. To our surprise, however, he makes us welcome; listens; puts friendly questions; and finally restates our project in such a way that we realize he not only understands it but dignifies it with his understanding.

What happens? We feel lifted up. Where we expected to dash our foot against the stone of obtuse power, we find ourselves buoyantly supported by his insight. Responsively, we ourselves—with wariness put aside—become more clear and interesting and more able to enter with him into a back and forth weighing of possibilities.

Even if he cannot, in the end, grant what we ask, he has nonetheless bestowed upon us a subtle gift. He has made us more ready to meet with courage and resourcefulness whatever may come next. We trust ourselves more, somehow, than when we approached his office. Also, we trust our project

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more for having heard him treat it with respect. It is, suddenly, "so quite new a thing": this project that is no longer confined within our own anxious mind, but that has come back to us, clarified and appreciated, from the mind of a stranger whom we no longer think of as a stranger.

A business interview of this sort may seem far removed from the intimate astonishment of love. Yet it partakes of the nature of love; and we thrive on it accordingly. It promotes the kind of peace that is *unguardedness*, and the sense of being at home in a situation and equal to its demands, instead of being a clumsy outsider. Thus it grants the gift of freedom: freedom to move out toward reality and explore and appreciate what it holds, and run risks appropriate to the insights we earn, instead of peering cautiously out at reality from behind barriers of self-defense.

Where go-getter stereotypes prevail, we may hear it said of someone who has subverted all other values to those of his own advancement, "He knows what he wants and goes after it." But suppose we conclude that such an individual has never, except in the most narrow sense, known what he wants. Suppose he has never faced the true meaning of his own "best and happiest moments," but has, instead, dismissed these as sentimental and unrealistic. Suppose he has adopted aggression and a philosophy of "the devil take the hindmost" as the basic imperative of life, not because they are what he wants, but because they are the only way he sees to get something he does actually want and that we all want: a sense of security and of personal significance.

Then we must reappraise his overbearing approach to life and see it, not as a mark of his realism and success, but as a mark of his confusion and failure. Then we must say, "This is what tragically happens to those who do not notice or do not trust the message of their own experiences of affection and understanding—or who have known too few of these to risk the belief that they can be made the basis for a way of life."

If, in spite of all the pressures that tempt us to define success and security in terms of power over others, we listen to the voice of our own most fulfilling experiences—our own "best and happiest moments"—that voice is likely to tell us that we are most ourselves when we are least on guard. We are, quite simply, most ourselves when we are most free to explore our world, work productively with its materials, bring our ingenuity to bear upon its problems, and build relationships of mutual trust and appreciation with the people around us.

If we realize this, we may very well "know what we want and go after it." We may want, and know that we want, to participate as often and as deeply as possible in the drama of understanding. If we want this, and know that we want it, we will accept the risks that go with our venturing—just as the "man on the make" accepts the risks of his self-assertive

enterprises.

We will, moreover, as in any other project we really care about, set ourselves to learn how to do what we want to do. It will be the thesis of this book that there are experiments, self-disciplines, and adventures of the mind and spirit that properly belong to the project of self-understanding and of interpersonal and intergroup understanding; and, further, that "human nature being what it is," we can scarcely do better than to practice these.

We have used the phrase "human nature being what it is" with deliberate intent. We have used it to challenge its customary use. We cannot count the times we have heard it employed in derogation of mankind: as though everyone automatically knows "human nature" is pretty poor stuff and that since it is what it is, not much can be expected of it.

One of the privileges, we believe, of living in this time when the psychological sciences are no longer infant sciences but have begun to take on the lineaments of their maturity is that of getting from them a new estimate of human nature. There is something paradoxical about the fact that in the very period when, looking at the disordered affairs of men and nations, we are most tempted to belittle our human nature, the psychological scientists are showing a strong new inclination to dignify and trust it. They can afford to do so; for, having studied its needs, they have been witness to the strength and tenacity of its urge to grow; and having offered it the proper conditions for the release of good will, they have been witness to the emergence of good will.

We might say that Gordon Allport speaks a conviction born not alone of his own psychological researches but of most of the researches and clinical practices on the present pioneering front of psychology and psychiatry when he writes of "the simple fact that human nature seems, on the whole, to prefer the sight of kindness and friendliness to the sight of cruelty. Normal men everywhere reject, in principle and by preference, the path of war and destruction. They like to live in peace and friendship with their neighbors; they prefer to love and be loved rather than to hate and be hated. . . . While wars rage, yet our desire is for peace, and while animosity prevails, the weight of mankind's approval is on the side of affiliation."¹

¹ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, pp. xiii-xiv. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954.

To indicate his bases for these assertions—which seem to fly in the face of every day's headline "evidence"—he points to an accumulating body of scientific knowledge about the causes of destructive conflict and adds, "Within the past decade or two there has been more solid and enlightening study in this area than in all previous centuries combined." That such studies have proved, by and large, to be not only solid and enlightening but also reassuring in their estimate of human nature may well be the top-level news of our day: the news that we most need to hear, trust, and act upon.

It is with this testimony of psychological science added to the testimony of our personal experience that we venture to

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believe that the practice of understanding is that for which the anxious, but still creatively tenacious, spirit of man is now, under the surface clamor of antagonisms, making ready.

T W O

THE DIRECTION OF ENERGY

THE PERSON who feels cornered, physically or psychologically, has a right and natural job to do. He has to protect himself. He may concentrate on simply holding his own. Or he may try to edge his way out of the corner into which he has been driven; or to plead his way out; or, by counter-attack, to force his way out.

With consciousness and energy pin-pointed for such defensive effort, he will not simultaneously let his interest range over broad fields of experience. Neither will he focus upon some creative enterprise that takes him out of himself and puts him, as it were, *out there*—in the problem to be solved, the material to be shaped, the relationships to be established and enjoyed.

A small boy, playing alone at the edge of a pool, has in his own way been seeing a world—or the makings of a world—in a grain of sand. He has scooped out a "harbor." On its surface, now, he carefully places a boat made out of a scrap of bark with an upright mast and a paper sail. The boat tips over: the mast is too far to one side. He corrects the fault; sets the boat on the water again. It is all right this time. He moves it gently across the still surface of the harbor to the point where an eddy catches it and swirls it out, still triumphantly upright, into the broad ocean of the pool. The child looks at his handiwork, and sees that it is good; and sitting back on his heels, he looks around for another suitable piece of bark. He will make a whole fleet. . . .

Suddenly, however, doom is upon him. Absorbed, he has not even heard the approach of an older boy, the neighborhood bully. But now a cruel, deliberate boot comes down an inch from his hand, reducing the harbor to a wallow. . . .

There is no longer a world to be made. There is only a shrinking, inadequate self to be preserved—against hopeless odds.

Or so it seems until, as abruptly as the bully himself, a yet older boy appears. With the ease of strength, he sends the bully packing and then turns his attention to the ruined harbor. "It's all right," he says. "We can fix it up. . . ."

The "we" is pure magic. Again the child has room to move. His world has been given back to him—and given back larger than before. All the original possibilities are there, and to them has been added the spacious gift of comradeship. In almost a frenzy of relief, he goes down on his knees again and starts scooping at the harbor. "Sure we can," he says, his voice shrill with too much feeling. "We can fix it."

The wet sand is good in his hands. It is the sort of thing out of which a world can be made and into which life can be breathed. He will make the harbor bigger than ever. The

two of them together will make a great big harbor. As he works, the tensions of fear, and even those of his initial relief and uncontainable love, gradually relax. He becomes again the human being *who has gone out of himself into a project*. Soon he will be ready, once more, for the intentness of fitting a mast into a piece of bark and getting it just right, so that the boat does not tip over.

We can see what the child does in such a case. If we could also see the inner responses of his body—chemical, vascular, and muscular—we would know much that it would be good for us to know about the child, our adult selves, and what we do to one another.

Even the unaided eye can give us clues. We can see the child's face turn pale and, later, regain its normal color. We can recognize the difference between a body rigid with fear and one that is relaxedly "open" to experience or delicately tensed for the business of getting a mast just right. We can see that the child's eyes, staring up in terror at the bully, are likewise rigid in their focus; they have a fixed look, and even when they are withdrawn from the bully's face, it is to dart about, seeking an avenue of escape, rather than to survey the situation. His frightened eyes, moreover, are larger and darker than they were when he was simply looking around for pieces of bark that would be proper material for a fleet.

We can see these things. But there is much we cannot see except with the inner eye of knowledge. Here the physiologist comes to our aid. He tells us that the human body, under the compulsion of fear and anger, behaves exactly after the manner of the animal body under similar compulsion: it "arms" itself to protect itself. By a process at once intricate and abrupt, it makes ready to run away, ward off, or hit back.

The glandular system takes care of part of this "armaments program." Adrenalin is released into the blood stream, raising the sugar content and therefore the energy level. When an angry or frightened human being does not "know his own strength," it is because that strength is greater than it regularly is: it has been chemically jacked up to meet an emergency.

The vascular system takes on part of the responsibility. Blood that is normally circulated throughout the body for the balanced business of living is now no longer thus evenly distributed. The muscles are given more than their customary share. By the same token, various parts of the body not so immediately involved in the behaviors of crisis are obliged to make do with less than their usual share of blood—and therefore of nourishment. The "higher" brain, the digestive system, the sexual area: all these are temporarily underprivileged. This, we might say, is the "guns or butter" program of the physical organism. When it arms for combat, it makes itself less ready than usual for the accuracies of thought, the assimilation of food, and the relationships of affection.

We read something of this inner drama of the body when we see a face go pale with fear. We read another part of it in

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eyes that go wide and dark: the pupils are enlarged, for the creature readied for self-defense cannot afford to miss any danger signal in the environment. We read yet a further part in the language of muscular tension. Most of us, moreover, have experienced it in the halting of the digestive processes at a time of intense fear or anger; and we have experienced the aftermath as a "postwar" letdown that makes us feel tired all over.

We introduce this matter of the body's response to danger because it tells in fairly precise terms what we do to a fellow human being when we "corner" him: thus putting him so under threat that we almost guarantee his energies' being focused for self-defense. What we do, in such a case, is to make him ready for fight or flight, and unready for loving and learning. *We make him ready, we might say, for animal behavior, and unready for distinctively human behavior.*

The words and actions by which we put him on the defensive may be those of sheer ignorance—as when a teacher believes that she can make a backward child improve his reading ability by threatening and humiliating him every time he makes a mistake. Actually, she makes him more backward.

Or we may be acting out our exasperation—as when the parent of a "clumsy" child makes him more clumsy by keeping him edgy with the expectation that he will be scolded or belittled; or that, if he does not act in haste, things will be taken impatiently out of his hands before he can finish them.

Or we may be reacting to our own past defeats: working off some deep, unconscious rage at life or hiding from ourselves our own fears. Thus, we think of the type of executive who likes to make a subordinate stand waiting, unrecognized and awkward, before his big desk. We can be fairly sure that the executive, in so doing, is revealing his own earlier frustrations.

Or we may move the other person to self-defensiveness by going on the defensive ourselves. It is by such mutual and mounting self-defensiveness, we know, that quarrels and arguments often take on an intensity out of all proportion to their cause. The process is rather like that of the old children's game of fist-upon-fist. As each individual tops the other's irate words with words at a higher pitch of irateness, trivial differences are raised to the level of major differences, and each party to the argument feels that the hazard of "giving in" becomes greater and greater.

In other cases we may be simply obtuse: temporarily too preoccupied or chronically too self-centered to feel the psychic reality of anyone but ourselves; and therefore as unconcerned about crowding another individual into a corner, out of our way, as we would be about shoving aside a chair that blocked our path.

Or, finally, we may know what we are doing to the other person and do it deliberately, for our own calculated reasons.

The speaker, for example, who needles a platform adversary into making a fool of himself, or the investigator or trial lawyer who similarly needles a witness, acts with open-eyed deliberation. So does the wife who knows that if she can needle her husband into a quarrel, she will eventually get her own way. His tactics, for a while, may be those of "fight"; but she has learned that they will, sooner or later, change to those of "flight." He will give in to her for the sake of ending the quarrel.

No matter what our motive is, however, what we do when we force another individual into an intensity of self-defense is, in effect, to reverse the process of evolution. We subtract from him, temporarily, those cubits of distinctive humanity—of thoughtfulness, perspective, humor, creativity, and affection—that have been hard won by the species. We return him to the status of a fighting animal.

There are occasions, of course, when the only suitable response to threat is that of fight or flight. When the danger is akin to the dangers encountered at the animal level of life, it can be handled by the body's "war economy" of mobilized muscle and demobilized head and heart. Thus, the best response for a pedestrian to make when a car that has gone out of control comes bearing down upon him is to get out of the way *fast*. He will do well, temporarily, to forego the human subtleties of thought and affection. If the force that has gone out of control happens to be human, a reaction of "flight"—or it may be, of "fight"—may similarly be called for.

In the world of interpersonal and intergroup relations, however, most of the "cornerings" that induce fear and anger are not of this simple type. They are far more complex. They involve a threat, not to the body alone, but to self-respect, reputation, long-range plans, and cherished values. Where these are at stake, the body's "preparedness program" may be worse than none at all: it may go directly counter to the head's "preparedness program." It may move the individual merely to hit out at someone or something at the very time when thoughtful behavior is most urgently called for; or move him to shortsighted actions where long-range consequences must be taken into account. Thus, it may make him say and do what must later be unsaid and undone if vital human relationships are to be salvaged.

A sound person is one who, by and large, makes distinctively human (i.e., thoughtful) responses to complex problems, and refrains from elbowing or badgering other people into corners where they are forced to meet such problems with the weapons of fight or flight.

It would appear self-evident, today, that our disturbed world needs to be ministered to by head and heart and not by muscle alone—whether it be the muscle of an individual's arm or that of a nation's armaments. It needs to be ministered to by men as creatures of clear thought and warm emotion and not merely—or chiefly—by men as creatures of hard-fist and cold steel.

For better or worse, we are fated to live out our lives in a convulsive period of history: a period when the incitements to fear and anger seem more numerous, obvious, and imperative than the incitements to love and understanding. Yet love and understanding, however mild they may *seem* as a counterforce to fear and anger, appear to be what the world must have. They are our human resource for building workable patterns for our living together—not merely patterns for our fighting one another.

We know this. Yet all too often we are tempted to ask, "What can *I* do?"—and to ask it in a tone that implies that the answer is, "Nothing." To that question, however, there is at least one practical answer: the "I" who is the individual human being can learn and practice the art of making mental and emotional space—*psychic space*, we might call it—in any situation in which he finds himself. Wherever he does this, he gives some other person room to grow; and because he makes growth possible, he sets going in society this other person's quota of distinctively human traits. Thus, in some small measure at least, he increases the likelihood that problems will be brought to some considered and generous solution.

One reason, perhaps, why we do not more clearly see that this is what we can do is that we tend to look at our human situation today with what might be called "night vision." Anyone who has walked far on country roads at night knows how large and strange the ordinary—and even the familiar—can appear when small, intimate details are no longer visible and the landscape is made up wholly of dark shapes within darkness. In the social and political "night" that we are repeatedly told we are in, we see looming shapes—of hostile nations and peoples, delinquent youth, public corruption, abandoned value systems, civil liberties toppling toward collapse, broken homes, alcoholism, rampant criminality, mental illness, depleted natural resources, swarming populations that press hard upon the world's food supply, and atomic warfare.

These are dark bulks in the enveloping "night" described to us by commentator, scientist, platform speaker, politician, and minister in the pulpit. Staring at these bulks with "night vision," we do not see the individual human beings and countless separate situations that "day vision" would reveal. Failing to see them, we fail to respond to them. We let our behaviors fall into the pattern of fear and hostility; or, as though paralyzed by the presence of the "night shapes" that loom around us, we ask helplessly, "What can *I* do?"

To map out what we can do—and what man as a creative moral entity has always done—we need to take account of two facts. The first is that we human beings are so inescapably social in our make-up that whenever we are conscious of one another's presence, we are also, in some measure, responsive to it. This means that every person is a sort of walking, talking reason why the people around him act as they do and not otherwise. He is, to be sure, only one reason. But he is one

reason: He is a stimulus at large in their environment. His words and actions are, in effect, invitations to them to speak and act in certain ways.

The second fact is that *each of us has some area of influence peculiarly his own*. He lives and moves within some kind of daily environment that he shares with other people. Some of these people—his children, friends, neighbors, fellow workers, fellow members of various groups, and even fellow commuters and fellow shoppers in local stores—come repeatedly within his sphere of psychic influence: within the range of his words, tones of voice, moods, attitudes, and actions. His total personality structure thus operates as a sustained force in their lives. Beyond these individuals, moreover, there are always others: those who come occasionally within his sphere and who, for however brief a time, take the impact of what he is and does and are moved to some response. No one of us can rightly say, then, "It doesn't matter what I do."

To check up on this we have only to remind ourselves of certain experiences so common that we have all known some version of them at first hand.

Each of us, no doubt, knows someone with whom everything he says sounds stupid. He tries, perhaps, in the presence of this individual, to express some idea he really cares about and that has seemed, within his own mind, well worth saying. He starts putting it into words. Nothing happens: nothing to make him feel that the other person knows or cares what he is talking about. He meets only a "fish stare." He wishes he had not started; but it is too late, now, for that wish to do any good. He has landed himself in the middle of things and can only stammer his way to a lame and clumsy ending.

Subtly, during this process, his attitude changes from that of *outreach* to that of *self-defense*. This means, as we have seen, that his actual distribution of energy changes. Whereas he was ready, at the beginning, to explore an idea and enter into constructive give and take with regard to it, his awareness has been narrowed now to *self-awareness*. His energies are marshalled for "flight": for getting out of what he has got himself into.

Each of us has experienced in some form this "tightening up" of the self at the touch of psychic coldness. But each of us, also, in all likelihood, has had the happily contrasted experience of feeling the self relax and expand in response to psychic warmth.

The word "expand" has real meaning here. The self *feels larger* when it is engaged in loving and learning than when it is tensed for fight and flight. It feels larger because it is reaching out with more of its human powers to more aspects of its environment; is exposing itself more broadly to impressions from that environment; and is therefore taking in more as raw material for understanding.

Each of us, no doubt, knows someone with whom he is surprised, again and again, at how interesting he is. Not how interesting the other person is; but how interesting he himself

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is. He has started, let us say, to try out an idea: has started tentatively, not too sure of himself. The person to whom he is talking shows warm and appreciative interest that says, in effect, "That's good!" Before long, the speaker finds himself—quickenened and released by this response—thinking better thoughts than he knew he possessed, and expressing them with unwonted clarity and vividness.

There are yet other familiar experiences worth noting. Each of us, for example, has probably known someone with whom, time and again, he ends up in an argument. He has not been feeling particularly belligerent. The day has been going all right. Then he comes within a certain individual's "psychic atmosphere"; and before he knows what has happened, or how it has happened, he finds himself virtually defending to the death something that he does not actually care a hoot about. He finds himself defending it as though the survival of his own ego were at stake.

Or the opposite sort of thing may take place. He may have been going about all day with a chip on his shoulder. He knows his own mood does not make sense. Yet there it is; and it has left in its wake a whole train of irritations and hurt feelings that will have to be patched up another time. Then he comes within the "psychic atmosphere" of someone who does not rise to the bait he offers; who does not take offense; who is neither smug nor superior about it, but who simply does not respond in kind, and whose warmth and humor are large enough to *include him*—not put him on the spot or on the defensive.

What happens to him—and in him? He might well say, in the words of Edwin Arlington Robinson,

"I felt a comfortable sudden change
All over and inside. Partly it seemed
As if the strings of me had all at once
Gone down a tone or two. . . ."¹

¹ Edwin Arlington Robinson, "Captain Craig," in *Collected Poems*, p. 128. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937.

This is about as explicit a way as any of reporting that abnormal tensions have relaxed and that the blood is coursing evenly through the body again, readying that body for normally interested and good-willed relationship to its environment.

The important fact is that no matter how strong and independent we may like to think we are, our feelings and actions are largely *responsive* feelings and actions. We acknowledge this whenever we use such phrasings as "He makes me mad" and "It makes me feel good just to see him coming." The word *makes*, in such context, tells how far all our moods and behaviors are from being self-made.

To know this much, however, is to know something else also: namely, that we ourselves are inescapably *makers* of other people's moods and behaviors; and if these others live within our daily area of influence—as our children do, for example—we may well be in on the making of their personality structures,

When we acknowledge this, we define, in effect, the privilege, responsibility, and strange authority that are ours simply by virtue of our being alive and at large in the human scene. It means that the most telling description of ourselves is the one that is given, every day of our lives, in the responsive behaviors of other people: in what they say and do, or refrain from saying and doing, because we are around. It means also that we can never, so long as we are alive, escape from our role as member of the human race by any act of abdication. We cannot escape by pleading our helplessness: by saying that nothing we do will make any difference. Neither can we escape by protesting that we are not our brother's keeper; for in countless small and large ways we are our brother's *maker*.

Throughout this book we shall be exploring the ways in which we all play in upon one another's thoughts and feelings and, through these, upon our wider society. Whether by deliberate intent or simple contagion, all of us are continually making and remaking certain portions of the human world in our own psychological image. Only as we accept the responsibility implicit in this fact are we likely to be, in any genuine sense, safe to have around—or good to have around. ✓

Here, for the time being, we must be satisfied with a sketchy map of our areas of influence: areas that are, in some measure, common to all our normal selves and that yet are different in detail for each of us.

There are, first of all, those places where we exert an influence upon individuals who have to be around us a good part of their waking lives whether they like it or not. They live with us; or work where we work; or sit in classrooms where we teach; or are otherwise kept so constantly within our "psychic atmosphere" that they have no choice except to breathe it in—and to feel, as a result, vitalized or suffocated.

What begins in these constant associates of ours as a *reaction to us* will tend, in greater or lesser degree, to consolidate itself as *their way of reacting to life*. The type of behavior we manifest in our daily environment is, quite simply, the type that there is likely to be more and more of in that environment as time goes on—and beyond this, in other environments where those who live and work with us make themselves felt.

Far wider than the areas of our constant influence are those in which we come and go among casual acquaintances and strangers. Here, as in more intimate relationships, our best equipment for building a sound psychic atmosphere are those consolidated aspects of character we call civility, fairness, perspective, thoughtfulness, consideration, humor, hospitality, friendliness, integrity.

Where these are readily on tap, the spontaneities of life can be trusted; for things done on the spur of the moment are then likely to be done in such a way that they will confirm the fact that we are all in on the predicament and privilege of

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being human.

One of the signs of emotional immaturity in a person of any age is a tendency to dismiss as of no importance the multitude of touch-and-go relationships that are part of our daily life. The immature individual is "good" only to please or placate some authority—or to avoid being caught. He tends to think, therefore, that it does not matter how he acts toward a stranger he will never see again. The emotionally mature person, in contrast, knows and voluntarily bows to the fact that *people are responsive to people*. This, we might say, is the clue fact of our human existence. People are responsive to one another not only in their sustained relationships but even in their momentary meetings; and what is done to the stranger is likely to become what that stranger carries with him as he moves into a next situation.

Driving through a New England town, one day, we had to make a right turn from one street to another. It was in the sort of quiet neighborhood where people easily become absentminded about traffic; and a man who had driven up the street into which we were turning, and who was slightly over the middle line, glanced in the other direction but not in ours before starting to cut left across our bow. We gave a warning honk: a honk that came out louder and sharper than we had intended. It served its purpose: brought him alive to the situation. But also it startled and irritated him—and his expression said so. As he looked at us, however, we smiled. He smiled back. In this exchange, fleeting as it was, we both said, in effect, "Sorry:" we for the blare of our horn; he for his absentmindedness. We went our way, and he his, warmed by friendliness rather than chilled by animosity.

This is the sort of passing situation in which we all find ourselves more times than we can number: a situation that simply happens; that has no significant ties to past or future; in which nothing of moment seems to be at stake; and yet in which the emotions generated are precisely the same *in kind* as those that add up to happiness or tragedy in our larger affairs. There is no encounter between human beings too trivial or too brief to stimulate a response that is characteristically that of outreach or, in contrast, that of self-defense.

The foregoing analysis may help us to define what must be called wrong in human behavior and what can be called right. It shows up demagoguery and hate-mongering as unmistakably wrong. They are wrong because they make the human being less human: they deliberately effect in him a marshaling of aggressive or self-defensive energies that prevent his calling into use his distinctively human capacity for affection and for getting on to the hang of things. They are wrong because they set out to make some people "corner" others—and to feel virtuous in the act of cornering them. They incite the "elect" to trap and badger the "damned."

For similar reasons, excesses of partisanship show up as wrong. Such excesses encourage human beings to maneuver

others into positions of disadvantage regardless of what they individually deserve; and encourage them also to hold themselves within such rigid, constricted loyalties that they can never see any problem whole, nor appreciate the genuine worth of any person who wears the wrong label.

By this type of measurement, again, the wrongs of Communism—as of Fascism—are made to stand clear. Communism is not wrong because its competitive presence on the world stage happens to inconvenience us. It is not, as “neutrals” would have us think, wrong merely as all human systems are wrong: because it makes its quota of mistakes while we are making our quota, and is tolerating its share of injustices while we are tolerating our share. It is wrong in relation to the way that human energies are distributed—how they are marshalled for creative outreach or for self-defensive hostility.

Communism is wrong, we would say, because it establishes on a gigantic scale a way of life in which the calculated denial of “growing space” is rationalized, idealized, and entrenched as permanent policy. It does this by declaring that it has *the truth*; that this truth is so absolute and so particularized that it overspans every public action and every private relationship; and that all who “deviate” from this truth are truth’s enemies and must be silenced.

What makes Communism wrong, in brief, is not that it has faults, but that it cannot correct these within the frame of “reality” it sets up as its own. This, basically, is what distinguishes it from the western societies. The wrongs that the latter perpetrate and tolerate are those of falling short of the spirit and letter of their own law and their own philosophy; for the spirit and letter of that law and philosophy are dedicated to the making of room for human growth. Thus, they allow room for differences and for the correction of error as insight matures. Also, they are designed to prevent people’s being trapped by false accusations and constrictive prejudices. The proper undertaking of the western democracies, in short, is to become more and more genuinely and consistently themselves. The more they become themselves, the more encouragement they give to the creative and self-corrective powers of man. It is not so with totalitarian Communism. The more Communism becomes itself, the more it denies room for growth—not only to its foes, but to its own people. Its pretenses to the contrary are what give to its use of words—such as “peace,” “freedom,” “liberation,” “democracy,” and “free elections”—such baffling unreality.

Our role as citizens comprises far more, of course, than defining and opposing wrong ways of life. Once we get the feel of our human energy patterns and recognize how they are influenced by the “psychic atmospheres” we create for one another, we begin to discover hitherto unnoticed areas in which our creative ingenuity can go to work: to prevent “psychic cornering” before it occurs and to encourage a meeting of minds.

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The relationships of parents to children, teachers to students, communities to their young people and their old people, management to labor and labor to management, religious groups to one another: all of these are relationships in which it is possible, in some measure at least, to anticipate destructive "cornerings" and take steps to prevent them.

We know, for example, that the prolongation of life, on the one hand, and a fixed age for retirement, on the other, have added up to a "psychic trap" for countless elderly men and women. Therefore, we as a society are beginning to explore the ways in which these men and women can have more spacious opportunities for usefulness and self-respect as long as they live.

We have learned, also, that a worker who is afraid to voice a grievance for fear of losing his job is a trapped worker. Therefore, as an industrial society, we have learned to make arrangements in advance of grievances, before anyone has been put on the spot, for prompt and fair hearings of grievances *as they occur*.

We have learned, to take another example from our educational system, that exceptional children at both ends of the scale are given less than a fair chance to develop their powers within classrooms designed to minister to the growth-needs of children of average ability. Therefore, we have set ourselves, with an increasing clarity of intent, to provide right classroom conditions both for those who can only suffer continuous defeat within the ordinary educational set-up, and for those who, within those same classrooms, can only suffer continuous boredom.

Whether we are thinking merely in terms of preventive measures or, more creatively, in terms of measures that expand and enrich life, each of us has some area of influence to call his own: as citizen; as member of voluntary groups; as one who knows his own field of work; and as member of a family and a neighborhood. Once this fact takes hold of our imagination, we are less likely to ask despairingly or self-excusingly, "What can I do?" Rather, we ask, "Where so much can be done, what do I do first, and next?"

T H R E E

MAKING PSYCHIC SPACE FOR ONE ANOTHER

Whatif HERE IT is known in advance that crowds will come. Whatif pete for standing room, signs are often posted: PLEASE DON'T PUSH. These are to remind each individual that he is not the only one present and that his own share of the space will remain comfortably his only so long as pushing and shoving, elbowing and stepping on toes are kept to a minimum.

As soon as pushing and shoving begin, tempers are frayed, irritation takes over, and attention is diverted from the purpose that has brought people together. The man whose toe has been trampled, whose ribs have been jabbed, or who finds himself pinned against a wall, becomes quite simply a man on the defensive; angry or scared or both; not a man whose

powers are focused for consideration or appreciation.

We know this in physical terms—as we observed in the preceding chapter. Also, we know it in psychological terms. If physical elbow-jabbing makes us want to jab back, so does psychological. If we can feel physically cornered, so we can feel mentally and emotionally cornered. We testify to this fact when we say, “I felt trapped”; or “He backed me up against a wall.”

What this points to is clear: namely, that if we wish other people to think broadly and feel deeply in our presence, we must give them room to do so. We must provide space enough to hold the sort of thoughts and feelings we ask them to have. If, for example, we want them to consider all sides of a subject, we must give them the mental chance to walk around it and look at it from all sides. It makes no sense for us to argue them into a corner where they can think only of how to hold their own against us or how to escape. If we want them to be people of vision, it makes no sense for us to suspend over them, like the sword of Damocles, our own particular viewpoint—letting them know that they had better see things as we see them, or else.

Energies marshalled for self-defense, attack, or escape are not simultaneously marshalled for quiet thought, warm affection, deep appreciation, long-range planning, or compassion. Before we yield, then, to the impulse to put another person on the spot, bludgeon him into compliance, or trap him into making a fool of himself, we must decide what kind of person we want him to become: what marshalling of his energies we hope to encourage.

In *The Little World of Don Camillo*, Giovanni Guareschi shows what happens when a normal town becomes a frightened one. No one planned the coming of the fear to that little town in the Po Valley. But the situation was ripe for it. Political partisanship between Communists and anti-Communists had been running high. Then an unplanned incident occurred. Smilzo, a leading Communist, was accidentally injured. His fellow Communists, finding him unconscious, jumped to the conclusion for which they had been emotionally set: a bomb had been thrown by the opposition. Who could have done it? They were ready with their answer: a certain man was said to have voiced a threat. As a mob they surged off to this man's house, primed for violence.

The supposed murderer was at home with his wife and child: had been there all evening. But the mob was in no mood to see him as innocent. He was accused; threatened. Then, even while the argument continued in the farmhouse kitchen, someone in the mob outside shot at him through the window. He died next morning.

From that moment, fear stalked the town. Every man looked at every other with suspicion in his eyes. Before people had been friends, neighbors, or openly acknowledged opponents they were strangers now. Walled about by mutual fear, they were unable any longer to think the frank thoughts or make the frank movements of free men. Although physically

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the town lay unaltered—as large as ever—psychologically it had become too small for people to live in.

One evening shortly before Christmas, Don Camillo was at work in the rectory, touching up the figures of the crèche. There, Peppone, mayor and leader of the Communist Party, found him. Peppone was his political enemy. Yet because they had been comrades in the resistance movement against the Fascists, they were united by bonds that came closer to being those of affection than either wanted to acknowledge.

Peppone was in a black mood. In the miasma of fear, he trusted no one, not even himself. He had relied, always, on his big fists. Now these were of no use to him. The enemy was a faceless emotion, not localized in a specific body that could be knocked down. Worst of all, he had, in his depression, begun to doubt the cause to which he had devoted his prowess.

"I'd like to give it all up," said Peppone, "but it can't be done."

"What stops you?"

"Stops me? With an iron bar in my hand I could stand up against a regiment!"

"Are you afraid?"

"I've never been afraid in my life!"

"I have, Peppone. Sometimes I am frightened."

Peppone's next remark was one that he could not possibly have given a few moments earlier:

"Well; so am I, sometimes," he said, and his voice was almost inaudible."¹

¹ Giovanni Guareschi, *The Little World of Don Camillo*, pp. 202-203. New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1950.

What made possible this final admission of Peppone's, so out of character with his burly strength and Communist belligerence? To answer this question, we might take the liberty of revising the conversation. Suppose it had gone this way:

"Are you afraid?"

"I've never been afraid in my life!"

"That's what *you* say! I'll bet you're scared stiff right now!"

Would Peppone then have acknowledged his fear? Obviously, he would not and could not have done so. There was nothing in his way of life to make him meek in the face of such a challenge. He could answer as he did only because Don Camillo made room for that answer by admitting his own fear. When Don Camillo said, "I have, Peppone. Sometimes I am frightened," the rectory became, in psychological terms, a roomier place than all the rest of the town put together. It was the only place in town large enough to let fear in, let it be recognized and named, and yet not crowd out self-respect and mutual respect.

What Don Camillo did for Peppone—and thereby for himself and for the whole town—was the sort of thing we are repeatedly called upon to do for one another, and that we all too repeatedly fail to do. Instead, more often than it is pleasant to realize, we say something that guarantees the

other person's remaining on the defensive: something equivalent to, "That's what *you* say! I'll bet you're scared stiff right now!" It takes a generously structured self to make for another person the kind of psychic space in which he can find room for both his self-respect and the acknowledgement of his emotional problems and limitations.

Making psychic space for one another, in short, means, among other things, making room for thoughts and feelings that may not be pretty or brave or noble, but that are human—and that are harmful chiefly when "bottling up" and self-deception have made them explosive, surreptitious, or perverted.

One more question is here in order. Suppose Don Camillo had, by skepticism or contempt, forced Peppone into a corner where he had to keep up his boast that he had never been afraid. Would this have made him safer to have around? Would it have made him less likely to do the destructive things that scared men do? Obviously not. Only when Peppone admitted his fear did he stage a return from the world of faction to the world of reality—where he could take his fears in hand. He was far less likely thereafter to indulge in the extravagant fictions of self-proving. When he said—though almost inaudibly—"Well, so am I, sometimes," he was speaking truth to himself no less than to Don Camillo; and he became more able, not less able, to help restore himself and his frightened community to sane and normal life.

People need room to recognize and acknowledge their less praiseworthy thoughts and emotions so that they can manage them while they are still manageable; but even more, perhaps, people need room to turn around when they find themselves going in the wrong direction. They need psychic space in which to correct errors—and move beyond them.

Man is a mistake-maker. This fact is at once his embarrassment and his glory. It is his embarrassment because his mistakes so often make him look stupid, in his own eyes and those of the people around him, and because they repeatedly get him into situations from which he does not know how to extricate himself. But it is his glory, also; for his power to make more mistakes, and more varied mistakes, than can be made by any lower animal is the badge of his having escaped from the tight prison of instinct and become an explorer of life's wider possibilities.

Likewise, however, man is an ego-defending creature. If his ego is put under threat every time he makes a mistake; if he is taunted, punished, or cast in the role of fool, he will almost certainly develop tactics of self-defense that are also tactics of self-deception and self-distortion. He will learn to disown his errors, or excuse them. Or, by way of compensation, he will become hypercritical of others. Or he will avoid situations that put him to the test. He may even convert his way of error into his "style of life"—as do those delinquents and criminals who take perverse pride in their antisocial skills. As a matter of self-defense, in brief, he will refuse to see himself as a mistake-maker—and so will both stunt his own

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growth and become a problem to other people.

This fact points up our obligation to let one another make a normal quota of mistakes, acknowledge them, learn from them, and move beyond them—keeping intact, all the while, a reasonable self-respect and self-confidence.

Most of us do not admire either people who never admit a mistake, or those who never let anyone else forget a mistake, who time and time again drag up old errors as a basis for new reproaches. Furthermore, most of us hold to a religious philosophy that recognizes our human fallibility and our consequent need to forgive and be forgiven. Yet for all this, it seems, we try every dodge where our own mistakes are concerned, except the simple one of admitting them; and we often make it as hard as possible for other people to admit theirs. Instead of giving them room to turn around, and supportive companionship while they make the turn, we edge them into a corner—where they, after the manner of all trapped creatures, defend themselves as best they can.

This, we believe, is the tragic story back of many of the personality disorders, stubbornly maintained injustices, and rampant hostilities that so beset our private lives and public practices. It is the story of errors defended or disowned because those who have made them have seen no way, and have not been helped to find any way, in which to harmonize self-defense with the admission and correction of error.

We might consider, for example, one sort of case that has become familiar in our time. Here, we will say, is a man who, during the 30's and the years of the Second World War, gave support of one kind or another to various groups that have since been classified as Communist "fronts." He made a donation here; signed a petition there; let his name be listed among the sponsors of a meeting; was briefly a member, though never a policy-making member, in one or more such organizations.

His "affiliations" expressed no commitment to Communism and certainly no intention of undermining our government. He donated, signed, sponsored, or joined because the groups, as portrayed in the materials made available to him, seemed wholly legitimate and humanitarian in purpose. He gave his support, in brief, in exactly the same spirit and for exactly the same reasons that he gave it, and has continued to give it, to other groups that have never been viewed with suspicion.

Because of a handful of such past "affiliations," however, he may now find himself officially or unofficially "listed," with his reputation and even his livelihood put under threat. It is a matter of vital importance not only to himself but also to his family, friends, and employer that his equivocal position be clarified. More than this, however, it is a matter of vital importance to our democracy itself, in a time when real dangers need to be distinguished from pseudo-dangers, and when those who have deliberately infiltrated an organization must be distinguished from those who joined in good faith,

that confusions of this sort be cleared up.

It is important, in this kind of a case, that no needless ambiguities remain; for each such ambiguity gives aid and comfort to destructive forces in our midst and provides a "cause" for those disturbed personalities that make their own importance out of pointing condemnatory fingers at their neighbors. It can be readily exploited by demagogues and by those new profiteers among us who have found that fear and suspicion are marketable commodities. It can, likewise, be turned to good account by the Communists themselves, who most of all benefit by our mutual recriminations.

What is needed in such a case, in brief, is a quietly resolute determination to replace confusion with clarity. This determination, moreover, should characterize both the individual himself and those whose minds frame questions about his past. All too often, we know, it characterizes neither—and after enough condemnatory things have been said, on the one hand, and enough self-defensive things, on the other, and after enough people have rallied in support of each side, and enough publicity has been given to the denunciations and denials, there seems little room left for any movement toward understanding. The victory, then, belongs to those who thrive on confusion.

What commonly happens in such a case? And how does it comport with either the broad realities of the situation or the common integrities and decencies of our living together?

The challenged individual feels himself to be innocent—and feels that the open record of his life, taken in its entirety, testifies to that innocence. Also, he suspects that the chief reason why some of his most vociferous accusers never got caught themselves by any similarly ambiguous groups is that they have never supported *any* moment on the risky pioneering edge of society. Their "virtue," as he sees it, is not the keen discrimination they now charge him with having lacked, but simply a habit of social unconcern. This habit, now, by a turn of the wheel of history, is paying them peculiar dividends: enabling them to set themselves up as "experts in patriotism." The more he ponders this, the more deeply he feels the unfairness of his situation; and the more he feels, also, that to take any steps to set the record straight would be humiliating and unprincipled. Thus, *not* acknowledging past ignorances and errors becomes in itself a "cause."

If the individual in question does try to approach his most determined accusers with clarifying evidence, he may have the shocking experience, moreover, of discovering that even though they loudly demand that he clear up his record, they do not want it cleared up. Moved by a sort of psychological "blood lust," they want him to be guilty. They want him to be guilty because they have called him so. Or they want him to be guilty because he is the sort of "liberal intellectual" or "scientist" whom they have long feared and distrusted, but whom they have never before had such a good chance to put on the spot. Therefore, they may—and frequently do—refuse even to talk with him. Or with a wholly complacent sense of their own virtue, they settle for calling him, not a Communist

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indeed, but a gullible "dupe" of the Communists.

{ quote

Focusing with more and more anxiety and anger upon those who thus seem determined to misjudge or deliberately to injure him, the challenged individual is likely to lose sight of the fact that, in spite of the noise they make and the claims they make for themselves as experts, his accusers are not typical. They are not a majority—either among his neighbors or within his local or national government. Staring at them, however, until he sees their afterimage everywhere, he makes them a majority in his own consciousness. He assumes that as they act, so people in general would act if he ventured toward them with his problem.

From that point on, he is in grim reality trapped by those who will not grant him psychic space. Feeling himself hemmed in, he cannot do quietly and simply what is called for: he cannot walk around the self-deluded few, and beyond them, toward those who may be variously confused by what they have heard about him, and confused also about what does and does not promote national security, but who still prefer facts to unfounded charges: who do not want to hate or to be unjust. He does not approach those, in or out of government, who want sanity to prevail—and who will give him all the room he needs for stretching his mind and clarifying his position—because he has persuaded himself that, outside his own particular group of supporters, such people are almost nonexistent.

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If by good luck, however, or on good advice, he finds himself in the presence of someone who simply relaxes and says, "Tell me about it," he may abruptly discover what psychic space means. It is the kind of space in which broad realities can be looked at; in which thoughts can range widely; in which truths can be sorted out from among half-truths and falsehoods; and in which a human being can stand tall in self-respect even while he acknowledges that he has not always acted wisely and does not know all the answers.

When an individual is called a gullible dupe of the Communists, he has room only for the emotions and gestures of self-defense. But it is different where the person to whom he is talking says, "That was a different period of history, back there. It's hard to see how you could have detected Communist influence at that time in some of those groups. You probably didn't even have reason to look for it." Within the spacious generosity and realism of such a judgment, the individual can afford to wonder about his own attitudes and decisions—and to think aloud, perhaps, about the fact that more than once, in earlier years, he dismissed evidence of Communist infiltration as the trumped-up stock in trade of reactionaries and Fascists. Not being called blind, in short, he does not have to prove that he has always seen clearly. Not being called wrong, he does not have to prove himself right. Not being called guilty, he does not have to protest his innocence.

Given room, he can explore his own judgments, as well as those of his opponents and supporters. He can see fanaticism,

demagoguery, and stereotyped thinking for what they are, without seeing himself as above reproach, or seeing as a fanatic or demagogue everyone who takes seriously the problem of Communist infiltration. Having received psychic space, he can move around in it; and far more than when he was rigidly on the defensive, he can grant such space to others—thereby helping to restore the sanity of our common life.

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We need to give one another room, however, for far more than the correction of error. We need to give room for what is individually unique and constructively human in one another: curiosity about the make-up of things, zest in experimentation, pride in accomplishment, creative imagination, appreciation of the beautiful, admiration, gratitude, and love. For all of these we must provide psychic space; for they make up the spaciousness of life.

Yet often, for reasons that lie deep within our own personalities, we do not make room for them. We drive them into hiding with our flippancies and pseudosophistications. We cut across them with our impatience. We hedge them about with our dogmatisms, our narrow definitions of the "practical," and our nervous definitions of the "proper."

More than thirty years ago, in her novel *So Big*, Edna Ferber gave us a sentence that summed up the contempt of the "practical" man for the "impractical" lover of beauty: "Cabbages is beautiful!"

Many readers will remember the story of Selina who, left alone while still almost a child, fed her hungry spirit on poetry and on every beautiful thing that met her eyes. Out of these she made her courage; and this courage took her out of Chicago, as a teen-age girl, to teach in the Dutch school of High Prairie. She was driven there seated beside Klaas Pool, farmer and school director, in the wagon in which he brought his garden produce to the Chicago market.

"So they jolted up the long Halstead road through the late October sunset. . . . Mile after mile of cabbage fields, jade-green against the earth. Mile after mile of red cabbage, a rich plummy Burgundy veined with black. Between these, heaps of corn were piled up sunshine. Against the horizon an occasional patch of woods showed the late russet and bronze of oak and maple. These things Selina saw with her beauty-loving eyes. . . ."

She saw them, and she responded as a human being is equipped to respond: with the joy of appreciation.

"Oh, Mr. Pool!" she cried. "Mr. Pool! How beautiful it is here!"

Klaas Pool had been driving with his eyes straight ahead. It took time for his mind to receive her words even enough to be surprised at them. When they did work in, he turned toward Selina a slow head and pale, uncomprehending eyes:

"Beautiful?" he echoed, in puzzled interrogation. "What is beautiful?"

Then Selina made the mistake—if we count it a mistake—

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that was to establish her, at the very start of her teaching career in High Prairie, as a proper object of heavy, obtuse, humor. She answered his question: "This! The—the cabbages."

Klaas Pool "knew cabbages from seed to sauerkraut; he knew and grew varieties from the sturdy Flat Dutch to the early Wakefield." But for Selina to see them as she did was incomprehensible absurdity.

"'Cabbages is beautiful!' his round pop eyes staring at her in a fixity of glee. 'Cabbages is beautiful!'"¹

¹ Edna Ferber, *So Big*, p. 23-25. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1924.

The humor of Klaas Pool was not malicious. He had no wish to make the young girl at his side retreat from spontaneity into a prim correctness: to retreat, as it were, from being freely herself to being stilted by the new teacher. But because his own experience had given him no room in which to hold together the two concepts of *beauty* and *cash crop*, he could not grant to Selina her right to see cabbages as beautiful.

We may not have the physical or mental heaviness of a Klaas Pool. Yet all too many of us have definitions of the practical, the important, the efficient, the smart, the respectable, and the interesting that we impose like strait jackets upon other people's thoughts and feelings. We have our own ways of declaring that "everyone knows this"; or "anyone in his right mind can see"; or "no one but a sentimental fool would believe"—when what we actually mean is that some people of our own kind (who confirm us in our particular pattern of life, as we confirm them in theirs) thus "know," "see," and "refuse to believe."

There is one further type of space we must grant to one another if we are to do what is called for not only in behalf of individual growth but for the sake of democracy's fulfillment: we must make room for the *outsider* to move in and become an *insider*.

The word *outsider* is one of the lonely words of our language. It calls up the image of the human being isolated from his kind: not able to move into their fellowship; not able to interpret what is going on, and therefore anxious and awkward in any approach he tries to make; not able to contribute his knowledge and skill; and to be valued accordingly.

We think of the displaced person, for example, doomed to physical life in a cultural vacuum. Around him, people put in their days after the common manner of human beings. They talk to one another—in a language not his. They have work to do that is their work. They have accustomed ways: ways that are not intrinsically right or wrong, but which constitute the easy "second nature" of their communal life. They are free to express opinions about how things should be done; free, when they feel like it, to judge and criticize. It is *their* society. It is not his.

Or we think of the child of migrant parents, dragged from school to school, from one area of ripening crops to another: a child who never stays long enough in any one classroom to

feel easy with what is expected of him, nor long enough on any playground to make friends—so that he can feel confident that where two or three of these are gathered together, they will spontaneously widen their circle to include him if he runs to join them. He is the outsider against whom, intentionally or thoughtlessly, the other children keep their circle closed.

Not in such drastic cases only, however, can we recognize the outsider. We think of the teen-ager who never knows why his words and actions are not right by the standards of the group: why he is marked as “different” and “queer.” Or we think of the individual who is an outsider in his own family: quiet among the boisterous; frail among those who are proud of muscle; slow among the quick of mind—and therefore one to be taunted or handled with a too obvious patience or looked at with eyes that are puzzled even when they mean to be kind. Or we think of the old person—an outsider under the roof of the vigorous young—who knows that those who help him, with brisk conscience, to find small ways to occupy his hours, hold the unacknowledged belief that his proper occupation is to die.

However we may have come by the experience of “outsideness”—however any person comes by it—the important thing is for us to know what it does to a human being. It excludes him. With reference to some part of his world—some group, activity, field of knowledge, scheme of values, even topic of conversation—it leaves him in the dark: unsure of both his footing and his direction. He cannot see—and therefore cannot do—what would make him an insider.

If the situation from which he feels excluded is emotionally important to him; if, try as he will, he cannot get on to the hang of it; and if, further, the experience ties in with many previous experiences of exclusion, it may exert a deeply disruptive influence on his personality. The individual’s awareness, in such a case, may become an in-turning awareness—so that he cannot give to the objective world the sort of interest and attention that would make him, gradually, an insider. His estimate of that world, moreover, may become progressively based on one fact: that it has, or seems to have, shut him out.

Here, for example, is a man who long ago got off to a bad start in school. His home gave him no friendliness with books. Neither was it hospitable to “impractical” questions nor to the sort of “idle” staring by which a small boy becomes an insider to the world of bugs, plants, clouds, and stars. From almost his first day in school, being ignorant of much that the other children knew, and inhibited where they seemed emotionally free, he was rated as “backward” by his teacher. His classmates, catching him time and again in some ignorance that seemed to them incredible, decided he didn’t know anything.

He was an outsider—among the students, among books, among the gadgets and natural objects the teacher brought in for illustration. Whether in the classroom or on the playground, he experienced chiefly the sense that the human

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circle was closed against him. No one, not even the teacher, widened that circle to welcome him. He hated school. Or, in more precise psychological terms, *he hated being what school made him be; hated feeling about himself what school made him feel.*

This individual, now, is a man in his late forties. He has no use for "intellectuals." "If anyone blows up the world, it will be those guys." In his community, he is first to suspect the educated person—almost any educated person—of being disloyal. In his home, he is first to make sure that no kid of his will sit around with his nose in a book. The type of psychic space that was denied to him during his formative years, he now denies to others.

The concept of such space, however, does not need for its illumination merely one example after another. It is the core concept of our maturing psychological sciences. Wherever these sciences begin to have a genuine impact upon us, their primary effect is that of persuading people to give other people room to breathe, to move freely with their minds, to turn around if need be—and therefore to grow.

This development has had conspicuous triumphs in the field of parent-child relationships. Here, the essential insight is that growth will take place only where there is mental and emotional room for growth. Neither child nor adult will manifest an increasing good will and creativeness if he is kept so on the defensive that his energies are chiefly focussed for fight and flight. The infant who screams in fear and rage when it is held so tightly that it cannot move when it wants to, is, we might say, our whole humanity writ small.

The principle of space-making is operating, also, in the emerging programs of human relations in industry. What these programs chiefly provide is more psychic space in situations of daily work than was there before.

In a certain New England mill town, factory buildings that have stood for generations were recently taken over by a new enterprise. The cubic footage of the buildings has not materially changed since the 1880's. The psychic "footage," however, has increased almost unbelievably. This particular mill was once a place where workers—men, women, and children—were treated as expendable; and where, if they wished to stay on the job, they kept their mouths shut and their minds empty of questions. Today, workers who go in through the same old doors to their allocated desks or machines move in an atmosphere of astonishing new spaciousness. If they see ways to improve production or human relationships, they can talk these out; and if they can make them seem even fairly practical, try them out. The enterprise still has, to be sure, its points of friction. Yet the contrast with what the same walls once contained dramatically illustrates the fact that where the psychological sciences move into industry, they become makers of a highly valuable product: breathing space for the minds of men.

When the priest, Don Camillo, said to Peppone, the Com-

munist mayor, "Sometimes I am afraid," he gave Peppone room in which to say, in effect, "Me too." Wherever human beings are permitted to move from a strictly defensive position to one of free and honest association with their kind—and with their own thoughts—they begin to discover the common bases of their living together, and, no less, the unique and stimulating diversity of their many minds.

F O U R

SPACE FOR OURSELVES ALSO

PSYCHIC space is not something we can make for others if we cannot make it for ourselves. The power to treat life as "roomy" rather than cramped will show forth in all our attitudes—or in none. It will reveal, in short, something quite basic about ourselves.

One triumphant aspect of our nature is expressed in the familiar lines:

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage."

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One tragic aspect of our nature, however, lies in the fact that it does not take stone walls to make a prison nor iron bars to make a cage. It takes only a distorted notion of what will happen to us if we undertake any new venture.

This is what neurosis stems from: the fact that the human being has a capacity to make invisible fetters for himself. How he does this is one central insight of modern psychology. *The neurotic translates experience that he has not been able to negotiate into derogatory generalizations about life.* He then acts upon these derogatory generalizations and not upon objective evidence. Whatever happens around him or to him, in fact, becomes for him "evidence" to support his unhappy "truths."

Conrad Aiken, in "The House of Dust," observes that

" . . . one, with death in his eyes, comes walking slowly

And sees the shadow of death in many faces. . . ." ¹

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¹ Conrad Aiken, "The House of Dust," in *Selected Poems*, p. 117. New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1931.

A neurotic, we might say, bears in his own eyes that which makes him see all persons and situations as threatening. He has, therefore, no room to move. He can only huddle within whatever psychic enclosure he has devised for himself as being less awful than the world outside.

The victim of neurotic self-pity is a case in point. The world he sees holds chiefly people who, to his mind, do not understand or appreciate him and circumstances that are against him. He hates that world. Yet he is under desperate compulsion to resist any evidence or any experience that would make it appear less hateful; for his derogatory description of the world has become his chief justification for his own inadequate conduct of life.

The friend or relative to whom he makes his repetitive complaints may try to suggest some way out: may open up this or that opportunity; may offer to help him toward some new venture. But always the neurotic will see why the proffered chance is no chance at all; for other people, yes; but not for

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him. The more convincingly it is presented, moreover, the closer he will come to resentful panic in his rejection of it. He cannot accept a more spacious version of life than that to which he has made his painful accomodation.

A second type of self-trapped neurotic is the kind we speak of as a hostile personality. Such an individual holds within himself, as a carry-over from past defeats, an anger so unresolved and so inclusive that it attaches constantly to life itself and not, like normal anger, occasionally to some specific aspect of life. Thus he is against people and situations even before he encounters them—and in spite of any characteristics they may show.

As a personality trait, and not merely a response to some specific stimulus, hostility has various expressions: hypercriticalness, for example; readiness to belittle and disparage; a habit of nagging; a tendency to hold grudges; many-sided prejudice; cynicism; suspicion of people's motives; xenophobia; "patriotism" that seems to have no content except hatred for some enemy; a way of bringing every conversation around to something that can be deplored or viewed with alarm; quickness to take offense and to see personal opponents as public enemies; a readiness to exploit, humiliate, and intimidate; a habit of defining success in terms of status and power over others; and contempt for the "soft" enterprises of reconciliation.

The hostile person, in short, is ranged against the quietly exploratory attitudes; the remedial and nurturing ones; and those that search for agreements. Such an individual is at the opposite pole from the space-maker. Intent to corner lest he be cornered, and to liquidate lest he be liquidated, he simply cannot accomodate the thought that perhaps life holds room for all.

Beyond the self-pitying and the hostile are yet other types: the neurotically rigid, for example. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, in *Vermont Tradition*, tells a story that has come down in her family from the late eighteenth century; and we might borrow it here to describe the peculiar self-trapping of the rigid personality. Her great-grandfather, then a boy, was sent out one morning before breakfast to let the sheep out of the barn, so that they could reach the watering trough. Having opened the big door of the barn, he let down the bars of the sheepfold inside, and watched while the flock, "led by the majestically authoritative ancient ram," moved toward the barn door, with the dust raised by their pattering feet making a thin cloud around them.

"But they did not go out. When the old ram . . . came to the open door, he halted, shaking his great horned head in uncertainty. Behind him, all the flock stood still. . . ." ¹ The

¹ Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Vermont Tradition*, p. 189. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953.

boy could not understand it—until he pushed his way through the flock to a point where he could see what the ram saw: "the just-risen sun sent through a knothole in the barn wall a long ray across the opening of the door. In the dusty

air of the barn it looked like a solid yellow bar. . . ."

The rigid personality, we might say, is as firmly held within a fixed pattern of response as was this ram; and the fact that nothing more resistant than a shaft of light blocks his road to freedom has nothing to do with the case.

{ quote

So much for the neurotic. But what about the rest of us? We have all met emotional problems we have not known how to handle; and to the extent that they have deeply baffled us, we have carried forward on the ledger of our lives certain vulnerabilities and habits of self-defense. The barriers by which the self-pitying, the hostile, and the rigid are held back from the great venturings of the human spirit are barriers that halt and hamper every one of us at some point or another, in greater or lesser degree.

If the distortions our personality has suffered are limited enough that we can still, by and large, enjoy our human experience, believe in its worth, have a liking for those who share it, and accept its risks, we can—sometimes at least—catch ourselves in the act of trapping ourselves; and can set ourselves free. It is this measure of initiative that distinguishes the person we call sound.

No one, of course, will always recognize the point at which he stands cornered by his own attitudes. But we can effect a measure of self-release if we realize even occasionally that what holds us back from experience is a barrier more like the shaft of light that trapped the ram than like a solid bar. Each time, moreover, that we thus set ourselves free, we become more ready to suspect that the "bars" between us and further venturings are not as unpassable as they appear.

Taking ourselves as a case study, we would like to relate an incident from two summers ago on our Vermont farm. Early one morning we took a walk up the country road. By the time we returned, the sun had come over the Green Mountains and a flood of light lay across our lawn and perennial bed. The beauty halted us; and as we stood looking, there was enacted before our eyes one of the small mysterious dramas of growth. Responding to the warmth of sunlight, the swelling bud of an Oriental poppy dropped off one part of its three-part calyx; and the flaming, crinkled petal beneath unfolded a little. We went closer—close enough to lean over the bud with concentrated attention—and could actually see the petal's unfolding movement. The push of life was made visible before our eyes.

We waited, intent. Time passed. The sunlight grew warmer. A second part of the calyx fell away. By almost imperceptible degrees the bud was becoming an open flower.

Just as the last petal was uncrinkling, one of our farm neighbors came down the road on his tractor. He is a man who, as the Vermont saying goes, works from "can see to can't see"; and who, for all his long hours and hard work, can wrest from his worn and stony acres little more than a bare subsistence. Now, seeing us, he slowed his tractor to a stop

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to say good morning. "You're working early," he volunteered.

At this point, a peculiarly insidious temptation almost had its way with us; the temptation to say, "Yes, there's always a lot to be done." It was the temptation, in short, to assume that he, living in terms of work and more work, would respect us as early workers, but would feel only an astonished contempt for our actual reason for being there.

Happily, on impulse, we pushed the temptation aside: "Not working. We've just been standing here watching this poppy bud open. . . ."

His face, tired looking even that early in the morning, lighted up. "No fooling!" he said with interest . . . and withdrew from the gear shift the hand that had been about to reinstate motion.

We told him, then, how that first falling section of calyx had caught our eye . . . how we had waited . . . how the crinkled petals had become those of an open flower; and he, from where he sat on the tractor, turned his eyes to the poppy and looked at it quietly for what seemed a long time before he jerked himself back to the day's demands. "Well . . ." His hand went to the gear shift. He and his tractor went off down the road; and we looked after him, feeling humbly that we knew him a little better than before.

We recall this experience in all its detail because we so nearly missed out on having it. We came dangerously close to making a wrong guess—too tight and arrogant a guess—about a fellow human being. And, as the Duchess in *Alice in Wonderland* might say, the moral of that is that if we want to like the people around us, we had best give them a chance to be likable.

If we had acted on our first ready assumption that our farm neighbor could value nothing beyond the workaday "practical," we would have denied him the chance to offer us any contrary evidence. Also, we would have done an unnoticed second thing: *we would have set rigid limits to the types of experience we would let ourselves venture in his presence.* We would have denied ourselves room to move beyond the workaday "practical" when he was around.

Incidents of this sort may seem trivial in this world of clamorous hostility and gigantic issues. Yet what almost happened that morning was psychologically akin to more disastrous things we do as individuals and groups—under the illusion that we are protecting ourselves or being "realistic." We make assumptions about people that are too small to hold them; and then, having invited into the open only a scrap of their nature, we blame them for their mental and emotional poverty, and, at the same time, condemn ourselves to live and move among "smaller" people than are actually on hand as companions in thought and effort. Beyond our estimates of individuals, moreover, we make equally narrow assumptions about the kind of world we are in and what can be done with it; about life itself and what it holds in the way of possibilities. With each such fixed derogatory judgment,

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we unwittingly trap ourselves; set limits to what we will try; narrow the range of our experience.

What are some of the common ways in which we deny ourselves psychic space? One such way might be called that of keeping *down* with the Joneses—as we take the Joneses to be. We refer here to the all too familiar practice of saying that most people are stupid and then trimming down our own words and actions to the presumed dimensions of other people's understanding.

We think, for example, of the platform lecturer who, privately despising his audiences, makes his own public performance despicable: superficially smart, lazily slipshod, condescending, or vacantly platitudinous.

Or we think of a certain man we know who defines a friend as a person who is always around until you need him—and who then makes haste to be somewhere else. All friends, he likes to declare, are fair-weather friends. In thus describing them, however, he takes no account of the fact that he himself never talks with anyone about anything except fair-weather subjects. If he has perplexities, convictions, hopes, memories that go deep, and yearnings that would establish him as a member of the human fellowship, he keeps them proudly to himself: they are not to be shared with the herd. If, moreover, anyone else takes a conversational step beyond the margins of small talk, he quickly blocks this move with his flippancy, cynicism, or self-assertive dogmatism. The inevitable result is that even "friends" whom he has known for years remain strangers: strangers whom he chooses to call fair-weather friends.

Looking beyond such personal instances, we see how yet broader harm is done by our first making derogatory generalizations and then letting these pattern our actions. Our whole western world, for example, is today paying a high price for its past readiness to disparage Oriental peoples. Describing these peoples as inferior, western nations have sought to establish with them, for the most part, only such relations as might be suitable with inferiors: inferiors whom it would be proper to use, to "improve," to sentimentalize, or to patronize, but to whom it would not seem natural to turn for insight, and with whom it would not seem natural to work on a basis of equality for the building of a shared world.

One well-nigh disastrous result of such long derogation is now apparent: we have to cope with wariness and hostility at many points where we might have had friendliness instead. A second result, more subtle than the first, we often overlook: the fact, namely, that our own attitudes have hindered our own social and political maturing. We have not used the chances open to us for deepening and refining those practices of mutuality that we now make clumsy haste to acquire in a world that has become one world. We are not ready for the "great day" that has come. We are, in fact, so far from ready that our policy toward the Orient seems a constant grab bag affair: what is "pulled out" on any given day may be a destruc-

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tive leftover from the past, a jerry-built product of our present fears, or a sound product of resolute new understanding. We are not psychologically ready, in brief, for the world we have technologically made; and one chief reason is that we have too long taken our lead from our own disparaging assumptions about Oriental peoples rather than from objective evidence.

A second form of self-trapping is all too common among us; and it is one that psychiatrists, having seen its tragic results in the lives of many patients, urgently ask us to understand. It is the form of self-trapping that takes place where the individual's definition of success is too small for his human nature: so small that it does not allow him to grow into full-statured maturity or to form any soundly based relationships with the people around him.

The self-centered, ambitious man on the make often claims that he understands other people because he has learned how to "get results" from them. In plain fact, he knows just enough about the intricate human being to reduce him to a sort of vending machine, which holds something that will minister to his comfort, enlarge his feeling of power, or advance his designs. The secret of life, then, for him, consists in knowing what "coin" to slip into what slot, and what lever to pull, to get the reactions he wants.

We recall here Marquand's character, Willis Wayde, who had "risen" to a position where most of his social and business entertaining could be done "either on an expense account or as a deductible item on his income tax." He "was at home now with the head-waiters and the captains. He knew just when to bestow a firm glance and the exact psychological moment to hand out a bill accompanied by a friendly handclasp. . . ." He knew these things and meditated upon them with neither qualms nor self-doubtings to disturb his complacency: "Each individual required a slightly different technique, but it was not difficult. . . . You had to realize that all these people had their problems and you had to know how to make allowances up to a certain point, because in a great democracy all men were brothers. It cost money and time to do these things in the right way, but most of it was business expense."¹

¹ John P. Marquand, *Sincerely, Willis Wayde*, pp. 141-42. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955.

Here, through and beyond the smoothness, we hear the flat ring of the counterfeit. Here, the human being is forgetting his human estate: is setting himself apart from his kind and using his limited knowledge of other people to avoid the emotionally demanding experience of learning enough about them to value their hopes and self-respects as he values his own.

We recognize another form of this "push-button" pseudo-understanding in the political tactics of the demagogue. He too knows how to pull the levers of human emotion: how to release in a crowd of people the tide of unthinking loyalty he needs for his own purposes; or how to needle an opponent

into becoming his own worst enemy by making a public fool of himself. Thus it is said of one demagogic figure of our time that his greatest strength lay in his uncanny awareness of how to reduce his political foes to a state of stuttering, impotent rage. This is, to be sure, knowledge of sorts; but it is the satanic type of knowledge that stops far short of being understanding. It lacks, we might note, both the generosity and the deep authority of understanding: it depends for its "strength" upon the other person's making the proper push-button response, and shows up as glaringly weak where this response fails to materialize. There is probably no human figure that can shrink in apparent stature more abruptly than the demagogue who takes on as an opponent a person who does not rise to his bait: who regards him, for example, with quiet imperturbable humor.

Whatever his particular methods or motives, the person who feels successful only to the extent that he can manipulate others to his own ends is never likely to move into anyone else's emotional frame; for whatever the relation may be between a vending machine and the individual who pulls the lever, it is scarcely that of human fellowship.

Psychologically, one of the most curious things about a constant pursuit of self-advantage is its static character. The man "on the make" may appear to be on the go: "getting ahead," "climbing the ladder of success," "elbowing his way to the top." Yet in a deeper sense, he is going exactly nowhere; for he remains trapped within his own egocentricity. His emotional world is only large enough to hold himself *as defined by the limited aims he pursues*. It is not large enough to hold him as a full-rounded human being, nor large enough to hold him and others in mutual understanding. The wide psychic spaces where people can approach one another with interest and good will—and can become acquainted not only with one another but with their own deeper selves and with the range of human possibilities—are simply not for him.

One type of self-trapping is peculiarly tragic in both its nature and its consequences. It is a narrowing of the mind, or closing of the mind, on the part of an individual whose very way of life depends for its integrity upon the mind's remaining vigorously and generously open. Anyone who, like ourselves, has spent many years in academic circles and has, as a citizen, cast in his lot with groups and causes broadly designated as "liberal," will recognize what we mean.

He will have encountered, for example, the paradoxical human being who will defend to the death *academic freedom*—declaring that a university is nothing if not a place where professors can teach the truth as they see it and can aim their research in any direction where they think truth may lie—but who will not, in his own field, lend a free mind to any form of "truth" save the particular theory or "school" to which he has attached his own reputation.

We might illustrate with one current instance of such voluntary fettering of the mind: an instance taken from our own

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field of psychology. For more than twenty years, with constant refinements of method and a highly responsible readiness to submit his statistical and experimental procedures to the most rigorous and critical of tests, Dr. J. B. Rhine has been carrying on research in parapsychology at Duke University; research in extrasensory perception, referred to "in the trade" as ESP.

Gradually, he has accumulated a body of evidence about the reaches of the mind that would, if widely accepted, demand a major revision of various "classical" theories of psychology that have kept the mind well within the frame of natural physical phenomena. Psychologists of the "natural science" outlook have not been able to refute Rhine's evidence by any experiments of their own; nor have they been able to prove his methods lack proper controls or exactitudes of measurement.

By all normally accepted scientific standards, in brief, his work deserves open-minded appraisal. He *may* have opened up areas of reality never before entered and explored with any comparable precision. We could reasonably expect, then, at this stage, that many among the Fellows of the American Psychological Association—regardless of their own "schools" of psychology—would be lending to Rhine's experiments the type of generous interest that scientists declare themselves obligated to extend to all responsible research.

Is this what we find? In 1952, Dr. Lucien Warner sent out to one-third of these Fellows—five hundred and fifteen of them—a questionnaire that enabled them to state whether or not they considered the investigation of ESP a legitimate scientific undertaking; what degree of acceptance they gave to the evidence so far accumulated; and on what type of contact with the research or with original reports of it they based their acceptance or rejection.¹

¹ Lucien Warner, "A Second Survey of Psychological Opinion on ESP," *Journal of Parapsychology*, 16 (1952), 284-95.

While 89 per cent of those who responded to the questionnaire granted the scientific legitimacy of ESP research, and 78 per cent believed that such research properly came within the sphere of academic psychology, only 16.6 per cent of them were ready to consider that the occurrence of extrasensory perception was either established or a likely possibility. This might properly mean, of course, a well-considered rejection of Rhine's methods. That it did not mean this, however, was revealed by facts that the questionnaire brought out: namely, as Warner reports, that more than two-thirds of the Fellows *had never read an original report of the ESP research*; and one in three among those who rejected the evidence of extrasensory experience stated that he had made up his mind on *a priori* grounds, *without considering even secondhand reports or reviews of the evidence*.

We can guess that every one of these top-ranking members of a scientific profession had at some time told with relish the story of how the clerics rejected on *a priori* grounds the evidence thrust upon their reluctant minds by Galileo's experiments. What, then, persuaded them in their turn to do even

as the clerics had done before them: to reject evidence without weighing it because the acceptance of it would disrupt their theories?

One scientist has given a frank personal explanation of his attitude toward ESP and has stated his belief that he speaks for many of his fellows as well as for himself. He says simply that psychologists are still trying to find their way "out of the magic wood of animism" and that he, for one, rejects ESP, without regard to how accurate or convincing the evidence for it may be, "because it does not make sense."¹ That is to

¹ D. O. Hebb, "The Role of Neurological Ideas in Psychology," *Journal of Personality*, 20 (1951), 45.

say, phenomena that will not yield to physical explanation are rejected out of hand: *rejected, not disproved*.

We are not primarily interested, here, in ESP. Our concern is with the scientific mind—the mind that claims to be open—behaving after the manner of the closed mind: shutting itself away from what it does not want to see. The free outreach of the mind is worth defending for one reason only: *because it is worth practicing*. In the long run, moreover, it can be defended by one means only: *by the consistent, and not merely expedient or occasional, practice of it*.

There is no reason to single out these psychologists for special reproach. Their "guilt" is of a type all too easy to illustrate; and few of us, perhaps, are wholly innocent. We think, for example, of the mutually acrimonious cliques and "schools" that often split English departments and Art departments into warring camps—with stereotyped approvals and contempts replacing that generous distinction of taste that enables the mind, if it will, to search for what is excellent wherever it is to be found. Or we think of the tenacity with which many medical schools—and their practicing graduates—have refused to make room in their minds for evidence that has pointed to emotional causes of organic symptoms.

We live in a time when freedom of teaching and freedom of research are having to be clarified and defended before the bar of public opinion; a time when anti-intellectuals seem, in many quarters, to be having a field day. But the exponent of the free mind will have to be willing, in the end, to be judged by whether or not his free exercise of the mind has made him a free person. The mind that has voluntarily cornered itself, and refused to move from its corner, is not the one best equipped to resist the efforts of outside reactionaries to crowd it into a corner.

It is not within our specialties only, however, that we often practice the very type of narrowness—and therefore of self-narrowing—that we deplore in others. As political and social liberals we have been firm in saying that democracy cannot defend itself by imitating totalitarianism. It must be distinctively, tenaciously, creatively itself: an "open" system that provides room for human variousness and human growth.

This means, on the one hand, we say, that all sorts of viewpoints must have a chance to try themselves out in the open market place of ideas; that conformity must never become the virtue by which the elect are singled out from the damned;

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that people must not be harried into corners by irresponsible accusations, official or unofficial; and there made to prove their innocence.

It means, on the other hand, that the errors of partiality to which we are all prone will be self-corrected by contact with other viewpoints that stem from other types of experiences. An "open" system, in short, is not distinguished from a "closed" system merely by the fact that differences are tolerated. It is distinguished by the fact that a cross-fertilization of differences makes for a constant enriching of the common life and prevents any one partiality from assuming the role of absolute. It must be distinguished, also, therefore, by those habits of integrity and mental courtesy without which every meeting of opposed minds become a meeting of irresponsible angers and hostilities. The person who speaks most convincingly for an "open" system—a free system—is one who most deeply feels the drama of understanding.

This is the sort of thing we say when we talk in our role as liberals: when we *consciously* talk in that role, defining what it is that we believe and care about; what it is, to our minds, that distinguishes the liberal from the reactionary or the totalitarian.

Here, as elsewhere, however, it is by our fruits that we are known; and the fruits harvested from a not inconsiderable number of "liberal" minds today are those of a curiously inverted dogmatism. Many who pride themselves on their defense of an "open" system have taken up their own mental and emotional residence, it seems, within a "closed" system.

Certainly they believe that democracy thrives on a free exchange of ideas across lines of difference; but they would scarcely be caught dead in the company of a person with whom they strongly disagreed—except, perhaps, within the respectable confines of an organized discussion group where, for a span of time dictated by calendar and clock, they would dedicate themselves to "mutual understanding" and the "cross-fertilization of ideas."

Certainly they are opposed to the principle and practice of guilt by association; but they would be inclined to look with dubious eyes upon any fellow liberal who made a habit of voluntarily exchanging points of view—except within an organized discussion group—with conservatives or reactionaries. What was he up to? Had he been taken in by these people on "the other side?" Had he sold out? Was he trying to play safe by standing in their good graces?

Certainly the liberal believes that the democratic way of life is sound enough—close enough to the deep realities of nature—to risk being itself in all its practices. It is not weaker than totalitarianism. It is stranger. It becomes weak only to the extent that it distrusts its own philosophy and its own methods and begins to imitate the totalitarians. The liberal is deeply convinced of this. Yet many, today, who think of themselves as liberals seem to doubt that a fellow liberal who puts himself freely and deliberately into a position to feel the

impact of conservative or reactionary minds will be able to withstand that impact. He might indeed put himself into this position for sound liberal reasons; but sooner or later—so the fear runs—he would become an apologist for reaction. While a democratic nation, in short, should act with a firm, proud conviction of its own strength—a strength that only freedom can give—a democratic individual, according to this attitude, should not too often expose himself to the wiles and stratagems of undemocratic individuals: far from convincing them, he will not even be a match for them.

Certainly the liberal believes that the average human being is made of the sort of stuff that makes him capable of creating, practicing, improving, and preserving a free society. Yet many who think of themselves as liberal describe human nature in terms scarcely less derogatory than those employed by the dictator and demagogue. We ourselves have been startled, many times, to hear liberal defenders of democracy characterize the human race in general or the “average” human being in a manner that leaves no logical leg for democracy to stand on.

Certainly, moreover, the liberal believes in the responsible word—the well-considered and accurate word—and despises the whole miserable business of rumor-mongering, intemperate accusation, and stereotyped labeling. Yet many who call themselves liberals, and who have only contempt for those who brand liberals as Communists, run irresponsibly beyond the evidence in calling their opponents Fascists; and, with a sense of responsibility toward the spoken word that is scarcely greater than that of the rumormongers at whom they point with alarm, they too circulate about those whom they dislike “information” that they do not check for accuracy and that they cannot trace to its source.

Certainly the liberal knows that not all the answers are in; and that some of those that are in will turn out, in the end, to be no answers at all. The way of freedom is not the way of perfection. It is, rather, the way of trial and error—of error acknowledged and corrected; and of new trials based on new insights. Yet many who wear the badge of liberalism are as quick as any reactionary to defend their own errors; as stubborn, even, as any reactionary in standing pat on these.

We are not trying, here, to “discredit” the liberal. The plain fact is that we think of ourselves as liberals and that we have, nonetheless, caught ourselves in the act, many times, of forsaking the deep spirit and practice of liberalism for a type of inverted partisanship that would invite us to be anything but liberal. From these disturbing experiences of our own—these moments of catching ourselves in the act of trapping ourselves—we have looked up, as it were, and have been startled to see that we were not alone: that all too many of our fellow liberals were, like ourselves, making the mark of their liberalism *the side they were on with regard to one or another specific issue* and not the quality of mind and emotion that they brought to the handling of issues.

There is an old question that does not become obsolete;

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"... if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted?" If the good salt of liberalism, so essential to the sound growth of a free society, loses its savor; if it becomes not liberality of mind and emotion, but a constricted, angry partisanship in reverse, wherewith shall a free society be salted? How shall it build and preserve the firm bone structure of its being?

Gordon Allport writes that "the devotee of democracy adopts a lifelong assignment in human relationships."¹ The

¹ Gordon W. Allport, *Becoming*, p. 67. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955.

words deserve to be underscored and lingered over: *a lifelong assignment in human relationships*. It is an assignment that can never be carried out by the self-trapped; the self-cornered; for it requires that the individual move out, as a free voluntary agent, into the wide open spaces of human give and take. It requires, most of all, a conviction that mutual understanding and mutual respect are possible between human beings at many points where they do not, at first glance, seem probable; and that such understanding and respect are important enough to be worth all the risks they may involve.

So intimate a thing is freedom, so intimate a thing is the liberality of spirit on which freedom rests, that on that summer morning when we two almost shied clear of putting to the test a farm neighbor's capacity to appreciate the drama of an opening flower, we almost, by that token, played safe at the expense of our own liberal faith. We almost said *No* in action to a way of human relationship to which we say *Yes* in words. We almost cornered ourselves within a pattern of caution too narrow for the types of experience we want to have in the company of our fellow human beings.

There is no need to go on laboring the point that the person who is mentally and emotionally trapped is all too often self-trapped. What we must recognize here, as in so many other cases, is that our redemption depends upon our being "born again"—and again and again.

Physical birth means the movement of the human infant from womb to world: from an environment of secure but rigidly limited and dependent experience to an environment that holds far more of both threat and promise. No human being lives and grows who does not, in some measure, make himself at home within his post-birth environment and relate himself to it through his own developing capacities and expectations.

Curiously enough, however, what we might call the *temptation of the womb* is never wholly outgrown. Again and again we are tempted to make some one physical and psychic environment into a place where we can feel secure and from which, therefore, we do not elect to move even for the sake of our own continued growth. The spacious world outside our haven—our haven of already achieved knowledge, of already earned reputation, and of established loyalties, convictions, and group agreements—looks too dangerously spacious for us to venture toward it. Therefore we choose to "hole up."

Only as we make an opposite choice, however—the choice of *venturing toward*—do we experience the rebirth that comes from entering a new environment, with its new body of evidence about what life contains, and setting ourselves to understand it. “Free men set themselves free,” wrote the poet, James Oppenheim. Psychologically, free men set themselves free only when they act as though they were free enough to enter into new situations and relationships and to try themselves out in terms of the perplexities and promise these offer. If they make no such venture into the generous reaches of psychic space, they are only self-trapped men who call themselves free.

F I V E

THE DIMENSION OF KNOWLEDGE

Whatii E HAVE dwelt, thus far, on a single aspect of our Whatii equipment for understanding. We have talked only, or chiefly, about our emotional readiness to make room enough for a fellow human being so that his experiences will not remain to us a closed book and he himself a person be on guard.

We have emphasized this factor because it seems to be a kind of *first*. Where such readiness exists, much can follow. Where it does not exist, experiences of outreach and of give and take are blocked at their source. The whole personality is readied for self-defense. It is held back from the venturings of understanding.

However, there is always a certain ambiguity in calling anything a *first*. “In the beginning,” we say, and feel that we have pinned down a starting point from which everything else follows. But before long, we have to ask a further question: what was there before the beginning to make it possible for the beginning to begin? Translated into the terms of our present discussion: what makes a person ready with emotional readiness?

Success in reaching out toward our environment encourages us, we know, to further reaching out. But obviously there must be something within ourselves *to reach out with*. Even the infant soon moves out to his world with more than his aimlessly groping fingers. Very soon he brings to these hitherto “unknowing” fingers things that he has learned. More and more, as his learning goes on, he reaches out, not with fingers alone, but with memory, information, expectation, and purpose. In short, he adds the dimension of knowledge.

It is at this point that he truly enters upon his human estate. He “joins” his species by doing what no animal does: he not only “learns by doing” but he learns by learning—and he moves into relationships that give him a chance to learn. Thus, gradually, he borrows knowledge that extends far beyond his direct experience and works this into his way of looking at life.

As the years pass, such knowledge becomes more and more richly part of the growing child, determining his attitudes and behaviors. By the time he reaches adulthood—and indeed, long before—the dimension of knowledge has become

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for him a major factor in helping him to evaluate and decide.

What a person knows serves him, we might say, as a lens through which to look at his world and see beyond its surface appearances. Knowledge turns the opaque into the translucent or transparent, and gives the individual new materials for his response to life. To be sure—as we shall see later—it does not automatically do this; for he may carry within himself emotional resistances to what he learns. Or he may be using his knowledge as a compensation for failure in areas of human relationship, and may make it a wall between himself and his world, rather than a lens through which to see more deeply into the subtleties of life. Yet because knowledge does, in general, give new dimensions to our consciousness, it is one of the greatest of space-makers.

To take a very simple instance, we recall our own first experience of looking through a microscope at a cross section of cornstalk. We had seen corn growing all our lives; had planted it, walked down the rows, gathered ears; had driven between cornfields and called them beautiful. Yet until a friend, one evening, shared his microscope with us—and, later, his expert knowledge of what we had looked at—there was, we might say, a secret the corn was withholding. A further gift of sight was then bestowed upon us—so that we cannot drive past a cornfield, now, without seeing more than our eyes can see.

Moreover, what we thus see in the mind's eye carries its emotional charge. It serves to remind us that, in this universe of ours, we had best be careful about what we call *obvious*. More than once, since that experience, when we have started to "manage" a human situation without first troubling to understand it, or have found ourselves on the edge of treating some certain individual as an object to be easily catalogued, we have said, self-remindingly, "Cornstalk."

Perhaps this is as good a point as any at which to take stock of an additional fact that is often overlooked: namely, that a person's knowledge is that which keeps him actively and humbly aware of what he does not know. His knowledge tells him, again and again, where it leaves off and his opinion or his ignorance begins. At its margin, it impinges always upon the unknown; so that the more he knows, the more he encounters questions that invite him to say, "I don't know."

The ignorant person tends to be "closed minded," not only because he does not have enough facts at his command but also because he has not asked enough questions. For him, the answers are all in. What *he* knows is taken as equivalent to what is worth knowing. Therefore, he oversimplifies life with a tone of authority; belittles or condemns, with a clear conscience, those who search out new knowledge or who qualify their absolutes to make room for the complexity of the human situation; and even feels virtuous about refusing to learn anything that might upset the precariously balanced apple cart of his convictions.

It is sometimes said that knowledge, which comes through the intellect, is cold, while feeling, which comes through the heart, is warm. True as this seems to be in some cases, it is a highly misleading statement. It presumes that the knowledge we gain has no relation to what we feel. As a matter of fact, however, what we know about life and what we feel about it do not dwell in rigidly separate compartments. The wall between them is porous. They flow into each other, so that new knowledge tends to induce some new emotional response; and, conversely, a "change of heart" often prompts a search for new knowledge.

A concrete example will serve, perhaps, to show how knowledge and emotion, teamed together, can better our human arrangements. Speaking before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, on February 16, 1955, Dr. William C. Menninger, of the Menninger Foundation, told a story about mental hospitals that he had been invited to tell. It was the story of how the State of Kansas had become the one state in the Union in which the population of mental hospitals had declined rather than increased over a five-year period. What he had to say was, in essence, a report on how the people of Kansas, and particularly the legislators, had opened their minds to knowledge not previously welcomed; how this knowledge has changed their feelings about the care of the mentally ill; and how, out of this fusion of new knowledge and new feeling, they had framed a dynamic question, "What needs to be done?"

At that time, all over America, legislatures were voting new appropriations to increase the size of state hospitals. This was a wholly orthodox legislative response to statistical evidence of overcrowding. It was an action that could be taken without the legislators' having to know what went on inside these institutions or what could more expertly and usefully be made to go on.

But in Kansas, thanks to an aroused governor and the cooperation of the Menninger Foundation, the Veterans' Hospital, and other individuals and groups that knew what the situation was with respect to mental health, something different happened: legislators set out to visit their state hospitals. They learned with their own eyes and minds what the conditions were. What they chiefly learned was that the most urgent need was not for more room—intolerably overcrowded though the institutions were—but for more and better trained medical and custodial personnel: "more brains" rather than simply "more bricks."

Then came the pay-off. Having learned this by their own voluntary efforts, these legislators did a far harder thing than the conventional one of voting appropriations for added space. They drew up a careful plan for increasing the number of hospital staff members and improving their training; and they put vitality into this plan by voting adequate appropriations for it. New knowledge, in short, awakened new emotions; and the fusion of the two got something done that ignorance and apathy would have left undone.

Psychologically, knowledge does something of quite special importance for the "opening out" of experience. In the first place, when we extend our knowledge, we extend, as it were, the "landscape" in which we feel at home. We become intimate with more phases of reality. We can move among them less awkwardly and guardedly. They become, we might say, part of our security rather than of our insecurity. We can therefore feel warm toward them rather than hostile or indifferent.

In the second place, knowledge—and particularly increasing knowledge—is one of the best guarantees we can have against the constricting, domineering power of the habitual and familiar. To learn something we have never known before about something we have "always known" is to re-enter the domain of surprise. In a profoundly redemptive sense, it is to become again as a little child.

Paradoxically, a sound and increasing store of knowledge is what makes us most comfortably, but also least complacently, at peace with our own ignorance. Anyone who is learning anything is constantly reminded that he does not know everything. Yet since he is, in fact, learning—not standing pat on either a pretense of knowing or a pretense that the unfamiliar is not worth knowing or would be "wrong" to know—he need not be afraid of being "found out" in his ignorance. By putting himself into the role of learner, he voluntarily announces the fact of his own desire to learn.

More than this: since the learning process brings him more and more broadly into contact—voluntary contact—with new questions and complexities, he is not likely to be driven into a panic every time his mind feels the feathery touch of the unknown. He knows the unknown is there. It cannot sneak up on him like a thief in the night; for he, with his interest alert and his already gained knowledge for company, is going forth to meet it.

Edwin Arlington Robinson has observed that

"The dower of ignorance is to distrust

All that it cannot feel . . ."¹

¹ Edwin Arlington Robinson, "The Man Who Died Twice," in *Collected Poems*, p. 955. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937.

The dower of the ignorant person is to distrust so many aspects of life that he has always to be on guard. For him, the "strange" is not something to be inquired about, wondered about, approached with interest, and gradually incorporated within the familiar. It is not something to be learned about and then judged on its own merits. It is, quite simply, something to be feared if it cannot be avoided: something, therefore, to ward off, belittle, exclude, blame for whatever goes wrong within the familiar scene, and even destroy.

What this comes to, we believe, is that an individual's knowledge—far from being a kind of psychic mass within his brain, as the phrase "body of knowledge" might seem to suggest—is a permeative force within his personality. If it is less than this—if it is reduced to an inert possession—it is scarcely knowledge at all. To be *knowledge at work* it has to

be knowledge that is operating to stretch the individual's area of awareness. It has to be a maker of psychic space and of emotional hospitality.

Gerald Heard uses the word "childfulness" to identify one trait that distinguishes man from the lower animals: namely, the capacity to grow up without "hardening up" and "closing in."¹ Such "childfulness"—which amounts to a sustained

¹ See Gerald Heard, *The Creed of Christ*, p. 10. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. Copyright, 1940, by Gerald Heard.

power of mental and emotional growth—is, we would say, possible to a person only as he goes on learning and as what he learns is permitted to deepen and "warm" his daily responses to life.

Within a two-day period, recently, we chanced to hear two curiously contrasted remarks made about two different people. When we put the two remarks together, they seem to point up with dramatic accuracy our human need to have both sound emotion and sound knowledge: the two operating as one.

One remark was made directly to us. We had suggested to a friend who was coping with a problem that he talk it over with a certain man who had, we thought, the very sort of knowledge that would help. Our friend demurred. "I'd rather not," he said with abrupt emphasis. We did not press the point, but may have shown surprise; for he continued, "I'll grant you, he knows plenty. But he's a cold fish." We had to admit the validity of his response. The man in question was well-informed: precisely and expertly informed. But he had a way of using his knowledge to widen rather than narrow the gap between himself and others: to establish, as it were, a kind of intellectual status system, with himself well "above" most other human beings.

The second remark we overheard in a restaurant. We do not know whom it was about nor what led up to it. It came to us as an isolated statement, suspended in one of those odd silences that punctuate the clamor of a crowded place. "She has all the good intentions and good feelings you could ask, but she doesn't *know* anything."

The two remarks, put together, state an important fact: namely, that neither "cold" knowledge nor "warm" emotion undisciplined by knowledge can rightly serve the practice of understanding. Understanding, it would seem, must be a fusion of appropriate feeling and accurate knowledge: the two made one. The practice of understanding, then, consists of bringing these two to bear upon one or another aspect of the human situation.

If we appraise the "childfulness" of a healthy and happy child, we can scarcely avoid being astonished at his aliveness. He is *alive with* the physical vitality of a sound young animal. Also, however, he is *alive to* his world. He is going forth to meet it, at point after point, to explore and handle it—and thus, in ways peculiarly human, to make it his own.

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He is demonstrating the fact that *to grow up is to grow out toward the environment.*

A newborn infant is scarcely larger as a psychological entity than as a physical entity. He has not, as yet, through any act of exploration or creation, staked out his claim to any portion of the world around him. But how large, as a psychological entity, is the ten-year-old boy who is at the "collecting" stage of life; who is making the whole wide world his own, we might say, by putting pieces of it into his pockets and other pieces of it into his mind?

How large is the adolescent? We do not mean the "problem" adolescent. We mean the normal, variously confused, but basically sound young person who is "pioneering" the strange mental and emotional landscape between childhood and adulthood, and whose long-range aim is to become a successful "homesteader" in the adult world.

He is large enough to contain an amazing reference store of knowledge and experience carried along from earlier years. Also, however, he is striking out into areas that were scarcely real to him when he was a seven-year-old or a ten-year-old.

He is exploring, for example, those relationships between man and woman that lead to the establishment of home and family life. He is exploring the structure of human society, filling with new content such abstract concepts as *right* and *wrong*, *justice* and *injustice*. Instead of merely obeying or disobeying rules, he is discovering what it means to live by *principles*. What he counts a matter of principle may not always be the same as the parental view; but where this is true, it is because he is *seeing things differently*, not because he is *disobedient*. He is acting out as best he can his own evolving value system.

In high school and college classrooms he moves far beyond the materials of his childhood learning. From a world of simple facts and procedures, he is moving into a universe of structured thought: from incidental stories to the encompassing of periods of literature; from simple arithmetic to algebra, geometry, and calculus; from a sampling of facts about earth and sky to the integrated disciplines of science; from historical incidents and heroic figures to an appraisal of historical eras, social trends, and political philosophies.

Finally—but by no means least—he is maturing his religious sense. No longer does he ask, as a small child asks, "Who made God?" and become impatient with any answer longer than the question itself. Instead, he lends his thoughts for sustained periods of time, and in genuine perplexity, to the immortal, unanswered questions that have to do with the meaning of life; and he tries to find a right focus for his own devotion. He does all these things—and becomes, therefore, psychologically large enough to do them.

How large, in mental and emotional terms, is the adult: the forty-year-old; the sixty-year-old? That depends. If *growing up* has meant for him chiefly *settling down*, he may, even

in his middle years, be shrinking in psychological stature—as a very old person shrinks in physical stature. His “size” will depend, as it has ever since he was born, on whether or not he is growing out toward his environment. It will depend on whether he is still pioneering with his distinctively human faculties: still moving beyond the known into the unknown; still putting himself, *voluntarily*, into a position to be surprised, caught off guard by new aspects of reality, humbled by his own ignorance, stretched by new insight.

When we tie in the *venture of knowing* with that of our *trying to understand one another*, it is apparent that a readiness to learn and a readiness to grant psychic space to fellow humans are closely related. Quite simply, if our basic attitude is that of wanting life to tell us about itself, we will, by and large, give it a chance to do so.

We say “by and large”; for no one of us is wholly free from those hasty impulses to self-defense that block mutual understanding. At various points, in various moods, each of us shows himself more prone to ward off new knowledge and insight than to bid them welcome—and more prone to “catalogue” people than to listen to them. By and large, however—for at least three good reasons—the learning mind is a hospitable mind, a space-making mind.

For one thing, the knowledge it has already gained has given it “size” and elasticity, so that it is more able to accommodate the life that is lodged in other people than it could possibly be if it had remained small and rigid in ignorance or had learned, resentfully and reluctantly, only what was forced upon it.

In the second place, the learning mind has already, many times over, survived without disaster the experience of facing its own limitations—and it is not easily thrown into a panic by the prospect of facing them once again.

Finally, the mind that has learned much has savored the rewards of knowing: the tingling excitement of it, and the quiet reassurance. It has, in brief, savored the experience of adventuring and of feeling secure at the same time. Thus, it inclines to seek more of what it has already tasted and found palatable.

If all this is true, how shall we account for the presence among us of the person who knows plenty but remains “a cold fish”; and of the one who “has all the good intentions and good feelings you could ask” but who “doesn’t *know* anything”—and who may even be flutteringly proud of “listening to the heart instead of the head”? More broadly, what has gone wrong in the all too many cases where knowledge and emotion do not seem to add up: do not fuse into a *taste for knowing*, on the one hand, and a *warmth of knowing*, on the other?

There are, of course; many kinds of ignorance that do not represent a rejection of knowledge. They limit the individual’s understanding but do not reflect a distortion of personality. Thus, a child speaks as a child because he is a child. No matter how eager he may be, he does not speak as an adult because

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he does not have as yet an adult's knowledge and experience to speak from. Many times, moreover, ignorance reports what we might call *deprivation by circumstance*. Such deprivation is of two sorts: that of historical circumstance and that of individual circumstance. No one can rightly be "marked down" in terms of personality for not knowing what has not yet been brought within the human frame of knowledge—though his ignorance, shared by all other people, may well limit his capacity to cope with life's problems. Neither can he rightly be "marked down" for not knowing what he has never been given a chance to know—though his lack of knowledge may put him at a grave disadvantage among those who are better informed. It may even edge him into chronic self-defensiveness or inhibiting self-derogation if those around him mistake the nature of his lack, cataloguing him as deliberately ignorant or congenitally stupid.

What chiefly concerns us here is a different type of inadequacy. It is the misuse of knowledge or, it may be, the rejection of knowledge. What has gone wrong in those instances where knowledge and emotion do not fuse into understanding because the individual does not let them do so—is even on guard against their doing so?

Here, for example, is the type of "intellectual" who does far more than any anti-intellectual to bring the human intellect into bad repute. Prodigiously informed in many areas, or minutely informed in some one area that he seems to regard as the only one worth while, he uses what he knows to widen the gap between himself and others. Instead of using his knowledge to bridge the inevitable separateness of our individual, self-conscious humanity, he uses it to exaggerate that separateness. His whole manner divides the "herd" from the "elect." He makes more of one small error in what another person says than of all the truth it may contain. He is alert to every chance, it would appear, to show other people up, put them on the spot, make them feel more clumsy and inadequate than they are; to ridicule the beliefs they live by; or simply to overmaster their hesitant opinions with his own "superior" certainty.

Here is another individual who seems to offer the sharpest possible contrast to the "intellectual." He is, in fact, avowedly anti-intellectual; and the "intellectual" despises him as such. His current conviction is that all intellectuals are Communists or fellow travelers. When a certain speaker whom he regards as "red" comes to town, he goes into action. He assembles "facts" and offers to the group sponsoring the speaker—or to the public at large through the letter columns of the local paper—what he calls "documentation." So far so good: it would appear that he respects facts and takes the stand he does only because incontrovertible evidence makes him do so.

Yet what happens when he is offered counter-evidence that cuts through the fabric of his charges and that is too solid for him to refute? *He rejects it without a hearing.* He rejects it, moreover—and this is the significant point—with his raw

emotions showing through the veneer of his "factuality." From being a person who has claimed an interest only in "well documented evidence," he turns abruptly into one who is determined not to be proved in error. Where his "documentation" leaves off, he forges ahead with declaration pure and simple: people like this speaker, he warns, are smart enough to pull the wool over the eyes of ordinary honest people, so that all seeming proof of their innocence or even of their active anti-Communism should be discounted. The fact that they have their "proof" all ready just shows how smart they are, and how much the Communists have learned about putting things over on the public.

Or we might take a third type. Not long ago, we had reason to try to judge the reliability of a certain radio commentator on a local station. His reporting of the news was ostensibly impartial. Yet it consistently invited the listener to arrive at a far from impartial conclusion. We sought information about him from a friend whose fairness we trusted and who, as a resident of the community, had listened to the program over a sustained period of time. "Well," he said, in answer to our question, "I call him a half-truth man." The phrase caught exactly the character of the commentator's work. Starting with a half-truth, he managed to end up—after a period of "hard-hitting frankness" and subtle innuendo—with what seemed a whole truth but which was, in effect, a falsehood; and what he planted in the mind of the audience was consistently, but not quite libelously, a derogation of certain individuals and minority groups.

Or here is a person who is a liberal—and a dedicated, courageous liberal—in the sense of his being invariably on the liberal side of social, economic, and political issues. He is *for* life in the vitally important sense of wanting to extend opportunities and to help people everywhere to help themselves. Moreover, he "knows his stuff": has facts and figures to undergird his good will. Yet there is a point where his readiness to know leaves off and his determined antagonisms take over. With clear and creative eyes, and well-equipped mind, he can see that much good can come out of groups, lands, and peoples that have long been among the earth's excluded and depressed. But if someone in the American scene whom he is accustomed to regard as an opponent of all that is generous and just supports one of his "causes," he is more dismayed than pleased. He shows no interest in learning more about this opponent's viewpoints or reasons. Rather, he asks, in effect, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?"—and answers "No," without waiting upon the evidence. If he is forced to see that good *has* come out of "the other side," he still prefers to count his opponent's action as opportunistic rather than honest. For, paradoxically, even though he wants *the human race* to be converted to his viewpoint, he does not want *his chosen opponent* to be converted. His personality structure is such that he experiences as "let-down" anything that blurs his "devil-angel" theory of the human situation. He is happiest when waging a "good fight," with the enemy unmistakably known and unambiguously

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evil. He does not, therefore, welcome facts that show the enemy to be a mixture of good and evil—and on some counts, at least, a friend. He wants to prove his case, and to win support for the causes he believes in; but emotionally he cannot afford to have people agreeing with him at random, all over the place.

Finally, here is a woman who "just naturally understands people"—and who resists all evidence about them save that provided by her own "intuition." She resists it, moreover, with a "sweetness" that is both stubborn and complacent. Psychological knowledge, to her mind, is "cold": an intellectual intruder upon the domain of the heart. She grants it at best the limited virtue of being useful, perhaps, to those whose insight is less warm and immediate than her own. One fact about her "understanding," however, is painfully and exasperatingly plain to those who have felt the brunt of it: the fact, namely, that her "intuition" always justifies her treating the people around her in the manner that best fits her own convenience and her own ego-image. Because she "knows" that her son is not really in love with the girl he wants to marry, she manages, "with only his happiness in mind," to break up the relationship. She "knows" that her husband would be happier in a different job that would carry more prestige; that a quiet neighbor "ought" to get out and join things even though she thinks she is satisfied with her home-making job and her personal friendships and interests; that Negroes are "nature's children" and happiest when "kept in their place."

Instances of knowledge misused or rejected could be multiplied endlessly. But their multiplication would only underscore more heavily a single point: that the transformative, space-making power of knowledge is not automatic, but can be made non-operative where the individual's tactics of ego-defense or ego-aggrandizement are ranged against it.

Does this tell us anything we need to know about our own readiness to create the sort of psychic space in which the drama of understanding can be enacted?

It invites us, at least, to take stock of our mental hospitality. Do we welcome unexpected and unfamiliar facts when, so to speak, they arrive on our doorstep? Do we let them come in and state their case? Or do we peer at them through a cautious peek-hole and tell them to be off, and not to come back, unless they seem likely to support us in what we want to believe?

How do we act when we are proved mistaken: when a judgment we have made upon another person or upon some human problem is shown up as unfounded or unfair? Do we bow to the facts, acknowledge our misjudgment, and if necessary make amends for it? Or do we, to keep our ego-defenses intact, contrive some makeshift reason for rejecting the facts?

Even more vital, perhaps, is a different sort of question;

are we still voluntary learners? Have we taken the state of being *grown up* to be a finished state: one in which we can *settle down*? Or are we still *growing up* by the process that has emancipated us, stage by stage, from the limitations and constricted views of infancy, childhood, and adolescence: namely, that of moving out toward the not yet known?

Any individual who is psychologically alive is, in a sense, a constant pioneer. He is striking out, with his mind and emotions, on one road after another; and like all pioneers, he is setting himself to learn what he must learn if he is to feel at home in his new, broader environment: not fearful of it, nor fearful of moving beyond it, but at ease with its problems and possibilities.

What we learn can properly remain, on many counts, a matter of individual choice. But certain directions of our pioneering seem to be pointed out for us by the age we live in. Our age has posed drastic new problems in the area of human relations and mutual understanding. If we make no effort to know what must be known for the solution of these problems, we are likely to become, through our words and actions, a reason why they are harder to resolve than they need be. Also, happily, our age has been marked by swift, unparalleled developments in the very areas of knowledge most relevant to our current problems: areas that have to do with the nature of man and, specifically, of *man in society*: interpersonal man. If we let our individual minds pioneer along these fronts where some of the best pioneering of our age is being done, we may well achieve a kind of knowledge that will not only make us feel more creatively at home in the world we have to live in, but that will also make us able to give the people around us room to realize their own potential selves.

S I X TO ERR IS HUMAN

What I HAVE spoken earlier of man as a mistake-maker. What I The word "man" in this context applies to every one of us—man, woman, and child. Since it is something we all have in common, the fact that we make mistakes ought, it would seem, to encourage mutual understanding and sympathy and a wish to set right what has gone wrong. That it does not always do so is apparent.

Instead of being honest about our own mistakes, and doing what we can to straighten them out, as often as not we defend or excuse them. Instead of being generous toward other people's mistakes—even when they are no worse than ours—we become angry. In no uncertain terms, we tell the mistake-maker off. Or—which may be worse—we nurse our hurt feelings in silence, letting them show through that silence just enough to keep the other person uneasy. Or we "forgive"—but do not forget. We keep the past alive in us as a grudge. Or we bring it up to the other person, time and again, harping on it until what was genuine regret on his part turns into self-defensive resentment at our unwillingness to let bygones be bygones.

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Wherever human relationships, whether between individuals or groups, have become strained or hostile by reason of misjudgments or wrong behaviors on anybody's part—or everybody's part—one question seems most of all proper to ask; namely, how do we best undo what has been done, or best alleviate the unhappy results of it, and put our relationship back in working order for a fresh start? How can we best treat the blunders of the past as *past and done with*—and then go ahead?

Wherever we turn in today's world, it seems, we find human beings who look guardedly or vengefully at one another across barriers of old mistakes; mistakes that have never been openly acknowledged and that are still, in many cases, being defended; mistakes that, even where an effort has been made to straighten things out, have never been forgiven—much less forgotten.

Thus, at a myriad family tables and a myriad conference tables, we might say, the past sits in as a present trouble-maker; and because the past sits there, those who most need to think and talk their way toward mutual understanding are unable to do so.

We have many things to learn in this age. But there is nothing, perhaps, that we more drastically need to learn than how to call an episode finished when it is finished. This is the art of rescuing the present and the future from the tyranny of the past. Unless we can learn it, and practice it with more interest in moving beyond old errors than in perpetuating the memory of them, the world's future—which is also our personal future, and the future of those we most intimately cherish—may be a sorry affair.

If we are to be realistic about taking old mistakes out of circulation, so that they cannot continue to distort our lives and our relationships, we will have to face a number of hard facts.

The first is that certain individuals and groups have no intention of letting "the dead past bury its dead." For such as these, the old wrongs and antagonisms that divide people and make them hurt one another are not something to be set right. They are something to be constantly stirred up, magnified, and capitalized. Other people's fears and hostilities are their stock in trade: the very thing they can most handily use to consolidate their own position of seeming advantage or power.

We all know the village gossip and the office trouble-maker; the person whose own ego-importance and strategic position are maintained by setting others against each other and then making sure that they are kept far enough apart by well planted rumor and innuendo, that they are not likely, in simple good faith, to get together, compare notes, and check up on facts.

Today, we note an equivalent type in the person who attaches the label Communist or pro-Communist to someone whose "disloyalty" consists in his being on the other side of

the political fence—or in his being simply an “intellectual,” a dissenter, or an object of envy. In communities all over the land, and even within halls of government, this sort of trouble-maker has capitalized on our national uneasiness. To-day, happily, in most places his influence is on the wane. The period when he thrived was from the late 1940's up through 1954: the period when we as a government and as a people were being startled into tardy awareness of the power and recalcitrance of world Communism and had not yet got our bearings with regard to the problems thus posed. Even to-day, however, this “village gossip writ large” is a force to be recognized and reckoned with. Most of all, recognized—by the tell-tale fact that when he has accused someone, or has set group against group, he shows himself committed to preventing those in whom he has thus induced mutual fear and hostility from getting together to compare notes and talk things over.

Individuals, however, are not always acting as individuals when they stir up or perpetuate dissension among us. Often they act as representatives of groups. Thus, there is the type of labor leader whose face is set like flint against any form of labor-management cooperation that might dim labor's memory of old exploitations. Even more familiar is the type of politician who never lets any member of the opposing party live down a past misjudgment—and who is adroit in making every past misjudgment appear to have been deliberate corruption or disloyalty. Within every religious, racial, and economic group there are—and always have been—those who speak for an unhealthy, opportunistic segment of the larger body: a segment that sees in every deep-seated fear and antagonism, and particularly in every new fear and antagonism that can be stirred up, a chance to increase their own power.

The individual rumormonger, we have noted, makes a tacit bet with himself that those whom he has turned into enemies will not risk coming close enough to each other to become friends. In like fashion, these power-seeking segments of larger groups—political parties, economic classes, and the rest—make a tacit bet with themselves. They bet that if they can spread fear broadly enough and make it intense enough, they themselves, as defenders and saviors—or as an element too dangerous to be crossed—will be able to get away with methods that would not otherwise be tolerated. They will thereby be able to assume a leadership role for which they would not, in an atmosphere of normal good will, be even remotely considered.

They make a bet with themselves, we might say, that if they create enough smoke, and persuade enough people to watch the smoke with acute anxiety, they can do two further things: get across the idea that the only thing to do, in such circumstances, is to fight fire with fire; and establish the notion that they, having shown themselves “realistic” and “foresighted” about the fire's presence, are the natural ones to lead the fighting.

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At this point, often, they can go further. They can make a seeming virtue out of their own lack of squeamishness about methods and can, by their willingness to do the dirty work, ease the not too exacting consciences of those who are ready to have done in the name of necessity what they are not themselves ready to do. It is by this process of first creating a crisis and then "bravely" taking on the burden of it that even a small segment of a larger group can negotiate itself into a position where it has, with regard to the making and executing of policy, a sort of majority status. The most striking examples of this, in our time, are provided by the totalitarian regimes: by the manner in which, in both Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, an "elite" minority has assumed a role of absolute power by first writing the word crisis in gigantic letters across the majority consciousness and then setting itself up as defender and savior of that majority. For us to recognize this tactic as practiced by these regimes is not, however, enough: we have to recognize it wherever it is practiced—even among ourselves.

quote

Next to be appraised are groups that, in their entirety, are geared to the spreading of fear and hatred—and are organized for no other purpose. Religious and racist "hate groups" are of this type. Marketing their wares with destructive shrewdness, such groups not only prevent old hurts being healed and old antagonisms being reconciled, but they plant new seeds of fear and rancor. When what they have thus planted is full grown, the seeds from it often blow on today's winds of uneasiness to lodge in the minds of many who would never knowingly be associated with "hate groups" and their nefarious works. It is thus that the general climate of opinion may become so infected that a vicious minority exercises a majority influence.

Uppermost today to be reckoned with, among the forces that capitalize hatred, is totalitarianism. Fascism and Communism alike represent grudge on a grand scale: grudge hal-
lowed as virtue; grudge raised to the level of absolute
philosophy and all-embracing policy. In the way that Communism, for example, keeps alive in the memory of Asian peoples every worst aspect of western colonialism, while practicing a new colonialism itself, we confront an arrogant determination not to let anyone forgive and forget.

Perhaps the most appalling thing about Communism, in moral terms, is precisely that it will not tolerate the thought that every human being is a creature of error and every human society the structured product of both wisdom and folly. To the Communist mind, one side has a corner on rightness. The other side is absolutely wrong; and has, therefore, to be liquidated. To forgive its mistakes, or come to any sort of honest working terms with it, would be to license it to enact more error. When the western nations stand baffled before the utter recalcitrance of Communist powers that must somehow be lived with but that refuse to work out in good faith any plan for the gradual bettering of relationships, what they

are confronting is a philosophy that declares one portion of the human race to be infallible and that enthrones as virtue a refusal to forgive any past wrong or to let processes of growth take care of any past misjudgment.

Here, then, is a first hard fact for us to hold in mind: that the wish to have old errors and grudges taken out of circulation is by no means a unanimous one. We have to expect, in a period of many tensions, that various unhealthy, cynical, and self-serving types will exert an influence after the nature of their own make-up—just as we have to expect that looters will come out of the cracks of our society wherever fire, flood, or other public calamity has created confusion. But just as the forces of law and order can prepare to handle the problem of looting, so the forces of law and order—and of common sense and decency—within our own minds can take on the job of not letting the obsessed or opportunistic troublemaker make too much trouble.

The second hard fact we have to deal with is the presence among us of a considerable body of people who cannot forgive and forget, or who, more precisely, cannot forgive because they cannot forget. These are the neurotics. In them, the past—their personal past—lives on as a constant incitement to fear and anger.

The neurotic may be starved for affection and may reach out for it as best he knows how. But his very personality structure is built in the image of his own most painful past experiences: of fear, humiliation, loneliness, rejection, failure. Thus dominated by the past, he cannot forgive himself for being himself; nor forgive those who have been, or who seem to him to have been, the authors of his defeat. He is equally unable to forgive those in the current scene who defend themselves as best they can against behaviors of his that they experience as unjust, spiteful, callous, demanding, possessive, or domineering, but that he—from where he emotionally stands—feels to be natural and called for. Even more broadly, he is unable to forgive life itself for being the sort of thing it is.

To be unable to forgive and forget what has taken place in the past is to be unable to give the present and future their due. The neurotic's tragedy is that he never can give the present and future their due. This becomes the essence, also, of his tragic influence upon other people's lives.

It goes without saying that many such individuals are to be found among those who form or join "hate groups"—as they are to be found in any set-up, large or small, that enacts totalitarianism. They are drawn to such movements by their anxious preoccupation with status and by the fact that they have a surplus of fear and hostility to "invest." Their own total make-up, moreover, bids them see the world as menacing and therefore renders them susceptible to the demagogue's tactic of specifying some enemy as the source of danger.

Most neurotics, however, do not act out through mass movements their inability to forgive and forget. They simply

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act it out wherever they live and move among their human fellows. They act it out not only toward those who have really committed some offense, but—by a hang-over from the past—toward those whom they merely associate with their own dissatisfactions and defeats.

In how many homes, for example, does a wife take out on her husband a grievance against her father—a grievance generalized into a conviction that no man can be trusted? In how many homes, classrooms, and offices is authority being exercised as irresponsible power because someone, at the deep levels of his being, has never forgiven or forgotten the defeats he himself has suffered at the hands of some hated authority?

Housman put his finger on a sad truth when he wrote,

"I see

In many an eye that measures me

The mortal sickness of a mind

7

Too unhappy to be kind."¹

¹ A. E. Housman, *A Shropshire Lad*, XLI, p. 58. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932.

Too unhappy, we might say, to let bygones be bygones; and unhappy because unable to let bygones be bygones. This is the vicious circle of neurosis. And again the fact we have to face stands clear: namely, that our best efforts to take out of circulation old mistakes and the hostilities they have bred may be brought to nothing by neurotic resistance. A neurotic inability to treat the past as past may prove as solid a "road block" in one situation as a deliberate wish to capitalize old fears and angers may prove in another.

A third hard fact comes very close to home: the fact that few of us are wholly free from the characteristics of either the "public" rumormonger and opportunist or the "private" neurotic. If those of us who make up the healthy majority were less like those who make up the unhealthy minority, fewer human relationships would be distorted by unacknowledged and uncorrected mistakes and unforgiven wrongs.

Psychologists have, in a general way, made us aware that we all have some neurotic traits. We all carry around some "undigested" portions of our past: experiences with which we have never deeply come to terms, so that they can still catch us off guard. When some outside stimulus reaches through, as it were, and lays its finger on one of our touchy spots, we over-react as though a raw wound had been touched. We show ourselves to be more timid, irritable, or belligerent than the occasion justifies.

We sometimes speak of the neurotic as *panic prone*. By this we mean that he carries around enough constant anxiety to experience even a moderately dangerous situation as overwhelmingly dangerous. This is why he adds more than his share to any wave of hysteria. But all of us are prone to make certain disproportionate reactions—and therefore to add more than our share of emotional coloring to various situations. One person, for example, may remain unperturbed by the bad manners of a pompous individual who is dominating

a conversation: unperturbed, or mildly irritated or amused. Another person, however, who is also listening may be stimulated to the point of rage—because of what he has unconsciously added to the situation out of his own past.

Part of the time at least these neurotic tendencies of our “healthy” selves are likely to take the form of determined self-excuse or self-justification with regard to our own mistakes and of grudge or self-righteousness with regard to other people’s mistakes. The chances are, in brief, that every one of us has made his contribution, large or small, to the store of uncorrected errors and unresolved conflicts; and that he has done so because of what he unwittingly has in common with the person he calls neurotic.

While many of us are more or less ready to acknowledge that the individual with neurotic traits is not always somebody else, most of us have scarcely begun to notice what we have in common with the types we count most dangerous to human relationships in our time: the rumormonger; demagogue; extremist; big or little totalitarian.

Yet one reason why these types have been able to do so much harm has been that our own behavior in opposition to them has not presented an unalloyed contrast to theirs. We, too, have had our “favorite enemies”: specified individuals or groups whom we readily designate as responsible when things go wrong; whom we are reluctant to credit with any virtue; whose past mistakes we keep alive in the public consciousness as much as we can; whom we talk about in derogatory stereotypes; about whom we circulate unverified stories; and whom we simply do not approach with any will to sort out important disagreements from unimportant, to check up on our facts, or to search for possible bases of understanding.

Almost all of us, in short, think and act today in terms of irreconcilable “in group” and “out group”—which is precisely the sort of thought and action upon which every rumormonger, demagogue, and totalitarian has learned to rely for his success. So long as we can be persuaded to stay far enough apart from one another, in clique or faction or party, that we see one another only as faceless shapes or as caricatures; and so long as each group actually enjoys retailing its own pet exaggerations, and rationalizes as realism or virtue its own reluctance to take one reconciling step toward those whom it has cast as “the other side,” we can be told almost anything about one another—by local extremist, self-serving demagogue, or unrecognized Communist—and will be inclined to believe it.

So much, then, for some of the obstacles that make difficult even our best efforts to correct old errors, heal old hurts, and move constructively beyond them. To know what these obstacles are, however, is only a first step. We need also to know what it takes to keep the present and future from being tyrannized over by the past.

For one thing, it takes the power to distinguish between

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a mistake and a sin. If we treat every error and misjudgment as a deliberately perpetrated wrong, we stand small chance of living together in any state approximating good will. The person who self-righteously "forgives" or grimly "refuses to forgive" another person's error in judgment is, so to speak, mixing his categories. We must let one another correct mistakes; live them down; relegate them to the past and be done with them. But this does not mean that the mistake-maker is to be regarded as a "sinner" to be forgiven—or to be denied forgiveness.

We might take a case that involves a husband and wife and, indirectly, their children. Years ago, the husband, who wanted to go into business for himself, thought he saw a good chance to do so. In the face of his wife's reluctance, he took that chance—investing most of their savings in a project that did not pan out. His failure, in plain fact, resulted less from misjudgment than from outer circumstances: the building of a new highway made his location obsolete before his business was well enough established to survive such a setback. He did, however, lose most, though not all, of what he had invested; and the job he then had to take meant his starting over at a lower wage than he had been earning before the venture.

His wife, treating his misjudgment as a deliberate sin against herself, has never forgiven him; nor has she ever permitted the children to forget that things might have been easier for all of them if he had not been too "pigheaded" to listen to her. Far from forgiving him, indeed, she now makes his unfortunate choice of an enterprise seem far more stupid than it was; and her own insight, which was as much timidity as anything else, far clearer than it was. Also, she leads the children to believe that the money lost would have supported a far higher standard of living than even the happiest of investments would have made it support.

Thus the marriage drags along, and the children grow up, in an atmosphere of nagging and needling. The husband, through the tired years, has become a sort of walking apology; the wife, a walking reproach. Both are emotionally stunted by a refusal to forgive where, in actual fact, not forgiveness but the valor of understanding was called for.

What such a case illustrates is that a person can do monstrous wrong by simply adding, as this wife did, *an unwillingness to let the past be past to a magnified sense of having been in the right*. Whatever initial rightness of judgment this wife could claim—if, indeed, her reluctance was that of right judgment—has been dwarfed by the colossal wrong she has done to herself, her husband, and her children—condemning all alike to live out their lives in mutual acrimony under the shadow of one mistake; and denying to all alike the self-confidence and companionship they might have earned by exploring together the possibilities that lay beyond that mistake in judgment—or, as we might prefer to say, remembering the relocation of the highway, that accident of circum-

stances.

It would be comforting if we could dismiss this wife's behavior as wholly extraordinary: if we could say that most people do not thus confuse mistakes that have had unfortunate consequences with sins that call for forgiveness. In fact, however, all too many of us, in big ways or small, act after the manner of this wife. If we are hurt or inconvenienced by another person's error of judgment, we assume the role of a person who has been wronged. We then act as though the "wrongdoer" must properly wait upon our emotional bounty—grateful for the forgiveness we elect to hand down; or patient before our decision that his "sin" is unforgivable.

Nor is it only in our personal dealings that we thus mix our categories. Many of the angers and recriminations that today confuse and weaken our society stem from this tendency to treat misjudgments—whether in national or international affairs—as deliberate wrongdoing: as wrongdoing, moreover, that cannot be forgiven or lived down. "Judgment is mine, saith the Lord." It is unfortunate that so many of us, so many times, feel righteously qualified to say instead, "Judgment is mine"—and let it go at that.

There are cases, needless to say, where people actually wrong one another—and cases where whole groups of people have wronged one another. After simple mistakes in judgment have been taken out of the picture, we still have cause to explore the art of forgiving as we would be forgiven. The extension of forgiveness between human beings is both an art and a necessity. If it is not practiced, or is grudgingly or self-righteously practiced, a great many relationships are bound to remain distorted.

The truly forgiving person is not one who employs his power of forgiveness only on an emergency basis: when some specific wrong has been done him. Rather, that power is in constant operation as part of his personality structure. He is able to forgive specific wrongs because he accepts life, with all its limitations, as well worth living. We might say that he, in contrast to the neurotic, forgives life for being the mixed up sort of thing it is. He forgives it because he likes it so much. As a corollary to this attitude, he accepts himself and other people, with all their limitations, as worth living with: worth being involved with in the human enterprise.

Thus believing in life, he can forgive the specific wrongdoer, when occasion requires—and can do so in a manner that puts the relationship back in good working order. He can thus forgive because he has known, all along, that life is imperfect—and has taken it for granted that he, in the course of living, must expect to encounter his share of its imperfections. He can forgive, also, because he keenly feels how fine a thing it is to be alive when understanding and constructiveness are the order of the day.

When he practices forgiveness, in brief, he is not doing some grim or self-righteous duty—any more than he is when he, in his turn, asks forgiveness. He is doing what, at the deepest level of his being, he wants to do: getting a derailed

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relationship back on its proper track, so that it can go ahead.

For such a person, time spent excusing and defending his own mistakes and time spent in berating someone else, nursing a grudge, or planning revenge would alike be time wasted: time lost from the companionable, constructive business of living. He would, therefore, become as bored with the process of heaping endless recriminations upon a person who had wronged him, or of brooding in conspicuously hurt silence, as he would become with having such recriminations or such hurt silence directed at himself. He asks forgiveness and grants forgiveness in the same spirit: because his deep and spontaneous wish, when things have gone wrong between himself and someone else, is to straighten them out as best he can—and write *finis* to the episode. Mutual acrimony is not, for him, what life is about. Rather, it is an interruption of life, and is to be dealt with as such.

precisely here, we believe, is a clue to why some people can relax in the presence of an affront when others would “tense up” and retaliate. It is a clue, likewise, to why they show far less strain than most of us do in the act of asking or granting forgiveness. The essence of the matter is that *they are being themselves*. They are not straining to perform an act that goes counter to their normal make-up or that sets up an inner conflict between the sound and the neurotic aspects of their own nature: between their conscious wish to forgive and their deeper unacknowledged impulse to make the wrongdoer “eat crow.” Even in the moment of affront, the soundly forgiving person knows *with his whole personality* what his own long-range wish will be: that is, so to handle the unfortunate situation that it can be relegated to the past. Even in the moment of crisis, he remains himself; and as soon as possible, he forgives—and *forgets*.

It is the person for whom forgiveness represents a struggle against opposing aspects of his own nature who “forgives”—but whose forgiveness has to be put in quotes, so to speak, because he does not forget. Even when the issue has ostensibly been resolved, he experiences residual inner tensions that attach to it. His ego still feels diminished and in need of self-assertion. His wish to make the wrongdoer “eat crow” is still surreptitiously alive. Again and again, therefore, he will be likely to bring up the past; and even if he does not openly bring it up, he is likely to nurse enough of a grudge to mar his future relationship with the person in question.

The truly forgiving person does not act out his forgiveness according to rule or tactic. What he does, in effect, in the most constricting of all situations—where human beings face each other as offender and offended—is to make room for things to be set right. How he does this we can perhaps best see by noting certain things that he does not do.

He does not make a prolonged exercise of placing the blame. We recall, in this connection, a recent remark made to us by a friend whom we regard as wise about the things that

deeply matter in life. In the organization where he holds a position of authority a peculiar crisis had been generated out of a series of misunderstandings, wrong decisions, conflicting wills, and, finally, self-defensive angers. It looked for a while as though one valued part of his program was in jeopardy. What struck us most forcibly was the quiet way he went about setting things right: sizing up the problem and fitting the pieces together in much the same spirit that an expert mechanic shows when he is tinkering a machine back into shape.

When we saw him again, a few days later, and asked him about it, he said, "Oh, that came out all right." We asked a further question: "Did you find out how it all started—who was to blame?" He shook his head: "I didn't try too hard—because I didn't need to know. As a matter of fact, I suppose I *do* know; but nothing would have been gained by putting the man on the spot. He was upset enough without my jumping on him. The important thing is that we located several points in our set-up where misunderstandings could easily get started—and where people could pretty easily get on one another's nerves. I don't think we'll have any more trouble of that sort."

Then, as an afterthought, he added, "The longer I work with people, the less interested I am in making an issue out of who's to blame for what. Whenever you start placing blame, I've come to believe—and making a lot of it—you also start oversimplifying your problem. While you're glaring at one individual, and holding him to account, you're not giving your attention to the over-all set-up of which he's a part. By the time you're through with him, moreover, you've probably made him a less useful member of your organization. You've made him afraid of you. Or you've left him with a rankling sense of injustice: of having had more blame piled on him than he deserved. No: as far as I'm concerned, it's enough to get matters straightened out. If I can do that, most of the people involved will straighten themselves out."

In the second place, the truly forgiving person *does not go in for melodramatic emotional "scenes" of repentance and forgiveness*—even though he may, under certain circumstances, have to operate in situations where emotions are at high pitch. He tries to establish an atmosphere in which people can use their heads. Certain neurotic types, we know, "specialize" in melodrama. They initiate quarrels—with a marriage partner, or a friend—for the sake of making up: and making up in a state of teary forgiveness. This is not the way of the sound human being.

Again, *he is not self-righteous in forgiving*. He does not place the offended self on a pedestal and, from that superior vantage point, condescend to the "sinner": "I forgive you." He inclines, in fact, to shy clear of saying in so many words, "I forgive you." For he recognizes that the phrase sets the *I* and the *you* too far apart for the emotional health of either: too far apart, with virtue too exclusively lodged in the *I* and error in the *you*.

The person wise in forgiveness is likely to be wise, also, about human nature and its odd sensitivities and vulner-

abilities. He suspects, therefore, that it has taken some inner struggle on the other person's part to expose himself to whatever reaction an admission of blame may bring forth. He recognizes, in brief, that anyone who acknowledges a fault is, in subtle measure, putting himself at the mercy of the affronted human being's personality structure—and that this structure may show itself to be mature or immature, sound or unsound, generous or vengeful.

Even more importantly, he knows that the person who has faced his own mistake has, in the process, had to face himself as the maker of that mistake; and that this encounter with a painfully unflattering self-image may have left him raw on the edges.

Knowing these things, he knows further that when he says "I forgive you," the implied gap in righteousness between himself and the "sinner" may be filled with a sudden inrush of self-defensiveness on the other person's part; so that the other's energies, in the very moment when he is trying to correct his error, may be diverted from the constructive business of growing beyond error. In spite of himself, and in spite of his honest wish to set matters right, the mistake-maker may find himself under such compulsion to protect his diminished ego that his energy system readies itself for "fight or flight." A great many human faults, certainly, have been given a new lease on life by the obtuseness of the individual who has "forgiven" them.

A person of deep generosity toward life knows, in brief, that any sound act of forgiveness has to be an act of healing. He does not refuse to the other person a decent chance to express regret and set things right if he can. He does not brush off the other's apology as of no importance, nor hurry past it as though it were an embarrassment and nothing more; for the mistake-maker, as a self-respecting individual, has a right to put his house in order. But his reception of apology and redress, when these have been made, is a healing reception. Often, therefore, it is on the casual side. It aims to lower tension, not heighten it; to prevent self-defensiveness from blocking new insight; to move as swiftly as realism permits beyond the weighing of error to the weighing of new possibilities; and, most of all, to get the interpersonal relationship back on the plane where the pronoun *we* is easily spoken.

It is significant, in this regard, that the great prayer of our tradition says explicitly, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us." The words may be repeated by a congregation in unison or by an individual in private; but throughout the prayer, in either case, the pronouns that have human reference are *our*, *us*, *we*. No human being is here set apart from others in righteousness or fault. The needs are common needs; the fallibility is no less common. The person wise in forgiveness is one who spontaneously enacts the spirit of this prayer.

There is one final thing he does not do. *He does not enlarge his condemnation of a specific misbehavior until it covers the wrongdoer as a total personality.* It is no sound practice, we

have learned, for a parent to say to a child who has done something wrong, "You're a bad boy; and you know I can't love you if you're a bad boy." The wise parent confines his negative judgment to the specific misbehavior. He singles this out, so to speak, from the general company of behaviors and makes it stand clear as unacceptable. He rejects it, but he does not reject the child. Neither does he drag up from the past all the mistakes he can think of that the child has ever made, framing out of the whole a covering generalization: "You always . . ." What the wise parent does not do in the handling of a child, we, if we are wise, do not do in any of our human relationships.

Talking with us one day about some of the problems of our troubled time, a friend of ours used the phrase, "the corrosive consequences of incivility." He went on to say that, to his mind, many of the relentless antagonisms that now divide and weaken us as a people are the product of initial mistakes compounded by bad manners—and more often than not, by the deep incivility of those who will not permit others to acknowledge their mistakes, correct them as best they can, and *be done with them*.

The deeply civil person knows life as imperfect—flawed, limited, self-contradictory; as unfinished—often immature, raw on the edges, unfulfilled; but as remarkable in fact and possibility, and as structured for growth. With all these aspects the truly civil person feels at home.

He is not, therefore, readily stampeded by human shortcomings. For he has known all along that they exist—and that we all take our turn at feeling the impact of them. Yet he knows that they *are* shortcomings: for he has also experienced the presence of good and is in a position to feel the difference in quality between good and evil. Thus, his civility expresses itself in a subtle fusion of attitudes. He is reconciled to the existence of limitations and of evils; but not passively reconciled. His devotion is to the excellent and to those unfulfilled possibilities of life—in every human being and every situation—that are, we might say, the raw material of excellence.

This devotion to what is sound and generous in human behaviors and relationships will express itself in many different ways. When occasion requires, it will express itself as readiness to correct his own mistakes as best he can or, as the case may be, to give other people a chance to correct theirs.

For such a person the arts of apology, restitution, and forgiveness are simply part of the business of living. Because he deeply feels the drama of life's transcending, even in small ways, its previous limitations, he does not want growth to be halted overlong by stubborn hostilities or by preoccupation with faults and mistakes.

We have spoken of the "corrosive consequences of incivility." Here, we might well pay tribute to the redemptive consequences of civility. If we do not harvest figs from thistles, neither, happily, do we harvest thistles from fig trees. Civility no less than incivility will tend to produce after its own kind.

Where civility sets the pattern for human relationships and behaviors, it is not likely that mistakes of the past—no matter who has made them, nor how grievous they seem—will be allowed to dominate and distort the future.

S E V E N

GRATITUDE: THE MATURE EMOTION

ALL THROUGH the human centuries, no doubt, people have exhorted other people to be grateful. We would question, however; whether anyone has ever actually felt gratitude because he was told to feel it.

Countless persons, being thus exhorted, have doubtless tried to summon up the proper emotion—and have felt guilty when it would not come. They have identified as gratitude what has, at best, been a sense of obligation. They have performed by rote, as it were, such actions as are commonly taken to express gratitude; and have reproached themselves when they have slipped up on these. But it seems improbable that anyone has ever by command, or by his own determination to feel what he ought to feel, experienced the rich sense of “overflow”—“My cup runneth over”—that can rightly be called gratitude.

We bring up this matter of futile exhortation, reproach, and self-reproach because we feel it is highly unfortunate that gratitude—one of the most rewarding emotions we experience—should so often be regarded as on the “ought” side of life: “You ought to be grateful”; or, condemningly, “You’re ungrateful. You don’t appreciate all I’ve done for you.”

The fact is that gratitude is an emotion that no human being feels, or can feel, until he has grown into it; and the emotions we arouse in a person—particularly in a small child—when we demand that he feel gratitude are the very ones most likely to prevent his growing into it. A baffled sense that he has somehow “been bad,” anger at himself, a sense of guilt, resentment at being nagged at and made to feel inadequate, a stiff preoccupation with keeping up pretenses: all these make for an in-turning attention; a focusing upon the self. Gratitude is felt only to the extent that an out-turning attention has become a natural way of life.

A small child—still on the receiving end of things—takes the bounty of life for granted. It is the only way he can take it; for he has, as yet, no power to estimate, and therefore appreciate, the efforts that others put forth in his behalf. He can be glad to get things, and can show impulsive warmth toward the giver; but he cannot, in any accurate meaning of the term, be grateful.

By the same token, a child takes the frustration of his wishes as an inexplicable and deliberate affront. To his mind, all adults—and his parents in particular—are people who can give him what he asks for if they will. Their valid reasons for refusing him one thing and another, or for taking out of his hands what he has appropriated to himself, cannot by his standards be good reasons. Denial of his wishes thus amounts to both *deprivation* and *affront*. To the pain

of not getting what he wants is added the angry sense that it is being deliberately withheld. So long as the experience of wanting and getting, or of wanting and not getting, is interpreted in these rudimentary terms, it is not an experience roomy enough to hold gratitude.

A child can be, and should be, instructed in *behaviors* that make him an acceptable human being. He can be taught not to grab everything in sight; to say thanks for what he is given; not to throw a tantrum when he has to wait his turn; and, gradually, to give as well as to receive. As these behaviors become for him easy and natural, he will less often experience angry tensions between himself and other people and will have more chance to grow into affirmative emotions by the simple process of liking and being liked. He can, in brief, be helped to learn *how to act*. Also, he can have his attention drawn to the fact that back of the gift he receives is the giver: "Mrs. Smith made these cookies for you and brought them over"; or "Did you thank Uncle John for your new sled? He made it himself because he knew you wanted one."

How to act and what to notice in the relationships of giving and receiving: a child can be initiated into these. But he cannot be told *what to feel*. His emotions will mature as his understanding matures; and gratitude—which, in its authentic forms, is a fairly late comer—is an emotion he will feel and express, not by command, nor by rote, but on his own spontaneous terms, when he has grown up enough to feel the intricately rich pattern of give-and-take by which life is supported.

We remember, years ago, hearing a young bride make fun of a wedding present she had received from a distant relative: an elderly widow. It was a cake plate that did not, in truth, fit into any scheme of things that she would choose. It was ornate—gilded and beflowered. Also, in price-tag terms, it was undeniably cheap. With her friends clustered about her at the wedding reception—where a long table was heavy with "suitable" presents—she held up the plate for ridicule. Caricaturing in a few stiletto words the elderly—and almost desperately poor—woman who had sent it, this bride seemed wholly unaware of what she was reporting about herself: namely, that she was still a child; and a spoiled, undisciplined child, at that. She was scarcely more ready for marriage, parenthood, or any other of the privileges and responsibilities of adult life—in a world where all relationships are "for better or worse"—than would have been the tiny flower girl who, a few minutes earlier, had scattered rose petals before her in the wedding procesion.

True, she did not throw the plate on the floor and break it, as a child might have thrown an unwanted gift. But unmistakably she showed herself to be still at the stage of life where only the gift, not the giver, was real to her; and where other people were "good parents" or "bad parents" according to whether or not they gave her what she wanted. She was

pleased with most of her gifts; proud to show them. Yet the way she handled that one plate revealed the fact that she was not *grateful* for any of them; for gratitude has no place in the make-up of the individual who does not spontaneously see the giver behind the gift.

It was significant to realize, as we watched this episode, how many different stages of psychological growth can be revealed in a group of human beings all of whom are approximately of the same chronological age. For the bride was not the only one who "showed her age." Among the young women gathered around her there were two who laughed with her and who added their own wisecracks about the plate and the uses she might make of it. But there were also those who looked uncomfortable and embarrassed. There was one who turned away, picked up another present, and studied it more intently than need be. And there was one who reached out, finally, and took the plate from her hands—putting it back on the table as tenderly as if her fingers were touching, and comforting, the little old woman who had bought and sent in good faith what was to her a gift greatly to be wanted.

This is the crux of the matter. Gratitude is never felt, and never can be felt, except by those who have grown up enough to feel the reality of other human beings. We have many times been told, in proverb and precept, that "the gift without the giver is bare." Perhaps we need to tell a related truth: namely, that the receiver who accepts a gift but has no warm sense of the giver is barren of gratitude.

It may be that one reason why we do not better understand gratitude, and its role in human experience, is that we rarely think of it except in relation to some specific gift or word or act of kindness or helpfulness. In deeper truth, gratitude is an aspect of personality. Just as we noted in the preceding chapter that the power to forgive a specific wrong—to forgive and be done with it—roots in the power to forgive life itself for being the imperfect thing it is, so we must note here that the power to feel grateful for a specific gift or service is rooted in a more pervasive attitude. It expresses something far more profound than the fact that the individual is pleased because he has got something he wants. It expresses the fact that he feels privileged to be in on the mutual processes of give-and-take. Gratitude is thus a warm sense of being included in a pattern of reciprocities.

What forms of appreciation does a person, in fact, grow into if he soundly grows up? One basic form, we would say, is appreciation of those who know how to do what needs to be done: gratitude, in short, for the many kinds of expertness that keep life going.

A child's toy is broken; and with it, his heart. Comes the older boy, or the father or mother, and in a miraculous sort of way the broken toy is made whole. What the child could in nowise do for himself another person has known how to do—and has done willingly. Experiences of this sort are a kind of preface to our adult awareness that no human be-

ing goes it alone: that where our individual knowledge and skill leave off, someone else's knowledge and skill have to take over—and can take over.

While we were writing this chapter, we took time out, one morning, to stand at a window and watch a surveying crew at work. They were doing for us what we would not have known how to do: locating and marking the corners of our tract of woodland. As we watched them plunging through the winter woods and then, each of them in his place, going to work with plumb bob and precision instrument, we were grateful: to them for their knowledge and skill; but also to the long line of surveyors and instrument-makers who stood back of these particular men; and to the human race that has oddly learned to solve one problem after another by parceling out, so to speak, jobs to be done.

Another example. One summer evening, at our farm, the electricity went off, and we and a friend who had been visiting with us became to one another only voices in darkness. We fumbled for matches and candles and a flashlight.

Seeing that neighbors' windows were as dark as our own, we settled down to wait, sure that it would not be long till the trouble shooters would be on the job. It seemed only a matter of minutes before we heard cars and then voices, and realized that they were focused around a near-by pole that held the transformer. We went out to watch the proceedings.

Three men were at work. One, already up at the top of the pole, was fixing into place a block and tackle with which the others, at work on the ground, could bring within his reach a repaired connection. We stood and watched, with the admiration that expertness always evokes. These men knew what they were doing. They went about it with swift, cooperative precision. Sooner than we would have thought possible, they were through: ready to reassemble their gear and put it back in the truck.

To the man who seemed to be in charge we voiced our admiration of their sure workmanship. He smiled, but as though surprised. "It's our job," he said.

Our appreciation, which had been extended to the competence of these men, now found a wider focus. It embraced their attitude toward their work. They did not need to "talk big." They had their job to do; accepted it as theirs; and performed it with a responsible accuracy that made them self-respecting members of the human enterprise.

"Doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief"—to these, and to others in multitude, we turn for help and for the satisfaction of needs and desires; and they, on occasion, turn to us. Gratitude for being in on such human give and take seems to us as natural as breathing. Yet it does not, we know, come as naturally as breathing. It is the product of our experience of living. Time and again, in the presence of one expertness and another, we have watched something being done that has solved some problem; eased some friction; brought light into physical, mental, or moral darkness; or added to the richness of life. On such occasions, our position has not been

too far removed from that of the child who stands by while father or mother fixes the broken toy or makes a new one.

Not too far removed; and yet very far removed. For we, unlike the child, have had years in which to learn that back of every taken-for-granted object and service, and back of every product of insight and devotion, lie knowledge and effort.

Also, as adults, we have a privilege that the child cannot have in any equal measure: that of knowing what it feels like to be included in the reciprocities of expertness. As adults, we have had time to earn our own right to say, "It's our job."

A second form of gratitude seems also to come as a product of sound growth. This is gratitude for the amazing common decencies of most people: for the simple fact that most people, most of the time, take the brunt of circumstances without falling apart; that most of them, given half a chance, are friendly rather than hostile; that most of them would rather help than hurt.

Recounting the story of one group among the human many that have pushed into unknown lands and suffered the hardships of their venturing, Archibald MacLeish writes:

"Before us are other lands and a new winter . . .

Nevertheless we go on: we are not returning:

Strange as it is that men: wanderers: wretched:

Deceived often: misled: their way lost: thirsting:

March on in the sun! But so the desire has

Strength over us . . . and the love the love of this earth. . . ."¹

¹ Archibald MacLeish, "Conquistador," in *Collected Poems 1917-1952*, p. 295. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952.

No small child is in a position, as yet, to value the tenaciousness with which mankind as a whole, and most individual men, have tacitly said in the face of adverse circumstances—or, simply, in the face of endless chores, "Nevertheless we go on: we are not returning."

In one sense, of course, there is no other choice. No way of return lies open. But in another sense, as psychiatric case studies make plain, there is a way of return: the way we call *regression*. Human beings of any age can slip back into attitudes and behaviors appropriate only to children: into dependence, irresponsibility, quick anger at not getting their own way, the habit of judging others only by how these others minister to their wishes. People *can* thus retreat from the everyday chores of life, and also from its larger hazards and griefs. But most of them do not. Most of them, in steady, unobtrusive, friendly fashion enact "the love of this earth."

We cannot expect that a child will, in any profound sense, feel gratitude for simple human behaviors that are, on the whole, decent, courageous, and helpful. He has no way of knowing, as yet, how tired people can be—and still go on about their jobs. He has no way of knowing how many lives are chiefly expended in "chore work"—in doing things "over and over that just won't stay done."¹ He can see in the dark-

¹ Robert Frost, "A Servant to Servants," in *Collected Poems*, p. 83. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939.

ness of his room, at night, shapes that are not there; and can fear these enough to go pattering off to his parents for com-

fort. But he has not yet lain awake at night staring at broken hopes and plans and at a future that seems wholly dark; and then got up, in the morning, and gone on about his business—"making do" with what he has to work with and what he can find within himself in the way of reasons for going on.

We expect that a child, though keenly aware on his own terms of the world around him, will be obtuse with regard to much that grown-up life involves. If an adult, however, has no eye for the common decencies that are enacted all around him; if he is chiefly cynical, or chiefly proud of his "superior" capacity to belittle and debunk, we can suspect that he is emotionally stunted in his growth: he has taken on size and age without taking on an appropriate awareness.

Part of mature life, once more, is gratitude for all experiences of mutual understanding. The truly grown-up person does not take the good will of other people as his natural due. Nor does he take friendship for granted, nor love, nor compassion, nor the bolstering tolerance extended to him in his least likable moments by those who understand that he is not, at those moments, liking himself very much either.

The mature person knows enough about the vulnerabilities of our human stuff to know how easy it is for self-defensiveness to block understanding. He knows enough about the isolating effects of simple preoccupation, and enough about the body-enclosed and experience-enclosed separateness of each individual to be grateful for every occasion when, transcending such separateness, mind meets mind. He is grateful for the responsive smile that announces friendliness; for the sudden lighting up of interest in another person's eyes; for all moments of companionable silence; for the readiness of another to listen attentively across barriers of disagreement; for the warm power of another to recognize for what it is the shyness that makes him, at times, wordless when he wants to speak, or more blunt and abrupt in speech than he intends to be; for all chances to explore with others the questions, needs, and hopes that lie at the deep levels of our common human experience; and for all efforts that are made by anyone, anywhere in the world, to replace antagonism with understanding.

The small child has no way of knowing that all mutual understanding is a kind of miracle. To him, his own feelings are so obviously "right" that he cannot think of himself as hard to understand. Nor can he know how complex and various other people are. He can, and normally does, respond very early in life to a show of friendliness; but as he answers smile with smile, he has not the slightest sense that he is enacting one of the unique and triumphant powers of his species. He has a lot of growing to do before a permeative gratitude for all experiences of mutual understanding and affection can become part of his character structure; and he may never do this requisite amount of growing, even though he lives to be old.

Yet another basic form of gratitude is that felt for all energies and insights that have maneuvered mankind out of

primitive helplessness and ignorance into some measure of civilization.

Whether we pick up the most ordinary tool, or feel the texture of one of the new "wonder fabrics," or appraise the institution we call the public school or the one we call a court of law, or take down a book from the shelf, or put a pan of rolls in the oven to bake, or listen to a symphony, we stand in the presence of the human tradition—and many of us learn to stand gratefully. We are on the receiving end of that distinctive power that makes it possible for us to borrow knowledge from those who have gone before us and to move on from where they left off; and also for us to borrow courage, holding ourselves to the line laid down in words spoken long ago; and to borrow standards and ideals by which to set the compass of our lives.

Some people seem constantly amazed at human shortcomings but never amazed at human insight and wisdom. These they take for granted. They may be petulant or querulous in their readiness to blame; or proud of their ability to pick flaws in what is commonly regarded as admirable; or, in the face of one or another human blindness, they may ask in repetitive astonishment, "How dumb can people be?" But they seem never to be surprised at what mankind, initially helpless and ignorant before the raw forces of nature, has managed to learn, make, and pass along as science, technology, art, law, political and social institutions, and general standards of civility. They are, in effect, still children who take for granted the goods that come to them and who feel not only deprived but affronted when things do not fit their pattern of what should be.

A related form of gratitude is the type we feel to all who have helped us grow in body and mind. This normally means some measure of solid gratitude toward those who fed, clothed, and kept us warm through the stages of our infant dependence; who comforted us when we cried for comfort; who first inducted us into patterns of behavior that have since kept us from being blatant or shrinking misfits among our human fellows; who helped us to learn that disappointment, loss, and grief can be survived; and who, by words and contagious actions, helped us gradually to put some content into such abstract terms as truth, justice, mercy, integrity, and love.

Occasions for this type of gratitude, however, do not end when we are supposedly grown-up; for the "grown-up" human being still has growing to do. As long as he lives, he has occasion to add knowledge. As long as he lives, moreover, he remains variously shortsighted, confused, and ego-centered. As long as he lives, therefore, he has reason to be grateful to those who somehow stir him out of apathy, complacency, narrow specialization, and stereotyped thought into some new learning.

Recently, we were visiting in a home where a very new mother had just survived—barely survived, she said—the ordeal of giving for the first time without help a bath to her

first baby. Exhausted from the slippery encounter, she sat with her feet up on a hassock and relaxed. "Boy," she said, "am I an infant when it comes to taking care of an infant! And am I grateful to that nurse for what she taught me about what to do!"

To feel grateful for experiences of growth is also, as a rule, to feel grateful for the gift of life; and gratitude for the gift of life has a way of turning into gratitude for being able to give as well as to receive.

Edwin Arlington Robinson writes out

"Two kinds of gratitude: the sudden kind
We feel for what we take, the larger kind
We feel for what we give."¹

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¹ Edwin Arlington Robinson, "Captain Craig," in *Collected Poems*, p. 115. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930.

Once we have learned this larger kind of gratitude, he goes on to say, we have learned a truth that has "been told over to the world a thousand times," but that the world has never rightly understood.

This truth, underscored alike by men of spiritual insight throughout history and by men of psychological insight to-day, is: *that the sound direction of growth for every human being is away from the infantile state of merely receiving, and of taking what he receives for granted as his due, toward the mature state of both giving and receiving—and of being grateful for the chance to do both.*

The emotionally disturbed individual—the "problem person" in whom we so often discover our common shortcomings writ large—can never be truly grateful either in receiving or giving.

He cannot be grateful *in receiving* for two good reasons. In the first place, his anxious and angry self-concern prevents his ever coming close enough to other people to feel their problems as just as real and just as difficult as his own. From where he stands, their lives look easy. Therefore, it is right and natural, in his judgment, that they should minister to his needs. For them not to do so is plain selfishness.

Such sympathy as the disturbed individual can offer tends to be reserved for whatever people he has, so to speak, incorporated into his own ego: those with whom he has so closely identified or upon whom he has become so dependent that their troubles are felt as a threat to his own frail security. His anxious concern about them is not unlike an insecure child's concern about a parent: a child who can feel panic fear that something has happened, or will happen, to a parent but who cannot enter into that parent's genuine problems nor extend to him a selfless consideration.

The second reason why the emotionally disturbed person cannot be truly grateful for what he receives is that what he is given can never do for him what actually needs to be done. What he needs is a basic sense of security and self-respect. Nothing that anyone can give him *from the outside* can, for long, satisfy his inner lack. He can pretend gratitude, and even feel a brief semblance of it. But when his inner problem resumes command over him—when his deep

insecurity and anger at life surge back—he will translate his lack of satisfaction into a feeling that he has not been given enough: that he has not been given what is properly due him. The sense of having been given a raw deal by someone or something, or by virtually everyone and by life itself, is simply not compatible with gratitude for receiving.

Neither is it compatible with *gratitude for the chance to give*. The deeply disturbed person is, in emotional terms, so needy a person that he can establish only a bargaining relationship with others; never a relationship of genuine mutuality. Giving is, for him, a kind of exigent *quid pro quo*. He does not give out of a profound appreciation of what he has received from life. He gives in the hope of receiving. He may give money, gifts, praise, flattery, attention, obsequious service, patient “chore work,” blind loyalty. Yet he gives to receive: a sense of power, answering gifts, praise in return, affection, security, a sense of virtue, a feeling of importance.

This is why such an individual can never truly enact what we call in religious terms a “sense of stewardship.” A sense of stewardship can be experienced only by those who have grown into a deep gratitude for both receiving and giving; for it is, in essence, a conviction that something of great worth has been given to them to use with respect, to care for, to improve if they can, and to pass on to others.

We discover here a reason why the person who is mature in gratitude seems, often, to have such effortless power to make other people want to do the best they can. He does not diminish them nor what they have to offer. For his sense of the reciprocities by which life is supported goes deep enough to make him endow with value and meaning much that is ordinarily dismissed as commonplace. Just as a few threads of color in a fabric may be important if they are part of the over-all plan that makes a room warm and inviting, so, to the grateful person’s mind, even the “widow’s mite” is important as part of the whole: the whole life that the human race *as a whole* is living on earth.

E I G H T

THE SPACE-MAKING PERSONALITY

HAT QUALITIES in a person make him able to give other people room to be themselves? We have already considered a number of these. Yet the covering question may still be easier to ask than to answer; for we find that most of what we need to know about these qualities cannot, so far, be learned from the psychological sciences.

Gordon Allport has pointed out some of the reasons for this in his searching analysis of the prospects and present limitations of these sciences.¹ The rigorous aim of the psy-

¹ Gordon Allport, *Becoming, Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality*, pp. 12–13. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955.

chologist, he shows, has been to bring his science into line with physics and mathematics. Therefore he has a “preference for visible externals.” But much of what goes on in a personality is neither external nor visible. It is deeply hidden. Hence it cannot be demonstrated by laboratory experiments. Also, it is unique to the individual and therefore not,

as scientific demonstration should be, repeatable.

This puts most of what we need to know about a personality outside the domain of "rigorous psychological science." And this is precisely why, Allport goes on to say, "so many psychologists fail to take an interest in the existential richness of life. . . . In their desire to emulate the established sciences, psychologists are tempted to tackle only those problems, and to work only on those organisms, that yield to acceptable operations." It is for this reason that they are especially averse to "problems having to do with complex motives, high-level integration, with conscience, freedom, and selfhood."

To be sure, clinical psychology and psychiatry have had to go deeper than laboratory psychology into the subtleties of human nature. But they, because of their therapeutic task, have been more concerned about the disturbed individual—the one who habitually feels cornered and who, in turn, often corners others in his effort to make himself secure—than they have been about the individual who has achieved "high-level integration." It is precisely this latter type, however, that we are here trying to discover: the one who has achieved such "at-homeness" with life that he can make room for others and invite them to feel at home and, in their turn, to make room for yet others.

In short, after we have assimilated the best insights the psychological sciences can give us, we still must search beyond them, in a direction which, we believe, psychologists will more often take in the future than they have in the past.

To put it briefly, we need to get as intimate a look as we can at what the individual feels and does when he is in the presence of certain other people, and *because he is in their presence*. This turning of attention to life that is being lived is, we note, the major thesis of Gordon Allport's book to which we have referred. It may well become the major thesis of an increasing number of psychological studies.

Such "research" will still fall far short of the stringencies of exact science. But it can bring us very close to ourselves. It invites us to appraise our person-to-person responses as accurately as we can, but not to dismiss them as irrelevant because they are personal and private.

Such person-to-person responses bring us closer, in plain fact, to certain aspects of psychological reality than does any other kind of evidence we know. Through them we are on the inside of life: we know what life feels like to at least one organism—the self. In short, our experiences of confident reaching out or of wary drawing back are themselves indubitably part of reality. To contend that, because they are intimately our own, they can tell us nothing we need to know about reality seems patently absurd.

It is equally absurd to discount what others report about their intimate experiences. Sometimes they report these voluntarily, in words—spoken or written. Often, however, the report they make is involuntary and nonverbal. Thus, when a shy person becomes visibly more shy than usual, he tells

us, in effect, that he is experiencing his psychic environment as inhospitable. The person who bristles suddenly and converts a quiet conversation into an argument makes a similar report. He may outwardly be talking about almost anything under the sun; but what he reports is that inwardly he feels threatened, cornered, forced to defend himself. Why he feels this way is another story; *but that he does feel this way* is a fact made public by his behavior. It is, therefore, a fact objectively available to us not only in our own dealings with him but in our effort to discover what it is we do to one another that makes us bristle into self-defense or, in contrary fashion, open up in unguarded response.

It would, of course, be folly to confuse this type of evidence which we can draw from personal experience and literature with the type that disciplined, impersonal science has to offer. But we need not make an *either-or* choice between the two. Our proper objective is to try to understand the make-up of reality; and our personal responses—however elusive, wayward, and irrational they may appear—are *reality*. They are drained of neither their reality nor their relevance by the fact that they do not readily submit to the external, repeatable methods of laboratory research.

We return, then, to our question: what qualities in a person make him able to give other people room to be themselves? And we find an answer quite simply by thinking of individuals we have known in whose presence we have, in one way or another, been made to feel the roominess of life.

From among a host of these, we select, almost at random, a certain tax accountant who is also, we think, a very special kind of human being. He cannot seem to look at the figures of a tax return without seeing the individuals and the family whose hopes and anxieties they report. Often we have lingered in his office far longer than necessary. We have done so because we have learned that, in some mysterious way, we would go out from his office more "civilized"—more ready to practice civility—because we had been there. Our own horizons would be wider, and our sense of life more perceptive, for having listened to this man think aloud about people and money.

If he had moralized about these, we would have attended to our business as expeditiously as possible and been on our way. If he had viewed the behaviors of "economic man" with aloof tolerance or aloof contempt, we would have found ourselves another tax accountant. What has many times held us there in his office has been the unobtrusive but unmistakable affection he has extended to those whose annual successes and failures, foresights and follies he has embalmed in tax returns.

Without ever violating the privacy of any client; without ever naming a name, or giving any clue by which an individual might be identified, he has introduced us to fellow humans and has tacitly reminded us that they—all of them—are to be taken into account in any generalization we may shape up about "humanity."

The men and women he has talked about have had to remain for us types without names or faces; but they have not been stereotypes. They have been earners and savers; spenders and misers; gamblers and investors. They have been people of plan or of hasty impulse; people building up a business or—by reason of shiftlessness, fatigue, lack of basic interest in it, or old age—letting it slide; people honest only by the precise and narrow letter of the law or honest by the broad spirit of that law. As he has talked about them, they have risen and walked as human beings. They have walked into our minds—and we have had to make room for them.

This accountant illustrates, we believe, one basic quality of the type of personality we are trying to understand. This quality is the power to feel other human beings as real and alive. He has never told us what we “should” feel about anyone. He has simply thought aloud with us, his eyes holding the memory of faces he has looked at across his desk; and he has made our own world more spacious by inviting us to make it large enough to hold people as people.

A point here needs to be underscored. The genuine space-maker, we have found, never provides room only for the person he happens to be with at a given time. He is, rather, able to provide it for this one person because he provides it for others also. His basic attitude toward life—reflected in what he chooses to say and how he says it, and even in his silences when he is thinking things over—is generous and inclusive rather than niggardly and exclusive. The person who happens to be with him feels this attitude as warmth as hospitality. He is able, therefore to release himself for the ventures of understanding.

We quoted earlier the line from James Oppenheim’s poem, *The Slave*: “Free men set themselves free.” The space-maker does not give freedom to anyone. What he does is to enable the other person to make it for himself. He creates an atmosphere in which this other person feels reassured enough to be able to risk behaving like a free human being; and in the process of thus behaving, he can stretch the margin of his world.

There is a second quality of the space-maker. We had this called to our attention recently by the description given of a certain doctor in Isabel Smith’s book, *Wish I Might*: the moving story of her twenty-one years as a tubercular patient—and for the most part, a bedridden patient—at Lake Saranac.

Among the many persons who helped her keep the upper hand of both her unutterable boredom and her deep despair, Dr. Francis Trudeau, she writes, stood out as a mountain of strength. Yet what he did for her was so simple we could easily miss its significance. What he did was merely to be at once exacting and sympathetic; flexible and firm. At one and the same time, he extended to her a compassionate, personal, supportive warmth and, equally, an imperative expectation that she would bear up—not slump into self-pity or despair.

In spite of her best resolution, there were times in those long bedridden years when she did fall into black despair. But, she writes, it "wasn't comfortable or safe to fall, for if there was anything Dr. Trudeau hated, it was to find me huddled up under the bedclothes looking as if I had lost my last friend.

At such times he'd stand towering over me in the doorway. 'My land, Izzy,' he would say, 'what's the matter? Lying there as though the end of the world had come.'

Suddenly, however, having thus established the fact that her slump was nothing short of disgraceful, he would change his manner:

"'Are you sunk, girl?' he would ask. 'Come on now, tell me all about it.'

"That was all the encouragement I needed. Shamelessly I would lay my sorrows, a bursting bundle of them, right in his lap. . . . We faced the thing, whatever it was, head on; and once we had faced it together it seemed to shrink, to assume less terrifying proportions, even when there was nothing, actually, that could be done about the matter."¹

¹ Isabel Smith, *Wish I Might*, pp. 64-65. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.

The doctor might have been a "softy"—saying cheery nothings that, to a patient made hypersensitive by long suffering, would inevitably have sounded phony. He might have been a brisk disciplinarian, saying sharp words that made her shrink still more deeply into her despair. He might have been a "cold" personality to whom the ups and downs of her moods, like those of her temperature chart, were merely facts, not anything that aroused his concern; and to whom she herself was more an object than a person.

He was none of these. He was a man who knew both his medical job and human beings—and who profoundly respected and cared about both. As one who knew his medical job, he was aware of the stern requirements he had set for a patient. As one who knew human beings, he was aware of the patient's deep longing for comfort. He knew, moreover, that a patient had to keep on good terms with himself if the interminable trial of illness was to be endured without permanent damage to the character structure. Therefore, he had to require the sort of behavior that would, in the long run, keep the patient's self-respect intact. To do less than this would be no kindness. But to do this *without kindness* would be impossible.

Dr. Trudeau, in brief, did not employ "effective tactics." He gave his knowledgeable and responsive self. His severity was balanced by sympathy, his firmness by flexibility; and in the creative blend of the two, terrors became less terrifying, resolution was strengthened, and space was even made for impossible hope.

When we came upon this passage in *Wish I Might*, we lingered over it long enough to put by the side of Dr. Trudeau a certain high school teacher.

We first sought the acquaintance of this teacher because

of what her principal and several of her students and ex-students told us about her. To her principal, she was a teacher in whose classes one "problem student" after another was surprisingly remade. To her students—who were remarkably unanimous in their judgment—she was one who did not make things easy, but who was always fair; and who made them feel she liked them.

Translating the students' verdict into psychological language, we might say that she *structured* the classroom situation and then, within this frame of fair rules and of respect for "quality performance," made each student, in spite of his mistakes and shortcomings, feel accepted.

We would say that she thus provided the right sort of psychic space for her students to thrive in. That space was not so unmapped that they never had any idea where they were going; nor was it full of unexpected pitfalls put in their path by arbitrary authority; nor was it so untamed a wilderness that their own indisciplined impulses could run wild. It was *structured*, but not *constricted*. Within this reasonable frame of order, students did not feel trapped; did not have to be on guard. Gradually, therefore, they could practice the skills of moving out beyond themselves—toward one another and toward their studies. In short, they had the kind of room necessary for growth.

The normal individual, child or adult, does not want always to be indulged or to have his own way. When he is struggling with a problem, he does not want someone else simply to take it out of his hands and solve it for him. Neither does he want to be smothered in unexacting sympathy. He may accept indulgence if it is offered; but he will like neither himself nor the overindulgent other person any better on this account.

What the normal individual wants is to gain self-respect by finding his way around within his allotted portion of reality. He wants to measure up to what is called for by the various situations he meets. Exaggerated indulgence and sympathy invite him to stop short of delivering the goods himself—and short, therefore, of earning either enough self-confidence to go ahead toward what comes next or the type of self-respect that is based on accomplishment.

Exaggerated harshness similarly makes him stop short. It forces him to care less about earning self-respect by accomplishment than about defending himself. If his only chance to preserve what little sense he has of being a person depends upon his being constantly ready to attack or escape, he will scarcely grow toward wiser and more durable versions of selfhood.

There is this much, then, to be definitely said about the maker of psychic space. He not only releases people *from* entrapment, but releases them *into* a sense of actual roominess. The world into which he invites others contains the known and the yet to be learned; the familiar and unfamiliar; the simple and the complex. It is a world that is at once orderly and open—and therefore conducive to growth.

One type of situation in which space is all too commonly denied is the one in which there is a strong difference of opinion about what should be done. So commonly, in fact, does disagreement of this kind lead to mutual "crowding" that if it does not, we do well to ask why.

If, for example, we propose to someone that a certain thing be done, put our case as strongly as we can, and have our proposal rejected, we will normally suffer some sense of rebuff: of ego-diminishment. If we experience no such sense—and therefore no need to go on the defensive—we can guess that the person who has rejected our proposal has been a good space-maker.

We can illustrate with a recent experience. Talking with a certain man in an administrative post, we suggested—even strongly urged—a particular course of action with regard to a certain problem. He rejected our idea: decisively. Yet we felt neither affronted nor belittled. As we walked away from his office, we had no impulse to say, "Well . . . that's the last time we'll go to *him* with any suggestion!" On the contrary, we felt more confirmed than ever in our freedom to approach him with any ideas we thought worth while.

Why did we feel this way? We tried to answer that question; for our own state of mind told us that the way this man had treated us was a sound way for human beings to treat one another. What had he done? He had considered our idea before rejecting it: had listened with unhurried attention, with his eyes warm and thoughtful. And when he rejected it, he gave specific reasons: laid before us facts we had not known. Stating these facts objectively, and basing his decision upon them, he kept the situation from deteriorating into subjectivity: into an open or veiled competition of egos.

Also, there were things he did not do. He did not, after the manner of the emotionally insecure person, push off our suggestion as though it were a threat. Nor did he waver timidly between his judgment and ours, as though he could not trust his own except where it was bolstered up from the outside. Nor did he treat us as children who had to be wheedled into giving up our idea—as though it were a favorite "toy." In other words, he did not ease us into the experience of being turned down by pretending that our idea was "almost good" or had "great merit."

Being in a position to know what was wrong with our proposal, he did not have, nor did he pretend to have, high regard for it. But he respected us enough to keep the discussion of it on an adult level—and openly on an adult level, not taking easy refuge in "secret information." Also, he respected the untried possibilities of life enough to weigh honestly any idea honestly offered. Finally—and not least—his whole manner took it for granted that we were capable of being interested in facts and of bowing to the imperative they laid down.

When we left his office, we knew we had met a considering mind. At no point had we felt cornered. On the contrary,

we had been given all the room we needed to walk around the problem and look at it from new angles.

Yet another quality of the space-maker calls for appraisal. Stated negatively, it is the power not to make the first ego-assertive gesture that it seems "natural"—or tempting—to make. It is a quality, however, that is best defined by being recognized in action.

In the course of a desultory conversation with an acquaintance, we brought up the name of a friend of ours, saying, "We understand you know So-and-so." The man to whom we were talking came to sudden, interested attention. "Yes. Yes, I know him." He waited for us to say more; but since our mention of this friend had been wholly casual, we added only, "He said he knew you." The man's interest deepened even further: "Did he tell you how we met?" Then, before we could say "No," he said to himself: "No. Of course, he wouldn't. But I'll tell you. . . ."

For a moment he sat reflectively silent. Then: "Our acquaintance goes back four years or so—maybe five—to a day when he walked into my office and introduced himself. The mayor had appointed him, shortly before that, as chairman of a citizens' committee to look into playground conditions. I didn't know anything about him. He was just a name to me. But I had been pushing another man for that chairmanship; and when I heard who had been appointed, I began shooting my mouth off to anyone who would listen. Not knowing what he had done to qualify him for the job, I said he hadn't done anything; that the mayor had appointed a Nobody—and probably wanted a Nobody who would see to it that the committee would make a few appropriate noises and then call it a day. . . ."

Again, he sat briefly silent, remembering; and then went on: "I was eloquent. Not very reasonable. Not informed, certainly. But eloquent. . . ."

"Then one afternoon—when I had said my say all over town—he came into my office. Not angrily. He was more diffident than angry. He just came in and introduced himself; and as nearly as I can recall it now, he said, 'I'm told you think the mayor has made a pretty poor choice. I'm not sure you aren't right. But I don't think I'm as bad as I'm told you think I am . . . so I thought I'd come around and ask about your objections.' That was the first time I saw him give that shy, quizzical smile of his: you know it if you know him at all. 'It's not too late for me to resign if you can convince me,' he said—and waited for me to take up the ball. But I didn't even know where the ball was by that time. I could only mumble something about not knowing his qualifications. . . ."

"He didn't say—as he might have—'You could have kept your mouth shut till you found out about them.' He just nodded and told me about his experience in public recreation: told it not in a way to show me up as an ignorant fool, but as though I had a right to know. . . ."

"Almost before I knew what was happening, then, the

whole business of what I had said about him was simply put behind us and we got down to talking about the real problem: how to get decent playgrounds in certain depressed areas. Before he left, he asked me to serve on the committee; and it wasn't any sense of civic duty that made me say *Yes*. I wouldn't have missed the chance to work with him . . . get to know him . . . find out what made a guy tick that could come in the way he had. . . ."

In psychological essence, what he thus told us about our friend was that he was able to postpone ego-assertive and ego-defensive gestures long enough to make it unnecessary to make them at all: long enough so that he could, instead, treat a situation as something in which the other person—even the opponent—also had a stake.

It may be worth returning, here, to a point made in Chapter I: to the fact that a competition of angry prides, once started, is hard to stop; and that if it is continued long enough, it is often the force that turns *conflict limited* into *conflict unlimited*. Blessed, therefore, we might say, is the person who does not make out of every slightest provocation a reason to hurry into angry self-defense: the person who can, instead, take time to establish a relationship in which no one—neither himself nor anyone else—feels compelled to prove himself by throwing his weight around.

It was out of another experience that we gained a further insight into what a person has to be in himself if he is to be a space-maker.

We shall not easily forget an evening spent with a friend who had just come through a grueling investigation. It has been grueling in its duration and its publicity—and also in what had seemed the deliberately harrassing manner of certain of the investigators. He had come through it, however, with success and dignity—and with no sign of bitterness.

We knew him well enough to ask what might have seemed a prying question: how had he steadied himself throughout the ordeal? what resources had he called upon?

He gave no brisk or flippant answer. Before he answered at all, he got up and walked around the room a couple of times. Then he said, "I called on everything I had . . . and needed it all."

Fragment by fragment, then, during the next couple of hours, he told us the psychological story of how he had lived through the hearings. With one part of his mind he had listened with all the alertness he could command to the questions put to him, and had framed his answers. But with another part he had called upon his inner resources.

In the terms we have been using, he thus made space for himself. At one time and another, he told us, he privately called upon the memory of Socrates and the remembered image of the Grand Tetons against the sky. With a split-second vividness he had relived a certain moment that came back to him out of the depression years. His father had come home to report the loss of his job. At the news, his mother had sat down on the nearest chair—and had continued to sit

there, in a terrible silence, for long minutes. Then she had roused herself, got up, touched her husband's shoulder gently as she passed him by on her way back to the stove, and remarked, "Well, we're not dead yet."

As the hearings dragged on, he had called upon remembered fragments of poetry and the long look of a country road between wheat fields; upon the remembered decencies of people he had known and heroisms he had admired in life and history. "I came through all right," he said finally, "but I couldn't have done it alone."

That, perhaps, is the essence of *inner resource*. It is experience which the individual has made deeply his own in the process of living. It therefore returns to him, in time of need, to support him, to establish for him standards for his own conduct, and to surround him with a goodly company. At the same time, it enables him to push back the walls of immediate circumstance and to move as if the universe were lending him its spaciousness.

Just as Socrates observed long ago, when told that he should prepare for his death, that he had been preparing for it all his life, so this friend of ours might have said that he had been preparing for those hearings all his life. All his life, in one way and another, he had been learning how to make room for himself. Also—or therefore—he could make room for others: for their mistakes, confusions, mixed motives, fears, hostilities, honest blunderings, and plain bad manners. Thus he eluded not only the trap of outer circumstance but that of inner circumstance as well: he did not imprison himself within walls of bitterness.

On that evening, moreover, he made room for us: room that was serene and wide; hospitable to anything we might want to say. We remember how, as the hours passed, it seemed as natural as breathing to draw out of the private corners of our own minds our own "emergency resources" and put these into the good company of his.

Finally—because this catalogue of traits must come to an end somewhere—there is one further quality we have learned to associate with the person who can offer this gift of hospitality. Clarence Day once described it: "The test of a civilized person is first self-awareness, and then depth after depth of sincerity in self-confrontation. . . . 'Risky?' Yes; like all exploring. But unless you are capable of this kind of thinking, where are you? No matter how able or great, you are still with the animals."¹

¹ Clarence Day, *After All*, p. 221. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930.

He wrote this in tribute to a man who fell far short of being a model of virtue and wisdom. He was moody, excitable, often bombastic. But Day was willing to forgive him his many faults because of one virtue: *he always saw through his own stories*. No matter how convincing he made the tall tales of his own exploits, he did not fall into the trap of believing them.

This may seem an odd virtue to single out and credit with redemptive power. Yet most psychiatrists would, we think,

agree on its importance; for the disturbed individuals who come their way are precisely those who have built up well-nigh impenetrable defenses against self-seeing and who, at one or another level of consciousness, have come to believe whatever they must believe to bolster their egos. Most psychiatrists would agree, also, with Day's afterthought: "The tricks of self-deceiving are too many and ingenious for most of us. . . ."

From the point of view of our present concern, we would say simply that the more prone a person is to self-deception, the less able he is to make space for others. He cannot grant them room to be themselves because he has to keep them in whatever roles he has assigned them in his own drama of ego-defense and ego-assertion.

Thus, among the self-deceived, there is the mother who "loves" her daughter too much to let her marry and leave home; the reformer who "loves" mankind, but can scarcely endure most people; the "efficient" person who scarcely notices the difference between a fellow human being and a piece of furniture; the "patriot" who finds no other service to his country quite so much to his liking as that of bearing witness against his neighbor—witness that he does not too carefully check for truth or falsity; the professor who, year after year, builds his own reputation for scholarship by publishing as his own, without thanks or credit, the researches of his graduate students; the delinquent youth who proves himself "brave" by acts of violence against helpless victims; the partisan—liberal, reactionary, Fascist, Communist, or whatever—who puts what is useful to the "Cause" above what is true; the government administrator who extends the definition of "top secret" to cover anything he would rather not have to explain to the public; the demagogue and the dictator who identify the common welfare with whatever advances their own power. These are but samples of the many who develop an almost unlimited capacity to believe what they tell themselves and who, with self-deceptions to maintain, become inevitably cruel.

Perhaps a word of caution is here called for: not everything that passes for self-awareness and self-examination has redemptive power. As C. S. Lewis has observed, it is altogether possible for a human being to indulge in long self-examination "without discovering any of those facts about himself which are perfectly clear to anyone who has ever lived in the same house with him or worked in the same office."¹

¹ C. S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, pp. 20-21. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

Those who live and work with a person know him *by how they are made to feel when he is around*. But he, for all his self-examination, may have discovered in his own motives and behaviors only what he went looking for: evidence to support his determined self-excusing, self-approvals, or self-seekings.

The person who grants psychic space to others—and who does so in a manner that leaves them unirritated and unobligated—may or may not have long deliberate periods of self-

examination. But he is almost certain to have many moments of self-illumination: moments when he is surprised and humbled, and probably amused, to discover how truly he himself is described by the descriptions he is accustomed to give of the human race.

Self-awareness and self-confrontation are not, for such a person, exercises to be performed like a sort of daily dozen. They are not—to borrow a further phrase from Clarence Day—"heavily flavored with moral intentions." Neither are they a form of disguised self-indulgence. They are simply parts of his allover experience—his warm, interested, individuated experience—of getting on to the hang of things: himself included. His granting of space to others, in brief, is a natural, unself-conscious extension of his taste for reality and his willingness to let life itself be roomy.

As we said earlier in this chapter, our own firsthand contacts with people who make us feel that we have room to move will not yield us insights that fit into the same category as those derived from accurate scientific researches. In this intimately personal area, our experiences will and must remain impressionistic rather than precise and measurable. They will come to us, moreover, when they come. We will not be able to produce them, on laboratory schedule, as predictable and repeatable phenomena.

All this, however, is not to say that they are irrelevant to our understanding of what puts quality into life. So long as we do not pretend that they are more than they are, they can make a contribution not possible from the more exact psychological researches or by the therapist's investigations of disturbed personalities.

In a recent letter, a friend of ours tried to pin down the peculiar contribution of a certain individual. He spoke of the understanding this person helped to bring "into the bruised egocentricities of other people's lives." To bring such understanding is, perhaps, as high a privilege as any one of us could ask. It is also a signal accomplishment—one that is not possible except to the individual who can grant "living space" to himself and others within a frame of reality that he himself takes to be spacious.

Half title

PART TWO OUR STRUCTURED RELATIONSHIPS

NINE

FUNCTION OF A LIFE ROLE

WE ARE INTERPERSONAL selves. We live our lives in human situations: in contexts. We can try, experimentally, to think strictly private thoughts about the self—"I myself"—as an independent and isolated entity. But we are likely to discover, very soon, that the alternative to having our minds go completely blank is that of thinking about ourselves *in relationship to*: to child, parent, husband or wife, friend, neighbor, fellow worker, competitor, or even

stranger; to someone who reminds us of someone else; to someone we admire; to someone who gets on our nerves; to someone we wish we could feel less awkward with; or to plans and activities that involve other people.

Herman Melville wrote in *Moby Dick*, that if you were to set the most absent-minded of men on his feet, and start him going, he would somehow find his way to water. We might say that if you were to set a man's thoughts "on their feet," and start them going, they would, by however direct or circuitous a route, find their way to another human being.

It is never enough, in short, for the individual to pronounce a definitive, world-excluding, "I am." He cannot know himself as an abstraction in limbo. The only way he can know himself is as a person living a life in one or another setting.

That we must learn to think about ourselves *in context* is one of the chief assignments laid down for us by modern psychology. It is an assignment, moreover, that is interestingly in line with all the major developments of twentieth-century science—not in the field of psychology alone, but in virtually every field.

Thus classical physics yielded to modern physics at the point where it gave up the concept of separate particles of matter able to pull and push one another without being internally changed in the process. The study of electromagnetism forced the development of a quite different concept: the "field theory." For that study made it evident that what goes on "between" particles is not one thing, while their inner structure remains unalterably another. The inner and outer were revealed as mutual modifiers. If the particles were to be truly understood at all, it was discovered, they had to be conceived of as involved in a field of force, not in terms of some once-for-all "inner" reality.

In the biological field, experiments in embryology dictated a similar change of concept. Whereas it had long been assumed that each cell of a living body performed a function irrevocably set for it by its inner structure, it was proved that cells could be induced to change their function when given a different environment. Thus, for example, an immature cell grafted into the eye region of an embryo surprisingly became eye tissue; but the same kind of cell took on a different function if it was grafted into the region of the ear. There, it became ear tissue. Thus, the very cells of the body were shown to *be themselves* only as they were *part of*. Their functions indicated not their inviolable inner character but an involvement in the body's structure.

In psychology—where the pioneering work of Kurt Lewin and his associates has yielded invaluable insights—it has become more and more clear that it does not make sense, but only elaborate nonsense, to characterize any human individual out of context as an "isolate," with no reference to his "life space."

Developments in the field of psychiatry have taken a similar direction, and certain earlier assumptions have had to be

left behind. According to those earlier assumptions, it was "obvious" that a mental patient carried within himself, so to speak, the pattern of his illness. As the number of case studies and therapeutic interviews have increased, however, a different picture has unfolded.

For one thing, it has become strikingly apparent that the "same patient" is not the "same person" with different therapists. The things he says are different. Such emotional symptoms as laughter and tears take on a different pattern, a different rhythm. He utilizes different mechanisms of self-defense. His whole conception of himself and of human society may apparently change. For another thing, it has become unmistakably clear that any patient comes to the psychiatrist's office out of some human context in which he has undergone certain emotional experiences; and it has become equally clear that when he leaves the psychiatrist's office, he will have to "be himself" in some other context. All this has led to the conclusion that diagnosis "must be diagnosis *in situ*, or *in vivo*—not the specification of a disease, but the specification of a disturbed relationship."¹

¹ Gardner Murphy and Elizabeth Cattell, "Sullivan and Field Theory," Chapter V in *The Contributions of Harry Stack Sullivan: A Symposium*, p. 164. Edited by Patrick Mullahy. Hermitage Press, 1952. Copyright, 1952, by the William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry, Psychoanalysis, and Psychology. We are indebted to this chapter not only for this specific quotation but for many of the details of the trend we are here describing.

In five terse words, Harry Stack Sullivan summed up the vital new orientation of the psychological and psychiatric sciences: "People behave in interpersonal fields."¹ Stated as

¹ Harry Stack Sullivan, "The Study of Psychiatry," *Psychiatry*, 10 (1947), 355-371.

a principle of therapy, this insight has progressed out of the clinic and psychiatrist's office into our everyday spheres of behavior and mutual influence—there to become part of our "new common sense."

It has been in the light of this insight that we have, in earlier chapters, dealt with the making of psychic space, or the denial of such space. We have been sizing up the many respects in which we are makers of one another by virtue of our being "environments" for one another.

To the word "influence" we thus restore something of its original meaning of "in flow"—though not its ancient meaning of a one-directional "in flow" from the stars to mankind. What we are coming to recognize is that the society of man can best be understood as a complex of mutual—and mutually transformative—"in flows." We can speak figuratively of our being pushed around—as though we were the separate, impenetrable particles of classical physics. But we speak a deeper truth, it seems, when we talk of a "field theory" of personality—thus taking account of what we become through mutual interaction.

In emphasizing in earlier chapters this fact of our mutual influence, we have dealt chiefly with specific occasions on which one person's attitude has determined the "space" another person has been able to move in—thereby helping to determine the kind of person he would be on that occasion.

In the present chapter, we wish to explore the web of sus-

tained relationships we build with our world—or fail to build; and how these determine both what we become and what we count for in the human scene. We wish, in brief, to think about the roles we play.

The phrase “the roles we play” may evoke some resistance. It may seem to suggest “theatrical” ways of behavior that are “put on,” contrived as a pretense. Both the dictionary and current psychological usage, however, grant the phrase a second meaning: that of any function that a person performs. It is in this sense that we shall be using the word *role*.

An individual may, at a committee meeting, act in the role of chairman; and for long years of his life, that same individual may act in the role of farmer, college professor, lawyer, or mechanic. He will probably act, also, in the roles of parent, neighbor, fellow member, fellow worker, friend, stranger among strangers. He will act in the role of citizen; and, more broadly, as a member of what we call western civilization; and still more broadly, as a resident of the modern world—rather than the ancient or medieval world.

The richness or poverty of our lives, their stability or instability, their integrity or lack of integrity, are not only conditional but also expressed by the roles we assume and how we assume them. Each role puts us into a certain context. There, it operates in us as a *selective force*. It invites us to selective behavior: this action would be fitting; that would not. It invites us, also, to selective seeing: this is relevant; that is not.

We remember watching a seasoned traffic officer in New York City induct a beginner into that role. The two stood together in the middle of an intersection. The older man not only let the younger practice his new role but also, we noticed, in quiet tones, called his attention to situations to which he would need to be alert. He inducted him, in brief, not only into fitting behaviors but also into selective seeing—and selective ignoring. He helped him to establish one kind of relationship with one aspect of reality: a traffic officer's relationship to pedestrians and cars. He probably did not urge him to take note of a certain face in the crowd that might hold an artist's attention; nor of another face that a doctor might look at a second time, reading in it the signs of illness.

Or we might take the role of discussion leader. There are certain things that a discussion leader does not do—or if he does, we can properly say that he has got his roles crossed. He does not deliver a lecture—though he may, in other contexts, be a lecturer; nor impose his opinions upon the group—though he may, in other roles, have firm convictions and speak up for them. He does not so abdicate his function as leader that the discussion wanders aimlessly. Yet on other occasions—in the role of host, for example—he may let people talk as they will on any subject to which the conversation happens to drift.

As his behavior is conditioned by his role, so is his seeing. Thus, he will be alert to notice that a certain hitherto silent

person wants to speak up; but he will not absorbedly study, over the heads of the group, a map that happens to hang on the wall—though in a different role he may be a collector of maps.

Any role that we assume calls, in brief, not only for appropriate skills and alertness, but also for appropriate restraints and self-disciplines. It says to us both "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not." This is true of even a very specific role we take on only for one brief interval. It is demandingly and rewardingly true when the role is broad and sustained: the vocational role, for example, or the parental. It is most of all true when the role is life-embracing: when it is that of *believer* in some overspanning conception of life.

We might here give further thought to Gordon Allport's statement, quoted earlier, that "the devotee of democracy adopts a lifelong assignment in his human relations." This is to say, in effect, that for such a devotee the performance of all sub-roles—in the home, on the job, in the community, at the polling place—will have to be consonant with the democratic definition of human nature and of man's relationship to man. Whether directing traffic or driving in traffic, whether listening to a small child tell breathlessly of what she saw in the park or negotiating a dispute between labor and management, he will act in the role of democratic man—not of totalitarian man.

Or we might consider another statement by the same psychologist: "A man's religion . . . is his ultimate attempt to enlarge and complete his own personality by finding the supreme context in which he rightly belongs."¹ *The supreme*

¹ Gordon Allport, *The Individual and His Religion*, p. 142. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951.

context—that which overspans all lesser contexts: this is the religious individual's proper frame of reference; and his role is that of enacting, in every smaller context, what his religion has to say about life.

Harry Emerson Fosdick has said that vital religion is like good music, in that it needs not defense but rendition. The role of the truly religious person is that of "rendering" his belief—without letting too many jangling discords mar the performance: discords that will appear if he, for whatever reason of expediency or convenience, steps out of his religious role when he steps into one or another sub-role: domestic, racial, vocational, political.

The roles we take on, by choice or circumstance, locate us within "fields of force." They determine the points at which we will be "environment" for other people, while they are "environment" for us: the points of our mutually transformative "in flow."

As we come to understand what this means, we gain a new way of looking at both the tragedies and the possibilities of human experience. We note how commonly failures in life are failures to find proper roles or to live up to such roles. More happily, we begin to see that our best way of being useful to other people lies not in our coercing them into "proper" behavior, nor in telling them how to run their lives,

but in our helping them in any way we can, to locate themselves within roles within which they can, by sound performance, achieve both self-respect and a happy sense of belonging. What we can do for ourselves, moreover, to enrich our own lives, is of like sort: we can move into new contexts, learn what they rightly ask of us, and become more rewardingly ourselves as we lend ourselves to roles that are big enough to grow on.

Certain types of human failure that are, in essence, failures with respect to role, deserve special attention.

Thus, the neurotic individual—or in an even more extreme case, the psychotic—is one who sees himself in a role that is not, objectively, the one that is his. His behaviors, geared to, his unrealistic self-image, are simply not those that fit the realities of his context.

We spoke earlier of the victim of neurotic self-pity. Let us look at him again from the angle of roles. The role in which such a person sees himself is that of one who is "put upon"; unappreciated; never given a chance. His words, tones of voice, behaviors, attitudes toward other people, all become expressions of this role. Not even goodwilled overtures or words of warm appreciation and gestures of affection will make him abandon his role as abused person; for this has perversely become for him a kind of haven. So long as he stays within it, he can feel right with himself—for whatever has gone wrong with his life can be attributed to, an outside cause.

Therefore he has to be grudging and niggardly in his responses even to friendly and generous behavior. He has to see to it that his emotional balance sheet will show him always in the red: what comes to him from others must never be accounted enough to match what he needs or deserves. For if it were enough, he would be thrown back on the necessity of explaining to himself why he has not achieved inner security and outer significance in terms of accomplishment. When Rollo May singled out self-pity as the emotion that had never done anyone any good, he was underscoring its peculiar power to make an individual see himself as no one else sees him—or can be expected to see him in terms of his behaviors and objective circumstances.

The person who thus takes on the role of "victim" or "martyr" may make life miserable for only his family and neighbors. But he is emotionally kin to a far more destructive type. In *King Jasper*, Edwin Arlington Robinson writes of a certain zealot who would tear society to shreds in order to "reform" it,

"Young Hebron has a grievance; and for those

Whose eyes are lighted with a brain on fire,

A grievance is a mission, a religion. . . ."¹

¹ Edwin Arlington Robinson, "King Jasper," in *Collected Poems*, p. 1451. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937.

We need scarcely elaborate the picture. Our twentieth-century world has come all too painfully to know "Young Hebron": the individual who moves from seeing himself victimized by society to seeing himself as appointed to over-

throw society.

Emphasizing that the roots of mental illness lie, not within the tissue system of the individual, but in the interaction of that individual and his life situation, Harry Stack Sullivan said that the final effect of therapy should be such that "the patient as known to himself" would be "much the same person as the patient behaving with others."² In terms of our

¹ Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry*, p. 117. Washington: William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, 1947.

present concern, we might say that the roles in which a healthy individual sees himself are ones that he can *act out* without either walling himself away from objective reality or coming into constant destructive conflict with it.

The neurotic and the psychotic are tragically fated to claim roles that either keep them in perpetual conflict with reality or compel them to insulate themselves against all challenging "in flow." The neurotic bully who never takes on an adversary of equal strength, and the insane person who sees himself as the resurrected Christ, have alike adopted roles that will not stand the test of objective reality.

Some individuals who have never felt happily at home within their human context retreat into the extreme isolation of the neurotic or psychotic role; others take a different course. They join some gang or movement that offers them a role that they find, or hope to find, emotionally palatable: *that of repudiating with strong companionship and support, and within a frame of justifying agreements, the world that has repudiated them.* These individuals are of intense concern to us today because of their tendency to show up in criminal and delinquent gangs, in hatemongering organizations, in irresponsible pressure groups, and among those who join totalitarian movements.

This dangerous tendency is well illustrated by certain findings of one of the research groups at Princeton University's Center of International Studies: a group which, under the leadership of Gabriel A. Almond, devoted four years to a painstaking study of the appeals of Communism.

The group studied, on the one hand, the Communist media of communication—from Party "classics" to mass media—to learn how Communism was presented to different segments of society and to different levels of adherents, and what appeals were deemed to be effective for each group. It also studied susceptibility to these appeals as reported by 221 ex-Communists: "Of these, 64 were American, 50 were British, 56 were French, and 51 Italian. One hundred and fifteen had joined the party before 1935, and 106 in later years; 111 were working-class and 110 were middle-class (primarily intellectuals) in occupational background; 51 had held top party posts, 73 middle and low positions, and 97 were rank and filers. The great majority were persons who left in the 1940's and later."¹

¹ Gabriel A. Almond, *The Appeals of Communism*, p. xxi. Princeton University Press, 1954.

The study shows that no single stereotype fits the Communist Party. Yet there is strong evidence—particularly in

the case of the American respondents—that those to whom the party appealed most strongly were individuals who had not found within their regular environments roles to which they could devote themselves with any assurance of winning an affirmative response from the people around them. In one sense or another, they were outsiders looking in—wanting terribly to be insiders; and they saw the Communist Party as a body within which they could become insiders in the double sense of having significance and having companionship.

Some were “self-made intellectuals” who, by studying on their own, had become mentally estranged from intellectual families and associates without finding a substitute “home” within any regular intellectual community—or had, perhaps, established a “livelihood” relationship to such a community without really establishing a “life” relationship.

Some were young students who were more bookish than most and not at ease among the fellow students. To many of these, Communism seemed to offer not only friends with whom to do “scientific” thinking about social problems, but also a chance to be confirmed in their own feeling of superiority to their normal associates.

A significant number were foreign-born and first-generation Americans who seemed, emotionally to belong nowhere: they had rejected one culture in their effort to become wholly “Americanized” and had themselves been rejected, or less than fully accepted, by another. Some belonged to minority groups, and felt themselves cast in the role of inferiors and menials regardless of their individual deserts.

A startling percentage of them were people who projected upon society the hostility that had been fostered in them by their own parents and other authorities. “More than 30 per cent of the American cases saw the party . . . as a means of gratifying their own desire for rebellion. . . .”¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

Yet others—a number of them middle-class intellectuals—felt mentally and spiritually homeless: attached to no “neighborhood” save that which they and their kind made out of shared derogation of the *status quo*. They hungered for some channel through which they could express at once their resentments and their ideals, their contempt for “babbitry” and their wish to belong to “the people.” Communism invited them into a fellowship of hard work: the Marxist millenium was to be an “earned utopia.” Also, it invited them to despise for ideological and “idealistic” reasons what they already resented for personal reasons.

Regardless of backgrounds and types, most of the respondents emphasized that, as Party members, they were in a role that not only permitted them to hate, but obligated them to hate. Many pointed out, also, that they were encouraged to feel themselves hated. In the words of one British respondent, “You maintained your devotion by being a persecuted minority with all the world against you.”

All the world—but specifically those designated in the Communist “demonology” as the enemy: “The kinds of antagonists against which the hatred of the party was directed vary to some extent from one political setting to the next. For example, the Catholic Church appears to be a commonly perceived target of hatred in the Italian party. This is true to a lesser extent among the French respondents, and hardly appears at all among the Americans and British. There are certainly other specifically local antagonists such as the Tory Party in England, the Christian Democrats in Italy, governmental agencies such as the FBI and the Department of Justice in the United States.”¹

¹*Op. cit.*, p. 131.

It is significant, however, that of all objects of hatred, the one most to be despised was the “turn-coat”: the ex-Communist. The Party member, in brief, was not only assigned a role but was, to the extent that indoctrination could accomplish this effect, *chained to that role by his own emotional involvement*. He was so conditioned to accept loyalty to the Party *as an absolute* that he would have had to pay high in the coin of self-doubting and self-hatred if he withdrew from it—and even higher if he withdrew and became an “informant.” Despicable roles were thus defined for members as vividly and precisely as were “idealistic” roles.

In stressing this study of the appeals of Communism, we are pointing up a lesson we all need to learn if we are to be ready for the long pull against totalitarianism: namely, that a society is vulnerable to the fanaticisms of resentment—Communist, Fascist, or otherwise—to the extent that individuals and groups within it have been unable to find roles to perform that both let them see themselves as worth while and let them earn some matching approval from the people around them. The perverse genius of Communism has lain in its power to offer seemingly significant roles to strikingly divergent individuals.

Perhaps we can best illustrate this power of the Communists to provide roles for the role-hungry by quoting five different respondents who cooperated with the Princeton research group: “I didn’t worry through the thick books on Marx. I joined the party when it moved a widow’s evicted furniture back into her house. I thought it was right. That’s why I joined.” (p. 101) “A political outlook based on a Marxist and dialectical materialistic approach appealed to me as an attempt at a scientific approach to politics . . . I was young and restless and wanted to be positive about something. . . .” (pp. 101-102) “There was so much that you shared together that you understood, and didn’t have to argue about. . . . Then again, friendships were deeper because you were aware of the hostility of the outside world.” (p. 119) “The CP is a wonderful outlet for hostile and contemptuous feelings. You can be hostile without guilt because it’s for something bigger than yourself—and not for personal reasons.” (p. 122) “I became the ‘doer’ instead of the ‘receiver’ . . . I did things to other people. I learned to

do to other people what had been done to me. I acquired a 'knowing smile.' I learned to 'develop' people." (p. 143)

David Morton spoke for the psychologically homeless no less than for the physically homeless when he wrote about

"Waifs of the roffless century, beaten and blown

By winds veering and violent, smelling of war. . . ."¹

¹ David Morton, *Housing Project*. Chattanooga Times, Dec. 4, 1952.

The proper mental and emotional home for the human being is a human context within which his personal qualities are valuable and valued. Lacking such a home, he may only feel, in the words of the old folk song, "It looks like I ain't never going to cease my wandering." Or he may cease his wandering: he may move into some spiritual slum that calls itself a new housing project for the spirit of man.

Among the malcontents and extremists of the right we find many who, in a different sense, feel excluded from their proper roles. These individuals are far harder to classify than are the Communists because they have no coherent political philosophy; nor do they submit as a group to any orderly discipline. Even though they seem to lay great stress on conformity, conventionality, and submission to authority, their emotional and political responses are basically anarchic. Thus, it is highly misleading to call them fascists; and because of the potentially destructive rage that animates many of their words and behaviors, it is even more misleading to call them conservatives. They elude, indeed, all standard ideological labels. In an effort to pin down their characteristics, Leonard Boasberg has called them *radical reactionaries*, while Theodore W. Adorno and his associates, in *The Authoritarian Personality*, uses the term *pseudo-conservatives*—as does Richard Hofstadter, borrowing from them. What these various writers and social scientists thus try to capture in a name is the self-contradictory make-up of these right wing extremists.

"The ideology of pseudo pseudo-conservatism can be characterized but not defined, because the pseudo-conservative tends to be more than ordinarily incoherent about politics. The lady who, when General Eisenhower's victory over Senator Taft had finally become official, stalked out of the Hilton Hotel declaiming, 'This means eight more years of socialism' was probably a fairly good representative. . . . So also were the gentlemen who, at the Freedom Congress held in Omaha . . . objected to Earl Warren's appointment to the Supreme Court with the assertion: 'Middle-of-the-road thinking can and will destroy us'; the general who spoke to the same group, demanding 'an Air Force capable of wiping out the Russian Air Force and industry in one sweep,' but also 'a material reduction in military expenditures'; the people who a few years ago believed simultaneously that we had no business to be fighting communism in Korea, but that the war should immediately be extended to an Asia-wide crusade against communism. . . ."¹

¹ Richard Hofstadter, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," *The American Scholar*, Winter 1954-1955, pp. 11-12.

Such inchoate political demands are not to be viewed with

either amusement or contempt; for they point to acute psychic misery. "The restlessness, suspicion, and fear manifested . . . give evidence of the real suffering which the pseudo-conservative experiences in his capacity as citizen. He believes himself to be living in a world in which he is spied upon, plotted against, betrayed. . . . He feels that his liberties have been arbitrarily and outrageously invaded. He is opposed to almost everything that has happened in American politics for the past twenty years. . . . While he naturally does not like Soviet communism . . . he shows little interest in, is often indeed bitterly hostile to, such realistic measures as might actually strengthen the United States vis-à-vis Russia. . . . He wants to have nothing to do with the democratic nations of Western Europe, which seem to draw more of his ire than the Soviet Communists, and he is opposed to all 'give-away programs' designed to aid and strengthen these nations. Indeed, he is likely to be antagonistic to most of the operations of our federal government except Congressional investigations, and to almost all of its expenditures. . . ." ¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

Here again we do well to realize that we are dealing with "waifs of the roofless century." Nothing that any political party within an organized frame of government could do would satisfy them for long. Their demands and denunciations are not, in any true sense, political even when they are couched in political language. Rather, they represent, within an atmosphere charged with political issues, the desperate attempt of individuals to find objective explanations for their own acute anxiety and unhappiness.

What these extremists of the right chiefly tell us—no matter what they may seem to be talking about—is that they do not know where they belong within our society, which is also *their* society and that they feel their personal world to be going from bad to worse. They hunger for status; but they have no secure sense of role.

Their very preoccupation with status is, indeed, a kind of key to their problem. To such anxious and alienated minds, we know, three questions are of vital importance—and remain forever unanswered: who am I? how should I feel about other people? what accounts for my not having the life I want and deserve? The emotional turmoil generated by these unanswered questions almost inevitably makes the individual wish for a system of order in which the answers would be automatic and dependable: in brief, a status system. A status system says to each individual, in effect, "You are So-and-so. You belong in this niche." It says also, "These other people belong here . . . and here . . . and here. Therefore, you'll be doing all right if you treat them thus and so." Finally, the person preoccupied with thinking about status has an answer to why things are going badly: the wrong people are on top.

Various studies that have been made of these extremists of the right suggest that their resentment stems from the fact that changing social and economic conditions have "robbed"

them of a status that "once rightly belonged to them" or people like them, or that they "once rightly expected to achieve."

We have to make this distinction between "once rightly belonged" and "once rightly expected" because within pseudo-conservative ranks we find two very different types. We find individuals of old American stock whose fortunes have declined and who are under strong emotional compulsion to account in some ego-sustaining way for society's "change for the worse." But also we find many individuals of recent immigrant stock. Their emotional problem is also that of explaining to themselves a discrepancy between what they experience and what they feel they deserve.

While members of "old families" tend to join the pseudo-conservative ranks when their fortunes are declining, members of these "new families" tend to join when their economic fortunes are rising. For it is at this stage that certain emotional problems become acute—problems that they have hitherto assumed would disappear with the achieving of "success." Having shown themselves "good Americans" according to the formula laid down in the "American dream"—that of status earned by effort—they feel that they deserve not only what money can buy but also what money cannot buy: a secure sense of belonging and of significance. This is often denied to them—in part, because they are still treated as "almost outsiders" by the very groups they think of as most American; and in part, because, within their own minds and their own family circles, they are unable to achieve a comfortable harmony between the culture they are trying to cast off and the one they are trying to take on. To have succeeded in practical terms after long, self-denying effort, and then to find the emotional fruits of success still out of reach, is to be virtually compelled to find some explanation that bolsters rather than threatens the already diminished ego. The "logical" explanation is that society has changed for the worse—and that someone is to blame.

The *pattern of fear* in these extremists of the right is interestingly different from any that seems common among those who have found Communism appealing. Communists despise their adversaries as "soft," decadent, inferior in understanding of economic and political processes. Also, they believe—and are insistently taught—that history is on their side. Their fears are therefore, we might say, short-range, immediate and practical. They are afraid of being found out—and therefore interrupted—in the activities assigned them by the Party; and they are afraid of being charged with "deviation" from the Party line. But they are not afraid of the ultimate outcome: the triumph of Communism is, for them, already set down in the book of the future, but not yet precisely dated.

On the other hand, although extremists of the right often despise their adversaries as "inherently" inferior—by reason of race, class, or what not—they simultaneously fear them as "smarter" than themselves; and their deepest fear is fear of

the future—fear that they and their kind are “on the way out.”

Because they feel that change has somehow been put over on them, they see the enemy as sinister and devious. Under present conditions, this almost guarantees their being anti-Communist—at any cost to our own way of life. Communism has provided them ready-made, we might say, the very type of “enemy” they emotionally demand: a conspiratorial enemy that works in the dark; and an enemy, moreover, that would put the “wrong” people on top. The trouble with anti-Communism of the extreme right, however, is that it is too much like Communism in its devil-angel pattern of thinking, in its disregard of personal liberties, and in its destructive preoccupation with tearing down rather than building up. We might almost say that these rightists are anti-Communists not because of what Communism is but because they themselves are *anti*—: more often than not they are anti-intellectual; anti-scientific; anti-labor; anti-Semitic; anti-foreign; anti-Negro; and, as the case may be, anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant. They are, in brief, against any group that can be represented, in one way or another, as responsible for our society’s “change for the worse”; as having profited by that change; or simply as being “strange,” “sinister,” or “upstart.”

It is pitiful, at times, to see how the sort of extreme rightist we are here describing will carry the ball for an entirely different and far more cynical type: the individual who has no compunction about exploiting the fears and tensions of our time to his own advantage. Such an individual—in contrast to those we have been talking about—is commonly one who enjoys a mounting sense of power: demagogic power, or extreme sudden wealth. Far from seeing himself as dispossessed, he says, in effect, “I am the State—or I soon will be.” His counterpart among the Communists is the cold, cynical, manipulative leader: the one who says, “I learned to ‘develop’ people.” He, like that leader, sees the future as his for the taking; he is on the offensive, not the defensive. Like that leader, again, he uses whatever language of appeal serves best to rally the support he wants—and among those whose support he finds useful are the frightened pseudo-conservatives who see themselves as about to be liquidated by the leftists. Anyone who wants to make a study of today’s strange bedfellows might well take a look, for example, at the make-up of some group that is loudly proclaiming the income tax amendment to have been the work, if not of the devil, then at least of socialists and Communists. Communists are not the only ones who have been served by “dupes” and “fellow travelers.”

We have lingered over these “cultural waifs” who join extremist groups of the left or right for three different reasons. In the first place, they point up the danger to personality inherent in an individual’s lacking a sound sense of role: in his not knowing where he belongs nor how to make himself valued for what he is.

In the second place, they point up the danger to a free society inherent in the presence of a great many individuals who feel "lost"; and who, lacking a sound role, are driven to seek a substitute. Such persons, as we have noted, feel *unjustly deprived*—though they would be hard put to it, often, to state in rational terms who has deprived them of what. Their dominant emotions are anxiety and hostility. These emotions, therefore—not reasonableness nor good will—determine their choice of groups to join; and because their lives are inherently disordered, they are strongly drawn to the artificial, status-minded orderliness of totalitarian groups.

In the third place, these "waifs" put a peculiar challenge to the rest of us—and specifically to those of us who are trained to think in the areas of psychological and social science. We have to make sure that we ourselves do not, with regard to these exasperating and destructive types, get our own roles crossed. It is temptingly easy to do just this. As scientists, for example, we may try, in all objective sincerity, to understand the emotional make-up and obsessive problems of the pseudo-conservative. But all too often, when we are not specifically occupied with our analyses, we stop being scientists altogether and talk about these same pseudo-conservatives in the current stereotypes of our political, social, or intellectual fraternity. We are even tempted, many times, to exploit our scientific insights. We convert them, as it were, from *tools of understanding* to *tools of belittling*. We use the objective language of science for our own subjective purposes.

The inner confusions that make the pseudo-conservative what he is—and that make him anti-intellectual—also make him temptingly easy to show up as ridiculous. With the right scientific terms at our command, it is no trick at all to dispose of him and his inchoate political diatribes; or to hold him up as an object on a pin to be coldly analyzed; or simply to enjoy the reassurance of feeling superior to him. To the extent that we thus indulge ourselves, however, we too, in a subtle but destructive way, become anti-scientific and anti-intellectual.

It is no easy business to recognize human types as dangerous to the common welfare; to learn how to diminish their influence; and to remember, all the while, their humanity, their suffering, and their peculiar need. Yet this, it would appear, is what our present situation and our emerging knowledge require of us.

In addition to these we have mentioned, there are many other types of defeat that report the individual's lack of a proper role or his failure to grow up to its performance. But all such defeats and failures that invite our understanding and compassion simply point up what we said earlier in this chapter: namely, that the human being is a creature of roles and contexts.

A friend of ours wrote us, last summer, about having served as co-ordinator of program and personnel for a ten-week project sponsored by one of the social agencies: "It was a most

demanding job while it lasted—24 hours a day. But I feel happy about it, because I do know that I filled my role satisfactorily." There, plainly stated, is one persistent clue to human well-being: a sense of role worth performing—and well performed.

As we have already noted, it is never enough for any one of us to say, "I am." He has also to be able to say, "I am part of. . . ." Or, differently stated, "We are." The "we," moreover, cannot be merely a device for magnifying the "I" or making it feel more secure and important in opposition to some excluded "they." It must be the sort of "we" that profoundly testifies to our being members one of another.

It does not necessarily take an unusual or "important" role to insure both the individual's sense of integrity and his sense of belonging. We recall, for example, in the old song, the buoyant Miller of the Dee who sang as he worked because he felt like singing. Questioned about the reason for his happiness, he replied, "I love my wife, I love my work, I love my children three." He felt good, in brief, about the way that he fitted into the human enterprise.

Or we think of Robert Frost's French Canadian friend, Baptiste, who, working on an axe-helve,

". . . knew how to make a short job long 4

For love of it, and yet not waste time either."¹

¹ Robert Frost, "The Axe-Helve," in *Collected Poems*, p. 230. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939.

Or of Sandberg's fish crier, on Maxwell Street, in Chicago, whose

"face is that of a man terribly glad to be selling fish,
terribly glad that oGd made fish, and customers to whom
he may call his wares from a pushcart."² 1

² Carl Sandburg, "Fish Crier," in *Complete Poems*, p. 10. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950.

Or we think of a host of people we ourselves know: women who are, in Sandburg's phrase, "terribly glad" to be mothers to their children and wives to their husbands; teachers who, after long years in the classroom, are glad they went into teaching; musicians for whom the fact that music exists, and that they are privileged to compose it and play it, is an unending amazement; men in public office who hold that office to be a trust; garage mechanics whose fingers "love" the machines they work on; men and women who, beyond their vocations, have taken on one or another role within their communities, and experience that role as a calling rather than a chore.

The role itself may seem ordinary in the extreme; or it may "concern the welfare and happiness of millions yet unborn"—as did the role of those who shaped our nation. But wherever the relationship between an individual and his role is a sound and happy one, we seem to discover a fivefold testimony of this fact: the individual willingly learns what he needs to learn to perform the role; he willingly disciplines his own passing impulses sufficiently to keep these from getting in the way of his proper performance; he willingly does the job better than he would have to do it just to "get

by"; his feeling for his work is affirmative and affectionate; and he exhibits a comfortable, self-confident sense that he is "paying his way" in the human scene—making his contribution; doing something worth the effort it takes.

T E N

ROLES CHOSEN AND UNCHOSEN

ANY OF THE roles within which we make ourselves happily at home or remain lonely and resentful misfits are not of our own choosing. We are born into them; grow into them; are willed into them by our society; or are propelled into them by circumstances.

They may even represent half-choices on our part: choices made because they seemed to be, at the time, the only ones, or best ones, we could make within a given situation. Vocational choices for most people are probably of this sort: within a certain frame of necessity or opportunity, a decision is made and then lived with; and habits, attitudes, and relationships are built in terms of it.

Sometimes our roles are unanticipated by-products of choices we have made: unanticipated and even unwanted by-products, but nonetheless ours to live with. Thus, a woman we know married a specialist in land reclamation. In marrying him she committed herself to one role she did not really envision at the time and for which nothing in her young years had prepared her: namely, that of being homemaker—and human being—in a long succession of brief, makeshift, temporary homes in some of the most barren places on earth.

In any case—and this is the point that must be made—the free person is by no means one who is privileged to enact only, or even chiefly, roles of his own choosing. Primarily, he is one who has learned to move with the mental and emotional outlooks of a free person within the limits of "fated" roles and, in effect, to push back the constricting limits of these by exploring the possibilities they hold. In addition, he may also devise new roles for himself. But creativeness within and beyond our assigned roles must depend, it would appear, upon our having come to workable terms with ourselves in relation to these assigned roles.

No one—to start at the beginning—asks to be born; nor does he ask to be born a member of a certain household, sex, or race. No one, however, is likely to live a happy and fruitful life if he goes through his years reiterating the plaint that he did not ask to be born; or if his sustained attitude toward his family, sex, or race is one of bitter resentment.

Once having been born, moreover, each individual carries within himself—not by his choice—those urgencies of growth that will normally cast him, as time goes on, in the roles of child, adolescent, adult, and, if he lives long enough, old person. Moreover, the society that counts him a member will, at each stage, underscore his age-level by assigning him various roles, turning *child* into *school child*; *young man* into *member of the armed services*; *adult* into *worker*, *tax payer*, *citizen*; *old person* into *retired person*.

The individual may be ready or unready for any given role when the time comes for him to enact it. He may move into it willingly or reluctantly. In extreme case, he may even resist an assignment, his whole personality structure being ranged against it. He may say *No* to it deliberately, as the conscientious objector, for example, says *No* to military service—and accepts, by that decision, whatever alternative role his society prescribes. Or he may say *No* to it as a disturbed child says *No* to the role of *school child*, by becoming functionally ill on school mornings; as a grown man may say *No* to the role of *earner* by clinging fast to that of adolescent playboy; or as an elderly woman may make what we might call a cosmetic rejection of her role, disguising herself, in her own eyes at least, as the girl she once was.

It is significant to note, here, the difference between rejection of some specific role for reasons of conscience and neurotic rejection of the role appropriate to a next stage of life. Some of the noblest figures of our century are those that said *No* when the role of collaborationist was held out to them by a totalitarian invader of their country. Because of another role that they chose to enact in the full conscience of maturity, these individuals said *No* to a role they felt to be wrong—and assumed, deliberately, the burden and hazard of their decision. It is a very different matter when the victim of neurotic fixation or regression holds back from what comes next in the way of normal responsibility and opportunity.

Thus, the sullen, querulous, or explosive anger of the neurotic can often be understood as an insistent rebellion against the fact that he cannot simultaneously enjoy the comforts of regression—into dependence, irresponsibility, self-indulgence, tantrums—and the rewards of progression. His anger is, in effect, a demand that the people around him protect, placate, and pamper him as though he were a child but, at the same time, respect him and be companionable with him as though he were an adult. Wanting the benefits of two incompatible roles without the pains of either, he is constantly at odds with life.

Perhaps another distinction is also worth making: that between the habitual, angry regression of the neurotic and the occasional restorative “regression” that even the most mature individual allows himself—and must allow himself—from time to time. Residual immaturities, we know, dwell in all of us as long as we live. Every normal person, then, tends on occasion to forsake the role set for him by his current age-level and to reassume, briefly, some less responsible role that he has put behind him. In ways that do no harm to anyone, he plays hooky from his grown-up estate—and is wise in doing so. For it is a safe guess that anyone who is consistently trying to meet the daily demands of life as best he can will have moments when he feels like saying,

“My body is weary to death of my mischievous brain;

I am weary forever and ever of being brave. . . .”¹ 2

¹ Elinor Wylie, “Nebuchadnezzar,” in *Collected Poems*, p. 48. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933.

The difference between the sound person and the neurotic is not that the former *always* stays within the role "assigned" him at one or another age-level, while the latter repudiates that role. It is, rather, that when the sound person "regresses" he knows it: he simply takes time out from the thoughts and obligations of which he is "weary to death." Renewed, then, in body and mind, he voluntarily reenters his accustomed role and goes ahead with the business of living.

He differs from the neurotic in another vital respect also: affectionately and without resentment or recrimination, he grants to other people their turn at "regression"; for he knows that in them, no less than in himself, a residual child lives on—and has a right to live on.

There are many roles that we assume, not because we have initially chosen them, but because we have been born into them or have grown into them within one or another cultural frame. The decently responsible enactment of such roles constitutes for each of us a basic curriculum of living.

These are by no means, however, the only roles assigned us without our asking for them. Fate, accident—whatever we may call it—also plays a part in our lives and sets demands for us to meet. Thus, on a single day, recently, we received word that one friend of ours, hitherto a happy wife, had been cast in the role of widow; and that another friend—because a drunken driver failed to see him in a pedestrian crosswalk—had been cast in the role of permanent invalid.

Around the world, in any direction we look, we see those who have been thrust by accident, war, famine, flood, illness, or other disaster into painfully exacting roles—there to contrive, as best they can, a way of life and a reason for living; and there to exhibit, also, whatever quality of life is embodied in their personal make-up. The load of sorrow and loneliness and pain that rests upon the world today makes it imperative for us to understand how it is that human beings who enact their "fated" roles with dignity and courage go about doing so.

Last summer, we received a letter from a woman—a stranger to us, except that she knew us through our books—which began with these words: "This may be one of the last letters I will ever write. I am going blind. The diagnosis is conclusive; and it won't be long now. Before the darkness closes in, however, I want to say thanks to a number of people—you among them—from whom I have borrowed thoughts that will go with me into that darkness, to keep me company there."

She then went on to tell us, with no word of self-pity—but in words that left us humble and grateful—just what it was she had found in certain passages of our books that she felt would be of permanent use to her. She shared with us, also, some of her other "borrowings." She had gathered and memorized, for example, certain vivid lines of poetry because, she said, "As long as I can quote these to myself I will still be able to see moonlight on water and leaves falling in autumn." She was not, she made clear, intending to spend

the rest of her life with her hands folded in her lap and her blind eyes remembering past beauties. She planned to find her way, as promptly as possible, into new skills and relationships—and most of all, into new ways of being useful. “But meanwhile,” she wrote, “all I have learned and loved will stand by me.”

We think, again, of a couple who telephoned us one evening to ask whether they could drop around and see us. They were acquaintances only, people with whom we had crossed paths a few times in professional circles. But they came and sat with us for long hours, before the fire; and when they left we were proud to know them. They needed, the husband said on arrival, to talk themselves out to someone who would just let them talk. They had been forced, that day, to accept with grim finality a fact that they had earlier refused to credit: namely, that their only child was mentally deficient. What they did, in effect, while we listened, was to define for themselves a parental role far different from the one they had deeply hoped to enact. They defined that role; accepted its painful demands; explored its possibilities; and tacitly promised each other the type of support that the long pull would require. Then they went out together into the night; and we, watching from the doorway, saw them as figures of more than individual courage. We could not help seeing them as part of the interminable procession of human beings who have taken on their fated roles and carried them through.

We might recall here, in different context, the story told us by the friend of whom we spoke in Chapter VIII: the one whose mother, back in the depression years, had received the word of her husband's loss of job by first sitting, for long minutes, in a terrible silence; and then, as she returned to her work, touching her husband gently on the shoulder and saying, “Well, we aren't dead yet.” In this story, perhaps, we find a clue to what it is, psychologically, that human beings do when they face the problem of shifting from a wanted to an unwanted role—as this woman had to shift from being *wife of a man with a job* to being *wife of a man out of work*.

It may take a person long minutes of “terrible silence,” or sometimes long months and years, to come to terms with a role that he resists with all his make-up and yet knows he must accept with all that make-up if he is to maintain the integrity of his relationship to life. No matter how long the time-span, certain stages apparently have to be worked through. First, the stage of accepting the reality of the new role: letting it into consciousness instead of warding it off, so that it is not only known to exist, but felt to exist. Then, the stage of going deep down into the privacy of the self, there to rally whatever resources of strength and perspective have been built into the self “for keeps.” In the third place, there is the stage of turning again toward the world in which a new enactment of permanent values has to be contrived.

This third stage of turning out toward the world again seems itself to involve two aspects: that of lining up specific

things that can be done; and that of reaffirming unity, in one way or another, with fellow human beings. This is the stage at which the isolated, lonely "I" begins again, in word and action, to practice saying "we." In terms used in the preceding chapter, the individual puts himself, emotionally, back into a human context and accepts the fact that he is involved with others in a mutually transforming "in flow."

There would seem no need to labor the point further: the individual whose life is to be a "quality" performance, and not merely an endurance test or a study of self-indulgence or erraticism, has to make it that kind of performance by the way he enacts a multitude of roles he has not chosen for himself—some of which, at least, he would all too gladly change if he could.

The fact that we have or have not chosen a given role does not keep it from being ours—as long as we are in it. It does not alter the fact that we are, in that role, part of the mental and emotional environment of other people: people who, like ourselves, are having to "make do" within many unchosen roles. Nor does the distastefulness of the role alter the fact that if our performance of it, while it is inescapably or properly ours, is resentful and slipshod, the habits of thought and action thus established in us, and the distribution of energy thus determined, will tarnish our performance of even our chosen roles. Just as an individual can never become a truly cultivated person by being courteous only to "important" people, or to those from whom he wants something in return, while the rest of the human race bears the brunt of his incivility, so we cannot shape a sound life by performing well only those roles we have freely elected as ours.

Some of the imperatives, in brief, that pattern our human existence can be grim and painful affairs. Yet there is no way in which we can reject them without courting a still more tragic defeat than they impose. This is the testimony of religious seer and psychologist alike—and of countless ordinary human beings who have said in word and action, "Well, we aren't dead yet."

There are two Biblical passages that seem to us to be peculiarly relevant in this connection, because they point up two different aspects of our human obligation and privilege.

The first is that rending passage in which Jesus, facing the final agony of his life, prays that he may, if possible, be allowed to escape it, but then concludes, "Nevertheless not my will, but Thine, be done." Here we see, as it were, the archetype of an attitude which, wherever it shapes behavior, lifts it above mediocrity. The parents, for example, of the mentally deficient child spoke in the spirit of this passage as they sat with us that evening before the fire. They told how they had refused to believe the dreadful evidence of deficiency; had sought every type of test and counseling that might help them contradict that evidence; had gone through a stage of feeling that they could not face the role cut out for them and that they would simply have to make some ar-

rangement for the child that would let them ignore and "forget" its existence. Yet, in the end, they bowed to the dictates of that role—because they cherished values that would, in the long run, have made the rejection of it unthinkable. They did not say in so many words, "Thy will be done"—at least, not to us; but they did say a kind of modest and prosy equivalent: "Well . . . if that's how things are going to be. . . ."

The second passage is the one in which James, defining religion that is pure and undefiled in the sight of God, makes it embrace the visiting of widows and orphans in their affliction: in brief, standing by other human beings when they have been cast in stern roles not of their choosing. Here again, we know, is a pattern of behavior that redeems life from mediocrity; for it constitutes a willing admission that whatever our human enterprise is within the universe, we are all in it together.

The person who has learned, with some fair measure of skill and happiness, to handle the basic roles assigned him by birth and growth; and who has further learned, with strength and tenderness, to deal with the fact that there is not much for a human being—whether himself or another—to do with a painful yet inescapable role except see it through as best he can, has his reward. He is also the person who is most likely to create, and happily to enact, roles of his own choosing that are good both for himself and for those who come within his sphere of influence.

The neurotic, of course, who rejects every demanding and distasteful role as not for him—or whose resentful enactment of such roles, when he cannot escape them, is in the spirit of "Why should this happen to *me*?"—may also create roles for himself. Some of these he may act out only in hostile daydreams. Others he may act out by maneuvering himself into one or another form of dependence and helplessness, so that someone else has to carry his load. Or he may make a role out of resentment pure and simple and see himself as big and brave in the enactment of it as the bully does; or the criminal; or the dictator. But every role he creates will bear the trademark of his distortion: it will intensify, not modify, his own self-deceptions and self-justifications; it will consolidate, not relax, the fear-anger focus of his energies; and it will widen, not narrow, the gap between himself and his human fellows.

The person who is most free to create for himself, and to enact in the world of reality, roles that have the stuff of health in them is the one who is least fearfully or resentfully preoccupied with warding off "assigned" roles—whether these be the normal roles that go with the various stages of growing up, or the abnormally exacting roles thrust upon him by one or another disaster. The freedom of such a person is, in effect, a *freedom of attention*. Having liberated himself, in fair measure, from the emotions that wall a human being off from the world around him and turn him in upon himself, he is *at liberty* to explore the possibilities of

his situation. He is also *at liberty* to move toward other people with understanding and good will.

We might return here, briefly, to the climactic episodes in the life of Jesus, and do some hypothetical thinking about them. He was betrayed into the hands of his captors almost immediately after he had said, "Thy will be done." He might conceivably still have won his reprieve by renouncing his beliefs. Or, doomed beyond reprieve by the fears and anger these beliefs had already generated, he might have gone to the cross fighting his fate at every step of the way: screaming, blaspheming, protesting, denouncing, pleading. That is to say, he might have done so except for one thing: namely, that he had meant it, with every fiber of his agonized being, when he had said, "Nevertheless not my will, but Thine, be done." Having thus accepted his role, he was able to turn his attention outward toward others. He was able, at the end, so to feel the reality of these others that he could say, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

Again we recognize an archetype in the area of behavior. Whenever a human being, whether happily or in agony, accepts *as his own* a role "assigned" to him by life, he earns the privilege of turning his attention away from himself and perceiving with new vividness what reality offers him as raw material for his understanding and appreciation.

The ways in which sound individuals create roles for themselves are well-nigh limitless in number and variety. In the vast majority of cases, what they actually do is to create roles within roles: within the established frame of their daily work, they put the stamp of their own spirit upon that work, so that it becomes uniquely theirs—no matter how many other people may be listed in the census as doing the same kind of job.

We might recall, for example, from the chapter on the space-making personality, the teacher whose classroom was by no means just one more classroom. It was a place to which she herself had given unique identity: a place where "problem" students, one after another, could experience order, freedom, fairness, and affection so that they could progressively lend themselves to learning and enacting what life calls for. The role she happily created for herself, in brief, was that of making an environment in which students who had formerly cast themselves as enemies of all schooling—and, for that matter, of organized society—could find both means and incentive to change their roles and take on ones more conducive to healthy growth.

Or we might take another example. We have more than once heard it said of a certain member of a Congressional committee, "He's called the conscience of the committee." We have been struck, each time we have heard the phrase, by the tone of respect and even affection in which it was spoken. This would not have been true, we have realized, if the speaker had felt himself impelled to say, "He has set himself up as the conscience of the committee"; or "In his own eyes, he's the conscience of the committee." What was

quite apparent was that the label was being voluntarily granted to him by others: others who were themselves men of conscience and who had watched him in action.

We set ourselves to find an explanation. A wide variety of individuals have, within recent years, come and gone as members of Congressional committees: men who have variously seemed worthy or unworthy of the tasks assigned them. What had this one man—who had not even been chairman—done to command unique respect and affection? How did he see the role that was his to perform?

The answer, as we began to piece it together, had no dramatic fanfare about it. It appeared to lie in the fact that this Congressman, modestly and tenaciously, and often in anxiety of spirit, was treating his role as committee member as one that influenced other people's life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.

We learned how invariably, for example, his treatment of witnesses—even recalcitrant and obstreperous witnesses—was civil treatment: the sort called for, not by their being co-operative or otherwise, but quite simply by the fact of their being human. We learned how tirelessly he had worked for the bettering of committee procedures: for rules that would not put the work of the committee at the mercy of witnesses cynically intent on blocking it, but that would guarantee fairness and minimize the erratic or self-interested play of personality upon the processes of objective investigation.

We learned of one case where a very young witness, rubbed the wrong way by some word or action on some committee member's part, turned abruptly stubborn, and proceeded to conduct himself in a manner well-nigh guaranteed to put his future in jeopardy. When the witness had been dismissed by the committee, and had left the room, this Congressman excused himself and followed, followed almost on the run, to catch the young witness and his wife—the latter in tears—at the elevator. He talked with the young couple until the wall of hurt stubbornness crumbled and an occasion was set up for the straightening out of a human record.

Why, it might be asked, should a Congressman of the United States virtually run down the hall to give a recalcitrant witness another chance? Why should he virtually plead with that witness not to make disaster for himself and his wife out of hurt pride? Or a very different question might be asked: Why should he *not* do these things if his conception of his role as committee member was large enough to make room for them?

The point here, we think, is that most human creativity in role-making is usually exercised by people whose roles in life are broad enough to encompass many different interpretations of function. The term *doctor*, for example, may suggest a certain kind of training and activity, not suggested by the term *deep sea diver*, *housewife*, *policeman*, *taxicab driver*, *reporter*. In itself, however, the term does not tell how any individual doctor sees or enacts his role. It does

not tell, therefore, whether he "corners" his patients, emotionally speaking, or gives them room to breathe and to grow. Does he see his own role as a tiresome routine? Or as a financially profitable line to be in? Or as a chance to belong to the human fellowship deeply and warmly, by ministering to people at the points of their anxiety, grief, and pain? We might say, "Albert Schweitzer is a doctor." But we would barely be opening up the subject of what he is; for we would, as yet, have said nothing about how he sees his medical role and what he has uniquely made of it.

Just as creativeness may be at work under such labels as teacher, lawyer, clerk, and Congressman, so it may be at work under such labels as widow, cripple, invalid, refugee. The terms suggest roles shaped and limited by "fate"; but do not tell what any given individual has made of his assigned role.

Many forms of creativeness that enrich life and give it distinction have to do with how roles are enacted by persons who put upon them the stamp of their own insight, devotion, and, often, their own sheer "aliveness": their blithe and resilient refusal to let circumstances get them down.

Other forms of creativeness, however, can best be understood as *extensions* of roles. We noted in the previous chapter that a role we take on, even briefly, operates in us as a force that makes for selective seeing and selective ignoring. The roles we take on day after day, year after year, naturally exert a potent influence upon what catches and holds our attention, and stirs our mind into action, even when we are not on the job. A man whose speciality, for example, is handwriting tells us that he can *never* look at a signature or at a written document without seeing the words through the lens of his skill. He cannot read even a letter from a friend or a member of his own family without having the experience—to his own amused exasperation—turn into a sort of "busman's holiday." Similarly, a trial lawyer tells us that he rarely meets and talks with a new acquaintance without soon finding himself trying to estimate how this person would be likely to act on the witness stand.

Such specialization of seeing may, of course, mean chiefly a narrowing of it. It may skew the individual's vision to the point where it skews him as a personality: where it almost dehumanizes him. But specialized vision may also be sensitized vision. It may, in its influence upon the person's relationship to life, have less to do with what is *ruled out of consciousness* than with what is *ruled into consciousness*. Where a basically sound human being looks at his world with the eyes that his knowledge and skill have given him, he is likely to see with his selective vision not only what is, but what might be—and what needs to be. This is why so many of the significant roles that people have created for themselves within our society have been logical extensions of vocational roles they were already enacting.

So numerous are examples of this sort of thing that we can pick them almost at random. We might take the case of Ernest

Coulter who, back in 1904, was acting as clerk in the newly established children's court in New York City. Day after day, in his vocational capacity, he saw youngsters in trouble; and as he appraised the pattern that repeated itself in case after case, he began to realize that these youngsters in trouble characteristically were youngsters without warm, close relationships to fine adults. Having sized up things as they were, he looked beyond the courtroom with the eyes of his knowledge and caught a glimpse of what might be. What he thus saw moved him to take on a new role—and to draw others into that role. On a December night, in 1904, speaking to a men's club in a New York church, he told of the plight of the children who were brought to court. "Can nothing be done?" asked one member of the audience, when he had finished. Ernest Coulter had his answer ready: "Yes. If each of you forty men here would be a friend to one boy, forty boys would have their chance." "I'll take one," said the man who had asked the question. "And I;" "And I. . . ." So the Big Brother Movement came into being.

Or we can take another example. At a naval hospital, in 1945, two wounded sailors made a modest request: would it not be possible for them to have music lessons? The request was brought to the attention of Fritz Kreisler—and of others like him, who had both the expertness and the emotional capacity to respond to it: to respond to it by taking on a new role, and by inviting others to enact that role also. Since that time, the Hospitalized Veterans Service has provided more than 200,000 individual and group music sessions to veterans and servicemen at their physicians' requests. As a leaflet printed by the group points out, "It is far more than an entertainment resource. Its contributions to the rehabilitation teamwork process are now widely recognized, and the demand for extension of these services to more hospitals and more veterans greatly exceeds the organization's resources." When we read such a report and note on the cover of it, "Fritz Kreisler, Chairman," we know we are witness to one more of the countless cases in which our society has been enriched—and human suffering alleviated—because a person has looked at a situation with the eyes of his expertness and what he has thus seen has made him create a new role and take on its disciplines and obligations.

Kreisler himself writes, "In a long life devoted to music, nothing has moved me so much as the opportunity to serve some of our veterans who suffer from service-induced disabilities. . . . To see a boy, shut away in a Veterans Hospital, forgetting his personal tragedy and reaching for health through the healing rewards of music is truly inspiring."

The initial phrase, here, is of key importance: "In a long life devoted to music. . . ." Another person, explaining why he had assumed some different sort of voluntary role, might say, "In a long life devoted to teaching . . ."; or to law enforcement, or to the ministry, or to the study of nutrition, or to the park service, or to banking, or to road building, or to housing or city planning. In any case, he would be:

stating a fact that any one of us with a field of knowledge to call his own can try out for himself: namely, that an individual who views his world with the selective seeing his specialty grants him, plus the emotional warmth appropriate to his human estate, is likely to discover some point where a new role is called for. He may also discover within himself an incentive to create and assume that role.

There was a time when we ourselves were mildly irritated by the cultural habit of labeling people by role: chiefly, by vocational role. It seemed to us that it did not say much about the strange totality of a human being to say, off-handedly, "He's a mechanic"; or "She's a secretary"; or "He runs a hardware store." But we have, of recent years, come to feel differently about this. We have come to realize that the consistent roles people enact—roles chosen, unchosen, and half-chosen; roles vocational and "extracurricular"; established roles within which they find a place and new roles they create for themselves—are, in effect, the paths by which they make their journeys into the midst of life.

Thus, when a man goes, day after day, down to his store or his office, *he goes into the human situation by way of that store or office*. He enters a certain frame of experience within which to employ his basic habits and attitudes; within which, also, he will be progressively persuaded to do certain types of selective seeing and selective ignoring; and within which, finally, he will establish interpersonal relations with various fellow humans. In plain fact, then, we are saying something fairly significant about a person when we say, "He's a radio commentator"; or "He's a plumber." We still do not know, to be sure, whether he is a sound or a shoddy workman; a mature or an immature individual. But we do know something of importance about the "field of force" in which he and other people are involved, for better or worse, in a mutually transformative "in flow." We also know something of importance about the opportunities that are open to him for being the kind of person he believes in being.

We have come to feel thus about the significance of human roles and the manner of their enactment by simply acknowledging how deeply and willingly we ourselves belong to certain roles that ostensibly belong to us. But we have come to it also by realizing that most of the friends we value are closely identified in our minds with the roles they perform. "By their fruits ye shall know them." We know these friends by the way they handle the roles they call theirs. Many of them we met, in the first place, in terms of these roles. We have heard them talk about what they do—and what they see still to be done.

Thinking thus about the people we know, we sat down one recent evening with our address book for company. This book is, for us, a kind of "Who's Who" in the area of our interpersonal relations. It is by no means merely a list of names and street numbers. It is a reminder of experiences we have enjoyed, through the years, in many different parts of this

country, with many different people: people whom we have met and come to know, for the most part, as fellow members, fellow workers, fellows in concern.

We sat down, then, with our address book. Opening it again and again at random, we simply took the top name on each page and thought about the individual in terms of the roles we know him as performing. It was like having an orchestra seat from which to watch, appreciatively, the enactment of the human drama. Radio commentator; staff member of the National Council of Churches; worker with Camp Fire Girls; teacher; psychiatrist; carpenter; owner of a restaurant; newsman for the Associated Press; landscape architect; artist, YWCA secretary; Director of a University Extension Division; representative of an electrical appliance company; consultant on human relations in industry; minister; librarian; college professor; housewife; photographer; member of the staff of a settlement house.

By way of these roles, these men and women make their useful and self-respecting entrance, day after day, into the broad field of responsibility and mutuality. But we know many of them by other roles, also: roles that they have elected, or created, or had thrust upon them. The housewife, for example, was program chairman of a local AAUW group at the time we first met her. We know the carpenter not only because he has, in that capacity, worked on our house, but also because he is the moving spirit of a certain folk dancing group. We know the landscape architect as teacher in an adult education center. We know the YWCA secretary as a valiant defender of civil liberties in a town where they are not always easy to defend. We know that one unpublicized role of the radio commentator has been that of helping at least two boys through college. We know the librarian also as a widow who is doing a first-rate job of bringing up three children.

Both the richness and the stability of a life are reported in the roles that are enacted and in the manner of their enactment. Both the richness and the stability of a culture are reported in roles enacted by its members—and, again, in the manner of their enactment. Once we know this much, and face its full implications, we know that it is by way of our own unchosen, half-chosen, and freely chosen roles that we stand our best chance to making some dent upon the human situation in the furtherance of the values we cherish.

E L E V E N

LIFE LINE TO CHILDHOOD

IT HAS BECOME a commonplace of psychology that many forms of "problem conduct" on the part of adults can properly be called *childish*. They express a carry-over of ego-centric, irresponsible attitudes that are normally outgrown—or at least, greatly modified—during the years of growing up.

Such analyses have helped us to understand types of adult misbehavior that might otherwise seem altogether random and inexplicable, and have emphasized the impor-

tance of sound growth. Yet we both distort our image of childhood and impoverish our conception of maturity if we fail to see that a happy child lives on in the happy and creative adult quite as truly as an insecure and demanding child lives on in the self-centered, obtuse, willful adult.

The plain fact is that no human being, no matter how full of wisdom or "full of years" he may be, ever puts his childhood completely and conclusively behind him. Nor should he. The vital contrast is not between a person's being childish or being fully mature. It is between being childishly immature or childlike in his maturity. One question, then, we can rightly ask about any adult—including ourselves; *what kind of child lives on in him?*

If the child who lives on in the grown person is chiefly a spoiled brat or a querulous, timid dependent—so that he constantly refuses to face up to the normal demands of adulthood—we can expect the individual's life to be marked by both inner and outer conflict.

But a very different sort of child may live on. This is the child who is an eager explorer of his world—full of questions about the make-up of things; interested; responsive; imaginative; close to the earth under his feet; ready to like people who are competent and friendly whether or not they are "important"; eager to try things out; playful, and yet often serious; intensely alive in the passing moment and yet given to daydreams that have the future in them; capable of being moved to laughter and tears. Where such is the nature of the residual child within the grown-up, there need be no conflict between that child and the adult self. Instead, the two, as good companions, can live and grow together, each better for the other's presence.

We remember one early spring day, several years ago, when the two of us, both convalescing from illness, were feeling particularly housebound. To our own minds, we were well enough to be out of doors in the sunshine, with the spongy growing earth under foot. But because the doctor said, "No," there we had to stay, safe—and trapped—within our wall-and-window enclosure. Toward the end of the afternoon, as we sat dawdling in front of the fire with books that we were tired of reading, a knock came at the door; and we opened to the most welcome of guests—an artist friend of ours. He stood on the doorstep, tall and windblown, wearing a plaid flannel shirt open at the neck. In one hand, he held an offering of pussywillows; in the other, a landscape he had been working on and wanted us to see. He had been out painting all day, he told us, and had decided to drop by on his way home. Welcoming him was like welcoming the out of doors that had been denied us.

He could stay only a few moments, he said. Yet afternoon had slipped into early evening before he left. For the three of us got talking, there in front of the fire, about how spring comes after winter—what the first signs are in different parts of the country; and then about form and color in painting. Setting up the canvas on which he had been at work, he

showed us what he was driving at; and when we commented on the magic of a certain shade of green, he angled off to the history of oil paints and told us why this particular green, because of its metallic content, was different from other greens. Somehow, then, our talk drifted from color in painting to "color" in words; and we spent the better part of another hour savoring lines of poetry that we remembered.

How did it happen that this friend could thus bring into our living room both the immediacy of spring and the long discipline of art? We would say without hesitation that it was because he entered that room as both perennial child and mature adult. He had never put behind him the child's nearness to the earth: the joy of being right down with the grass, so to speak, almost feeling it grow. He had never let the tremendous importance of sun and shade, or of the textural difference between earth and air, be crowded out of his consciousness by "important" matters. Yet he neither painted nor talked about painting as a child would. Every word he spoke showed him to be at home within a long tradition: at home there because he had earned his place.

Where the child self and the grown-up self are thus happily fused in a personality structure, each brings to that fusion unique and appropriate gifts. The child brings an awareness not yet narrowed by the blinders of habit and preoccupation. He brings, also, a certain untamed quality: an elusive power to remain free, and freely himself, in the midst of demands and pressures that tend to put upon life the mark of prudence and conformity. No happy child, we might say, is ever quite taken in by adult pretensions; nor is he ever wholly converted to the notion that order for order's sake—or for safety's sake—is a supreme value. Thus, he adjusts enough to enjoy the warmth of belonging and the satisfactions of meeting various standards of performance, but not enough to let his privacy or his individuality be taken from him. The happy child, moreover, wants to get on to the hang of things; wants to try out his own hand and mind; is generous in his admirations; believes in the yet to be learned and the yet to be tried.

What are the gifts that maturity brings? It brings gifts of perspective; established purpose; a sense of responsibility toward others; pride in good workmanship, and enough knowledge and disciplined skill to be able to deliver the goods. It brings, also, certain types of understanding that apparently do not become possible to a human being until he has coped with his share of unwanted experiences—of loss, disappointment, failure, grief—and come to terms with these. Sandburg gives us the line, "Laughing even as an ignorant fighter laughs who has never lost a battle."¹ We do

¹ Carl Sandburg, "Chicago," in *Complete Poems*, p. 3. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950.

not expect such "ignorant" laughter to be warmly inclusive; nor do we expect that the individual whose laughter is of this kind will, in other mood, be deeply sensitive to the hurts that other people suffer or deeply appreciative of the

manner in which these others carry on in spite of the hurts. One chief gift of maturity, in brief, is that of *seasoned* judgment: judgment that does not confuse the tawdry with the excellent, but which recognizes that the excellent is not always easy to come by.

The fusion of child and adult that made our artist friend a welcome guest is a type of fusion we have noted and valued in many different people. We think, for example, of a certain biochemist. Is he at work or at play in his laboratory? Is he boy or man when he sets up an experiment? The only answer to either question is "Both." The intentness to find out and the eager sense of what is possible have been carried over unimpaired from childhood. But his skilled mind and fingers are not those of a child. Nor is his dedication to his job a child's dedication.

The more we think about it, the more we realize that the friends we most like to be with are invariably those in whom we can feel the fused presence of the child and the grown-up. The individual who really enjoys words and whose talk never becomes a monotonous repetition of worn phrases has kept alive in himself one vital aspect of childhood. The individual who enjoys some collection he has made—of stamps, minerals, wild flowers, or what not—is similarly enacting childhood. So is the person who has a comfortable respect for old clothes; who knows how to break out of a routine and take a holiday; who enjoys watching expertness at work; who just naturally stops to look at a bird in flight or at two puppies rolling together on a lawn; and who rarely finds any answer so conclusive that no further question stems from it. In like manner, a person is enacting childhood when he takes it for granted that the future is open, not closed; and that solutions to problems can somehow be figured out.

The more genuinely mature an individual is, the more unabashedly he lets himself remain, in certain respects, a child—and the more at home he feels with those who are still children. In contrast, the type of adult we call *childish* is not, as a rule, happy and at ease with children—nor are they at ease with him.

Such an adult may either indulge his childishness or try to repudiate it. To the extent that he indulges it, he cannot be to children what an adult properly is: someone they can rely on, who knows more than they do about the how and why of things. Instead, he is, bafflingly, a grown person who acts as they are told not to act. He grabs; sulks; loses his temper; shifts the blame to others when things go wrong; is jealous and demanding; makes promises he does not keep; gets out from under chores that are his to do. To the extent, on the other hand, that he repudiates his childishness but does not outgrow it, he is a baffling stranger to children. Holding his impulses sternly and watchfully in check, he acts more like an automaton than a human being. Even when he tries to talk or play with children, he can offer only what he has to offer: his own stiff uneasiness with life.

It is the person who has genuinely matured in the ways

that make him a competent and responsible adult, without losing the flexible, creative interests of childhood, who thrives on being with children—as they thrive on being with him.

Robert Frost has pointed up for us one of life's finest reciprocities: that between youth and age. When he was young, he tells us, his teachers were the old. Sometimes, in the process of learning what they had to teach, he "suffered like a metal being cast." But he took on form. He moved into patterns of thought and conduct that had been part of human experience long before he was born. By the age of fifty, however, because he was not willing to be *only* a creature of form, he was seeking new teachers: "I go to school to youth to learn the future."¹

¹ Robert Frost, "What Fifty Said," in *Collected Poems*, p. 344. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939.

We were reminded of Frost's words when we were told recently, about a distinguished biologist—a man of international reputation—who misses no chance to go out into the fields and woods with his grandchildren.

We can be sure that he takes with him on these trips a store of knowledge so deep and well-seasoned that the youngsters, recognizing its authenticity, put to him question after eager question. This knowledge is one badge of his maturity.

There is, however, a second badge of his maturity: the fact that he is glad to "go to school to youth." His prime purpose in exploring forest and meadow with his grandchildren is not to instruct them but to be instructed by them. He reports that they—with their vital curiosities and untamed awareness—often draw his attention to what he would otherwise miss. Looking through their eyes at a world he is accustomed to see with the trained and channeled vision of a scientist, he sees a new heaven and a new earth. He becomes as a little child—and is all the better adult, and all the better biologist, for thus becoming.

In like vein, we think of the satisfaction and the constant sense of renewal that a musician friend of ours gets out of conducting a children's orchestra; or that another friend—a mailman by occupation—gets out of his work with a Boy Scout troop. Or we think of one psychologist we know who welcomes every chance to sit in where teen-agers are talking about their problems—from those to dating to those of arriving at religious convictions. He tells us that his experiences with teen-agers are for him a constant safeguard against stereotyped thinking in the area of human relations: not a session goes by without his being surprised both at the importance of some problem he has overlooked and at the honesty of the young people in facing questions that adults are cautiously inclined to avoid or authoritatively treat as disposed of once for all.

Perhaps as clarifying a story as we have of reciprocal friendship between youth and age is the one that Edwin Arlington Robinson gives us in *Isaac and Archibald*: a story

of two old men, lifelong friends, who admitted the boy Robinson—then twelve years old—to their friendship.

On a certain summer day, he tells us—and this is all the plot the story needs—Isaac, having decided to walk over to Archibald's farm to see whether the oats were being cut, invited him to go along; and he

“with a small boy's adhesiveness

‘To competent old age, got up and went.’¹

¹Edwin Arlington Robinson, “Isaac and Archibald,” in *Collected Poems*, pp. 169–181. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937.

Recalling the experience of that afternoon, he writes:

“We walked together down the River Road,

With all the warmth and wonder of the land

4

Around us, and the wayside flash of leaves,—

And Isaac said the day was glorious. . . .”

The day was glorious, but also hot; and the pace that Isaac set brought the boy Robinson to a point, long before Archibald's farm came in sight, where he felt he was sweating blood. Though he watched hopefully for some sign that Isaac too was slowing down, he found none—and had, in the end, to suggest outright that they stop and rest in the shade.

It was during this interval of rest, when the talk turned to Archibald, that the boy felt for the first time—with one of those premonitions that only childhood knows—that his familiar world was being touched by change. Isaac, talking as he would not have talked to a fellow adult, confided his lonely, growing awareness that Archibald—his closest friend—was failing in mind and body. What made Robinson, as he listened, become less of a small boy than he had been even an hour before was not so much what Isaac said as what he himself abruptly understood: that the man at his side, who seemed to be talking only of Archibald, was in fact trying to fend off his own mortality.

Not until that moment had he ever really thought of Isaac as old. Rather, this man had been one of the eternal in his own young life; and Archibald had been another. Never until then, for that matter, had the term *old age* held much meaning for him. But as Isaac talked to him—or thought aloud to himself in the boy's presence—Robinson learned what he had not known before: that life made up chiefly of the past is a different thing from life made up chiefly of the future.

Facing the fact of change in these durable old friends of his, he learned another thing also: that he himself was changing. He was feeling a new kind of grown-up sympathy for the man at his side. Moreover, as he realized that a relationship that had long been an intimate part of his life would soon belong to the past, he found himself absorbed in a new way with what his own future might hold.

So he listened, and thought his own thoughts; and the new grown-up part of himself wanted to speak words of sympathy to Isaac that the shy, small-boy part of himself could not quite bring out:

“Therefore I watched the ground;

And I was wondering what made the Lord 4
 Create a thing so nervous as an ant,
 When Isaac, with commendable unrest,
 Ordained that we should take the road again."

They took the road; and when they reached their destination and Isaac had struck off across the fields to size up the oats, Archibald stood looking after him—and confided to Robinson what he would not have confided to any fellow adult: his lonely sense that Isaac was failing; he was not the man he used to be. . . .

Thus the boy added another cubit of understanding. But he was not yet grown up. He was simply growing—and enough of a composite, still, so that when the two old men sat down later to their game of seven-up he was content to lie beside them on the grass,

"Calm and incorrigibly satisfied
 With apples and romance and ignorance, 4
 And the still smoke from Archibald's clay pipe."

Lying thus, looking across the fields, dreaming in part about stories he had been reading and, in other part, about what lay ahead of him in life, and half-way listening to the two old men, he found that

"The present and the future and the past,
 Isaac and Archibald, the burning bush, 5
 The Trojans and the walls of Jericho,
 Were beautifully fused;"

Supper, tangible and welcome, took the place of daydreams, finally; and then, after the two old men had smoked a while, and the boy had watched them and thought his own comfortable thoughts,

"The time came for the long walk home
 With Isaac in the twilight. . . ."

Remembering, across the years, the experiences of that afternoon and evening, Robinson recognized that they had held the makings of both humor and sympathy—the two not incompatible, because "there's a laughing that has honor in it." Perhaps, in fact, the growing that he himself did that day—as he both made his first acquaintance with the lonely self-deceptions of the old and faced his own future with new eyes—might best be defined as growth into a sense of perspective.

It would be foolish to ask who got the most out of such a friendship as we have here described between a twelve-year-old boy and two old men. In the best sense of the word, the relationship was reciprocal—as relationships between members of different age groups tend to be if they are allowed to take their right and natural form.

We recall a conversation we had, recently, with the mother of three children—the oldest of them going on ten. One problem after another, it seemed, had beset their household—until it would have been understandable if she and her husband had felt that fate was ganging up on them. "When I feel myself getting discouraged right down to the bottom layer," she told us, "I take the children on a picnic. They're so good for me when they're happy; and I'm a new

person after I've been right down on the ground with them, digging, or have taken off my shoes and socks and gone wading. Besides . . . I don't want them to think I'm sunk. I'm not trying to overprotect them, mind you. They've got to know we have problems, and I'm not trying to make them think life is always easy. But I certainly don't want them ever to get the notion from me that having problems has to mean being flattened out by them."

Who gets the most out of these picnics—the mother who lets herself be a child again, or the children who are privileged to enjoy companionship with maturity? The answer again has to be that both thrive on the relationship. The mother can enter into it because she has grown up without disowning the child within herself. The children can enter into it—in more complex ways than they now realize—because even while they are occupied with wading and digging, they are also occupied with growing up: building their conception of what life is and how it is to be handled.

If we understand why these picnics are good for both mother and children, and why it is good for a distinguished biologist to explore the fields and woods with his grandchildren, and why it was good for both old Isaac and the boy Robinson to walk together down the River Road and talk as they went, we are in a position to understand why we should resolve that certain types of experiences must not be crowded out of life.

They must not be crowded out by anxiety, fatigue, sheer busyness, a too constant preoccupation with bringing the children up right, confused notions as to what "advantages" are or what has prestige value, or social pressures and expectations that tend, nowadays, to "stratify" our human activities by age-levels.

Experiences that bring different age-levels together in mutually fulfilling relationships are simply too good to lose out of life. Where they are lost, the creative child that quite properly lives on in every adult gets too little exercise, too little encouragement; and the future adult that lives in every child gets too little chance to learn the direction of sound growth.

It is a commonplace of sociology—and of ordinary observation—that certain forces within our society have been tending, for some generations now, to isolate different age-groups from one another. We know what these forces have been. We know, for example, that urbanization means, among other things, that family living-space has grown smaller and that it has therefore become less customary for grandparents to be included in the family unit. It means also that large schools have replaced small, so that few children now do their learning and reciting in the presence of those older and younger than themselves—as they did in the one-room school. We know that our present nomadism means that the child is less often surrounded than he used to be by a drove of "his cousins and his aunts." Again, we know that an economy in which the man works away from

home—and often commutes to his work—is one in which children less often see their father actively engaged at the top level of his expertness; and have far less chance than they once had to be, so to speak, apprentices at his side.

While it is important for us to recognize these changes, we must not miss the fact that opposite trends are also apparent: that, in one way and another, by choice rather than sociological or economic compulsion, families are putting themselves together again. The one-child family is becoming conspicuously “dated.” As the size of the family increases, each child in it automatically has the experience of associating with brothers and sisters older or younger than himself. Families, moreover, are playing together again as units, and are working together on projects that center in the home. The much discussed “do it yourself movement” becomes, in most homes, a “do it together movement.” Further than this, the family *as a unit* is moving out into the community again. Increased church attendance on the part of the whole family is one sign of this. Another and different sign is that more and more adult education centers are introducing classes—from bird study to craft work—to which whole families are encouraged to come and for which special family rates are offered. The number of hotels and restaurants that now make special appeals to the family to come as a unit tells the same story.

Nor is it simply the individual family that is thus saying, in effect, that whom God has joined together, economic and social forces must not put asunder. What we might call the “community family” is also, unobtrusively, putting itself together again: as witness the number of groups in which adults voluntarily work with children and young people.

Waiting our turn at a drug store counter, one recent day, we heard someone back of us say to a companion, “I spent most of the weekend helping a bunch of small fry make radio sets.” The voice sounded so quietly satisfied with the project that we turned to look, and saw that the speaker was not himself too many years beyond the stage of being “small fry.” Who, we wondered, had most enjoyed the weekend: this boy who had lent his skill to a “bunch of small fry”—and who had, in the process, given himself a chance to do what he enjoyed doing—or the youngsters who were privileged to be with him, measuring themselves by the standard of his comparative maturity. We can be sure that the experience had been a happy one, and a sound one, for both. It had been a happy one because experiences built on interest, creativeness, and a will to learn can scarcely be otherwise.

We said earlier in this chapter that one role each of us must fulfill as long as he lives is that of being partly a child: if not an eager, searching, friendly child, then a timid, querulous, demanding one.

To the extent that we play fair with the child in ourselves we will know it to be right and natural to do two things: to make many occasions for being with those who are still young in years, and to enjoy the companionship of those who

have, in their adulthood, happily fused the childlike and the mature.

In James Stephens' *The Crock of Gold* we may remember, the woman chose to marry the old philosopher rather than either of two young suitors who had competed for her hand. So shocking was her choice to the young men that they put aside their differences and went to her together to ask her reason. She gave that reason: both of them, to her mind, were just tinkers going from place to place—absorbed with strictly practical concerns but with no eyes at all for the world around them. The philosopher, on the other hand, when she had met him had been walking along the road “looking for strange, high adventures”—and that was the sort of man to marry and spend a life with, no matter what his age might be.

To the unconvinced suitors, then, she put a question—a foolish-sounding question to literal minds: “When did either of you go out in the daylight looking for a god and you not caring what might happen to you or where you went?”

One suitor, answering for both, stated a plain, hardheaded view: that if you leave the gods alone, they'll leave you alone. But the woman saw through the answer: “I thought all along that you were a timid man. . . .”

We might take this incident as a kind of parable. The suitors were young. The philosopher was old. This difference between them was plain to see. But it took a discerning eye to discover what their behavior—even their way of walking along a road—told about them: that the suitors were already old men—old and rigid; but that the philosopher, ancient and scholarly, was young. He was young in the right way for a person to be young who is a grown-up member of the human species. In gaining his adult wisdom, he had not “unlearned” what a happy child knows: that there are fine, strange things to be found for the seeking; and that regardless of what is found, the search itself is fun.

The suitors, having repudiated the child within themselves, wanted only to feel assured that the gods would leave them alone. They did not want to be disturbed, confused, reminded of the rich disorderliness of life. But what the philosopher would most of all have feared was precisely that the gods might leave him alone: that he might stop being tantalized by the enigmatic make-up of things. Therefore, he had to take the initiative—going out as a child goes, with his mind on what there was to see rather than on what might happen to himself. The woman's wisdom in recognizing that he would be a good companion to walk with and think with about all sorts of things is the same wisdom that we show whenever we reach through to the perennial child in a fellow adult and let ourselves enjoy the creative, interested vitality of that child.

T W E L V E

BRIDGES BETWEEN MINDS

T A NEW YEAR'S EVE party, during the final hour of 1955, the usual prophecies were being made. Most of

them were routine affairs, to be spoken and forgotten. But one was to be remembered. One man said, "I predict that the talking of both solemn and bad-tempered nonsense will reach an all-time high in 1956."

Certain of his listeners demurred—one on the ground that it would be impossible for any year to outdo the one just past so far as the output of nonsense was concerned; another on the ground that we seemed to be recovering our national sanity and that our talk would gradually reflect this fact.

But the prophet stood firm: the product that would pour out in unrestricted abundance during the year ahead would be words that made no sense at all. He ticked off his reasons for saying so. It would be an election year. It would be a year when the most talked-about domestic issue would be desegregation. On the world front, it would be a year when preparations for a shooting war, while continued in every country, would take second place to verbal maneuverings in a cold war. Here at home, it would be a year when extremists of the right would increasingly find that their haphazard charges of Communism and pro-Communism were falling on skeptical ears—or bored ears; and when they would, therefore, in frightened desperation, find even more wildly nonsensical things to say than had been their recent stock in trade. In unbroken continuity with all recent years, it would be one in which so-called "moderates," infected by extremism, would provide their share of immoderate talk.

It would be, further, a year in which a great many people would misquote a great many others, or quote them out of context, and then roundly denounce them for saying what they did not, in fact, say, or for meaning what they did not, in fact, mean.

It would be one in which a number of vital issues would be elaborately evaded; in which vital facts would be withheld from the public behind an elaborate facade of frankness; and in which nonexistent unity would, at one point and another, be elaborately declared to exist.

It would be a year when the human race would continue being human—and therefore prone to substitute positiveness of tone for accuracy of knowledge, rationalizations for reasons, and rumors for facts. It would be a year in which most people would, when they encountered disagreement, raise their voices and multiply their words, instead of quieting down and trying to find out what was on the other person's mind. It would be a year in which most people would continue, as always, to distrust both themselves and others enough that they would do a great deal of talking to cover up, rather than to express, their actual thoughts and feelings. It would be an anxious year—and therefore one in which most of us, occasionally at least, would pour out words to ease the nervous strain of keeping still.

In addition to all these reasons, this prophet singled out certain specific issues that would be coming up before Congress and specific investigations that were shaping up that

seemed made to order for the talking of nonsense; and he singled out various individuals who, to his mind, could be relied upon to provide that talk.

If this man's prophecy had, in truth, applied to only one twelve-months span, we could just endure the flood of nonsense and then, when it had subsided, clean up after it and rebuild the washed-out bridges of understanding between minds. Unfortunately, however, the problem he thus dramatically posed is not bounded by the calendar. If we subtract a few incidentals—such as a presidential election—the “year” thus described is typical of the period in which we live: a period marked both by the enormous multiplication of words, spoken and written, and by a widespread irresponsibility toward the meaning of what is said and its long-range consequences.

We might take, here, just one sample of the sort of verbal nonsense our age produces: “The Kremlin has quietly recalled its top envoys in major Western capitals to discuss a new Soviet ‘peace offensive’ aimed at driving a wedge between the Western allies.”¹ Is that word we read in this sentence really

¹ A dispatch from London in *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, February 14, 1956.

the word “peace?” The reporter acknowledges with quotation marks that the customary meaning is not to be attached to it. We would scarcely say, for example, “Blessed are the peace makers, for they will aim to drive wedges between nations friendly to one another.”

Quotation marks have increasingly become, in the printed news of our day, a warning against treating familiar words as though they carried familiar meanings. But we cannot thus distinguish more than the smallest fraction of the ambiguities and misleading statements that are offered us as though they made good sense and were to be taken at face value. Few of us, moreover, are responsible enough, or free enough from self-deception, to put quotation marks around the nonsense we talk ourselves.

We have explored in earlier chapters the fact that each of us, moving around in a human environment, is a unit of mental and emotional influence. Each of us helps to establish the psychological atmosphere of every situation he enters. We do this, of course, not with our words alone or our manner of speaking them. Yet our words are important factors in determining the effect we have upon other people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Because we are human, one of our constant roles is that of being “talking animals”; and the closer we can come to making this role one of “sense-talking animals,” the better for ourselves and everyone around us.

“Communication . . . is a matter of interchange, of challenge and response in the human spirit.”¹ *A matter of inter-*

¹ F. Fraser Darling, “The Ecology of Man,” *The American Scholar*, Winter 1955–1956, p. 39.

change. . . . Here is one human being. There is another. They are obviously individual and separate. Yet we know

something can "spark" between them. There can be "challenge and response." What we call *understanding* can be aimed for—and sometimes achieved. It will not be complete understanding. But since we never completely understand even ourselves, and yet manage to live with ourselves, the fact that our understanding of one another—or of issues, problems, and situations—is at best approximate rather than total is not a fact that need make us despair.

If we wish, in an age like ours, to encourage the talking of sense rather than nonsense, how do we go about it? What are some of the sound and creative ways in which we can promote the human drama of *interchange*?

The new science of semantics aims to clarify questions like these from its own particular angle. It emphasizes the fact that what we call a common language is never, in truth, common to any two individuals who use it: experience always colors the meaning of words, and their emotional overtones. "What does a sentence say?—the thing the speaker had in mind or the thing the typical hearer gets?"¹

¹ I. A. Richards, *The Republic of Plato, In a New Version Founded on Basic English*, p. 10. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1942.

To make even an amateur's venture into the field of semantics is, we believe, to gain a lesson in humility and patience, and is at least to be persuaded that the individual who fails to hear in our words what we think we have put into them is not automatically proved thereby to be either a fool or deliberately obtuse. Also, semantics reminds us that the first hasty interpretation we put upon another's words is not necessarily fair or accurate—and that it is, at best, our interpretation, not his.

The approach we wish to use here, however, is not that of semantics. We wish, rather, to ask what any one of us, moving around within the atmosphere of our time as a total personality, can do to increase the likelihood that sense will triumph over nonsense—or will at least hold its own.

The practices that lead to mutual understanding must, of course, stem from an honest will to have such understanding prevail. They must reflect a preference for having our human relationships proceed along lines of constructive good will rather than destructive antagonism and mutual liquidation. This fact may seem too obvious to mention. Yet we believe that it needs to be not only mentioned, but underscored. For there is no major issue today that is not being tested for its explosive potential by those who, for personal or ideological reasons, would rather have us split up into irreconcilable camps than explore together the ways of practical give and take. If we permit such as these to reach with their calculated words our own latent unreasonablenesses—so that, in the name of all that is decent, we add our voices to the chorus of indecent nonsense—we are serving no good end, no matter how valiant we may like to think we are in behalf of a "good cause."

Assuming, however, that we would rather build bridges of understanding between minds than prevent their being

built—or blow up those that already exist—how do we start? What can we do?

We ourselves have come to a sort of trial-and-error conclusion that at least eight practices are worth trying. Our own experience has been that where we have grossly fumbled our human relationships, or missed a chance to make them more happily sound, it has usually been because we have slipped up on one or another—or several—of these practices. And we believe that there have been many other occasions when even our imperfect and sometimes tardy practice of them has proved their value. Thus we have come to feel that, prosy as they may sound, and awkwardly as we may enact them at times, they constitute in this age of ready fears and angers, "the only wall/Between us and the dark."¹

¹ Mark Van Doren, "Wit," in *Collected Poems 1922-1938*, p. 241. New York: Henry Holt and Company. Copyright by Mark Van Doren, 1939.

The first practice is simply that of moderation where powder keg problems are concerned. This means, first of all, that we must disabuse ourselves of the strangely prevalent notion that the person who takes a temperate, exploratory, middle course with regard to an issue is hedging on it. One of the oldest and most tempting errors to which we humans are prone is that of identifying strength with a quick, unyielding readiness to take sides: which means, in effect, a readiness to see all issues as having two mutually exclusive sides, the right and the wrong.

We call this error a tempting one for several reasons. For one thing, it lets us cut short our hesitant, often clumsy processes of thought and move into action, which gives us a chance to see ourselves as decisive rather than indecisive. It also lets us release whatever physical and emotional tensions we may have built up. It puts the stamp of righteousness upon our hostile feelings. And further than this, the taking of sides is one of the easiest methods known of getting a firm sense of belonging.

The individual who elects the way of moderation, exploration, and, if possible, reconciliation where issues that induce ready angers and partisanship are concerned has to contend with enemies within and without—and on all sides.

The enemies within are subtle but none the less present: the weariness of dealing with complexity rather than simplicity; the self-doubtings that go with being told that one is evading an issue, sitting on the fence, trying to play safe, afraid to stand up and be counted; and, not least, the loneliness and often the practical disadvantage of being an outsider, caught in the cross fire between two camps and a favored target of both.

The enemies without are various. Some of them may be "friendly enemies" who make him feel that he rightly belongs on their side: that he has let them down; disappointed them; weakened the "cause." Others are enemies plain and simple—the most dangerous of them being those who thrive on conditions of blind conflict and who do not intend to let the exploring mind be described in any save derogatory terms.

Our very tradition and the structure of our society seem designed at times to discourage any effort we make to treat problems whole rather than to treat them as being made up of this side and that: our side and theirs. Politically, we make a decision between parties and vote for or against candidates and proposals. Thus, a bill that is to be voted on may contain elements we approve and other elements we disapprove; or it may have riders attached to it that are almost irrelevant to the original bill and even distasteful to its framers. Yet in the end, the only way to vote is for or against. A mixed proposition, in brief, has to be treated, here, as a two-sided proposition.

The notion that partisanship is the way of strength is encouraged by the practical fact that political bipartisanship is always a brief and unstable expedient, while the two-party system is of the very essence of our structure; and by the further fact that those we call "Independents" are independent only in the sense that they have to be wooed by both parties right up to the time of an election—at which time they will choose one to support.

When it comes to dealing with social and economic problems, we find again that our customary ways of talking are those that split the human race up into sides and that tend to ignore common ground between the sides: labor-management; North-South; rural-urban.

The individual who, when an issue comes up, wants to state as fairly as he can the truths that are on both sides and the problems that are common problems may even find that he is firmly reprimanded in phrases borrowed from our religious tradition: "He that is not with me is against me" . . . "No man can serve two masters. . . ." Thus put on the spot, he is likely to become self-defensive rather than properly amused at the assumption that the confused human issue he is trying to look at whole is, in its present and specific form, one on which God has taken sides.

Almost any situation we have to deal with is a mixed one. It is mixed both in the causes that have brought it about and in the values it embodies. This is true in as ordinary a case as that of a child's saying "No" to a parental ruling. It is no less true, certainly, where the issue is desegregation, foreign aid, national sovereignty, States' rights, or the control of nuclear weapons.

At any given moment, and with regard to any given problem, we human beings move not in a two-dimensional reality called *here and now*, but in a three-dimensional reality, the third and deepest dimension of which is the past that lies behind the here and now. That past holds countless acts of wisdom and foolishness; countless efforts to solve immediate problems of survival and well-being; and countless mixed motives. Yet each person who lives in the present has been so related to that past through his personal experiences that certain aspects of *things as they now are* seem to him obviously right and natural and others obviously wrong.

The extremist mind always tries to exploit established habits and attitudes, vested interests, traditions, and deep loyalties of individuals and groups so that they will be defended as absolutely rather than partially right.

The far more exacting and lonely tactic of the moderating mind has to be one of *respecting* the established habits and attitudes, vested interests, traditions, and deep loyalties of individuals and groups on both sides of a given issue; and yet, at the same time, *inviting* those on both sides to think of these as able to be modified: as partly, rather than absolutely, right; as products of human history rather than of "nature."

When we say, then, that the first practice called for by the will to encourage mutual understanding and workable relationships, in an age like ours, is that of moderation, we are offering no counsel of weakness: no invitation to play safe. We are speaking of what we take to be the hardest of human enterprises—and yet one which is indispensable if an atmosphere in which problems can be solved is to be created and maintained.

A second practice is that of putting our minds at the disposal of others before we pass definitive judgment upon their words and actions. However we may phrase it to fit a specific occasion, the question we must learn to ask of one another comes down to this: "How does the situation look from where you stand?"

Pontius Pilate stands condemned in history because he asked a great question—"What is truth?"—and "waited not for an answer." In this age of many issues, involving people of many different backgrounds and many different stakes in the current scene, we may stand condemned in our turn unless we are willing to ask, before passing judgment, "What is *your* truth?"—and be patient enough to wait for an answer.

A third principle is that of trying to put our own experience and particularly our own specialized knowledge into words that can be understood—so that whatever of worth we have to offer stands a chance of being received.

Many centuries ago, Paul spoke cautionary terms to those whose religious expression took the form of "speaking in tongues":

"... except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air. 2

Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret."¹

¹ I Corinthians, XIV, 9, 13.

Precisely because our civilization today is complex rather than simple, and because it has been enriched by many different kinds of specialized knowledge, each with its own technical language, we all seem to one another, at times, to be "speaking in tongues." Each of us, moreover, at the very time when he is speaking at the top level of his knowledge, is likely to have, again and again, the sudden frustrated feel-

ing that he is speaking "into the air."

The temptation, when this occurs, is to retreat into the company of those who talk our specialized language and to give up trying to make ourselves understood by people at large. This is no true solution to the problem, however—for it simply means that the contribution we might make if our knowledge and skill could become part of the common climate of opinion remains unmade. Also, there are two specific dangers: first, that we will underestimate the intelligence and undervalue the experience of those who do not understand our particular knowledge and skill; and second, that they, put on the defensive by their inability to understand, will brand our knowledge as either impractical or dangerous.

While it is inevitable, then, that we must often speak in an "unknown tongue" if we are in any sense an expert, we need, as Paul observed, to pray that we "may interpret"—and to work hard enough at the job of interpretation that gives our best knowledge and insights a fair chance to make a dent on the human situation.

A fourth principle can best be stated negatively. It is that of not using "loaded" words: words that beg the issue, bypass the mind to reach raw emotions, or needlessly put other people on the spot, and therefore on the defensive.

We ourselves, years ago, became acutely conscious of what we called "horn and halo words." The adult education movement was, at that time, setting up all sorts of experimental groups for the exchange of ideas across lines of difference and disagreement. Forums, round tables, symposiums, panels—these were springing up all over the continent.

Taking part in many such groups, we became aware of how often potential understanding was blocked because one person or another could not resist using his favorite "label" words—bestowing a halo upon attitudes and causes he favored or attaching horns to those he opposed.

We became aware, also, of how often words were used as a kind of soothing syrup—to smooth over differences or to pretend that agreements had been reached when nothing of the sort had taken place. Thus, in situations set up to encourage the exchange of ideas, words were employed to establish a pseudo-benign atmosphere in which honest talk was smothered and all vigorous disagreements were made to seem like rowdy disturbers of the peace.

There are, we all know, a host of ways in which words can usurp the place of thought. One man of our acquaintance uses the term "semantic sabotage" to describe the dubious art of making legitimate practices seem illegitimate by applying to them odious labels that automatically alienate people. He notes, for example, that in the field of security investigations the word "informer"—long associated with the shady practices of the talebearer and stool pigeon—has been planted in the public mind with such calculated effect that it has

crowded out the word "informant," which carries no such dubious connotation. Thus, a vital distinction has been wiped out: that between the responsible citizen who, because he is a citizen, puts at the command of duly constituted authorities such factual information as he believes they should rightly have for the safeguarding of the common welfare, and, on the other hand, the irresponsible or self-seeking individual who makes a trade of talebearing or puts other people on the spot solely to save his own skin.

With this distinction well-nigh obliterated, all official efforts to dig out information about conspiratorial and subversive activities are made to seem shady practices; and the responsible citizen is hard put to it not to feel guilty if he helps them to their appointed job by giving them relevant facts that are at his command:

A second example of "semantic sabotage" is the use of the phrase "Fifth Amendment Communist." Here it is not the work of a specific arm of government that is sabotaged, but the Constitution itself. However much we may deplore the many instances of cynical, obstructive, or misguided resort to the Fifth Amendment, we can scarcely remain unconcerned about this verbal alienation of the public mind from one of the basic legal safeguards of our tradition.

It is not to be expected that even the most responsible among us will wholly refrain from the use of "loaded" terms. We are creatures of emotion—and would be a tepid lot if we were otherwise. Being creatures of emotion, we use words and phrases that are charged with emotion: use them for good and ill. But if we wish to build bridges of understanding between minds in a time when misunderstandings come easily and cut deep, we do well to watch our words. There seems no point in our using them to dig unbridgable chasms where bridges are called for.

The fifth principle is that of crediting other people with the capacity to understand the best we have to offer; and therefore of putting this best at their disposal.

We ourselves learned a great deal on this score from one wise and valued friend: Father Jimmy Tompkins of Nova Scotia. This dedicated priest, living and working among poverty-stricken lobster fishermen, felt that no ideas he had in his own mind or could dig up from the human tradition were too good for the hard-working men and women of his parish. He hoped to inspire these people to build their own co-operatives: to raise themselves by their own bootstraps. To this end, he wanted them to think beyond their immediate hardships and get some dramatic sense of what it means to be a member of society and cope with its problems. Therefore—to his mind a wholly logical *therefore*—he introduced them to Plato's *Republic*.

Was this basic text of our western civilization so far beyond the grasp of these "ignorant" folk in an isolated coastal region that the offering of it was a quixotic gesture? One answer to that question came our way later; it was an eyewitness

ness account of how a crew of these folk, working on a road building job, took turns reading Plato aloud while they sat eating lunch at the side of the road. Perhaps another answer is more tangible: the solid co-operative movement that has raised the economic level of the whole area, with its accompanying adult education movement.

Had Emerson and Father Jimmy ever crossed paths, they would, we think, have understood each other. For we recall how Emerson lent his copy of *The Republic* to a neighboring farmer who said, upon returning it, "That book has a great many of my ideas."

Plato, of course, was not the only thinker whom Father Jimmy introduced to his parishioners. He had a habit, when he dropped in at some fisherman's cottage, of leaving on the kitchen table some book or magazine article or perhaps a clipping from the daily paper. "I wish you'd read this," he would say, "and let me know what you think about it next time I come."

We remember, from some years back, one prominent author's statement that if a book of his was widely read, he would doubt that it was much good. Contempt for the average human being's capacity to understand is not often so openly stated. It is, however, we have come to believe, dangerously widespread. It even taints the thoughts and behaviors of many who urgently defend the very institutions of freedom that have no ultimate defense except our abiding faith in man's capacity for self-government.

It is, of course, always tempting to believe that when our ideas do not get across to someone the fault lies in his incapacity to grasp them. It is tempting, also, to play safe by keeping most of our back-and-forth talk with other people on the level of the flippant or the obvious. But we have learned, when we feel thus tempted, to remember Father Jimmy—and other people we have known, and other people back through history, who have dared to believe that the best they had to offer was none too good for a fellow human being. Holding to the faith implanted in us by our contact with such as these, we have found it altogether right and natural, on more occasions than we can count, to talk of poetry, philosophy, psychology—or whatever we are caring most about—with people who might be supposed to have no interest in these things. Therefore, because of these occasions, we know what we know: that *the best bridges of understanding between minds are built out of the best materials those minds possess.*

The sixth principle is that of firmly declining to accept evasion or elaborate nonsense when we have a right to know the facts.

The citizen of a democracy, after all, is or should be a thinking creature. One of his perennial tasks is to get hold of the sort of information on which sound judgments can be based. He must refuse, therefore, to be put off with shabby half-

truths or with claims that security requires the withholding of answers to his questions.

We spoke above of the intellectual arrogance of those who do not put to the test the average person's capacity to understand because this is arbitrarily assumed to be inadequate. Here, we must note a corresponding arrogance on the part of various public administrators who adopt toward the average citizen the attitude that "papa knows best" and that "children should be seen and not heard."

With all proper respect for the successful business man or industrialist, and for his famed capacity to meet a payroll and produce the goods, we are forced to wonder many times, these days, whether his characteristic way of going at problems is what we most need in government. Within the economic world, the managerial mind deals with the human majority as *labor force* or as *consuming public*, but not, for the most part, as a body of individuals who have both a duty and a right to be in on the making or evaluating of policy decisions. Unless we misread what is happening, the citizenry today is far too often being treated as *consuming public*. "Goods"—in this case, policy—are to be produced in its behalf, properly advertised, and distributed. Public opinion polls are rated as useful in determining whether or not the goods are acceptable and the advertising successful—and also to get hints for new marketable products. But when citizens ask questions proper to their role as citizens—questions that the sound political mind would know at once to be legitimate and deserving of answers—the business mind in government seems often to be moved to impatience as though workers or customers were invading the managerial domain.

If we are to bring understanding to bear upon the problems of our time, and to carry our proper responsibility for the solution of those problems, we have to recover the art of asking questions of those in public office—and making sure, before we take *No* for an answer, that there is a better reason than the administrator's convenience for that answer's being *No* and not *Yes*. For just to the extent that we let ourselves be put off with half-answers or none, or simply abdicate our citizen role and let the administrators take it over, we ourselves will talk nonsense about what is going on and will simply add to the general confusion.

In the seventh place—and this can be briefly stated—there is the principle of making practical arrangements for mutual understanding.

One of the most profound arts, we believe, in the whole field of human relations is that of making it unnecessary for people to take stands for reasons of self-defense, which they then find hard to change for reasons of pride. Further than this, we believe that one of the best ways of practicing this art is to anticipate problems that are likely to divide people into warring camps and to set up machinery for "peaceful negotiation."

In one situation, this may mean the establishing of a family council; in another, the establishing of a labor-management board to adjudicate grievances; in yet another, the establishing of the United Nations. No machinery of this sort will function perfectly—particularly if it is set up, as in the case of the United Nations, to deal with problems around which ancient fears, hostilities, and loyalties already cluster. But the principle is sound: it is, in essence, that of letting people attach their self-respect to processes of mutual understanding rather than to those of proud “stand-pattism.”

Finally, there is the principle of keeping still when adding to the talk would only add to the confusion. A great many human issues are made needlessly hard to resolve by the fact that nobody seems able or willing to keep still about them.

We do not recall, now, either the name or author of a magazine story in which, years ago, we encountered a certain schoolboy whom the other youngsters called Piggy; but we do remember a one-sentence description of him: “Piggy just couldn’t not talk.” Piggy, we are often inclined to feel, was a fairly typical human being. In any event, most of us miss a great many perfectly good chances to keep still.

Silence—not sullen or aloof silence, but simply one which gives things time to work out—can be of prime importance where powder keg issues are concerned. Wherever a problem to which old prides and angers are attached becomes, for one or another reason, an open issue, we can be fairly sure of two things: that the first impulsive statements made about it will express hair trigger emotions rather than considered thought, and will therefore sound intemperate; and that the answering statements sparked off by these will go them one better.

There is thus started, many times, a process that no one seems able to stop. As energies are focused for fight and flight, charges and countercharges are likely to form a mounting spiral; and this spiral may become that of a destructive cyclone if those who might well remain bystanders—or better yet, go quietly on about their business—feel obligated to join in the talk. Blessed, on such occasions, is the person who knows how to stay out of the fray; and even more blessed is he who knows how to give others a self-respecting chance to drop the subject and allow time and silence to do their healing work before talk is resumed.

Most people who have “blown their top” will, after a cooling-off period, return to an issue with more restraint—and more sense of long-range consequences—than they showed in their first emotional responses to it. But if no cooling-off period is offered them—and offered in terms acceptable to their angry pride—they may well, like the duelist we met in the first chapter of this book, end up committed to killing or being killed. One of the ways in which we can extend to others, in time of crisis, a chance to cool off is by simply keeping still ourselves—or, sometimes, by moving the talk toward the silence of thinking things over by making our remarks brief and quiet rather than inflammatory.

These eight ways, then, of encouraging understanding in an age of many destructive misunderstandings—and of trying to be on the side of sense rather than nonsense—seem to us worth trying. They will not always work; but they work well enough and often enough to justify the effort they take.

T H I R T E E N

OUR BASIC HUMAN ROLE

LIFE GETS confused unless we have some deep sense of what it is about. Here we differ from all other living creatures. The acorn does not get confused about what it is intended to be. Naturally and “unthinkingly” it grows into an oak—which is its proper destiny. For fifty, a hundred, a hundred and fifty years, it acts out its role of oak tree and makes no mistake about it.

This is the way of nature’s unthinking creatures. It is not the way of man. Man has mysteriously been granted the ability to think as part of his equipment; and thought has played the devil with him. Eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, as the Bible story reports it, he gave up his “innocence”—an innocence like that of the acorn—and took on the confused sophistication of the thinking and evaluating creature.

Nevertheless, like every other living creature, man has his own role to play—that of being, not a tree or oyster or lion or whatever, but a human being. Although he has a role to play—a form to grow into, a function to carry out—he is unlike every other creature in the fact that he does not grow into this role naturally, by just staying alive long enough. He has to decide for himself what his own basic role is; and he can be mistaken about the nature of his own nature.

Here is where our chief troubles have arisen. We have been as confused about ourselves, often—as uncertain about what our human nature is and what it requires of us—as an acorn would be if it were not sure whether its proper destiny was to be an oak or a cabbage.

We have already spoken of what happens when we are confused about particular roles in our lives: when we mistake bad ones for good, or get our roles crossed. But we are most deeply of all at odds with ourselves and our situation when, being human, we do not know what it basically means to be human—what this demands of us and also grants us.

Our basic human role may be distinguished from all the sub-roles we play—“doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief”—by its defining, so to speak, the *supreme context* within which we act out all our other roles. It is the framework within which we operate. Held within this framework, we are precluded from doing a lot of things other creatures are able to do—manufacturing chlorophyll for example; but also we are enabled to do things that other creatures cannot possibly do—analyzing chlorophyll, for example; or being just and merciful; walking humbly in the presence of the mysteries; building cities and symphonies.

It is deeply important, then, that we find out as best we can what is true about ourselves. It is deeply tragic when we get a completely wrong slant on ourselves—and distort ourselves and our environment in the process of acting out this wrong conception.

In this respect our history has been a mixed one. All sorts of assumptions have been made about our human nature, from the vaunting one that we are only a little lower than the angels, to the disparagingly pessimistic one—grown persuasive in our day—that we are just plain low.

Our human behavior, we have come to know, reflects what we think about ourselves. The child who has learned to think of himself as stupid, acts stupidly; while the child who has been helped to think of himself as competent and able to become still more competent regards learning as a privilege. We thus become, by and large, what we conceive ourselves as able to become. If, then, we have been taught to think about our common human nature in mistaken ways, we can be fairly sure that we will also have learned to act in mistaken ways: ways that involve us in destructive inner and outer conflict.

For some four hundred years, now, we of the western world have had our minds and actions shaped by a number of views about our human nature that we now need very seriously to reappraise. Not everyone, to be sure, who has lived in these centuries has been consciously shaped by these views. Most people, in fact, have known nothing about them. Nevertheless, even these unknowing ones have lived in a world where those who have known and believed these views have been able to create institutions and relationships after their pattern. Thus, even the unknowing ones have not been unaffected. The world they have lived in has been one variously made in the image of beliefs that have, in one serious way after another, misjudged human nature and given it wrong roles to play.

We begin with Macchiavelli. We may think that because he has long since departed this world, we need not trouble ourselves about what he thought and wrote. But the "evil that men do lives after them"; and the Macchiavellian conception of our human nature still plays a part in our lives. It is particularly prevalent in the realm of political practice; and, exerting more force than we commonly realize, it has subtly blocked the efforts of less cynical people to establish generous and honest practices.

The Macchiavellian view of human nature was a simple one: distrust it. "If men were all good," he wrote, "this precept [of not keeping faith] would not be a good one, but as they are bad and could not observe their faith with you, so you are not bound to keep your faith with them." It was as simple as that.

Although this sentence of his was written in the 16th century, it still controls the minds of many. Its aim was to direct the attention of those in positions of power "away from an

ideal world of truth and justice to the 'real' world of power, aggression and untruth. . . ." ¹

¹ Barbara Ward, *Faith and Freedom*, p. 114. New York: W. W. Norton, and Company, 1954.

The role that Macchiavelli thus indicated for the human being who was to "do" things—count for something, exert authority, make himself felt, not be a human cipher—was that of wary watchfulness, clever deception, and ingenious counterattack. He found no place in our basic human nature for confidence in one another and a willing effort to work together.

In the 18th century, Barbara Ward reminds us, some limits were still placed upon the Macchiavellian roles in international politics. Diplomacy was conducted "under a sort of umbrella of decency. There were degrees of lying and treachery that lay beyond the accepted limit." It was not until the coming of the totalitarian state, in our own time, that the "boundless lying and limitless bad faith" implicit in the Machiavellian view were openly practiced. "Then the moderate Macchiavellians of the type of Mr. Neville Chamberlain . . . were completely bewildered and defeated by the total Macchiavellian Hitler, who announced the end of his territorial ambitions in one breath and his new claims in the next." Today, we witness the Macchiavellian cynicism of Russian propaganda "in which to invade is to 'liberate,' to exploit is to 'reconstruct,' and to 'seek peace' is to arm to the teeth." ¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

In Macchiavellianism, in short, our major human role is defined as one of *unlimited* mutual distrust and deception. The total Macchiavellians of our time have rendered the perverse service of making unmistakably clear the catastrophic but hitherto half-concealed logic of such a view. If mutual good will and the keeping of faith have no basis in human nature, then the enactment of them is unnatural; while the repudiation of them is natural: the more complete the repudiation, the better.

Most of us have been horrified by *total* Macchiavellianism. Nothing like this was envisioned by even our most cynical and self-seeking definitions of political "realism." Yet we dare not miss the fact that the total Macchiavellians were able to consolidate their power to a point where they could venture to impose it, first upon their own people, and then upon one nation after another—with world conquest in view—precisely because countless "moderate Macchiavellians" were not deeply shocked by either their philosophy or their tactics until these had found immoderate expression—and had done immoderate, irreparable harm.

Out of the 17th century came Thomas Hobbes's forthright invitation to think "realistically," not "sentimentally," about ourselves. What he had to say about us does not make pretty reading. In our natural state, he declared—that is, in our essential nature—we are incurable egoists, each unwill-

ing to give up one iota of what he wants. In that natural state there is "continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."¹ Our

¹ *Leviathan*, Chapter 13.

only hope lies in our surrendering some part of our egocentric willfulness to a strong government—*Leviathan*, he called it. Only thus, according to his view, can our living together be made tolerable. Nothing can make it happy. To make it even tolerable is an accomplishment: an accomplishment only possible for a government strong enough to force us to restrain our natural egocentricity.

According to Hobbes, in short, we are, at the core of our being, incurably unsocial. Everything we do is done for ourselves: ourselves as separate from all other selves. Even when we seem to enjoy one another, or to commiserate with one another, we are still only self-concerned. Thus, pity for others, he declared, is no disinterested emotion. Pity expresses our imagining that a similar calamity may some day befall ourselves. Laughter is a "sudden glory" caused either by some act of our own that pleases us, or by our seeing in someone else some deformity that we are glad is not ours. Most amazingly, in his quaint idiom, he disposes of "disinterested jollity:" "All pleasure and jollity of mind consists in this, even to get someone with whom comparing it may find somewhat wherein to triumph and vaunt itself."¹

¹ *De Cive*, I, 2, 51.

Here is a theory of the complete, ineradicable self-centeredness of human nature. Hobbes could not see us as *outgrowing* our infant egoisms by *growing into* relationships. In his view, the human being is destined to remain throughout life as incapable of genuine mutuality as he is at birth. He prescribed strong government, therefore, to keep us in livable relation to one another.

If we listen carefully to his words, they have a not unfamiliar sound. Hobbes's theory of how to deal with man's untamed propensity to "deviate" in his own egocentric behalf finds application, today, in totalitarian regimentation. Millions upon millions of people are being held in line "for their own good" by governments that place small trust in human nature except as it is thus firmly held in line and made to be what it would not be of its own accord.

The names multiply as we move into the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Rousseau; the pseudo-Darwin (that is, the popular misconception of Darwin's ideas); Karl Marx; the Freud of *Civilization and Its Discontents*; Mussolini, Hitler, Lenin, Stalin: all of these were powerful voices; and all of them, in one way or another, outraged our human nature.

It goes against the grain a little to put Rousseau into company with these others; for he seems, at first blush, to be overgenerous rather than under-generous toward our human selves. It is not until we take a deeper look at what he had to say that we note its paradoxical character. He was indeed generous toward our infant nature and child nature; but not toward our nature in its maturity.

For Hobbes, as we have seen, government was a necessary evil—made necessary by the evil inherent in human nature. For Rousseau, government was just plain evil—for human nature was inherently good. What man must do, according to Rousseau, was to find his way back to what we might call a pre-governmental stage. He must rediscover his “natural,” uncontaminated self. He must obliterate the society that had turned the good “child of nature” into evil man distorted by law and government. Only after the going society was overthrown, could the good society be built from the ground up, in the image of man’s natural self. So came the Revolution, the overthrow of the old regime—and the Reign of Terror.

If we put Hobbes and Rousseau side by side, we see that neither thought of society as a product of man’s maturing. For Hobbes it was something necessarily imposed upon man’s intractable egocentricities. For Rousseau it was something arbitrarily imposed—and destructively imposed—upon a nature that would have been good without it. For neither of them was society *man himself in the slow, difficult process of growing up*.

For millions of people throughout the world, Charles Darwin, almost overnight, came to mean “struggle for existence” and “survival of the fittest.” A new bloody vision of life was thus introduced to the mind of man: “nature red in tooth and claw.” The world, it suddenly appeared, was not the dwelling place of God but a gigantic battlefield where life struggled frantically against life, intent not to be crowded out.

This new view came just in the nick of time to ease the consciences of those who were moving in on the new Industrial Revolution. Sympathy, compunction, justice, mercy—particularly mercy—could now be catalogued as sentimental, unscientific. Life was a grim business of fighting for survival; and the fact of survival was proof of “fitness.” Darwin had established it to be so; and man in his brief day had to treat it so.

The tragedy was that Darwin himself had never meant this; and in justice to the great naturalist, many have come to call this hasty, sanguinary view *pseudo-Darwinism*. Darwin, in fact, in contrast to Hobbes, saw man as possessed innately of “social instincts”: a “will from the first . . . to aid his fellows, and some feeling for sympathy.” As man’s “sympathies became more tender and widely diffused—so,” he wrote in his *Descent of Man*, “would the standard of his morality rise higher and higher.” Then he wrote this climactic passage which should make all pseudo-Darwinians rub their eyes in astonishment: “The social instincts . . . naturally lead to the Golden Rule, ‘As ye would that men should do to you, do ye to them likewise;’ and this lies at the foundation of morality.”¹

¹ *Descent of Man*, pp. 99; 101–102.

But to recall what Darwin actually meant does not help

us to obliterate what he came to mean. What he came to mean, and what he still means to uncounted numbers of human beings, is that since Nature is "red in tooth and claw," man is also justified in being bestial. He is, to be sure, born without claws; but he is suitably ingenious in inventing substitutes.

A great evolutionary insight thus became falsified into a psychological and social untruth. There are many today who still live under the shadow of this untruth—who conceive of life as "naturally" an endless, brutal struggle to survive; and who shape in the image of this conception their own practices and such institutions as they influence.

Karl Marx was another who falsified life. He, too, saw it as endless struggle: struggle not between individuals, however, but between economic classes. Inevitably his view pointed toward and "sanctified" one social tactic: the fight of class against class until there should emerge, in the end, a classless society.

Had Lenin not taken over this bitter class struggle philosophy for his own revolutionary purposes, it might have died a natural death; or it might have lived on for the modicum of truth it contained. But Lenin turned what might otherwise have been the words of a passing book, by a passing philosopher, into a permanent directive for the Revolution. The book became the Revolution's Bible; its utterances those of a Savior. This, then, was the tragedy: that a too limited and embittered view of our human nature and society was made into a religion for mankind.

Finally, there was the Sigmund Freud of *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Freud's influence upon our time has been immense—and rightly so. He has made us see with new eyes more clearly and deeply into our own make-up than we ever saw before. Yet there were places where Freud's eyes saw not so clearly.

He, too, underestimated man's social nature and misconceived man's social role. Like Hobbes, he saw man in essence—that is, in his instinctive life—as a creature of complete egocentricity. He saw him as born with "instinctual freedom," but coming to the point where he had to curb his instincts. He did this not of his own free will, however. Society compelled him to do it.

Civilization, in short, as Freud conceived it, "is built on renunciation of instinctual gratifications. This *cultural deprivation* dominates the whole field of social relations between human beings." And this, in effect, said Freud, is why civilization makes us "discontented." It diminishes our liberty. "The liberty of the individual is not the benefit of culture. It was greatest before that culture."¹

¹ *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Chapter III.

"The liberty of the individual . . . was greatest before that culture." Here we find the root of the error that is common to practically all the thinkers we have mentioned: the error that makes us conceive of ourselves as at our happiest *when*

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we are doing as we please, freed of any relationship to others of obligation or even of concern.

In spite of the depth of his new insights, Freud was unable to pass beyond the view of the human individual as in essence a *separate* being. He could not see in each individual the greater life struggling to release itself—the life in and with others; the life in and with the living whole of life.

We need scarcely mention here the monstrously self-deceived deceivers of the 20th century—Mussolini, Hitler, Lenin, Stalin. One and all, they were the proponents of the partial life, the bitter and embattled life, the life of mutual hate and intrigue. The role of Mankind's Savior that each created for himself has, in the deepest sense, shown itself to be the role of Mankind's Destroyer.

quote

When we look back at these views, we can be rightly appalled at their psychological poverty and distortion. No one of them described man in the full range of his possibilities. Not one of them conceived of him as a creature with the power to *grow up*—psychologically and socially as well as physically. Each of them saw him, and persisted in seeing him, only on the level of his most infantile psychological and social powers.

Obviously, we need something better than this as a view of ourselves if we are to play a decent human role; and there seems fair hope that we may be getting it. Long before any of these voices was heard, another voice described us as members one of another. Considering all the derogatory things that have been said about us since, must we now regard that voice as "quaint," "outdated," "naive"? We would say not—and for what seems to us a good reason: other voices have come into the world in our time—more recent than those of Macchiavelli or Hobbes, Marx or even Freud; and these voices are saying, once more, that we are members one of another.

This is, in fact, the psychological news of our time. Through studies of the growth process, we have learned enough about ourselves to come to this old-new conclusion. As psychologists have studied human beings from infancy on, they have been moved by the evidence of their own researches to call one fact undeniable: namely, that from the very beginning of life, the human being seeks to belong—to be enfolded, accepted, made a member of. He thrives in the degree that his growing self is enmeshed with other selves. This enmeshing does not mean for him an engulfing. It does not mean a losing of the self, or a diminishing of the self. It means for the individual the chance to live *with, by, and later for* others; and to become more fully himself in the process than he ever could be as an isolated unit.

In brief, the human individual has the inner need and urgency to become more than an infantile, egocentric self. To the extent that he is forced to remain only himself—as is the rejected or completely isolated child—he does not become himself. He grows into a distorted caricature of what

he might have been. He becomes not happily instinctual, but a creature of fears, distrusts, hostilities, and despairs.

Marcus Aurelius—anticipating this insight by some nineteen centuries—once wrote, “We are made for cooperation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids. . . .” In spite of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Karl Marx, the pseudo-Darwinians and the rest, there is in us, so we have now learned to believe, the basic need to *be with*, *work with*, and *enjoy with*. We are, in very essence, social.

James Oppenheim instructed us, in his poem *Brotherhood*, “If you want to find your brothers, find yourself.”¹ The op-

¹ James Oppenheim, “Brotherhood,” in *Collected Poems*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

posite instruction would be equally valid: if you want to find yourself, find your brothers.

Deeply and persistently, we have come to realize, the individual seeks himself in and through others—works with them; creates with them: builds houses, families, churches, schools, cities. He dreams his dreams with them and tries to make their common dreams come true. When the individual thus “joins the human race,” he does not, we find, lessen himself. Rather, he makes himself greater. Now he really has freedom—not the freedom of his small, insistent desires—but the freedom of moving into company with, of being part of, of having power added to his own power, of living for others and liking the immense expansiveness of it.

“There is only one passion which satisfies man’s need to unite himself with the world and to acquire at the same time a sense of integrity and individuality,” writes Erich Fromm, “and this is love.”² This may sound like sentimental language

² Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society*, p. 31. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1955.

to come out of a tough-minded, modern field of research. Yet this is the kind of language that competent psychiatrists more and more insist upon using. They accept love—not egoism and not hostility—as the central dynamic of life. “Love,” Fromm continues, “is union with somebody, or something, *outside oneself, under the condition of retaining the separateness and integrity of oneself*. It is an experience of sharing, of communion, which permits the full unfolding of one’s inner activities.”¹

¹ *Ibid.*

Love thus turns out to be a way of giving up our separate individuality and, at the same time, getting more of it than we ever had before. Love of wife, child, friend: these, we know, make us greater, not less; for they make the frame of our life more expansive, inviting us to use our powers to take into account more of reality than our own instinctual urges. Love of our work; of exploring; of finding out; of getting to the root of a problem; of appreciating work well done: these bring new life to us—for each, again, gives us an expanded world in which to be ourselves.

This is the paradox that the theorists of egocentricity never rightly understood: that we get more by giving more—of

ourselves. If we do not give, we dry up; shrink; peter out. The giving of ourselves means not a subtracting but an adding. "Love thy neighbor" or "Love your work" or "Love the natural world around you"—or "Love thine enemy"—means, then, not a deprivation of freedom, a reluctant giving up of the desirable and desired. It means an increase of freedom; an enriching of experience.

The most revealing words, in the above passage from Fromm, are in the final sentence: the experience of union with someone or something outside oneself, he reminds us, is one "which permits the full unfolding of one's inner activity." What has this unfolding of ourselves revealed?

Primarily, it has revealed that in essence we are social, not egoistic. We start as little egoists—for the good reason that nothing outside the self has as yet become real to the infant *through the experience of relationship*: of reciprocity. But as we mature—if we do—we cease being sheer egoists and enter into mutually supportive patterns of give and take. We enter into these, moreover, with enjoyment rather than by compulsion.

True, as we noted in an earlier chapter, there is always a residual child—and to some extent, a little egoist—within the human adult. Yet where maturing has happily taken place, this "child" is creative, exploratory, and friendly—not primarily egocentric and willful.

To say, then, as did Hobbes, that this intractable, egocentric creature, man, must have a strong government imposed upon him because he would otherwise be wholly ungoverned begins to seem like nonsense. It does not agree with the observable behavior of the sound human being engaged in the business of growing up. Man is, rather, a being who astonishingly, and often magnificently, *creates government out of himself*.

Government as *he creates it* ministers to his own societal make-up: it provides the frame for both order and mutuality. To live within such a frame of government does not go against his nature—providing the rules are reasonable enough not to threaten his integrity as an individual.

We have just come across an article that makes this fact almost pathetically clear. In *My Child Lives Again*, Helen Moak writes of how she and her husband rescued their little daughter from "a dim and speechless world of emotional disorder after the doctors had given her up."¹ She tells what love

¹ Helen Moak, "My Child Lives Again," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 14, 1956, p. 56.

did to release the small child from a "shell of loneliness and nightmare terror" into the beginnings of normal, happy life.

For our present purposes, the point of this moving story lies in the mother's description of how, in spite of the fact that virtually all discipline had to be abandoned for "many, many months," the child's feeling for self-discipline—and also for the discipline of the family's and society's rules—unfolded as she began to return to normal health.

For months it was absolutely necessary to let the child do utterly as she pleased, so shattered was her whole nervous system. It might be thought that this would have been the complete undoing of the child: that she would have become not only a child without speech but also a hopelessly spoiled brat; and that the time would surely have come when firm discipline would have had to be clamped down upon her for her own good—and to make her even tolerable to have around.

Yet here is what happened. "With the pressure off," writes the mother, *Sandy began to make discipline for herself*. "Sometimes we saw Sandy punish herself, slapping her own hand. Now she has begun to demand some discipline, even to enjoy it."

This is a profoundly significant fact about our human nature. Innately—if we may use this out-of-fashion word—we choose *freedom within bounds* rather than wholly anarchic freedom. "Order is a lovely thing," wrote Anna Hempstead Branch in her poem, *The Monk in the Kitchen*. For our psychological selves, order is exactly that—providing, of course, it is order and not arbitrary compulsion. Our need for order is an inner need: it is our way of structuring our lives; giving them form; making them able to function. Contrary to all the disbelieving philosophers, we are social by nature: most ourselves when we are in and of a system of relationships. The shaping and accepting of patterns of order is part of the experience of belonging within such a system—and liking it, feeling at home within it.

We may take a second example—this time from the field of group therapy. In Slavson's treatment of deeply disturbed children,¹ the initial stages of therapy—as in the case above

¹ S. R. Slavson, *Introduction to Group Therapy*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1943.

—called for a virtual absence of discipline from the outside. The logic of this was simple—though it took vast patience to apply. These children had become "problems"—distorted travesties upon sound childhood—precisely because they had suffered too much cruel, irrational, unloving discipline by force. *All* discipline, therefore, had become for them a threat: a threat to be resisted whether or no. There seemed no chance at all that they would ever discover the principles of social order, or their own hunger for order, so long as fear, pride, and rage dictated their opposing every rule and regulation—good or bad—that for them typified an enemy force.

So the rules and regulations were removed—in so far as their removal could be made to comport with the preservation of life and limb. Anarchy prevailed—for a while; but only for a while. Little by little, as these emotionally lost children "found themselves," they found also their need for government "by the consent of the governed." They became exasperated with lawlessness—their own as well as that of others. They began to feel "crowded" rather than released by the absence of rules and co-operative procedures—and set about making such rules on their own: rules that turned out to be remarkably like those of what we commonly call a democratic

society, or free society. Their inner lawlessness, in the end, was redeemed by their inner lawfulness—expressed in agreed-upon rules for their common behavior. As they thus voluntarily reentered the province of law and order, moreover, they also re-entered that of happy reciprocity: of giving and receiving help, and of co-operative ventures.

We have taken these two examples from the field of therapy. But normal life and life at its exceptional best testify to the same "ordering" principle in our human selves: the same "law-abiding" and "law-making" tendency.

Take any group of boys, for example, who have just built themselves a "club house" out of packing boxes and odds and ends of lumber. What do they inevitably do next? They make rules and they initiate projects. They behave, in brief, like societal beings—because they want to do so.

Or take one of the dramatic events in the history of America: the signing of the Mayflower Compact in 1620. Here was a shipload of men and women, after perilous months at sea, preparing to land on unknown shores to create a community. They were far removed from the government to which they still acknowledged allegiance. If anarchy had been the first law of their nature—or if their basic wish had been for an uncurbed instinctual life—they had a unique chance to demonstrate that fact. What they did, however, was to make their Compact, beginning it simply, "In the name of God, Amen"; and continuing it, "We, whose names are underwritten . . . doe, by these presents, solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politick. . . ."

The fruits of that Compact—of the spirit that brought it into being, and of the experiences that resulted from it—comprise, we might say, the unique history of this country. Just twenty-one years later, in 1641, the Massachusetts *Body of Liberties*, the first code of laws established in New England, was compiled by Nathaniel Ward; and in the ninety-eight items of that code we read both the type of experience and the body of intentions that later made the Constitution and the Bill of Rights the supreme law, not only of our land, but of our thoughts.

To see what these colonists valued, and increasingly came to value as a result of having combined themselves together "into a civill body politick," we might quote one portion of the first item of the Massachusetts *Body of Liberties*: "No mans life shall be taken away, no mans honour or good name shall be stayned, no man's person shall be arested, restrayned, banished, dismembered, nor any ways punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no mans goods or estaite shall be taken away from him, nor any way indamaged under colour of law or Countenance of Authoritie, unlesse it be by vertue or equitie of some expresse law of the Country waranting the same, established by a generall Court and sufficiently published. . . ."

The disciplined, ordered, responsible life, in short, is what our maturing selves desire; and it is what we create out of our inner need and our experiences of reciprocity—if we are given a healthy chance to do so.

If we turn back, now, to the philosophies we considered earlier in this chapter—those of Macchiavelli, Hobbes, and Marx; of Hitler, Lenin, Stalin; even of Rousseau and Freud—we discover two significant facts about them. First, they were all conceived in anger—in acute distaste for some going order of things. And second, they all described human nature, as being in essence what it showed itself to be after it had long been shaped by imposed laws and customs that never had represented the “consent of the governed.”

These philosophers of human nature and society—and of the relationship between the two—had at their command plenty of evidence about how human beings behave *under law that is handed down from above*; and upon this evidence they based their covering generalizations. But they had never witnessed human beings in the process of *law-making*. They had never met people, we might say, in the type of situation that the New England colonists were in when they drew up the Mayflower Compact and later evolved through experience the relationships that were codified in the Massachusetts *Body of Liberties*. They had plenty of evidence about the distortion of human nature under tyrannical laws and customs; but they had never witnessed the sort of thing that took place in Slavson's therapeutic groups. They had never witnessed distorted individuals in the process of coming to themselves and staging a voluntary return to law and order, to mutual helpfulness and cooperation. They had apparently not even watched, with comprehending eyes, a group of boys who had built a club house—and who then voluntarily created both rules and projects “by consent.”

We should, perhaps, be prepared by now to press for an answer to the question of this chapter: what is our basic human role? The process of our maturing as psychological beings, we might say with Erich Fromm, is a process of “unfolding” what lies potentially within us. When this unfolding takes place in healthy manner and measure, we show that we are by no means only intractable, egocentric creatures. We show ourselves to be, instead, societal creatures—not by compulsion only, and not only through a niggardly process of self-interested bargaining, but by free choice. We unfold, as we grow, into individuals for whom “union with somebody, or something outside ourselves” becomes the supreme achievement—and the supreme happiness. When we are most happily ourselves we are reciprocal selves: we talk together, and laugh together, in the back-and-forth exchange of conversation; we sit at table together, and pass the food to one another—not trying to hoard it all for ourselves; and we give durable structure to our shared involvements in life by combining ourselves “together into a civill body politick.”

If this is what life is basically about—this unfolding of

its possibilities under conditions appropriate to our societal nature—then our deepest obligation, it would appear, as well as our deepest privilege, is to make this unfolding happen. When we make it happen, anywhere—even in the least degree—we put ourselves on the side of life. We give life its chance.

We can do this in countless ways. We can help a normal child to grow up happily and therefore expandingly; or we can help a handicapped or frustrated child to overcome his defeat. We can help plants and animals to grow; help them to become what they have it in them to become. We can help ideas that are tentatively taking shape in the mind of a fellow human being to come out into the open, unafraid. We can help to change a hostile relationship into a friendly one, so that energies concentrated for defense or attack can be released for understanding and for creative grappling with problems.

All of us, as we have observed earlier, have various sub-roles to play: vocational, domestic, neighborly, civic. Each sub-role requires that we be skilled in certain specific ways. But each sub-role needs to be lifted up and given its place as part of a more embracing role: that of our enacting our essential human nature. The best of plumbers may be an exasperating human being. The technically skilled physician may play his human role in miserable fashion. The efficient housewife may have no power to help her children unfold into the uniqueness of their selfhood but may, instead, treat their growing urgencies as of less importance than the cleanliness of a floor or the punctuality of a meal.

However successfully, in short, we may perform the specific actions dictated by our sub-roles, we are still failures unless we have taken on—happily, and with understanding—our basic human role of helping life to unfold.

How shall we recognize whether this role has been taken on? A kind of first answer can be given by appraising certain signs that it has not been taken on: that it has been repudiated.

One such sign is *ruthlessness*. The neighborhood bully of whom we spoke in an earlier chapter was ruthless toward the small boy with his boat and his harbor. Instead of encouraging the youngster's eager interest and creative power by supporting these with his own interest, appreciation, and companionship, the bully set down his ruthless boot and demolished what had been made. Ruthlessness, wherever it shows itself—in the treatment of human being, plant, animal, idea, or situation—makes life less likely to unfold into the fullness of its possibilities.

A second sign is *unconcern*—indifference to life's needs. Such unconcern may show itself as apathy and boredom. Or it may show itself as coldness, or in a remote exclusiveness. In any case, whatever form it takes, it decreases the likelihood that the latent possibilities of life will be brought into

the open and given their chance.

We might well say that ruthlessness is the sin of commission against the human spirit; and that unconcern is the sin of omission.

In the chapters that follow we shall be moving with our thoughts into the public domain: the world of our time. That world has witnessed more than enough of both ruthlessness and unconcern. It has been told all too often that the way of egocentricity is the law of life. It has been told, with impressive reference to philosophic chapter and verse, that man is *societal* only to the extent that he is compelled to be so: by outer force or by the sheer will to survive. It has been told that whenever we get a chance to "be ourselves" we are more inclined to mutual hostility and competition than to friendliness and reciprocity. Perhaps our prime obligation and privilege is to make a different kind of report upon our human nature and situation: to act out the old-new conviction that we are members one of another.

Half Title

PART THREE IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

FOURTEEN

CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

THE MIND cannot go forth very far, today, without going beyond purely personal concerns. The world is very definitely "with us, late and soon"; and it is not a world that we can ignore with impunity. For whether we ignore it or not, the causes operating within it are having their effects upon our lives.

Edwin Arlington Robinson has observed ironically that
"Down to our nose's very end . . . 7.5

We see, and are invincible."¹

¹ Edwin Arlington Robinson, "The Revealer," in *Collected Poems*, p. 361. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937.

It is fairly easy to be invincible if our world stops where our own nose stops. At least, it is easy to *feel* so until the consequences of our shortsightedness are right under our nose. It is when we try to see as far as our knowledge and concern can take us that we discover how "vincible" we are—all of us separately, and all of us together—and how imperative it is that our minds go forth to see what can be done about our predicament.

Perhaps the easiest way to characterize the dangers of our time would be simply to recite, "Something old, and something new. . . ." For these dangers are old: and they are new.

They are old, we might say, *in essence*: Dictatorship: crime; ignorance; mental illness: political corruption; violence; man's obtuse or calculated inhumanity to man: man's self-deceptions and self-excusing: these are so old that they tempt us to declare, "There's nothing new under the sun."

Even as we speak, however, something new may cross be-

tween us and the sun; say, a jet plane, radar-controlled. For the dangers of our time are new in the means used for destructive ends. They are new, also, in the spread and terrible conclusiveness of the effects these means can have. For perhaps it was not a jet plane, but the mushroom shape of an atomic explosion, that came between us and the sun.

Forty years ago there was published in this country a translation from the Danish of Arthur Christensen's *Politics and Crowd Morality*. When we picked up this book, recently, and looked into it again, the words seemed to come to us from a long way off and a long time ago. For what we first opened to was this: "Fatal mistakes may be committed in the social as well as the political sphere; but society has a long life, and time to make good what is wrong. . . ." ¹

¹ Arthur Christensen, *Politics and Crowd Morality*, pp. 258-59. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1915.

As we read, we felt what might be called a twinge of homesickness for the pre-atomic age: for the time when a realistic scholar could say in confident good faith, ". . . society has a long life, and time to make good what is wrong. . . ."

Here is the dangerous "new" that makes the dangerous "old" different from what it ever was before: time is closing in around us. We cannot afford too many mistakes now that call for slow correction; and one mistake we dare not make at all; that of starting, or letting anyone else start, a nuclear war.

Thirty-three years after Christensen's book appeared—the span of time defined as *one generation*—Harold Lasswell wrote, in *Power and Personality*, "Even today our physicists cannot guarantee the total destruction of mankind. It is not absolutely certain that chain reactions will reach an uncontrollable pitch of activity and end the story of the earth in a cloud of radioactive dust. Nor is it absolutely sure that biological warfare will exterminate each and every man, woman, and child." ¹

¹ Harold D. Lasswell, *Power and Personality*, p. 177. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1948.

Lasswell did not write these extraordinary sentences to recommend that we take a chance on the slim margin between total and almost total destruction and plunge into war. He wrote to warn us: "So long as the expectation of total destruction is not entirely credible, the rulers of a despotic state may prefer the gamble of victorious war to the certainty of losing power at home."

This is danger; and it bids us employ for the saving of mankind every bit of political wisdom, courage, and creative imagination we can focus on the international scene.

Lasswell goes on, moreover, to point up another facet of hard reality: ". . . even certainty of annihilation cannot protect us from the paranoid psychotic. . . . All mankind might be destroyed by a single paranoid in a position of power who could imagine no grander exit than using the globe as a gigantic funeral pyre. And the paranoid need not be the leader of a great state. He can be the head of a small state or even of a small gang.

"Even a modicum of security . . . calls for the discovery, neutralization and eventual prevention of the paranoid. And this calls for the overhauling of our whole inheritance of social institutions for the purpose of disclosing and eliminating the social factors that create these destructive types."¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 183-184.

This, too, is danger. It bids us employ for the saving of mankind every insight we have into the workings of human personality and of social influences upon it. Also, it bids us enlist the best intelligence and deepest compassion of every sound human being within reach, putting them to work at the all-important task of creating conditions that will encourage the sorts of behaviors and relationships we are coming to know as those of mental health.

What we have been speaking about here might be called the gigantic danger of our time: nuclear and bacterial weapons at the disposal of power-seeking, fanatic, and even paranoid personalities—or, we might add, of frightened personalities; or those who cannot shake off the assumption that all you have to do to "win" is to "get there fustest with the mostest"; or those so impatient with the pros and cons of complicated problems and the ups and downs of delicate diplomatic relationships that they say, "Oh, the hell with it . . . let's get it over." How desolately "over" it might be when it was over these impatient minds seem not to comprehend.

This is the danger that could deprive us of one of our unalienable human rights: the right to correct errors. To have total or almost total extermination of the race the price exacted for our making, even once more, certain old repetitive mistakes is indeed "something new."

Yet to concentrate exclusively on this gigantic danger is itself a kind of folly. It is to condemn ourselves either to emotional paralysis or to a panic wish to fly from doom. It casts us, we might say, in the role of "the small girl who, returning from school after an air raid drill, pleaded with her mother, 'Can't we go somewhere where there isn't any sky?'"¹

¹ Simon Doniger, *Religion and Human Behavior*, p. vi. New York: Association Press, 1954.

It may be, of course, that even Lasswell's book is dated. It may be that developments in the field of nuclear weapons since 1948, when it was published, have been such that *the danger inherent in war now precludes the danger of there being a war*. As George Sokolsky observed in the column with which he greeted 1956, no great power wants war "because radioactive strontium is such a very bad chemical. It is this substance rather than the immediate explosive powers of the various bombs that has the statesmen of the world scared into wanting peace. And no matter how much they scream and make faces at each other, they will always be thinking of radioactive strontium and forget about war. Maybe, at long last, the human race has discovered the weapon that makes war impossible."²

² George Sokolsky, *These Days*. King Features Syndicate.

This may, happily, be true. Yet even if it is, we cannot take

a deep breath and relax. We have, instead, to learn—rapidly and well—how to conduct a different kind of war: a well-nigh interminable cold-war in which the weapons are ideas, patterns of human relationship, economic resources, and technical skill. For even if the physical sky over our head has ceased to be a place from which bombs are likely to fall, the risk remains that if we falter in world-wide cultural and economic competition, many generations to come may live under a “sky” of values and faiths very different from any we have ever known—or ever thought tolerable.

The danger is spelled out in every day's headlines. Soviet Russia is offering two attractive commodities—indeed, two well-nigh irresistible commodities—to the world's backward peoples; or to such among these as she wants to draw into her orbit and line up as enemies of the western world.

The first of these commodities is a kind of “friendship” that adopts the tone of equality toward those, particularly in Asia, whom the West has traditionally treated as inferior. Thus, the words of Khrushchev in Burma: “I address the generals, officers, and soldiers of the Union of Burma with a friendly wish for a further technical perfection. We, in the same spirit as you, are compelled to maintain armed forces. . . .”

Anyone versed in the history of Russian imperialism during the past few years can brand as counterfeit the phrase, “We, in the same spirit as you. . . .” But many of the people of Burma are less versed in history than in deprivation; and the generals, officers, and soldiers of Burma have too rarely been addressed as equals. Who, before, has said to them, “But are not the Burmese just as gifted as, say, the Russians or the British? People are not divided into capable or incapable ones. If they are given equal chances, they will achieve success in their development”? The prolonged applause that greeted these words—and that has since greeted similar words in other countries, both in Asia and the Near East—may, in the cold war of our time, be the applause heard round the world.

The second commodity is economic and technical assistance. Again, Khrushchev: “. . . if you need assistance, tell us and we will help you. We will help you with engineers, and we will share our experience with you. . . .” In Burma, Egypt—one place after another—the challenge to the West is being cast in these terms.

We have been schooled enough, by now, in the tactics of Communist infiltration within our own country, and other countries, to recognize the pattern here. It is one of seeing in every past mistake, sustained inequality, or unsatisfied need a calculated opportunity—not to set right what is wrong, but to capitalize on it. Such capitalizing has we know, followed a threefold design. First, it has aimed to make the underprivileged see Communism as a saving force. Second, it has aimed to intensify old hatreds and stir up new ones wherever these can further the Communist cause. And third, it has aimed, in so far as possible, to “neutralize” persons of in-

Intellectual and moral concern: persons who have wanted wrongs to be set right; who feel angry and guilty because they have not been set right; and whose established habits of accepting *in good faith* other people's protestations of *good faith* incline them to listen to what the Communists say, hope that they mean it, and to give them the benefit of the doubt.

The pattern has been made painfully familiar. Thus, we think of the testimony given by Mrs. Dorothy K. Funn, on May 4, 1953, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Mrs. Funn testified that she had, from 1939 to 1946, been an active member of the Communist Party and the Negro Congress because she believed they would prove a means for bettering the situation of the Negro in America: "You know the cause—I'll answer you, sir—the cause of the Negro is a very touching one and one on which a lot needs to be done yet. . . ." ¹ Mrs. Funn, like many another person

¹ *The American Negro in the Communist Party*, p. 11. Publication of the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, December 22, 1954.

who had joined the Party for similar reasons, experienced a final sense of betrayal. She came to realize that the Communist cause is far removed from the Negro cause but that "it lends itself beautifully to an emotional tieup, and you can say, 'Well, if this is the organization that's going to do this, therefore, this is the organization with which I want to affiliate myself.'" ²

² *Ibid.*

The "new" Communist tactic, as we have witnessed it in Burma, India, Egypt, and elsewhere, is to offer to whole nations of backward peoples the "friendship" and "help" it has offered to depressed and minority groups within every nation where it has practiced infiltration. That the aim and tactics remain unchanged in essence, even though they are now being presented in a new tone, is underscored by Khrushchev's statement in India, in November, 1955, to the effect that Russia would not renounce the teachings of Lenin: teachings which declared the utter irreconcilability of Communism with any other system and which pointed to world conquest.

The appeal that has been surreptitiously made to individuals and groups within countries is now, however, open and headlined, for Khrushchev and his fellows want their words to be heard by dissatisfied peoples everywhere. They want them to be heard, also, by those within the western powers who would themselves like to be helping backward nations to develop, who are impatient with the policies of their own governments in this respect—policies they regard as tardy, half-hearted, and often bad mannered; and whose capacity for hope is such that they may "neutralize" themselves by coming to believe that perhaps the Communists, this time, mean what they say.

In a sense, of course, they do mean it. They are ready to pour in money and provide technical assistance where they will buy them, simultaneously: good will toward themselves;

hatred of the West; neutrality on the part of certain nations not yet brought to the point of actively hating the West or actively lining up with Russia; and, not least, divisiveness and uncertainty within the West. The cards are—in short-range terms, at least—stacked in their favor. The human needs to which they appeal are real needs. They can provide resources with every appearance of abundant, unhesitating generosity—for they need not concern themselves with either bipartisan support or the opinion of the people back home. They can, we might say, be unrestrained opportunists.

They enjoy, moreover, certain perverse advantages that come from their wanting to intensify old and ready conflicts of interest—as between India and Pakistan, and Israel and the Arab states—at the very time when the western powers want these conflicts eased and arbitrated. By taking sides in a manner that upsets the delicate balance between two mutually suspicious and fearful nations, they can make arbitration almost impossible. Thus, they can virtually force us into trying to reestablish the balance they have upset. For if they are permitted to shift that balance at will, they make all too convincing their power to play favorites, rescue these favorites from a position of fear-ridden stalemate, and give them advantages over old enemies. If we are to stand successfully for the ways of arbitration of old grievances, we cannot afford to let them establish such an image of themselves as successful saviors and patrons of those who accept their help. When we attempt to restore the balance, however, by strengthening the side that has, by comparison, been made weak, we run into another predicament. It is made to appear that *we* are playing favorites and are opposing, not Soviet imperialism, but the backward and needy people whom the Communists are helping. Thus, we become to these people objects of fear and hatred: protectors of their traditional enemies.

Through such maneuvering, finally, the Communists are able to make our policies seem nothing more than tardy and scared reactions to theirs. All the good will and creative initiative are made to appear as theirs—while we are cast as a wavering “me, too” nation, for whom the giving of help is no planned and generous policy but a miserly, reluctant response to pressure.

Countries, we know, have fallen from the inside as a result of Communist tactics of infiltration. It is painfully possible, now, that backward countries, one after another, may be voluntarily drawn into the Communist orbit by similar tactics openly practiced between nations. This, too, is danger—and, as in the case of nuclear war, gigantic danger. Our capacity to handle it will depend upon our power to recognize Communist tactics for what they are, instead of being confused by them, and upon our power to initiate bold, creative policies shaped in the image of our own deepest convictions.

Plato defined courage as wisdom concerning danger. Wisdom concerning the clear and present dangers we now face will have to be made out of a double awareness: awareness

"Some ages are lukewarm and complacent. . . . Other ages, of which the present is one, are unbalanced and prone to faction. . . . Any small coterie, bound together by some interest which other men dislike or ignore, tends to develop inside itself a hothouse mutual admiration, and toward the outer world, a great deal of pride and hatred which is entertained without shame because the 'Cause' is its sponsor and it is thought to be impersonal."¹

Factionalism shows itself in its most unalloyed form in extremist groups of the right and the left, and in the various "fringe" movements. But what concerns us here is the extent to which it has run through our society like a contagious disease, attacking the higher thought centers and making people respond with automatic hostility or loyalty when what they should do is to respond consideringly and considerately.

A second reason takes us back to our discussion of the distribution of energy. An extraordinary number of people today are aware, at some level of consciousness, of being at the mercy of forces that are enormously unconcerned about them as individuals. This means that just below the surface of their daily activities, they are *panic-prone*: ready for fight or flight. A man we know has suggested to us that the proper slogan for today's world would be, "Love me, love my dogma." Psychologically, the reason is clear: if another person loves our dogma, whether or not he loves us personally, he is not likely to attack us when we are off guard; and he will be *for* us, adding his strength to ours, if we are attacked.

"If one by one we counted people out
For at least sin, it wouldn't take us long
To get so we had no one left to live with.
For to be social is to be forgiving." ¹

Today, urbanized and on the move, we tend to revise that

last line in practice, making it read, "For to be social is to find people you like and agree with, and to be with them as much as possible and with others as little as possible." Our modern privilege of seeking out congenial associates is certainly to be valued. But it takes watching. It too easily slips over into the practice of counting people out "for the least sin"; the practice of disparaging the uncongenial, or simply the unfamiliar; lumping them together as "they"; and then avoiding all situations in which we might have to try to understand them and work with them.

Again, our sense of common stakes has been undermined by the world civil war. The ideologies that today threaten man's freedom and integrity do not stay within clear bounds, geographical or otherwise. Their apologists and adherents take the world as their province and walk abroad in a myriad disguises. Hence, the task of knowing with whom we do share common stakes is made far from simple. In the process of trying to make it manageable, people are prone to apply stereotypes as yardsticks and to see as clues whatever their personal conditioning, likes, dislikes, and vested interests bid them see.

Closely allied to factionalism is what we have named *psychological browbeating*. On more occasions than it is pleasant to recall, we have witnessed grown Americans bearing down upon one another's minds the way a schoolyard bully might bear down upon another child; and at the same time that they have badgered, blamed, and accused, they have demanded that those whom they thus drive into self-defense should acknowledge error, answer questions with explicit care, weigh facts, hold the common welfare in mind, and take a long-range view. This is about as sensible as to coop an individual up in a box where he can only crouch and then command him to stand up.

On the street, one evening, we met a friend going home from a discussion of world affairs. "How was it?" we asked. "Oh, you know," he answered wearily. "The sort of discussion where people say to each other, 'What do you think of our policy in Asia? Answer Yes or No.'" It is thus all too often that we pretend to a meeting of minds when we are only exchanging words that are like a jabbing, condemnatory finger or a clenched fist raised to strike.

Never in our history, perhaps, have so many of us kept so busy blaming, suspecting, condemning, and denouncing one another as now. We seem to be showing ourselves—unlike the Lord—to be unmerciful and ungracious, quick to anger, and stingy in mercy. And this brings us to the point where we must look beyond the reasons for factionalism and mutual recrimination to some of the destructive consequences.

When the community of normally decent, reasonable human beings is thus splintered, and when cumulative angers, fears, and hurt prides make it ever harder for mutual understanding and reconciliation to take place, three groups thrive;

and they are not those to whom we can willingly entrust the human future.

First, there are the Communists. Communism thrives on our believing the worst about one another, expecting the worst of one another, and separating ourselves into groups each of which develops "inside itself a hothouse mutual admiration and toward the outer world a great deal of pride and hatred. . . ."

In particular, Communism thrives where *extremism* invades and corrupts the thoughts and practices of those—whether they call themselves liberals or conservatives—who normally stand for moderation; for listening before denouncing; checking rumors before circulating them; sponsoring orderly change; making room for differences; and taking it for granted that errors might better be corrected than denied or defended. Wherever liberals and conservatives let themselves be tempted, frightened, or needled into acting like extremists of the left and the right, Communism is doubly the winner: not only does it face a weakened and confused opposition, but it has at its psychological disposal an increased number of individuals who have become "acclimated" to the use of force rather than reason and to tactics of mutual exclusion rather than of creative compromise and reconciliation.

A second group that thrives in an atmosphere of faction are those whom we specify, in psychological terms, as *hostile personalities*. Some of these, of course, are also Communists. But many are not; and it is of these others that we are speaking here. They may operate as individuals or pool their rage against life in some "hate group." But no matter what outlet they choose for their hostility, what they act out are their own inner conflicts, their own personality disorders. They may seem currently enraged at an actual enemy—Communism. But in deeper fact, they are so chronically enraged at life that they must always have an enemy—if not one, then another. It is, so to speak, just their good luck if history provides them with an enemy whom they can not only hate with good conscience, but can win status by hating.

When people, by and large, are extending to others as flexible good will, destructively unsound personalities stand out enough to be recognized. Thus, in a healthy community the scandalmonger is usually discredited after a time—when it has turned out often enough that Mrs. Smith's husband went to the city on legitimate business and not to see another woman; that teen-age Lucy Jones was only putting on weight and not having an illegitimate baby; and that most of the other circulated rumors were equally groundless.

When the general level of fear and anger has been raised however, even fairly balanced people tend to become extreme enough for hostile personalities to appear only a little more so. They may even be given standing then, in that moral limbo where ends are said to justify means: or more taken to be informed with some secret knowledge—as they

invariably claim to be. To the extent, in brief, that we get lost in mutual suspicions and antagonisms, those whose whole make-up is strongly slanted toward suspicion and antagonism have a field day.

So do a third group: the demagogues, the opportunists. Disciplined by neither ideology nor scruple, but only by their own drive for power, they make themselves heroes of the age of hate.

Different as these groups may be on various counts, and even opposed to one another, they often exert a common influence. By persuading the rest of us to look where they point, to suspect whom they suspect, to repeat rumors and slogans that they have put into our minds, and—most of all—to look at one another with wary, critical, unforgiving eyes, they narrow the mental and emotional space in which we live, and in which we impinge upon one another's lives.

From another angle, also, factionalism threatens the soundness of our personalities and our society. It is, we might say, *voluntary segregation*; and like all segregation, it fosters psychological "inbreeding."

The process of this "inbreeding" is subtle and dangerous. To understand it we have to realize that a *faction* is distinguished from a normal, healthy association of people by its hostile exclusiveness. Its members come together chiefly *because they agree in their dislikes*—and particularly in their dislike of those who disagree with them. As they talk themselves into an ever more intense fear and dislike of whomever they have cast as "enemy," each individual member finds more and more indispensable his own good standing within the company of the "elect." Therefore, he becomes more and more "conformist" within the group; less and less inclined to express opinions that might make other members look at him with questioning eyes; and less and less inclined to be seen in the company of "publicans and sinners." The more the members of a faction cut themselves off from other associations, in brief, the more mutually dependent they become, and knowing one another's intolerances only too well, the more afraid they become of one another's disapprovals.

The Princeton study of the appeals of Communism from which we have quoted earlier would serve also as a study of factionalism: of the "stringent disciplines of party life, the massive risks of dishonor and falling from grace, the sharp tension and fear affecting intra-party personal relations . . ."¹ Two statements from the ex-Communist re-

¹ Gabriel A. Almond, *The Appeals of Communism*, p. 142. Princeton University Press, 1954.

spondents will highlight the point: "While you're supposedly a member of an organization that does things collectively, you always have to be on guard for fear your best friend may expose you for some slight deviation. . . ." (p. 143) and "One was first and foremost a party member. This meant that unless we took recreation in company with other party members and in a party atmosphere, it was frowned upon as bourgeois and escapist." (p. 151)

What we see here is the process by which a human being is rendered alien to any society outside the faction. Within the Communist Party, of course, both pressures toward conformity and penalties for deviation are extreme. But the factional pattern, with milder pressures and penalties, is found in many groups today—and even in groups that ostensibly stand for the freedom of the individual.

When we talk within our various groups—educational, medical, business, labor, or what not—about the dangers of conformity, we usually talk as though the only pressures we had to resist were from the outside: pressures exerted by some group opposed to our own or by some government agency. But we may well suspect that we are vulnerable to such outside attacks and pressures, where they exist, and inclined to see them even where they do not exist, to the extent that we have, *within our own groups*, served our apprenticeship to factionalism—developing the fears, passivities, conformities, stereotyped phrasings, and “hothouse mutual admirations” that go with it.

What shall we say—to take a trivial example—about the exponent of a certain “school” of literature who is self-consciously “emancipated” but who would not dare, within the fellowship of the “emancipated,” to say quite simply and honestly that he liked the works of some other “school” that most members of his group specialized in viewing with self-congratulatory contempt?

What shall we say about the industrial manager who feels uneasily obliged to explain to a fellow member of the managerial group why he had lunch with a member of the union? What shall we say about the member of a county medical association who happens strongly to disagree with most of his fellows on the subject of socialized medicine—but who keeps prudently still about his disagreement?

Even liberals, today, on one issue and another, have developed orthodoxies so rigid that those who deviate from the “line” are rendered suspect: have they gone soft-headed? have they “sold out”? Paradoxically, in short, many who stand up valiantly against outside pressures toward conformity at the same time practice conformity and exert pressure toward conformity within their own group. They have subtle ways of making it seem that the strength of the group against outside evils and stupidities depends upon reliability and agreement. This attitude is not, as a rule, stated in so many words. Often, indeed, it appears to be unconscious. But it is conveyed, nonetheless, by the manner in which a dissenter on some favorite issue is appraised; or by the tacit, unquestioned assumption that agreement prevails.

Similarly, conservative groups have developed orthodoxies, in many cases, that obligate those who want to keep their good standing—who do not wish to be looked at with shocked astonishment, or eased out of a position of authority—to prove themselves solid and “safe” by talking more like reactionaries than conservatives.

The special “orthodoxies” change from group to group and year to year. What concerns us here is the threat to our

free institutions and free minds posed by the type of voluntary segregation we call factionalism. Wherever factionalism prevails, it prevents the cross-fertilization of minds, the self-correction of exaggerated viewpoints, the pooling of widely different ideas for the solution of our common problems, the courage of social initiative, and the exploring of bases of reconciliation. On the other hand, it encourages self-approval, hostility, fear, conformity, and the ruthless or subtle tactics of liquidation; that is to say, the short-cutting of problems by simply ruling people out in one way or another.

"Monologue is insufficient in human affairs," writes John A. Mackay. "If discussion is to be fruitful, a quarrel settled, men must not merely talk *at* one another or *about* one another; they must talk *to* one another. They must meet face to face."¹ These words declare a kind of minimum program for

¹ John A. Mackay, "Christian Faith and the International Situation," *Theology Today*, 12, No. 1 (April, 1955).
our civilized living together. It is this program of our *civilized living together* that is threatened by the type of *monologuing in unison* that we call factionalism: the self-segregation of human beings into groups so molded by outer and inner pressures that the members find it both expedient and reassuring to say the same things on the same subjects, in order to feel "right" and to present a common front against the opposition.

It is precisely this *monologuing in unison* that we recognize and deplore in Soviet Russia's Iron Curtain policy. That policy involves the keeping out—the warding off—of any sort of outside influence that might disturb the unanimity of the "inside." It involves as the complement of this warding-off activity the stereotyping of what is said within the Soviet Union itself. Thus, Justice William O. Douglas reported, after he had tried on a visit to Russia to get the facts straight about the freedom or lack of freedom in the area of religion, that wherever and to whomever he put his questions, he got identical answers—and got them almost as *rote* answers. The answers did not come out of any engagement of the other person's mind with the questions he asked. They were policy answers. The individuals with whom we talked might be a thousand miles apart. Yet they did not, in any true sense, talk with him. They monologued in unison.

If we deeply understand the tragedy of this process, and what it does to the human mind wherever it becomes the order of the day, we can see the type of threat that acute and intemperate factionalism presents to our own democratic integrity. Without our seeming to realize the fact, we have inclined more and more in recent years to hold *group attitudes* on various issues rather than *individual attitudes*. Thus, it is taken as predictable that liberals will talk in a certain manner on a given issue while conservatives will talk otherwise. There is, in short, a liberal "side" of the issue and a conservative "side." Those whose feelings of allegiance and security attach to this or that side tend to join in the appropriate chorus, monologuing in unison. They do so not only because

they have—far more than they often realize—held themselves aloof from evidence that might temper their one-sided convictions, but because they would feel vaguely uncomfortable, less sure of themselves and with whom they belonged if they started qualifying their statements, disagreeing with members of their own “side,” and granting that the whole issue belonged in the area of the yet to be studied, yet to be understood.

What we have said here, of course, does not imply that group agreements and efforts are always to be deplored. They are both sound and necessary—so long as they do not become so rigid and automatic that they diminish the likelihood of individual thought and decision.

A second qualification is also in order. What we have said does not imply that truth is *always* furthered by bringing opposed groups together to “talk things over.” The very situation that is set up to promote the exchange of ideas and to encourage mutual understanding can, we know, be exploited by a faction that has not the slightest intention of entering into honest give-and-take.

By and large, however, a movement out of entrenched factionalism into flexibility of mind is all to the good. If we could begin to stage such a movement now, with an honest wish to make it work, we might begin also to talk sense to one another about some of the curious problems that constitute present danger to our society.

One whole set of problems, for example is tied up with ambiguities about such terms as *freedom*, *dissent*, and *subversion*. Our traditional concept of freedom has called for “hands off” where people’s words are concerned and an official “hands on” policy only for overt acts. Most of us have taken it for granted, most of the time, that spoken and written words are not punishable actions, no matter how unwise they may be, but are simply the form in which free, private convictions “walk abroad” in the public world, to make what dent they can upon that world and to be judged in the open market places of the mind.

Yet our attitude on this score has never been—and could never be—an absolute. We have recognized the need for laws that prohibit slander and libel, incitement to riot, and the mailing of letters that contain threats. And there is always the classic example of where our toleration leaves off: no one is free to shout “Fire!” in a crowded theater.

Our current confusion might be pointed up by varying this classic example. What about a person who said in advance that he was going to shout “Fire!” in a crowded theater? Would he thus commit an “act” that would justify his being restrained? Or would he be just talking until he had actually shouted “Fire!”? If his stated intention was reported to the authorities, and if they restrained him from entering the theater, could he, on the plea that he had been “just talking,” claim damage for illegal arrest? Or what if the authorities took a different course? What if they warned the theater man:

ager of what was likely to happen, and he, in turn, warned the audience, specifying that if this given individual shouted "Fire!" they were not to be plunged into panic by the word? Would this public exposure of his intentions constitute an invasion of his rights?

Or to come at the matter from another angle, what about the person who, hearing him declare his intention of shouting "Fire!", reported this fact to the authorities? Is this individual a public benefactor or a dubious "informer?" Perhaps he has had, in the past, fairly close association with the man whose word he now reports: close enough that he knows the actual shouting of "Fire!" would be in character, and would comport with both the individual's past actions and his reiterated philosophy. Does this knowledge from past association obligate him in a special way to let the authorities know what is going on? Or does the fact of his past association with an unreliable person render his report peculiarly suspect? Does it, further than this, prove him to be a "turncoat"—a man who goes back on a former friend and who puts himself outside the pale by reporting what he would never have learned except in the role of friend?

The whole example sounds absurd. But what if we turn our minds from it to the problem of conspiratorial Communism? There can be argument still, perhaps, about the extent of Communist infiltration, but scarcely, it would seem, at this stage of the game, about its existence or about its being a calculated Communist tactic. It has been practiced with appalling success in a number of countries that now "enjoy" a kind of death-in-life as Soviet satellites. The evidence that it has been attempted, and is still being attempted, in this country is overwhelming. Further, it has been "sanctified" by statement after statement in the Communist "classics." The *intention*, in brief, has been declared and reiterated, comports with past actions, and is known to be in character: not, in this instance, an erratic individual's intention to shout "Fire!" in a crowded theater, but the intention of an armed, implacable ideology to put an end to our type of society.

Wherever the tactic of infiltration has been employed, its first weapon has been the word. The *word* that has thus been relied upon to spread the doctrine through secret channels, in accord with plans mapped by a foreign power, is simply not the *word* that we have traditionally taken to be inseparable from freedom of individual conscience. It is, in effect, an act: a calculated part of an over-all, long-range plan of action. It has been used deliberately, and with insidious power, to accomplish certain ends: to spread confusion and hatred; to "prove" that wrongs cannot be made right or conditions improved by democratic evolutionary means; to persuade the discontented that their only hope lies in Communism and that it is to this doctrine that they truly owe their first allegiance; to represent as witch-hunters and forerunners of a police state those who are legally intrusted with the task of uncovering subversion and publicizing its tactics for all to understand; to persuade dedicated defenders of free speech and free

assembly that these basic freedoms are being invaded by the exposure or restraint of Communist conspiracy; and to brand as the lowest type of "turncoat" behavior the reporting of conspiratorial actions and intentions by those who know them best from having been involved in them.

"The problem, therefore, is not 'Shall free government defend itself?' but 'How can free government defend itself and still maintain the liberties of the individual?' To disregard the individual, to view him as meaningless and the security of the state as all important, is equally to betray democracy. Free government cannot be defended by dictatorial methods—in so doing the defender will devour the very thing to be defended. The protection of the individual is just as important as the safety of the state. Our task, in this mid-century decade, is to proceed along a path whereby we can achieve national security and yet maintain our freedoms."¹

¹ John Edgar Hoover, "Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement: The Role of the FBI," *Iowa Law Review*, 37, No. 2 (Winter, 1952), 186.

"Our task, in this mid-century decade," is vitally that of learning how to deal realistically with the changed status of the word—the word as employed by Communists who use freedom of speech to undermine the institutions of freedom—without curtailing our traditional freedoms. It is, also, that of learning how to deal realistically with the concept of freedom of assembly when this has been exploited by Communists to invade and pervert by secret means our voluntary associations, or to set up their own planned associations in our midst, concealing the nature of these and winning support for them by defining their intentions in the familiar words of our American idealism: justice, freedom, and the rest.

We cannot avoid the problems set before us by the Communists—whether on the world front or the home front. They are glaringly before us, to be tackled and solved. Yet a rational approach to them often seems to be rendered well-nigh impossible by our own factionalism, our entrenchment in mutually warring camps. Within each camp, we say things that are exaggerated enough, unverified enough, unfair enough, and unrealistic enough to startle our own ears if we actually stopped and listened to them: listened to them, that is to say, as discerning, responsible individuals—not as members of a group strangely and often unwittingly committed to "monologuing in unison."

It has been remarked that there are fifteen thousand ways to be one-sided. A fair number of these ways have been demonstrated in our time; and most of us, one way or another, within one group or another, have taken part in the demonstration.

It does not, as a matter of fact, take fifteen thousand kinds of one-sidedness to hold us back from a sound, co-operative engagement with the clear and present danger of our time. A few kinds will suffice—if they relate to vital problems and if they are firmly enough cast in the pattern of factionalism.

Communism—like Fascism—is extremism on a gigantic scale. It talks in terms of absolute rights and wrongs, with no

gradations in between. It talks, therefore, in terms of the total defeat of those who disagree—never in terms of comparing experiences and viewpoints for mutual clarification, nor in terms of trying to reconcile differences. As a further *therefore*, it describes those on its own side in terms of stereotyped praise and those on the other side in terms of stereotyped denunciation; and by every means at its command, it keeps the two sides so far apart that there is slight danger of their comparing notes, becoming acquainted with each other's problems, and discovering each other's essential humanity.

Factionalism is *extremism* on a smaller scale. To the extent that factionalism splinters our society it renders improbable the solution of problems put to us by Communism. Nothing could make these problems easy. Yet we cannot count them insoluble; and they might turn out to be surprisingly manageable, even now, if we were to devote ourselves to understanding them as zealously as we seem, at times, to devote ourselves to misunderstanding one another.

Professor Ernest Hocking, of Harvard University's Philosophy Department, once declared that the world's great need is for the "unpurchasable man." Most of us would be willing to agree. Every sort of man who walks abroad is, as we have noted in earlier chapters, a unit of psychic influence: to greater or lesser degree, he shapes every situation he enters in the image of himself. There can be no substitute, as a unit of influence, for the man of integrity. It will have to be in his image that a world of integrity is built, if it is to be built at all.

This may sound thoroughly platitudinous. The man who has "sold out" is no admirable figure. We have to realize, however, that there are ways of "selling out" so gradual and subtle that we can practice them even while we are condemning other ways. The person who sells out to the highest financial bidder is a fairly obvious figure. So is the one who sells out for the sake of some position of power and prestige. So is the "Quisling" who sells out for the sake of being briefly safe. But what about the person who—unwittingly, and by almost imperceptible stages—sells some portion of his birthright of individuality and mental integrity for the companionship in agreement, the luxury of hating with a clear conscience, the oversimplified sense of "rightness," and the resonant pleasures of "monologuing in unison" that factionalism offers?

Our need today is truly for the "unpurchasable man": the man whose mind is so much his own that he can, without a sense of uneasiness, go and talk to anyone he wants to talk with across the boundaries of factionalism; or go and ask questions where he thinks he may find answers, or at least may find out how the problem looks from where another person stands; or try to measure the portion of "rightness" that each side can properly claim; and set himself, then, to figure out ways in which a common policy for this time of danger can be shaped out of all available elements of reasonableness and realism—wherever these are to be found.

quote

F I F T E E N

VARIETIES OF VIGILANCE

Mm MORE THAN a hundred and fifty years have passed since John Philpot Curran declared liberty and eternal vigilance to be inseparable: "It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt."

The particular issue that moved him to speak thus in 1790 may not now seem dramatic. The issue was one of how the Lord Mayor of Dublin should acquire office. But what was at stake was the *right of election*. His words date from that intense and creative period when western man was struggling to "naturalize" the concept of government by the consent of the governed. Curran spoke from strength because he felt strongly about the matter, and what he said was said for keeps: liberty is not to be won and then taken for granted. The *conditions* of its preservation and growth have to be watched and tended; and those who care about liberty have to do the watching.

We, today, are living in a time when vigilance—the right kind of vigilance—is unmistakably called for. To be "indolent," now, in our concern about liberty is to invite its loss; for the "active" are very active among us—skillfully, concentratedly, cynically active. With man's future the prize to be won or lost, they are not going to call a truce just because the rest of us would like to take our liberties as forever established and think about something else.

Again, vigilance is called for—now, as ever; or more than ever—because, as Curran pointed out, indolence with regard to liberty is followed by servitude. We know, moreover, what 20th century servitude would be like. The nightmares of science fiction have become the actualities of life. We need not search out those nightmares, now, in the pulp magazines, nor even in such a serious novel as George Orwell's *1984*. We can read the direct experiences of those who have lived to tell the story of Nazi concentration camps; of the Nazis' occupation of Warsaw; of the Communists' "liberation" of that city into a new horror; of Communist slave labor camps and prisoner of war camps.

What, then, is our position with regard to "eternal vigilance"? It is that of a people who have liberty enough to be *at liberty* to be either "indolent" or "active" in liberty's behalf. Furthermore, if our choice is to be "active," we are *at liberty* to make the flailing motions of panic—so that, like amateur lifeguards, we drag under what we seek to save—or to make the purposeful, disciplined motions of the individual who knows what he is about because he has taken the trouble to learn.

Again, we are *at liberty* to make our exercise of vigilance just one more hypertensed expression of factionalism. If we do so, three results are predictable. First, since factionalism

keeps energies focused for fight or flight, our very exercise of vigilance will become a reason why we do not creatively bring our minds to bear upon the problems of freedom. Second, that same exercise will tempt us to condone or employ the methods of *extremism*—as sustained fear and rage always do tempt us. Third, for reasons noted in the previous chapter, we will, within our various factions, become conformists to a degree not compatible with the liberty in behalf of which we are being vigilant.

Finally, our position is that of a people whose vigilance has to take account, not of one clearly identified enemy only, but of a whole drove of intentional and unintentional enemies—not all easy to identify; and not all, by any means, in one camp. Government “of the people, by the people, and for the people” is a complex, many-sided business; and a vigilance watchful enough to serve it well must be more than an oversimplified expression of one narrowly channeled fear or one entrenched partiality. For a free people, it would seem, vigilance ought to be a calm, steady, rational undertaking; not a sudden overflow of the spirit of crisis.

It may be worth our while, then, to take a sampling of the forces we need to be watchfully concerned about—some of them peculiar to our day; most of them “hardy perennials” in our society:

Communists; neo-fascists; neurotic hate-mongers; anti-Communists who are pro-democratic in word only, not in habit structure or in basic philosophy of human relations;

Big and little usurpers of power and practitioners of corruption; criminals; delinquents; law enforcement agents who do not enforce the law; citizens who, for one or another personal reason, persuade law enforcement agents not to enforce the law;

Opportunists, in and out of office, who know a popular “cause” when they see one and who have no scruples about raising the fear-hate level if they can do so to their own advantage;

Neutralists who blur the distinction between the calculated evils of Communism and the many specific evils that represent the “homework” yet to be done by the western democracies in behalf of their established beliefs;

Public servants who intend to support the institutions of freedom but who, trying to get their jobs done under baffling circumstances and a barrage of criticism, resign themselves to one undemocratic procedure after another; make one concession after another to “pressuring” extremists and partisans, and gradually convince themselves that such measures are a natural part of politics;

“Sidewalk superintendents” of our public life who find no behavior on the part of any office holder quite good enough to approve, and whose definition of what should ideally be done results in intolerance of even the best efforts to get *something* done about specific problems under given cir-

cumstances;

Security agents who have not been either carefully enough selected or well enough trained to insure against their making such irresponsible or exacting interpretations of ambiguous security laws that the innocent suffer with the guilty and the whole security program—even in its sound and necessary aspects—is brought into bad repute:

Congressional investigators who go to similar extremes with similar consequences—so that responsible citizens are tempted into an *anti-investigationism* that often blinds them both to the actualities of the dangers being investigated and to the fact that Congressional investigations are a traditional, legitimate part of our democratic machinery;

Unofficial groups, local or national, that arrogate to themselves a quasi official status and undertake to censor the programs and policies of other groups that are equal with them in the company of voluntary associations—and just as patriotic as they are;

Exhibitionist “martyrs”—as distinguished from genuine victims of injustice—who, having ventured to the edge or over the edge of conspiratorial Communism, and having been officially asked about it, first make a “virtue” out of being as offensive as possible and then rush to the public with the story of their rights having been invaded;

Anti-intellectuals who find the label “Communist” the most damagingly effective one yet put at their disposal for disparaging intellectual processes and institutions;

Public administrators who extend the areas of necessary secrecy to include almost any area in which they would rather have the public accept their policies than ask questions;

Xenophobes who urge, as patriotic, forms of economic, political, and cultural isolationism that ignore all the realities of the modern world and make it almost impossible for us to establish foreign policies that will clearly point up for all peoples, and particularly for the earth’s backward peoples, the difference between democracy and communism;

The special brand of “internationalist” who, by his seeming ability to tolerate and defend all countries and cultures except his own, misrepresents the nature of genuine internationalism—making it appear to be simply a form of mental and emotional expatriation;

Hotheads who will not, or cannot, conceive the grim results of atomic and bacterial warfare and who—almost as though they felt these weapons would do only “benign” damage if we used them—urge upon us either a “preventive war” or policies that encourage a final resort to war;

Good-willed but unrealistic wishful thinkers who bid us interpret every calculated amiability on the part of Soviet Russia as a sign that the Communists have “reformed,” that everything is now going to get better and better, and that we are nothing but warmongers if we continue to look to our defenses;

Political candidates and spokesmen for candidates who twist the facts of history for public consumption or use unfounded charges of subversion and "softness" toward Communism as campaign weapons;

Individuals, in and out of office, who cannot seem to out-grow those images of "backward" peoples that date from the period of western imperialism; and who therefore urge upon us policies that can only make backward countries read more hope into Communist promises than into ours;

People who label as "Communitic" the very measures here at home—such as the desegregation ruling, for example—that rob the Communists, here and abroad, of their best talking points;

People who make the best of other people's problems—that of desegregation, for example—with such arrogant self-confidence and readiness to denounce that they help to create disastrous cleavages within our society and to postpone rational solutions of the problems in question;

Liberals who manage, somehow, in all good faith, to greet each successive proof of Communist infiltration and subversion by saying, in effect, "There's no such animal";

All who circulate unverified rumors that harm other people, who claim pipelines to sources of secret information, and who help to keep the public mind focused on catastrophe and well nigh oblivious to what is soundly going on in our midst;

And finally—but not least—such aspects of our own personalities and life-patterns as tempt us to act after the manner of the above groups.

To put it mildly, it is quite a situation that we are in—and the only rational way out of it is that of making our "eternal vigilance" also a skillful, discriminating, just, and timely vigilance.

When we start to size up all the varieties of vigilance that are being exercised among us today, what strikes us at once is the anxious concern with which their practitioners watch one another, point with alarm at one another's conduct, twitch the sleeve of the otherwise preoccupied public, and urge, "Look what's going on!" And, in truth, plenty that calls for appraisal and judgment is going on.

Congressional committees, all departments of the federal government, the FBI, state legislatures, patriotic organizations, veterans organizations, groups dedicated to the defense of civil liberties, groups specifically dedicated to academic freedom, groups specifically dedicated to freedom of the press, groups representing various minorities, churches, labor unions, business and professional associations: all these groups, and others—and countless individuals—have stepped up, of late, their practice of vigilance. In the crisscrossing of their convictions and anxieties, they have all been both *watched* and *watchers*; and most of them, a fair part of the time, have felt angry and misunderstood in both roles.



quote The worst that can be said about our intense mutual vigilance is that it has heightened factionalism at a time when we have most needed to find working bases of unity; has induced us, often, to carry our suspicions and denunciations of one another far beyond the bounds of reason; has driven one group after another to a blanket defense of its policies rather than to an impartial appraisal of these as measured by consequences; has many times made us focus our most intense antagonisms on one another rather than on dangers that we share in common; and has postponed our working out of policies of vigilance that could enlist the best powers of all groups while keeping their most extravagant impulses and partialities in check.

quote The best that can be said, perhaps, about this same mutual vigilance is that it has prevented any one slanted and hastily contrived form of vigilance from having everything its own way. It is as though we had spontaneously resorted, under the impact of crisis, to a new application of the principle of checks and balances. If, as a result, responsible individuals and agencies have often found it hard to get necessary jobs done—and to get these jobs accurately reported and widely understood—we have, at least, fumblingly, saved ourselves from coercive, one-sided vigilance of the totalitarian brand and have preserved our chance to learn by trial and error.

Underlying the pattern of checks and balances, we note another: a pattern of specialization. Groups have tended to look at our broad problems of national security and "social housekeeping" from their own habitual standpoints—their practical and emotional standing points—and have shaped their programs of vigilance in terms of what they have seen from there.

Some, for example, have focused almost exclusively on the threat of Communism; others, on threats to civil liberties and academic freedom from non-Communist and often anti-Communist sources. In both camps there have been those for whom specialization has meant chiefly a wise channeling of energy and expertness, and those for whom it has meant a warping of vision. Thus, both those who have treated Communism as virtually the only danger we need to be concerned about and those who have treated it as merely a trumped-up danger have tended, by their own one-sidedness, to render suspect even their well-founded anxieties.

Various groups, happily, have managed to keep their minds on many kinds of danger without, so to speak, losing their heads; or losing them only occasionally.

High among such groups have been several for whom the practice of vigilance has been a long, steady preoccupation: neither a sudden passion nor a sudden chance to take the limelight. They have been trained to the skills and disciplines such practice calls for; have set their sights by the Constitution rather than by erratic public opinion or political involvement; and have operated within rules and bounds

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designed to minimize the anarchic play of temperament, prejudice, and personal ambition.

Among official investigative agencies that have become focal points of public interest is the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Like any other man-made organization, the FBI is distinctly human—and therefore not immune to error. Yet it appears to be so organized and administered as to keep errors at a minimum and to effect their correction when they are made, rather than to conceal or defend them.

No concerned person, it seems to us, could have lived through the tensions of the past few years without having questions about the FBI take shape in his mind. No one, certainly, could keep his ears open without hearing rumors which, if substantiated, would justify the gravest anxiety. Here, as in so many other cases, however, we have found that the best thing to do with a question, once it has lodged in our minds, is to go looking for an answer—and to go, not to those most likely to confirm us in our own judgment, but to those most able to provide objective facts; and also, wherever possible, to go to the record.

Morris L. Ernst has reported the experience that first sent him searching, through a wilderness of rumors, for whatever the truth might be about the FBI. That experience, he tells us, was one of surprise: surprise at the fact that J. Edgar Hoover had asked the Attorney General *not* to endorse a law that would legalize a free use of wire tapping; and had explained his request by saying, "I do not wish to be the head of an organization of potential blackmailers."

Mr. Ernst had not served as Counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union without hearing, from many sources, that the FBI was made up of "witch-hunters"; nor had he spent years fighting for the preservation of personal liberties without learning to view law enforcement officers with a wary eye—knowing how often they broke the law and infringed civil liberties in the performance of their duty.

Surprised, then, that Mr. Hoover was flatly opposed to a law that would have made his own work easier, and curious about what type of organization he did want to head, Mr. Ernst set about learning what he could learn—with both his skepticism and his legal knowledge on the job. He studied the records; invited information from widely varied sources; tried to trace down one report after another of the FBI's abuse of its authority—only to have each one turn from positive report to vague, unverified rumor. In the end, he felt ready and obligated to say, "The FBI is unique in the history of national police. It has a magnificent record of respect for individual freedom. It invites documented complaints against its agents. It has zealously tried to prevent itself from violating the democratic process."¹

¹ Morris L. Ernst, "Why I No Longer Fear the FBI," *Reader's Digest*, December, 1950.

Our own interest in learning more about the Bureau stemmed from a different experience: from an effort to confirm or disprove a specific rumor. In a certain community several years ago, a man was being charged by some of his neighbors with pro-Communist sympathies; and word was

going the rounds that derogatory information about him had been leaked from the FBI files—or, in another version, had been provided by an ex-FBI agent.

What started, on our part, as an effort to check up on this rumor became, as time went on, a more broadly conceived effort. For the more we learned about the actual set-up, philosophy, practices, and personnel of the FBI, the more impressed we were by the strange discrepancy between antagonistic rumor and apparent fact.

There were, we soon discovered, rumors aplenty. At one time or another, over and over, we were told about the Bureau's flouting of civil liberties. We were also told that its agents asked absurd and "loaded" questions—about the books an individual read; about whether he had Negro friends—and that they were highhanded and oppressive in their methods. Thus, for example, there was a "well authenticated" case of an agent's taking a scientist out of his laboratory at a midwestern university, driving him around and around the block, and browbeating him into giving derogatory information about a colleague. (The facts of the case turned out to be otherwise: the scientist had been leaving his laboratory when the agent arrived; had suggested that he could, as well as not, answer questions while they walked out together; and then, to continue the conversation, had sat with the agent in his car for some twenty minutes in front of the building.)

We were told, again, about the FBI's indiscriminate wire tapping; the deliberate mixing in its files of unverified rumor and verified fact; its "leaking" of information from the files to favored, reactionary Congressmen and columnists; its determination to set up a file on every adult American; its abuse of prisoners to get confessions. We were told that it tried to place its former agents in other government Departments, there to use them as spies; that it "loaded" its files with derogatory information—or pure invention—in the case of individuals who had criticized its policies, and that it removed from these same files the most telling favorable information; that it edited its reports on individuals holding governmental positions, or applying for such positions, to guarantee its friends being hired and its enemies being fired; that it started investigations on its own; that it was surreptitiously taking over the proper work of local and state authorities; preparatory to setting up a police state.

We heard all these rumors—and others; but when we tried, as best we could, to verify them or hunt them down to their source, they had—as Morris Ernst had discovered before us—a way of vanishing into thin air: they went back to what somebody had told somebody. What did not vanish into thin air, but became constantly more solid as we studied the record, was evidence that showed the Bureau's respect for professional standards of law enforcement; its rigorous self-

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limiting to its own proper field of operation; its refusal to interpret or slant its own findings; its determination to protect the innocent as well as to expose the guilty; and its deep concern for the preservation of civil liberties.

We have become convinced, in brief, that the FBI has held to a remarkably steady course through the years—in spite of its having had to find means for coping with secret and completely ruthless adversaries; and of its being flagrantly misrepresented by its enemies—and also by its friends.

To see how various these sources of misrepresentations can be, we might recall that the Princeton study of the appeals of Communism showed that the FBI has been a chief target of the Party's hatred in America; and side by side with this fact, we might place the all too many instances when extremists of the right have tried to wrap up their own procedures in the Bureau's prestige. Citizens do well, we have concluded, when trying to make up their minds about this key agency in our "vigilance equipment," to look with prompt and visible skepticism both at those who declare the FBI to be the cynical, oppressive precursor of a police state and those who claim secret information leaked from the FBI, or a source of special information in the person of an ex-FBI man. Perhaps the best way for us to greet most of the random, unverified things we hear about the Bureau is to say to ourselves, in the words of the song from *Porgy and Bess*, "It ain't necessarily so. . . ."

Among those unofficial groups which have kept rational minds on their jobs in spite of praise, pressure, and denunciation, we would certainly place the national organization of the American Civil Liberties Union high on the list. Here, again, the keynote has been the *sustained* practice of vigilance; and here again we note the voluntary limiting of the field of action, the effort to get facts straight, and the reference to objective rather than subjective standards. While the organization has seemed to us on a few occasions to lean over backward, on the national level, at least, it has proved a staunch and expert defender of constitutional liberties—including, often, those of individuals and groups with whom it has profoundly disagreed. It has, moreover, demonstrated one way in which the layman and the legal expert, when they share a common concern, can render a common service to a free society.

Even groups with a far briefer history—groups born of crisis, with their undertakings defined by that crisis—have often shown a distinguished immunity to hysteria and a high-level capacity to do a specific job without losing sight of broader concerns. The American Committee for Cultural Freedom is a case in point. Intent on educating the American public how to penetrate the disguises of conspiratorial Communism *while keeping clear the all-important distinction between subversion and dissent*, this group has done its self-appointed task with intelligence, careful factuality, and in-

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tegrity. Though often charged with being too far to the right and too far to the left, it has avoided squandering its energies in angry self-defense or in retaliatory denunciation.

Among the groups that have proved able to face the dangers of our time and to exercise vigilance without making it a hybrid mixture of hysteria and self-indulgence, have been many of the long established voluntary associations of our culture.

Level-headedness here seems to be correlated with long practice in handling human relations and getting problems solved within the human community. The voluntary associations, by and large, that have best kept their heads—without tucking them into the sands of obliviousness—have been those that have been creatively involved with the larger housekeeping of our democratic society. They have been long and steadily engaged in trying to satisfy people's basic needs; open up new opportunities; replace ignorance by knowledge; bridge gaps of misunderstanding; minister to the lonely and handicapped and excluded; foster better relationships between adults and children, native and foreign born, minority and majority groups, different creeds and religions; release and encourage creative abilities; and generally keep our democratic life moving along on the path of its best intentions.

In a time of crisis, such groups, we discovered, are doubly fortified against panic and the temptations of factionalism. They have, for one thing, known human nature in its decency, nobility, frustration, inhibition, excitability and cussedness well enough not to be easily caught off guard by it. And their long experience in taking people as they come and learning to work with them as they are has not given them much chance either to indulge, within their own fellowship, in "hot-house mutual admiration," or to exaggerate the difference between themselves and others.

There have been cases, certainly, where such organizations or their local branches have yielded weakly to pressures or have been caught up in a wave of hysteria or have turned from their rightful tasks to ventures in vigilance for which they have been ill-prepared. But by and large, voluntary organizations with broad, long-range programs have proved themselves a power for sanity. In spite of all stereotypes to the contrary, they have shown that they are not so much makers of the "mass mind" as of the freely co-operating, problem-solving mind.

A special word of appreciation, we believe, should go to certain professional groups that have met the challenge of crisis by putting their expertness to work in new ways. The American Bar Association, for example, has made notable efforts to clarify issues related to civil liberties. Physical scientists have tried, through both their long-established associations and new special committees, to reveal the actualities of atomic warfare. The American Library Association and the American Book Publishers' Council have defined and re-

defined the stake of a free people in *freedom to read*. Psychological and psychiatric groups have explored problems that range from the make-up of the totalitarian personality and the nature of prejudice to the tactics of Communism and the impact upon employee morale of ill-conceived, ambiguous, or arbitrarily administered security measures. And these are but a small sampling of the associations that might be named.

Our best proof that many individuals and groups have both kept their heads and exercised vigilance lies, perhaps, in the fact that we seem to be finding our way out of extremism without lapsing into "indolence"—and to be doing so by democratic means.

A top administrator in a southwestern university—a man who has had his own troubles with extremism and fanaticism—wrote us recently about a "marked drop in the tension and hysteria of the past few years and the reassertion of a more equable temper in the discussion and management of public affairs." What he thus noted from his vantage point, many of us can, so to speak, feel in our bones. The tide of sanity is rising.

Our personal feeling is that we Americans ought to make a special thank offering for this return of a "more equable temper": an offering of sustained, realistic interest in the problem of democratic vigilance. Now if ever, it would seem, is the time for us to make ourselves so much at home with this "eternal" problem that we will not again be caught off guard by its 20th-century complexities and ambiguities. Here is a project that could be approached by a myriad different groups, each employing its own experience and expertness; and out of their different venturings and new collaborations might come a sounder climate of opinion and a firmer skill in democratic process than we have been living with of late.

What might such an undertaking involve—whether sponsored by a university or a government agency; by a veterans' organization or an AAUW; by a church or a mental health society; by a Rotary Club or the American Association of University Professors—or, as we would hope, by a variety of such groups working together?

As a start, we feel that it should be at least a four-fold undertaking. First of all—and regardless of the particular sponsor, this is indispensable—it would have to bring together for a comparison of problems and viewpoints certain groups that have been standing too far apart for any fair mutual appraisal. When groups that affect one another's freedoms know one another, in Robinson's words, "only as a motion on the landscape"; and when even this distant look is taken through the distorting atmosphere of crisis and the fog of rumor, each group is prone to see more stimuli to fear and anger and fewer points of common purpose than a close-up view might reveal.

We are not so bland in optimism as to believe that proxim-

ity alone can guarantee understanding; that all the sharp differences that have divided us have been illusory or superficial; or that joining in some enterprise of study and discussion will of itself add cubits of reasonableness to personalities stunted by fears and fanaticisms.

We do believe, however, that if moderately sound people are invited into one another's frames of reference, they begin to see their different and even opposed viewpoints *as attached to reasons* and not merely as *irrational*. Also, they have a chance to separate real disagreements from unreal and to make them explicit. There is a large likelihood, moreover, that they will discover both unexpected agreements and unexpected reasons for tempering their own absolutisms.

Not to believe that such results are possible would contradict our own personal experience. We have watched these changes take place, time and again, in group after group. Also, time and again, we ourselves have learned much from people whom we did not, at the outset, regard as likely teachers, but only as opponents or extremists.

There is particular need in our time for the lay citizen and the government official to know each other better in terms of problems and purposes. Very specifically, there is need for the liberal citizen and the government investigator or security agent to move out of their present mutual remoteness into enough mutual understanding that they can at least distinguish fact from falsehood in their estimates of each other.

William McCleery, in his comedy, *Good Housekeeping*, observes that "men usually ignore the issues when they square off to fight over them."¹ They may not ignore them at the

¹ William McCleery, *Good Housekeeping*, p. 105. New York: Samuel French, 1950. Copyright by William McCleery.

outset. But as the *experience* of fight hardens into the *habit-pattern* and *loyalty-pattern* of fight, their objective concern about issues becomes adulterated by a subjective mixture of fear, pride, anger, factional conformity, and a sense of being misunderstood and misjudged. It is no healthy thing, in a time of crisis, for agencies of democratic government and significant portions of our citizenry to have become well-nigh automatic in their mutual self-defensiveness.

Whether they be official agencies or voluntary groups it is of vital importance that those who have "specialized" their vigilance against Communism and those who have "specialized" it against non-Communist threats to civil liberties and academic freedom be brought within physical and psychological speaking distance of each other. For the vigilance of neither will be good enough to match our 20th century need so long as one half—*either* half—of our problem is treated as the whole; and so long as those who deal with only one half count those who deal with the other half as natural enemies.

Two results of such automatic hostility are particularly painful to witness. One is that each group, intent to "corner" the other and to avoid being "cornered," becomes more and more intemperate and intolerant in its charges and judgments. The other is that those individuals within each camp who have most resolutely tried to improve procedures and meet all reasonable demands made by their critics are left

discouraged and unsupported. What they are trying to do is either not noticed at all by those who say it is the very thing that should be done; or else, perversely, it is noted and viewed with suspicion: what are they up to, now?

If we do indeed have a fresh chance, within an atmosphere of comparative moderation, to develop proper standards and procedures for the practice of vigilance, we will do well, in brief, to make as many occasions as possible for those who have looked at our common problems from opposite sides, and *only* from opposite sides, to meet together, talk together, and walk all the way around these problems in each other's company.

A second part of our undertaking must be that of mapping our proper areas of democratic vigilance. All the dangers we catalogued earlier in this chapter call for "watchdog" vigilance. But on whose part? The government's part? And if so, through what agency? The private citizen's part? The voluntary group's? Or, co-operatively, on the part of all these? The effort of a free people to map and allocate areas of vigilance is in itself a growth-inducing effort.

Nor is "watchdog" vigilance the only kind we need to cultivate and allocate. "Preventive" vigilance is equally called for: the sort of awareness that can take stock of where conditions in our society, and in the world, need to be made better before their destructive influence makes matters worse.

In a statement entered in the Congressional Record of January 26, 1953, J. Edgar Hoover reported that the FBI had reviewed the origins of 5,395 members of the Communist Party. Of this number, "4,555 or 91½ percent were either of foreign birth or born of foreign parents." These striking figures do not signify, nor did Mr. Hoover intend them to signify, that "foreigners" are a bad lot. What Mr. Hoover's report underscored is the fact that we still have not achieved the level of cultural hospitality we need in this country: too many Americans of foreign background still feel themselves to be, in one or another hampering way, *outsiders*.

This fact, in turn, illustrates a broader insight that we are learning to bring to bear upon problems as various as those of delinquent youth and displaced old people: the insight, namely, that those who feel themselves to be unwanted *outsiders* in situations where they urgently need a sense of belonging will seek some way to balance their emotional budget. People of intelligent good will must learn with ever increasing expertness and generosity to bring their "preventive" vigilance to bear upon conditions that make other people feel like outsiders—and that are therefore likely to make them act outside the rules and shared values of our going institutions.

This, however, is by no means the only call upon our "preventive" vigilance. Where do undernourishment, poor sanitation, lack of medical services, or plain ignorance make likely a high incidence of disease? Where do overcrowded

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or inferior schools make likely the waste of human powers? Where do elements of obtuseness, complacency, or paternalism in our foreign policy threaten our good relationships with other nations and peoples?

But even "preventive" vigilance is not enough. "Supportive" vigilance is likewise called for: an appreciative alertness to what is being valiantly attempted or well done; and a generous and practical ability to approve, encourage, and cooperate. In view of all we have come to know about the ways of human growth, it is a safe guess that the wiser we become in the arts of "supportive" vigilance, the less we will be called upon to exercise "watchdog" and even "preventive" vigilance.

In the third place, as a people we deeply need to come to grips with the problem of means and ends: specifically, means suitable for the practice of democratic vigilance.

Too often, in recent years, we have seen *methods* become uncoupled from *purposes* and run wild—like freight cars that have broken loose on a steep grade: freight cars that not only cease to move upward toward their proper goal but that go careening in the opposite direction. Some of the means employed, officially and unofficially, for the defense of our liberties have seemed more likely to carry us back toward tyrannies we thought we had left far behind down at the foot of the grade, where we began our long upward pull toward constitutional government.

Yet a proper vigilance, here, will not expend itself wholly in exposing wrong means. It has also a constructive job to do: that of evolving right means. What precise means, for example, would liberal citizens recommend *as both effective and just* for locating and exposing persons who are genuine security risks? Whether actually there be many such persons or few has little to do with our need to find proper answers to questions of method.

What specific means, again, would we approve for dealing with active, conspiratorial Communists—few or many—who, at large in our society, work through various channels and media to sow seeds of dissension and to give a bad name to good causes? What means would we consider both effective and reasonable for bringing the public to an awareness of how the tactics of infiltration work, and of instances where these tactics have been successfully practiced? It would be a far from dull business, and a solid project in self-education, for us to move beyond opposition to dubious methods to the framing of methods acceptable as balanced, efficient, and fair.

Another related part of our self-education as a people would rightly have to do with our learning far more than we now know about our machinery of vigilance. What, for example, do we understand to be the proper function of Congressional investigating committees? What has determined, in various specific cases, whether they were, operating, within their proper domain or making irresponsible sallies outside it? In like vein, what do we understand to be the proper functions and procedures of the FBI; the attorney general; a grand

jury; public hearings; various White House conferences; various citizens' committees? Under what circumstances, and for what purposes, will the Supreme Court accept cases for review? In other areas of vigilance, what do we know about the control of narcotics; about the administration of our pure food and drug laws; about the type of watchfulness that precedes the bringing of an anti-trust suit; about fact-finding processes with regard to matters as various as our national health, the needs of our public schools, depressed areas that need economic stimulus to get back to their feet, the conditions of the land, the care of our public forests, and infringements of civil rights?

These are but a few questions out of many that we need to try to answer; and seeking answers to them in the good company of our fellow Americans, in groups and communities all across the land, would be a far from dull business.

Finally, as the fourth part of our undertaking, we recommend what we call self-vigilance. If there is one thing that modern psychology has taught us, it is that we are not always, in our minds and motives, exactly what we like to think we are. And if there is one thing that our "cold civil war" has taught us—or should have taught us by now—it is that we all have a large power to fall short of the glory. Part of our nationwide "homework" might well be coming to know as much as we can about the tendencies in our individual and group selves that work to compound the darkness of fear, animosity, conformity, irresponsibility, and factionalism.

While William Pepperell Montague was Head of the Department of Philosophy at Barnard College, he told a story about himself that is not irrelevant here. On a certain day there came into his street level office a woman who announced that she had conclusively resolved all the mysteries of the universe—and who proceeded to give him, at length, the benefit of her all-embracing insight. When she left, finally, he watched her with compassionate eyes as she walked past his window, thinking to himself, "There but for the grace of God, go I." Suddenly, then, thinking of his own constant efforts to encompass the universe in a man-made frame of thought, he said to himself, "My God, maybe there I go!" There are few of us, today, when we are so often tempted to look at others with eyes far from compassionate, who might not profitably recall Montague's startled words to himself.

We end this chapter with a bit of dialogue from the comedy from which we have already quoted: *Good Housekeeping*. It is part of a family conversation about the plain citizen's responsibilities. Since the talk is getting nowhere and yet promises to go on indefinitely, the mother announces that she is going to bed.

"A tired liberal," her teen-age daughter quips.

"Any liberal who isn't tired isn't working at it," her father assures her;¹ and the humor in his remark is grim around

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

the edges.

Scholars and analysts aplenty have told us that modern man is becoming robotized man or mass man because he is tired of being free; of making decisions without knowing enough to make them; of being told he should take on responsibilities for which there is never time; of feeling guilty about what is left undone; of weighing the hazards of making up his own mind against the self-contempt he feels if he lets someone else make it up for him; or simply of being his lonely, separate, supposedly independent self within a system of huge impersonal forces.

The scholars and analysts may be right: some of our behaviors in recent years give weight to their words. Or they may be wrong: for certain different behaviors suggest that we are getting ready to say, with a compound of humor and grimness, that any free person who isn't tired isn't working at his freedom. If we are ready thus to speak, and to convert word into action, we can be sure of one thing at least: that our tiredness will be the legitimate result of effort, not the illegitimate result of boredom or inner conflict. In no small part, if we obey the imperatives now set before us, it will be the comfortable weariness of our having undertaken a new job: not that of just being vigilant in the way that comes easiest to us, because of our own stakes and conditionings, but that of learning how to practice "eternal vigilance" wisely and patiently in our own time and place, and in the company of those who may or may not readily agree with us, but who share our stakes in a free society.

S I X T E E N

WHEN PERSONAL PROBLEMS BECOME SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Mf MENTAL ILLNESS is never a private affair. Physical **Mf** illness may be—comparatively speaking. It can, in a sense, be contained within body limits, and kept to the self. There are, of course, contagious diseases. Also, there are by-products of illness—loss of work, medical bills, and the rest—that can disrupt the plans and curtail the experiences not only of the afflicted person but of his family as well. Yet physical illness can come far closer to being a private affair than mental illness can.

We were recently surprised and distressed, for example, to learn that a certain man we know and profoundly respect has, for the past five years, been unobtrusively coping with a bad heart. We have sat with this man on committees; visited in his home; had good sessions of talk with him and come away the better for them; watched him reanimate an organization that we would have said, two years ago, was dying in its tracks. But it was not until he explained diffidently why he could not take on an additional task that would have involved extra physical strain—and a lot of standing around talking to people—that we learned that his heart had constantly to be taken into account in his plans.

Suppose, however, he had been afflicted by an equally serious mental illness. Could we then have talked and worked

with him on so many different occasions and yet not have suspected that anything was wrong? It seems highly unlikely. True, we might not have been able to put our finger on the nature of his trouble, or the cause of it. But there would have been an uneasiness in our relationship to him: an undefined sense of "thus far, and no further." Instead of relaxed, confident sharing—of laughter, perplexity, remembered experience, and deep concern—there would have been a certain constraint: what we have earlier called *guardedness*.

Also, since many of the situations in which we had seen him operate had called for the delicate handling of human beings and the warm appreciation of their various ideas and efforts, it seems improbable that he could have carried them off had not he himself been basically sound in mind and emotion. Neither good resolutions nor carefully learned tactics would have served him had inner health been lacking: tensions would have shown through.

What is the vital difference, then, between organic illness and personality disorder? We might put it thus. If an individual has a headache, he knows he is the one who has it. He does not, projectively, think that someone else's head is doing the aching. But if he has a neurosis, whom does he take to be the "problem" person? Not himself, as a rule. Somebody else. Experiencing friction, anxiety, smoldering anger, resentment, he seeks a cause. He does not commonly discover this cause, however, within himself. He "discovers" it in the other person: in the wife who doesn't understand him; the boss who sets no proper value on his services; subordinates who, the whole drove of them, are lazy and unreliable; neighbors with whom no reasonable human being could get along; children who delight in crossing him.

The essential difference between physical and mental disorder is to be found in the *relational* pattern. Each represents, we might say, a breakdown of relationships. But whereas physical illness reports a disordering of relationships within the body, mental and emotional illness reports a disordering of relationships between the individual and his environment: primarily, his human environment.

Neurosis can best be described, perhaps, as a way of going at life that does not fit the case—and that therefore puts the neurotic individual at odds with reality. For practical purposes, we might define it as *a misinterpretation of life that is so habitually acted out that it gives the afflicted person no respite from conflict*. The story of how such misinterpretations are built into personality—most often in early childhood, as a result of experiences that painfully threatened the ego—is an old story now, in this psychological age. We need not repeat it here. But what concerns us is the *outwarding* of inner conflict: its effect upon other people's lives and, more broadly, upon our shared institutions and climate of opinion.

To understand what such *outwarding* of inner conflict does

to our human relationships, we might take a look, first, not at deep personality disorders, but at what we might call "brief neuroses": moods that may not last long but that can, while they last, not only induce tensions but start a veritable contagion of them.

Take anger, for example. Horace, many centuries ago, defined anger as "short madness." And an old folk proverb has it that "A man in a passion rides a runaway horse." Most of us know from experience that what is thus stated is true. The person who is possessed by anger is not *self*-possessed. He says and does what he would normally know to be exaggerated, unfair, even cruel. "Blind anger" is an apt phrase; for what intense anger does, while it lasts, is to make the individual unable to see what is objectively there to be seen.

Like sustained neurosis, in brief, a passing rage induces behavior *from the inside out*: behavior directly expressive of the person's own emotions and not truly responsive to any outside situation. When a man, apologizing for words spoken in anger, says sheepishly, "I guess I lost my head," his words make sense. For he has not been doing with his head what his head normally enables him to do: with eyes to see, he has not seen; with ears to hear, he has not heard; having the power to think, he has not thought.

We all have emotional ups and downs that color our reactions. The more mature a person is, the less likely his moods are to be wildly fluctuating affairs; and the less likely, also, they are to be irresponsibly acted out—as though just having a certain feeling licensed behavior in kind, regardless of other people's feelings. But we all have moods. Sometimes we experience a mood as a result of a known stimulus—as when loneliness follows the departure of a close friend whom we will not see again for a long time. More often, perhaps, we experience a change of mood for reasons too elusive to pin down—as when loneliness invades a state of well-being, like an uninvited ghost at a party.

We all have moods; and even the best of us act them out in ways, now and then, that put us at odds with our world. We say, on such occasions, that we are *out of sorts*. More precisely, we are *out of touch*. The world is there, with all its realities calling for response; but we, for the time being, are too *in-turned* to be aware of those realities.

When we recognize that a mood of ours has made us a problem for somebody else, we may say, "I'm sorry I was so abrupt with you. I guess I got out of the wrong side of the bed this morning." Unless we have been destructively offensive, the chances are that the other person will say: "Oh, that's all right. No harm done"—or words to similar effect: for he will know that it may be his turn next time to lean on the serviceable excuse. To some extent, in brief, we all have to live by taking in one another's moods, and dealing with them as we would want ours to be dealt with.

What shall we say, however, about the person whose anger is chronic—or so frequent that it has always to be taken into account by those who live and work with him?

What about the habitually sullen person; or the one in whom even the slightest affront is enough to induce deep resentment—and daydreams of revenge? What about the man who is always involved in an argument? What about the teacher who misses no chance to hone the blade of her sarcasm? What about the boss whose office force waits in daily apprehension? By the time he has passed through the outer office in the morning, every worker present knows what kind of day it is likely to be—and all too often it is likely to be the kind when they do well to watch their step; and when even if they all watch their step, someone is sure to be called on the carpet.

If anger is "short madness," then there are certain types of personality disorder—"madness"—that might well be called "long anger." The element of hostility—though not always obvious—is a prime characteristic of mental illness. It expresses the fact that the individual who is so out of touch that only his own feelings are real to him is bound to experience the outer world as stubborn and unreasonable. His "answering" behaviors, therefore, are not just occasionally exaggerated, unfair, unfitting, and even cruel; they are habitually so. We might say that such a person always gets out of the wrong side of the bed—because his bed has no right side.

When we are even briefly out of sorts—angry, peevish, disgruntled, fearful, hurt, dejected, sorry for ourselves—certain of our best *relational* powers practically cease to function. For the time being, they are lost to us. Among the first casualties, for example, when our own mood alienates us from our world, are such redemptive, unifying powers as tenderness, sympathy, warm humor, appreciation, a sense of how much alike we all are, the capacity to see and admit our own shortcomings, and that most inclusive of attitudes that we call reverence for life.

With these powers temporarily out of working order, we have no real equipment for "approach": for going toward a fellow human being with interest and a will to understand. Almost inevitably, therefore, we become "hard" in our relationships: intolerant, exacting, obtuse. We become, in brief, far from pleasant to have around; and we may become dangerous to have around—destructive of other people's legitimate prides and plans. With the gap between ourselves and others grossly exaggerated, we tend to treat these others less like human beings and more like impersonal objects than we normally do. Nor is such treatment confined to some particular individual who has wronged us: who is, in some true sense, responsible for our mood. Because our behavior stems from a *pervasive emotional state within ourselves*, it tends to become a covering sort of behavior. It spreads out to touch everyone with whom we come into contact until our mood changes—and since it is well calculated to turn others in upon themselves, its final range of influence is hard to measure.

If we know this much—as we should, from experience—about how we act when we are out of sorts, we are in a posi-

tion to estimate the threat to human happiness and social stability posed by deep personality disorder. In the neurotic person—and more drastically, in the psychotic—the *relational* powers are underdeveloped, even atrophied. Such an individual does not simply, now and then, depart from tenderness, warm humor, a uniting awareness of his own shortcomings, reverence for life. The *in-turning* of his attention has been so constant for so long that it has rendered him well-nigh incapable of experiencing these emotions. He is, we might say, so far removed from the emotional company of his human fellows that he does not know how to start moving toward them, even when he wants to do so. Nor does he know how to receive them with warm hospitality if they venture the approach.

He may glory in his remoteness from the "herd"; or pathetically yearn to love and be loved; or be constantly bewildered by other people's lack of response to him—or their withdrawal from him. Or he may try to establish himself by one or another rigid contrivance. Intense factionalism may be his resort. By dividing the human race into friends and enemies, and lining himself up with one side against the other, he achieves a spurious sense of belonging: spurious because it does not actually require him to understand any individual, and also because it forbids his seeing any aspect of reality that does not comport with his division of people into good and evil. More drastically still, he may try to remake society—in whole or in part—and give it a form that would guarantee his having status and power. Or he may simply try to dominate every situation he enters; or, where he cannot dominate it, prevent anyone else from getting anything accomplished.

John Donne said of Goodness that it "dares appear and spread and glister in the World." We might say with regard to the type of evil that stems from mental illness that it dares appear and spread and make darkness in the world. The trouble-making propensity of mental and emotional disorder is enormous: how enormous we are just beginning to realize—as we learn to look past irresponsible, callous, and destructive behaviors to their causes. In case after case, it is all too apparent that the cause does not truly lie in the objective situation. It lies within the person's own make-up; and no matter what situation the disordered person enters, he will act out, in one or another fashion, to the world's hurt, his own inner conflict, his own resident hostility.

The behavior of such a person has to be singled out as different from normal behavior. The disordered individual has to be restrained from having his own way with other people's lives. The words he speaks about others must be largely discounted; for as a rule those words tell less about the people in question than about how the world looks to him from his strange emotional "standing place." Again, his driving ambition has to be recognized, in its urgent ruthlessness, as different from normal and healthy ambition—the latter always

being marked by the fact that there are firm limits to what the individual will do to others to further his own ends. Or, if his need to make himself secure takes an opposite direction, his leech-like dependence has to be recognized as outside the healthy human pattern of give-and-take—and as exploitative in its consequences even when it appears to be a veritable study in meekness and submissiveness.

Not to recognize the sort of individual who is "hard" in his dealings with others—because they are scarcely more than puppets to him, to be manipulated by the strings of his need—is to leave these others at his mercy. Also, it is to leave at the mercy of his trouble-making tendencies whatever situation or institution comes within his reach. Yet it is not enough to recognize and restrain him—or, where actual restraint is not called for, to diminish his influence by learning to discount his version of what is going on in the home or place of work, the neighborhood or the world. He, too, is a human being—and a far from happy one. He, too, has rights—though he may seem chiefly engaged in flouting those of others; and not least among his rights is that of having his sort of problem understood and reasonably dealt with.

Mental illness, then, we repeat, is never a private affair—not even when it is fairly mild. It acts itself out in small situations and large—to the world's hurt. Toward it, moreover, we are beginning to acknowledge a new responsibility beyond that of curtailing its influence in this or that specific case. Our larger responsibility is to learn enough about its causes to diminish its incidence. This is our preventive undertaking. Beyond this, there is the task of healing—which means the task of building into our own minds new attitudes toward mental and emotional disorder; and building into our society such agencies of healing as can put to work, for the saving of individuals and the securing of our common welfare, every bit of hard-won knowledge we now possess about our human make-up.

To recognize the signs and patterns of personality disorder; to curtail the influence of the disordered personality upon other people's lives and our social atmosphere and institutions; to look through and beyond unhealthy behaviors to their causes, and thus to learn the arts of prevention; and to set the task of healing high on the agenda of our social concerns: this is the program through which we can act out our understanding that mental illness is not a private affair.

Mental illness, like physical, can run the full scale from mild to severe. It is not always easy, therefore, to single out in the human community the person who can rightly be called "disturbed." As a starting point, however, we can say that the "disturbed" individual is one who habitually imports into the situations he enters an emotional problem of his own that is acute enough to make him see more reasons for fear and anger than are objectively present.

In one individual this slant toward hostility may show itself only as a constant habit of carping: of never finding any-

thing that anybody does quiet good enough to approve. In another, it may show itself as a fear of taking on normal responsibilities. In yet another, the state of tension may be revealed in proneness to accident. In extreme case, as we have noted earlier, it may express itself as an urge to destroy. The delinquent youth who breaks the windows of a church or school or who beats up a helpless old man; the rumormonger who tears down the reputation of one person after another; the war-monger who can scarcely wait to have his nation beat up some other nation; the "reformer" who has far less interest in the process of *re-forming* than in that of tearing down the *status quo* as a preliminary to making things better; the devotee of an ideology that gives him a specified enemy to hate and promises him the pleasure of destroying that enemy: all these, we might say, are cut from the same emotional fabric—and it is not the fabric out of which a sound society can be made.

We are still far from expert in recognizing personality disorder. Even our courts, with the services of the psychiatrist at their command, do not always find it easy to distinguish the legally responsible person from the legally irresponsible one who belongs in a mental hospital rather than a prison; and those versed in the subtleties of the human make-up know only too well that the line drawn by law is at best a practical expedient, and that the term "responsible" is highly ambiguous.

One day's newspaper, for example, recently reported two wholly separate cases of extreme parental cruelty: cruelty that in one case resulted in the death of a child. One parent was eventually sent to a mental institution; the other, fined and given a jail sentence. Perhaps, under present circumstances, each decision was "just." That is to say, each reflected the judge's honest effort, on the basis of evidence at his command, to draw a line that has to be drawn somewhere because we do not yet know how to handle the problem of brutality and destructiveness without drawing it. Yet from all we know of the patterns of personality disorder, it seems clear that both parents were out of touch with reality, blinded by inner rage and obeying the dictates of that rage.

If it is often hard for a judge, with the resources and evidence at his command, to make a decision, it is far harder for the rest of us to be sure that the random judgments we pass upon human misbehaviors are accurate and fair. Thus we see a man suddenly lose his temper—and his sense of proportion—"over nothing." Is he acting out a "brief madness" brought on, perhaps, by fatigue and anxiety so great that even a minor irritation proved the last straw; or is it the "long madness" of personality disorder?

Some persons, we ourselves feel, are too brisk in deciding: too ready to announce the hidden cause of each type of overt misconduct. It is almost as though they had found in the vocabulary of the psychological sciences one more language in which to express their own inner problems. It is almost as

though they had found a way—highly conducive to ego-satisfaction—of verbally “liquidating” people they do not like; or, more broadly, of verbally dominating the “wildness” of human nature.

To be wary of hasty labels is not to conclude, however, that there are no signs at all by which we can distinguish sound conduct from unsound. There are signs; and we are learning more about them every day.

In the preceding chapter, we ventured a list of persons with regard to whom, we said, “eternal vigilance” is in order; for if their attitudes are converted into action, and if their actions go unchecked, the confusions of our time are made more confused and our problems become harder to resolve.

Let us return here, briefly, to that list of persons who bear watching. Are their behaviors symptomatic of personality disorder, mild or severe? Or are they simply mistaken behaviors? By what signs can we judge? As we try to answer such questions, we discover how much solid psychological knowledge has actually moved out of textbook and clinic into our climate of opinion. In significant measure, we have become citizens of the psychological age; and one proof of this is our emergent capacity to make certain distinctions between types of behavior.

Some “problem” types—gangsters, delinquents, practitioners of corruption—show themselves so morally obtuse with regard to the effects of their conduct upon other people’s lives that we feel safe in designating them as “disordered.” It seems clear that they are blocked off from reality by ever present acute inner problems which repeatedly make their behaviors callous, irresponsible, and destructive. Both the extent of deviation from normal and the sustained pattern of that deviation suggest deep unsoundness.

Certain other types, however, achieve a “protective coloration” that makes their disordered behavior dangerously able to pass as normal; and even, sometimes, as unusually idealistic or realistic.

Thus, one type we mentioned was the exhibitionist “martyr”—as distinguished, *but not always easy to distinguish*, from the genuine victim of injustice. One sign that the “martyr’s” ego is at the center of his universe is the dramatic haste with which he puts himself at the center of the public stage. His not to explore possible paths to mutual understanding. His not to take on the workaday role of presenting, as best he can, the facts of the case. His not to grant for a moment that those who oppose him may be honestly mistaken—or may, even, be justified in some measure. What the self-appointed “martyr” typically does is to convert every adversary into an agent of the Evil One: a figure with whom it is clearly impossible for him, as an Agent of Good, to have any traffic. Thus, he translates an objective issue into highly subjective terms—and into a black and white pattern of right and wrong. It is then presented to the public, we might say, as a dramatic

allegory: a significant scene in man's long struggle with evil.

It might not be out of place, here, to recall a few sentences from the first chapter of this book: "Life is not more dramatic in noise than in silence, in conflict than in peace. . . . Unless we are deeply disturbed in our emotional make-up, we know that destructive conflict is a poor substitute for the adventures of searching things out together. There may be a crescendo of noise and action when two men get going in angry argument and pass from angry words to angry blows. Yet far more is actually happening—more human powers are at work—when two men, finding themselves on the edge of angry argument, veer away from that edge and sit down to talk things over. . . ."

A thoroughly sound person may be a victim of injustice. He will, because he is sound—and therefore puts a proper value upon his own life and life-plans—defend himself as factually and firmly as he can. He will stand up for his rights—because they *are* rights. He will do all within his power to clarify the situation; for he will recognize that until it is clarified not only he himself, but others like him are in danger. If, in the end, he is still cast as victim, he calls upon all his resources to meet the situation without falling apart. If outside help is offered in a form he can self-respectingly accept, he accepts it gratefully. But he does not *enjoy* being a victim; nor seek the limelight in order to adopt the stance of hero; nor set the pattern of conflict in such black and white terms that its resolution becomes virtually impossible. The sound person, in brief, as an individual of integrity, *deals as best he can with a problem in which he has a vital stake*. The "martyr," in contrast, *makes the most of a problem*.

We have lingered over this type for three reasons. In the first place, the "martyr," to our common confusion, often wears the protective coloration of the idealist. If we simply take his word for what is going on, and do not look through and beyond that word to his *taste for conflict* and his *insistent self-dramatizing*, we can easily commit the mistake of lining up on his side against an "enemy" he has described to us, in order to support a "cause" that he is emotionally exploiting or to solve a problem that he does not actually want solved.

In the second place, the person who thus takes on the role of "martyr" because he is deeply disturbed in his emotional make-up—deeply at odds with life—has a peculiar counterpart today: the "ideological martyr" of the extreme right and extreme left. This character plays the same sort of role for a different reason. He, too, sets the pattern of conflict in terms that prohibit its resolution. He, too, makes a public display of being victimized, and unjustly treated. He, too, rallies to his "cause" a great many who would not be there if they looked through his words to his deeper motives. But he is not so much a self-appointed "martyr" as a person whose appointment to "martyrdom" is part of the calculated stratagem of the group he serves: which may be a Communist group or a right-wing "hate group." The more able we are to recognize the "martyr"—whether emotionally compelled or ideologi-

cally assigned—the less likely we are to add to the confusion that he creates.

In the third place, we discover in the “martyr,” highlighted for our recognition, certain characteristics that appear in other types also—and in which, also, they are marks of unsoundness. A rigid, uncompromising distinction drawn between good and evil, with all the good on one’s own side; a matching tendency to divide the human race into beleaguered supporters of the good and powerful supporters of evil; the casting of problems in subjective rather than objective terms, with an eye to the ego-role that can be claimed; the rejection of methods of reconciliation even before they are tried; quickness to see all disagreement as *enemy* disagreement; the use of the word to confuse rather than clarify; and a general inability to experience drama in a state of peace: these, played out in one manner and another, are conspicuous characteristics of many different sorts of people who bear watching in our democratic society. They bear watching because their trademark upon any situation they influence will be a mark of ill health.

We are often puzzled, today, by striking similarities of attitude and behavior on the part of individuals who profess widely different—and even opposite—convictions: the Communist and Fascist, for example; and between these extremes, a smattering of those who speak of themselves as liberals or conservatives. What we need to realize, perhaps, is that personality type goes deeper than political label. While Communism and Fascism seem ready-made for the unsound, they do not, by any means, snare all of them. The accidents of life-conditioning may locate the egocentric with a taste for conflict anywhere on the ideological scale. If he happens to land in the liberal or conservatism camp, he enacts “liberalism” or “conservatism,” not in the honest tradition of either, but after the manner of his own hostile make-up.

Not all the individuals, however, who invite our vigilant appraisal are of the type we have been describing. There are some who distort the situations they touch, not by imposing upon them a rigid black and white pattern, but by reducing all their elements to a flat grey. Here we find, for example, the opportunist; the cynic; the neutralist; those who feel that ethical standards are irrelevant in the political area or, as the case may be, in the economic area; those who adjust the law to their own personal convenience and that of their friends; those who make it seem not quite smart to care very much about anything—except, perhaps, about being smart.

If we visualize the “martyr” and the totalitarian type as posturing in the limelight, we can visualize these social invertebrates as simply sprawling in the most comfortable spot they can find. In their amorphous state, differences are not seen as making any difference that really matters. Such persons are, we might say, pre-social: the structured relationships by which we live together, and in terms of which we distinguish right from wrong, have slight meaning for them. The mark of unsoundness that such as these leave upon our

society is that of tawdry practice and deteriorated standard. And again we must note that seemingly opposite types can have a strikingly similar effect. The shabby politician, the go-getter, and the pseudo-sophisticate may be more alike than any one of them would choose to think; for all of them base both their personal decisions and their judgments of other people on factors that have little to do with either individual integrity or the common welfare.

In our effort to understand the many ways in which personality problems become social problems we begin to have at our command, now, not only general psychological insights but many specific studies.

Studies of juvenile delinquency are a case in point. Here, recognition, prevention, and treatment begin to form a cohesive unit, and certain pre-delinquent patterns of behavior begin to emerge clearly. While our studies of age-levels enable us to take in stride many forms of conduct that we recognize in our children as part of a passing phase, and also sudden changes in their behavior as they go from one phase to another, we are also learning what rightly to be concerned about. Habitual destructiveness—even though minor in each instance; petty stealing; abnormal secrecy about plans and resentment at being asked about them; an abrupt drop in standards of accomplishment at school to a level far below capacity: in these behaviors and others we are learning to read, as it were, a warning sign—*Danger: Inner Conflict at Work*.

Studies of prejudice are another case in point.¹ Here, perhaps, the most important development of the past ten years lies in a shift of emphasis from *an individual with a specific prejudice to the personality type that is prone to be prejudiced*. On the basis of far more kinds of evidence, far more tests and studies, than we can possibly describe here, we are learning some startling facts about other traits that tend to form a "constellation" with prejudice.

At first glance, there may seem no logic at all in such a "constellation"—no reason why this or that "irrelevant" characteristic should team up with, say, racial or religious prejudice; or with prejudice, often, on many different fronts. Yet there is overwhelming evidence for such "teaming up."

In hasty summary, we might note, for example, that highly prejudiced students tend to have an ambivalent attitude toward their own parents: what they say about their parents, in a verbal interview, is almost too favorable, too all-approving—and they seem to feel guilty and uneasy if they make the smallest criticism; yet when they take projective tests that bring out their attitude toward these same parents *without their realizing the significance of the test enough to "edit" their responses*, they show a marked hostility and anxiety.

Students, in contrast, who have few prejudices—who, on the whole, are for the human race and ready to let many different sorts of people be themselves—are far more able, without signs of guilt, to make specific open criticisms of their parents; but show on the projective tests a basic affection for them and relatively little resentment, fear, or anger with regard to parental authority.

Again, highly prejudiced students are more anxiously conformist than those who are less prejudiced—and far more harsh in their judgments upon other individuals and upon human weaknesses in general. Thus, when “asked the question, ‘What is the most embarrassing experience?’ anti-Semitic girls responded in terms of violations of mores and conventions in public. Whereas non-prejudiced girls spoke more often of inadequacy in personal relations, such as failing to live up to a friend’s expectations.”¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 398.

Or to take a third characteristic: prejudiced children, far more often than non-prejudiced, agree to the proposition that “there are only two kinds of people: the weak and the strong”; and male students with strong ethnic prejudices are far more likely than the unprejudiced to agree that “there are only two kinds of women: the pure and the bad.” Here, in brief, we recognize another outcropping of the black and white tendency: the same tendency that shows itself in the extreme factionalist.

Once more, the prejudiced person is far more uneasy than the unprejudiced in the presence of any ambiguous or indecisive situation; and far more prone, therefore, to jump to a hasty, definite, “simplifying” conclusion—and stick to it in the face of all evidence. The unprejudiced person is, as a rule, far more able to postpone a decision until the evidence is in; and also far more able to modify it after it is made—or to give it up, if need be, in the face of new evidence.

Again, prejudiced students show themselves more prone than the less prejudiced to base their sense of security, status, and personal significance on their membership in, and their intense allegiance to, institutions. They appear to have a particular attachment to *exclusive* institutions—so much so, in fact, that they often manage to impose an exclusive pattern, as it were, upon their church or their nation by exaggerating the differences between it and all others and then belittling the others. The relatively unprejudiced seem to get more satisfaction than the prejudiced do out of human relationships that they have built on their own, in terms of personal liking and shared interest.

Finally, the prejudiced individual tends to believe in the strong hand of authority as the only means of keeping human nature in line. “Living in a democracy is a higgledy-piggledy affair.” This goes against the grain where highly prejudiced people are concerned. “The consequences of personal freedom they find unpredictable. Individuality makes for indefiniteness, disorderliness, and change. It is easier to live in a defined hierarchy where people are types, and where groups

are not constantly shifting and dissolving.

"To avoid such slipperiness the prejudiced person looks for hierarchy in society. Power arrangements are definite—something he can understand and count on. . . . When students were asked to give the names of great people they most admired, prejudiced students usually gave names of leaders who had exercised power and control over others. . . ." ¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 406–407.

Napoleon and Bismark were favorites, for example.

It is no small matter for us to be learning the many ways—the many surprising and subtle ways—in which the deep emotional problems and conflicts that obsess people move out into the open to become social problems.

Such learning, we would say, cannot be a mere intellectual exercise. It has to become a preface to policy. The more we understand in these areas, the more we realize that a new firmness and a new constructive tenderness are called for in the handling of "problem" behaviors.

It is not enough, where such behaviors are concerned, to act as though *understanding* meant *condoning*; for it takes more than understanding to check their consequences—their destructive influence upon individual lives and our shared society.

Neither is it enough just to dismiss such behaviors—so long as they stop short of criminality—as expected manifestations of human cussedness: unfortunate, perhaps, but to be lived with as part of the nature of things. They do too much harm for such easy dismissal. Also, *minor* problems which are rooted in personality disorder have a way, we now realize, of becoming *major* by neglect. Criminal conduct has its antecedents in pre-criminal conduct. Destructive prejudice, authoritarian practices, and blind factionalism also have their antecedents.

Finally, it is not enough just to clamp down on the offender; for his offense consists in doing what he, with his distorted vision, sees to do—and every person, sound or unsound, does what he sees to do and not something else. Not exhortation nor ridicule nor punishment can make the fear-ridden person discover in his environment reasons for confidence. Neither can they make the rigid person—repressed, inhibited, afraid of every honest emotion and every spontaneous action—into one who is flexible and adaptive. Fear of punishment may, to a limited extent, deter an individual from acts of destruction and cruelty. But only to a limited extent. And only so long as the fear lasts. We are beginning to realize that many individuals who do not act out their consuming hostility directly do so indirectly; and not the least of our dangers is that they will encourage our society's becoming, and the world's becoming, a place where hatreds can be vented with impunity.

It seems to us that, as newly "naturalized" citizens of the psychological age, we are going to have to put two contrasted types of error behind us. One is the error of indiscriminate "softness" toward those who hurt others: the type of senti-

mentality, for example, that becomes so concerned about the delinquent as "poor boy" that it forgets all about the victim of delinquency—and all about the probable future victims of the "poor boy" turned loose in society to act in the only way he can act: *as himself*. It is not enough, in short, to understand that misbehavior has a cause and that it has to be rated, often, as compulsive rather than voluntary. Our understanding has to include this fact, but must go beyond it. It has to include our awareness of what uncorrected disorder does as a force in society; and therefore our determination to restrain its influence while getting at its cause and trying to effect its correction.

The opposite error—all too common—is that of indiscriminate "hardness" toward the offender; that of sheer retaliatory anger. This attitude, treating all misbehaviors as voluntary, ignores all that we have learned about mental illness and its inevitable ways of externalizing itself.

The answers, in this area of our perplexity, are certainly not all in. We are as yet, we can guess, at the primer stage of our self-understanding and mutual understanding. We are barely beginning to spell out the lessons of personality disorder converted into public behavior. We stumble even more when we try to spell out our obligation toward the emotionally disturbed individual, his specific victim, and our democratic society.

But we will learn. The proof that we can learn is already accumulating—and with dramatic rapidity. We find that proof in the swift growth of the mental health movement and the movement for parent education. We find it in new programs of industrial relations, in the development of pastoral counseling, in new methods of treatment for the delinquent and the criminal.

There are also, we would say, more subtle types of proof. In our personal lives we are developing a new sense of psychological cause and effect—and therefore a new readiness and skill in making psychic space for one another: giving one another both room to grow and companionship in growth. In our larger society, moreover, we are showing signs of a new maturity: almost, we might say, a sudden maturity, under the impact of crisis. More and more of us are becoming ready to say that, from here on in, we are going to attach a new importance to making word and action, belief and policy fit together. The drama of understanding is merging into the drama of social creativity as we set ourselves to extend opportunities, safeguard rights, build up our therapeutic resources, and, most of all, support our democratic institutions with democratic behaviors in the small, intimate places of life—in the home, classroom, place of work—where habits and attitudes are built into personality structures.

S E V E N T E E N

SPACE-MAKING INSTITUTIONS

IN THE EARLY chapters of this book, we explored the ways in which we "corner" one another or, in contrast, make psychological room for one another: room to move ahead,

turn around, and, if need be, back up and start over.

Upon this mutual granting of space, we ventured to say, depends the very texture of our individual and common life. When we make generous room for one another, ego-defense becomes a secondary matter. We can afford to be absent-minded about it most of the time. Our primary occupation becomes that of using our powers constructively—and therefore happily—in our environment.

When, on the other hand, room is denied, ego-defense has to remain a primary concern. It is as though, instead of being able to take out life and fire insurance and then go on about our business, we had to spend most of our waking hours studying our insurance policies and checking and rechecking the safety devices by which we had surrounded ourselves. Under such circumstances, our life might indeed be “insured”—but scarcely worth living.

If psychic space is thus important, the person who can spontaneously and consistently grant it to others is, we have noted, the type of human being our world most needs. Where he lives and moves, things happen within people and between people that can be called *good*, because they are on the side of life.

In his poem *The Creation*, James Weldon Johnson gives us the image of God walking upon his new-made planet and ventures a superbly intimate picture of what takes place when a great creative force moves through an environment:

“Then the green grass sprouted,
And the little red flowers blossomed,
The pine tree pointed his finger to the sky,
And the oak spread out his arms. . . .”¹

¹ James Weldon Johnson, *The Creation*; GOD’S TROMBONES, pp. 18–19. New York: The Viking Press, 1927.

What he thus describes is scarcely more mysterious than what happens in the way of “creation” when we feel ourselves suddenly made real, or remade, in the presence of a fellow human being.

We ourselves gratefully acknowledge that within our own minds, many times, we have experienced renewal and growth because some person whom we have been with—in some cases, even a stranger whom we have just met—has mysteriously made it seem right and natural to be ourselves: to be as characteristically ourselves as the pine tree is itself when it points a “finger to the sky,” in contrast to the oak tree that spreads out its arms.

Or we can turn from the insight of the poet to that of the psychological scientist. On the basis of his varied training and his long experience at the Counseling Center at the University of Chicago, Carl R. Rogers has recently given us what he takes to be the essence of sound counseling. He seems to have discovered, he tells us, that success or failure with his patients depends upon his being able to create a relationship that is characterized on his part by “genuineness and transparency” with regard to his own feelings: by “a warm acceptance of and liking for the other person as a separate indi-

vidual"; and by a "sensitive ability" to see the other person's world as he sees it.

He testifies that if he can create this sort of relationship, then the other individual—the patient—

- "will experience and understand aspects of himself which previously he has repressed;

- will find himself becoming better integrated, more able to function effectively;

- will become more similar to the person he would like to be;

- will be more self-directing and self-confident;

- will become more of a person, more unique and self-expressive;

- will be able to cope with the problems of life more adequately and comfortably."

Rogers makes it plain, further, that he is not talking only about the therapeutic relationship: "To me, the exciting thing about these research findings is not simply the fact that they prove the efficacy of one form of psychotherapy, though that is by no means unimportant. The excitement comes from the fact that these findings justify an even broader hypothesis regarding all human relationships. There seems every reason to suppose that the therapeutic relationship is only one instance of interpersonal relations, and that the same lawfulness governs all such relationships. Thus it seems reasonable to hypothesize that if the parent creates with his child a psychological climate such as we have described, then the child will become more self-directing, socialized, and mature. To the extent that the teacher creates such a relationship with his class, the student will become a self-initiated learner, more original, more self-disciplined, less anxious and other-directed. If the administrator, or military or industrial leader, creates such a climate within his organization, then his staff will become more self-responsible, more creative, better able to adapt to new problems, more basically cooperative."¹

¹Carl R. Rogers, "Becoming a Person," *Pastoral Psychology* (February, 1956), pp. 7-13.

We have harked back to the matter of the space-making personality and the space-making relationship because we wish to move ahead to a broader but closely allied concept: namely, the space-making institution—and beyond it, the space-making society.

The institutions of any given society are, we might say, the durable frame of action within which the members of that society feel crowded, pushed around, on guard, robotized, or, on the other hand, free to become their unique and contributive selves.

What Carl Rogers says of the counseling relationship can, we believe, be said in general about the relationship between any given institution—home, school, church, governmental structure—and the many different individuals who come and go within its atmosphere. A sound institution is not a static force in the human scene. Neither is it a dictatorial force—

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one that arbitrarily bends and twists human personality to match its purposes. It is more like the God of James Weldon Johnson's poem: a creative force exerting a creative influence. No matter how much more powerful it may be than any one individual, and no matter how much more lasting than any one life span, its effect is that of inviting the human "pine tree" to be a pine, and the human "oak tree" to be an oak; and of inviting all the different entities to form a world.

If this can be said about a sound institution, then certain closely related things can be said about a sound society:

First, it is one in which most of the institutions, most of the time, have this sort of creative effect upon individuals—of giving them room to grow, be themselves, and make a contribution that is an honest "outwarding" of themselves;

Second, it is one in which no members are arbitrarily excluded from the experiences and advantages provided by its basic institutions;

Third, it has achieved such stability and clarity of intent that all its basic institutions support rather than contradict one another's influence—so that the individual is not subjected to constant pulling and hauling, with resultant inner conflict and loss of integrity, as he moves, say, from home to school, place of work to polling booth, or playground to place of worship;

Fourth, it has insured itself against rigidity by providing, in all its major institutions, for processes of orderly change—so that it manages to combine stability with flexibility, and itself grows through the insights and efforts of those in whom it has encouraged growth.

When we think of a society in these terms—of the creative influence it exerts and the room it provides for growth and individuality—we begin to see what the major issues of our age are all about. They are, in essence, issues that have to do with making institutions, societies, and more broadly still, a world in which psychic space is wide and sure; in which human beings are far more often engaged in using their powers constructively than in simply defending themselves; and in which they are not crowded, pushed into corners, trapped, distorted, and stunted.

Perhaps the most important question we can ask about any institution or any form of society is about the individual who finds himself within it: where can he go from where he is; how freely can he move, and in what company? We said in an earlier chapter that one of the most important things we can know about ourselves is how other people act not only when we are around but *because* we are around. A parallel judgment can be made about institutions and societies: their soundness or unsoundness is constantly evident in the way that people act within them—and because they exist.

We are exceedingly lucky in our western civilization, and specifically in this country, in the fact that so many of our bedrock institutions are space-making. This is so basically true that when individuals are denied room to stretch their

minds, develop their powers, participate in government "by the consent of the governed," or move into associations of their own choosing to enjoy the company of others as free as ourselves, the basic intention of our society is somehow being flouted. Either someone is exerting more power over other people's lives than he has a right to exert; or else our basic intention, at this particular point, has not yet equipped itself with the secondary institutions through which it can rightly be enacted.

In its essence, our constitutional government is as well designed to grant "living space" and "growing space" as any institution on earth has ever been. This is not merely a political fact. It is a psychological fact. To state it as such is not to be guilty of chauvinism or boasting. It is simply to acknowledge an opportunity and a responsibility; and to learn how vital both of these are, we have only to look at the world as it now is.

There are today, we know, vast areas of the earth where psychological space has been made so tight and confined that no one has room to speak a free word without looking to see who is listening; where there is no room at all for a dissenting idea; where no one can decide to pick up his traps and go from one job to another; where no one can explore, on his own, the vast perplexities of life.

During the first world war, Carl Sandburg wrote, in tribute to the aviators and scientists of that time,

"They have taken the ball of earth
and made it a little thing . . .

- There are no bars across the way. . . ."¹

¹ Carl Sandburg, "Leather Leggings," in *Complete Poems*, pp. 108-109. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950.

When these confident words were first published, we did not yet know that the totalitarian dictators have since taught us: that there is a different sense in which the ball of earth can be made "a little thing"—too small for anyone on it to escape the watchful eyes of those who may report him for the slightest deviation. We did not then know what we have since learned about ideological bars "across the way."

But we know now; and are in a position, therefore, to appreciate certain space-making factors in our own culture. First among these we would name the Constitution itself—with its provision for checks and balances and for orderly change—and those "roomy" amendments we name the Bill of Rights.

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." To feel the breadth of space guaranteed by these words we have only to think of the long centuries of religious coercion, persecution, and war that the human race had struggled through before the words could be written. The Constitutional Congress did not, obviously, conjure up this first provision of the Bill of Rights out of nothing—or out of sudden revelation. Rather, it reported what the colonists had learned the hard

way: that when any one religion makes itself the only one, insisting upon its right to define for all men the proper relationship of man to the universe, it becomes so small that even its own willing adherents are "crowded" within it. They begin to move in prescribed, ritualized circles; and their minds become so preoccupied with distinctions between saved and damned that they no longer venture toward sublimity. Most of what is tantalizingly unknown about the universe is thus crowded out of consciousness.

Sixteen words against centuries of man's bleak determination to compel the religious convictions of his fellow man. . . .

These words made room for people to find their way into the faith of their own choosing; or to acknowledge that, so far as the universe was concerned, they did not know the answers—and had their doubts, even, about most of the answers so far codified.

Also, they surrounded those whose faiths were established and sure by constant reminders that these faiths were not the only ones—and that, even within the fold of confident assurance, the search for truth and meaning had best go on.

These Constitutional words guaranteed another sort of "roominess," moreover, that we often overlook in talking about religious freedom. They made it not only lawful but culturally acceptable for persons of different faiths to talk together without trying to argue each other down or brow-beat each other into conformity. In brief, they gave us a right to be generous and civil rather than coercive and cruel in the face of the mystery that is life.

We see the fruits of this Constitutional provision, today, not only in the presence of many different creeds and religions, each operative within its own institutions, but also in such organizations as the National Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, local ministerial associations, and more and more efforts, on the world front, to bridge gaps of misunderstanding and hostility between the various major religions of the earth.

A human being can, of course, be granted room to move and yet not move. In a mental hospital, for example, we may witness the rigid immobility of the catatonic: the type of insane person who stays precisely in the same position for hours on end. It makes no difference to this victim of catatonia whether the room he is in is large or small; for he is not going anywhere.

It would be extreme, perhaps, to say that sometimes, in the very areas where the most generous room to move has been granted them, our minds practice a sort of voluntary catatonia: they go nowhere, simply stay put.

So far as religious freedom is concerned, it seems to us that three directions of movement are constantly called for if the human mind, as well as the institution, is to remain free. One involves searching for a frame of belief able to hold otherwise disparate scraps of experience together and give them meaning. A second, within the frame of this belief, is that of trying

to move toward ever new vistas of insight: in brief, of keeping ourselves in touch with the elusively unknown. The third is a movement—in behalf of mutual illumination and shared effort—toward those of different denominational and religious faiths.

We would note, in passing, that to our minds this third movement should include not only those who have found their faiths, but those who have not. Many persons, today, frightened by Communist atheism—by the phenomenon, that is, of a coercive “state religion” made out of a denial of religion—seem ready to start among ourselves a new enterprise of “crowding.” While they grant that the individual should indeed be free to choose among established creeds and religions, they take the attitude that he had better make his choice *among these* and not dare to remain outside of them all. On the other hand, many who elect to remain outside all established creeds and religions exhibit their own sin of pride. The catatonic atheism of the person who never talks to a religious believer except to argue with him, or about any religion except in tones of contempt—and with absolutistic sureness about what is not true—is at no far remove from catatonic orthodoxy. Neither the catatonic believer nor the catatonic disbeliever is using the room guaranteed him by the Constitution to make the religious area of life one of continual search and wide generosity.

“Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . .” It is good to read these words and feel how broad and open the space is that they provide for our human minds and consciences. And the same holds true for all the other provisions in the Bill of Rights: provisions that make us variously secure in our persons and property—and thereby enable us to take our minds off problems of self-defense and occupy them with the constructive enterprises of living.

We need scarcely repeat, here, what we have said earlier about our having to exercise “eternal vigilance” with regard to our basic freedoms. But we need to recognize that such vigilance alone cannot keep these freedoms alive. Watch can be kept over a corpse. What is profoundly called for is the “eternal practice” of our freedoms—the day in and day out employment of them, wherever we are. And not only the constant practice of them but the *spacious* practice. Again, the Constitution can give us room to stretch and grow; but it cannot force us to grow.

Thus, freedom of speech cannot be protected by our merely keeping an anxious eye on those who would shut us up—though such watchfulness is necessary. It is best protected by our saying things that make accurate, responsible, and generous good sense; and by our being willing, when we have said our say, to listen to others—or even to listen *before* we say our say. It is best protected, in brief, where minds *be-* have like minds—and not like mere appendages to vacuity,

prejudice, or blind factionalism.

One reason, we ourselves feel certain, why the extremists among us have had more influence than their numbers would justify is that the rest of us have largely failed to use the psychic space open to us for exchanging ideas across lines of difference. We have too often been satisfied simply to express our own ideas, read newspapers we agree with, assemble with our own kind—and call this the practice of freedom. We have thus tended to become self-repetitive rather than self-corrective; self-defensive and self-congratulatory rather than open and generous.

This has been true even among groups dedicated to the defense of freedom. In the teaching profession we have seen this sort of thing at work. As a professional group, we teachers have to be firm and clear in stating issues we take to be basic to the mind's freedom and in holding the line against invasion of that freedom. Yet we can scarcely afford to retreat into an exclusive, high-tensioned companionship with those who share our fears: those with whom we insistently talk about them in a language of ready agreement; and from whom we borrow, if not a sense of security, at least the comfort of having someone to shiver with.

The very temptation we face, in a time of fear and anger, to "huddle" with our mental, emotional, and professional kind can lead us into a far from healthy state. It involves the risk that, exercising freedom of speech and assembly, we will talk ourselves into adding phantom threats to real ones—hitting out as furiously, or as nervously, at the one as at the other.

It involves the risk, also, that we will tacitly agree to play down certain dangers that are both real and important. To our minds one of the strangest phenomena of our time is the extent to which those of us whose very profession depends upon the mind's freedom have "agreed" that the issue of Communism in our midst is to be deprecated rather than wrestled with. It is almost as though, having come late to a recognition of what Communism really is in aim and method, and having found anti-Communism already the stock in trade of certain groups we have committed ourselves to calling reactionary, we have not been able to find a way consonant with our professional self-respect of taking hold of the problem and making it one that concerns all free men. Thus, while we have opposed excesses of anti-Communism, we have not carried through on our knowledge that Communism, for a long time to come, and by whatever tactics it can devise, is going to oppose the way of life on which our very profession depends.

Further than this, the temptation to "huddle" with our kind involves the risk that we will, as a "fear-sharing" group, talk ourselves into a strange "apartness" from our society—an "apartness" that can all too easily turn into a sense of being *excluded, discriminated against, and undervalued.*

As a matter of fact, working as we ourselves do and have

done over the years, with many different types of groups—racial, economic, religious, professional, political—we have been struck by the number and variety of groups that seem increasingly to feel themselves excluded, discriminated against, and undervalued. More than once, we have found that when two groups—liberal and reactionary, or labor and management—are opposing each other over some issue, *each sees itself as a beleaguered minority*.

When a *sense of minority status* is thus simultaneously experienced by both parties to a conflict, it means, we believe, that each party has been talking too exclusively and too anxiously to itself. To recall a phrase used in an earlier chapter, the members of each side have been *monologuing in unison*—and have monologued themselves into a state where they feel that their one consuming task is that of self-defense. Or to put the matter another way, they have exercised their Constitutional freedom of speech and assembly to trap themselves: to induce in themselves the distribution of energy that goes with fear and anger rather than with constructiveness and clarity of thought. Above, we ventured the term “voluntary catatonia” to describe the immobility of a mind that has been given room to move. Here—even though we recognize that the term is an exaggeration—we are tempted to speak of “voluntary paranoia” to describe this use of freedom to talk ourselves and assemble ourselves into a conviction of being persecuted.

The psychological space our society grants us is not, of course, experienced only in relation to our basic governmental structure or our Bill of Rights. It is experienced more intimately within the many smaller institutions—the secondary institutions, we might call them—that represent our will to enact, and not merely pronounce, our basic principles.

From our beginnings as a nation we have been constantly engaged, we might say, in furnishing the large house of our social intentions. Within it, we have located the public school system, courts of law, churches, libraries, playgrounds, universities, parks, businesses, factories, hospitals, museums, welfare agencies, a host of voluntary associations, and, needless to say, homes.

We are reminded often of the faults and shortcomings of our society. Also, we are encouraged often to feel that any dūb can praise the virtues of his own society, but that it takes a peculiarly penetrating and valiant mind to discover and point up its faults. Finally, we are exasperated often by the double talk and slippery tactics of various individuals who make themselves conspicuous within the large, hard-working company of those to whom the common welfare is entrusted.

The net effect of this is that we often lose sight of how much there is to which we can honestly point with pride. We ourselves find endless encouragement and incentive in one fact about our society: namely, that in almost every one of our secondary institutions the line of evolution, through

the years, has been toward the providing of more and more space for the human spirit to grow in. Almost any institution we can name is more spacious—less given to hemming people in or crowding them out—than it was even fifty years ago.

Take our public school system, for example. It was designed in the first place to give people room: to set them free from the trap of illiteracy and ignorance. But at first the school was able to open up only a few fields of knowledge—and to open these to only a scant portion of the population, for a few weeks of each year and a few years of life. The space thus granted to the learning mind turned out, in all sorts of ways, to be too small. Therefore, gradually, the broadened curriculum; the lengthened school term; the stretching out of the system to embrace high schools, junior colleges, and adult evening schools, at one end of the scale, and nursery schools and kindergartens, at the other; the provision of special classes for retarded children and migratory children; home teachers for the ill and the handicapped.

Or take our colleges and universities. In the beginning—made in the image of European institutions—these gave a very few people room to move into professional life: into the ministry and the law. But again their evolution has been toward making space for people: for more individuals, and for most aspects of each individual. The enriched curriculum; free public colleges and universities; extension divisions; fellowships and scholarships in ever increasing numbers; the GI bill of rights—all these, and many other developments, are part of the story.

Or take our courts of law. To make the story brief, we might mention only such developments as the court of domestic relations, the juvenile court, and the use that the court makes of the psychiatrist. Each of these has meant in its own way that some troubled human being would have more room to state his case, more room to move without being pushed around or cornered, than he had before.

The library affords yet other evidence of how we have, within our institutions, learned to make room for people, for what they have in them as individuals, and for more of them. When an urban library, for example, adds a Reader's Adviser to its staff it opens the way for a host of readers to move toward books they need which they would never have discovered for themselves. When it equips itself to lend not only books but records and museum prints, it again becomes more roomy; more types of experience can be enjoyed within its frame. When a rural library acquires a bookmobile, it becomes large enough to open its doors to people at country crossroads to whom those doors would otherwise be closed.

One afternoon, some years ago, we arrived early in a certain small town where we were to talk to a church group. With time on our hands, we decided to find the public library and browse a while. Walking along the street, looking for it, we met a small boy. "Can you tell us where the library is?" we asked. "Oh, gee!" he exclaimed, pointing down the street. "It just went around that corner." We did not race after it. But we stood where we were a moment and enjoyed feeling

that, even as we stood there, the "walls" of the public library were being pushed back to take in a whole countryside.

Parks, playgrounds, summer camps, settlement houses: these provide room, we know, not for the body alone but for the mind and spirit. We were told, last summer, by a man who worked in a New York settlement, about one small boy's summing up of the difference between the camp he had been privileged to enjoy for two weeks and the city apartment, in a depressed area, where he normally lived. In the latter, he said, there wasn't any "hollering place." Children, we realize, need their "hollering places"—and their places to run, skip, and jump; their places to throw a ball and have it thrown back to them; their places to make things and to enjoy what others make. And not only children—teen-agers and adults need room, also, to "outward" themselves in recreational and creative action. In a host of different institutions, the trend has been toward giving them such room.

The polling booth has become, in psychological terms, a far larger place than it used to be. With the institution of the secret ballot, it became, overnight, large enough to grant privacy—and therefore a new freedom from pressure—to the person casting his vote. With the passing of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and later the Nineteenth Amendment, it became large enough to accomodate whole segments of the population that had previously been excluded from it: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude"; and "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

It goes without saying that there are still many "bars across the way." Facilities are still far from adequate—in schools, libraries, clinics, playgrounds. Also, there are bars of custom, prejudice, and ignorance. The important thing in a society like ours, however, is to know what we are about. We are a space-making and space-seeking people. During the early stages of our history, there was always room on the geographical frontier. When our economy was burgeoning into its unique form, we characteristically said, "There is always room at the top"—thus expressing the fact that the old pattern of rigid class levels had been broken. Oddly enough, we have not made for ourselves a matching phrase to express what we have, since the beginning, been doing in almost countless ways: making more room for more people, and for more aspects of our human nature, within one educational, cultural, economic, and political institution after another.

To think and feel our way through this drama of space-wanting and space-making is to achieve, it seems to us, a certain clarity in the midst of confusion. It is to achieve a standard of measurement that can be applied to a host of different situations, and to a host of different problems.

This standard of measurement, for one thing, suggests an

answer to the citizen's perennial question, "What can I do?" That question, we know, can be asked despairingly or self-excusingly, eagerly or consideringly. Or it may not be put into words at all. But it lies at the heart of the democratic process and of the individual's relationship to it. Here, we begin to glimpse one kind of answer: in any institution to which we belong—as parent, worker, administrator, parishioner, learner, community member, citizen—we can look for the points where people are being "crowded," "trapped," "cornered," and can try to make more room for them.

Who, for example, is needlessly shut up in himself, without a chance to speak out his mind or share his experiences? In whom are latent powers held back from development and expression by lack of opportunity? Who is excluded from full participation in the activities of his group or country? Where do groups stand apart from each other in fear or misunderstanding because no common ground has been provided for their meeting? Who is standing pat in error because he does not know how to move out of it and still keep his self-respect? Who, because of age or disability, has been pushed out of the main stream of life into some stagnant and lonely pool? When we start looking around us with such questions as these in mind, the space-making adventure of our society becomes an intimately personal one.

After expressing his warm admiration for what other people had finely brought into being, Robert Bridges declared simply,

"I too will something make
And joy in the making . . ." ¹

¹ Robert Bridges, *I Love All Beauteous Things*.

It is with equal simplicity and directness of intent that we can turn from our appreciative survey of what has characteristically been brought to pass in our democratic institutions to say, "I too will make room for human beings to move, grow, meet one another, become more themselves—and will joy in the making."

What can I do? is not, however, the only question that the space-making concept, applied to our institutions, invites us to ask. A second question comes readily to mind? *What is now being done that deserves appreciation and support?* Here the answers are so many and varied that no sampling can properly suggest their range.

Into the offices of the New York Adult Education Council, day after day, come men and women, young and old, all of them tacitly asking, "Where is the right place for me—with my background, interests, resources, and limitations—to go on growing?" One woman spoke for many when she explained that "four walls and empty rooms can break your spirit" and that "classes mean people and ideas." For others, the problem is that of moving beyond work they do not enjoy and preparing themselves for what they have always wanted to be; and for others it is that of growing on their present job. Still others want to learn more about themselves as

human beings, about their children, and about their world. But all of them, in one way or another, feel crowded and are seeking more room in which to stretch their minds. With the help of the Council's Consultation Service, they are finding that room.

Or the mental health movement comes to mind: this newest development from the grassroots of the American community. To help people understand themselves and one another; to build a climate of opinion in which people can, without being catalogued as pariahs in the minds of their neighbors and employers, seek psychiatric help when they need it; to acquaint the public with the services and needs of their state hospitals; to equip communities with clinics and child guidance centers; to bring the layman and the psychological scientist together for mutual understanding and shared effort: these are space-making ventures of the new mental health movement. When we ourselves think of that movement, we find ourselves thinking not only in these general terms, however, but in terms of actual community groups, pioneering in the field, with whom we have been privileged to work: in Phoenix, Arizona; Tucson, Arizona; Huron, South Dakota; Rock Island, Illinois; Jacksonville, Florida; Peterborough, New Hampshire. In these communities, and many others, we have heard America talking and planning its way into the psychological age.

At Hillsborough High School, in Tampa, Florida, in the spring of 1955, the students in *family living* classes met as a group with their parents once a week for six weeks, to think their way through to better mutual understanding and to arrive at family policies that would be accepted and respected by teen-agers and adults alike. What the teacher of these classes, Dale Womble, was effectively doing was to give the two generations room to move toward each other and, in the words of one historic American document, "to sit down here close together."¹

¹ The original charter of Watertown, Connecticut.

Under the auspices of the University Religious Conference of the University of California at Los Angeles, four different project teams of twelve students each have gone to India during recent years—there to make America convincing by the simple process of enacting American democracy and good will. "We're here to make friends": that was all the purpose these students found it necessary to verbalize. The rest lay in the area of behavior. The members of the fourth and most recent of these project teams "spoke to more than 50,000 Indian college students in nine weeks" and "they left behind them a clear impression of America at its best. . . . On campuses, in the streets and over countless cups of coffee, the U.C.L.A. students met young India."¹ As these young

¹ See "America at its Best in India," by Thomas B. Morgan, with photographs by Bob Lerner. *Look* (February 7, 1956), pp. 56-64.

people of two nations thus talked, played, ate, and worked together, the distance that had hitherto lain between them became a meeting place for minds.

Who, then, are the space-makers among us? Their name,

quote
 happily, is legion. They are in organizations that work for the rehabilitation of the handicapped. They are counselors and educators in penal institutions, helping prisoners to become more truly themselves, and more ready for the business of living than they have ever been before. As play therapists, they are making room for small frightened children who have been crowded into emotional corners to find their way back to a world of reality, creativeness, and affection. As supporters of the Urban League and the United Negro College Fund, or the Association on American Indian Affairs, they are opening up new opportunities for growth where these have been denied. As supporters of such groups as the Iron Curtain Refugee Committee they are opening a way back toward freedom for those trapped within totalitarian regimes. Through such organizations as CARE, Save the Children Federation, and Foster Parents Plan for War Orphans, they are giving substance to the term "human family." As members of a host of voluntary associations—from Rotary International to Association of Childhood Education International—they are quietly enacting "one world" by bringing peoples of different lands together in terms of basic common interests.

After we have looked long enough, and in enough different directions, at those who are actively engaged in space-making, we have one kind of answer to those who say that the pioneering spirit in America is dead, that our society is old and tired, and that it has never matured, but merely settled down.

After we have looked at them long enough, moreover, we are ready to look at some altogether different kinds of things that are happening and to ask, "What's wrong here?" For the standard set for us by the concept of space-making tells us not only what to approve and support, but also what to oppose and reject. Where, in short, are people being needlessly trapped and crowded into corners—and by whom; and by what attitudes and policies?

Here again the briefest sampling must serve. But it is clarifying to note that constrictive influences within our society tend to fall chiefly into six categories.

First, there are the forces of sheer inertia. What we have to cope with here is not so much deliberate ill will as a simple human tendency to translate the familiar into the "natural." Slums have "always" existed; certain types of people have "always" done menial work; nations have "always" been separate and competitive and we cannot expect that an "unnatural" set-up like that of the United Nations will really work.

Second, there is the force of limited imagination. Those, for example, who cannot imagine what it feels like to be "retired" after a long life of usefulness into loneliness, futility, and dependence are not likely to contribute much to the releasing of our older people into new experiences, occupations, and companionships. Similarly, those who cannot put

themselves into the position of a displaced person, are not likely to bestir themselves to make room for that person.

Again, there are forces of entrenched prejudice. Prejudice may be fairly mild and harmless, or deep and destructive; but invariably it is marked by two tendencies: the tendency to bring all members of the disparaged group under one covering judgment and to lose sight of their individual differences; and the further tendency to exaggerate the difference between this group as a whole and the favored group with which it is contrasted. A person may be quiet in his exercise of prejudices: may simply not go near certain groups if he can help it. Or he may be violent. But two things he does not do: make room for the individual qualities of those in the disparaged group; or make room for that group and his own to know each other better.

Next we note the force of vested interest. We normally think of vested interests as accumulations of economic power. But there are many other kinds. Within a certain national organization, for example, policy has become the vested interest of a handful of people who live within one area. These individuals see one another often between meetings; call one another by their first names even in convention sessions where most people are strangers; and quietly "run things"—so that the organization has become, in effect, a tight local unit with a large national membership as a dues-paying appendage. Or we might take other examples: the good will organization where there are never hands enough to do the work, but where the volunteer has been crowded out; or the labor union in which the number of apprenticeships is kept so limited that, we might say, there is never room at the bottom.

The fifth force that makes for crowding is fear, particularly when it is widespread or intense enough to be called panic. We see the physical demonstrations of this when, for example, fire in a public gathering place sends people into a destructive frenzy of mutual shoving and pushing. We see the cultural demonstration of it in many places today: people are fired, for instance, with no chance to state their case, because a rumor has reached their employer or department head that they once belonged to certain front organizations.

This type of "crowding" is, in psychological terms, over-reaction. Intent on safeguarding himself, and looking at the danger through the magnifying lens of his own anxiety, the employer or department head resorts to more immediate and drastic action than is called for.

Another and final type of crowding and cornering is the deliberate exploitation of fear. One of the favorite panic-raising warnings of today is against social security. "Beware the government when it brings gifts," cry the modern Cassandra. "Social security is an invitation to laziness," they scream. "It will weaken our moral fiber; make us a people who live by handouts." Meanwhile the deep and often tragic issues of illness, accident, and aging in a society in which the individual is increasingly at the mercy of forces he cannot

control are completely overlooked.

Before we bring this chapter to an end, we would like to pose a further question. Beyond our many-sided enterprise of making space and preventing entrapment within our various institutions, is there, perhaps, a still larger adventure in the making?

We say often that we are living in an age of change; and to specify what we mean we point to such factors as urbanization, automation, our new nomadism, and the rest. As we contemplate these, we often seem appalled. It is as though everything that nobody knows how to do had to be done at once to prevent our being turned into futile creatures of the forces we have created. At such times, when anxiety dominates, we show ourselves overready either to hit out at somebody or to scuttle for cover. Thus preoccupied, we do not ask ourselves whether it may not be that our "age of change" is, in effect, an age of transition to an order of life more mentally and emotionally spacious than any we have ever known. May it not be that we are almost ready to go in for space-making on a grand scale—and that our confusions are a prologue to this enterprise rather than merely an epilogue to the world we have known?

We ourselves readily admit that we do not have the answer to this question; nor, we suspect, will the answer be forthcoming for a long time. Yet we cannot miss the fact that more and more first-rate minds are weighing the possibility that this is what is taking place: that a new age may be in the shaping, and that man's spirit may be stretching itself to match the proportions of this new age. Neither can we miss the fact that more and more of us are hungry for adventures of mind and spirit that have some scope to them.

There are intimations of this, we would say, in the number of people—particularly young people—who are quietly *for* the human race: who are thinking of it whole, and wishing it well. It is fairly easy, where middle-aged and older people are talking together, to induce a certain amount of doleful head shaking about the young. Those whose own young adventures were in the go-getter tradition are inclined to say that the current crop of young folks have no ambition: all they want is security. Those, on the other hand, whose own young adventures were in the intellectual tradition of "debunking" and the political tradition of reform and radicalism are prone to call today's young people conservative and conformist.

We ourselves feel, on the basis of our contacts with student groups and groups of young parents, that both these criticisms miss the point of what is taking place. Young people may lack ambition in the old go-getter terms, not because they are soft, but because they are tired of conflict and would rather establish warm, sound human relations than either outdo or dominate other people. And they may seem conservative to the "debunker" and the radical of the old school, not because they do not want to make the world better, but

because they are more interested in building up than in tearing down. The old-line tradition of "debunking" required that somebody be cast as dolt and fool. The old-line tradition of radicalism required that somebody be cast as villain: as enemy of the people; as an object to be hated and destroyed.

What impresses us most about young people, today—not the delinquent minority, but the overwhelming majority—is that they are singularly free of hatred. As personalities, they are, by and large, slanted toward friendliness. They are not, it would appear to us, in the old traditions of "debunking" or of turning society upside down in "righteous" anger, because they are quietly forging for themselves a new inclusive tradition that does not require them to enjoy belittling and hating: namely, a tradition of nurturing.

Countless American service men who, within one or another theater of war, have done what they could to make life tolerable for the children are in this tradition. So are students such as those who made up the project team in India. Today there are increasing numbers of such students, in one group or another, moving across old barriers in a spirit of new neighboring. The fact that every public opinion poll shows young people to be more free of prejudice than older people is another sign. And most conclusive of all, to our minds, is the extent to which young couples today are enjoying their homes and children—with both husband and wife interested in the nurturing processes; and beyond this, the extent to which they are taking on community responsibilities as a kind of larger housekeeping.

In every professional, scientific, and industrial field, today, efforts are being made to enlist the interest and energy of young people. Thus—to take a case in point—the Atomic Energy Commission is trying earnestly to induce more students to go into physical science as a life work. Yet as we read the appeals that are being made, we cannot help wondering whether the members of the Commission have really achieved an understanding of today's young minds. If they had, it seems to us, they would stress the very thing they now seem curiously reluctant to talk about, namely, peacetime uses of atomic energy; for the generation they are trying to reach is, in a profoundly new sense, a peace-minded generation. What is true in this instance would, we believe, be true in many others as well: those who want to enlist the creative energies of this new human crop we have raised must recognize the extent to which today's young are on the side of life.

A woman in whose home we were visiting made a remark that might sound as though it came from an older day: "My husband likes a woman to stay in her place." But then she added, "I don't mind, though—because he's always in it with me when he can be." In these words, affectionately spoken, we heard a new age speaking: a nurturing age; and therefore a space-making one.

There is, in brief, something new in the air—quietly but impressively new. Young people are by no means the only ones who reveal this fact. There are well-nigh countless signs.

It may seem on the surface that this is chiefly an age of new barriers raised between man and man: an age of the cramping of the human spirit. But more deeply it is an age of new searchings. To borrow a phrase from Bernard E. Meland, or the University of Chicago School of Theology, we are making a "transition to a higher form of commitment."

Rufus Jones has noted, "Strange stirrings of hope and expectation are moving across the world. It is possible that we may be on the fringe of a new and marvelous epoch. . . . It is one of the evidences of man's intrinsic greatness that it is just then, when he seems to be at the end of his human resources, that he rises above himself, and does what he could not do."¹ We would be willing to guess that the many small

¹ *Interdependence Reader*, p. 30. Interdependence Council, Philadelphia. space-making adventures to which we lend ourselves, day by day, within the various institutions to which we belong, are part of something very much larger than themselves: part of a movement that, as it unfolds and matures, will provide more spacious room for the human spirit than it has ever known before.

E I G H T E E N THE LIBERATING MIND

W E BELONG to a race the highest glory of which is its long line of liberators. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Euripides, Zeno the Stoic, Euclid, Thucydides: the names run on and on. Abraham, Moses, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, David of the Psalms; Jesus; Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John of the Gospels; Paul of the Acts and the Epistles; and the other named but mostly unknown writers of valiant letters to small groups precariously holding their own.

Confucius, Lao-tse, Gautama, Zoroaster, Mohammed: all of them liberators from one or another slavery of mind and spirit; St. Francis, St. Teresa, Thomas Aquinas; Copernicus, Galileo, Newton; Erasmus, Darwin, John Stuart Mill, Jefferson, Franklin, Washington, Lincoln—the names keep running on. And in the midst of them, the great illuminator, Shakespeare. And Goethe and Kant. Even to the birdmen of Kitty Hawk and our modern St. George, slayer of the polio dragon.

To be a member of the human race is a standing invitation to go and be like these. We thought of this as we watched a young assistant in a play therapy clinic slowly transform a fear-ridden child into someone eager to explore the toys around him. The child had come to the clinic, at first, with arm involuntarily raised for defense or attack. When we last saw him, he was deep in the world of his happy contriving. He was not yet, to be sure, a child fully set free: this would take a long time. But he was on his way.

This clinical assistant would scarcely place herself in the same category as the great liberators we have mentioned. But if she did not have their stature, she at least had their intention. Her intention, like theirs, was to release life into its freedoms.

We can find this liberating intention in all sorts of places.

We think of a radio studio in a private apartment in New York City. Helen Parkhurst is standing as one of a circle around a microphone. All except herself are children. "For many years," she wrote in her book, *Exploring the Child's World*, "... my constant thought was: 'Can the child be prevailed upon to reveal himself?'" In her small apartment studio, linked up to a major network, with the children around her, she is trying to find out. We think she has amazingly succeeded.

Children do not easily reveal themselves to grown-ups. Every parent knows this: tries, with wonder or bafflement, to look into a small life that is inarticulate. "I have shared the hope," wrote Miss Parkhurst in her book, "that parents and children might understand each other." But in countless cases they do not. Neither, in countless cases, do teachers and children. Nor officers of the law and children. Nor makers of the law and children.

This "apartness" of children can be unfortunate. The child who is not understood by the adults around him, and the adults who try to understand him but cannot "connect up" are both, we might say, underprivileged. Both are trapped within a too limited frame of experience. The child does not have room to move freely. The adult does not have room to act wisely.

In her small radio studio, Helen Parkhurst stands with her circle of children, skillfully and affectionately asking them questions—about punishment, stealing, lying: what they think and feel about these; about worry, prayer, winning or losing—all that goes into the drama of a child's life. "These questions are so simple," writes Aldous Huxley in an introduction to her book, "that one would think any fool could ask them. But in fact, of course, any fool would ask them at the wrong time, and in conjunction with other questions which should never have been asked. To ask them as Miss Parkhurst asks them—in such a way that the children are never intimidated into self-consciousness or silence, never made to doubt the questioner's affectionate disinterestedness—is given only to those with a vocation for teaching and the skill born of long experience."

Here, again, is the *liberating intention*—the will to set free. To the extent that the intention succeeds, everyone concerned moves a more spacious and less guarded world.¹

¹ For an illuminating analysis of Miss Parkhurst's methods and suggestions for their use, see *A Window to the Child's Mind*, by Dorothy R. Luke. New York: Starbridge Publications, 1955.

This same intention, of course, today, has a myriad "homes" in our society. It is operative in hundreds and thousands of places—clinics, laboratories, libraries, classrooms, counseling rooms—where men and women are at work trying to understand the human being and to help him to grow toward his world in interest and understanding. When we speak of this as a psychological age, we mean very simply that it is an age which has consciously taken on the problem of releasing life into the wide areas of its possibilities.

We think of another place. In his *Shirt-sleeve Diplomacy*, Jonathan Bingham describes it:

"A mud village lies baking in the punishing sun of a middle eastern summer day. Up to its walls over the stony, treeless wasteland crawls an American-made jeep . . .

"Driving the jeep is a lanky, middle-aged American named Smith, a former county agent half a world away from his native Arkansas. On the seat next to him is a staff worker from the local Ministry of Agriculture, a thin-faced man with dark skin and fine hands, his black hair whitened by the dust."

As the jeep drives carefully along a narrow lane between high mud walls, scores of ragged children appear as if from nowhere, and tag along. Several are carrying babies on their backs, their faces speckled with flies. The children follow the jeep until it stops before a windowless adobe house slightly larger than the rest.

"The two men sit down on the dirt floor with the local elders. First, there is hospitality: a tray is passed with glasses of water, tinted slightly pink with a kind of syrup, and sweet cakes. Smith would like to refuse, but he does not wish to offend his hosts. As unobtrusively as possible he slips a halizone tablet into the water glass. Brushing off a few flies, he nibbles at the sticky cake and pronounces it delicious.

"Then the talk starts. Smith and his companion ask what the village needs most. Malaria is bad, they are told . . . the village well is foul, and unreliable most of the year; the sheep are dying off; there is no school for the children . . . the wheat crop has been poor."

Smith listens. There are ways of getting these things attended to, he tells them, if the villagers will cooperate. They talk over what can be done. By the time he leaves, Smith can take it for granted that together they will go at the job.

"Twenty years ago," the author continues, "or even ten, there might have been a missionary out where Smith was, or an agent of an oil company, but there would have been no official representative of the United States Government. Today Smith is one of a small peaceful army. In military terms, it is a tiny army—about the size of a regiment—and it is deployed all the way from Mexico City around the world to Manila. But it is fighting a . . . war that has been going on since man first rose on his hind legs."¹

¹ Jonathan B. Bingham, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomacy: Point Four in Action*, pp. 3-4. New York: John Day, 1954.

The arresting thing about this story is that what religion, in its lonely heroism, long ago set out to do, government, with its secular limits, now attempts. It is taking on the liberating function of bringing life more abundant—and beyond its own borders.

This fact is perhaps the most significant news of our generation. Nor should it be wholly surprising news, for these men of today—the "man named Smith" and the small regiment of his fellow workers, as well as the initiators of the program—have found their stimulus and dedication within a govern-

mental form that the great liberators, Jefferson, Washington, Lincoln, and the rest, helped to create.

Nor should this kind of dedication surprise us after the many liberating things that have taken place within the past hundred years—and one in particular that is too little thought about, now, because it is taken for granted: the emancipation of women. This—one of the greatest psychological and moral events in history—has meant far more than that women can now vote. Far more profoundly and broadly, it has meant bringing a *life-affirming view* into the forefront of our social consciousness.

The woman is the nurturer—has always been. She has had long practice not only in bringing life to birth but in helping it to go on living. Today, as we noted in the preceding chapter, this nurturing point of view has begun to prevail among us: the view that life is precious; must be cared for; given its chance to grow; loved and encouraged into the release of its powers. It is the view that where there is helplessness, there must be caretaking; where there is ignorance, there must be provision for learning; where there is awkwardness of learning, there must be patience—patience with love and laughter in it.

The nurturing point of view has begun in our day to color all our life situations. The first question we ask now, whether it be in the building of a city or a nation or a world, is how the things we propose to do *affect people's lives*: their health, happiness, creative productiveness; their capacity to work together; their chance to be on friendly terms with one another, and to have a sense of rights respected and dignity enhanced.

The emancipation of women, in short—which, surprisingly, was accomplished only a few short years ago—has meant the emancipation of *our age*, and of men no less than women, into a more human regard for people. This is why today's stirrings of anger and rebellion among those whom we have called the "backward" peoples of the world are met, not with instant and retaliatory anger on our part, or a determination to force them to "keep their place," but with a growing measure of understanding and compassion. It is, also, the reason why the "race problem" in our own country has become of such intense concern to us: why it is taken as a problem that has to be worked through to some conclusion that will do justice to all involved. Also, we might say, it is why the concept of a wider and more friendly neighborliness of the world begins to capture our imagination.

We miss the point if we think of the "One World" movement as purely or even primarily political. Far more fundamentally, it is a movement of wider caring about life. Why, we begin to ask, should we lock ourselves up within our tight walls of national suspicion—glaring at one another, preparing to destroy one another—when we might have a far better time of it by talking things over together; getting the hang

of one another's problems; lending a hand?

It is our nurturing, liberating mind that now talks in this way. War begins to wear a guise of sickening stupidity. It offends every life-affirming fiber of our make-up. The nurturing, liberating mind wants something better than killing and overcoming. In Robert Frost's phrase, it wants "life to go on living."

One of the enervating—and irritating—factors in the world today is a kind of leftover from the pre-nurturing age. We might call it the cult of the higher gloom. It is the habit of despair that looks at every human situation in terms of what is wrong with it, or of how difficult it is to handle, or of how stupid the people involved in it are, rather than in terms of how *alive* it is.

We recently opened a remarkable report put out by the Research Department of the Welfare Planning Council of the Los Angeles Region. One thing immediately struck us—with surprise, we must admit, for when it comes to city planning in these days of crowding and shifting populations, and particularly when it comes to statistical researches on city planning, we ourselves are often tempted into the higher gloom. The second and third sentence of this Los Angeles report, however, caught us completely off guard: "The population has increased beyond all enthusiastic predications. . . . Never before in the County's history has there been such a wealth of babies."

We rubbed our unbelieving eyes. Shades of solemn sociology and of almost frantic reports on population trends! Could it be that these people out in Lost Angeles frankly and unabashedly loved their rash of babies and *wanted* them? As we read on, there was no mistaking the tone of that report. The one hundred and five pages of tight-packed research—designed to be used as a basis for planning in the fields of health, welfare, and recreation services—were indeed full of anticipated headaches. But these seemed almost welcome as part of the business of planning a community—a County-wide community—that would be a home for all those babies to grow up in. For they would grow up. They would eventually clutter up the roads and parking areas with their jalopies, crowd schoolrooms to the bursting point, and help to make more smog; but they were *all right*, these youngsters. Obviously, in the minds of the Welfare Planning Council, they were worth all the trouble they might make. There could be no mistake about it: those who had compiled this report wanted "life to go on living."

The liberating mind, we would say, cannot be the habitually or pridefully doleful mind. It can and must have the power to face problems, with all the hard realities they present. But the liberating mind has to believe in life and be able to feel the drama of giving life its full chance.

Throughout this book, we have been talking about our need to give life a chance: room to grow; to experiment; to

make mistakes and try over again; to move about with confidence and affection. Our central human job, and one to be gratefully welcomed, is to make living space for others—and for ourselves.

We do this as individuals, we have suggested, by being the kind of persons in whose presence others are less shy, less driven back into themselves, less often inclined to resort to fight and flight. We do it as a society by creating the conditions that give people the chance to be what they have it in them to be.

We do all this best, we would say, when we keep in mind the *organic* nature of ourselves. We are not machines—although we are often told we are. In spite of the triumphs of cybernetics, automation, and the rest, we human beings remain creatures who cannot be taken apart and made over promptly and efficiently. We have to be given the chance to

Every time we try to make people over abruptly—by com-grow—and to grow at the pace our life-patterns prescribed, mand or arbitrary design—we fail. Every time we try to make a culture over in this same way, we fail. Individuals and cultures have *life* in them, not merely functioning parts that can be reordered or replaced.

The liberating mind thinks in organic terms. It does its liberating of life in accordance with the ways of living beings; and the way of the living being is *to grow*.

We return here to the words of Rufus Jones which we quoted in the preceding chapter: "Strange stirrings of hope and expectation are moving across the world. It is possible that we may be at the fringe and frontier of a new and marvelous epoch." To this, we would say, "Why not? for the liberating mind of man is now, as never before, at work in the world."

Pitrim Sorokin, the sociologist, asserts that western society is in crisis—"and not one of the ordinary crises which happen almost every decade, but one of the greatest transitions in history."¹ And again we would say, "Why not? for the lib-

¹ Pitrim Sorokin, *Crisis of Our Age: The Social and Cultural Outlook*, p. 322. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.

erating mind that has moved into the forefront of our time does not, as of old, belong merely to the few moral and intellectual geniuses of the race, but increasingly to all of us."

It is easy to make mild fun of earnest mothers and fathers who come together to study the psychology of the child—and also of themselves as parents and as husband and wife. *But this is something utterly new in the world.* Because these parents have creative honesty and a willingness to try to learn what life deeply needs for its maturing, they are actually making a new world.

In one area after another, today, the pattern of thought is *forthgoing*. Even the area of economics—where, for so long, life seemed secondary to things and profits—has increasingly become one in which the liberating mind is at work. By the inherent logic of our human interdependence,

free enterprise grows gradually into mutual enterprise.

The liberating mind, above all, is at work in religion. "I suggest," writes Arnold Toynbee, "that we recognize all higher religions as revelations of what is good and right."¹

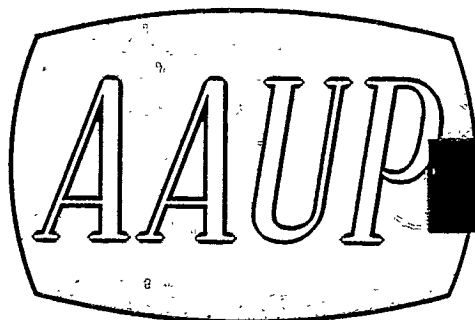
¹ *Time Magazine*, October 18, 1954, p. 108.

These are sober, even prosaic words, but they carry within them the intensity of a mind that wills to go forth beyond its culture-bound devotions to practice reverence for what others reverently care about. Here, perhaps, is the most deeply uniting bond that can be established among men on earth. For if we can unite on what we reverently care about, then we can take our lesser differences in stride.

In this book we have written about what might well be called the pilgrim journey of the mind. The journey starts, as we know, with an egocentric, immature preoccupation with ourselves; but as our years grow generous, we move beyond ourselves.

This, perhaps, is the best present version of the profound insight that "he that loseth his life shall find it." He who goes forth beyond his own limited points of view, his own half-truths and well-loved prejudices, and tries to see life from points of view unfamiliar and even forbidding, will in the end find himself at home with life. For he has made life his home.

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A PUBLICATION OF THE

American Association of University Professors

130-214595-75

Announcements and Reminders

ANNUAL MEETING

The Forty-third Annual Meeting of the American Association of University Professors will be held in New York City, at the Hotel New Yorker, on Friday and Saturday, April 26-27, 1957. For further information, see, in this issue, pages 77-78.

WANTED

The Central Office needs copies of the *Bulletin*, Volume 34, and will be pleased to hear from members willing to dispose of this volume.

DUES

Dues are assessed by the calendar year. The dues for 1957, for which statements were recently sent to the Association's membership, are payable within the year ending December 31, 1957.

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UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS**

43rd Annual Meeting

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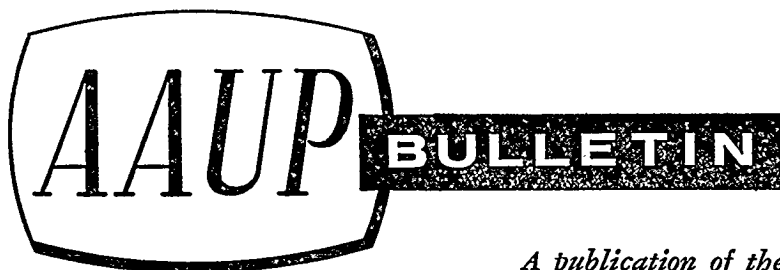
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VOLUME 43 NUMBER 1

Spring 1957

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Publication Office: 20th and Northampton Streets, Easton, Pa. *Editorial Office:* 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Issued five times a year: Spring (March and April), Summer (June), Autumn (September), and Winter (December). Subscription price (due and payable in advance) is \$3.00 a year, postage free. Foreign subscriptions including Canada are \$3.50 a year. Entered as second-class matter, April 24, 1922, at Easton, Pa., under the Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on September 13, 1918.

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5

Academic and Personal Freedom: Italy, 1910

A Statement Against the Establishment of a Teacher's Oath

By LUIGI EINAUDI^o
University of Turin

Note: This article, by the man who, thirty-eight years later, was to become the first President of the Italian Republic, first appeared in the Milan daily, *Corriere della Sera*, December 7, 1910. It has been republished in a collection of Professor Einaudi's writing edited by Ernesto Rossi, entitled *Il Buongoverno* (Bari: Laterza, 1954, pp. 521-526).

Publication is by permission of Professor Einaudi and courtesy of Professor John Clarke Adams, now lecturing at the Universities of Bologna and Florence. A few short passages from the original article, pertinent to the Italian political scene of 1910, have been omitted. In response to an inquiry from the Editor of the *Bulletin*, Professor Adams states his understanding that the proposed oath was not imposed, and that the first teachers' oath in Italy was imposed by the Fascist regime.

* * *

May I be permitted to put aside for the moment the discussion of the general economic and fiscal problems of the country and discuss a question that may appear to be of concern only to the profession to which I belong. I should like to do this because the interest at stake is not of a material nature, and because I believe that its defense should elicit the sympathies of all high-minded people in Italy.

During the last few years, university professors have unfortunately attracted the attention of the public only with respect to their material needs, such as the salary increases that were first refused and then conceded. . . . Today, however, the university world is up in arms over a matter of principle, which will help to show that university professors can be moved to action on matters other than those concerning their economic advancement. I therefore take pen in hand to defend the cause of my colleagues who are unjustly threatened by a government decree that endangers their intellectual freedom and therefore academic freedom in general.

II

Here are the facts in brief.

Inspired by some strange and unexplained motive, Professor Tonelli, the Rector of the University of Rome, who, I am informed, is a member of the Radical-Socialist-Republican bloc in the Municipal Council of Rome, has repeatedly urged the Ministry of Education to decide whether it could, as he believes it should, require all university professors at the time of their appointment to take the oath that is required of regular state employees. None of the professors who were informed of the matter has yet been able to understand why a professor and rector should propose a regulation that even those least respectful of learning can easily perceive would be highly inimical to the advancement of knowledge. However that may be, the Minister [of Education] was incapable of giving the definite refusal this liberty-killing interpellation merited, and instead sought the advice of the Council of State. This high body replied with a syllogism: It is true that the new law on the legal status of state employees [requiring the oath] has not abrogated various preceding laws relating to certain types of state employees, and that among these earlier laws left intact is the Casati law, which remains the fundamental law of our public education system, particularly of higher education. Since, however, the Casati law has nothing to say on the question of teachers' oaths, neither prescribing nor prohibiting them, the provisions of the new general law requiring an oath for state employees in general should be applied to university professors. . . .

Although not obliged to do so, the Minister injudiciously accepted the opinion of the Council of State, and sent an order to all rectors of state universities requiring the oath of new appointees. The reaction of those concerned was strong. In some cases new professors have refused to take the oath. . . . The Rector of the University of Turin, Francesco Ruffini, called the attention of the Minister to certain serious moral consequences of the new regulation, and to a legal error into which he believed the Council of State had fallen. It appears that the objections of Ruffini were taken seriously by the Minister, since he decided to ask the Council of State for a new opinion and to suspend the order in the meantime.

III

Such are the facts. The comments can be logically deduced from a reading of the wording of the oath that, on the initiative of a member of the Radical-Socialist-Republican bloc of the Rome Municipal Council, and with the approval of a minister who, if I am not mistaken, was once a Republican or, at least, very much a radical, is to be required of Italian

university professors. The oath is an ordinary sort of oath; there is nothing special about it:

I swear to be faithful to the King and to his royal successors, to loyally observe the constitution and the laws of the state, and to carry out all the obligations of my office to the sole end of the inseparable good of King and country.

Anyone who reads this oath will realize that, to the great men who established the basic institutions of the Italian state and who wrote the Casati law, which will ever remain a monument to their high intellectual caliber and to the farsightedness of their truly liberal views, it would never have occurred to impose such an oath on university professors. That they neither conceived of nor wanted such an oath is shown by the fact that the Casati law declares that Italian citizenship is not a requisite for being appointed a university professor in Italy. With this provision they sanctioned a significant exception to the general requirement of citizenship for all state employees. . . . Those great men, who saw the proclamation of the constitution and who led the dynasty to rule over all Italy, and who really made the Italian nation, were not afraid to say that knowledge knows no national or factional barriers, and they wanted foreigners to be eligible to teach in Italian universities—and in fact, many distinguished foreigners did become members of our faculties. . . . Their presence was a logical consequence of a higher principle: that it was not necessary to consider the nationality, the political preference, or the religious faith of a teacher; therefore, since *he was responsible to no one for his ideas*, anyone, even a foreigner, could become a professor in Italy. This practice of our universities became in time a tradition of which we can be legitimately proud; heretofore an oath has never been required of anyone who became a professor in a state university, and the Council of State should not forget that custom is an important source of law.

IV

Has the Minister considered carefully the irreparable consequences that would result from his acceptance of the advice of the Council of State? The issue is of too great an importance to be decided as if it were a minor point of interpretation of a law. Just yesterday I read a telegram that Luigi Luzzati [Italian Prime Minister] sent to the Rector of the University of Edinburgh, informing him that he had been granted an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In this telegram the illustrious proponent of liberalism again sang the praises of the triumph of academic and personal freedom. Is it under his government that these two most precious freedoms are to be trampled upon, thus undermining one of Italy's greatest traditions?

With an obligatory teachers' oath, there is no escape from a grievous dilemma. One possibility is that the new professors who are members of extremist parties, such as Catholics who support the temporal power, Socialists, and Republicans [followers of Mazzini, who refused to support the monarchy], will take the oath *with mental reservations*, following the example that is said to be given by other civil servants belonging to these parties, and by certain priests who are required to take the anti-modernist oath. Such teachers would deserve to be driven out of the temple of knowledge. . . .

The other possibility—the only one that would maintain the honor of Italian universities—is that only those who can take the oath in good faith may in the future become professors in Italy. This would mean ostracism from our universities for members of extreme parties. Before those who are adversely affected raise their voices, we who are not personally affected and can be suspected neither of lack of devotion to the present institutions nor of excessive sympathy toward clericals, Masons, Socialists, or other abominations, must rise against this act of insane intolerance. A true liberal must know that he would be doing a great harm to extremists if through the pretext of an oath he either barred them from a university career or else induced them to perjure themselves. The state pays professors, not for their political fidelity, but that they may teach what they believe to be the truth. To place limits on the truths that can be taught is to suppress academic freedom. One can conceive of a state that seeks predetermined results from higher education and that seeks to mold minds to its service. He who wishes such a state and who naïvely believes it possible to gain the devotion of the younger generations by restricting teaching may logically favor a teachers' oath. True scholars, however, cannot approve of such an oath, for they know that the *sole* guarantee of the advancement of knowledge is complete freedom, even freedom of rebellion—in *the realm of thought*—against all universally accepted principles and all existing institutions.

V

In other countries, it can be argued, it is customary for teachers to take an oath. But these are traditional oaths, framed in archaic language. In Austria, for example, professors take no oath to the Emperor, but swear to teach nothing against truth and to dedicate their lives to knowledge. Though the moral implications of such an oath are greater, its political implications are less significant than is the case with the proposed oath in Italy, where it is a question of reviving a discarded tradition and at the same time giving it a new and more restrictive content.

And why should we care what others do? Our own glorious tradition should suffice for us, the liberal tradition passed on to us from the

legislators of the heroic age of our national unification, which permitted the present Minister of Education to begin his academic career twenty years ago as professor of philosophy at the University of Pavia without having to worry about an oath that, perhaps, he would not *at that time* have been able to take. I hope that this appeal in defense of academic and personal freedom will meet with public approval. May public opinion be as demanding of us as it likes in requiring the fulfillment of our professional obligations, but for the honor of our country may it support us in our fight against any limitation—for any limitation would be disastrous—of the only condition in which we can effectively operate, that of complete academic freedom.

It has indeed been observed, nor is the observation absurd, that, excepting in experimental sciences, which demand a costly apparatus and a dexterous hand, the many valuable treatises that have been published on every subject of learning may now supersede the ancient mode of oral instruction. Were this principle true in its utmost latitude, I should only infer that the offices and salaries which are become useless ought without delay to be abolished. But there still remains a material difference between a book and a professor: the hour of the lecture enforces attendance; attention is fixed by the presence, the voice, and the occasional questions of the teacher; the most idle will carry something away; and the more diligent will compare the instructions which they have heard in the school with the volumes which they peruse in their chamber. The advice of a skillful professor will adapt a course of reading to every mind and every situation; his authority will discover, admonish, and at last chastise the negligence of his disciples; and his vigilant inquiries will ascertain the steps of their literary progress.

From the *Autobiography of Edward Gibbon*, Everyman Edition, p. 42.

*Segregation and the Professor*¹

by IREDELL JENKINS

University of Alabama

The problem of loosening the bonds of segregated education in the South is now at the center of national attention. I want to examine one facet of that problem: the moral and practical dilemma of professors who experience a conflict between their personal principles and the purposes of the universities and communities of which they are members.

To give warning of possible bias, I had better start with a few simple statements of fact and conviction. I was born and brought up and largely educated in the South, and have spent most of my life here. I studied in Europe for a year. I have lived and taught in New England for several years, and have also taught and traveled in the Middle West and on the West Coast. I am now a professor of philosophy at the University of Alabama.

I think that the present treatment of the Negro throughout the country (though most conspicuously because most openly in the South) is clearly unjust. I recognize that change can come only gradually and hesitantly, but I feel that the only sane course for the future is to make real the paper promise of equal opportunity, especially in education. More particularly, I am convinced that the universities of the South should play a constructive role in this undertaking, and should on their own initiative begin to open their academic communities to qualified Negroes who want and need the training that can be obtained only within these communities. I am by no means alone in this conviction: it is widely held among the faculties of the colleges in question, to a lesser extent among the students, and probably still less among the people at large. But there is a solid and widespread core of support for this view.

I presume that the various episodes that have occurred in connection with this issue, and most notoriously the events at the University of Alabama during last February and March, are too familiar to require even a summary. But a brief reference to general conditions is necessary. The most vocal segments of the public, and of the various state legislatures, are vehemently opposed to integration in any way, on any terms, at

¹ From *The Yale Review*, Winter, 1957. Reprinted by permission of the author and the Editor of *The Yale Review*.

any level; this is quite certainly true of the majority of the citizens of several Southern states. And it must be remembered that a state university is immediately dependent upon the active good will of its legislature; and more remotely, though quite really, upon the support of the people at large.

It has been publicly stated that the governing officers of several Southern state universities share the common opinion: they sincerely think that integration is morally and socially wrong, and that segregation is for the real best interests of all concerned. It is common knowledge that they resisted to their legal utmost the consequences of the recent Supreme Court decisions on this matter. There is no question that they were within their right and authority in doing so. And there is little doubt that public opinion and political realities would demand such an ostensible stand, whatever the private opinions of those in authority. On the other hand, these officers acknowledged the sovereignty of national law, submitted to it, and admitted several Negro students. I think that the sincerity of both their beliefs and their actions, their opposition in principle and their conformity in practice, should be accepted: they did not approve of integration, but they acceded to it.

Many harsh words have been uttered on the way in which this policy has been applied in various concrete cases. However, I think it is extremely impertinent, and it is altogether irrelevant to my purpose, to question the motives and the decisions of those who have had to take responsible action in these cases. I dissent from their policy on the general issue, and I regret the outcome of specific events. But I sympathize with them in the difficult position in which they are placed. I am confident that they hold their beliefs honestly and have acted in good faith. I will even entertain the abstract possibility that their principles and policies are correct. Intellectual and moral intolerance are never virtues, and they are highly inexpedient in one who adheres to a minority opinion. So let us stipulate the good intentions of all parties, and move on to the problem that really and immediately occupies me.

II

My concern lies with the moral dilemma that now confronts all those professors who share my convictions. The official policy of several Southern universities, reflecting pressures from their states, is openly opposed to integration in principle, and apparently determined to employ all available legal means to delay and contain its realization in practice. I am by no means alone in my feeling that gradual integration is necessary on both moral and social grounds. Finding himself in this situation, what is a person to do? What is the proper, the moral, course for a pro-

fessor to follow in these circumstances? In what way can he best fulfil the various obligations that he is under? I think we shall find that this seemingly simple problem is in fact enormously complex, and perhaps even insoluble: at least in the sense of affording a solution that satisfies all of the demands of moral obligation and violates none of them.

The solution that probably offers itself most spontaneously is to resign forthwith. This can be done either with quiet dignity or with a ringing public declaration in which one asserts one's own dedication to high ethical principles and denounces all who disagree as subverters of morality, religion, and the law of the land. The latter course is particularly appealing. It is fed by frustration, warmed by devotion, sustained by anger, and clothed in nobility. I can almost see our colleagues in more fortunate (in this matter) Northern and Western universities leaning forward with ears cocked to catch the first note of our protest and departure. Soon they become impatient, their feet tap, their gorges rise, their indignation mounts—and their fingers itch. As this last symptom grows intense, they will make our declarations for us: and I can assure them that we will agree with every word.

Facetiousness aside—and any situation as dramatic as this is forever hovering on the brink of the facetious—resignation may be the best solution. Those adopting it serve at least two good purposes. First, they assure the world at large that there is solid opposition on the faculties to the official policy of segregation, that there are many professors who are dedicated to the cause of progress and equality in race relations. And this will certainly help to repair that precious asset, the national reputation of these universities. Second, those who resign serve notice on state and university authorities, and on the people at large, that a substantial body of the academic profession places freedom in all of its forms almost first among the virtues, and rejects both the policy of enforced segregation and the practice of absentee management. This gives clear warning that these universities could be vitally weakened if their course is narrowly and blindly pursued. To the extent that the people value education, and are proud of their institutions, this awareness can be a very effective deterrent.

But there is another side to this solution. If all, or most, of those who are of this opinion resign, then who is to defend their cause? He who runs away may very well live to fight another day—but not in the battle now in progress. The place to fight for a principle is where it is a living issue, not where it is an accomplished fact, and still less where it has become a mere object of sanctimonious self-congratulation. An individual who resigns inevitably weakens both the cause and the institution to which he is committed. For it is where the issue is in doubt that one's

forces should be mustered, and he who withdraws deprives his colleagues of support they badly need. Resignation is certainly one legitimate moral decision, furthering some real values, and it will rightfully be adopted by some professors. But these conditions give pause to many who contemplate it.

There is another solution to the dilemma that is equally obvious but radically different: this is to ignore the problem and cultivate one's garden. Those making this decision take the attitude that there is nothing effective they can do about the immediate situation, that its nearness exaggerates its seriousness, that it will anyway improve rather quickly in the natural course of events, and that they will merely stir up trouble by intruding where they lack either the power to stand against public opinion or the influence to alter it. These professors hold, with much reason, that their first commitment is to the discovery and the teaching of truth, and that their involvement in this issue will only distract them from these more important purposes. They are unhappy about the present state of affairs, they disapprove of the policy being followed, and they are anxious to see it changed. But they are convinced that their best and wisest course is to go about their business as scholars and teachers with all of the concentration they can command.

This decision is not nearly so defeatist as it must at first appear. There are persuasive arguments in support of it. Our society as a whole is deeply committed to the belief that education is the principal medium through which we influence our future condition. It is in our schools and colleges that the character of coming generations is formed, their opinions and attitudes molded, their expectations and aspirations defined. Upon this we would probably all agree. And professors are, after all, engaged in education.

So those who make this choice can claim with much reason that they are the true supporters of our common convictions. To cultivate one's garden might appear a rather passive and selfish decision. But if one's garden grows young minds, that is a different matter. If our beliefs are true and our purposes good they will supply their own persuasion and will win the allegiance of sensitive and intelligent youth. In that way, and that alone, can we secure the future we deem right. Public opinion and popular prejudice, court decisions and legislative resolutions, the witch-hunts of erratic senators and embattled economic groups, the vagaries of foreign relations and domestic politics—all of these are largely beyond our immediate control. They are pressures to which all academic communities are unavoidably exposed. It is our responsibility as professors to protect our own community against them when they are running strong, and to maintain its integrity so that it can eventually correct them. If we can thus preserve and perpetuate our faith, then we

hold destiny in our hands. So argue those who make this decision, which is again a perfectly justifiable one, both morally and practically.

III

Both resigning and cultivating one's garden are quite straightforward, and once the decision to do one or the other is taken it can be readily adhered to. But it requires an extraordinary degree of intellectual certitude and moral assurance to publicly wash one's hands of a great university and assert that its case is hopeless, while it requires an arrogance that is either divine or demonic to adopt this attitude toward a whole huge section of the country. On the other hand, to prepare a future that one may never see demands a patience and faith that many do not possess.

For these reasons, numerous professors are now looking—as they have looked in analogous situations at other times and places—for some middle course between resignation and acquiescence, which are both tantamount to withdrawal, at least from the immediate conflict of views. What such men desperately want is to participate in the formation of present policy and in the determination of impending events.

It is impossible to plot such a course in detail, and difficult to define even the direction it should take. Only the rough outline is clear: to state one's ideas in public, to mix them in the melting-pot of discussion, and so to have them make their impact on whatever decisions are taken. The call to make such a contribution bears upon many professors not only as an abstract right but even more sharply as a concrete duty. An extremely important issue, affecting far larger interests than merely those of one's university, is being fought out; extreme courses are being frenetically urged; the little white ball of public opinion and policy, whirled wildly around by these forces, is about to stop on either *le rouge* ou *le noir*. In any such case it appears to be the obvious responsibility of the academic community to make its position clear and to state its arguments as compellingly as possible. A university is supposed to be a place where passions are purged of prejudice, and emerge as thoughtful emotions and intentions. One of its most significant functions is to educate public opinion, to draw it toward what honest inquiry indicates as the best policy. Many professors therefore feel a deep conviction that they must make their views known; and they feel it the more intensely when their views are being widely misrepresented by irresponsible parties who give the false impression of speaking for them and for the university as a whole. The only way professors can protect themselves against this abuse, and fulfil their obligation as scholars and citizens, is to raise their voices.

Their right to do this is not questioned by anyone. But the possible consequences of the exercise of this right are portentous. I think we can ignore the purely personal consequences. Most professors who feel strongly on any such issue as this are perfectly willing to run the risk of official disfavor or dismissal. And these risks are in fact quite small. The university itself, and behind it all of the panoply of academic and professional organizations, would very certainly defend any professor who faced persecution for stating his views. Even if the worse came to the worst, and he were forced out, martyrs do not usually want for jobs. There is, indeed, another and far uglier aspect of this matter: that is the possibility of personal abuse and outrage from those self-declared protectors of public morality, the White Citizens Councils. This is a real risk. But it is apt to be demoralizing rather than dangerous, and to be silenced by this threat is to acquiesce in the abdication of reason and moderation to ignorance and fanaticism; so this again will not seriously deter many professors from declaring and supporting their convictions.

It is the larger consequences of a course of active intervention that are frightening. Professors are soon made to realize that when they raise their voices it is the university that is heard. So whatever they say must be measured in terms of its impact upon their universities, not merely upon themselves. This impact comes eventually from public opinion, and more directly from the state legislatures that represent it more or less accurately. And the people will make their weight felt against a university that ignores their demands and espouses ideas and policies to which they are vehemently opposed.

It is from these simple facts that there emerges the complicated web of the professor's dilemma. He wants to assert what he thinks is right, persuade the people to his views, and so advance the cause of what he regards as justice and progress. But he finds that in doing so he runs the risk of alienating the people, weakening the effectiveness of his university, and damaging the cause he seeks to serve. In the pursuit of his clear goal he finds himself launched upon a course that often appears cowardly to his distant colleagues, that seems devious even to himself, and that demands constant compromise with his purpose. So does the practice of his principles threaten to undermine and perhaps betray them.

A large number of professors will certainly engage themselves in this course, pursuing it in various ways and with varying intensities. If successful, it promises the fullest measure of value. It is at once a policy of protest against evil, of the cultivation of virtue, and of active struggle for good. But those who choose this course confront grave difficulties. In committing themselves to change the direction of events, they put themselves partly at the mercy of events. They must be prepared to make concessions that they deem unworthy, to sacrifice abstract principles for

concrete values, and to temper morality with prudence. Even with all this they may find that they do more harm than good: by exposing their intention to lead university policy in one direction they take the calculated risk of arousing community feeling to such an extent that this policy will actually be forced in the opposite direction. It is this realization that weighs most heavily upon responsible men and makes them hesitate before this decision.

IV

The broad problem that professors and academic communities confront in the question of integration versus segregation in higher education is by no means novel. It arises whenever universities become involved in issues of general concern. The normal and usual operations of a university are pretty well insulated against either the interest or the scrutiny of the public. The business of education that we carry on is felt to be sufficiently remote and esoteric, while the research in which we engage is regarded as absolutely mysterious. So we are generally left alone; and when we meet public groups, as lecturers or consultants, it is largely on terms that they define and for purposes that they determine. This isolation is a tremendous value, and is well worth the price of the benevolently patronizing attitude with which we are often regarded, as though we were precocious children playing with very expensive and complicated toys.

But situations frequently arise in which this isolation is breached, and universities are projected into disputes where feelings run high. Pacifism, Communism, economic collectivism, religion, loyalty, are among the issues in which universities have been involved in recent years. This happens in accord with a familiar pattern. A larger or smaller number of professors enter or get drawn into the dispute, their opinions and actions are publicized, and much is made of their academic affiliation. This outrages a more or less powerful segment of the public, which demands that the professors be chastised and their views disowned. So the university as an official body is sucked into the vortex, usually against its will and always against its interest.

The problem at present confronting many Southern universities varies from this pattern in two respects that are unessential but nevertheless vastly important. In the first place, these universities are at the very center of the dispute from the beginning: since it is precisely the course of events within their communities that is at issue, they are at once forced to take an official stand on the matter. In the second place, feeling on this question is far more intense and widespread than it has been on any other in which American universities have been involved.

In any such case as this, the first and proper instinct of a university is to preserve itself by recovering its isolation. This is the right course for the simple reason that the university's vulnerability before the situation is far greater than its power to control it. The influence of a university rests on the authority of reason, and this makes small appeal to violent emotions and militant prejudices. A university can effect little in the larger community in such circumstances, while it can suffer greatly. What it can and should do is to preserve the academic atmosphere of its own community: it can protect its faculty against any threat to the right of free and open discussion, even if some professors indiscreetly abuse this right; and particularly it can cultivate the virtues of intellectual integrity and tolerance that are at once its privilege and its responsibility. Universities are magnificently equipped to discover the truth and make it available to minds that have been prepared to appreciate it. But they are extremely ill equipped to mobilize and direct popular sentiment. The subtlety and caution, the detachment and balance, that are necessary to the first task disarm them for the second. So when public feeling is aroused there is little a university can do save wait for the storm to subside, when it can again assert its position and influence.

Universities are institutions. Roughly defined, an institution is any association serving a public purpose: other familiar examples are organizations as different as churches and political parties, hospitals and courts of law, professional and philanthropic groups. Now, the morality of institutions differs from that of individuals in several notable respects, and especially in this, that institutions must have a high regard for expedience. Institutions must always keep an alert eye on the consequences that their policies and actions are apt to have upon themselves, and they must frequently act in a coldly practical manner. The reason for this is simply that institutions are infinitely less expendable than individuals: they are, in fact, literally indispensable. When an institution is seriously weakened, it takes it a long time to recover; and in the meantime it leaves a vacuum in which its functions go unperformed and its values unserved. So a university is justified, and even obligated, to bow to the expedient and to cultivate prudence in a manner that would be clearly immoral in an individual.

Professors, as members of a university, inherit this obligation. And with this recognition the character of the dilemma that professors confront is exposed in all of its stark and unrelenting harshness. As individual moral agents they feel obliged to serve the right as they see it. As members of an institution they feel obliged to consider its judgment of what is expedient and practicable in the light of its vital interests.

V

Given this conflict, it is inevitable that different men will resolve it in different ways. Furthermore, it should be evident that there is no single right solution to the problem. Each of the courses discussed above will further some real values, both personal and social, and will impair or destroy other values. The decision made by any professor must depend upon his estimate of the relative importance of these values; and perhaps even more upon his judgment of the way in which he can make the most effective contribution. Withdrawal, acquiescence, and intervention will all be honestly employed as means toward the same end. Principles are categorical; but they conflict, and conditions alter their application. So men who are equally well-intentioned but differently circumstanced will with equal justification make different choices.

The final answer to the challenge of integration in universities is going to emerge but gradually, out of much time and travail. The tensions of this period can be eased only to the extent that people grasp the intricacy of the issue that confronts Southern universities and faculties. It is to this purpose that I have sought to examine the problem and its possible solutions in a detached and abstract manner, and especially to show that it is by no means unique, but is only a particularly virulent case of a common kind. To those of us who are now living through this problem, it does not present itself in any such impartial and dispassionate terms. It pervades our thinking and feeling, it calls for our commitment, and it affords us no hold for a satisfactory decision. Under these conditions, our behavior is sure to satisfy others as little as it does ourselves. I would like to bespeak the sympathy and understanding of our colleagues, both for us and for our universities. Let them think back upon similar situations in which they and their institutions have been caught up. May this remind them that while it is quite easy to say what is right under hypothetical conditions, it is extremely difficult to decide what is best in actual circumstances.

The Ford Foundation has announced that it will assist university presses, over a period of five years, with a grant estimated at \$1,750,000, without dictation of the publications to be benefitted, except that they be in the humanities or social sciences, and that textbooks be excluded. Other provisions are calculated to spread the benefits over as many projects as possible, to assure equal consideration for scholars not connected with an institution sponsoring a press, and to eliminate the need of author subsidies.

For Our Professional Agenda

By HARRY A. OVERSTREET

Falls Church, Virginia

Months have passed since I first read a certain book: *The FBI Story*, by Don Whitehead. But I continue, oddly enough, to think of it as one I want to talk over with my fellows in the academic world.

I say "oddly enough" because the book—written by a newspaper man about a federal bureau—seems to lie outside the normal bounds of our professional literature. But it's hard to tell, nowadays, where the bounds of that literature really are.

There are some subjects that cut across all the departmental lines of the academic curriculum; for they have to do with the social, political, and legal structures within which truth can be freely sought and taught at the top level of our intellectual competence.

These subjects, moreover, cut across those lines—far less definite than they used to be—that separate town and gown: for they relate the freedom of laboratory, library, and classroom to the freedom of all citizens: freedom to think, talk, question, assemble, write, publish, read, worship or not worship; and, not least, *freedom from fear that freedom may be on its way out*.

I take it that the whole problem of national security in today's world, and of the machinery set up in behalf of that security, or in the *name* of that security, constitutes one such subject. Therefore, my wish that *The FBI Story* would be widely read and discussed within academic ranks.

The author subtitles the book *A Report to the People*. We are among the people. My hope, then, is that we will take this report seriously: that we will take it in hand; lend our minds to its facts and implications; talk it over; raise as many questions about it as we think should be raised; and direct these questions to the person in the best position to know the answers and, if need be, document those answers: namely, J. Edgar Hoover.

It strikes me that if we would accept this book as a starting point, we might help to do a notable job that needs to be done in this country: that needs to be done in behalf of the mind's freedom from fear. This is the job of sorting out rumor from reality; planted misrepresentation from actual fact; hysteria from legitimate concern about internal and external

threats to our national integrity and security. Further than this, it is the job of firmly establishing the habit, so far as the area of national security is concerned, of going to sources, framing specific questions and seeking their answers, making clear-cut distinctions between the policies and activities of the various federal bodies concerned with security: the job, in brief, of retrieving the security problem from rumor and vagueness.

We are trained to do this sort of thing. It is our business. Also, our responsibility. Until this book appeared, however, we simply did not have access, so far as the FBI is concerned, to any sufficient body of facts to examine and appraise.

This leaves us with the question, of course, of the book's accuracy and objectivity. I myself have tried to judge it as I would any other piece of writing that claimed to be a report on a subject that is both significant and commonly clouded by emotional reactions—pro and con. I have tried to estimate the accuracy and importance of the documented facts the book contains, particularly where these relate to such "charged" subjects as the arrest of persons engaged in recruiting volunteers to serve with the Loyalist forces in Spain; the evacuation of the West Coast Japanese; America's being caught off guard by the attack on Pearl Harbor; and the Rosenberg case. Where I have had questions about these, or about the respective roles of the FBI and other federal agencies in relation to these, I have done what I recommend above: namely, put them to the Bureau itself. I have encountered no reluctance to lay the facts on the line.

Also, I have tried to look beyond the book at the author—his character and qualifications. Don Whitehead is a newspaper man; but he is no hack journalist. Formerly a special feature writer for AP, and one of America's top war correspondents, he is now Bureau Chief of the Washington office of the *New York Herald Tribune*. He has twice been awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his handling of domestic and foreign news. From all I can learn, he is highly respected by his colleagues for both his top-level ability to distinguish fact from fraud and his strong taste for integrity.

In the Preface, he gives his own reasons for writing the book: "I wanted to know how it was that J. Edgar Hoover had survived as Director of the FBI for thirty years in a city of politics where the casualty rate runs high among bureau heads. I wanted to know why and how the FBI operates as it does. And I wanted to know whether there was any basis of truth to insinuations I had heard that the FBI represented a shadowy menace to civil rights.

"In short, I wanted to learn the facts so that I could report the inside story of the FBI—a story which, curiously enough, had never been told in its entirety."

Mr. Hoover did not jump at the chance to have such a book written. For one thing, it would mean, he realized, that the already overworked members of the Bureau would have to find time somehow to search out and make available to Mr. Whitehead a vast array of records and documents stretching back over a period of almost fifty years. Further than this, time would have to be found for answering the multitude of questions that the newsman would inevitably and rightly want to ask in the process of interpreting these materials. Also, the prospect of such a book brought up the well-nigh insoluble problem of making it authentic and comprehensive—an honest “report to the people”—without violating such areas of secrecy as must be maintained for the common welfare.

In the end, however, the Director yielded to Mr. Whitehead’s patience and persuasion; and the research was on. “As I dug into the record,” the author reports, “a story began to emerge which was far more exciting to me and far bigger in scope than I had realized it would be. The ‘mystery’ of the FBI was no longer a mystery. The shadows disappeared. I found in the FBI story a stirring American adventure of pioneering on the frontiers of law enforcement and national security.

“But the most important thing of all in this pioneering was the struggle to achieve incorruptible enforcement of the law by professionals trained to protect civil rights.”

Shortly before his death, H. G. Wells wrote that a “frightful queer-ness” had come over the affairs of men and nations in our time. That “queerness” has not diminished during the years since his words were written.

It is a “queerness” compounded of many converging influences and events. Among these, certainly, have been social, political, and economic dislocations that have wrenched millions of human beings loose from their traditional moorings and made them physical and psychological wanderers upon the face of the earth. Also to be reckoned with are technologies that have rendered obsolete not only the factories and farms of yesterday but the provincialisms, segregation patterns, isolationisms, and imperialisms of yesterday; and ideologies born of the marriage of practical desperation and intellectual abstraction, committed to tactics of compulsion, conspiracy, and double-talk, and dedicated to the proposition that men and nations that do not accept the Word must be liquidated.

As the offspring of “queerness,” moreover, we have queernesses galore: crime, violence, corruption, alcoholism, racism, vigilantism, subversion.

No nation in the world is able, today, to make do with only such mechanisms of law enforcement and security as were set up prior to the Age of Queerness. Each nation, free or totalitarian, has, we might say, established security measures after its own kind.

Our problem, in this country, has been to preserve and strengthen *liberty under law*. The going has not been easy. Errors aplenty have been made. Rumor-mongers have had a field day. Yet in the FBI we have, I believe, achieved a type of national investigative and law enforcement agency that can stand the light of day. The Whitehead book casts upon it that light of day—and invites the people to make their appraisal. It is my hope that a great many members of the academic profession will be among those who accept the invitation.

The Federal Government has decided that Federal security regulations should not apply to academic personnel working on unclassified projects. This decision was stated on August 15, 1956, in a letter from Mr. Sherman Adams, Assistant to the President, to Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, President of the National Academy of Sciences, following recommendations previously made by the Committee on Institutional Research Policy of the American Council on Education and by a committee of the National Academy of Sciences under the chairmanship of Dr. J. A. Stratton, Vice-President and Provost of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The following excerpts are from the report of the National Academy of Sciences committee:

"Authentic progress in science stands on its own merits. So long as the scientific integrity of an individual is unaffected by his political, moral, ideological, loyalty, or other attitudes or commitments, those attitudes and commitments have no bearing on the merit of his research.

"Lack of scientific integrity from whatever cause will be revealed inevitably by the normal critical scrutiny to which the free and open work of every scientist is subjected throughout his career by fellow scientists. Consideration of scientific integrity is a routine procedure in all Federal agencies concerned with the administration of grants or contracts for research. There is no reason for singling out research for the application of loyalty requirements which set it apart from the multitude of other unclassified activities engaged in by the Government through contracts and grants."

Resemblances will be noted between this statement and statements to be found in the reports of this Association's Committee A since 1948; in resolutions approved by Annual Meetings from 1950 to 1955; and in the Annual Meeting's approval, in 1956, of Section B of the Special Committee's report on "Academic Freedom and Tenure in the Quest for National Security."

A Question of Style

By ROBERT GORDON

University of Oregon

Les contes infinis qu'on faisait des miracles de saint Martin n'empêchèrent pas les artistes de préférer le trait le plus humain de sa vie, et d'éterniser le geste héroïque du jeune soldat romain coupant de son épée, pour vêtir un pauvre nu, la moitié de son manteau militaire.

Émile Mâle

I first saw Tom Philips' new book, *Frontiers in Social Studies*, at the University Co-op. Since Tom was of our own faculty, the Co-op, in a burst of provincial pride, had displayed it generously over an entire table. I picked up a copy and read a paragraph, not only because I was a friend of Tom's and wished to savor his success, but also because I had heard him butcher the language with the jargon of his profession so often that I wanted to see if the prospect of permanence between cloth covers had subdued him to a better mind and a less gritty vocabulary.

Nothing of the sort had happened. The first sentence of my paragraph staggered along as follows: "Moreover, it should not be forgotten that recent analyses of assorted ideational types reveal that the phenomenon of social-directed ideation among high school students occurs with the greatest frequency among the more highly intellectualized deviates and rejectees of the urban fringe." A fine way to say that clever suburban students often turn into utopians when they don't get along with their classmates!

I was taking breath for an assault upon the next sentence when Jo Philips appeared on the other side of the table. She looked at me as though she knew every dark corner of my disapproving thoughts, and because I assumed that she was there to gaze with pride upon the evidence of her husband's new fame, I attempted an enthusiastic smile. But she surprised me:

"Don't pretend you like it. I don't."

She said it seriously, almost angrily. My smile faded at once. "Well," I said, "I suppose he has to write like the others. I must say, he certainly has caught the tune."

She was silent for a moment, then she picked up a copy, opened it, and read the dedication: "'For J. P., with love and gratitude'—that's

the only plain talk in the book. Bob, you're an English professor—why don't you take Tom in hand and reform his language?"

"Sorry, Jo. What Tom needs is 'a sequester from liberty, fasting and prayer, much castigation, exercise devout.'"

"Well, you won't accomplish anything by quoting Shakespeare at him. But you should be able to help somehow. Why not turn on your charm and go to work on him?"

"Nothing easier. All I have to do is go up to him and say, 'Look here, old man, you'll really have to stop mauling our ancient tongue. Now, if you'll agree to see me for an hour a week of private tutorial work, I'll guarantee to have you making sense within the year.' Why, he'll write me off as a red-hot Tory and I'll never see him again."

This stopped her, but only for a moment. She put on a rather pained expression and continued: "Bob, let me tell you what happened yesterday morning. We had just sat down for breakfast and I had made some harmless remark about it being two months until Christmas and I wondered whether we should get our shopping done early this year. Well, Tom looked at me with a fishy eye and said, 'My, you have a strong tendency towards tradition-directed ethnocentrism this morning.' My God, Bob . . . 'tradition-directed ethnocentrism' before I'd even had my first cup of coffee! Of course, I know he said it just to be funny, but that's the only form his humor seems to take these days—and besides, he talks that way seriously sometimes. Can't you see what I'm up against?"

There was no answer to that one. Jo was a charming girl, and much of her charm lay in a certain buoyant sauciness that went well with her dark eyes and plump body. But Tom could easily destroy it entirely if he fed her a steady diet of the same verbal straw that he gave his readers. Of course, there was probably nothing I could do about it. These sociologists are proud and defensive concerning their relatively new field of study, and their bristling language is a warning to the world that only professional specialists may walk within their charmed circle. But Jo wanted me to make a show of rallying around, and besides, I was curious. Why should Tom talk that way so much of the time? We can put up with that sort of thing in faculty circles, for few professions demand a greater tolerance of bad language than the academic. But you would hardly expect Tom, even from a desire to be funny, to address his own wife as though she were a seminar at the New School for Social Research.

"I'll do what I can," I said. "I'll trap him at the faculty club tomorrow morning and begin some sort of campaign."

"Thanks, Bob, and good luck. Now come over to the student union and buy me a cup of coffee."

II

When I arrived at the faculty club the next morning, Tom was sitting alone, soberly studying the black hell-brew that the club offers its members as a means of impelling them through their morning classes. Tom was not handsome. His face was white and soft, and no matter how close he shaved, his beard showed against it like fine grains of black sand. But his eyes were mild—very mild. They were not the eyes of a man who subjects his wife to linguistic torture at 7:30 in the morning.

We exchanged greetings cheerily enough and I poured my coffee and sat down so that I could face him across the table. Then I dropped a copy of his book down between us and began the day's attack.

"Congratulations, Tom. I've been looking through this new book of yours. You must be feeling pretty proud of yourself these days."

"Thanks, Bob. If you don't mind my saying so, it's refreshing to hear that sort of talk from an English professor."

"I see what you mean. My more conservative colleagues are liable to grumble something about Shakespeare's knowing more of man and society than all the sociologists combined. Now what could Shakespeare, for all his virtues, have to say about the effects of urbanization on American status-concepts in the year 1955?"

"Ah! My second chapter."

"Right. You covered the ground beautifully in that one. . . . There's one passage that puzzled me a little, though, on page 48, if I remember."

I picked up the book and turned to the passage in question. Tom leaned forward, exhibiting a warm-hearted desire to make the rough places plain. I had succeeded in creating the necessary spirit of harmony. After all, as Tom himself had written in one of his more lucid passages: "Rare indeed is the non-social deviate who fails to respond to the explicit manifestation of peer-group approval."

"Here it is," I said. "'It has been observed that the offspring of familial units in the lower economic brackets demonstrate a frequent tendency to sublimate status-anxiety by means of organized aggression against societal mores, such aggression taking the form of vandalistic assaults upon institutionalized properties.' If I read that correctly, Tom, it means that the children of poor parents often try to smother their sense of inferiority by throwing rocks at the schoolroom windows. Is that right?"

"Well, yes, I suppose so."

"Good . . . now here's the catch. I know perfectly well that these ideas of yours are sound, weighty ideas—but just the same, in my own haphazard way I managed to come pretty close to your thought in about half the number of words. Now don't get me wrong; I don't want you

to write like a barbershop philosopher. But couldn't you try to compress things just a little?"

I had expected that question to squander at least half of the good humor I had previously built up, but I was wrong. It seemed to exhaust the supply entirely, and Tom began to talk at me like a rather grim public statue.

"Bob, the difference between yourself and your more fossilized colleagues seems less than obvious at the moment. How many times do we have to tell you gentlemen that if social studies are to achieve anything they must employ a diction that is rigidly objective, that utilizes scientifically valid terms, and is totally free of the curse of inherited emotive connotations?"

"Yes, Tom, but what's so impure about my little sentence? Isn't it just as antiseptic as yours? Where are all these smelly connotations you're talking about?"

"Good God, man! Just think of all the condescension in that word *poor*."

"Well, suppose you're right—what then? Your sentence has some alarming connotations of its own.

"How so?"

"Why think, Tom. Look at the way you've mechanized those children you're talking about. They're trapped in that sentence of yours like Charlie Chaplin among the cogwheels. Your language treats them like things, not human beings, and that's the sin of sins. Why should you, of all people, write like that? Your style is away out of line with your ideas. You think along democratic lines, and you reach democratic conclusions, but your language is Big Brother from beginning to end."

"I see. So you've been at your Orwell again. And not so long ago it was Aldous Huxley. Do you English professors ever read anything else?"

"Don't get me wrong, Tom. I'm thinking in broad terms of what may happen. You know as well as I do that hot words can lead to fights in the street; I'm afraid your so-called 'scientific' words could lead to a dictatorial solution of all these problems you're talking about. Believe me, when dangerous language finds its way into the bloodstream some peculiar things can happen."

"Exactly. Now pull up short and think for a moment. Ever since the human race began, it has tried to deal with its social problems in the fuzzy, emotive language of religious commandments, ethical systems, royal edicts, revolutionary manifestoes, and so on. These things haven't worked: they were aimed at action and power, not knowledge. What we sociologists want is first to *know*. We propose to study the human group as objectively as possible, so that anything we propose will be founded on

verified fact, not mere will or whimsy. We're not degrading the human race. We're simply taking its problems as seriously as they deserve to be taken; therefore we use as far as possible the language of pure knowledge—the language of science."

It was a sturdy answer, and while Tom spoke his pale face reddened and he became a little breathless. There was passion there, no doubt of it. I had failed to make any impression whatever, and it was my own fault. Instead of limiting my objective to the planting of a small seed of doubt in his mind, I had gone all-out with a lot of windy nonsense that wouldn't alarm anyone who wasn't already on my side.

Since the time was getting short, there was nothing for it but to bow out of the argument with some sort of wisecrack. "Well said, old man. Seldom has good language been used so effectively to defend bad."

Tom smiled into the dregs of his cup, then at me. "Is that the best you can do?" he said.

"I'll say no more for the present—except this: how about a year's moratorium on that word you used a moment ago?"

"What word?"

"*Group*. In sound, in sense, and in what you call 'emotive connotation' it is by far the ugliest word I know."

"But consider, my dear colleague—we sometimes have to submit ourselves to the traditional verbal symbols of the language. Does our little English professor object to that?"

I got up. "Pardon me, I have a class."

As I walked out the atmosphere was decidedly chilly, or as Tom would have put it: "Our dyadic group was revealing its ephemeral status."

So ended the first lesson, and, as far as I was concerned, the last. But I continued to be disturbed by a feeling, not only of defeat, but also of curiosity. When I thought of Tom looking across that table at me and defending his language with a fine, generous passion, I couldn't reconcile the image of him as he was then with the manner of his book. For the more I read it the more I realized that the basic attribute of its style was not objectivity—not even academic heaviness—but a giddy excess of big, hyphenated words that could only spring from a source far deeper and more interesting than the desire to assume a professional stance.

III

Perhaps my curiosity would have remained forever unsatisfied if an event hadn't occurred a week later that was ultimately to lead me close to the heart of the mystery. This event was the appearance on the campus, under the auspices of the university's Distinguished Lecturers

Committee, of Dr. Bella Wilcox. Bella was now head of the department of sociology at the Midwestern College of Social Studies, and was a formidable figure among the sociologists of the country. To me, however, she was a decidedly acid memory of twenty years' standing. She and I had been undergraduates together at Greenbelt College in North Carolina. At that time she was a slight, intense creature with earnest brown eyes and brown hair that was gathered into a strangely old-fashioned bun. She was a sociology major then, but she spent most of her time organizing her fellow students on behalf of all the great causes of the day—Spain, Labor, the Jews and the Negroes. Since I had fancied myself richly in love with her at the time, she had had no trouble organizing *me*. I can still remember how the sun felt on the back of my neck as I paced up and down before a restaurant of whose employment policies Bella disapproved. It was exhilarating, after a fashion, to be dragged from the shorter poems of Donne to carry a placard reading "Fight Nazi Tactics in Greenbelt" during the hottest hours on the hottest day of a Carolina May, and I would have gladly picketed the place well into the summer. But a few more weeks spent working with Bella over the crucial issues of the time soon convinced me that her concern for the downtrodden was not nearly equal to her intense pleasure in gathering devotees together and marshalling them with an iron rod.

After our graduation there came the war. I lost sight of Bella, and I thought about her hardly at all. Occasionally, however, both during the war and after, I caught from afar the distant rumble of success, always a little more awesome when it is a woman who is succeeding. I sometimes saw her name in a magazine, followed by such titles as "Eminent Welfare Consultant" and "Leading Educator and Authority on Personnel Problems." If I had thought much about her, I would have probably dismissed it all as slightly phony, but I didn't think about her—until her appearance on our campus forced me to.

Her lecture was announced, and its title was a warning of dull things to come: "The Counselling of Chronic Dissavers." Bella was apparently going to palm off a fledgling article on us. But I went to hear her anyway, partly to see how the old warrior was carrying her years, but mainly because Tom Philips, aware of my previous passion for her, and perhaps anxious to turn the other cheek after our tussle at the faculty club, had invited me to a tea in Bella's honor that was to be given at the home of George Dunham, the head of the sociology department.

I went to the lecture with Tom and Jo. It was held in the auditorium of the student union at 3:00 o'clock on a warm October afternoon, and it was a miserable affair from beginning to end. Bella had become a dreary schoolmarm. The bun was still there, but her hair was dull, her nose was sharp, and her hard eyes constantly flicked from side to side as though

mounted on precisely ground steel bearings. Moreover, the audience was scanty, the prospect of trees and grass through the open windows induced feelings of frustration, and the lecture itself was delivered in a sociologist's jargon that made even the prose style of Tom Philips seem graceful by comparison. Again and again Bella used that appalling word "dissaver." It was apparently supposed to signify people who spend more than they earn, and to do so without "inherited emotive connotations," but by the time Bella was through it was so obvious that she didn't care at all for these "dissavers" that she might as well have called them spendthrifts or wastrels and let it go at that. As far as I understood it, Bella was recommending that welfare counsellors treat most of their applicants to a terse lecture on Free Enterprise and show them the door. It was good, common-sense advice, no doubt, particularly in a time of general prosperity, but it did seem to be lacking in what was once called *caritas*. It was clear that, in the process of becoming the very symbol of the Successful Woman, Bella had developed an awesome impatience with the unsuccessful. Of course, Bella wasn't the first person to whom this had happened, but she was, after all, a specialist in the techniques of social welfare.

Near the end of the hour Jo nudged me and whispered: "This is even worse than Tom. Maybe it'll cure him." She meant the language, of course, but by then I had begun to speculate on other possibilities. For I had deciphered enough of Tom's book to know that his views on the handling of welfare cases were the direct opposite of Bella's. As a matter of fact, I seemed to remember a moderate disagreement with one of her articles that he had inserted in one of his footnotes. Bella must have developed her position further since Tom wrote that note, for he was clearly taken by surprise by the lecture. I looked past Jo to see how he was reacting to it. His head was bent, as though he were studying his knees, and the back of his neck was decidedly red. I gathered that he was furious.

After the lecture Tom drove us over to the Dunham's in sulky silence. Jo tried to stir up some talk: "Did you see that hairdo? She looks like Carrie Nation about to invade a saloon." It didn't work, however, because Tom and I were both in a mood to nurse our disgust.

IV

Our arrival at the Dunhams' was a relief. George Dunham had had the good sense to acquire a delightful Frenchwoman for his wife, and the evidence of her charm and social cunning was seen in the fact that everyone was busy in cheerful conversation even though university regulations forbade alcoholic beverages at semi-official functions such as these.

George and Marie greeted me warmly. George said, "Well, Bob, I suppose you've dropped in to see that we handle the language with the respect it deserves." The remark was well-meant, but in view of what Tom and I had been through it was slightly embarrassing. I managed a laugh, and then Marie introduced me to Bella, who seemed to recognize me at once. She remarked that I looked as young as ever, asked me how my work was going, and then prepared herself for the next handshake. She clearly didn't care in the least about me or dear old Greenbelt, and I was glad of it. After what she had done to me that afternoon I was in no mood to chat of old times.

People were gathered in the usual little knots, and I made my way from one to the other without becoming bogged down anywhere, mainly because I was an interloper—perhaps even a deviate of some sort—and no one knew exactly what to do with me. This was fortunate, because after a while I saw that Tom and Bella had retired to a corner and were going at each other from two armchairs. They couldn't have been talking for long, but already I detected hostility. I quietly slid into a window seat a few feet away, took down a book and pretended to read.

The precise subject of their discussion I never discovered. Not only was it hard to hear over the general conversation, but it was also pitched on the same level of high jargon that they both knew so well. I gathered that they were discussing "non-social deviates," which apparently included "chronic dissavers." I also gathered that Bella took a dim view of deviates in general and that Tom's stand was relatively "permissivistic," to use one of Bella's more homespun terms. At any rate, it was strange to hear those sterilized, unemotive words flapping their heavy wings from speaker to speaker and stirring up such anger. Bella's manner was curt and hard as she insisted that "Welfare interviewers ought to assert accepted societal value-concepts more emphatically to social and ideological deviates." Tom's voice was raspy as he replied: "And I say interviewers should be more ready to assume psychic compulsions as determinants of deviant behavior patterns." One thing about Tom interested me: as the talk continued his language grew worse. He seemed determined to top every hyphenated atrocity Bella committed with something more succulent of his own. And so it went, while the crowd buzzed on and Marie Dunham, who was talking with Jo on the other side of the room, cast benevolent and approving eyes toward what she thought was a friendly conversation.

But as I listened something began to happen that both surprised and disturbed me. It was simply this: without breaking my silence I began to become a partisan in the dispute. The mood of ironic detachment in which I had begun to listen gradually melted away and I found myself passionately siding with Tom—actually, to confess all, longing for him

to produce the one bristling phrase that would drive Bella from the field forever. But I did not get my wish. Instead, I was dismayed—really dismayed—to see the climax of the argument come in Bella's momentary flirtation with plain talk: "Mr. Philips! Can't you see that sociology will never get anywhere until it gets rid of this soft-headed New Dealish humanitarianism of yours?"

I should have been glad to hear this, for it came closer to live language than anything this woman had said so far, but in truth I was miserable. There was all too much vigor in *that* remark, especially since she had almost shrieked it. Tom obviously thought so too, for he fell into a stunned silence as Marie Dunham, aware that she had misread the situation in our corner, moved across the room to bring peace. Marie tried the light touch: "How about some more coffee? I have an idea you two need a little . . . reintegration." She spoke the last word with a certain acidity, like a cultivated Frenchwoman using a barbarous language that is in the process of becoming even more barbarous.

Her effort succeeded in part, for it gave Tom and Bella a chance to fumble around for their coffee cups and compose their faces into a social mask. Then some of the others gathered around, George brought over a tray of pastries, and the worst of the crisis was over.

But Tom's hand trembled as he reached for a cookie, and Bella's face looked swollen and tired. The slightly hunted look in her eyes suggested a sense of guilt over her noisy breach of decorum. She had not only embarrassed the party, she had also broken through the barrier of dull, neutral language—a clear violation of professional ethics—and she was ashamed.

V

And suddenly I thought I understood why that miserable, disinfected vocabulary maintained its hold on each of these two people. After all, even the clumsiest words have meanings, and there had been enough meaning in the words of Tom and Bella to call out my own bias in full force. It occurred to me then that the truth about Tom and Bella was that they were on opposite sides of a battle that had been going on for ages, and that they emasculated the English language for different reasons: she to conceal from the world her disappointment—her impatience—with the human race; he to conceal from it, and perhaps from himself, his compassion for it.

This, at least, was my theory, spawned on the instant and subject to change without notice. If I began to develop hesitations about it as soon as it came into my mind, it was only because I suddenly felt a little weary of dogmatizing about the language of others. After all, hadn't my whole

experience with Tom taught me that a superior man's relationship to the language he utters is a strangely intimate and personal one, and that he who seeks either to define it or to disrupt it had best tread softly and speak humbly?

It was time now to go home. Couples were taking flight in quick succession from an atmosphere that was still vaguely uncomfortable, and Marie could do nothing but say goodbye as graciously as possible. Again Tom drove me to my destination, and this time Jo made no effort to set us talking.

But just as we were approaching my front door, Tom said: "Bob, I've been thinking about that discussion we were having a few weeks ago. Strange that the world has seen fit to arrange itself into a verification of your arguments."

"No, Tom, my arguments were away off base. They were far too simple."

"Perhaps so. Still, I'll be a little dissatisfied with that language of mine from now on. I've seen it at its worst today."

"But I'll bet you won't abandon it."

"Abandon it at breakfast, that's all I ask," said Jo.

"How can I? . . . I don't know, maybe there are complexities in this situation that neither of us can fathom."

"Indeed there are, and I herewith apologize for ever pretending otherwise."

We had reached my apartment by now. I thanked them both and received a dinner invitation in return. Then, as Tom drove off, I got a momentary look at his face. Its expression was rather hurt and anxious, and his eyes weren't on the road at all.

I could only assume, after what had happened, that he was reflecting with gentle concern upon all the deviates and dissavers and rejectees of the world.

The Elements of Statistical Confusion

Or: What Does the Mean Mean?

by WILLIAM BRUCE CAMERON

Bradley University

Scientific writers assure us that mathematics is rapidly becoming the language of all the sciences. In my own field, sociology, a casual survey of the journals shows that it already competes strongly with sociologese, which is an argot singularly difficult to displace. In any field which strives for impartiality and objectivity in its descriptions of nature, the cool and dispassionate language of numbers has its appeals, but statistics, that promising younger daughter of mathematics, is constantly threatened with seductions into easy virtue hardly matched since the *Perils of Pauline*.

The basic value and potential fault of numbers is that they are remote from reality, abstract, and aloof from the loose qualitative differences which immediately impinge upon our senses. Numerous selections, generalizations, and discriminations take place before any aspect of sense experience can be reduced to a number, and most of the time we are hardly aware of these abstractions even as we make them. The simplest and most basic statistical operation is counting, which means that we can identify something clearly enough that we can recognize it when we meet it again, and keep track of the number of such events which occur. This sounds simple enough until we actually try to count objects, such as, let us say, students in various colleges in the university. It is easy enough to simply count everyone who enrolls, but deans, board members, and newspaper reporters want to know how many there are in various divisions. Suppose a student is finishing his undergraduate work and taking a few graduate courses as well. Is he one undergraduate, one graduate, or one of each? If someone takes a single course in evening college, is he then one evening student, or only one-fifth of a student? (Remember, we are trying to keep our private passions out of this description!) How many times he should be counted obviously depends on what it is we

are trying to count, and for administrative purposes it may be best to count his *appearance* in each of these divisions; but unfortunately, any public listing of 5000 appearances is very likely to be interpreted as 5000 skinsful of student body, whereas we might find only 3000 epidermal units, or if you prefer clichés, 3000 noses. Equally obvious, 100 evening college students taking one two hour course each are in no meaningful way equivalent to 100 day students, each with a sixteen hour load. The moral is: Not everything that can be counted counts.

Ratios, Rates and Percentages

If we have counted things to our satisfaction, we can express the numerical value of one class of objects in terms of the number of some other, as a fraction or rate or ratio (*e.g.*, one teacher to each twenty-five students). The meaning of this, of course, depends first of all on how we counted teachers and students. To avoid argument with academics, we might better redefine our units as people who meet classes, and enrollees. Also we must remind ourselves that the real persons do not necessarily, if indeed ever, confront each other in the frequencies the ratio suggests. The ratio is merely a casual guess as to the most likely arrangement to expect by chance, and contrary to the opinion of some people, academic affairs rarely proceed entirely by chance.

One of the most useful modifications of the ratio is a statement of relationships in percentage, or a ratio standardized to a base of one hundred. A minimum of four mathematical operations have been performed to obtain a percentage: two classes of events have been counted, the frequency of one has been divided into the frequency of the other, and the result multiplied by one hundred. Considered in this way, it is obvious that there is plenty of room for simple errors, but the simplest of all is the bland acceptance of the end figure as a kind of real object having a life of its own. In other words, people tend to treat percentages like match sticks, or houses, or dollar bills, rather than high-powered abstractions.

A parable: A teacher took a job as instructor at X college, and the second year he received a raise of ten per cent. The third year enrollment fell off, and the college was forced to cut everyone's salary ten per cent. "Oh well," he said philosophically, "easy come, easy go. I'm right back where I started." Not if he was a math teacher, he didn't! If this example trapped you, figure it out on paper with a starting salary for the instructor of, say \$30,000, which is just as realistic as thinking that ten per cent equals ten per cent, if you have not first made certain that the two percentages are computed from the same, and reasonable, base. Even comparing figures as percentages of the same base is misleading if the base figure is not understandably related. As an example, compare

your salary to that of the head coach at your institution as percentages of (a) your son's weekly allowance, and (b) the national debt, and see which one, if either, makes you feel better. The sober, unhappy point is that both of these two kinds of errors are offered constantly in newspapers, journals, speeches, and elsewhere, and often the author blandly omits any definition of the base whatsoever, *viz*: "Things are looking better. Business volume is up ten per cent!"

Moral: 400 per cent is better in baseball than in taxes.

Averages

Our society has so often eulogized man's best friend that only the most obtuse statistician would conclude that a typical man-and-his-dog average three legs, but every day good average people make errors just as gratuitous on the average in using averages. To speak of the average height of a group of men and women, or the average age of the audience at a grade school play, may yield results which, while less shocking, are fully as bizarre. Here again, as with most common statistical devices, few people really understand mathematically what the formulas mean, and yet they develop a kind of mystical feel for their use. "Average man" calls up an image of the man who lives across the alley. "Average day" means one distinguished from the rest neither by drama nor by excessive monotony. In fact, most people's approach to the whole business of averages is so intuitive that when the statistician writes "mean" they automatically translate it to "feel," because the mean is meaningless.

To be sure, the sophisticated, which includes all readers of this *Bulletin*, have learned that "average" includes medians and modes, and many even know that for some reason salaries are better discussed in terms of the median (that coach is somehow involved in this again), but very few people have learned that there are times when you should not "take an average" at all. Most of us go ahead and take 'em on general principles, just like Granpa took physic. Of course, when Granpa had appendicitis, the physic killed him. You can't go against nature (or God) that way. But nature (or God) is less prompt in punishing statistical errors, with the result that many folks develop a real talent for sin.

Moral: "How mean can you get?"

Correlation

This is one of the handiest devices yet devised, and correspondingly, one of the least understood. Unless you have had a course in statistics, you probably do not know the formulas for this one, which may be just as well, considering how many people take means, and how popular a

catch-word correlation has become. Most people think it is a high-powered word for cause. Actually, it is not. In fact, "it" is not anything, because "it" is a "they." While correlation customarily refers to Pearsonian r (because this is an easy formula for people with easy consciences), there are numerous ways of computing correlations, each with subtly different meanings, but all with one thing in common: correlations are simply mathematical statements about the degree to which some varying things tend (or don't tend) to vary together. J. S. Mill painstakingly explained, a long time ago, that even when causes were somehow involved, you could not safely infer that one of the variables in the correlation was causing the other; but Mill is out of fashion these days, and correlations are popular. Perhaps a good example of spurious causal reasoning might be the very high positive correlation between the number of arms and the number of legs in most human populations, which clearly proves what I have claimed all along, that arms cause legs.

There is no point in the math-fearing layman's even trying to grasp when and how to use the various correlation formulas. You simply must study some mathematics to gain even a hint of the restrictions, because the restrictions grow in part out of the kind of data with which you deal, and in part out of the mathematical assumptions you make in trying to get the job done. If the mathematical assumptions are not met reasonably well by the data (and they almost never are!), the resulting statement about relationships among the data is in greater or lesser part grounds for libel. But data, like nature and God, are slow to respond to statistical calumny; so let us only seek to protect the reader.

Two other forms of correlation are beginning to appear in public, with their own characteristic misinterpretations. These are multiple and partial correlation.

If correlation means the mathematical relation between two sets of variables, then multiple correlation means relationships between three sets or more. Fair enough? This is especially handy when trying to describe a complex set of interactions, such as rush hour traffic or the stock market, or many human behaviors in which opposing and cooperating forces are working, pushing and shoving, not working in any clearcut simple direction, but nonetheless producing some kind of result. The "feel" most people have for correlation carries over into multiple correlation, with probably not much greater inaccuracy. Instead of feeling one thing affecting another, they can go on feeling several things affecting another.

The real fun comes with partials. Multiples are confusing "because of" (or correlated strongly with) the fact that they describe complex situations. Partial correlations are confusing because with them we symbolically do what we can't do in actual practice (but would love to!): we simplify the

situation by making everything hold still except the one thing we wish to examine.

"Now," says the layman, "you're getting somewhere. I *knew* there was a simple answer to all this if you'd just produce it. What was that partial correlation for income and juvenile delinquency again?" Alas, we are worse off than before, because with multiple correlation we convinced him the problem was complicated (although not for exactly the reasons he supposed); but now we have inadvertently proven to him that it is all very simple, and that all effects may be understood in terms of simple, discrete causes. If I become inarticulate here, it is because in my town a layman (nice average sort of man) published a statement in which he said income had virtually no relation to juvenile delinquency, and cheerfully cited a partial correlation to prove it.

What he did not know, and I failed to explain to him, was that partials rule out the joint effects of several variables *mathematically*, although these effects may be present and important *empirically*. For example (and here my analogies really strain their mathematical bonds!), in samples of water, the multiple correlation between hydrogen and oxygen and the phenomenon called wetness is high. The partial correlation for hydrogen and wetness, holding oxygen constant, is near zero. The same goes for the partial between oxygen and wetness, with hydrogen held constant. At this point I hope the readers bellow in a chorus, "You idiot, it takes both hydrogen and oxygen *together* to produce water!" Amen, and it probably takes low income, broken homes, blighted residential property, and a host of other things, all intricately intertwined, to produce juvenile delinquency. To say that the partial correlation with low income, all other factors held mathematically constant, is near zero, does not mean we can forget it in real life. It more probably means that this one factor is the constant companion of all the rest.

Clearer illustration of multiple and partial correlation may be seen in the *State Fair* mince pie, to which each member of the family surreptitiously added brandy. Each did just a little, but the whole effect on the judge was a lulu. To attribute some portion of the binge to any single person's brandy contribution would have only symbolic meaning, and hardly be identifiable empirically, but it could not be ruled out. Camels may ultimately collapse under straws.

Curves, Probabilities and Statistical Significance

Most teachers have been exposed to the Normal Curve, usually in the form of an edict from the administration concerning the proper distribution of grades to hand out. In fact, in one institution some misguided administrator computed the percentage distribution of grades for my class of six students and compared it to the proposed institutional

curve. The curve is what you might expect to find if the frequencies of events ranged around some mid-point purely by chance, like the impact points of artillery shells fired as exactly as possible at a given target. The mathematical specifications of the curve are complicated, but the basic point to remember is that this is a curve of chance occurrences; in fact, some people call it the curve of error. If any factor, however small, consistently biases the possibilities of events, they will not group themselves in this sort of curve, and it is sheer tyranny for us to insist that they should do so. It is true that over a large number of cases (say ten thousand) of students taking a given test with a similar general background of ability and interest, the grades will *approximate* this sort of curve. But the principle on which the curve is predicted says explicitly in fine print that any given small portion (sample) of those ten thousand (universe) might pile up at either end or in the middle, or be found scattered all over it from here to Hoboken. This small sample, colleague, is your class and mine, and it may not be just your imagination: it is perfectly possible, statistically, that they really are all F's this year! Another year they may be all A's.

Moral: The normal curve will never replace the *Esquire* calendar.

The theory of sampling is a beautiful and fearful thing to behold, and none but the statistical priesthood should be trusted to gaze upon it. But the laity should at least become pious and agree to some key points in the creed. First of all, size of sample is much, underline *much*, less important than almost everything else about the sample. A carefully designed sample of two hundred cases can tell more than a sloppily collected sample of two thousand. The basic problem in sampling is to get a sample which faithfully represents the whole population, or universe, from which it was drawn. All the elaborate machinery of sampling is set up to serve this purpose, and if the rules are not followed, the sample might as well not be drawn at all. Good sampling is neither cheap nor easy, while bad sampling is sometimes both. The casual layman who wants to know how to make a sample is best advised as was the man who asked a doctor at a dance what he would advise in a hypothetical case of illness. You will recall that the M. D. seriously said, "I would advise that man to see a doctor." The best advice before trying to draw a sample is to see your local statistician. Otherwise, don't do it yourself unless you are sure you know how.

Moral: A free sample may be good for a disease you don't have.

The question which must be answered about most information derived from sample surveys is: "Is this statistically significant?" What this means is: "Could the kind of frequencies of events we have discovered have occurred purely by chance?" On this kind of answer rests our confidence in the Salk vaccine, radar, strategy in sales campaigns, and

many other kinds of events where the improvement or change we seek is not total but is nevertheless desirable. In some cases, as small a change as two or three per cent may be significant—that is to say, is not likely to have occurred merely by chance; while in others, a twenty or thirty per cent change may not be significant. The techniques of determining significance are a serious study in themselves, but the common sense cautions in using them may be summed up in two statements: a difference that does not make a difference is not a difference; and: there is a vast difference between something's being statistically significant and something's being important.

Dr. Arnold E. Joyal, President of Fresno State College (California), has prepared, for the Committee on Studies of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, a 40-page study, entitled "Faculty Participation in College Policy Formulation and Administration." On the basis of replies to a questionnaire, received from 225 colleges belonging to the AACTE, Dr. Joyal has assembled much useful information on how the institutions are utilizing their faculties in the formulation of policy and the improvement of administration. The role of the American Association of University Professors in this development is duly recognized; in this connection, one of the State Colleges of California reports that its six-man Faculty Advisory Council (the chief medium for the expression of faculty recommendations) includes, *ex officio*, the president of the local chapter of the Association.

The study concludes that "the potentialities of faculty cooperation are being increasingly recognized," and "substantial change has taken place in the direction of increased faculty participation . . . in recent years." In so far as the study suggests a philosophy of faculty participation, it is embodied in the following statement:

"The fundamental reason, in fact the only reason, for involving faculty in college policy formulation and administration is to produce a better situation for teaching and learning."

Copies of this study can be obtained from the office of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 11 Elm Street, Oneonta, New York.

The Faculty and the Archivist

By HENRY J. BROWNE
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The troubles which a member of a college or university faculty might have with a registrar about turning in grades or with a dean over a teaching load will end at least with the termination of the services of one or both parties. This transitory character of the teacher's relationships with administrators is true in all cases except one, that of the archivist. An institution's archivist is the recording, or better the record-keeping, angel whose work will endure beyond the faculty member's demise or other departure and have its influence on his name and fame. The archivist, by very definition, controls the official sources for any future worldly weighing of the merits of his academic associates who make their contribution through teaching and research.

American faculties need not fear that they will be lost as historical object lessons to the next generation. Good colleges and universities in increasing numbers are making that point evident. A healthy and growing interest in this class of historiography has produced more than a few volumes which describe notable segments sliced out of the country's cultural and intellectual past. Concomitant with this trend, there has been an awareness of the need of better preserving the records which reveal the life of communities of learning and scholarship. These centers of higher learning, it is realized, in turn both affect and reflect the society in which they function.

It is probably hard on some faculty members, who have just begun to tolerate technician-librarians as human beings, to take on the new species of administrator, the archivist. In probably more than fifty per cent of our colleges and universities, however, this keeper of out-of-date but still valuable records is rendered less formidable by being made actually part of the library picture—placed in a manuscript division or in the rare book room. In some of the other institutions, the archivist has been given what is his rightful and certainly more traditional place as an independent part of the administrative organization; but more often than not, even in this happy arrangement, he is attached to the history department, or otherwise made to earn his pay at a more ostensibly, if not really, important task.

The archivist is fortunate, in a way, if he is also a member of the faculty, with his Ph.D. union card, and access to academic meetings. He may then be looked upon less as a trained technician shelving old papers, or as an efficiency expert cleaning out file drawers, or as a puttering antiquarian seeking the middle initials of the early personnel. Of course, he should have something of all these elements in his makeup. Yet if the records-man is just another name on the list of the teaching staff, he will not have enough position to wangle from his colleagues the official documents of which they are merely, even if not obviously to them, the temporary custodians when they act as department heads, deans, committee chairmen, or what-have-you on the campus. Hence the desirability of some administrative status for the archivist.

It is time that the professors were reminded what sort of quasi-angelic advocate they have in a real archivist. By whom else will their off-prints, and mint copies of their books, be so revered as to be kept shelved and out of circulation as "record copies"? The archivist, as much as the historian, and in one sense even in a more essential way, makes it possible for a faculty's influence on the changing tides of institutional life to be known, at least in the future. With the cooperation of a records-conscious teaching staff, he can prevent an institution's record from being merely an administrative one—a lacing together of trustee decisions and budgetary adventures. If the faculty makes a college or university, faculty records should certainly make its history. For their own present use, teachers will find, in a well-functioning archives, the precedents and traditions of their departments and schools. These should be of administrative value, and certainly can become a deep well-spring of loyalty for themselves and their students.

Anyone who feels that he belongs to and is part of an institution has a right to think also of the future. Where else but in an archives will it even be found recorded who sat at whose professorial feet, or at the other end of what academic log? In such a campus depository will be preserved, too—at least till the IBM machines take over completely and make things much more impersonal—the instructor's evaluation of who knows how famous an alumnus of the future. Even if the pedagogue never becomes a Henry Adams, future generations should be given the chance to trace the genealogy of the ideas of which his classroom may have been the nursery. Moreover, in the brief notes of an archival minute book may be the only record of a moment of greatness, when a faculty member spoke for freedom or justice, or demonstrated wisdom or humor. It is salutary to recall that unless the world is very old and already breathing its last, today's files will in part be tomorrow's archives, and, it can be argued, the more important mortal remains of professors who used to be.

It is a matter of some surprise that college and university faculties have been no quicker than government or business groups in appreciating the need of archives in their own institutions. One would expect them to be the first to realize, if not their administrative value, at least how great a mine of the cultural and intellectual riches of the country in our age will later be found only in such organized rooms of records. A petition for the establishment of an archival unit or for the more perfect organization of an existing one may well be made a matter of interest to faculty members on campuses throughout the country. In all places there is need for mutual encouragement and cooperation between archivists and professors, for their cause is fundamentally one—the searching out and passing on of truth.

It may be observed, in brief, that the professors have overlooked to a large extent the possibility that the glamor of the podium or the self-satisfaction of the scholarly publication need not end with their passing from the scene. And how much firmer their hold on the future if they furthermore bequeath the archives their nonofficial personal papers!

The best way for a faculty to show that it is worthy of a greater share of responsibility in the government of the university is to exercise vigorously and in concert the responsibilities and powers that it has. We should value our calling highly, and show, by our words and our deeds, that we are asking for more power in order that we may the better discharge our social responsibilities as preeminently the class of public servants to which is entrusted the high duty of preserving for, and propagating in, the coming generation an intelligent and balanced consciousness of the essential continuity of civilization; and by our teaching and our productive work, make it clear to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear that there is nothing that moves in the modern world beyond the blind forces of nature that does not owe its origin and power to the unremitting and persistent exercise of systematic thinking and investigation, and to that disciplined exercise of the creative imagination that comes only through hard thinking.

J. A. Leighton, Chairman of Committee T,
in the *Bulletin*, March, 1920, pp. 24-25.

Salaries and Working Conditions of Sociology Teachers

*A Report Prepared for the Eastern Sociological Society's
Committee on Salaries and Working Conditions of
Sociology Teachers*

by KURT B. MAYER¹

Brown University

In recent years, teachers of sociology in colleges and universities, like their colleagues in other fields, have had good reasons to express concern about their salaries and working conditions. In response to widespread expressions of concern and dissatisfaction, the Eastern Sociological Society formed a special committee to undertake a study of the whole employment situation of its members.

In April, 1955, a detailed questionnaire inquiring about salaries, supplementary income, teaching load, promotion, tenure, research facilities, as well as satisfaction and dissatisfaction, was mailed to all members of the Society. Of the 418 questionnaires mailed, 268 were returned. Of these, 114 came from individuals who are not regular full-time teachers; 5 were either incomplete or came from persons who had moved out of the Society's geographical area. The findings here reported are thus based on the analysis of 149 questionnaires.²

Eighty-seven per cent of the respondents were males. Seventy per cent were within the ages of 30 and 50 years; only 7 per cent were under 30 years old. Eighty-two per cent of this group held the Ph.D. degree; none had less than a Master's degree. Thirty-three per cent were full

¹ Professor Mayer is chairman of the Committee. The other members are: Wilbert E. Moore (Princeton University), Harry J. Walker (Howard University), and Austin Van der Slice (American University). The Eastern Sociological Society is a regional affiliate of the American Sociological Society, comprising the District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, New York, New England, and Eastern Canada.

² The Committee acknowledges with thanks the invaluable help of Miss Helen E. Walker, Bureau of Social Science Research, The American University, who volunteered her services in coding and tabulating the data under the supervision of Mr. Stanley K. Bigman, Chief of Statistical Services of the Bureau of Social Science Research. The Committee is also greatly indebted to Professor Robert T. Bower, Director, for making the staff and facilities of the Bureau available.

professors, 24 per cent associate professors, 28 per cent assistant professors, and 15 per cent instructors. Twenty-three per cent of the respondents were department chairmen. In teaching experience, 24 per cent had 5 years or less, 35 per cent had been teaching from 6 to 10 years, and 40 per cent had more than 11 years of teaching experience. Twenty-six per cent teach in institutions with enrollments under 1500 students, 44 per cent in institutions with an enrollment of 1500 to 10,000 students, and 30 per cent serve at institutions with more than 10,000 students. Forty-two per cent of the respondents teach in private universities, 24 per cent in private four-year colleges, and 30 per cent in state universities and publicly-owned four-year colleges.

The anonymity of the questionnaire, and the lack of information about the Society's membership as a whole, make it difficult to judge just how representative this self-selected sample may be of either the society's membership or of the profession in the Eastern area as a whole. Comparisons with other recent studies of college teachers¹ show that the sex and rank distributions are representative of the profession as a whole, but the sample is probably disproportionately high in older persons, departmental chairmen, and holders of Ph.D. degrees. As would be expected in a mail survey, this suggests that there was a better response from the more established and successful members of the profession than from the younger, more marginal ones.

In interpreting the findings about size and type of institution, it should be kept in mind that this report is based upon replies from individuals. Because of the anonymity of the response, we do not know just how many institutions these individuals represent.

The findings of this survey are classified into the following major categories: data on salaries and income; information about working conditions; and expressions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The results will be presented in this order.

1 *Salaries*

Table 1 shows the median values and the ranges of 1954-55 salaries, by rank of respondent, classified separately for those appointed on a 9-10 month basis and those who are on a 12 month basis.

The most striking fact which emerges from this table is the very wide range of salaries, especially in the upper ranks. Thus the salaries received by full professors on a 9-10 month basis varied all the way from \$4100 to \$11,300, while salaries of associate professors ranged from

¹ Cf. Albert Imlah *et al.*, "Instructional Salaries in 41 Selected Colleges and Universities for the Academic Year 1955-56," *American Association of University Professors Bulletin*, 41 (Winter, 1955), pp. 797-812; and "Instructional Staff Practices and Policies in Degree-Granting Institutions, 1953-54," *Research Bulletin of the National Education Association*, 32 (December, 1954).

TABLE 1—1954-55 SALARY, BY RANK

	9 and 10 Month Basis			12 Month Basis		
	No. of Cases	Median	Range	No. of Cases	Median	Range
Professors	35	\$6950	\$4100-11,300	14	\$9000	\$5700-14,000
Associate Professors	22	5700	3300- 8,000	13	5580	5100-13,000
Assistant Professors	32	4800	3500- 7,200	10	5450	3800- 8,300
Instructors	16	3750	3000- 6,000	6	4800	3100- 6,000

\$3300 to \$8000. The same holds true of those whose appointments are on a 12 month basis, and the variation of instructors' and assistant professors' salaries is likewise great, though somewhat less extreme, than those of the senior ranks. The wide overlap between different ranks should also be noted: some instructors have higher salaries than some full professors.

On the other hand, the median salary values of all ranks reveal no surprises: they correspond closely with the general academic salaries reported by various surveys undertaken in recent years.¹ All such studies, including the present one, make it abundantly clear that contemporary academic salaries are low and inadequate; when changes in purchasing power are taken into consideration, they compare unfavorably both with academic salaries paid in the past and with the remuneration received by other professionals today. Thus, the \$6950 median salary of full professors on the 9-10 month basis, and even the \$9000 annual salary on the 12 month basis, appear low in comparison with the \$15,000 average net income of physicians in 1953, and the \$11,200 average salary received by "middle management" business executives in 1954. Indeed, the average wages received in 1953 by railroad engineers (\$7352), railroad conductors (\$6676), and even railroad firemen (\$6180), compare well with the remuneration of sociologists with professorial rank!²

If the fact is any consolation, teachers of sociology are no worse off than academic colleagues in other departments. In reply to the question: "To your knowledge, how do the salaries of sociologists compare with

¹ Cf. Albert Imlah *et al.*, *op. cit.*; also their study for 1953-54, *Bulletin*, 39 (Winter, 1953-54), pp. 632-681. See also Beardsley Ruml and Sidney Tickton, *Teaching Salaries Then and Now* (New York: The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1955); U. S. Department of Labor, *Personnel Resources in the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Bulletin 1169 (Washington, D. C., n. d.); and Francis P. King, *Financing the College Education of Faculty Children* (New York: Holt, 1954), especially pp. 26-33.

² The figures for business executives' salaries were obtained from a survey made by the American Management Association, reported in the *New York Herald Tribune* of June 2, 1955. The other figures are from Ruml and Tickton, *op. cit.*, Tables 14-16, and Table 28.

others at the same rank at your institution?" 70 per cent checked "average," 9 per cent "below average," 8 per cent "above average," while 13 per cent did not know.

As would be expected, salaries are positively correlated with age of respondents, ranging, on the 9-10 month basis, from a median of \$4300 for those under 30 years of age to \$7700 for those over 60.

Salaries are also positively associated with the size of the employing institutions: the larger the enrollment, the higher the median salary. As regards type of institution, in the area covered by the survey, publicly-owned four-year colleges pay better than private four-year colleges, but private universities pay better than do state universities (see Table 2).

What is noteworthy in this respect is the median salary level of the publicly-supported four-year colleges, which on a 9-10 month basis exceeds that of all other types of institutions by a wide margin and comes very close to the salaries paid by the private universities on 12 month appointments, too.

We also asked our respondents about salary increases expected for the 1955-56 academic year. At the time the questionnaires were returned, in April-May, 1955, exactly one half of the respondents indicated that they had definite assurance of an increase for the next academic year. Here again, the range of increases appears more interesting than the median: assured increases varied widely: full professors, \$200-\$2500; associate professors, \$200-\$1600; assistant professors, \$100-\$1100; and instructors, \$100-\$1000. This wide range reflects primarily the determined efforts currently made by a number of the leading private universities and, to a lesser extent, by the private four-year colleges, to improve instructional salaries, and to restore the purchasing power lost by their staffs during the years of inflation.¹ Individuals employed by state or municipal institutions, however, reported a much narrower range of indicated salary increases: from \$100 to \$600 in municipal or state colleges, and from \$200 to \$500 in state universities. These increases are apparently based mainly on regular annual increments provided by established salary schedules, rather than on general institutional or individual personal increases.

2. *Supplementary Income*

In the current concern and discussion of the inadequacy of academic salaries, the question of summer earnings and supplementary income is

¹ As the final report of the AAUP study of 1955-56 salaries points out, however, "the matter is more serious than simply restoring purchasing power . . ." for "income levels in the country have not stood still, but have risen in *real income* terms . . . by some 73 per cent [from 1939-40] by September, 1955. . . . In sum, the relative economic status of the profession has deteriorated both with respect to its own past and still more with respect to the more advanced standards in our society." *Bulletin*, 42 (Spring, 1956), p. 32.

TABLE 2—1954-55 SALARY, BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	9 and 10 Month Basis			12 Month Basis		
	No. of Cases	Median	Range	No. of Cases	Median	Range
Universities:						
Private	45	\$5575	\$3000-11,300	17	\$6950	\$4200-14,000
State	12	5500	4200- 7,500	7	6000	4800- 9,200
4-year Colleges:						
Private	29	4733	3400- 8,500	7	5800	3800- 8,500
State or Municipal	13	6600	4100-10,200	11	6800	3100-10,000

inevitably raised sooner or later, and tends to become a controversial issue. Among the general public, there is a common belief that academic teachers are able to supplement their instructional salaries handsomely by working during the summer months, and also through income derived from research projects, book royalties, lecture fees, and so on. Academicians, on the other hand, complain that their power to earn money during the summer or through work paralleling their teaching has been greatly exaggerated. It is probably one of the most valuable aspects of the present survey that specific information was collected about supplemental earnings received by the informants during the year 1954-55 from professional activities and other work unrelated to the profession.

TABLE 3—AMOUNT OF SUPPLEMENTARY INCOME, 1954-55, BY RANK

	Receiving No Supplementary Income	Amount Not Indicated Number	Receiving Supplementary Income		
			Number	Amount Indicated Median	Range
Professors	5	3	41	\$1800	\$100-11,100
Associate Professors	5	3	27	1200	100- 6,500
Assistant Professors	10	—	32	966	100- 5,200
Instructors	5	1	17	1025	100- 2,200
Total	25	7	117		
Median of Medians				\$1100	

As can be seen from Table 3, only 25 of the respondents, or 17 per cent, received no supplementary income at all during 1954-55. Seven others indicated that they received such income but did not furnish any figures. The remaining 117 respondents reported supplementary incomes ranging from \$100 to \$11,100. The median was \$1100. Thirty-six per cent earned less than \$1000, only 14 per cent earned over \$3000, the remaining 50 per cent earned between \$1000 and \$3000.

Median supplementary incomes were: full professors, \$1800; associate professors, \$1200; assistant professors, \$966; and instructors, \$1025. This amounts to roughly 20 to 25 per cent of the median instructional salary at each corresponding rank, and does not include those who received no supplementary income at all.

In order of frequency, respondents list as sources of extra income: summer teaching, lecture honoraria, book royalties, consulting, extra teaching, project research, research, extension teaching, magazine writing, and work unrelated to the profession (see Table 4).

We tried to ascertain the extent to which these activities are engaged in out of sheer necessity by asking: "Are there any of those (activities) you have checked that you would *not* do if you had a more adequate salary?" The answers revealed that 54 per cent of those engaged in extra work would not discontinue it even if their salaries were more adequate.

TABLE 4—SOURCES OF SUPPLEMENTARY INCOME REPORTED BY 123 RESPONDENTS

	<i>Number of Times Reported</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Respondents</i>	<i>Would Drop if Salary Were More Adequate</i>	
			<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Per Cent*</i>
Summer teaching	46	37	27	59
Lecture honoraria	46	37	6	13
Book royalties	40	33	0	0
Consulting	39	32	3	8
Extra teaching	29	24	14	48
Project research	28	23	0	0
Extension teaching	16	13	6	38
Magazine writing	15	12	1	7
Work unrelated to profession	15	12	6	40

* Percentage based upon number performing activity (column 1).

However, as Table 4 shows, some types of extra activity are much more unpopular than others. Thus three out of every five respondents who now teach summer school would drop it, if they could afford to, and so would half of those who now do extra teaching. Extension teaching and work unrelated to the profession also rank high in unpopularity. None of the respondents, however, would drop project research, or book royalties, and few desire to discontinue lecturing, consulting, and writing. These responses clearly show that additional teaching is the main activity engaged in out of mere necessity, and most respondents so engaged desire a respite from it.

3. Teaching Load

Among the many factors that constitute the working conditions of the academic teacher, probably none is more important in determining his morale and satisfaction than the teaching load. Table 5 shows the hours per week spent in classroom teaching by the 111 respondents who held no official administrative position. The modal number clearly falls

TABLE 5—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TEACHING LOAD—HOURS PER WEEK

Hours per week	0-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	18 plus
Percentage	—	7.2	24.3	43.3	21.6	2.7	0.9

Total per cent, 100.0. Respondents, 111.

into the 10-12 hours category. Forty-three per cent of the respondents taught 10-12 hours per week—and in practice this almost always means 12 hours, as indicated by many marginal comments. Thirty-one per cent were teaching less, 26 per cent more. The heaviest teaching loads, of 13 hours or more, are reported most frequently by instructors rather than by those with professorial rank; by teachers in publicly supported four-year colleges rather than in universities, and by those who teach in institutions with enrollments of less than 5000 students rather than those in larger institutions.

In addition to the number of hours spent in the classroom, the size of the classes also constitutes a major aspect of the teaching load. Table 6 shows that the number of students per teacher varies widely, from less than 20 to over 200, but more than half of the respondents (54 per cent) usually teach more than 100 students each term. It is interesting to

TABLE 6—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TEACHING LOAD—NUMBER OF STUDENTS PER TERM

Students per Teacher	Percentage of Teachers	Under or Over 100 Students Each—Percentage by Rank			
			Respondents	Under	Over
Under 20	0.9	Professors	23	60.8	39.1
20-59	11.7	Associate			
60-79	15.3	Professors	29	48.2	51.7
80-99	17.1	Assistant			
100-149	36.9	Professors	36	38.8	61.1
150-200	8.1	Instructors	23	34.7	65.2
More than 200	9.0				
No answer	0.9	Total	111		

note that the student load is inversely correlated with rank, which may be partly due to the fact that advanced courses with smaller enrollments are often taught by those with senior rank.

Besides the time spent directly in preparing and teaching a course, the hours devoted to counseling and supervising students, as well as to committee and administrative work, must also be considered an integral part of the teaching load. As Table 7 shows, the time devoted to such duties varied considerably. Of the 111 respondents without official administrative positions, 10 per cent reported 15 hours or more a week on these additional duties; 30 per cent, 6–15 hours; and 51 per cent, less than 6 hours.

TABLE 7—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY HOURS PER WEEK DEVOTED TO ADMINISTRATIVE AND SUPERVISORY DUTIES

<i>Hours spent →</i>									<i>No Re- Total ply No.</i>
	1-3	4-6	6-10	10-14	15-29	30-39	40-49	50+	
Teachers not in Administration	23.4	28.0	18.0	11.7	8.1	—	—	1.8	9.0 111
Chairmen and Deans	5.3	15.8	18.4	10.5	28.9	7.9	7.9	—	5.3 38

As might be expected, this load weighed heavier on departmental chairmen and deans, of whom nearly one half devoted upwards of 15 hours per week to administrative and supervisory duties. Fifteen of the chairmen got some teaching credit for these activities, but 23 others received no teaching credit.

Directly related to the performance of teaching duties is the question of teaching and clerical assistance. The questionnaire asked whether assistance was provided for clerical and stenographic work, for preparing and grading examinations, for preparing reading lists, for conferences with students, or for other purposes. Eleven per cent of the respondents reported no assistance at all. Seventy-one per cent had some assistance in clerical and stenographic work, although marginal comments make it very clear that such help is often very limited in scope. Other types of assistance were checked by few respondents. On the whole, it appears that our institutions of higher learning too often require their highly skilled professionals to spend time at subprofessional tasks that could be performed more cheaply by clerical personnel.

4. *Promotions, Tenure, Sabbaticals, and Retirement Provisions*

Besides the teaching load, promotion and tenure policies are major elements of academic working conditions. Only 8 of the 149 respondents reported no tenure systems at their institutions, and internal evidence shows that only 6 institutions are involved here. The basis on which tenure is granted varies greatly from one institution to the next. How-

ever, it appears that in most cases associate and full professors have tenure, often with the added proviso that they also have served a minimum of from 5 to 8 years as full-time teachers. Municipal and state institutions often grant tenure also to assistant professors who have served a number of years, and some, like the New York City colleges, grant tenure also to instructors. Although the overwhelming majority of the individuals in our sample are thus assured of receiving tenure at some point in their teaching career, the wide diversity, arbitrariness, and unpredictability of the conditions under which tenure is granted is a point of frequent criticism. Quite a few of our respondents suggested that clarification and standardization of tenure provisions are among the specific improvements of the employment situation which they consider desirable.

Similar criticisms of arbitrariness and unpredictability are voiced by some respondents about the factors which are believed to govern promotions and salary raises. We asked our respondents to rank in order of importance several of the major factors commonly assumed to determine advances in rank and salary. It is worth noting that these two questions were the least fully answered in the whole questionnaire: about 75 per cent answered the question about promotion, only 65 per cent the question about salary increases.

Concerning promotions, 27 per cent of the respondents ranked publications first, 25 per cent teaching ability, and 15 per cent research. As might be expected, teaching ability ranks highest in private four-year colleges and institutions enrolling less than 5000 students, while research activity and publications are strongly emphasized in larger institutions and private universities. The findings regarding factors believed to determine salary increases are very similar: teaching ability ranks first in small institutions and private four-year colleges; it counts far less in the larger institutions and universities, both private and state, where publications and research are reported more important factors for salary increases. Routine annual increments also play an important role, especially in the public four-year colleges.

These findings can hardly cause much surprise. The emphasis on publication, which appears to be heavy in some of the larger institutions, is the cause of some pointed criticisms about "unwarranted pressure to publish trivia." It is interesting to note that these faculty views about criteria for advancement contradict the opinions of college and university administrators, who were questioned in a nation-wide survey undertaken in 1954 by the National Education Association. Nearly all administrators maintained that teaching ability is the primary basis for advancement.¹

¹ Cf. "Instructional Staff Practices and Policies in Degree-Granting Institutions, 1953-54," *Research Bulletin* of the National Education Association, 32 (December, 1954), pp. 171-72.

This wide divergence of opinions on different sides of the fence makes it clear why the actual operation of promotion policies is viewed as unclear and inconsistent by many teachers.

More than three quarters of the respondents indicated that their institutions granted sabbatical leaves. Although practices vary, most institutions granted full salary for half a year or half salary for a full year every seventh year, but in some institutions only teachers on tenure or even of full professorial rank are eligible. No significant differences were reported between the various types and sizes of institutions with respect to sabbaticals, and it should be mentioned that the proportion of our respondents reporting the existence of sabbatical leave policies compares favorably with the above-mentioned National Education Association Survey, where only 50 per cent of the administrators reported that their institutions had definite policies governing sabbatical leaves.¹

Ninety-six per cent of all the respondents reported that their institutions have a pension or retirement plan for faculty members, and 98 per cent of the teachers employed by private institutions reported Social Security coverage; but only 37 per cent of those who teach in publicly supported institutions are so covered.

5. *Research Facilities*

For teachers of an academic discipline with a strong empirical emphasis like contemporary sociology, the availability or lack of adequate opportunities to conduct research plays a very important role. To explore this matter, respondents were asked for their subjective estimates as to whether their institutions provided "reasonable" funds for research equipment, for occasional reduction of teaching schedules, for small faculty projects, and for paying research assistants. The opinion of most respondents is by and large negative. Forty-five per cent indicated a reasonable budget for equipment, 40 per cent for reduced schedules, 37 per cent for faculty projects, and only 26 per cent for research assistants. As might be expected, respondents from the larger institutions, from universities, and from private schools reported more adequate research resources than others. One can only conclude that provisions for research are in the large majority of cases thoroughly inadequate and it is not surprising that this is a major source of dissatisfaction in the profession (see Table 10).

6. *Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction*

Since this inquiry was prompted by the belief that dissatisfaction and concern about salaries and working conditions may be widespread among sociologists who are academic teachers, all respondents were

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-79.

asked to indicate whether they were well satisfied, moderately well satisfied, or dissatisfied with (a) present salary, (b) present working conditions, and (c) working relations with departmental colleagues.

As Table 8 shows, greatest satisfaction was expressed with working relations with colleagues, least satisfaction with income. Sixty-six per

TABLE 8—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH WORK SITUATION

	<i>Salary</i>	<i>Working Conditions</i>	<i>Colleagues</i>
Well satisfied	23	38	66
Moderately well satisfied	48	45	24
Dissatisfied	28	16	7
Does not apply	1	1	3
Total per cent	100	100	100
Total number	149	149	149

cent reported themselves well satisfied with colleagues, 38 per cent with working conditions, only 23 per cent with salary. On the other hand, those who are really disgruntled are a minority: 28 per cent reported themselves dissatisfied with salary, 16 per cent with working conditions, and only 7 per cent with colleagues.

The degree of satisfaction expressed is directly related to the amount of salary. As can be seen from Table 9, the more highly paid express more satisfaction not only with their salaries but also with their working conditions and their colleagues. Table 9 also shows that degree of

TABLE 9—DEGREE OF SATISFACTION BY SALARY AND TEACHING LOAD

	Percentage "Well Satisfied" with		
<i>Salary</i>	<i>Salary</i>	<i>Working Conditions</i>	<i>Colleagues</i>
\$3000-5000	8	28	54
5100-6700	21	34	73
6800 and up	40	52	70
<i>Teaching Load</i>			
9 hours or less	33	50	78
10-12 hours	19	39	58
13 hours or more	10	10	55

satisfaction is likewise closely related to the present teaching load. As the load in hours rises, the percentage of those who are well satisfied with salary, working conditions and even with colleagues decreases.

Several other factors are also correlated with satisfaction, especially rank and department size. In all types and sizes of institutions, full professors reported the highest percentage of "well satisfied" responses not only with respect to salary but also with working conditions and with

colleagues. While this is understandable, it is less clear why expressions of satisfaction rise as the size of the department increases.

It is evident that satisfaction or dissatisfaction with any one major aspect of the work situation does not remain confined to that particular factor alone, but tends to be transferred to and affect one's attitudes toward other factors. Those who feel themselves badly underpaid tend also to be more dissatisfied with their teaching loads and their colleagues. Similarly, a heavy teaching load results not only in dissatisfaction with working conditions but also with salary and colleagues. The irritation caused by one unsatisfactory element in the work situation may sour one's attitudes toward teaching in general and the reverse is probably also true.

Taken as a whole, the answers to the direct question about satisfaction reveal a remarkably high degree of general satisfaction. Like other college teachers, most sociologists love teaching too much to be deeply dissatisfied with their profession. This is corroborated by the response to the following question: "If you were offered a position outside teaching, would you take it if (a) it paid as well, (b) it paid better, (c) it paid less, (d) under limiting conditions (please specify)." Although no provision was made in the questionnaire for a negative answer, 42 per cent of the respondents wrote in a flat "No," indicating that they would not leave teaching under any conditions. Only 14 per cent were willing to leave for a better salary alone, while 29 per cent specified limiting conditions, usually "more scope for my professional interests." To be sure, willingness to leave varies directly with salary and rank, the higher the rank and the salary the greater the determination not to leave under any circumstances.

Of course, these are answers to hypothetical questions, but the respondents were also asked: "Have you in the last five years ever actually refused a better-paying position outside teaching?" Thirty-seven per cent of all respondents answered "Yes," and there was no significant difference here between those willing to leave and those unwilling—34 per cent of the former and 39 per cent of the latter have actually had an opportunity to accept a better paying job. Judging by the answers to these questions, it is only fair to conclude that money alone does not easily lure a sociologist away from the Academy, but it must be remembered, of course, that those who would have weighted our results in the direction of greater dissatisfaction have probably been leaving the teaching field right along and are not included in this survey.

The questionnaire concluded with an open-ended question, reading "What specific improvements would you suggest to make your whole employment situation more satisfactory?" As Table 10 shows, almost 300 suggestions were made by 109 respondents. Grouping these requests

TABLE 10—SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS

	<i>Number of Times Mentioned</i>
Higher salaries	50
More time for research	36
Curtailed teaching load	29
More money for research	27
Improved tenure policies	14
Improved promotion policies	13
More faculty consultation by administration	13
More office space	12
Smaller classes	8
More secretarial assistance	8
Less administrative and committee work	7
Better coordination among departments	7
More assistance with research	6
Better student selection	6
Better sabbatical policy	5
More teaching assistance	5
Change of chairman	3
More credit for administrative and committee duties	2
Other suggestions	35
No improvements needed	5
Total number of respondents answering this question	109
No answer to question	40

into a number of categories, it is evident that the demand for higher salaries exceeds all other suggestions: salary is the major bone of contention. Next in order of frequency appear requests for more time for research, for a curtailment of teaching load, and for more money for research. Thus low salaries, heavy teaching loads, and inadequate research facilities constitute the outstanding sources of dissatisfaction and concern. Concerted efforts toward improvement ought to be made in all three of these directions.

International Association of University Professors and Lecturers:

Report of Delegates to the Ninth University Conference

By RICHARD H. SHRYOCK¹

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The ninth University Conference of the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers (hereafter, I.A.U.P.L.), meeting in Munich, held regular sessions September 3-8, 1956, with additional social occasions on September 2 and 9. All regular sessions were held at the Technische Hochschule.

The delegates represented some twenty-five national associations or units. Most numerous were the Germans, but two or more delegates came from Austria, Belgium, Egypt, France, Holland, India, Italy, Japan, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Delegates from eastern Europe were expected, but did not appear. The formally-appointed American delegates, in whose name this report is submitted, were: Alice R. Bensen (English), Michigan State Normal College; Thomas O. Brandt (German), Colorado College; John H. Brown (German), Goucher College; Anderson Nettleship (Pathology), University of Arkansas; J. H. Saylor (Chemistry), Duke University; Richard H. Shryock (History), The Johns Hopkins University; and Lela Winegarner (English), Illinois State Normal University. All but one of these appointed delegates attended, and two or three other Americans appeared on their own initiative. Papers were read by two of these delegates, Professors Nettleship and Shryock.

¹This report was prepared by Richard H. Shryock, with the cooperation of Alice R. Bensen, T. O. Brandt, and J. H. Saylor, and was jointly submitted to the American Association of University Professors. The International Association of University Professors and Lecturers was organized in Brussels in 1947. The American Association of University Professors has been affiliated since 1950. (See *Bulletin*, Winter, 1951, pp. 717-722.)

Structure and Activities of the Association

The Council of the Association held several meetings in order to consider routine business, problems and policies, possible amendments to the bylaws, and the election of officers. Professors Saylor and Shryock participated.

The general structure of the Association was left unchanged; that is, administrative functions reside in the Council and its Executive Committee. The Council is made up of one or two delegates from each of the member associations (about 33 in all) and of 9 members *ex-officio*. The Council appoints an Executive Committee of about 10 members, including the officers. The Conferences, held every two years, constitute a general assembly for discussions and for the approval of Council proposals. The Council meets every year, and the Executive Committee acts for it during intervals between these meetings.

Originally, in the late 1940's, the Association possessed four sections (national member associations); it now has some thirty sections representing about 58,000 individual members. This implies only 20,000 members apart from the American Association of University Professors, but it must be remembered that the number of eligibles is relatively small outside of the U. S. A. The chief areas in which associations do not exist are Scandinavia and Latin America; but the status and appearance of most delegates from eastern Europe remain uncertain. An exception is the Yugoslav Section, admitted in 1954. An Australian Section was also admitted in that year.

The Association has moved to Laurie House, 21 Dawson Place, London, W. 2, sharing the premises and excellent facilities with the United Kingdom Association of University Teachers.

Among the several I.A.U.P.L. projects which have been under way in recent years, the *British Report on Scientific Research in Industry and the Universities*, edited by V. E. Cosslett, was completed and published. The final volumes of an inventory of research and research personnel in Belgium are approaching completion. These studies were done under contract with UNESCO. Additional studies of the status of the humanities and of workers in the social sciences are under consideration. During the past two years, I.A.U.P.L. has been represented at meetings of many international bodies, including UNESCO, which are concerned with higher education.

No major changes in the bylaws (statutes) were made at this meeting, but certain modifications were adopted in order to legalize present practices, *e.g.*, Section 5 was phrased to provide for collaboration with other bodies besides UNESCO; and Section 6 to provide that annual contributions from National Members should be determined by the Executive Committee and "related to the membership of each Associa-

tion." It was agreed that, in case the I.A.U.P.L. were disbanded, the funds would revert to the National Members.

Three immediate problems confronted the Council. The first was how to deal with east-European, Communist groups or faculties. Application for membership had been received, for example, from faculties in Hungary. It was decided that representation of the Hungarian official régime could not be considered, but that a distinction might be made between this and the actual faculties. No action was taken, pending examination of the statutes of the Hungarian Association or faculties. A resolution was proposed by Professor S. A. Glaser (Belgium), to urge Communist governments to restore academic freedom, and expressing sympathy with professors in these countries. (Such a resolution was adopted at the Nice Conference in 1952.) A more restrained resolution, proposed by Professor J. L. Montrose (United Kingdom) was approved.

The second problem was how to deal with National Members very distant from Europe. The setting up of regional conferences or committees was proposed. In this connection, a New Zealand Association was admitted to provisional membership—provisional, because it was not clear that it could pay full dues for the time being.

The major problem was that of finances. Private British donations have assisted the I.A.U.P.L., but the general financial situation is difficult. Out of 21 chief National Members,¹ only 10 were up to date on the payment of dues as of June, 1956. During 1955, some £570 were collected by the Treasurer out of £1100 which were due. The amount on hand in June, 1956, was £570, in contrast to £955 a year before. Delegates were asked to urge prompt payments by their associations.

The following officers were elected for the next two years: R. Kerschagl (Austria), President; W. Felgentraeger (Germany), Vice President; Richard H. Shryock (U. S. A.), Vice President; F. T. H. Fletcher (United Kingdom), Honorary Secretary General. Elected members of the Executive Committee were Professors E. Coleiro (Malta), C. Courty (France), F. Vito (Italy), O. de Raeymaeker (Belgium). Professors K. Z. Ahmad (Pakistan) and H. Gurmen (Turkey) were added to the Executive Committee by co-option.

Proceedings

At the first regular session, September 3, the Conference was welcomed by the Bavarian Prime Minister, Professor Dr. W. Hoegner; and by the President of the German Hochschulverband, Dr. W. Felgentraeger (Hamburg).

The second session, September 4, was devoted to the social and sci-

¹ Some of the National Members, in small or very distant countries (*e.g.*, Malta, South Africa) consist only of a single university faculty.

entific responsibilities of university teachers in relation to their academic independence. Papers were read and discussion ensued. In addition to specific comment on the time given to research, to students, and to "outside activities," there emerged the larger question of the social responsibility of faculties. The general opinion was that universities should seek to strike a balance between the extreme of complete autonomy (as once was exemplified by Oxford and Cambridge), and the other extreme of domination by political régimes.

A third session, September 4, was devoted to the place of classical studies and of the humanities in a general education. (UNESCO has requested the I.A.U.P.L. to contribute to a comparative study of this theme; *i.e.*, concern about the status of the humanities seems to be world-wide.) Eloquent pleas were made for the cultivation of the humanities; but it was pointed out that "the classics," valuable in themselves, varied from one culture to another.

A fourth session, September 5, was devoted to "the maintenance of the university tradition" and successions in chairs. A suggestion that each professor prepare his own successor received little support.

On September 5, also, reports were received on I.A.U.P.L. studies in progress concerning (1) relations between scientific research in universities in industry (such studies for Belgium and Great Britain are completed or well under way), and (2) the condition of employment of university teachers in countries other than their own—a project of interest to UNESCO.

A fifth session, September 7, was devoted to a proposal that the I.A.U.P.L. undertake a study of the status of research workers in the social sciences, in comparison with that of men devoted to the natural sciences and technology. President F. Vito (Italy) urged that the study be made, because men in the social sciences are not receiving support comparable to that extended those in the natural sciences. Most discussants agreed with Professor Vito's view, but some expressed doubt about the ability of I.A.U.P.L. to add the proposed study to its other projects. Professor Egeman (Turkey) suggested that I.A.U.P.L. is taking over too many ideas from UNESCO, but Professor Vito pointed out that, in this instance, it was I.A.U.P.L. which initially urged upon UNESCO a consideration of the problem. It is assured that the Executive Committee of I.A.U.P.L. will keep possible action in this area in view.

Social Program

As usual, an excellent social program was provided, including receptions at the Hofbräuhaus and at the Technische Hochschule. The Oberbürgermeister of Munich entertained delegates (but men only!) at a luncheon in the Ratskeller; and an excellent supper at the Schack-

galerie was extended to all delegates by the Bavarian State Government. Theatre parties and trips were also arranged. The Association was indebted, for this program, to Dr. R. A. L. Haworth, Secretary of the I.A.U.P.L., to Miss M. Evans, Assistant Secretary, and to Professor Dr. W. Felgentraeger and the German Hochschulverband.

Comment {1}: Procedures at Sessions

Some papers were distributed in sessions and then read—usually in French or English, with brief translations made after the readings. Many delegates felt that time could be saved by distributing papers in French or English in advance, and then introducing their titles for discussion in these two languages—without further readings or translations. In this way, provision could be made for more ample, general discussions.

The American delegates held several conversations together, but were not in touch with other Americans who appeared “on their own.” One unfortunate incident occurred at the closing session, when an American appeared and urged delegates to see his moving picture, *Books Alive*, which showed “a really modern university”—said to be an American institution. The episode suggests that the American Association of University Professors might emphasize, at any future Conference, that it is responsible for only appointed delegates.

Professor Bensen, an American delegate, suggested at one of the sessions that the I.A.U.P.L. keep in mind the possibility of receiving women delegates where available, and assure to such delegates equal opportunities in social programs.

Comment {2}: General Status of I.A.U.P.L.

The Association is now about ten years old and has had a rapid growth. It has maintained good relations with UNESCO, the International Association of Universities (founded since the I.A.U.P.L.), and other international bodies. Its membership is genuinely world-wide, and it possesses a nucleus of continuously interested leaders in such countries as Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and the United Kingdom. Its Conferences receive moral support from the high regard in which European governmental officials hold university professors.

On the other hand, there are certain weaknesses in the Association. Those active within National Member bodies may, or may not be, leading professors in their respective countries. Membership in many of these bodies, moreover, is small. The very desire of the Association to be world-wide makes it difficult to maintain effective contacts with distant Sections, and also involves a continuing change in most of the personnel which attends Conferences. The financial problems have already been

mentioned. These difficulties are not new, however, and it seems surprising that they have been surmounted to the degree observable over the last decade.

Comment {3}: Possible Value of I.A.U.P.L. to the American Association of University Professors

As implied above, the I.A.U.P.L. lacks the strength which inheres in the national focus of two or three of its member Sections, notably, of the American, British, and German Associations. On the whole, the member Sections can aid I.A.U.P.L., rather than the reverse, as far as finances, moral support, etc. are concerned—except in the case of small or isolated national bodies.

The chief value of I.A.U.P.L. for the American Association of University Professors would seem to be that it provides an opportunity for American professors to come to know their colleagues overseas and to discuss with them common interests. Both American and European professors are concerned, for example, about academic freedom; although the Europeans confront this more in terms of general fascist or Communist régimes, than in terms of individual dismissals as in the U.S.A.¹

More specifically, the I.A.U.P.L. offers American professors some opportunity for learning more about overseas universities—on which most of us are not well informed. The basic differences between higher education in the U. S. A. and in most other parts of the world, in themselves can give Americans a valuable perspective on their own institutions.

Hitherto, the I.A.U.P.L. has not systematically exchanged or published general information on the university systems of different countries, although some information of this sort has appeared in *Communications* (official organ of the I.A.U.P.L.)—e.g., on the Dutch universities. What is needed is not just an outline of structures, but also an interpretation of how these structures actually operate. A paper read at Munich, by one of the American delegates, attempted to do this for the United States of America; and it is our hope that similar papers can be prepared for other countries in the future and that these will be published.

We suggest, in this connection, that the A.A.U.P. might also maintain direct contacts—at least to the extent of exchanging publications—with certain national associations abroad. This, if it is not already done, would probably be feasible at once with the British and German Associations. The Japanese Association has requested this in the past, and would probably be glad to follow up at the present time.

¹ An important dismissal case has arisen, however, at the University of Tasmania (Australia), which seems similar in many regards to American cases.

The Desk of Sisyphus

Here, where the work is waiting,
Here, where the themes stand piled,
Grimly accumulating
With their grades still uncompiled,
 I watch my dreams fall shattered
 'Mid title-pages tattered,
 Where on the floor lie scattered
Last week's batch, still unfiled.

I am tired of composition,
Of rhetoric, grace, and wit,
Of description and exposition,
Plus the grammar the "highs" omit;
 I am tired of cramped red-inking
 Of what passes for freshman thinking,
 Of bleared eyes red and blinking,
And of everything but lit.

Here dolt has drudge for neighbor,
While, far from my dim sphere,
Poet and scholar labor:
Anthologies appear.
 My poor electives wither
 While freshmen bleat and blither;
 They say keen minds flock hither,
But no such minds show here.

No fledgling Lamb or Bacon,
No touch of Swift or Pope;
Hearts by no ardor shaken,
Souls tuned to peddling soap;
 In place of Keats and Shelley,
 Sweet dreams of purse and belly;
 Logic less firm than jelly—
The jayvee backfield's hope.

Heaped upon desk and table,
Crowned with stray leaves, they loom;
They mount from plinth to gable,

Implacable as doom ;
And my dreams of genteel reviewing,
The research that I should be doing,
Die in that slow accruing
That inundates the room.

Some lack both name and number,
Some come erased and torn ;
They bow themselves and slumber
And thus their themes are born :
Unplanned, loose-knit, inflated,
The paragraphs mismated,
Incredibly punctuated,
The topics thin and worn.

They copy, each the other,
They crib from any source,
From roommate and frat brother—
Whoso passed last year's course ;
Each theme is a tried repeater,
Unchanged, uncut, nor completer—
Not even perceptibly neater ;
And ever their prose lacks force.

Dull beyond blush or chortle,
Intent on grades, they stand
Who seize on themes immortal
And leave them dry as sand ;
Their thought is a Gordian tangle,
Grammar they simply mangle,
Their participles dangle ;
They write illegible hands.

We are not sure of summers,
Increments are not sure ;
For hungry-eyed newcomers
Electives are the lure ;
But old hands, sad and scornful,
Their hearts of hopes forlorn full,
Know, from experience mournful,
That only themes endure.

Though one were bright as Barzun,
He too with comp. must dwell ;
Though he were strong as Tarzan,
On him the grind will tell ;

Though one were wit or poet,
Wot ye the Deans should know it?
Creative? You'll soon outgrow it,
Teaching five comp. sections to spell.

Of hope of publication,
Of rest and zest stripped clean,
I make my application
To that god of gods, the Dean:
 Deign thou my toil to leaven;
 May my years be as seven;
 May, as a grace from heaven,
My sabbatical begin.

Then drill nor test shall trouble,
Nor responses like Nah and Yup,
Nor sections swollen double
(Gall that o'erflows the cup):
 No cap-and-gown parading,
 Committees, nor even gripe-trading.
 I shall grade, and keep on grading,
And maybe I'll catch up.

Milton Millhauser

University of Bridgeport

Treatment of Fellowship Grants under the Federal Income Tax

By WILLIAM W. OLIVER
Indiana University

Prior to the enactment of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 there had been uncertainty and litigation as to whether receipts under fellowship grants were gifts and hence not taxable income.¹ In section 117 of that code, Congress excluded from gross income amounts received as scholarships or fellowship grants, subject to certain limitations. Regulations² promulgated during the past year state that, unless the standards of Section 117 are met, there automatically is taxable income, and the receipt cannot be non-taxable as a gift.³

The exclusion from gross income applies to both scholarships and fellowship grants, and also to amounts received to cover expenses for travel, research, clerical help, and equipment incident to a scholarship or fellowship grant.⁴ The term "fellowship grant," as used in the statute, thus does not encompass an allowance for such expenses. The statute does not contain separate standards for scholarships and for fellowship grants; rather there are different limitations for those who are candidates for degrees and those who are not candidates for degrees. In practice, of course, we need speak of only fellowship grants when discussing post-doctoral recipients.

For those who are candidates for degrees, any portion of a scholarship or a fellowship grant which is compensation for part-time employment in teaching, research or performing other services will be taxable.⁵ When this situation prevails, the institution involved might be well advised to designate the portion which is viewed as compensation. (This

¹ Ephraim Banks, 17 T.C. 1386 (1952) (taxable income when research fellow worked on contract research for Navy); Ti Li Loo, 22 T.C. 220 (1954) (taxable income when research fellow worked under grant to University of Maryland by National Institutes of Health); G. W. Stone, Jr., 23 T.C. 254 (1954) (Guggenheim Fellowship to English professor on sabbatical leave was gift rather than taxable income, five dissenting judges).

² Reg. Sec. 1.117, T.D. 6186, I.R.B. 1956-28,8.

³ Reg. Sec. 1.117-1(a).

⁴ I.R.C. Sec. 117 (a) (2).

⁵ I.R.C. Sec. 117 (b) (1).

will help the recipient in preparing his tax return and also if the return is questioned by revenue officials.) Even though there is compensation for part-time employment, the entire amount will still be excluded if the teaching, research or other services are required of all candidates for a particular degree. Where it is a practice of long standing in a department or a college that all graduate students are employed in part-time teaching or research, it would appear advisable to consider making this teaching or research requisite for obtaining a degree, so as to differentiate it clearly from work that results in taxable income.

Amounts paid to persons not candidates for degrees will be excluded from taxable income only if the grantor is a governmental body, agency or instrumentality, or a tax-exempt organization.¹ Furthermore, the exclusion cannot exceed \$300 a month, and an individual is no longer entitled to the exclusion after having been so entitled for thirty-six months.²

There are several refinements which need to be stated as to the operation of this \$300-thirty-six month rule. The \$300 ceiling applies only to the fellowship grant itself, not to amounts which cover travel, research, clerical help, and equipment.³ However, the regulations require that amounts to cover these expenses be "specifically designated" as such.⁴ Thus \$500 a month could be excluded, if the terms of the grant designated \$200 a month to cover expenses. However, any amount not so expended and not returned to the grantor will be included in gross income after expiration of the grant. Hence careful records of the expenses should be retained.

The \$300 per month exclusion is computed upon the months covered by the grant, not the months in which the money is received.⁵ For instance, if \$1800 were received in December, 1956 to support research for the first six months of 1957, all would be excluded despite being received in only one month. The statute and regulations are thus premised upon fellowship grants referring to specific periods of time. Complications may arise if the grant is not so awarded. There are also opportunities for a potential recipient to request an award which will produce the most favorable tax result. Thus a \$3600 award to cover a twelve-month period might be thought preferable to one in the same amount covering ten months, since \$600 more would be excluded. Pertinent in deciding the optimum terms tax-wise for a grant would be the recipient's whole tax status—other income and deductions, especially dependency deductions.

¹ I.R.C. Sec. 117 (b) (2) (A).

² I.R.C. Sec. 117 (b) (2) (B).

³ Reg. Sec. 1.117-2 (b) (2) (i).

⁴ Reg. Sec. 1.117-1 (b) (1).

⁵ Reg. Sec. 1.117-2 (b) (3), Example (2).

One month of the permissive thirty-six months of exclusion is exhausted even if the actual amount excluded is materially less than the \$300 a month ceiling.¹ Thus a grant of \$1200 for four months would be more advantageous than one of the same amount for twelve months, for only four months rather than twelve months would be exhausted for the same dollar exclusion. However, the \$300 a month which is excluded may constitute the sum of two or more separate grants. Thus a \$1200 and a \$2400 grant to cover the same twelve-month period would not exceed the permissive \$300 a month exclusion and would exhaust only twelve months rather than twenty-four.

Under both the code² and the regulations³ it appears uncertain whether the thirty-six month limit on exclusions applies only to fellowship grants themselves, or also applies to amounts for the expense of travel, research, clerical help or equipment incident to a fellowship grant. Even if not so excludable after thirty-six months, deductions for these expenses would probably be permitted on other grounds. However, an exclusion is more advantageous, since it does not involve foregoing the optional standard deduction.

Both the thirty-six months and \$300 a month limitations apply only to recipients who are not candidates for degrees. Furthermore, receipts while obtaining a degree do not count against the thirty-six months.⁴ Conceivably an individual could have ten years of exclusion for scholarships and fellowship grants before obtaining his doctorate, and thirty-six months thereafter.

The application of the principles stated above will probably give rise to less controversy than will the broader question of what constitutes a fellowship grant for purposes of the statute. The statute does not define the term "fellowship grant"; the regulations state "A fellowship grant generally means an amount paid or allowed to, or for the benefit of, an individual to aid him in the pursuit of study or research."⁵ This broad definition would not seem adverse to the interests of persons in the academic world. The language might even be applied to part of the salary of a professor whose institution expects primarily, or entirely, research rather than teaching from him. A recent ruling,⁶ however, suggests that the Internal Revenue Service will take the position that

¹ Reg. Sec. 1.117-2 (b) (2) (ii).

² I.R.C. Sec. 117 (b) (2) (B).

³ Compare Reg. Sec. 1.117-1 (b) (1) and Reg. Sec. 1.117-2 (b) (2) (ii).

⁴ Reg. 1.117-2 (b) (2) (ii).

⁵ Reg. Sec. 1.117-3 (c).

⁶ Rev. Rul. 56-101, C.B. 1956-1, 89. Under a governmentally sponsored exchange program Filipino nationals served as trainees, interns, and resident doctors in hospitals in the United States. Since their services were of material benefit to the trainer, the Internal Revenue Service ruled there was compensation for personal services, which was viewed as inconsistent with there being a fellowship grant.

such salary is compensation for services, and not a fellowship grant.

Neither the statute nor the regulations expressly preclude a professor's employing institution from being the grantor of a fellowship grant. The naming of governmental agencies and tax-exempt organizations as qualified grantors, as well as the absence of any statutory restriction as to compensation for part-time employment for those who are not candidates for degrees, suggest that a grant from one's employing institution could qualify under proper circumstances. Thus a university might decide to support a specific research project from its own funds by relieving a professor of part of his normal teaching load for a period of time. If the correspondence and record of official action by the university clearly revealed these circumstances and designated part of the amount paid to this professor as a fellowship grant, there would be strong grounds for urging that the statutory exclusion should apply.

When the grantor is not the recipient's employer, but is a qualified grantor, the objection of compensation for services would not normally be met. Even here it might be well to designate the award as a "fellowship grant," since some revenue agents will be literal minded. Furthermore, if the employing university handles the payments instead of the grantor, it would be desirable to indicate on checks issued and in other records the source and nature of the funds. Otherwise it might be ruled that the income was merely normal salary, compensating for services to the employer, and hence not qualified as a fellowship grant.

There is one area in which any exclusion would clearly be unwarranted. This would be that of contract research for business corporations. Such corporations, not being tax-exempt, would not be qualified grantors. Furthermore, the purpose is not to aid the individual in pursuit of study or research, but to secure a benefit for the grantor.¹

While the regulations and rulings of the past year relative to section 117 have clarified some points, it may be several years before administrative rulings and court opinions reveal and resolve some areas of doubt. It may be even longer before field personnel of the Internal Revenue Service are sufficiently familiarized with academic practices to pass intelligently on questions involving the tax status of fellowship grants.

The tax treatment of salary during a sabbatical semester or year, and of expenses incurred in research or creative work during a sabbatical leave, is a different subject from that of this article. The principal question here is whether the expenses incurred are deductible as incident to the employment. A test case involving this issue is now pending before the Internal Revenue Service. A report on this matter will be made later.

¹ Rev. Rul. 56-419, I.R.B. 1956-35.9 states the test to be whether "the primary purpose of such award is to further the education and training of the recipient in his individual capacity as distinguished from an award the primary purpose of which is to serve the interests of the grantor." If the former, there is a fellowship grant; if the latter, there is compensation for services and taxable income.

Record of Council Meeting

Washington, D. C., November 16 and 17, 1956

The Council met at the Mayflower Hotel, commencing its sessions at 10:00 A.M. on November 16. President White presided. All officers and members of the Council were present except Professors Torrey, who was ill, Morrow, who is in Europe, Valien, who was prevented from attending by administrative duties occasioned by the recent death of President Johnson of Fisk University, and Britton. Professor Warren Taylor, Chairman of Committee O on Organization and Policy, was also present, as were Professor Owens, as Treasurer, and the members of the professional staff.

Staff Reports

The General Secretary called on members of the staff to report on various aspects of the Association's work.

Dr. Shannon summarized past and anticipated editorial developments in the *Bulletin* and discussed the prospects of increased revenue from advertising as a result of the employment of an advertising agent.

Dr. Rorabacher reported on the results of surveys of the membership made during the summer of 1956, on the new "Information for Chapter Officers" issued early in the fall, and on the response to efforts to increase the membership and encourage the formation of new chapters. Among the measures employed, in addition to communications and statements by the General Secretary, were (1) letters to members at institutions where chapters had not been formed, encouraging them to secure additional members and form chapters; (2) correspondence with chapter officers and membership chairmen, discussing methods of recruitment and dispatching quantities of membership material; and (3) letters to all faculty members at a number of selected small institutions where the Association had no members, inviting those addressed to join and, if possible, to form chapters. All of these methods had met with considerable success. A full report with regard to them would be made, according to Dr. Rorabacher, to the members of the Council and of Committee E individually, as soon as more complete results were known.

Dr. Fidler reported on the work done in setting up committees and securing personnel for committees, pursuant to the plan which the Council had earlier adopted by mail ballot (see below, pp. 93-99).

Dr. Middleton reported details of a recent study of Committee A cases handled between January 1, 1950, and September 15, 1956, the results of which were published in the *Winter Bulletin*, p. 706.

Dr. Fuchs reported on current Committee A investigations; on the status of the project for a register of retired persons available for teaching, which has evolved into a joint project with the Association of American Colleges, for which a foundation grant has been sought; and on the project, jointly under way with the Association of American Colleges, to formulate procedural standards for use in dismissal cases. In regard to this project, Dr. Fuchs reported on a meeting held on July 10 and 11 in Chicago with representatives of the Association of American Colleges, at which a tentative set of standards was agreed upon for consideration by the two Associations.

Use of the Academic Freedom Fund

Dr. Fuchs reported that, in addition to amounts reported earlier, the Association had been sent a check for \$150.00, making a total of \$665.00 in the Academic Freedom Fund. He suggested that small sums from this fund might be used to help victims of bad tenure situations, possibly by providing travel money should they need it to seek new positions or to reach investigating committee sessions. The fund, he said, might also be used to issue a publication outlining the Association's position on freedom and tenure. In conclusion, he asked that the Council approve the maintenance of the fund as a separate entity, to be placed under the jurisdiction of a committee of three, who would determine the use to be made of it. The Council unanimously adopted a motion approving this suggestion.

Report of Committee O

Professor Taylor, for Committee O, presented the draft of a proposed new Constitution of the Association, designed to take the place of the present Constitution and By-Laws, which the Committee had prepared at a meeting in Chicago on October 20 and 21, 1956. The Committee acted on the basis of earlier Committee and staff studies, and after consideration of proposals made to it and those published to the membership prior to the 42nd Annual Meeting. The Council considered the draft sentence by sentence, making occasional changes of wording, and amending the Committee's draft of Article VI, Section 3 so as to limit the number of delegates a chapter might have at a meeting and restrict proportional voting in meetings to proposals previously published to the membership.

Following adoption of the articles, as amended, one by one, the Council voted, Professor O'Shea dissenting, to recommend to the Annual

Meeting that the amended draft be adopted as the Constitution of the Association. The Council voted unanimously to thank Committee O for its work in preparing the draft and conducting the studies which led to it.

[Committee O subsequently concurred in the Council's amendments to the Committee's previous draft. See the Committee's report (below, pp. 81-90) for the draft as amended.]

Appointments to Executive Committee

After written suggestions for appointments to the Executive Committee had been received from the members of the Council, President White nominated Professors Carr, Shryock, and Trueblood to fill the existing vacancies. These nominations were unanimously confirmed. By previous appointment, Professor Hughes remains a member of the Executive Committee, of which Professors White and Holladay are also *ex officio* members.

Budget and Finance

Professor Owens, as Treasurer, and the General Secretary discussed the receipts and disbursements of the Association through October 31, 1956, and the projected finances for the remainder of the year. Professor Owens described the new procedure for handling incoming checks, designed to eliminate delay between their receipt in the Central Office and their deposit in the bank. Dr. Fuchs discussed the budget for 1957, particularly items concerning salaries for both professional and clerical staffs, rent payments, and income from subleased portions of the floor the Association occupies. He concluded that it would be necessary to budget a deficit for 1957, but there was hope that it could be a small one. He offered the budget which the members had before them as a tentative one, with the understanding that the expenditures, especially for committee activity, would probably be revised upward in April. The proposed budget was thereupon unanimously approved. (See below, p. 75.)

Membership Eligibility

Dr. Rorabacher presented some of the questions which arise concerning eligibility to Association membership, particularly as they relate to agricultural extension workers and librarians. There is a growing tendency for faculty status to be conferred on these members of college and university staffs. Dr. Rorabacher felt that a distinction between the "specialist," a highly trained worker engaged in teaching agricultural agents, and the agents themselves, who deal directly with members of the farm community, might receive consideration. The Council had already ruled that librarians fulfill the requirement of teaching or research,

but the problem of their fulfillment of the faculty status requirement still exists. Dr. Rorabacher reported that her office had solicited suggestions on this matter, especially from librarians, in an attempt to reach a decision whether to continue to require faculty status and, if so, what should be the criteria for such status.

International Association of University Professors and Lecturers

Professor Shryock, who attended the biennial conference of the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers in Munich early in September, summarized the written report of the Association's delegates to the conference (see above, pp. 56-61, where the report is printed).

Canadian Association of University Teachers

Professor Murdoch reviewed the relations between Canadian university professors and the American Association of University Professors, describing the beginnings of the Canadian Association in June, 1951. He said that, since freedom and tenure problems had not arisen in Canada, the Canadian Association has directed its efforts primarily toward the improvement of salaries and to other professional problems. Although he believed the enrollment of Canadian teachers in the American Association of University Professors was a healthy thing and that the Association should continue seeking Canadian members, he recommended that the Association not try to encourage the formation of additional chapters in Canada. Despite the fact that the two organizations have similar objectives, a national organization can act for its members in a way that no organization controlled in a different country can. Continuous collaboration between the two associations would be highly desirable.

Forty-Third Annual Meeting

Dr. Fuchs discussed a general outline which he felt might serve as a framework for the program of the Forty-third Annual Meeting to be held in New York April 26 and 27. The members of the Council expressed general approval of the plan proposed and made detailed suggestions. Authority to complete the plans for the meeting was conferred on the Executive Committee.

Hungarian Faculty and Students

The General Secretary stated that he had received, through Professor Sidney Hook, of New York University, to whom it had been sent by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an appeal from members of the faculty of Szeged University for support in the Hungarian struggle for

freedom. The following resolution, formulated by an *ad hoc* committee of three members, was unanimously adopted:

The Council of the American Association of University Professors, meeting in Washington, D. C., on November 17, 1956, expresses its admiration for the heroic struggle of the students and faculties of Hungarian universities for freedom and its sympathy with their aspirations for the free society necessary to the scientific and scholarly pursuits to which we are all dedicated. We urge all academic communities where freedom is valued to support their Hungarian colleagues by every peaceful means, and we ask the governments and international agencies of the world to extend them assistance.

Staff Replacements

The General Secretary reported that Dr. Rorabacher had decided to return to the faculty of Purdue University next fall upon the expiration of her leave from that institution, and that his own plans had not yet been finally determined. At his suggestion, the Council unanimously authorized the Executive Committee to consider the Association's staffing problems, and to take action or report to the Council as might be required.

Amicus Briefs

The General Secretary outlined the case of Paul M. Sweezy, who had been convicted in New Hampshire of contempt of court because of refusal to obey an order to answer questions of the legislature concerning his utterances as a guest lecturer in University of New Hampshire classes. The conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, and the Supreme Court of the United States had agreed to hear argument both as to that Court's jurisdiction and as to the merits of the constitutional question presented. Dr. Fuchs stated he had been considering whether to seek permission for the Association to file an amicus brief in the Supreme Court, pursuant to the authority granted by the Council at the preceding meeting, and he asked for comments on the wisdom of doing so. After extensive discussion, the matter was left in the discretion of the General Secretary, taking account of the comments made in the Council meeting.

Retirement Plan for Non-Professional Staff

Dr. Fuchs described the benefits and costs of bringing under TIAA the six members of the non-professional staff who have had five or more years' service with the Association, according to a plan suggested by TIAA. The adoption of this plan would involve an expenditure by the Association of approximately \$2,000.00 each year as current premiums, and of somewhat more than one-half that amount by the individuals. The cost of carrying the plan back to the end of the fifth year of service of

each of the staff members would be approximately \$20,000.00. This amount could be spread over a period of years by paying $2\frac{1}{4}\%$ interest on deferred payments. The Council voted unanimously to authorize institution of the plan, in so far as it involves benefits based on current service, subject to the option of the individuals concerned, and that the Executive Committee be requested to report to the Council at its next meeting with regard to the provision of retroactive benefits.

Council for Basic Education

Dr. Fuchs presented an invitation from the Council for Basic Education for the Association to affiliate with that organization. It was agreed not to affiliate at this time.

Portrait Project

Professor Fleming, who has been considering the possibility of portraits of past General Secretaries for the Association's office, recommended that a committee of 25 leading members of the Association who had been associates of Dr. Ralph E. Himstead be appointed to raise funds by subscription for the purpose of providing an oil portrait of Dr. Himstead for the Central Office. The motion was carried unanimously.

Possible Change of the Fiscal Year

Dr. Rorabacher discussed the possibility of dues collection at times of the year other than those at which billing is now done, pointing out that neither January, when the major billing is done, nor October, when the second billing occurs, is a convenient time for academic people. She thought that dues collections on the basis of the academic year would make for fewer misunderstandings and better relations with the members. She thought, further, that billing on the basis of the academic year would facilitate improvement in the system of cutting off membership for non-payment of dues. Dr. Fuchs pointed out that such a change would necessitate a half-year's billing at some point and that, since preparations for the January, 1957, billing were already under way, no change could be made until, at the earliest, January, 1958.

Dr. Rorabacher suggested that a possible change in the dues year should be considered by a committee in conjunction with other problems relating to dues, such as a sliding scale of dues based on ability to pay, seniority, or academic rank. It was taken by consent that the Membership Committee should be asked to study these matters.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M. on November 17.

Budget of the Association for 1957

AS APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL

<i>Income</i>	<i>1957 Budget</i>	<i>1956 Income</i>
Membership Dues	\$231,000.00	\$231,291.99
Bulletin Subscriptions and Sales	3,500.00	3,738.97
Advertising	2,000.00	1,082.48
Interest and Dividends	4,000.00	2,284.96
Rent	4,758.00	2,352.67
Total	<u>\$245,258.00</u>	<u>\$240,751.07</u>
<i>Expenditures</i>		<i>1956 Expenditures</i>
Professional Salaries	\$ 67,000.00	\$ 55,907.29
Clerical Salaries	77,000.00	72,212.43
TIAA, Social Security, Group Hospitalization	8,500.00	7,948.43
President's Office	1,000.00	108.52
Treasurer's Honorarium	1,000.00	
Stationery, Supplies, Printing, and Mimeographing	14,000.00	11,361.36
Telephone and Telegraph	2,500.00	2,071.36
Postage and Express	4,500.00	2,861.72
Rent	16,450.00	16,450.00
Library	500.00	
Taxes and Insurance	425.00	373.88
Auditor	250.00	200.00
Furniture and Equipment	3,000.00	6,284.94
Bulletin Printing, Mailing	44,000.00	42,837.61
Committee A	4,000.00	3,208.17
Nominating Committee	500.00	265.54
Other Committees	5,000.00	3,814.01
Council Meetings	14,000.00	12,331.46
Staff, Speakers' Travel	2,000.00	2,219.25
Annual Meeting	1,500.00	1,269.29
Organizational Memberships and Meetings	2,000.00	1,586.23
	<u>\$269,125.00</u>	<u>\$243,311.49</u>

Assets, January 1, 1957

Checking Account	\$10,084.52
United States Government Bonds	51,186.25
Common Stocks (at cost)	24,536.58
	<u>\$85,807.35</u>

Membership Record for 1956

Membership, January 1, 1956	37,567
Deaths	196
Resignations	1,536
Memberships lapsed	<u>2,983</u>
	4,715
	<u>32,852</u>
Reinstatements	464
Elections:	
Active	3,024
Junior	<u>75</u>
	3,099
	<u>3,563</u>
Membership, January 1, 1957	36,415
Distribution:	
Members in 1,013 Approved Institutions	
Active	31,425
Junior	<u>248</u>
	31,673
Members elsewhere	
Active	2,479
Junior	<u>147</u>
	2,626
Associate Members	684
Honorary Members*	30
Emeritus Members	<u>1,402</u>
Total	36,415

* The election of Honorary members was discontinued in 1933.

Forty-Third Annual Meeting

General Arrangements

The Association's 43rd Annual Meeting at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City, on Friday and Saturday, April 26 and 27, has been planned so as to minimize the expense of attendance. Since there will be no presidential address this year, and there is a need of extending the time for business sessions, the annual dinner will be omitted. Numerous inexpensive eating places are conveniently available. The hotel is immediately adjacent to Pennsylvania Station and is reached by Baltimore & Ohio buses from trainside. A flat rate of \$8.50 for single rooms and \$5.75 per person for twin-bed rooms has been arranged with the hotel.

The entire available time will be occupied by sessions during the two days of meetings. It is hoped that the interest of the program, coupled with the attractions that can be enjoyed in New York City before and after the sessions, will cause many individual members to wish to attend. Visits to United Nations headquarters should be especially worth while. Chapter delegates will be furnished with registration forms by the secretaries of their chapters; but individual members should handle their own arrangements. To secure advance registration for attendance, make use of the form which has been inserted inside of the front cover of this issue of the *Bulletin*.

Much of the time in the meetings will be devoted to committee reports and to consideration of the draft of a new Constitution which has been proposed by Committee O in its report printed elsewhere in this *Bulletin*. (See below, pp. 81-90.) The evening of Friday, April 26, will be devoted to parallel group sessions dealing with a variety of professional topics, including professional ethics, the recruitment and preparation of college and university teachers, and the economic status of the profession. The programs at these sessions will be in charge of Association committees.

Full information with regard to the meeting has been distributed to chapter officers. The system of advance registration, coupled with the seating of delegates in a separate section at the business sessions, should facilitate the conduct of the meeting in many ways.

Resolutions

President White has appointed a Committee on Resolutions for the meeting, the members of which, in addition to the President and General Secretary, *ex officio*, will consist of the following members: Robert K. Carr (Political Science, Dartmouth College), *Chairman*; Ralph C. Barnhart (Law, University of Arkansas); John W. Caughey (History, University of California at Los Angeles); Edward C. Mack (English, City College of the City of New York); and Henry H. H. Remak (Modern Languages, Indiana University). The Council has adopted a rule for the meeting which insures that resolutions submitted in advance by members and chapters will receive consideration. Drafts of resolutions received in the Central Office by Monday, April 8, will be distributed to the Committee for advance consideration and will be reported upon in the meeting. Only resolutions which have been submitted under the rule, together with resolutions dealing with matters that have arisen subsequently, may be moved from the floor. In this connection, resolutions are to be distinguished from motions relating to Association business, which are always in order at proper points in the agenda.

Proposals for Constitutional Change

By RALPH F. FUCHS

General Secretary

Proposals of Committee O

The report of Committee O on Organization and Policy, printed immediately following this statement, contains a proposed new Constitution for the Association, designed to take the place of the present Constitution and By-Laws. The nature of that proposal and the reasons for it are explained in the Committee's report. Its publication to the membership in this issue of the *Bulletin* renders it eligible for consideration at the 43rd Annual Meeting in New York City on April 26 and 27, 1957.

Previous Proposals

In a letter dated March 1, 1956, which was sent to all members of the Association, notice was given of certain proposals for amending the Constitution and By-Laws, which had been submitted for consideration at the 42nd Annual Meeting on April 6 and 7, 1956. These proposals came from four sources: (1) Committee O; (2) The Indiana Conference of Chapters; (3) The Chicago Area Council; and (4) Five Active members at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College. I have since been informed that the last-named group of proposals had also received the endorsement of the Chicago Area Council.

Time was not available at the 42nd Annual Meeting to consider the proposals previously made, except a proposal of Committee O to amend By-Law 4 so as to remove the previous limitation on chapter dues. This amendment was adopted. Committee O's other proposal to the 42nd Annual Meeting has been replaced by the Committee's draft of a new Constitution; but the proposals of the Indiana Conference, the Chicago Area Council, and certain members of the Association at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College are still pending, and are eligible for consideration by the 43rd Annual Meeting. Copies of these proposals are in the hands of the membership, and additional copies may be obtained by request to the Association's Central Office. A brief summary of their principal provisions follows.

The proposals of the Indiana Conference of Chapters would provide for the following changes: (1) A Council composed of 20 elected mem-

bers in addition to the officers of the Association, instead of 30 as at present. Ten members, one from each District, would be elected each two years for four-year terms, instead of each year for three-year terms as at present; (2) bestowal of the legislative power of the Association on the Annual Meeting; (3) an Annual Meeting composed entirely of delegates, apportioned among chapters roughly according to chapter size, and elected by mail according to a similar apportionment, by the non-chapter members within each Association District. Voting at meetings would be solely by delegates, each delegate having one vote.

The proposals of the Chicago Area Council would accomplish the following principal changes: (1) Establish a five-member District Executive Committee for each of the Association's ten Districts, "charged with responsibility for administering Association business as respects such functions as academic freedom, economic status of the profession, and all other matters of concern to the membership of the respective Districts." Each District executive committee would meet annually at least one month before the Association's Annual Meeting. Two of its members would be appointed by the Council, and the remainder would be elected by the members in the District; (2) change the Council to one of 20 members, each holding office for a four-year term. Members from even-numbered Districts would be elected in even-numbered years, and from odd-numbered Districts in odd-numbered years; (3) provide for nominations and elections to the Council to be conducted by the Executive Committee of each District with the aid of chapter officers; (4) require the remission of 30% of the annual dues of Association members in each District to the District executive committee for District expenses; and (5) provide that "District Executive Committees shall be subject to the supervision of the National Council."

The proposals of certain members at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College would accomplish the following principal changes: (1) Require the Council to carry out its responsibilities "in accord with decisions of the Annual Meetings of the Association, which shall be binding . . ."; (2) empower the Annual Meeting to determine its agenda; and (3) confine the voting at Annual Meetings to chapter delegates and to members of the Association who are not members of chapters represented by delegates.

The principal considerations for and against the chief constitutional changes which are to be considered, together with my judgment as General Secretary concerning them, were stated in Chapter Letter No. V of 1956, dated October 5, 1956, which was sent to all chapter Presidents and Secretaries and to the officers of regional conferences.

The Structure of the Association

A Report from Committee O on Organization and Policy

January 1, 1957

Created in 1915 as an independent organization, sustained and governed by college and university teachers and scholars, "to increase the usefulness and advance the standards and ideals of the profession," the American Association of University Professors now consists of six constituent groups:

I. The Officers and the Council: A. Elected by the membership: President, Vice-Presidents, and thirty members of the Council (three each from ten districts); B. Appointed by the Council: General Secretary, Associate Secretary, Staff Associates, Treasurer.

II. The Committees of the Association (appointed, except for the Editorial Committee of the *Bulletin*, from the membership by the President), which serve as research or advisory groups to report practices and to formulate standards and ideals affecting the profession; e.g., Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure; Committee E on the Establishment and Conduct of Chapters; Committee T on Faculty-Administration Relationships; Committee Z on the Economic Status of the Profession. (For a complete list, see below, pp. 96-99.)

III. The Meetings of the Association, held once each year in different sections of the country and open to the entire membership.

IV. State and Regional Conferences of the Association, now twenty in number (listed in the *Bulletin*, Autumn, 1956, pp. 580-82).

V. Chapters of the Association, now 507 in number.

VI. The Entire Membership: A. Affiliated with Chapters in colleges and universities; and B. Unaffiliated with Chapters, a group now comprising about five thousand members.

The six constituent groups of the Association are held together by common interests, a Constitution, the 1940 Statement of Principles, and resolutions adopted by the Annual Meeting. Within that identification of name, purpose, and principles, the government of the Association is democratic. As the national organization, through its elected officers and Council, and its meetings, is self-sustaining and self-governing, so, within the limits imposed by the Constitution and By-Laws, are the conferences and the chapters. In matters of opinions, policies, and practices, all channels of communication and consultation are open. The individual member may address himself to members of the constituent bodies, in-

dividually, or through chapter or conference action. During the past forty-two years, the members of the American Association of University Professors have created, in it, an active and influential independent professional organization, democratically conceived and governed.

After recommending amendments to the present Constitution which were adopted in 1943, Committee O on Organization and Policy became inactive. During the ensuing ten years, 1943-1953, the large growth in membership and in chapters, the understaffing in the Washington office, and the increase of freedom and tenure cases created problems within the Association which the Council and the Annual Meeting in 1952-53 assigned for study to a reactivated Committee O. Professor DR Scott (The University of Missouri) served as Chairman until his death in 1954. At that time, Professor George W. Martin (State University of Iowa) was appointed Chairman, and Professor William F. Edgerton (The University of Chicago) was appointed a member of the Committee. Professors Martin and Edgerton resigned from the Committee in 1955 for personal reasons; they have contributed greatly to the completion of the present report. During the past two years, Professors Richard H. Shryock (The Johns Hopkins University), Ralph Ira Thayer (State College of Washington), and C. Ferrel Heady, Jr. (University of Michigan) have become members, with the General Secretary and the President continuing as *ex officio* members. The work of the Committee has been reported annually in the *Bulletin*: Summer, 1954, pp. 325-26; Spring, 1955, pp. 110-118; Spring, 1956, pp. 166-71.

Solutions to many of the problems of organization and policy which Committee O has had under consideration have been reached or are well under way. Upon the recommendation of Committee O, the present By-Laws have been amended to remove the limitation placed on chapter dues, and district panels of qualified investigators have been set up to assist Committee A in handling alleged violations of the principles of academic freedom and tenure. During the past three years the Committee's study and its correspondence with the membership have centered constantly on four problems:

I. The Council: its size, and the nomination and election of its members;

II. The respective duties of the Council and the Meetings of the Association, as the governing bodies of the organization;

III. The functions, powers, and responsibilities of regional and state organizations within the Association;

IV. Revisions of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association.

Last year, the Committee decided that *ad hoc* recommendations or amendments at any point would not serve the Association so well as a complete revision of the entire Constitution. Consequently, it has construed

Item IV as including Items I-III, together with other pertinent points, and has drafted a revised Constitution. At a meeting in Chicago on October 18-19, 1956, Committee O voted unanimously to recommend adoption of the revised Constitution to the Council and the Annual Meeting. At its meeting in Washington on November 16-17, 1956, the Council, after suggesting minor revisions, voted its approval of the proposed Constitution. The members of Committee O have concurred in the changes suggested by the Council. Committee O, consequently, recommends to the Annual Meeting, to be held in New York City on April 26-27, 1957, adoption of the "Proposed Revision of the Constitution," which follows, as the Constitution of the Association.

In reaching its recommendations, Committee O has constantly kept in mind the achievements of the Association and the accompanying spirit of autonomy which has been noted earlier in this report. The Committee has felt that jurisdictional and procedural details which follow in the "Proposed Revision" are the most promising means of maintaining and increasing both that work and that spirit. Those details, consequently, rest on several basic conclusions:

The work and the influence of the Association are national in scope. The determination of policies and the administration of the Association, consequently, cannot effectively and wisely be divided regionally, but must be centered in the Annual Meeting of the membership, and in the Council and the Officers and the Washington staff under their jurisdiction. Since the members of the Council are representatives of both the Association as a whole and of their respective districts, in the interest of the fullest possible representation, the size of the Council should not be reduced. To maintain equitable and balanced representation on the Council, the continued use of a central nominating committee, to be somewhat enlarged and to begin its work earlier in the year, is deemed wise. No other way to insure adequate and varied representation of the academic disciplines, nationally; of areas and institutions within districts, regionally; and of individual, chapter, and conference services to the Association has appeared. Among voters, acquaintance with the nominees through disciplines is more frequent than acquaintance through geographical proximity. The central nominating committee has always taken fully into account all suggestions of nominees from chapters and regions.

The present achievements of the Association have resulted from the reaching of a consensus on issues by the Council and the Annual Meeting. It is expected that this reasonable and cooperative spirit and method will continue through representation in the Council and direct democracy in the Annual Meeting. In the event of disagreement between the Council and the Annual Meeting, power to bind the Association should depend on

a second consideration of the problem at issue at the next ensuing Annual Meeting in order to assure freedom from regional coloring and full opportunity for consultation with all constituent groups of the Association. A proportional vote by delegates at an Annual Meeting may be called for, with members unaffiliated with chapters having one vote each. Normally, the present practice of direct democracy, one vote for each voting member, should continue. Finally, the work of state and regional groups, within the spirit and scope of the national organization, is believed to be both desirable and helpful in furthering the interests of the Association.

Warren Taylor (English), Oberlin College, *Chairman*
C. Ferrel Heady, Jr. (Political Science), University of Michigan
Willis Moore (Philosophy), Southern Illinois University
Richard H. Shryock (History), The Johns Hopkins University
Ralph Ira Thayer (Economics), State College of Washington
Eugene H. Wilson (Library Science), University of Colorado
Helen C. White (English), University of Wisconsin, *ex officio*
Ralph F. Fuchs (Law), General Secretary, American Association of
University Professors, *ex officio*

PROPOSED REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Approved by the Council, November 17, 1956

Article I—Purpose

The purpose of the American Association of University Professors shall be to facilitate a more effective cooperation among teachers and investigators in universities and colleges, and in professional schools of similar grade, for the promotion of the interests of higher education and research, and in general to increase the usefulness and advance the standards and ideals of the profession.

Article II—Membership

1. There shall be four classes of members :

a. **Active Members.** Any person who holds a position of teaching or research in a university or college in the United States or Canada, or in the discretion of the Council in an American-controlled institution situated abroad, or in a professional school of similar grade, may be nominated for Active membership in the Association.

b. **Junior Members.** Any person who is, or within the past five years has been, a graduate student may be nominated for Junior membership. Junior members shall be transferred to Active membership as soon as they become eligible.

c. **Associate Members.** Any member who ceases to be eligible for Active or Junior membership because his work has become primarily administrative shall be transferred to Associate membership.

d. **Emeritus Members.** Any Active member retiring for age from a position in teaching or research may be transferred at his request to Emeritus membership.

2. The admission of members shall require three steps :

a. **Nomination.** Nominations for Active and Junior membership shall be made to the General Secretary of the Association by an Active member of the Association.

b. **Publication and transmission.** It shall be the duty of the General Secretary to publish every nomination to the membership promptly, and to transmit it to a Committee on Membership established by the Council.

c. Election. All persons receiving the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Committee on Membership shall become members of the Association. No nomination shall be voted on until thirty days after its publication.

3. A member may resign by notifying the General Secretary, and may be expelled for cause by a two-thirds vote of the Council after opportunity for a hearing. Membership shall be forfeited by nonpayment of dues under conditions to be established by the Council.

Article III—Officers

1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a General Secretary, and a Treasurer.

2. The term of office of the President and the Vice-Presidents shall be two years, and shall expire at the close of the last session of the Annual Meeting following the election of their successors, or if a meeting of the Council is held after and in connection with the Annual Meeting, at the close of the last session of the Council, or thereafter on the election of successors.

3. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall have the duties usually associated with these offices. The President shall preside at meetings of the Association and the Council. He shall appoint all committees of the Association and shall be *ex officio* a member of all except the Nominating Committee.

4. The General Secretary shall carry on the work of the Association under the general direction of the President, preparing the business for meetings and keeping the records thereof. He shall conduct correspondence with all constituents of the Association. He shall collect the membership dues and any other sums due the Association and transfer them to the Treasurer. He shall have charge of the office of the Association and be responsible for its efficient and economical management. He may with the approval of the President delegate any of these duties to other members of a professional staff appointed by the Council.

5. The Treasurer shall receive all moneys and deposit them in the name of the Association. By authorization of the Council, he shall invest any funds not needed for current disbursements. He shall pay all bills approved by the General Secretary. He shall make a report to the Association at the Annual Meeting and such other reports as the Council may direct. He may with the approval of the Council authorize an Assistant Treasurer to act for him. The financial records of the Association shall be audited annually.

Article IV—The Council

1. The President, the Vice-Presidents, the General Secretary, and the Treasurer, together with the three latest living ex-Presidents, shall, with thirty elective members, constitute the Council of the Association. Ten members of the Council shall be elected each year in the manner provided in this Constitution, to serve for three-year terms, according to the provision governing the terms of the officers.

2. The Council shall carry out the purposes of the Association and, subject to the authority of the Annual Meeting as defined in this Constitution, act for the Association. The Council shall (a) determine, for each class of members, the annual dues and the regulations governing their payment; (b) manage the property and financial affairs of the Association, with power to accept gifts to the Association; (c) construe the provisions of this Constitution; (d) provide for the publications of the Association; (e) appoint and determine the salaries of the General Secretary, members of a professional staff, and Treasurer; (f) determine the time, place, and program of the Annual Meeting and convene special meetings of the Association at its discretion; and (g) authorize the establishment of committees of the Association.

3. As a representative of both the Association and his district, each member of the Council shall promote the exchange of ideas between the Council and the membership. He may receive and transmit to the Council the proposals of members, chapters, and state and regional conferences within his district.

4. Meetings of the Council shall be held in connection with the Annual Meeting of the Association and at least at one other time each year, upon not less than two weeks' notice to the Council. Ten members elected from districts shall constitute a quorum. The Council may also transact business by letter ballot. A special meeting of the Council shall be called by the President on the written request of at least eight members of the Council.

5. The President may, with the advice and consent of the Council, appoint an Executive Committee of not fewer than six Council members, including the President and the First Vice-President *ex officio*. The Council may, between meetings, delegate to the Executive Committee such of its powers as it may find necessary. Meetings of the Committee may be called by the President.

Article V—Election of Officers and Council

1. Only Active members are eligible for election as officers or members of the Council. Nominations for the offices to be filled and for membership on the Council shall be made by a Nominating Committee

of five or more members, not officers or other members of the Council, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Council. Before submitting to the Council for approval his appointments to the Nominating Committee, the President shall invite suggestions in writing from the members of the Council as to the membership of the Committee. The Committee shall be chosen each year in time to seek and receive suggestions from the members of the Association with regard to persons to be nominated, and to meet and submit its report to the General Secretary, for publication to the members not later than October 1.

2. One member of the Council shall be elected each year from each of ten geographical districts formed with regard to the distribution of the Association's membership and to geographical contiguity. In preparation for an election, the Nominating Committee shall nominate two Active members of the Association from each district for the position on the Council to be filled from the district.

3. Nominations for members of the Council may also be made by petitions signed by at least fifty Active members of the Association resident within the district from which the Council member is to be chosen, provided that in determining the required number not more than ten shall be members at a single institution. Nominations for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidencies may also be made by petition, signed by at least 150 Active members of the Association, provided that in determining the required number of signatures, not more than fifteen of those signing a petition shall be members at a single institution and not more than ninety shall be members in a single district. No member shall sign more than one petition for the same office. Petitions presenting nominations shall be filed in the office of the General Secretary not later than November 15.

4. The General Secretary shall prepare ballots containing the names of all nominees to office and to Council membership, with relevant biographical data and a statement of the method of nomination. Ballots shall be mailed to all Active members of the Association in January and the polls shall be closed two months after the mailing. Where no nominee shall have received a majority of all votes cast for a given position, the Council shall by ballot elect one from among those nominees (not exceeding two in number unless there is a tie for second place) who received the most votes. The President, the Vice-Presidents, and the retiring elective members of the Council who have served full terms shall not be eligible for immediate re-election to their respective offices.

5. A vacancy occurring on the Council or in the Second Vice-Presidency shall be filled by the Council for the unexpired term.

Article VI—Meetings of the Association

1. The Association shall meet annually except when prevented by war or other national emergency. A meeting of the Association shall have authority (a) to amend the Constitution in the manner herein provided; (b) to express its views on professional matters; (c) to act on recommendations presented to it by the Council; (d) to require the Council to report to the ensuing meeting on subjects within the province of the Association; (e) to propose action which, upon concurrence by the Council, shall become the action of the Association; and (f) in the event of disagreement between the Council and a meeting of the Association, to take final action as provided in the following section.

2. If the Council declines to concur in a proposal of a meeting of the Association, it shall report its reasons to the ensuing meeting. If that meeting concurs in the action of the previous meeting, the action shall become that of the Association. An action of the Association reached (a) by concurrence of the Council in an action of a meeting of the Association or (b) in two successive meetings shall not be changed except by the joint action of the Council and a meeting of the Association or by two successive meetings of the Association.

3. For each twenty-five Active members or fraction thereof at the institution, the Active members of the Association in each chapter may elect not more than one delegate from that chapter to each meeting of the Association. All members of the Association shall be entitled to the privileges of the floor, but only Active members may vote. On issues previously published to the membership and on request of one-fifth of the delegates present, a proportional vote shall be taken. In a proportional vote, the accredited delegates from each chapter shall be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of Active members at the institution, but any other Active member not at an institution thus represented shall be entitled to an individual vote. In case a chapter has more than one delegate, each delegate may cast an equal portion of the votes to which the chapter is entitled.

4. Except as provided in this Constitution or in rules adopted pursuant to it, the meetings of the Association shall be governed by Robert's *Rules of Order*.

Article VII—Chapters

1. Whenever the Active members in a given institution number seven or more, they may constitute a chapter of the Association. More than one chapter may be established in an institution when its parts are geographically separate. Each chapter shall elect annually a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer (or Secretary-Treasurer), and such other

officers as the chapter may determine. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the chapter to report to the General Secretary of the Association the names of the officers of the chapter, and to conduct the correspondence of the chapter with the General Secretary.

2. All Active, Junior, and Emeritus members of the Association in the institution, but not other members of the faculty, shall be eligible for membership in the chapter. Junior and Emeritus members may vote in chapter meetings at the discretion of the chapter. Associate members may attend meetings by invitation of the chapter.

3. A chapter may establish local membership dues. It may meet with other chapters and with other local organizations. Its actions shall be in harmony with the principles and procedures of the Association.

Article VIII—State and Regional Conferences

A majority of the chapters in a state or other defined geographical area, or in a group of institutions otherwise related, may, upon approval by the Council, organize a conference of the American Association of University Professors which shall be open to all chapters within the area or group. A conference may consider and act upon professional matters which are of concern to the member chapters, but its actions shall not bind the member chapters without their authorization and shall be in harmony with the principles and procedures of the Association.

Article IX—Amendments

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of a meeting of the Association. An amendment may be initiated by the Council or proposed to it by not fewer than ten Active members. At its next meeting, the Council shall approve, amend, or disapprove a proposal submitted to it, and report its conclusions to the proponents. It shall report through the General Secretary to the membership, at least one month before a meeting of the Association, a proposal which it initiates or approves. Upon failure of agreement between the Council and the proponents of an amendment, the proponents may, with the concurrence of at least five chapters, secure submission of their proposal to the next meeting of the Association by communicating it to the General Secretary at least three months in advance. The General Secretary shall transmit all amendments thus proposed to each member at least one month before the meeting.

SUMMARY OF PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

The proposed revision of the Constitution reduces the existing 11 articles and 9 By-Laws to 9 articles. It includes (1) a large number of changes in wording and organization, in the interests of brevity, clarity, orderliness, and consistency, and (2) a relatively few changes in substance, which may be summarized as follows (the articles referred to in the headings are those of the proposed revision; the ones in brackets, those of the existing Constitution and By-Laws):

Article II—1 c & d. Council approval for the transfer of Active members to Associate or Emeritus membership has been eliminated as a requirement. [Article II, 4 & 5.]

This article combines former Articles II & IV.

Article III—3. The final sentence specifies the already existing practice in regard to committees.

4. The present provision that the General Secretary shall be a member of the editorial committee [By-Law 5] is eliminated.

5. Approval of bills over \$100 by the President or Vice-Presidents, now required, is rendered unnecessary, and the General Secretary may delegate his approval of all bills to a member of the professional staff rather than an officer. [By-Law 8.]

Article IV—2. The provision that a former General Secretary may be elected to life membership on the Council is omitted. [Article V, 1.] The previous provision limiting the Council's power to remove the General Secretary and the Treasurer is omitted. [Article III, 3.] The powers of the Council have been brought together and listed more fully. Since they include provision for publications generally, one former article [VIII] is eliminated. Specific references to the *Bulletin* have been eliminated throughout.

3. This provision regarding the liaison duties of a Council member is new.

4. Ten members elected from districts, instead of only those present at a meeting, are required for a quorum of the Council. [Article V, 3.] The powers of the Executive Committee, formerly specified as lying in financial areas, have been left unspecified, for Council delegation. [By-Law 9.]

Article V—1. Eligibility to office has been clearly limited to Active members. Five, instead of three, is set as the minimum membership of a nominating committee. [By-Law 1.] The procedures for electing officers and Council members have been changed to accord with present practice and to eliminate details in the nominating procedure. [Article III, 2 & 3; By-Law 1.]

5. The provision for filling vacancies eliminates the First Vice-Presidency, on the theory that the Second Vice-President will fill that office if it becomes vacant. [Article III, 3.]

Article VI—Special meetings, not previously contemplated, are envisaged as possible, without specific provision for them. The Council could call such a meeting. The powers of meetings, not previously mentioned, have been detailed.

2. It is now proposed to vest ultimate power in the Annual Meeting, through the reaffirmation of a decision by a second meeting in the event of disagreement with the Council. [Article V, 1.]

3. The number of delegates a chapter may have is related to the number of members at the institution. Junior members, previously not allowed to "vote or hold office" [Article II, 6.], are no longer included among those who elect delegates to the Annual Meeting. The use of proportional voting is limited to issues previously published to the members. The number of votes allowed to accredited chapter delegates has been changed from the number of members in a chapter to the number at the institution, since the latter is the only figure of which the Central Office has a record. Participation in a request for a proportional vote is limited to delegates. [Article X, 2.]

4. The observance of Robert's *Rules of Order* is now required.

Article VII—2. The possibility of a chapter's excluding a national member at the institution from its membership, or allowing a nonmember to join, is eliminated. The position of Associate, Junior, and Emeritus members in relation to the chapter is stated, and the duty of the secretary to correspond with headquarters is specified. [By-Law 4.]

3. The action of the St. Louis meeting in 1956, which did away with the limit on chapter dues, is incorporated. [Former By-Law 4.] The duty of the chapter to conform to Association principles and procedures is stated in more general terms than before. [By-Law 4.]

Article VIII—This is a new article recognizing and formalizing the position of regional conferences. It requires that a conference be open to all chapters within its area or scope and that it consist of a majority of these chapters at its formation. Chapter autonomy is preserved, except where there has been a previous delegation of authority. Conformity to Association principles and procedures is required.

Article IX—A specific procedure is established, by which members, chapters, regional conferences, or the Council may initiate amendments which shall be cleared through the Council and receive final action by a meeting of the Association.

Committees of the Association

By mail ballot in October, 1956, the Council approved the statement which follows, with regard to a new committee structure for the Association.

The American Association of University Professors has long carried on many of its most important functions through committees. Traditionally, these committees have been designated by letters as well as names, from Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure to Committee Z on the Economic Status of the Profession. Designations employed in the past have nearly exhausted the letters of the alphabet, and many committees have ceased to function. Since, by action of the Council, various committees are to be reactivated or newly established, it seems desirable to designate the permanent committees as they appear below. In addition, certain temporary committees and committees connected with the Annual Meeting are designated.

Each committee is expected to conduct inquiries within its province, to collaborate with other organizations and groups interested in the same matters, and to make an annual report containing recommendations, in time for presentation to the Council at the time of the Annual Meeting. It may make special reports as desired. In so far as the functions of a committee involve correlation with chapters, and in so far as overlapping among the pertinent research or other activities of chapters may become a problem, the committee shall seek information as to the work of the chapters and endeavor to give guidance to that work. The staff of the Association's Central Office shall, to the extent of its capacity and resources, aid the committees in their activities and shall facilitate collaboration between them and other educational organizations and groups having similar interests.

Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure

Has as its function the development and effectuation of the Association's policies in relation to academic freedom and tenure through the preparation of general statements, including the committee's annual reports, and through inquiries and reports of subcommittees and *ad hoc* committees with respect to particular instances of alleged infringement of academic freedom and tenure. The committee shall make recommendations to the Council and to the Annual Meetings with reference to the Association's list of censured administrations.

Committee B on Professional Standards and Ethics

Is charged with the duty to prepare and maintain and to propose for adoption by the Council and Annual Meetings appropriate statements or codes setting forth standards of proper conduct and performance of duty

by the members of college and university faculties in their relations to students, to their colleagues, the administrations of the institutions they serve, to the academic profession, and to the community at large. The committee shall consider and report upon possible methods of implementing the standards it develops.

Committee C on College and University Teaching, Research and Publication

Shall be concerned (a) with the development and maintenance of effective college and university instruction, including faculty promotion and working conditions, classroom techniques, work with individual students, testing, and the use of library facilities and advanced teaching aids; (b) with the conditions of effective research, creative work, and publication by faculty members, and (c) with the recruitment and training of college and university faculties.

Committee D on Accreditation of Colleges and Universities

Shall be concerned with the methods and organizations for accrediting colleges, universities, and professional schools; with the relation of faculty members to the accrediting process; and with the effectuation of the Association's objectives through accreditation.

Committee E on the Establishment and Conduct of Chapters

Shall keep informed of the status of chapter organization and activity, including associations of chapters, and shall report annually with regard to it. The committee shall, through its individual members, aid in the establishment and strengthening of chapters at particular institutions.

Committee F on Membership and Dues

Shall consider periodically the status of the Association's membership and develop and execute programs for strengthening it. The committee shall recommend from time to time such membership policies, including the level and structure of dues, as it deems to be desirable.

Committee G on the International Association of Professors and Lecturers

Is expected to keep informed of the activities and publications of the International Association and to recommend the extent and means of this Association's participation, including its representation at international conferences.

Committee H on the History of the Association

Has the function of considering and developing means of recording and publicizing the history of the Association and of recommending methods and projects to these ends.

Committee I on Association Investments

Has the function of advising the Treasurer as to the conservation and investment of surplus funds of the Association.

Committee J—Editorial Committee of the Bulletin

Has the function of advising the Editor of the *Bulletin* with regard to his policies and methods and of assisting him, to the extent requested, in the consideration of material for publication.

Committee O on Organization and Policy

Shall review from time to time the structure and operations of the Association, including its Central Office; shall recommend such operational changes and amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws as it deems desirable; and shall plan and report upon such long-range policies as will, in the committee's judgment, contribute to the effectuation of the Association's purposes.

Committee T on Faculty-Administration Relationships

Shall be concerned with all matters of college and university government that may involve the participation of faculty; with extending the scope of that participation so far as desirable; and with the development of successful cooperation between administrations and faculties.

Subcommittee on Research: To carry on studies of the extent and methods of faculty participation in college and university government.

Subcommittee on Development: To stimulate progress within colleges and universities toward greater collaboration of faculties in determining academic policies.

Committee Z on the Economic Status of the Profession

Shall be concerned with all aspects of the economic welfare of faculties in the setting of proper institutional management and finance, including salaries, tax problems, provision for retirement, and incidental arrangements such as insurance, treatment of outside income or other legal claims of faculty, and education of faculty children.

Subcommittee on Research: To conduct from time to time studies of the economic status of college and university faculty members in relation to changing circumstances.

Subcommittee on Standards: To formulate standards relating to the economic status of faculty members during their active service and to call the attention of the public and of the academic profession to these standards.

Subcommittee on Taxation: To consider the tax problems of members of the academic profession, especially with relation to the Federal income tax; to convey pertinent information and advice to the profession by publication in the *Bulletin* and other means; and to recommend appropriate Association policies and action with relation to tax problems.

Subcommittee on Retirement: To consider the retirement problems of members of the academic profession and to recommend such measures as may contribute to the economic welfare and continued usefulness of retired faculty members.

In addition to the committees named above, the Nominating Com-

mittee has the functions defined in the By-Laws, and a Committee on Resolutions is established in connection with each Annual Meeting of the Association. The Council has also authorized the establishment of a special committee on state anti-subversive legislation.

The members of committees of the Association, as of February 28, 1957, are listed below. Additional members have been invited to serve on many of the committees. The president of the Association is *ex officio* a member of the committees, except the Nominating Committee.

Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure

H. Bentley Glass (Biology), The Johns Hopkins University; *Chairman*
 Robert L. Calhoun (Theology), Yale University
 Robert K. Carr (Political Science), Dartmouth College
 Charles T. McCormick (Law), University of Texas
 Douglas B. Maggs (Constitutional Law), Duke University
 Glenn R. Morrow (Philosophy), University of Pennsylvania
 George R. Stewart (English), University of California
 Warren Taylor (English), Oberlin College
 George C. Wheeler (Biology), University of North Dakota
 Ralph F. Fuchs (Law), Central Office
 George Pope Shannon (English), Central Office
 Warren C. Middleton (Psychology), Central Office
 William P. Fidler (English), Central Office
 Helen C. White (English), University of Wisconsin, *ex officio*

Committee B on Professional Standards and Ethics

Charles Frankel (Philosophy), Columbia University; *Chairman*
 Clark Byse (Law), University of Pennsylvania
 Norman T. Pratt (Classics), Indiana University
 Edwin O. Stene (Political Science), University of Kansas

Committee C on College and University Teaching, Research, and Publication

Reginald F. Arragon (History), Reed College; *Chairman*

Subcommittee C-1 on Aims and Methods of Instruction

Harold B. Dunkel (Education), University of Chicago; *Chairman*
 Merritt Y. Hughes (English), University of Wisconsin
 T. R. McConnell (Higher Education), University of California
 Gordon Marsh (Zoology), State University of Iowa
 E. E. Schattschneider (Political Science), Wesleyan University

Subcommittee C-2 on Research, Artistic Creation, and Publication

Don Cameron Allen (English), The Johns Hopkins University; *Chairman*

Subcommittee C-3 on Recruitment and Training of Teachers

Robert B. MacLeod (Psychology), Cornell University
 Harriet E. O'Shea (Psychology), Purdue University

Committee D on Accreditation of Colleges and Universities

Sidney L. Gulick (English), San Diego State College; *Chairman*
 Graydon S. DeLand (Modern Languages), Florida State University
 Charles G. Howard (Law), University of Oregon
 Emma Reinhardt (Education), Eastern Illinois State College
 Charles B. Vetter (Psychology), New York University

Committee E on the Establishment and Conduct of Chapters

District I: Austin E. Fife (Modern Languages), Occidental College
 District II: James C. Nelson (Economics), State College of Washington
 District III: Merritt Y. Hughes (English), University of Wisconsin
 District IV: James C. Carey (History), Kansas State College
 District V: Gordon H. McNeil (History), University of Arkansas
 District VI: Henry H. H. Remak (Modern Languages), Indiana University
 District VII: James Holladay (Finance), University of Alabama; *Chairman*
 District VIII: James H. Croushore (English), Mary Washington College
 District IX: Arthur H. Scouten (English), University of Pennsylvania
 District X: Earl Latham (Political Science), Amherst College

Committee F on Membership and Dues

Leland J. Pritchard (Economics), University of Kansas; *Chairman*
 William A. Sutton (English), Ball State Teachers College
 William S. Tacey (Speech), University of Pittsburgh
 Marcus Whitman (Economics), University of Alabama

Committee G on the International Association of Professors and Lecturers

Richard H. Shryock (History), The Johns Hopkins University; *Chairman*
 Alice R. Bensen (English), Eastern Michigan College
 H. Gordon Hullfish (Education), The Ohio State University
 Walter H. C. Laves (Government), Indiana University
 J. H. Saylor (Chemistry), Duke University

Committee H on the History of the Association

Walter P. Metzger (History), Columbia University; *Chairman*
 Robert W. Iversen (Social Science), Drake University
 Edward C. Kirkland (History), Bowdoin College
 William T. Laprade (History), Duke University

Committee I on Association Investments

Richard N. Owens (Business Administration), George Washington University;
Chairman
 Austin V. Clifford (Law), Indiana University
 Frank W. Fetter (Economics), Northwestern University
 Ralph F. Fuchs (Law), Central Office
 James Holladay (Finance), University of Alabama

Committee J—Editorial Committee of the Bulletin

Sheridan Baker (English), University of Michigan
 Dorothy Bethurum (English), Connecticut College
 Ralph F. Fuchs (Law), Central Office
 John Luskin (Journalism), University of Alabama
 U. S. Maxwell (Chemistry), Lincoln University

Committee O on Organization and Policy

Warren Taylor (English), Oberlin College; *Chairman*
 Ralph F. Fuchs (Law), Central Office
 C. Ferrel Heady, Jr. (Political Science), University of Michigan
 Willis Moore (Philosophy), Southern Illinois University
 Richard H. Shryock (History), The Johns Hopkins University

Ralph I. Thayer (Economics), State College of Washington
Eugene H. Wilson (Library Science), University of Colorado

Committee T on Faculty-Administration Relationships

Paul W. Ward (Philosophy), Syracuse University; *Chairman*

Committee Z on the Economic Status of the Profession

William A. Neiswanger (Economics), University of Illinois; *Chairman*
Ralph L. Boyd (Business Administration), Portland State College
Willard E. Dickerson (Accounting), The Ohio State University
Albert H. Imlah (History), Tufts University
Eric W. Lawson (Finance), Syracuse University
Harold N. Lee (Philosophy), Tulane University
William W. Oliver (Law), Indiana University
J. Nelson Young (Law), University of Illinois

Special Committee on State Anti-Subversive Legislation

C. Willard Heckel (Law), Rutgers University; *Chairman*
Chester H. Cable (English), Wayne University
Gladys M. Kammerer (Political Science), University of Kentucky
Melvin G. Shimm (Law), Duke University

Representatives to American Association for the Advancement of Science

Bentley Glass (Biology), The Johns Hopkins University
Theodore Koppanyi (Pharmacology), Georgetown University

Delegates to American Council on Education

Ralph F. Fuchs (Law), Central Office
J. Edward Gerald (Journalism), University of Minnesota
William T. Laprade (History), Duke University
Helen C. White (English), University of Wisconsin

District Panels

District panels, the members of which hold themselves available, so far as feasible, to aid in the work of Committee A in their Districts, have been established. The panel members who have accepted are:

District I

Robert B. Brode (Physics), University of California
John W. Caughey (History), University of California at Los Angeles
J. Keith Mann (Law), Stanford University
Gordon Tucker (Zoology), San Diego State College

District II

Glenn A. Bakkum (Sociology), Oregon State College
W. J. Brockelbank (Law), University of Idaho
Charles G. Howard (Law), University of Oregon
Robert J. Lampman (Economics), University of Washington

Edward C. Moore (Philosophy), University of Idaho
Ralph I. Thayer (Economics), State College of Washington

District III

Richard Hartshorne (Geography), University of Wisconsin
Merritt Y. Hughes (English), University of Wisconsin
Frank R. Kennedy (Law), State University of Iowa
Robert C. McClure (Law), University of Minnesota
Lloyd M. Short (Political Science), University of Minnesota

District IV

Bower Aly (Speech), University of Missouri
Frederick K. Beutel (Law), University of Nebraska
Harvey L. Carter (History), Colorado College
Edwin O. Stene (Political Science), University of Kansas
Eugene H. Wilson (Library), University of Colorado

District V

Ralph C. Barnhart (Law), University of Arkansas
Paul R. David (Biology), University of Oklahoma
Josiah C. Russell (History), University of New Mexico

District VI

Horace M. Gray (Economics), University of Illinois
C. Ferrel Heady, Jr. (Political Science), University of Michigan
John A. Kinneman (Sociology), Illinois State Normal University
Robert E. Mathews (Law), The Ohio State University
Willis Moore (Philosophy), Southern Illinois University
Paul Oberst (Law), University of Kentucky
Howard J. Pincus (Geology), The Ohio State University
C. Herman Pritchett (Political Science), University of Chicago
Edwin Burrows Smith (French), Wayne State University

District VII

Harold N. Lee (Philosophy), Tulane University
Marcus Whitman (Economics), University of Alabama

District VIII

Wilbert J. Huff (Engineering), University of Maryland
J. G. Leach (Plant Pathology), West Virginia University
Eli M. Spark (Law), Catholic University

District IX

Harold Barger (Economics), Columbia University
Clark Bye (Law), University of Pennsylvania
Walter Gellhorn (Law), Columbia University
Harold W. Kuhn (Mathematics), Bryn Mawr College
George B. Parks (English), Queens College
William F. Schulz, Jr. (Law), University of Pittsburgh

District X

Ralph S. Brown, Jr. (Law), Yale University
Lewis S. Feuer (Philosophy), University of Vermont
Fred B. Millett (English), Wesleyan University

Organizational Notes

Changes in Committee A

Professor Russell N. Sullivan, Chairman of Committee A since the Forty-first Annual Meeting, was compelled by other duties to resign from the Chairmanship in the fall of 1956. President White appointed Professor Bentley Glass as the new Chairman of the Committee, and Professor Glass accepted. In January, 1957, Professor Sullivan was appointed Dean of the University of Illinois College of Law. He has necessarily resigned from Committee A as a result, and at the same time has assumed Associate membership status in the Association. He carries with him into his new work the gratitude of all members of the Association for his devoted service in behalf of the principles of academic freedom and tenure, along with their good wishes for his success.

As the members of the Association know, Professor Glass was Chairman of the Special Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure in the Quest for National Security, whose report at the last Annual Meeting was an important milestone in the Association's history. All who have learned of his assumption of the Chairmanship of Committee A have welcomed it.

Membership and Finance

The financial and membership figures in this issue of the *Bulletin* (see above, pp. 75 and 76), serve to point up the most critical question confronting the Association, that of achieving a balance of income and expenditures to permit operations to continue at their present level. The anticipated deficit for 1957 will, if realized, reduce the Association's financial reserve at the end of the year to approximately \$60,000. The Investment Committee has recommended that this reserve not be permitted to fall below \$50,000, in the absence of an extreme emergency which justifies cutting into even this backlog. Accordingly, two alternatives confront the Association: Either the membership must be substantially increased during 1957, or expenditures must be drastically curtailed in 1958. A curtailment of the required magnitude will necessarily involve a reduction of staff.

The number of nominations to membership published in this issue of the *Bulletin* (see below, p. 123) is encouraging, as is the number admitted to membership in 1956; yet the rate of recruitment must be

sharply increased if the Association's income is to rise sufficiently to equal the current rate of expenditures. Despite the efforts of the officers of a substantial number of chapters, there was a net loss of 1152 members in 1956. This loss was occasioned to a considerable extent by the unusually large number of memberships which lapsed because of non-payment of dues for two years. The two years began with 1955, when the dues were increased from \$5.00 to \$7.50. The number who omitted payment for the first time in 1956 is 4187, compared to 5803 in 1955. The prospect is, therefore, that additional losses of membership will be avoided, now that the effect of the dues increase has worn off; but growth is not yet assured, at least until the number of faculty members commences to rise noticeably.

The officers and Council hope that expanded activity on the part of the committees now being established (see above, pp. 93-99) will attract new members. The continued recruiting efforts of chapter officers will undoubtedly remain an important factor; yet new methods of recruitment, to be developed by the Committee on Membership and Dues in conjunction with the professional staff, will also be needed. There is a strong feeling among many that a graduated dues structure, making membership available to newcomers in the academic profession at less than the present rate, may be needed; and consideration will undoubtedly be given to establishing such a structure.

President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School

Chapter Letter No. I of 1957, mailed on January 4, was accompanied by a copy of the First Interim Report of the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, and contained a request that each chapter or its executive committee give consideration to the report and transmit comments and suggestions upon it to the Central Office for forwarding to Dr. Elvis Stahr, Executive Director of the President's Committee. Dr. Stahr requested that this distribution of the Interim Report to the chapters be made, so that a direct response to the Committee's preliminary conclusions, from representative groups of faculty members throughout the country, might be obtained.

Replies to the chapter letter were requested by February 18; but chapter members, if they have not been informed by their chapter officers of the reply sent by the chapter, should inquire about the response that was made. If the President's Committee succeeds in its purpose, its recommendations will greatly influence the direction of American higher education during the next fifteen years. It will be an advantage to the Association and its members (and, one hopes, to higher education) to have the President's Committee receive the judgment of members of the Association with regard to current problems of concern to the

Committee. If, for any reason, a chapter has not replied, or if its reply does not fully reflect the knowledge and thought of its members, a belated or supplementary letter to the Central Office may still prove useful.

Office Activity

Much of the work of the staff during the last half of 1956 and the first two months of 1957, in addition to continuing operations, has gone into augmented communication with chapters and regional groups, including the issuance of a new loose-leaf manual, *Information for Chapter Officers*, which appears to have filled a long-felt need; into the establishment of new committees and the enlargement of old ones, as directed by the Council; into collaboration with Committee O in the preparation of the proposed new Constitution; and into the numerous Committee A investigations which are under way. Construction and rearrangement in the office, mentioned in the Winter issue of the *Bulletin*, have been completed. An improved telephone system has also been installed, at slight additional cost, to permit easy communication among all staff members and make possible the stationing of a receptionist in the entrance lobby. New bookshelves along the wall of a broad corridor leading to the offices of professional staff members will render the Association's collection of books, periodicals, and pamphlets far more accessible than before.

Joint Project on Procedural Standards

At the annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges in Philadelphia, January 7-10, 1957, that Association's Commission on Academic Freedom and Tenure, and the Association itself, gave general approval to the report of a proposed set of procedural standards in faculty dismissal cases, which was prepared by a joint committee of that Association and the American Association of University Professors during the summer (see the *Bulletin* for Autumn, 1956, page 582). Suggestions for minor changes in the text of the proposed statement were also made. The statement has been distributed to the members of Committee A and been commented upon by them. It will now receive the further consideration of that Committee, and will be made the subject of a report to the Council and the next Annual Meeting.

Inaugurations and Convocations

Professor Max E. Bell of Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville, Missouri, represented the Association at the inauguration of Dr. Fred Helsabeck as President of Culver-Stockton College, November, 9, 1956. On the same date, Professor Norman W. Mattis

of the University of North Carolina attended the inaugural ceremonies for President Warmoth Thomas Gibbs at the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina. Professor L. G. Moffatt of the University of Virginia attended the ceremonies installing President Robert Blackwell Smith, Jr. as President of the Medical College of Virginia. Professor Glenn A. Bakkum was the Association's representative at a convocation which Reed College held on November 4 in honor of Dr. Frank L. Griffin, who received an honorary degree upon the completion of his term as Acting President of the College.

Staff Travel and Professional Activities

Dr. Fuchs addressed the Chapter of Simmons College in Boston on February 12. He accepted requests to speak to the New York State College for Teachers at Buffalo, and guests from neighboring institutions, on February 28; to a joint meeting of chapters in the Cleveland area on March 1; and to a meeting at Hunter College, with members from other chapters in the New York metropolitan area as guests, on March 13. He has also attended inter-organizational conferences on a number of educational subjects, held recently in Washington, and spoke at an assembly of students at Montgomery Junior College, in the suburbs of Washington, on February 5.

Dr. Fidler filled speaking engagements with the following groups: The Chapter of the Montgomery Junior College, on November 30; the Chapter of Winthrop College, at Rock Hill, South Carolina, on January 11; the conference of the South Carolina State Division of the Association, held in Columbia on January 12; and the Chapters of Lynchburg College, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, and Sweet Briar College, which met jointly in Lynchburg on February 9.

Advertising Council Campaign—A Statement by the General Secretary

The campaign of the Council for Financial Aid to Education and the Advertising Council in behalf of higher education (see the Winter issue of the *Bulletin*, pp. 748-749) will enter its initial active stage in April, May, and June of this year. There will be subsequent active stages in the following fall and spring.

The Advertising Council is the public service organization of advertising agencies, which has conducted campaigns in behalf of the Red Cross blood bank, the prevention of forest fires, the elementary and secondary schools, and other public causes. In the campaign in behalf of higher education, it is working in close collaboration with not only the Council for Financial Aid to Education but also the American Council on Education and its constituent members, including the American Association of University Professors.

An initial meeting of representatives of all of the interested groups, which Professor J. Edward Gerald of the University of Minnesota attended on behalf of the Association, was held on October 10, 1956 in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Council on Education. There have been two subsequent conferences in Washington, which I have attended. At the first of these, the material to be used in the campaign was displayed.

By request of all concerned, President Arthur S. Adams of the American Council on Education appointed an advisory committee of educators, which subsequently met to review and pass upon the "copy" for the campaign. That committee consists of ten members of the academic profession, including Professor Huston Smith of Washington University. The material to be used in the campaign is of high grade, within the limits imposed by the requirements of advertising media. Care has been taken to avoid inappropriate types of appeal and to render factual statements accurate. The teaching and research functions of the faculties are represented throughout as the essence of higher education, and there is no reference to the "country club" aspects of college life. The appeal is primarily one for financial support for all branches of higher education.

Although one inevitably has questions about the use of advertising in such a cause, I am convinced that this campaign is a commendable effort, upon which much earnest thought and effort have been expended, and which should be turned to good account so far as possible. I bespeak for it the sympathetic interest of members of the Association, as well as their cooperation whenever feasible in interpreting the appeal that will be made to the public through the press, over television and radio, and in buses and streetcars.

Editor's Notes

The Bulletin

If the reader has not noticed, he should turn back and observe the cover—white; and the title design—white on green. Other colors, appropriate to the seasons, will appear on the Summer, Autumn, and Winter covers. We hope most readers will like this innovation, which was prompted by a "Report of the Special Committee on Publications" (Spring, 1956, pp. 172-175). A white cover (obviously at the mercy of unwashed hands) was chosen for clear printing and the possible use of color in advertisements on the third and fourth cover pages.

Special attention is invited to the changes on our masthead. Dr. Fidler takes the title he has already earned by his editorial advice and, even more, by his assistance with advertising. As with all the rest of the Association's committees, a new Editorial Committee has been appointed, as named on page 97 of this issue; the General Secretary continues *ex officio*. Professors Bethurum and Maxwell are at present members of the Council, and Professor Baker will be remembered as the author of the much discussed "Scholarly Style, or the Lack Thereof," in the Autumn, 1956 *Bulletin*. Professor Luskin is an experienced journalist and teacher of journalism, and is now President of his Chapter at the University of Alabama.

The names of the retiring committee members are known and honored in the Association and the academic profession. Edward C. Kirkland and William T. Laprade were formerly Presidents of the Association, and Jewell Hughes Bushey and Louise Pound, formerly Vice-Presidents. Professor Pound is a Charter Member of the Association. All four have been Council members, and have served generously on various Association committees. All are distinguished in their professional fields. During their terms of service on the Editorial Committee, ranging from seven to sixteen years, none has ever refused advice and cooperation when called on, and all have been good-naturedly understanding of editorial difficulties or shortcomings. The Editor removes their names with a nostalgic pang.

High Adventure

A recent editorial in a publication devoted to problems of educational administration takes note of imminent "pressures" (e.g., an 85%

increase in enrollment by 1970; "the multiplying educational needs and demands of American society") that will compel "rationalization of college and university structure and process." The editorial hails this coming "rationalization" as "a high adventure in professional self-appraisal by educators," who may be expected to apply their customary "objectivity and scientific search for evidence" to problems of "the adequacy of the curriculum, teaching methods, administrative process and structure, and financial management of institutions." As the outcome of these adventures, "a comprehensive and comparable picture of patterns for American higher education should begin to emerge."

Needless to say, the teaching members of the academic profession have a considerable interest in any emerging "picture of patterns" for higher education. Unfortunately, it is probable that these teaching members will not be found in great numbers among those called upon to engage in this high adventure. The adventurers will be college and university officers and trustees, and representatives of their organizations, with a scattering of "name" laymen. It is to them that the grants are going; they man the programs at the meetings of the great national associations (ours excepted) dealing with higher education; they composed the President's Commission on Higher Education in 1946; and they are the members of the present President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School. (For our relation to this Committee, see above, pp. 101-102).

The officers of the American Association of University Professors are alert to this situation, and are moving to secure means for the reception of faculty views and the safeguarding of faculty interests; but the task is difficult. The working members of the Central Office staff do not necessarily include broad educational statesmanship among their multiple talents, and the Association's elected officers are subject-matter specialists, like most of our profession; it is merely a happy chance if one has given extensive study to the larger problems of higher education.

And there, really, is the trouble: neither our Association nor the profession it represents has managed sufficiently to impress those who control such things that they are competent, or even interested, in the great problems of educational reorganization. Unquestionably, there are individuals scattered through our profession who are thoughtfully and studiously concerned about what they are doing, and to what end, and are alert to the developments that will affect their profession; but candor compels us to admit that many faculty members have little interest beyond their special fields or, at most, their own departments, except, perhaps, for a sporadic concern about salary, tenure, and promotion, particularly when they themselves are affected. We can rightly blame our administrative officers for some of this; many of them have failed to

provide, at the institutional level, an elementary training school of faculty participation; but that is not the whole story.

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

The elimination, by overwhelming demand, of educational discussions from the Association's Annual Meetings, and the not infrequent protests against the publication of "educational" articles in the *Bulletin*, only illustrate a widespread indifference, among our own members, to the problems that administrative officers live with, and are by practice prepared to discuss. In short, those who are planning the adjustments in higher education may rightly ask us what we have to offer.

Wherever the blame, we the teachers are in danger of being left out of the planning for the approaching crisis. The Association's officers will do what they can, but they are few, they are busy, and they are under the disadvantage of representing no expressed Association policy on many vital matters. Nevertheless, given time, some progress may be expected. Contact has been established with the President's Committee, as noted above. An active Subcommittee on Recruitment and Training of Teachers has recently been established. Plans are making for enlarged and intensified work by Committee T on Faculty-Administration Relationships.

But a broader base is needed than the work of a few officers and committees. If the academic profession is to be judged competent to guide higher education, its members, in large numbers, should give evidence of their readiness to approach the problems of higher education with the same studious objectivity they display in their special fields. The chapters—often asking, "What can we do?"—may bethink themselves of the Association's stated purpose: "to promote a more general and methodical discussion of problems relating to education in institutions of higher learning." The Association rightly insists that higher education is itself a profession. Its members can give evidence thereof by an active concern in professional problems, including the problems of the educational system which their profession exists to serve.

Permissions

"What Do You Mean, 'Religious Emphasis Week'?" by Leland Miles (Winter, 1956): to be mimeographed for distribution to "the members of our various committees" in a Southwestern institution, prior to the observance of Religious Emphasis Week.

"Scholarly Style, or the Lack Thereof," by Sheridan Baker (Autumn, 1956): to be included in a collection of freshman readings.

The same: to be mimeographed for classroom use in two Eastern universities.

"Academic Freedom and Tenure: The University of Nevada" (Autumn, 1956): to be reproduced for use "as a case in the Human Relations and Administration courses" in the Industrial Management Department of a Midwestern university.

"When I Was a (Pre-Ph.D.) Lad," by Gordon Shull (Autumn, 1955): to be reprinted in the *Newsletter* of the English Graduate Association of a large Eastern University.

To Correct the Record

The Editor has been reminded that, in emphasizing the role of Dr. H. W. Tyler as the Association's first salaried Secretary (*Bulletin*, Summer, 1955), he unintentionally neglected another of our salaried officers, whose usefulness in the earliest years of the Washington Office was second only to that of Dr. Tyler. Dr. Tyler was in charge of the Washington Office from its establishment, February 1, 1929, until September 1, 1929, when his leave of absence from Massachusetts Institute of Technology expired. Thereupon Professor Joseph Mayer, on leave from Tufts College, took charge, with the title of Assistant Secretary, and continued in charge until June, 1930. When Dr. Tyler moved into the Washington Office permanently, on September 1, 1930, Professor Mayer continued with him as Executive Secretary on half time (being also a consultant on the staff of the Library of Congress), until August 31, 1936, with duties described by Dr. Tyler as follows:

The Executive Secretary has charge of the clerical staff, of membership activities, and of the Appointment Service. As Treasurer he has primary responsibility for the financial business of the Association. He also cooperates with the General Secretary in all important business. Both officers make such visits to nearby Chapters as their duties permit.

When Professor Mayer decided to sever his professional connection with the Association, the Council, on April 26, 1936, unanimously adopted a commendatory memorandum, citing both his contributions in his professional capacity and his other services to the Association (*Bulletin*, Volume XXII, May, 1936, page 311).

Professor Mayer has been an Active Member of the Association since 1924. He is at present Chairman of the Department of Economics at Miami University.

Declassification

The financial section of the *San Francisco Chronicle* of December 11, 1956 carried an advertisement by Mills College setting forth the operating statement and balance sheet of the College for the year ending June 30, 1956. The object was, of course (as editorial comment in the

same paper made clear), to suggest the need of the College for financial assistance.

Regardless of the reason, we applaud the action. All too familiar is the administration that plays cozy with the budget, discouraging any display of curiosity by faculty members—who might, conceivably, compare the sums allocated to faculty salaries with other allocations. It is true that faculties, if they have good sense, do not want to take on the financial worries of an institution, but they understandably resent the common refusal of the campus grown-ups to discuss finances in their presence.

Bouquet

"The Editor's Corner" in the *Michigan Alumnus*, Autumn, 1956, begins:

A publication which I am accustomed to peruse with more than usual interest and respect is the *AAUP Bulletin*, which is not, as its multiplicity of initials might suggest, a governmental organ, but the quarterly of the American Association of University Professors. For one thing, this particular journal, though strictly academic, does not confine itself to the special interests of any one breed of professors, nor for that matter to any one category of the problems that face college and university administrators, but wanders all over the field of higher education, theoretical and practical alike. . . . [Aside from faculty interests], however, the *Bulletin* frequently presents discussions of educational fundamentals, and in its June issue there is an article on the objectives of higher education in America which attracted my special attention.

The article was Professor Britton's 1956 presidential address, which inspired the *Alumnus* editor to an excellent discussion of the increasing difficulty of finding teachers who can inoculate students with "active strains" of "collegiate virus" (Professor Britton's phraseology).

Responses to Bulletin Announcements

By February 28, when we last counted, 14 academic positions and 71 available teachers, announced in the Winter, 1956 *Bulletin*, had elicited, respectively, 36 and 161 replies—much better than two each.

Educational Developments

1956 Fall College Enrollment

The U. S. Office of Education reports, in *Higher Education* (January, 1957), that approximately 2,947,000 degree-credit students were enrolled in American institutions of higher education in the fall of 1956. This figure represents an increase of 10 per cent above the corresponding enrollment in 1955 and an increase of 19.9 per cent above the enrollment in the fall of 1949. Approximately 723,000 students (446,000 men and 277,000 women) were registering for the first time, a total increase of 7.1 per cent above the corresponding figure for 1955.

"The fall of 1956 marks the fifth consecutive annual rise in both total enrollment and first-time enrollment. As compared with the fall of 1951, total enrollment has risen 39.2 per cent and first-time enrollment has risen 53.2 per cent," *Higher Education* reports.

The year's percentage of change within types of institutions for first-time enrollment reveals interesting trends for men and women students: all institutions had +6.6 per cent of change for men and +7.9 for women; liberal arts colleges had +0.5 for men and +4.5 for women; teachers colleges had +4.6 for men and +3.7 for women; technological schools had +12.6 for men and +41.5 for women; theological schools had -8.2 for men and -0.8 for women; and professional schools other than the three listed here had +5.6 for men and +22.1 for women. Among junior colleges the percentage of change over 1955 for first-time enrollment was +18.1 for men and +13.9 for women.

Proposed Congressional Legislation

(a) A bill will be introduced in the Senate by Clifford P. Case (R., N. J.) to secure emergency federal aid, on a matching formula, for support of public two-year community colleges. Under the Case plan, these colleges would serve a three-fold purpose: (1) to offer the first two years of college work at low cost in order to insure several hundred thousand high school graduates an opportunity, not available to them at present, to prepare for advanced studies; (2) to provide a two-year terminal course of study in general education; and (3) to provide training in vocational and technical fields.

(b) A bill, introduced in the 84th Congress by Senator Lister Hill (D., Ala.) and 25 other Senators, will be reintroduced in the current

session; it provides for the expansion of area vocational and technical education "of less than college grade." Educational organizations are interested in securing the proper correlation of new institutions, such as would be established by the bill, with existing ones.

(c) President Eisenhower's 1958 budget message requested funds for the following assistance to higher education: (1) to increase by \$175,000,000 the amount of money available for the college housing loan program and to increase the interest rates on such loans in order to make them "more attractive to private investors"; (2) to supply the International Educational Exchange with funds sufficient to increase the number of grantees from about 6,200 for 1957 to approximately 8,600 for the fiscal year 1958; (3) to expand the services of the United States Office of Education, particularly in the Division of Higher Education and in the cooperative research program; (4) to support the full program of the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School; (5) to increase by \$25,000,000 the grant to the National Science Foundation, so that additional graduate fellowships and basic research projects may be offered for the purpose of attracting qualified persons to careers as teachers of science and engineering; and (6) to provide \$15,000,000 in grants to schools of medicine and dentistry for construction of training facilities.

(d) Several tax proposals affecting higher education are under consideration. (1) A bill to be reintroduced by Representative Aime J. Forand (D., R. I.) provides tax relief to colleges and universities which are operated by non-profit organizations through exemption from several excise taxes. (2) A bill, opposed by educational associations, will subject scholarship and fellowship grants, all of which are now non-taxable by law, to payroll withholding, thus preventing college students from using their full grants until income tax reports are filed and refunds are made. (3) A proposal by the Treasury Department and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, to which educational associations are opposed in its present form, will limit the annuity contributions of tax-exempt organizations to 10% of an employee's salary. This bill is said to be intended as a check upon abuses in the operation of certain non-academic annuity plans. (4) Several bills, including S.433, introduced by Senator J. W. Fulbright (D., Ark.), seek to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to allow students or parents of students to take additional exemptions or to deduct certain expenses incurred in obtaining a higher education. (5) Several bills, including S.395, introduced by Senator Lister Hill (D., Ala.), make provision for the expansion of teaching and research in the education of mentally retarded children through grants to institutions of higher learning and to state educational agencies.

Federal Scholarships for College Students

Fifteen bills providing federal scholarships or loan assistance for college students were introduced in the current session of Congress before February 1. Several educational associations are conducting polls to determine the support in higher education for such a program and to obtain views on acceptable standards and procedures.

NEA Salary Study

The October, 1956 issue of the National Education Association *Research Bulletin* (Vol. XXXIV, No. 3) is devoted to a comprehensive study entitled "Salaries Paid and Salary Practices in Universities, Colleges, and Junior Colleges, 1955-56." Of the 1017 degree-granting institutions invited to participate in this study, 731 submitted detailed reports in time to be included in the tabulations. The study includes 53 informative tables and 2 charts. Data on salary practices are arranged by types of institutions, as follows: State Universities, Nonpublic Universities, Municipal Universities, Land-Grant Colleges, State Colleges, Teachers Colleges, Nonpublic Colleges (1,000 and over students), Nonpublic Colleges (500-999 students), Nonpublic Colleges (under 500 students), Public Junior Colleges, and Nonpublic Junior Colleges.

Copies of the NEA salary study may be obtained at the following prices, post paid if remittance accompanies order: single copies, 50 cents; 2 to 9 copies, 10% reduction; 10 or more copies, 20% reduction. Orders should be addressed to Director, Research Division, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Canadian Academic Salaries

The Canadian Association of University Teachers, meeting on November 11, 1956, adopted unanimously, according to its December *Bulletin*, "a National Salary Scale of \$6,000, \$8,000, \$11,000, and \$14,000 as 'floors' for the academic ranks of lecturer, assistant professor, associate professor, and professor." These figures were arrived at, for each of the three higher ranks, by multiplying the median salary prevailing in 1938 by two factors which reflected, respectively, the increase in the consumer price index since 1938 and the productivity gains of the Canadian economy during the same period; and then adjusting for the difference between median salaries and minimum salaries. The Canadian Association, which was founded in 1951, has been active in promoting national consideration of the academic salary problem.

Academic Freedom and Tenure

STATEMENTS OF PRINCIPLES

Editor's Note: In 1915 a Committee on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure of the American Association of University Professors formulated a statement on academic freedom and tenure, known as the 1915 Declaration of Principles, which was officially endorsed by the Association at its second Annual Meeting held in Washington, D. C., December 31, 1915 and January 1, 1916.

In 1925 the American Council on Education called a conference of representatives of a number of its constituent members, among them the American Association of University Professors, for the purpose of formulating a shorter statement. The statement formulated at this conference, known as the 1925 Conference Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure, was endorsed by the Association of American Colleges in 1925 and by the American Association of University Professors in 1926.

In 1929 the American Association of University Professors formulated and endorsed a statement concerning academic resignations.

In 1940, following a series of joint conferences begun in 1934, representatives of the American Association of University Professors and of the Association of American Colleges agreed upon a restatement of the principles set forth in the 1925 Conference Statement. This restatement, known to the profession as the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure, was officially endorsed by the following organizations in the years indicated:

Association of American Colleges.....	1941
American Association of University Professors.....	1941
American Library Association (adapted for librarians).....	1946
Association of American Law Schools.....	1946
American Political Science Association.....	1947
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education ¹	1950
Association for Higher Education, National Education Association	1950
American Philosophical Association:	
Western Division.....	1952
Eastern Division.....	1953
Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology.....	1953

1940 Statement of Principles

The purpose of this statement is to promote public understanding and support of academic freedom and tenure and agreement upon procedures to assure them in colleges and universities. Institutions of higher education are conducted for the common good and not to further the

¹ Endorsed by predecessor, American Association of Teachers Colleges, in 1941.

interest of either the individual teacher¹ or the institution as a whole. The common good depends upon the free search for truth and its free exposition.

Academic freedom is essential to these purposes and applies to both teaching and research. Freedom in research is fundamental to the advancement of truth. Academic freedom in its teaching aspect is fundamental for the protection of the rights of the teacher in teaching and of the student to freedom in learning. It carries with it duties correlative with rights.

Tenure is a means to certain ends; specifically: (1) Freedom of teaching and research and of extramural activities, and (2) A sufficient degree of economic security to make the profession attractive to men and women of ability. Freedom and economic security, hence tenure, are indispensable to the success of an institution in fulfilling its obligations to its students and to society.

Academic Freedom

(a) The teacher is entitled to full freedom in research and in the publication of the results, subject to the adequate performance of his other academic duties; but research for pecuniary return should be based upon an understanding with the authorities of the institution.

(b) The teacher is entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing his subject, but he should be careful not to introduce into his teaching controversial matter which has no relation to his subject. Limitations of academic freedom because of religious or other aims of the institution should be clearly stated in writing at the time of the appointment.

(c) The college or university teacher is a citizen, a member of a learned profession, and an officer of an educational institution. When he speaks or writes as a citizen, he should be free from institutional censorship or discipline, but his special position in the community imposes special obligations. As a man of learning and an educational officer, he should remember that the public may judge his profession and his institution by his utterances. Hence he should at all times be accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint, should show respect for the opinions of others, and should make every effort to indicate that he is not an institutional spokesman.

Academic Tenure

(a) After the expiration of a probationary period teachers or investigators should have permanent or continuous tenure, and their services should be terminated only for adequate cause, except in the

¹ The word "teacher" as used in this document is understood to include the investigator who is attached to an academic institution without teaching duties.

case of retirement for age, or under extraordinary circumstances because of financial exigencies.

In the interpretation of this principle it is understood that the following represents acceptable academic practice:

(1) The precise terms and conditions of every appointment should be stated in writing and be in the possession of both institution and teacher before the appointment is consummated.

(2) Beginning with appointment to the rank of full-time instructor or a higher rank, the probationary period should not exceed seven years, including within this period full-time service in all institutions of higher education; but subject to the proviso that when, after a term of probationary service of more than three years in one or more institutions, a teacher is called to another institution it may be agreed in writing that his new appointment is for a probationary period of not more than four years, even though thereby the person's total probationary period in the academic profession is extended beyond the normal maximum of seven years. Notice should be given at least one year prior to the expiration of the probationary period if the teacher is not to be continued in service after the expiration of that period.

(3) During the probationary period a teacher should have the academic freedom that all other members of the faculty have.

(4) Termination for cause of a continuous appointment, or the dismissal for cause of a teacher previous to the expiration of a term appointment, should, if possible, be considered by both a faculty committee and the governing board of the institution. In all cases where the facts are in dispute, the accused teacher should be informed before the hearing in writing of the charges against him and should have the opportunity to be heard in his own defense by all bodies that pass judgment upon his case. He should be permitted to have with him an adviser of his own choosing who may act as counsel. There should be a full stenographic record of the hearing available to the parties concerned. In the hearing of charges of incompetence the testimony should include that of teachers and other scholars, either from his own or from other institutions. Teachers on continuous appointment who are dismissed for reasons not involving moral turpitude should receive their salaries for at least a year from the date of notification of dismissal whether or not they are continued in their duties at the institution.

(5) Termination of a continuous appointment because of financial exigency should be demonstrably bona fide.

INTERPRETATIONS

At the conference of representatives of the American Association of University Professors and of the Association of American Colleges on November 7-8, 1940, the

following interpretations of the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure were agreed upon:

1. That its operation should not be retroactive.
2. That all tenure claims of teachers appointed prior to the endorsement should be determined in accordance with the principles set forth in the 1925 Conference Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure.
3. If the administration of a college or university feels that a teacher has not observed the admonitions of Paragraph (c) of the section on *Academic Freedom* and believes that the extramural utterances of the teacher have been such as to raise grave doubts concerning his fitness for his position, it may proceed to file charges under Paragraph (a) (4) of the section on *Academic Tenure*. In pressing such charges the administration should remember that teachers are citizens and should be accorded the freedom of citizens. In such cases the administration must assume full responsibility and the American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges are free to make an investigation.

1925 Conference Statement¹

Academic Freedom

(a) A university or college may not place any restraint upon the teacher's freedom in investigation, unless restriction upon the amount of time devoted to it becomes necessary in order to prevent undue interference with teaching duties.

(b) A university or college may not impose any limitation upon the teacher's freedom in the exposition of his own subject in the classroom or in addresses and publications outside the college, except in so far as the necessity of adapting instruction to the needs of immature students, or, in the case of institutions of a denominational or partisan character, specific stipulations in advance, fully understood and accepted by both parties, limit the scope and character of instruction.

(c) No teacher may claim as his right the privilege of discussing in his classroom controversial topics outside his own field of study. The teacher is morally bound not to take advantage of his position by introducing into the classroom provocative discussions of irrelevant subjects not within the field of his study.

(d) A university or college should recognize that the teacher in speaking and writing outside of the institution upon subjects beyond the scope of his own field of study is entitled to precisely the same freedom and is subject to the same responsibility as attach to all other citizens. If the extramural utterances of a teacher should be such as to raise grave doubts concerning his fitness for his position, the question should in all cases be submitted to an appropriate committee of the faculty of which he is a member. It should be clearly understood that an institution assumes no responsibility for views expressed by members of its staff; and teachers should, when necessary, take pains to make it clear that they are expressing only their personal opinions.

¹Superseded by the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure; reprinted for its historical value.

Academic Tenure

(a) The precise terms and expectations of every appointment should be stated in writing and be in the possession of both college and teacher.

(b) Termination of a temporary or short-term appointment should always be possible at the expiration of the term by the mere act of giving timely notice of the desire to terminate. The decision to terminate should always be taken, however, in conference with the department concerned, and might well be subject to approval by a faculty or council committee or by the faculty or council. It is desirable that the question of appointments for the ensuing year be taken up as early as possible. Notice of the decision to terminate should be given in ample time to allow the teacher an opportunity to secure a new position. The extreme limit for such notice should not be less than three months before the expiration of the academic year. The teacher who proposes to withdraw should also give notice in ample time to enable the institution to make a new appointment.

(c) It is desirable that termination of a permanent or long-term appointment for cause should regularly require action by both a faculty committee and the governing board of the college. Exceptions to this rule may be necessary in cases of gross immorality or treason, when the facts are admitted. In such cases summary dismissal would naturally ensue. In cases where other offenses are charged, and in all cases where the facts are in dispute, the accused teacher should always have the opportunity to face his accusers and to be heard in his own defense by all bodies that pass judgment upon the case. In the trial of charges of professional incompetence the testimony of scholars in the same field, either from his own or from other institutions, should always be taken. Dismissal for reasons other than immorality or treason should not ordinarily take effect in less than a year from the time the decision is reached.

(d) Termination of permanent or long-term appointments because of financial exigencies should be sought only as a last resort, after every effort has been made to meet the need in other ways and to find for the teacher other employment in the institution. Situations which make drastic retrenchment of this sort necessary should preclude expansions of the staff at other points at the same time, except in extraordinary circumstances.

Statement Concerning Resignations, 1929

Any provision in regard to notification of resignation by a college teacher will naturally depend on the conditions of tenure in the institu-

tion. If a college asserts and exercises the right to dismiss, promote, or change salary at short notice, or exercises the discretion implied by annual contracts, it must expect that members of its staff will feel under no obligations beyond the legal requirements of their contracts. If, on the other hand, the institution undertakes to comply with the tenure specifications approved by the Association of American Colleges, it would seem appropriate for the members of the staff to act in accordance with the following provision :

1. Notification of resignation by a college teacher ought, in general, to be early enough to obviate serious embarrassment to the institution, the length of time necessarily varying with the circumstances of his particular case.

2. Subject to this general principle it would seem appropriate that a professor or an associate professor should ordinarily give not less than four months' notice and an assistant professor or instructor not less than three months' notice.

3. In regard to offering appointments to men in the service of other institutions, it is believed that an informal inquiry as to whether a teacher would be willing to consider transfer under specified conditions may be made at any time and without previous consultation with his superiors, with the understanding, however, that if a definite offer follows he will not accept it without giving such notice as is indicated in the preceding provisions. He is at liberty to ask his superior officers to reduce, or waive, the notification requirements there specified, but he should be expected to conform to their decision on these points.

4. Violation of these provisions may be brought to the attention of the officers of the Association with the possibility of subsequent publication in particular cases after the facts are duly established.

ACADEMIC RETIREMENT

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Editor's Note: The Statement of Principles on Academic Retirement which follows was developed in connection with a study of Academic Retirement and Related Subjects, which was conducted by a joint Committee of the American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges. This study involved a series of joint conferences of the representatives of these two Associations which began in 1943. The last of these conferences, at which the Statement of Principles was agreed upon, was held in Washington, D. C., March 6, 1950. The Report on the study, entitled "Academic Retirement and Related Subjects," was published in the Spring, 1950 issue of the *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors, pp. 97-117. Reprints of this Report are available upon request.

This Statement of Principles was endorsed by the Association of American Colleges in January, 1951, and by the American Association of University Professors in March, 1951.

Institutions of higher education are conducted for the common good and not to further the interest of either the individual teacher or administrator, or the individual institution. The policy of an institution for the retirement of faculty members and its plan for their retirement annuities should be such as to increase the effectiveness of its services as an educational institution. Specifically, this policy and plan should be such as to attract individuals of the highest abilities to educational work, to increase the morale of the faculty, to permit faculty members with singleness of purpose to devote their energies to serving their institution, and to make it possible in a socially acceptable manner to discontinue the services of members of the faculty when their usefulness is undermined by age.

The following is acceptable practice:

1. The retirement policy and annuity plan of an institution should be clearly defined and be well understood by both the faculty and the administration of the institution.
2. The institution should have a fixed and relatively late retirement age, the same for teachers and administrators. Conditions such as longevity, health of the profession, and interest rates have recently

changed in such a way as to justify older rather than younger retirement ages. Under present circumstances the desirable fixed retirement age would appear to be from sixty-seven to seventy, inclusive. Extension of the services of the teacher or administrator beyond the mandatory age of retirement should be authorized only in emergency situations. Circumstances that may seem to justify the involuntary retirement of a teacher or administrator before the fixed retirement age should in all cases be considered by a joint faculty-administration committee of the institution. This committee should preferably be a standing committee, but in the consideration of specific cases no interested person should be permitted to participate in its deliberations. (The above is not meant to indicate that the involuntary return of an administrator to teaching duties need be treated as a retirement.)

3. The institution should provide for a system of retirement annuities. Such a system should:

(a) Be financed by contributions made during the period of active service by both the individual and the institution.

(b) Be participated in by full-time faculty members who have attained a certain fixed age, not later than 30.

(c) Be planned to provide under normal circumstances for a retirement life annuity of approximately 50% of the average salary over the last 10 years of service, if retirement is at 70, and a somewhat higher percentage if the fixed retirement age is younger. (It is understood that the amount of the available joint life annuity on life of husband and wife would be somewhat less.)

(d) Insure that the full amount of the individual's and institution's contribution, with the accumulations thereon, be vested in the individual, available as a benefit in case of death while in service, and with no forfeiture in case of withdrawal or dismissal from the institution.

(e) Be such that the individual may not withdraw his equity in cash but only in the form of an annuity. (To avoid administrative expense, exception might be made for very small accumulations in an inactive account.) Except when small, death benefits to a widow should be paid in the form of an annuity. Death benefits to other beneficiaries would normally be paid in cash unless provided to the contrary by the individual faculty member.

4. When a new retirement policy or annuity plan is initiated or an old one changed, reasonable provision either by special financial arrangements or by the gradual inauguration of the new plan should be made for those adversely affected.

Censured Administrations

Investigations by the American Association of University Professors of the administrations of the several institutions listed below show that they are not observing the generally recognized principles of academic freedom and tenure, endorsed by this Association, the Association of American Colleges, the Association of American Law Schools, the American Library Association (with adaptations for librarians), the American Political Science Association, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the Association for Higher Education of the National Education Association, the Eastern and Western Divisions of the American Philosophical Association, and the Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology.

Placing the name of an institution on this list does not mean that censure is visited either upon the whole of the institution or upon the faculty, but specifically upon its present administration. The term "administration" includes the administrative officers and the governing board of the institution. This censure does not affect the eligibility of nonmembers for membership in the Association nor does it affect the individual rights of our members at the institution in question, nor do members of the Association who accept positions on the faculty of an institution whose administration is thus censured forfeit their membership. This list is published for the sole purpose of informing our members, the profession at large, and the public that unsatisfactory conditions of academic freedom and tenure have been found to prevail at these institutions. Names are placed on or removed from this censured list by vote of the Association's Annual Meeting.

The censured administrations, together with the date of censuring, are listed below. Reports of investigations were published as indicated by the *Bulletin* citations.

West Chester State Teachers College (Pennsylvania) (February, 1939, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 44-72)	December, 1939
University of Kansas City (October, 1941, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 478-493)	December, 1941
Winthrop College (April, 1942, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 173-196)	May, 1943
University of California (Spring, 1956, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 64-66)	April, 1956
The Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia (Spring, 1956, <i>Bulletin</i> , p. 75)	April, 1956
North Dakota Agricultural College (Spring, 1956, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 130-160)	April, 1956
The Ohio State University (Spring, 1956, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 81-83)	April, 1956
University of Oklahoma (Spring, 1956, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 69-70)	April, 1956
Rutgers University (Spring, 1956, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 77-78)	April, 1956
Saint Louis University (Spring, 1956, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 108-129)	April, 1956
Temple University (Spring, 1956, <i>Bulletin</i> , pp. 79-80)	April, 1956

Membership

Membership in the American Association of University Professors is open by nomination and election to teachers and research workers on the faculties of approved colleges and universities (those on the lists of the established regional or professional accrediting agencies, subject to modification by action of the Association), and to present or recent graduate students of those institutions.

A prospective member must fill out the appropriate nomination form, have it signed by an already Active member, and send it to the Central Office. When eligibility has been established there, the nominee's name is published in the next issue of the quarterly *Bulletin*, and barring a sustained protest from the membership, his election to membership by the Committee on Admission of Members takes place about six weeks after such publication.

The membership year in the Association is the calendar year (January 1 through December 31). The membership of nominees whose names are published in the Spring or Summer issue of the *Bulletin* becomes effective as of January 1 of the current year. The membership of nominees whose names are published in the Autumn or Winter issues of the *Bulletin* becomes effective as of January 1 of the following year unless the nominee requests that his membership become effective as of January 1 of the current year.

Classes of Membership

Membership by Nomination and Election

Active. One is eligible for Active membership if he has at least a one-year appointment to a position of at least half-time teaching and/or research, with the rank of instructor or its equivalent or higher or other acceptable evidence of faculty status, in an approved institution (one on the lists of the established regional or professional accrediting associations subject to modification by the Association). Annual dues are \$7.50.

Junior. One is eligible for Junior membership if he is, or within the past five years has been doing graduate work in an approved institution. Annual dues are \$3.00. One may not become a Junior member if he is also eligible for Active membership, and a Junior member must be transferred to Active membership as soon as he becomes eligible.

Membership by Transfer

Associate. An Active or Junior member whose academic work becomes primarily administrative must be transferred to Associate membership, a relatively inactive status. Annual dues are \$3.00.

Emeritus. Any member retiring for age from a position of teaching or research may, at his own request, be transferred to Emeritus membership, which is exempt from dues. An Emeritus member may continue to receive the *Bulletin* at the special rate of \$1.00 a year.

Continuing Membership

Once elected, a member may change his occupation or transfer to an institution not on the Association's approved list without affecting his eligibility for continuance of membership.

Suspension or Resignation

One who chooses to have his membership temporarily suspended or permanently terminated must send written notice to the Central Office of his wish. In the absence of such notice, he is carried in the membership files for one calendar year, during which he receives the *Bulletin* and incurs an obligation to pay dues.

Reinstatement

One who wishes to resume his membership after it has lapsed should not go through the processes of nomination and election again, but should write to the Central Office asking to be reinstated. The only requirement for reinstatement beyond such a request is the payment of any dues (never more than one year's assessment) owing at the time membership was terminated.

Nominations for Membership

The following 1450 nominations for Active membership and 41 nominations for Junior membership are published as provided in the Constitution of the Association. Protests of nominations may be addressed to the General Secretary of the Association, who will, in turn, transmit them for the consideration of the Committee on Admission of Members. The Council of the Association has ruled that the primary purpose of this provision for protests is to bring to the attention of the Committee on Admission of Members questions concerning the technical eligibility of nominees for membership as provided in the Constitution of the Association. To be considered, such protests must be filed with the General Secretary within thirty days after this publication.

Initial List of Nominations¹*Active*

Adelphi College, Barney Feldman, Norma Harvester, Clark Marlor, Richard Perlman, Rita S. Rosenberg; Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, William M. Freeman, Oliver E. Jackson, Henry L. Parker; University of Akron, Priscilla A. Irving, Alfred H. Johnson, Ernest A. Tabler; Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Henry P. Hotz, Joyce Lawler, Dorothy Jane Wellborn; Alabama State College, William Gibson; University of Alabama, James M. Boyles, Emanuel Cheraskin, Robert A. Ford, James H. Gary, Florence A. Hixson, William L. McCracken, Thomas F. Paine, Jr.; Albright College, Margaret Haight, Albert Schwartz; Alfred University, Savo D. Jevremovic, Nelson Liberman; Allegheny College, Lewis W. Pyle; Alliance College, Benjamin S. Benjaminov; American International College, Edward L. Davis; American University, Ernest F. Dibble, Chester B. Earle, Francis W. Gathof, Jr., Simon Naidel, Grace S. Quinn, Genevieve Simha, Charles W. Van Way, Jr.; American University of Beirut, Curtis Watson; Antioch College, Leland C. Clark, Jr.; Appalachian State Teachers College, Joseph R. Ellis; Arizona State College (Flagstaff), Audrey D. Barkman, Ellery L. Gibson, Robert L. Hammond; Arizona State College (Tempe), Thomas W. Barrett, Clyde A. Crowley, Joseph W. Dorton, Guilford A. Dudley, Michael W. Fabian, George R. Herman, Helen E. Nebeker, Eugene A. Wheat, Alice R. Wickens, Sidney W. Wilcox; University of Arizona, Melvin H. Schonhorst; Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, Jeff R. Davis, Frank L. Harmon, Gladdis E. Loehr, Forrest H. Pollard; Arkansas Polytechnic College, Guy W. Ashford, John A. Ashworth, Jr., Charles W. C. Aulsbury, Loren W. Bartlett, Chester O. Bishop, George R. Cash, Samuel C. Chen, Carleton E. Curran, Isham W. Dillana, Erma Sue Doss, Vincent R. Faulds, Theodore R. Garrison, Lavern M. Hamand, Claude A. Hughes, Eugene L. Jones, Herman L. Long, David McAllister, Lottie B. McCracken, Lillian Massie, Pierre K. Merrill, Charles G. Morehead, John F. Moyer, Bobby Gene Mullen, Maurice Nielsen, Claud E. Padgett, Jr., Oren R. Rankin, Robert G. Reaves, Charles E. Reed, Jr., Evangeline Roberts, John E. Rollow, Mark M. Serrem, Richard F. Shelton, Mort E. Smith, Adali S. Turner, Weldon H. Walker, Roy R. Weedon, Gene Witherspoon; Arkansas State College, Mary E. Beck, Bernard J. Gorrow; University of Arkansas, William L. Evans, Travis Manning, Leo J. Paulissen, Samuel E. Trotter, Ngeu F. Tsang, King Ching Wu; Army Language School, Angel Georgieff; Ashland College, Robert J. Dils; Athens College, George M. Speed; Atlantic Union College, Werner M. Maurer; Augustana College (South Dakota), Clifford J. Olson.

Baker University, Jackson J. Austin, Robert C. Clark, Alfred R. Service; Bakersfield College, Lowell P. Dabbs, Phyllis S. Justice, Shirley G. Myers; Baldwin-Wallace College, Earl K. Brown, Edward L. Hammon, Gustav Must, Michael Rowland, Alvin W. Skardon; Ball State Teachers College, Marion B. Grady, Robert E. Hill, Jr., Robert H. Holtzman, Robert W. Kyle, Russell E. Siverly, Robert Tyler; Bates College, Richard M. Briggs, Richard G. Chandler, Peter P. Jonitis, Charles E. Reeder; Baylor University, Patricia Naylor, Sara F. Plett, George D. Worley, Jr.; Beloit College, Douglas G. Creighton, Jane Ann Schoonmaker; Berea College, Robert Menefee; Bethany College (West Virginia), Robert C. Yarbrough; Blackburn College, Walter L. Bethel, Joseph C. Dana, George R. Hood, Wilson O. Neubauer; Boise Junior College, Helen R.

¹ See Supplementary List, pp. 133-34.

Johnson, Fletcher Pearce; Bowling Green State University, Edgar F. Daniels, Morris Golden; Brooklyn College, Rose Clavering, Donald S. Dushkind, Sol H. Furth, Claire Sacks, Morton I. Seiden; University of Buffalo, Meyer M. Auerbach, Robert S. Harnack, Robert R. Henry, Henry Lee Smith, Jr., Richard S. Weekstein; Butler University, Francis E. Elliott.

California Institute of Technology, David M. Raup, Winston W. Royce; California State Polytechnic College, John F. Lamiman; University of California (Los Angeles), Franklin L. Ashley, Claire E. Bartholomew, Leland R. Brown, Y. C. Chu, Michael J. D'Asaro, Vincent J. Donahue, Evelyn J. Fisher, Arthur B. Friedman, Sheila M. Garrett, Maurice Gerow, Leo R. Graham, Hugh J. Gray, William N. Hanafee, Ella O. Hutchins, Richard D. Johnston, Charles Katzman, Cornelius T. Leondes, Donald A. Leton, Gretchen G. Martin, Mildred E. Mathias, David M. Prescott, Joel J. Pressman, Jeanne C. Quint, Robert W. Rand, Bertram H. Raven, Feri F. Roth, Gerhart R. Sommer, Ralph R. Sonnenschein, Frank F. Tallman, Benjamin E. Thomas, Sylvesta M. Wassum, Terence H. Wilbur, Waldo M. Winger; Canisius College, Aaron Herschfeld; Carbon College, David R. Cox; Carnegie Institute of Technology, Thomas L. Hilton; Carroll College (Wisconsin), Charles D. Spears; Carthage College, Lawrence H. Hufendick; Case Institute of Technology, John Dettman; Catholic University of America, Gabriel D. Boehler, Sister Charles Marie Frank, George N. Kowkabany, Arthur Lustberg, Paul H. Meijer, Charles F. Pulvari, Parfeny P. Saworotnow, Walter J. Schmitz, Katherine G. Stefic; Central College (Missouri), William S. Nakaso; University of Chattanooga, Frederick C. Mortensen; University of Chicago, Albert Rees; University of Cincinnati, Leonard H. Larsen; City College (New York), Alfred Iacuzzi; Colby Junior College for Women, Stanley E. Wenmark; Colgate University, Warren M. Campbell, Robert M. Linsley, John A. Marcum, Robert D. Myers, Robert Slocum; Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College, Gerald C. Helmstadter; Colorado College, Douglas W. Freed; Columbia University, Victor Paschkis, Howard Schless, Horace Taylor; Concordia Teachers College (Illinois), Herbert H. Gross; Connecticut College, Robin W. Winks; Teachers College of Connecticut, Mildred K. Barrows, Philip B. Blakesly, William M. Moore, Margaret B. Paskavitch; University of Connecticut, Victor Christopherson, Rosemary Conzemins, Norman Davis, Frank Dolyak, William C. Purdy, John T. Stock; Cooper Union, Charles E. Baxley, Herman Horn; Cornell College, Anne L. Kish; Cornell University, Robert E. Bechhofer, Isadore Blumen, Alice H. Cook, Frank H. Golay, John Hsu, C. DelMar Kearn, Olaf F. Larson, Thomas R. Nielsen, Donald E. Ordway, Harlan B. Perrins, Eugene F. Rice, Jr., Ora K. Singleton, Phyllis R. Snow, Kathryn E. Walker.

Davidson College, John C. Bailey, Jr., Robert B. Jackson, Jr., Caroline T. MacBrayer, S. Brooks McLane, Jr., William N. Mebane, Jr., Jerome W. Nilssen; Davis and Elkins College, V. Robert Heisey; University of Delaware, Julio Acuna, Carroll Edgar, Robert L. Pigford, Leslie P. Williams; Delta State College, Joel T. Howell, Ralph E. Mitchell; DePaul University, James J. Diamond, Paul Stassevitch, Agnes C. Vukonich; DePauw University, Angela Bachelier; University of Detroit, James R. Barclay; Dillard University, Walter F. Bock; Doane College, Minnie M. Harms, Herbert R. Loring; Drew University, Robert G. Smith.

East Carolina College, Charles T. Laughner; East Los Angeles Junior College, Mollye Z. Harris, Hyman Weintraub; Elmira College, Martha Bowers, Harriet C. Rawle, Gertrude Spremulli; Emory University, Leslie J. Dixon, Grant E.

Kaiser, Leon Mandell, Ralph H. Tash, Louis J. Zahn; **Evansville College**, David T. Baird, Mildred Boeke, Norman M. Heim, Florence Keve, Philip Kinsey, Robert M. Rapp, Richard Robinson, Corian R. Stambaugh, Ralph Waterman.

Fairfield University, Guy R. Barbano, Robert E. Bolger, Daniel S. Buczek, Salvatore A. Carrano, Carmen F. Donnarumma, Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, Kenneth M. Kunsch, Chester J. Stuart; **Fisk University**, Scott Buchanan, Charles W. Daves, Svetozar D. Teodorovic, David K. Wetherbee; **Flint Junior College**, George A. Buck, Robert I. Helm, Dolores A. Keyser, Rollie A. McVannel, Maurice G. Moore, Jean M. Quarve, Marvin G. Roof, Helen H. Webb, Anna Yambriek; **Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University**, Wendolyn Y. Bell, Herbert H. Bridwell, William E. H. Howard, Tomi Plummer, Matthew T. Waters; **Florida State University**, Kathryn M. Bearss, N. E. LaSeur; **University of Florida**, Muriel Dahlgard, Winifred L. Dusenbury, Mildred M. Griffith, Jacqueline L. Hodgson, William M. Stone, Jr., Chi-Wu Wang, Philip K. Yonge; **Fresno State College**, George S. Leavitt, Frank V. Powell, Jean J. Smith; **Furman University**, Claude W. Hicks.

George Pepperdine College, Helene C. Adcock; **Georgia Institute of Technology**, A. J. Kainen, Robert S. Lorch, Jeanne C. Magill, Richard P. Moll, James D. Young; **Georgia State College of Business Administration**, Paul G. Blount, Farnam T. Crawford, James P. Rogers; **University of Georgia**, Mary M. Burns, Mary J. Tingle; **Goucher College**, Sherodd R. Albritton, George A. Foote, Elliott W. Galkin, Dickens W. Warfield; **Gulf Park College**, Ruth A. Rape.

Hampton Institute, Joan S. Bodein, Rosalind M. Eagleson; **Harvard University**, George H. Nadel; **Hastings College**, Darel D. McFerren; **University of Hawaii**, Mitsuo Aoki, Carolyn R. Balsbaugh, Olga B. Frojen, Margaret C. Gillespie, Betty Hikiji, Francis J. Howard, Margaret A. Inouye, William Lavy, Millard C. Mundy, Henry Y. Nakasone, Norman D. Rian, Barbara B. Smith, Oma Umbel, Lee E. Winters, Jr.; **Hebrew Teachers College**, Eisig Silberschlag; **Henry Ford Community College**, Margaret A. Dempster, Lawrence C. Porter; **Highland Park Junior College**, Forrest R. Campbell, Kenneth H. Erdody, Marion E. Grusky, William R. Harris, J. Bryce Lockwood, Mary Jane McFerren, Cyril A. Miles, Alfred A. Moran, James B. Schooley, Charles E. Schutz, Harold M. Simon, Jr.; **Hillsdale College**, Harold F. Brown, Wray T. Lundquist, Earle H. Munn, Leo H. Phillips, Rosamond J. Stewart; **Hobart and William Smith Colleges**, Irving O. Benson, Ellen E. Murphy; **Hofstra College**, Hyman A. Enzer, Harry Siller, Fred Warren; **Hood College**, Dona D. Ditty, Peter Flanders, Ruth E. Griffith, Francis G. Hugo, Dorothy F. Minarik; **Hunter College**, Norman Remson; **Huston-Tillotson College**, James L. McNealy.

The College of Idaho, Alvin Allen, Edward R. Allen, Frances E. A. Bailey, Ralph W. Berringer, George C. Dawson, F. William Howton, Brian K. Klitz, Shirley C. Kroeger; **North Idaho Junior College**, John A. McFarland; **Idaho State College**, Raymond C. Miles; **University of Idaho**, Allen W. Betts, John H. Doherty, Joseph W. Hummel, Maryann E. McKie, Elane B. Sue Matz, Philip E. Peterson; **Illiff School of Theology**, Harvey H. Potthoff, Charles W. Stewart, H. Gordon Van Sickle, Oliver R. Whitley; **Illinois Institute of Technology**, Alfred Caldwell, William D. Diemer, Max Epstein, Robert W. Estin, Walter Jaunzemis, Bennie J. Pearson, Pasquale Porcelli, Haim Reingold, L. N. Tao; **Eastern Illinois State College**, James Hefter; **Northern Illinois State College**, Romae Cormier, Jim Hart, Isidore Hauser, James G. Powell; **Western Illinois State College**, James G. Ashbaugh, Victor Hicken, Yale S. Sedman, Robert

W. Shelton; Illinois State Normal University, Janet W. Bohnhorst, Milton L. Forbes, Harold L. Nieburg, Andreas A. Paloumpis, John E. Trotter; Southern Illinois University, Gordon O. Allen, N. Lynn Barber, Ruth E. Bauner; University of Illinois, Thomas S. Cutshaw, Albert E. Drake, Irwin C. Gunsalus, Albert S. Kaplan, Edward Krollick, Kenneth Lansing; University of Illinois (College of Medicine), Stephen B. Binkley, Harris Busch, Henry Jeffay, Clive Mohammed, Adrian Ostfeld, Max E. Rafelson, Alexander Remenchik; University of Illinois (Navy Pier), Charles Bouc, Shafeek Farag, Algis Pabarcus, J. Warren Perry, Carole Stearns; Indiana University, Roy Battenhouse, Robert M. Cameron, Ralph R. Cummings, Murray Grodner, William W. Oliver, Alo Raun, Charles H. Taylor, Jr.; Iowa State College, Winona N. Brooks; Iowa State Teachers College, Alfred C. Barnes, Jr., David R. Bluhm, Nellie D. Hampton, Darrell G. Jones, Gordon J. Rhum, Harland E. Samson, Nathan, M. Talbott, Jan B. Tulasiewicz, Emily J. Yeager; State University of Iowa, Duane C. Priestersbach; Iowa Wesleyan College, Martha B. Boyes, Robert G. Davis, Lentz C. DeVol, Jean C. Gatch, Venola Rhodes, Albert G. Wynne; Ithaca College, Robert Earle.

Jamestown Community College, John E. Seubert, Jarda S. Taska; Johns Hopkins University, Francis D. Carlson, Paul L. Chessin, Burton M. Pogell.

University of Kansas City, William M. Ryan; Kansas State College, I. C. Hisatsune, Max Milner; Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg), Henry L. Bagley, Aldon M. Bebb, Elsie Broome, Charles S. Burgess, Elton W. Cline, Perva M. Hughes, John C. Johnson, Jr., Millard M. Laing, James L. Pauley, John Reed, Edward W. Robinson, Ray Vanderburg, Richard C. Welty; University of Kansas, Jerry Keltch, James Noffsinger, Willard Strode, G. Bonar Sutherland, Maurice L. Wilks; Kent State University, Robert H. Archer, Gerrit Daams, Eugene C. Drozdowski, Vincent Gallicchio, Sydney V. James, Melvin G. Scarlett, Richard A. Sleeman, David F. Unumb; Kentucky State College, Olivia E. Bailey, Harry B. Baker, Charles E. Briggs, James B. Brown, William L. Dixon, George Edwards, Helen C. Exum, William Exum, Winona L. Fletcher, Anna J. Fox, Henry A. Green, Hoyt H. Harper, Emilie S. High, Essie R. Hume, Richard L. James, Herbert E. Olivera, James R. O'Rourke, Alexis J. Richards, William F. Shauntee, Herman S. Stovall, Archie L. Surratt, Alberta M. Temple, Aldred Van Irvin, Robert D. Williams, Charlotte E. Wilson, Raytha L. Yakley; Eastern Kentucky State College, John Cooper, Alex G. McIlvaine, Willis M. Parkhurst; University of Kentucky, John C. Ball, Marie R. Barkley, Jesse J. Dukeminier, Emma Lou Lecky; Keuka College, Jane Bennett, Virginia L. Johnston, William P. Thompson.

Lafayette College, James R. Beerbower; Lake Forest College, Robert J. Barndt; Lawrence College, Philip D. Walker, George B. Walter; Lewis and Clark College, Philip S. Bashor, David R. Cheney; Lincoln University (Missouri), Clara W. Adams, David N. Baker; Lindenwood College, Sophie P. Alston, J. Walter Grundhauser; Lon Morris College, Frank R. Harland; Long Island University, Oscar H. Ciner, James S. Kennedy, Ray C. Longtin, Harold Nierenberg, Ollie G. Ritchie, Martin Tucker; Longwood College, Josephine L. Bailey, Morris H. Bettenger, Rebecca L. Brockenbrough, Nell H. Griffin, James M. Helms, Olive T. Iler, Edgar M. Johnson, James K. McCombs, Thomas A. McCorkle, Robert E. Merritt, Charles H. Patterson, Jr., Ruth S. Taliaferro, Eleanor N. Weddle; Los Angeles State College, Francis E. Diaz, Jenniellen W. Ferguson; Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Ruth T. Ballard; Northwestern State College of Louisiana, James M. Cherry, Jr., Coley Newman, John R. Rogers, William A. Tornwall, L. Edna West; Louisiana State University, Frank

Baldanza, Ruth M. Baldwin, Mary J. Collier, Earl N. Lewis, Clyde E. Noble, Leon M. Schur; University of Louisville, Gerald A. Cole, Dario A. Covi; Loyola College, George L. Farre; Lynchburg College, Dorothy A. Small.

University of Maine, George J. Burak, Alfred G. Pellegrino, Alan R. Plotnick, Robert M. St. Clair, Richard S. Sprague, Claude Westfall; Maryland State Teachers College (Towson), George C. Coleman, Zenith H. Velie; University of Maryland (Maryland State College), Barbara U. Berry, William H. Clelland, Brooks Giles, Jr., Sylvanus H. Hart, M. Boyd Jones, Mildred W. Stuart, Charles Stubblefield, Nathaniel A. Tyler; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Louis N. Howard; Massachusetts State Teachers College (Boston), Theresa M. Corcoran, Sylvette Giorgio, Mary I. Kelly, Nicholas J. Lembo, Mary E. Lynch, Francis W. McCarthy, Eleanor Powers; Massachusetts State Teachers College (Bridgewater), Marjorie E. Hayward, Rita K. Nadel, Doris E. Tebbetts; Mercy College, Margaret G. Price, Caroline E. Schuetzinger; Meredith College, Douglas W. Reynolds; Miami University, John H. Eicher, Richard Evans, Jules V. Harcourt, Charles J. Ramage, Willis E. Sibley; University of Miami, Gene S. Cranch, Wilhelmina F. Dunning, Gilbert J. Farley, M. Eugene Flipse, Albert E. Harum, Walter E. Hicks, Arthur G. Hills, Gloria M. Hogue, Victor S. Karabasz, Richard H. Lee, Ramon M. Lemos, Irvin Lesser, Robert S. Litwak, Emmet F. Low, Jr., Karl S. Pond, William L. Rivers, Fredric T. Schlamp, Carlos M. Vilar-Alvarez, Carl D. Williams, Thomas Wills, Stephen C. Wright; Central Michigan College, LaVerne L. Curry, Keith M. Decker, William Jakad, Bernard N. Meltzer; Eastern Michigan College, William H. Bos, Penelope L. Bullock, John T. Hefley, Eleanor S. Hope; Western Michigan College, David W. Adams; Michigan State University, Marcelle A. Abell, Edward Cantino, Don W. Hayne, John R. Shaver, Max S. Smith, Donald J. deZeeuw; University of Michigan, John W. Baldwin, Marvin J. Eisenberg, Frederick H. Epstein, Irving B. Fritz, Oleg Grabar, Edward B. Ham, John Mersereau, Jr., James G. Wendel; Middlebury College, Rene R. Beauchesne, John H. Clagett, Margaret W. Fayer, Chandler A. Potter, James Wilson; Milwaukee-Downer College, William Harrison Boyer; Minnesota State Teachers College (Moorhead), Lawrence Marinaccio; University of Minnesota, Reynold P. Dahl, Richard H. Lyon, Allan H. McCoid, Michael I. Sovern; East Mississippi Junior College, Annie E. Anderson, Edna E. Harbour, Mary B. Williams; Mississippi Southern College, Harris N. Crohn; Mississippi State College, Franklin B. Holder, Jr., William W. White; Mississippi State College for Women, Tom G. Hawkins, Mary C. Regan; Central Missouri State College, Rayburn L. Pierce, Velma L. Taylor; Southwest Missouri State College, Harold L. Royer; Eastern Montana College of Education, George F. Boyer, Charles F. Gruenert, Alfred W. Humphreys, Aaron P. Small; Montana State University, Richard E. Shannon; Morehead State College, Nell Sue Cheatham, Anne L. Hale, Margaret B. Heaslip; Mount Holyoke College, Curtis G. Smith; Mt. Saint Scholastica College, Stephen J. Szemler; Mt. San Antonio College, Charles E. Buie, Vernon Cannon, Ira H. Holland, Del Hungerford, Thomas C. Hunt, Alma M. Marx, Richard D. Moody, Leroy Spore; Muhlenberg College, J. Gysbert Bouma, Walter H. Brackin; Muskingum College, William D. Bigart, J. Bruce Brackenridge, William L. McClelland, Thomas Polson.

National College of Education, Winnie M. Crawford, Avis P. Moore; University of Nebraska, Harold Abel, Alan P. Bates, Dale W. Broeder, Franklin Fenenga, James H. Fisher, Mary L. Forney, Hazel M. Fox, Edward I. Fry, William N. Gilliland, Donald G. Hanway, Dorothy Hazel, Gordon Henley, Alvin B. Hoerlein, Henry F. Holtzclaw, Jr., Harold L. Hutcheson, Oscar Mandel,

Victor J. Miller, Edgar A. Pearlstein, Walter Sadlick, Thompson M. Stout, Edward N. Vozbut, John L. Weihing, Kenneth T. S. Yao; University of Nevada, Mary H. Sellers; University of New Hampshire, Charles H. Leighton, Nedd Willard; New Jersey State Teachers College (Paterson), Ellen C. Hayes; New Jersey State Teachers College (Trenton), Adelbert K. Botts, Dorothy W. Ferguson, Charles W. Harp, Feist Elisabeth Hirsch, Marshall J. Laforet, Walter J. Macak, Charles B. Packard, Arthur L. Parks, Fred T. Pregger, E. Clare Schooler, Frances Tiffany, Leon B. Wolcott; New Mexico Highlands University, Henry L. Manheim, Armond H. Seidler, Floyd W. Snyder; New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, Richard C. Sill; Eastern New Mexico University, Howard R. Patterson; University of New Mexico, Thomas O. MacAdoo, Richard K. Moore, Mitchell L. Voydat, James L. Whitlow.

State University of New York—College for Teachers at Albany, Marguerite J. Clarkson, Joan M. Sivinski; Teachers College at Fredonia, Elizabeth B. Carey; Teachers College at Geneseo, Rose M. Bachem; Teachers College at Oneonta, Howard D. Austin, Roberta B. Barrett, Paul H. Imbrock, Doris Lake, Ronald Penkoff.

Newberry College, Jack S. Crim, Thomas J. Eskridge, Milton W. Moore; Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Jean M. Bright, Newell Ham, Malcolm W. Johnson, Jr.; North Carolina State College, Charles J. Nusbbaum; Women's College of the University of North Carolina, Barbara W. Brandon, Jordan E. Kurland, Rosamund Putzel; North Dakota State Teachers College (Mayville), Merwyn A. Green; North Dakota State Teachers College (Minot), Violet L. Lubnow, Elaine O'Brien, Raymond H. Shelver; North Dakota State Teachers College (Valley City), Donald R. Whitnah; University of North Dakota, James A. Collier, Alan C. Filley, Harold S. Huff, Clinton R. Meek, Dorothy M. Wendt, Milton E. Winger; Northeastern University, Sidney Herman, Morris A. Horowitz, Sumner M. Rosen; Northern State Teachers College, Wendell C. Kumlien; Northwestern State College (Oklahoma), Milton W. Lehr; Northwestern University, Virgil L. Koenig, Claude Mathis, Howard E. Zimmerman; University of Notre Dame, Eugene J. Leahy, William J. Price, Robert C. Taliaferro.

Oberlin College, Ellen H. Johnson; Occidental College, Geoffrey Crofts, John H. Thomas; Ohio State University, Howard S. Babb, Robert S. Goyer, Hazel M. Johnson, Miles W. Martin, Warren L. Smith, Morris Weitz; Ohio Wesleyan University, C. Francis Alter, Gerald Kroeger, Joseph Wetmore; University of Oklahoma, Ernst Friedlander, Norman R. Jackman, George A. Summent; Municipal University of Omaha, Stewart Briggs, Lawrence Butler, Aldrich Paul, Roderick B. Peck, Mary C. Taylor; Oregon College of Education, William J. Bruce, M. Ross Charles, Jr., Alan R. Robb, Joan Lee Scott, Walter E. Snyder, Elsie J. Tucker; Eastern Oregon College of Education, Mary V. Butler, Kittie May Crockett, Howard L. Wilson; Southern Oregon College of Education, Dorothy E. Masters; University of Oregon, Dwight W. Berreman, Catherine Conner, Robert G. Cunningham, C. Peggy Gazette, Heinz J. Graalfs, John M. Gustafson, Norman J. Johnston, W. Scott Nobles, Waldemar Olson, Lynn S. Rodney, David C. Shaw, Sidney D. White.

College of the Pacific, Emma M. Baumgardner, S. R. Beckler, Donald S. Bibbero, James H. Egbert, Richard B. Elliott, W. Vincent Evans, Rollin C. Fox, Elda M. Newton, Martha E. Stone; Pan American College, Helen Blackburn, Winnefred E. Bradway, Carl W. Bretzloff, Clara Buitenbos, Joseph B. Corns, John L. Dawson, J. Lell Elliott, William B. Floyd, Yvonne Foree, Eugene P. Lillard, Harry G. Meng, Karl B. Nielsen, Charles C. Otken, Ruth M. Owings,

Harold E. Pendleton, Phyllis Phillips, Marshall L. Powell, Emilia S. Ramirez, Lazern O. Sorensen, Joseph S. Tallant, Louis S. deVries, Carl Wright; Pasadena College, C. Edwin Harwood; Pennsylvania State Teachers College (Indiana), Clyde C. Gelbach; Pennsylvania State Teachers College (Kutztown), Max H. Slick; Pennsylvania State Teachers College (Lock Haven), Paul Bernstein, Anna F. Garth, Mary O. Grein, Marian E. Hirst, Mary Alice Smith, Frances L. Wood; Pennsylvania State Teachers College (Millersville), George H. Dithow, Alex Henderson, Jr., George A. Katchmer, Esther M. Kilheffer, Raymond Kuhl, Ronald E. Sykes, Joseph E. Walker; Pennsylvania State University, Stuart H. Chamberlain, June M. Collins, Liberata Emmerich, William T. Nearn, Elizabeth C. Westcott; University of Pennsylvania, Eugenio Chang-Rodriguez, Samuel N. Kramar; Phoenix College, John D. Bullard, Leona Clarke; University of Pittsburgh, Herman Cember, C. Mauritz Lindvall, Anna Moson, Gerald P. Rodnan; Portland State College, Raymond M. Grimm, Anthony Netboy; University of Puerto Rico, Carlos Albizu-Miranda; College of Puget Sound, Robert G. Albertson, Marilyn Fakler, Sarah C. Hall, Charles H. Lindamood, Rex A. Stevens; Purdue University, Walther L. Hahn, Imanuel Marx, Norbert Muller, Henry S. C. Sharp, Robert F. Williams.

Queens College (New York), Charles Dahlberg, Raymond D. Gasper, Norma Schneiderman.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Joy R. Dulaney, James M. Gilbert, Walter F. Harris, Pilar A. Sanjuan, Shirley Strickland; Regis College, Mary P. Hamilton; University of Rhode Island, John F. Chironna, Robert J. Conover, Clifford J. Cosgrove, Patricia J. Sailor, Donald E. Smith, John A. Van Eerde, David D. Warren; Rice Institute, William H. Nelson; Rider College, Harrison D. Leidy, Catharine B. Perdunn, Russell E. Rozea, Guy W. Stroh, William L. Stuck, A. Cyrus Warner, Chester F. Zakreski; Ripon College, Alton L. Becker, William R. Brandt, Donald G. Dunlap, Mary J. Ollmann, Leonard Vaughan, Robert Young, Jr.; University of Rochester, Roger W. Allen, Harry J. Benda, Eugene S. Boyd, George W. Casarett, Charles Dawson, Vera M. Dean, David L. Dexter, Albert B. F. Duncan, Isaac Feldman, Frances L. Haven, William B. Hawkins, Louis H. Hempelmann, Hewitt Kenyon, Frank W. Lovejoy, Jr., Earle B. Mahoney, William B. Mason, Oscar E. Minor, Donald A. Morken, Paul E. Morrow, John Romano, Jorgen U. Schlegel, Harry L. Segal, Charles D. Sherman, Jr., Thomas R. C. Sisson, Taft Y. Toribara, Robert H. Wilson, Paul N. Yu; Roosevelt University, Franklin N. Karmatz, Harvey N. Ringel; Russell Sage College, Martha J. Soltow; Rutgers University, Elihu Abrahams, Charles T. Baker, Morgan C. Barrett, Leon H. Bunyan, Eleanor C. Delaney, Charles E. Erickson, Doris L. Evans, Richard F. Gabriel, Rosalie B. Green, Frank M. Gryna, Jr., Pauline E. Holbert, Allan J. Kaprow, Ernestine Kritsch, David N. Milstein, Charles F. Moritz, John Nosco, Lenora H. Pugh, Seymour Resnick, Allen B. Robbins, Melvin Schwartz, Dorothy A. Shields, Harold T. Smyth, W. Brewster Snow, Jack Undank, William H. Wallace, Robert N. Wiener.

Sacramento State College, Joan Block, Clyde Enroth, Adin D. Henderson, Donald Houghton, Robert B. Pearsall; St. Anselm's College, Armand A. Bibeau, Vincent J. Capowski, Edward J. Comiskey, Jr., Austin L. Conley, Daniel F. De Nauw, Joseph C. Ezyk, Roger W. Lawrence, John A. Lynch, Joseph B. MacDonald, Charles F. McGinnis, James J. Reilly, Placidus H. Riley, Philip J. Shacklette, Barbara J. Stahl, Roy H. Upham, Paul J. Vyrros; St. Bonaventure University, Illa Jasincuk, Walter J. Peterson; St. Mary's College of California, Joseph H. Sevente; St. Olaf College, Edwin A. Gass, Maurice

L. Howard, James R. Klonoski, Kenneth A. Snyder, Adolph P. White; San Diego Junior College, Frederick R. Gentles; San Diego State College, Paul H. Ezell, Leonard H. Frey, Peter C. Gega, Patrick J. Groff, Henry A. Walch, Jr.; City College of San Francisco, Alfred J. Tapson; San Francisco State College, Frank D. Dollard, Lowell Kindschi, James Perlman, William M. Usdane; San Jose State College, Reginald W. Shepherd; Santa Monica City College, Harold Nelson; Santa Rosa Junior College, Milo S. Baker, Alfred R. Butz; Sarah Lawrence College, Mary Friedman, Irving Goldman, Carla Pekelis; Shasta College, Ruth M. Antonio, Warren H. Bailey, Paul N. Chiles, Gary E. Cooper, Eric Edholm, Demitra Georgas, Oscar M. Matson, Paul C. Moorhead, Lois M. Newman, W. Douglas Patterson, Aaron H. Shotten, Philip A. Stubblefield, Kenneth A. Tinkler; Skidmore College, Elizabeth A. Krohne; Smith College, Nina G. Garscian; South Carolina State College, William H. Owens, Jr.; University of South Dakota, Harry Dykstra; Southern Methodist University, Paul Vellucci, Philip A. Williams; Southern State College, Kenneth Barnes, Thomas Blossom, Leslie Burris, John J. Chapman; Spelman College, Rowena H. Baker; Spring Hill College, Ella D. Morris; Stanford University, Alan R. Beals, Charles N. Fifer, Luell W. Guthrie, Matt S. Kahn, John David P. LaPlante, Miriam D. Lidster, June K. McFee, Richard H. Morgan, Goran Ohlin, Menahem Schiffer, Carlton E. Schwerdt, George J. Sullwold, Jr., Richard L. Trapp; Stetson University, Faye L. Kelly; Syracuse University, George A. Agogino, Thomas S. Argyris, Richard Arnowitz, Joseph S. Berliner, Max R. Bloom, Iris M. Carnell, Robert B. Davis, Eugene E. Drucker, Harry Gruenberg, Arnold Honig, Sakari T. Jutila, Donald Kennedy, Adnah G. Kostenbauder, Elaine Krabacher, Eloy L. Placer, Alain Verley.

University of Tampa, Eleanor Ebsary; Temple University, Edwin J. Eames, Herbert L. Kleinfield; University of Tennessee, Guy A. Bockmon, Sidney Brooks, William E. Brown, Benjamin C. Butcher, Jerome F. Eastham, Eldon D. Smith, James T. Tanner, John M. Woodward; Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, Robert L. Whiting, Norris P. Wood; North Texas State College, Paul W. Brosman, Jr., Myrtle C. Brown, Anna H. Heyer, James L. Latham, Sarah L. Kennerly, William C. Millhizer, Frank W. Ryan, Jr.; West Texas State College, William D. Compton, Lowell H. Harrison; Texas State College for Women, Joan E. Curlee; East Texas State Teachers College, Lewis V. Lieb; Southwest Texas State Teachers College, Emmie Craddock; Trinity College (Connecticut), Juan Estarellas; Tufts University, Kent Geiger; Tulane University of Louisiana, Ruth E. Biggers, John D. Krafchuk, Mary E. Lewis, Gert Otto Sabidussi, Jack Wickstrom, Robert G. Yeager.

Union College and University, Thomas L. Finch, George H. Reed; Upsala College, Donald B. Walker, Frederick W. Wieboldt; University of Utah, Zella D. Allred, Howard A. Bellows, Anthon S. Cannon, Alvin L. Gittins, Phelon J. Malouf, James R. Simmons, Anthony Simone, Dasil A. Smith, Georgia W. Snyder, Alexander L. Srbich, Obert C. Tanner.

University of Vermont, Earl L. Arnold, Leon R. Lezer, Jack Trevithick; Virginia Polytechnic Institute, William E. Chappell, Leonard J. Currie, Darwin E. Norby, Douglas F. Watson; Virginia State College, Overton R. Johnson, Hulon L. Willis; Virginia State College (Norfolk), Hazle E. Blakeney, Everette L. Duke, Joseph G. Echols, James D. Gill, Thelma M. Hayes, Geraldine A. Rogers, Lillian E. Shepard, Lucille V. Young; University of Virginia, William F. Battig, Francis J. Brooke, III, Mac S. Hammond, Walter Leo Heilbronner, Donald W. Kupke, Walter C. McLean, Aurelian E. Roughton, Paul N.

Schatz, Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., Maurice K. Townsend; University of Virginia (Mary Washington College), John T. Fauls.

Wabash College, Warren W. Shearer; Wagner Lutheran College, Arthur Hirsch, Eli E. Kapostins, Clyde F. Lytle; Wake Forest College, Dan Otto Via, Jr.; Washburn University of Topeka, Samuel Bertsche, Dorothy Bishop, Harold L. Blostein, Jerry Cloyd, Hugh McCausland, Joan Renner, Ira D. Rothberg; Central Washington College of Education, Ted B. Bowen; State College of Washington, Wilmer L. Bohlmann, Frederick H. Brengelman, Charles O. Cole, John J. Hebal, James E. Ruoff, Norman A. Scotch, Philip S. Spoerry; University of Washington, Paul Pascal; Wayne State University, Edward A. Bantel, Glenn H. Blayney, Jay McCormick; Wellesley College, Elizabeth Davidson, I. Blanche DePuy, David R. Ferry, Phyllis J. Fleming, Patricia Hochschild, Gabriel Jackson, Herberta M. Lundegren, M. Ruth Michael, M. Lucetta Mowry, Patrick F. Quinn, Elizabeth R. Simons, Leila A. Sussmann, Kathryn C. Turner, Claire Zimmerman; Wells College, Lucille D. Swaim; West Liberty State College, Jack C. Lamb; Western Reserve University, Joel T. Campbell, James R. Johnson, Margaret C. Lefevre, Harold A. McNitt, John Matsushima, William G. Riordan, James D. Robenstine, Berol L. Robinson, Jack Rosen, Arthur G. Steinberg, Ruth M. Werner; Westminster College (Utah), Joseph C. Salvatore; Wheelock College, Charlotte C. Brown, S. Earle Richards; Wilkes College, Chung-tai Lu, Robert E. Werner; College of William and Mary, Bryant Harrell, Thelma M. Miller; Willimantic State Teachers College, Leopold E. Klopfer, William J. Lacey; Wilmington College (Ohio), Philip L. Bayless, John H. Martin; Winthrop College, John R. C. James, Mae W. Locke, William I. Long, Jacob Mandell, William Nichols, Dudley C. Sturgis, Frank B. Tutwiler; Wisconsin State College (Bau Claire), Walter B. May, Walter T. Shea; Wisconsin State College (Superior), William G. Rector; Wisconsin State College (Whitewater), Margaret Baird, Gerald Bisbey, Richard Delorit, Hugo Hartig, Harold M. Hodges, Jr., Carl J. Vanderlin, Jr.; University of Wisconsin, Gladys L. Cavanagh, Michael J. Dunn, III, Harlow W. Halvorson, Bryant E. Kearl, Harold W. Lewis, Edmund S. Przybylski, Herbert M. Sewell; University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, Elmer Frederic Ahlmann, R. Paul Anderson, Elizabeth Anhalt, Patrick M. Boarman, Eunice R. Bonow, Robert J. Briskey, Cleon C. Caldwell, Frank J. Campenni, LeRoy W. Daniels, Emma Diekroeger, Donald C. Emerson, Mary S. Farquhar, Mildred B. Freeman, Stella R. Gervasio, Anita M. Hankwitz, Ethel J. Horton, Anthony V. Ingrelli, Arnold P. Jones, John P. Jones, Fred H. Kaufmann, Carl J. Kleyensteuber, Ethel W. Kunkle, Elizabeth Lee, Lois L. Lilly, Clinton Luckett, O. Patricia Mahon, Genevieve T. Meyer, Verna L. Newsome, Robert G. Pitman, Newtol Press, Oral M. Robbins, Mary Virginia Rodigan, Doris M. Roob, T. Alton Rouse, Noel E. Rousey, Cora C. Scanlon, Donald A. Schwartz, Alice H. Streng, Alvin L. Throne, Frieda A. Voigt, Ruth D. Wilson, Donald A. Woods; College of Wooster, John R. Carruth; University of Wyoming, Brainerd Mears, Jr., Lyle Miller.

Yakima Valley Junior College, Kurt P. Weingarten; Youngstown University, Jon M. Naberezny.

Junior

Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Waldo W. Keister; American University, Riza Kandiller; University of California (Los Angeles), Roger C. Owen, Gerhard F. Paskusz; Catholic University of America, Joan A. Blewitt, Kathryn A. Farrell, Michael P. McHugh; Cornell University, Thomas J. Spinner, Jr.;

Fairfield University, Robert F. Pitt; Franklin and Marshall College, Albert King; Georgia Institute of Technology, James A. Strickland; University of Hawaii, Henryson Botelho, Fred F. Hertlein, III; Southern Illinois University, Jean Marie Danielson; Indiana University, Bruce K. Bowersox; Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg), Ray A. Boyer; Kent State University, Paul K. Howells; Michigan State University, Ralph P. Collins, Frank Golley, James R. Hooker; University of New Mexico, Helen S. Carlson, Rodney B. Yarberry; Northwestern State College of Louisiana, Russell Donnelly; University of North Dakota, William E. Stiles; Occidental College, Mina T. Rowley; University of Oklahoma, Stanley A. Self; Municipal University of Omaha, John E. Horner; North Texas State College, James B. Crow; Tulane University of Louisiana, Julian F. Jurgens, II; University of Utah, Clarence D. Withrow; Virginia State College (Norfolk), Etta M. Mitchell; Wayne State University, John Lakich; Not in Accredited Institutional Connection, Raymond A. Wood (Ph.D., University of Notre Dame), Middletown, New York.

Supplementary List of Nominations

The preceding list contains 1330 nominations for Active membership and 35 nominations for Junior membership. The following 120 nominations for Active membership and 6 nominations for Junior membership were received too late for inclusion in the preceding list. The combined lists total 1450 and 41 as previously stated.

Active

University of Alabama, J. Garland Wood, Jr.; Albright College, Consuelo R. Jordan; American International College, Kathryn I. Gordon; American University, Virginia E. Hawke, John J. McAuliffe; Arizona State College (Tempe), Jack Z. Elias, John D. Ratliff, Bertram Zaslów.

Bard College, Jules Cohn; Berea College, Gerald G. Edmundson; Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, Mischa Schwartz; Butler University, John T. Siegart.

Canisius College, William L. Reilly; Centenary College of Louisiana, Elizabeth Hughes; Chapman College, James C. Miller; University of Chicago, Loren J. Chapman; Columbia University, E. Michael Bluestone, William A. Corpe, Franz J. Kallmann, Garrett Mattingly, Elliott P. Schuman, James P. Shenton, Nathaniel H. Siegel, Donald M. Street; Teachers College of Connecticut, Roberta C. Adzima.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, Robert A. Daniel, Louis O. Harper; Florida State University, James R. Fisher; Fresno State College, Leonard H. Bathurst, Jr.

Highland Park Junior College, Ray E. Brainerd, John R. Dimitry, Maloye R. Holmes, Richard J. McCaughey, Lois K. Nochman, Clare P. Pocklington; Hillsdale College, Harry G. Fitch.

Illinois Institute of Technology, Kenneth P. Milbradt; University of Illinois, Joseph A. Barkson, Wayne M. Bever, G. Robert Grice, Emmett E. Okmiston, Richard H. Pantell.

Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg), Elbert W. Crandall, Vivian Nemecek, Joe R. Sample; University of Kentucky, Annie R. Brownlie, Howard Eckel.

Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), William R. Cole, Benjamin Schwartz.

Marquette University, Ralph L. Dix; Miami University, Reita J. Marks;

Central Michigan College, Harold E. Telfer; University of Michigan (Flint College), Marion Ross; Eastern Montana College of Education, Charles L. Blenkner; Mount Holyoke College, Sarah S. Montgomery; Muskingum College, Russell Hutchison.

University of New Mexico, Roger Y. Anderson, Bernarr Cooper, Eileen R. Dedea, Donald W. Dubois, Dorothy G. Pederson, Florence M. Schroeder, Thurlow R. Wilson, Oswald Wyler.

State University of New York—Teachers College at Fredonia, Robert W. Boenig.

Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Alfonso E. Gore, Ruth M. Gore; University of Notre Dame, Jerome Taylor.

Occidental College, Alvin M. Hudson, John C. Walker; University of Oregon, George A. Zorn.

Pan American College, Harry Lund; University of Pennsylvania, Robert R. Marshak, Paul J. Mishkin, Jean S. Straub; Phoenix College, Walter P. Adkins, Mildred Bulpitt, Charles M. Evans, Juanita L. Jamison, Violet M. Jennings, Josephine L. Lawrence, Albert O. Qualley, Donald K. Sunde; Pratt Institute, Rice Estes; Purdue University, Robert C. Nichols.

University of Rhode Island, Howard K. Ammerman, Robert C. Aukerman.

South Dakota State College, Raymond A. Moore; Stanford University, Robert Hamilton Alway, William P. Creger, Frederic L. Eldridge, Jerome T. Fishgold, Waldron R. Gardiner, Frank Gerbode, Houghton Gifford, Glen B. Haydon, George S. Johnson, Henry S. Kaplan, Donald E. King, Steven E. Ross, Jay W. Smith; Syracuse University, Leonard S. Braam, Fred A. Demarest, Jr., Frank E. Funk.

Middle Tennessee State College, Ethel P. Trice; West Texas State College, Roger D. Whealy; Transylvania College, Mitchell Clarke; Tulane University of Louisiana, Kenneth N. Vines.

Wagner Lutheran College, Jack E. Marley; Westminster College (Pennsylvania), Norman R. Adams, Roger T. Wolcott; College of William and Mary (Richmond Professional Institute), Wade O. Stalnaker; University of Wisconsin, Emily K. Brown; University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, Vincent Mabe Allison, Gerald T. Gleason, Edward D. Holst, Thomas W. Walton, Elizabeth F. Wheeler, Rhoda E. Zuker; Wittenburg College, Margret Kommel.

Junior

Columbia University, Herbert H. Spencer; Kent State University, Glenn W. Jacobsen; University of New Mexico, Laura D. Calvert, Thomas A. Erhard; Western Reserve University, Jay B. Cohn. Not in Accredited Institutional Connection, Clarence J. Fields (Ed.D., New York University) Baltimore, Md.

Elections to Membership

The Committee on Admission of Members announces the election to membership in the Association of 610 Active and 12 Junior Members. These include those nominations published in the Winter 1956 *Bulletin*.

Transfers from Junior to Active

University of Illinois, Mil Lieberthal; Lake Forest College, Ann L. Hentz; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, James D. Koerner; University of Pittsburgh, Donald Tritschler; University of Virginia (Mary Washington College), H. Lynn Womack; Wisconsin State College (River Falls), Richard K. Darr.

INSTITUTIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND CHAPTER OFFICERS¹

- Abilene Christian College, Abilene, Texas. Active 1.
- Adams State College, Alamosa, Colo. Chapter Officers: Norma L. Peterson, *Pres*; Glennys Rugg, *Sec.* Active 18; Emeritus 1.
- Adelphi College, Garden City, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Robert Ernst, *Pres*; Harry Brenowitz, *Sec.* Active 53; Junior 1; Emeritus 1.
- Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. Active 7; Emeritus 1.
- Agricultural Mechanical and Normal College, Pine Bluff, Ark. Chapter Officers: Auguste D. Bellegarde, *Pres*; Edneil E. Fuller, *Sec.* Active 11.
- Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio. Active 12.
- Akron, University of, Akron, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Robert E. Thackaberry, *Pres*; Clara G. Roe, *Sec.* Active 68; Emeritus 4; Associate 3.
- Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College, Normal, Ala. Active 9.
- Alabama College, Montevallo, Ala. Chapter Officers: Anne L. Eastman, *Pres*; Andrew J. Kochman, Jr. *Sec.* Active 25; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala. Chapter Officers: William R. Myles, *Pres*; Martha Walton, *Sec.* Active 83; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala. Active 11.
- Alabama State Teachers College, Florence, Ala. Active 7.
- Alabama State Teachers College, Jacksonville, Ala. Chapter Officer: Lucille Branscomb, *Sec.* Active 5.
- Alabama State Teachers College, Livingston, Ala. Associate 1.
- Alabama State Teachers College, Troy, Ala. Active 2.
- Alabama, University of, University, Ala. Chapter Officers: John Luskin, *Pres*; Joseph A. Bennett, *Sec.* Active 224; Emeritus 1; Junior 2; Associate 11.
- Alaska, University of, College, Alaska. Chapter Officers: Alfred M. Bork, *Pres*; Verne E. Roberts, *Sec.* Active 36; Associate 1.
- Albany State College, Albany, Ga. Active 6.
- Alberta, University of, Edmonton, Alberta. Active 2.
- Albion College, Albion, Mich. Chapter Officers: Coy H. James, *Pres*; Dorothy Simrall, *Sec.* Active 27; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Albright College, Reading, Pa. Chapter Officers: John B. Douds, *Pres*; Elizabeth H. Burkey, *Sec.* Active 13.
- Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Theodore E. Klitzke, *Pres*; Samuel Scholes, Jr., *Sec.* Active 28; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. Chapter Officers: Carl F. Heesch, *Pres*; Agnes E. Painter, *Sec.* Active 51; Emeritus 4; Associate 1.
- Allen University, Columbia, S. C. Active 4.
- Alma College, Alma, Mich. Active 11.
- Alverno College, Milwaukee, Wis. Active 1.
- Amarillo College, Amarillo, Tex. Active 2.
- American International College, Springfield, Mass. Chapter Officers: Harold E. Bowie, *Pres*; Kathryn Haganir, *Sec.* Active 25; Emeritus 1.
- American University, Washington, D. C. Chapter Officers: John H. Smith, *Pres*; Daniel L. Spencer, *Sec.* Active 61; Emeritus 4; Junior 2; Associate 2.
- American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon. Active 5.
- Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. Chapter Officers: Ernest A. Johnson, Jr., *Pres*; Dudley H. Towne, *Sec.* Active 54; Emeritus 5; Associate 1.
- Anderson College and Theological Seminary, Anderson, Ind. Active 8.
- Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Herman Schnurer, *Pres*; Gustave Rabson, *Sec.* Active 20; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, N. C. Chapter Officers: Wiley F. Smith, *Pres*; Helen Burch, *Sec.* Active 25.
- Arizona State College, Flagstaff, Ariz. Chapter Officers: Jack Swartz, *Pres*; Ida B. McGill, *Sec.* Active 27.
- Arizona State College, Tempe, Ariz. Chapter Officers: Louis Taylor, *Pres*; Hugh Hanson, *Sec.* Active 86; Emeritus 4; Associate 2.
- Arizona, University of, Tucson, Ariz. Chapter Officers: Arthur R. Kemmerer, *Pres*; Althea S. Mattingly, *Sec.* Active 160; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, College Heights, Ark. Chapter Officers: J. D. Moore, *Pres*; George S. Reuter, Jr., *Sec.* Active 11.
- Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville, Ark. Chapter Officers: Maurice Nielsen, *Pres*; Lillian Massie, *Sec.* Active 3.
- Arkansas State College, State College, Ark. Chapter Officers: Melvin R. Sims, *Pres*; Jean Condray, *Sec.* Active 24.

¹ Concerning members in unaccredited institutions or without institutional connections, see statistics and explanatory note on page 76.

- Arkansas, University of, Fayetteville, Ark. Chapter Officers: Newton H. Barnette, *Pres*; Catherine McHugh, *Sec.* Active 88; Emeritus 2; Associate 4.
- Arkansas, University of (Medical Center), Little Rock, Ark. Chapter Officers: Horace N. Marvin, *Pres*; Roscoe A. Dykman, *Sec.* Active 14.
- Armstrong College of Savannah, Savannah, Ga. Active 1.
- Army Language School, Monterey, Calif. Chapter Officers: Leon Vasu, *Pres*; Hans W. Munzer, *Sec.* Active 54.
- Art Institute of Chicago, School of the, Chicago, Ill. Chapter Officers: Briggs Dyer, *Pres*; Leah Bolsham, *Sec.* Active 37.
- Ashland College, Ashland, Ohio. Active 4; Emeritus 1.
- Athens College, Athens, Ala. Chapter Officers: Lillian L. Gray, *Pres*; Edwin C. Faustian, *Sec.* Active 11.
- Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. Active 4.
- Augusta, Junior College of, Augusta, Ga. Active 1.
- Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill. Chapter Officers: Lucien White, *Pres*; Dorothy J. Parkander, *Sec.* Active 34; Emeritus 1.
- Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. Active 9.
- Austin College, Sherman, Texas. Active 1.
- Babson Institute of Business Administration, Babson Park, Mass. Active 1.
- Baker University, Baldwin, Kans. Active 3.
- Bakersfield College, Bakersfield, Calif. Active 10.
- Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio. Chapter Officers: John A. Wilson, *Pres*; Evelyn A. Gott, *Sec.* Active 65; Emeritus 3; Associate 3.
- Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Ind. Chapter Officers: Phyllis Nelson, *Pres*; Georgina Hicks, *Sec.* Active 118; Emeritus 7.
- Barat College, Lake Forest, Ill. Active 4.
- Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. Chapter Officer: Dorothy D. Bourne, *Pres.* Active 22.
- Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. Chapter Officers: John K. McCreary, *Pres*; Roy P. Fairfield, *Sec.* Active 15; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Baylor University, Waco, Texas. Chapter Officers: Herbert D. Schwetman, *Pres*; Edna P. Caskey, *Sec.* Active 67; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Beaver College, Jenkintown, Pa. Active 5.
- Belmont College, Nashville, Tenn. Active 3.
- Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, N. C. Active 1.
- Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. Chapter Officers: Lester B. McAllister, Jr., *Pres*; David M. Stocking, *Sec.* Active 33; Emeritus 3; Associate 4.
- Benedict College, Columbia, S. C. Active 2.
- Bennett Junior College, Millbrook, N. Y. Active 1.
- Bennington College, Bennington, Vt. Active 10; Associate 1.
- Berea College, Berea, Ky. Chapter Officers: D. B. Robertson, *Pres*; Ervilla A. Masters, *Sec.* Active 39; Emeritus 5; Associate 1.
- Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kans. Active 2.
- Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va. Active 9; Associate 1.
- Bethel College, North Newton, Kans. Active 1.
- Bethel College, McKenzie, Tenn. Active 1.
- Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla. Active 1.
- Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala. Active 2.
- Bishop College, Marshall, Texas. Active 1.
- Blackburn College, Carlinville, Ill. Chapter Officers: William E. Werner, Jr., *Pres*; Marion W. Plotnik, *Sec.* Active 18; Associate 2.
- Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, Miss. Active 1; Emeritus 1.
- Bluefield College, Bluefield, Va. Active 1.
- Bluefield State College, Bluefield, W. Va. Chapter Officer: James E. Andrews, *Pres.* Active 5.
- Boise Junior College, Boise, Idaho. Chapter Officers: Clisby T. Edlefson, *Pres*; Harry K. Fritchman, II., *Sec.* Active 28; Emeritus 1.
- Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass. Chapter Officer: P. Albert Duhamel, *Pres.* Active 26.
- Boston University, Boston, Mass. Chapter Officer: Walter L. Holcomb, *Pres.* Active 157; Emeritus 7; Associate 2.
- Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Chapter Officers: Jeffrey J. Carre, *Pres*; William B. Whiteside, *Sec.* Active 34; Emeritus 2.
- Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Donald S. Longworth, *Pres*; Robert J. Keefe, *Sec.* Active 101; Emeritus 5; Junior 1; Associate 3.
- Bradley University, Peoria, Ill. Chapter Officers: Ross Brown, *Pres*; June Snow, *Sec.* Active 34; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. Chapter Officer: Robert A. Manners, *Pres.* Active 40; Junior 4.
- Brenau College, Gainesville, Ga. Active 2.
- Briarcliff Junior College, Briarcliff Manor, N. Y. Active 3.
- Bridgeport, University of, Bridgeport, Conn. Chapter Officers: Francis E. Dolan, *Pres*; Kenneth A. Chandler, *Sec.* Active 38.
- Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Active 11.
- British Columbia, University of, Vancouver, B. C. Active 24.
- Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Ruth Mohl, *Pres*; Harold D. Jones, *Sec.* Active 201; Emeritus 8; Junior 1; Associate 2.
- Brooklyn, Polytechnic Institute of, Brooklyn, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Ronald M. Foster, *Pres*; Frederick M. Beringer, *Sec.* Active 35; Emeritus 1; Junior 2.
- Brown University, Providence, R. I. Chapter Officer: William F. Church, *Pres.* Active 46; Emeritus 7; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. Chapter Officers: Eugene V. Schneider, *Pres*; Mabel Lang, *Sec.* Active 41; Emeritus 1; Junior 2; Associate 1.

Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. Chapter Officers: Harold E. Cook, *Pres*; Anthony A. Krzywicki, *Sec.* Active 47; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.

Buena Vista College, Storm Lake, Iowa. Active 2.

Buffalo, University of, Buffalo, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Katherine F. Thorn, *Pres*; Thomas E. Connolly, *Sec.* Active 117; Emeritus 2; Junior 5; Associate 3.

Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. Chapter Officers: George M. Waller, *Pres*; J. William Hepler, *Sec.* Active 44; Emeritus 2; Associate 3.

California College of Arts and Crafts, Oakland, Calif. Active 11.

California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif. Chapter Officers: Ian Campbell, *Pres*; Milton S. Plesset, *Sec.* Active 81; Emeritus 6; Associate 1.

California State Polytechnic College, San Luis Obispo, Calif. Active 11.

California, University of, Berkeley, Calif. Chapter Officers: Philip F. Griffin, *Pres*; Howard K. Schachman, *Sec.* Active 207; Emeritus 23; Junior 5; Associate 1.

California, University of, Davis, Calif. Active 20; Associate 1.

California, University of, Los Angeles, Calif. Chapter Officers: William Matthews, *Pres*; Donald Kalish, *Sec.* Active 201; Emeritus 11; Junior 3; Associate 4.

California, University of, Riverside, Calif. Active 11.

California, University of, San Francisco, Calif. Active 6.

California, University of (Santa Barbara College), Goleta, Calif. Active 34; Emeritus 4.

Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich. Active 1.

Canal Zone Junior College, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone. Active 4.

Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Rupert J. Ederer, *Pres*; William F. Kean, *Sec.* Active 22.

Capital University, Columbus, Ohio. Chapter Officers: W. O. Doescher, *Pres*; Edward C. Fendt, *Sec.* Active 5.

Carbon College, Price, Utah. Associate 1.

Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. Active 12; Emeritus 1.

Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pa. Chapter Officers: Edwin P. Hollander, *Pres*; Thomas T. Helde, *Sec.* Active 57; Emeritus 9; Associate 5.

Carroll College, Waukesha, Wis. Chapter Officers: Gordon R. Folsom, *Pres*; Harold Glander, *Sec.* Active 26; Emeritus 1.

Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City, Tenn. Active 15.

Carthage College, Carthage, Ill. Chapter Officers: Samuel E. Brick, *Pres*; James Mauseth, *Sec.* Active 19; Emeritus 1.

Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Ray E. Bolz, *Pres*; Henry J. White, *Sec.* Active 65; Emeritus 3.

Catawba College, Salisbury, N. C. Active 6; Emeritus 2.

Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. Chapter Officers: John A. O'Brien,

Jr., *Pres*; Margherita Morreale, *Sec.* Active 98; Emeritus 2; Junior 2.

Catholic University of Puerto Rico, Santa Maria, Ponce, Puerto Rico. Active 1.

Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa. Chapter Officers: Leah A. Strong, *Pres*; Clayton H. Chapman, *Sec.* Active 13; Associate 1.

Centenary College for Women, Hacketts-town, N. J. Active 1.

Centenary College of Louisiana, Shreveport, La. Chapter Officers: Woodrow W. Pate, *Pres*; John R. Willingham, *Sec.* Active 22.

Central College, Pella, Iowa. Chapter Officers: James W. Graham, *Pres*; Donald T. Butler, *Sec.* Active 23.

Central College, Fayette, Mo. Chapter Officers: Floyd F. Helton, *Pres*; Paul B. Modlish, *Sec.* Active 11.

Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio. Chapter Officer: Lewis A. Jackson, *Pres.* Active 32; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.

Central State College, Edmond, Okla. Active 7; Junior 1.

Centralia Junior College, Centralia, Wash. Active 1.

Centre College of Kentucky, Danville, Ky. Chapter Officer: Donald E. Bartlett, *Pres.* Active 9; Associate 2.

Chapman College, Orange, Calif. Chapter Officer: Bert C. Williams, *Pres.* Active 9.

Charleston, College of, Charleston, S. C. Active 1.

Chatham College, Pittsburgh, Pa. Chapter Officers: Henry G. Bugbee, *Pres*; Natalie Barish, *Sec.* Active 28; Associate 1.

Chattanooga, University of, Chattanooga, Tenn. Chapter Officers: Edwin S. Lindsey, *Pres*; Norbert Koch, *Sec.* Active 23; Emeritus 1.

Chicago City Junior College (Crane Branch), Chicago, Ill. Active 1.

Chicago City Junior College (Wilson Branch), Chicago, Ill. Chapter Officers: Thomas Creswell, *Pres*; Earl W. Davidson, *Sec.* Active 35.

Chicago City Junior College (Wright Branch), Chicago, Ill. Chapter Officers: Kostis T. Argoe, *Pres*; Peter R. Senn, *Sec.* Active 15.

Chicago College of Osteopathy, Chicago, Ill. Active 1.

Chicago Medical School, Chicago, Ill. Active 3; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.

Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Ill. Active 30.

Chicago, University of, Chicago, Ill. Chapter Officers: C. Herman Pritchett, *Pres*; George L. Playe, *Sec.* Active 164; Emeritus 28; Junior 2; Associate 1.

Chico State College, Chico, Calif. Chapter Officer: Harold C. Armstrong, *Pres.* Active 18; Associate 1.

Cincinnati, University of, Cincinnati, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Fred A. Dewey, *Pres*; Ruth Highberger, *Sec.* Active 193; Emeritus 12; Junior 1; Associate 3.

Citadel, The, Charleston, S. C. Active 7.

Citrus Junior College, Azusa, Calif. Active 1.

City College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Mark W.

- Zemansky, *Pres*; Aaron Noland, *Sec.* Active 202; Emeritus 13; Junior 2; Associate 4.
- City College of the City of New York (Baruch School of Business), New York, N. Y. Active 9.
- Claremont Colleges, Claremont, Calif. (Claremont Graduate School, Active 4; Claremont Men's College, Active 6; Associate 1; Pomona College, Active 18; Emeritus 4; Associate 2; Scripps College, Active 11; Emeritus 1). Chapter Officers: J. E. Caster, *Pres*; Robert B. Palmer, *Sec.*
- Clark College, Atlanta, Ga. Active 1.
- Clark College, Vancouver, Wash. Active 4.
- Clark University, Worcester, Mass. Chapter Officers: Gordon T. Gwinn, *Pres*; George E. Hargest, *Sec.* Active 29; Emeritus 2; Associate 2.
- Clarkson College of Technology, Potsdam, N. Y. Active 5.
- Clemson Agricultural College, Clemson, S. C. Chapter Officers: George E. Bair, *Pres*; Roy Wood, *Sec.* Active 34; Associate 1.
- Coalinga College, Coalinga, Calif. Active 1.
- Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Chapter Officers: Karl E. Goellner, *Pres*; Vernon E. Lichtenstein, *Sec.* Active 25; Emeritus 2.
- Coker College, Hartsville, S. C. Active 6; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Colby College, Waterville, Maine. Chapter Officers: Allan C. Scott, *Pres*; Robert M. Benbow, *Sec.* Active 31; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Colby Junior College for Women, New London, N. H. Active 4.
- Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Marvin Wachman, *Pres*; Huntington Terrell, *Sec.* Active 71; Emeritus 3; Junior 4; Associate 1.
- Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y. Active 1.
- College Conservatory of Music, Cincinnati, Ohio. Active 1; Associate 1.
- Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College, Fort Collins, Colo. Chapter Officers: M. Leslie Madison, *Pres*; Catherine R. Clark, *Sec.* Active 38; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Colorado College, Colorado Springs Colo. Chapter Officers: Van B. Shaw, *Pres*; Ray O. Werner, *Sec.* Active 55; Emeritus 1; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo. Chapter Officer: Leonard W. Hartkemeier, *Pres.* Active 7; Emeritus 1.
- Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colo. Chapter Officers: Harald P. Christensen, *Pres*; Alberta E. Reitze, *Sec.* Active 20; Junior 1.
- Colorado, University of, Boulder, Colo. Chapter Officers: Karl K. Hulley, *Pres*; Dorothy D. Anderson, *Sec.* Active 91; Emeritus 5; Junior 1; Associate 2.
- Colorado, Western State College of, Gunnison, Colo. Chapter Officers: Robert McCulloch, *Pres*; Hannah E. Praxl, *Sec.* Active 11; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Colorado Woman's College, Denver, Colo. Active 4.
- Columbia College, Columbia, S. C. Active 7.
- Columbia University, New York, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Harold Barger, *Pres*; Seymour Melman, *Sec.* Active 225; Emeritus 30; Junior 1; Associate 6.
- Compton District Junior College, Compton, Calif. Active 8.
- Concord College, Athens, W. Va. Chapter Officers: Harry Finkelman, *Pres*; Milton S. Cushman, *Sec.* Active 13; Emeritus 1.
- Concordia College, Moorhead, Minn. Active 2.
- Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Ill. Active 2.
- Connecticut College, New London, Conn. Chapter Officers: Robert E. L. Strider, II., *Pres*; Mackie L. Jarrell, *Sec.* Active 65; Emeritus 5; Associate 2.
- Connecticut, Teachers College of, New Britain, Conn. Chapter Officers: Jesse B. Johnson, *Pres*; Reginald L. Swann, *Sec.* Active 28; Associate 1.
- Connecticut, University of, Storrs, Conn. Chapter Officers: G. Lowell Field, *Pres*; Harold G. Halcrow, *Sec.* Active 141; Emeritus 4; Junior 2; Associate 5.
- Connecticut, University of (Hartford Branch), Hartford, Conn. Chapter Officers: J. Benjamin Beyrer, *Pres*; Patience B. Klopp, *Sec.* Active 16.
- Contra Costa Junior College, East, Concord, Calif. Active 2.
- Contra Costa Junior College, West, Richmond, Calif. Active 2.
- Converse College, Spartanburg, S. C. Active 2.
- Cooper Union, New York, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Milton Alpern, *Pres*; Robert W. Cumberland, *Sec.* Active 49.
- Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa. Chapter Officers: J. Harold Ennis, *Pres*; Geneva Meers, *Sec.* Active 38; Emeritus 2.
- Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Clive M. McCay, *Pres*; Herbert Newhall, *Sec.* Active 234; Emeritus 30; Junior 6; Associate 6.
- Cotter College, Nevada, Mo. Active 2; Associate 1.
- Creighton University, Omaha, Nebr. Active 9.
- Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Mo. Chapter Officers: Lacey Lee Leftwich, *Pres*; Ada W. Roberts, *Sec.* Active 8.
- Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, S. Dak. Active 3; Emeritus 1.
- Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Active 2.
- Danbury State Teachers College, Danbury, Conn. Active 4.
- Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. Chapter Officers: Almon B. Ives, *Pres*; Fred Berthold, Jr., *Sec.* Active 110; Emeritus 13; Junior 2; Associate 2.
- David Lipscomb College, Nashville, Tenn. Active 2.
- Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. Chapter Officers: George B. Watts, *Pres*; Charles E. Ratliff, Jr., *Sec.* Active 30; Emeritus 1.
- Davis and Elkins College, Elkins, W. Va. Chapter Officers: S. Benton Talbot, *Pres*; Knox Wilson, *Sec.* Active 7.
- Dayton, University of, Dayton, Ohio. Active 8.

- Delaware, University of, Newark, Del. Chapter Officers: D. Kenneth Steers, *Pres*; Chester W. Hitz, *Sec.* Active 72; Emeritus 5.
- Del Mar College, Corpus Christi, Texas. Active 2.
- Delta State College, Cleveland, Miss. Chapter Officer: Rodney M. Baine, *Pres.* Active 16.
- Denison University, Granville, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Irving E. Mitchell, *Pres*; Lionel G. Crocker, *Sec.* Active 59; Emeritus 6; Associate 2.
- Denver, University of, Denver, Colo. Chapter Officer: Otto F. Freitag, *Pres.* Active 55; Emeritus 3; Junior 3; Associate 1.
- DePaul University, Chicago, Ill. Chapter Officer: Kenneth K. Henning, *Pres.* Active 69; Emeritus 1; Junior 2; Associate 2.
- DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind. Chapter Officers: Paul A. Thomas, *Pres*; Harry L. Hawkins, *Sec.* Active 89; Emeritus 5.
- Des Moines Still College of Osteopathy and Surgery, Des Moines, Iowa. Active 5.
- Detroit, University of, Detroit, Mich. Active 18.
- Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. Chapter Officers: Julien A. Ripley, Jr., *Pres*; Heber R. Harper, *Sec.* Active 47; Emeritus 1; Junior 2; Associate 2.
- Dillard University, New Orleans, La. Chapter Officers: Norman A. Holmes, *Pres*; John A. Davis, *Sec.* Active 11.
- District of Columbia Teachers College, Washington, D. C. Active 10; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Doane College, Crete, Nebr. Chapter Officers: Herbert Berry, *Pres*; Charles Tritt, *Sec.* Active 8.
- Dominican College of San Rafael, San Rafael, Calif. Active 7.
- Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. Chapter Officer: Paul A. Meglitsch, *Pres.* Active 52; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Drew University, Madison, N. J. Chapter Officers: E. G. Stanley Baker, *Pres*; Purcell Benson, *Sec.* Active 23; Emeritus 4.
- Drexel Institute of Technology, Philadelphia, Pa. Active 5.
- Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. Active 3.
- Drury College, Springfield, Mo. Active 6; Associate 1.
- Dubuque, University of, Dubuque, Iowa. Chapter Officer: Charles W. Tyrrell, *Sec.* Active 11; Associate 1.
- Duke University, Durham, N. C. Chapter Officers: Frances C. Brown, *Pres*; Jane Philpott, *Sec.* Active 210; Emeritus 10; Associate 2.
- Dunbarton College of Holy Cross, Washington, D. C. Active 1.
- Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa. Chapter Officer: Gerard Bessette, *Sec.* Active 19.
- Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. Active 10; Associate 1.
- East Carolina College, Greenville, N. C. Chapter Officers: Edgar W. Hirschberg, *Pres*; Bessie McNiel, *Sec.* Active 24.
- East Central State College, Ada, Okla. Active 2.
- Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo. Active 1.
- El Camino College, El Camino, Calif. Active 1.
- Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill. Chapter Officers: Harold P. Wukasch, *Pres*; Marguerite S. Kaufman, *Sec.* Active 12.
- Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. Chapter Officer: Hans H. Bernt, *Pres.* Active 20; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Elon College, Elon College, N. C. Active 1.
- Emerson College, Boston, Mass. Active 3; Associate 1.
- Emmanuel Missionary College, Berrien Springs, Mich. Active 2.
- Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va. Active 2.
- Emory University, Emory University, Ga. Chapter Officers: James A. Miller, *Pres*; Alan L. Ritter, *Sec.* Active 101; Emeritus 2.
- Emporia, College of, Emporia, Kans. Active 2; Associate 1.
- Endicott Junior College, Beverly, Mass. Active 4; Junior 1.
- Erskine College, Due West, S. C. Active 1.
- Evansville College, Evansville, Ind. Chapter Officers: Ralph H. Coleman, *Pres*; H. E. Donley, *Sec.* Active 25; Emeritus 1; Associate 3.
- Everett Junior College, Everett, Wash. Active 3.
- Fairfield University, Fairfield, Conn. Chapter Officers: John A. Barone, *Pres*; Donald J. Ross, *Sec.* Active 4.
- Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford, N. J. Chapter Officers: Julius O. Luck, *Pres*; Eileen T. Costello, *Sec.* Active 54.
- Fairmont State College, Fairmont, W. Va. Active 5; Emeritus 1.
- Fayetteville State Teachers College, Fayetteville, N. C. Active 9.
- Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Albert N. Cousins, *Pres*; Sara R. Watson, *Sec.* Active 16.
- Finch College, New York, N. Y. Active 4.
- Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. Chapter Officers: Oswald O. Schrag, *Pres*; Robert P. Smith, Jr., *Sec.* Active 17.
- Flint Junior College, Flint, Mich. Chapter Officers: Searle F. Charles, *Pres*; Irma Schnoberger, *Sec.* Active 36.
- Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, Tallahassee, Fla. Chapter Officer: Charles U. Smith, *Pres.* Active 31.
- Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Fla. Active 5.
- Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. Chapter Officers: Eugene S. Lawler, *Pres*; Marjorie S. Judy, *Sec.* Active 146; Emeritus 1; Junior 3; Associate 2.
- Florida, University of, Gainesville, Fla. Chapter Officers: E. Ruffin Jones, Jr., *Pres*; Samuel G. Sadler, *Sec.* Active 188; Emeritus 5; Junior 1; Associate 3.
- Fordham University (Bronx Division), New York, N. Y. Active 5; Emeritus 1.
- Fordham University (Manhattan Division), New York, N. Y. Active 7; Associate 1.
- Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kans. Chapter Officers: Edwin P. Martin, *Pres*; Doris V. Stage, *Sec.* Active 25; Emeritus 1.
- Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga. Active 1.

- Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, Fla. Chapter Officer: James B. Fleck, *Pres.* Active 5; Associate 1.
- Jamestown College, Jamestown, N. Dak. Chapter Officer: Howard M. Droste, *Sec.* Active 5.
- Jamestown Community College, Jamestown, N. Y. Chapter Officers: William Cherniak, *Pres.*; Ruth E. Hunt, *Sec.* Active 6; Associate 1.
- Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa. Active 4.
- Jersey City Junior College, Jersey City, N. J. Chapter Officer: Edward F. Willis, *Pres.* Active 8.
- John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Bernard S. Jablonski, *Pres.*; Frank J. Devlin, *Sec.* Active 17.
- Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. Chapter Officers: James E. Deese, *Pres.*; Philip W. Davies, *Sec.* Active 122; Emeritus 5; Junior 1.
- Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C. Chapter Officers: U. S. Brooks, *Pres.*; Elsie E. Woodard, *Sec.* Active 9.
- Joliet Junior College, Joliet, Ill. Active 2.
- Joplin Junior College, Joplin, Mo. Active 4.
- Judson College, Marion, Ala. Active 1.
- Juilliard School of Music, New York City, N. Y. Active 7.
- Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa. Active 4.
- Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich. Chapter Officers: Donald W. Van Liere, *Pres.*; Allen V. Buskirk, *Sec.* Active 19.
- Kansas City College of Osteopathy and Surgery, Kansas City, Mo. Active 1.
- Kansas City Junior College of, Kansas City, Mo. Active 1.
- Kansas City Kansas Junior College, Kansas City, Kans. Active 1.
- Kansas City, University of, Kansas City, Mo. Chapter Officers: Edwin J. Westermann, *Pres.*; George Ehrlich, *Sec.* Active 34; Associate 2.
- Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, Manhattan, Kans. Chapter Officers: Abby Marlatt, *Pres.*; Mary F. White, *Sec.* Active 106; Emeritus 3.
- Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kans. Chapter Officer: Vida L. Askew, *Pres.* Active 19; Emeritus 3.
- Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kans. Chapter Officers: Jack W. Morgan, *Pres.*; Jean McColey, *Sec.* Active 44; Emeritus 4; Associate 2.
- Kansas, University of, Lawrence, Kans. Chapter Officers: William D. Paden, *Pres.*; Muriel H. Johnson, *Sec.* Active 264; Emeritus 19; Junior 1; Associate 2.
- Keene Teachers College, Keene, N. H. Active 2.
- Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. Chapter Officers: William J. Weiskopf, *Pres.*; Edward T. Stapleford, *Sec.* Active 170; Emeritus 4; Associate 2.
- Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky. Chapter Officers: Joseph G. Fletcher, *Pres.*; Howard M. Jason, *Sec.* Active 7; Junior 1.
- Kentucky State College, Eastern, Richmond, Ky. Chapter Officers: Clifton A. Basye, *Pres.*; Edith G. Ford, *Sec.* Active 23; Emeritus 2.
- Kentucky State College, Western, Bowling Green, Ky. Active 6.
- Kentucky, University of, Lexington, Ky. Chapter Officers: Aubrey J. Brown, *Pres.*; Laura K. Martin, *Sec.* Active 156; Emeritus 3; Junior 2; Associate 3.
- Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Charles S. Thornton, *Pres.*; Richard P. Longaker, *Sec.* Active 33; Emeritus 1.
- Keuka College, Keuka Park, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Rosemary R. Hein, *Pres.*; Joan L. Gillette, *Sec.* Active 19; Emeritus 2.
- Keystone Junior College, La Plume, Pa. Active 1.
- Kirksville College of Osteopathy and Surgery, Kirksville, Mo. Active 11.
- Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. Chapter Officers: Arthur J. Dibden, *Pres.*; Lilly E. J. Lindahl, *Sec.* Active 19; Emeritus 2; Associate 2.
- Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn. Active 7.
- Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. Chapter Officers: Winfield Keck, *Pres.*; Hance C. Hamilton, *Sec.* Active 57; Emeritus 5; Associate 1.
- LaGrange College, LaGrange, Ga. Active 4.
- Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio. Chapter Officer: Barton Bean, *Pres.* Active 21.
- Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill. Chapter Officers: W. Gordon Milne, *Pres.*; Elizabeth T. Lunn, *Sec.* Active 35; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Tex. Chapter Officer: Harmon E. Eveland, *Sec.* Active 28; Associate 1.
- Lambuth College, Jackson, Tenn. Active 3.
- Lander College, Greenwood, S. C. Active 3.
- Lane College, Jackson, Tenn. Active 1.
- Langston University, Langston, Okla. Active 6.
- LaSalle College, Philadelphia, Pa. Active 8.
- Laval, University of, Quebec, Quebec. Active 1.
- Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. Chapter Officers: William Riker, *Pres.*; Elizabeth Forter, *Sec.* Active 23; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Pa. Chapter Officers: Carl Y. Ehrhart, *Pres.*; Alice M. Brumbaugh, *Sec.* Active 13; Associate 1.
- Lee College, Baytown, Texas. Active 8.
- Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. Chapter Officers: Frank S. Hook, *Pres.*; Paul C. Paris, *Sec.* Active 27; Emeritus 6; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- LeMoyne College, Syracuse, N. Y. Active 7.
- Lenoir-Rhyne College, Hickory, N. C. Active 3.
- Lesley College, Cambridge, Mass. Active 1.
- Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Ore. Chapter Officers: Arthur L. Throckmorton, *Pres.*; Emma B. Meier, *Sec.* Active 44; Emeritus 3; Associate 2.
- Limestone College, Gaffney, S. C. Active 2.
- Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn. Active 4.
- Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo. Chapter Officers: C. A. Blue, *Pres.*; U. S. Maxwell, *Sec.* Active 32.

- Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pa. Active 5.
- Lindenwood College for Women, St. Charles, Mo. Chapter Officers: John B. Moore, *Pres*; Irene Van Bibber, *Sec.* Active 38.
- Linfield College, McMinnville, Ore. Active 1.
- Little Rock Junior College, Little Rock, Ark. Active 12.
- Long Beach City College, Long Beach, Calif. Active 1.
- Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif. Active 32.
- Long Island University, Brooklyn, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Andre Nicolle, *Pres*; Grace K. Pratt, *Sec.* Active 29; Associate 1.
- Longwood College, Farmville, Va. Chapter Officer: Charles F. Lane, *Pres.* Active 16; Emeritus 2.
- Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles, Calif. Chapter Officer: Robert C. Williamson, *Pres.* Active 19.
- Los Angeles College of Optometry, Los Angeles, Calif. Active 1.
- Los Angeles Harbor Junior College, Wilmington, Calif. Active 1.
- Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles, Calif. Chapter Officers: Solomon Diamond, *Pres*; William R. Eshelman, *Sec.* Active 71.
- Los Angeles Valley Junior College, Van Nuys, Calif. Active 1.
- Louisiana College, Pineville, La. Active 3.
- Louisiana College, Southeastern, Hammond, La. Active 5; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Louisiana Institute, Southwestern, Lafayette, La. Active 20; Associate 1.
- Louisiana State College, Northeast, Monroe, La. Active 2.
- Louisiana, Northwestern State College of, Natchitoches, La. Chapter Officers: Roland Grass, *Pres*; Sarah L. C. Clapp, *Sec.* Active 35; Emeritus 1.
- Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, Ruston, La. Chapter Officers: Paul K. Smith, *Pres*; Ethel H. Kelly, *Sec.* Active 38; Emeritus 1.
- Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. Chapter Officers: Irwin A. Berg, *Pres*; Susanne Thompson, *Sec.* Active 139; Emeritus 2; Junior 2; Associate 3.
- Louisville, University of, Louisville, Ky. Chapter Officer: Arland Hotchkiss, *Sec.* Active 81; Emeritus 1.
- Lowell Technological Institute, Lowell, Mass. Chapter Officer: Wentworth Williams, *Pres.* Active 15.
- Lower Columbia Junior College, Longview, Wash. Active 3.
- Loyola College, Baltimore, Md. Active 4.
- Loyola University, Chicago, Ill. Chapter Officers: Patrick J. Casey, *Pres*; Mary E. Begg, *Sec.* Active 42; Emeritus 1; Junior 3; Associate 2.
- Loyola University, New Orleans, La. Active 8.
- Loyola University of Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif. Active 8.
- Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. Active 3.
- Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. Active 1.
- Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, Columbia, S. C. Emeritus 1.
- Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pa. Chapter Officers: Loring B. Priest, *Pres*; W. Arthur Faus, *Sec.* Active 24; Associate 1.
- Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Va. Chapter Officers: Howard B. Hovda, *Pres*; Joseph L. Nelson, Jr., *Sec.* Active 26; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill. Active 2.
- McGill University, Montreal, Que. Active 3; Emeritus 2.
- McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont. Active 2.
- MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill. Active 13; Emeritus 1.
- McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La. Active 7.
- McPherson College, McPherson, Kans. Active 1.
- Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn. Chapter Officers: Ezra J. Camp, *Pres*; David White, *Sec.* Active 29; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Madison College, Harrisonburg, Va. Chapter Officers: Clarence R. Hamrick, *Pres*; Glada Walker, *Sec.* Active 28; Emeritus 5.
- Maine, University of, Orono, Maine. Chapter Officers: Joseph J. Antonitis, *Pres*; Hilda M. Fife, *Sec.* Active 78; Emeritus 4; Junior 1; Associate 2.
- Manchester College, North Manchester, Ind. Active 1.
- Manhattan College, New York, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Themistocles F. Acconci, *Pres*; Howard R. Floan, *Sec.* Active 36.
- Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, N. Y. Active 23.
- Manila Central College, Manila, Philippines. Active 1.
- Manitoba, University of, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Active 8.
- Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio. Chapter Officer: Robert L. Jones, *Pres.* Active 9; Emeritus 1.
- Marin, College of, Kentfield, Calif. Active 1.
- Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis. Chapter Officer: Alfred J. Sokolnicki, *Sec.* Active 68.
- Marshall College, Huntington, W. Va. Active 18; Associate 1.
- Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Va. Active 3.
- Marygrove College, Detroit, Mich. Active 3.
- Maryland State Teachers College, Bowie, Md. Active 6.
- Maryland State Teachers College, Frostburg, Md. Active 2.
- Maryland State Teachers College, Salisbury, Md. Active 1; Associate 1.
- Maryland State Teachers College, Towson, Md. Chapter Officers: Samson McDowell, *Pres*; Marion S. Sargent, *Sec.* Active 30.
- Maryland, University of, College Park, Md. Chapter Officers: Lucius Garvin, *Pres*; Donald W. Krimel, *Sec.* Active 232; Emeritus 2; Junior 1; Associate 3.
- Maryland, University of (Maryland State College), Princess Anne, Md. Chapter Officers: Claud C. Marion, *Pres*; Thelma C. Spaulding, *Sec.* Active 15; Associate 1.
- Marymount College, Tarrytown, N. Y. Active 4.
- Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn. Active 9.
- Marywood College, Scranton, Pa. Active 1.

- Mason City Junior College, Mason City, Iowa. Emeritus 1.
- Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. Chapter Officers: Billy E. Goetz, *Pres*; Nesmith C. Ankeny, *Sec.* Active 48; Emeritus 5; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- Massachusetts State Teachers College at Boston, Boston, Mass. Chapter Officers: Robert L. Bertolli, *Pres*; Margaret D. Delaney, *Sec.* Active 16.
- Massachusetts State Teachers College, Bridgewater, Mass. Chapter Officers: Frank J. Hilferty, *Pres*; Catherine E. Comeau, *Sec.* Active 20.
- Massachusetts State Teachers College, Fitchburg, Mass. Active 17; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Massachusetts State Teachers College, Framingham, Mass. Chapter Officers: Vera Hemenway, *Pres*; Glayds F. Pratt, *Sec.* Active 15; Associate 2.
- Massachusetts State Teachers College, Lowell, Mass. Chapter Officer: Thomas A. Malloy, Jr., *Pres.* Active 16; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Massachusetts State Teachers College, North Adams, Mass. Active 3.
- Massachusetts State Teachers College, Salem, Mass. Chapter Officer: Margaret W. Dower, *Sec.* Active 7.
- Massachusetts State Teachers College, Worcester, Mass. Active 18.
- Massachusetts, University of, Amherst, Mass. Chapter Officer: Sidney Kaplan, *Pres.* Active 52; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Medical Evangelists, College of, Loma Linda, Calif. Active 1.
- Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn. Active 2.
- Memphis State College, Memphis, Tenn. Chapter Officer: Lawrence Wynn, *Pres.* Active 48; Emeritus 1.
- Menlo College, Menlo Park, Calif. Active 1.
- Mercer University, Macon, Ga. Chapter Officer: Charles H. Stone, *Pres.* Active 21; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Mercy College, Detroit, Mich. Active 9.
- Meredith College, Raleigh, N. C. Chapter Officers: Stuart Pratt, *Pres*; Quentin O. McAllister, *Sec.* Active 10; Emeritus 1.
- Merrimack College, Andover, Mass. Active 1.
- Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Chapter Officers: George H. Fathauer, *Pres*; Lohnie J. Boggs, *Sec.* Active 154; Emeritus 3; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- Miami, University of, Coral Gables, Fla. Chapter Officers: Herman Meyer, *Pres*; William S. Wight, *Sec.* Active 104; Emeritus 1; Junior 2; Associate 5.
- Michigan College, Central, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. Chapter Officers: Herbert L. Curry, *Pres*; Jack W. Marken, *Sec.* Active 38; Associate 1.
- Michigan College, Eastern, Ypsilanti, Mich. Chapter Officers: John B. Virtue, *Pres*; O. Ivan Schreiber, *Sec.* Active 43; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Michigan College, Northern, Marquette, Mich. Chapter Officer: Aurele A. Du-rocher, *Pres.* Active 35; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Michigan College, Western, Kalamazoo, Mich. Chapter Officers: Ralph N. Miller, *Pres*; Theodore L. Carlson, *Sec.* Active 75; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Michigan College of Mining and Technology, Houghton, Mich. Active 20.
- Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. Chapter Officers: Ralph W. Lewis, *Pres*; William M. Seaman, *Sec.* Active 312; Emeritus 7; Junior 1; Associate 7.
- Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Mich. Chapter Officers: Gilbert Ross, *Pres*; Herbert H. Paper, *Sec.* Active 343; Emeritus 20; Junior 8; Associate 4.
- Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. Chapter Officers: Benjamin F. Wissler, *Pres*; Ben Fusaro, *Sec.* Active 38; Emeritus 4; Junior 1.
- Midland College, Fremont, Nebr. Active 1.
- Millikin University, Decatur, Ill. Chapter Officers: Walter Emch, *Pres*; David F. Driesbach, *Sec.* Active 17; Emeritus 2.
- Mills College, Oakland, Calif. Chapter Officers: Margaret E. Lyon, *Pres*; Howard L. Cogswell, *Sec.* Active 26; Emeritus 6; Associate 3.
- Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss. Chapter Officers: E. S. Wallace, *Pres*; Frank M. Laney, *Sec.* Active 20; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. Chapter Officers: Althea Heimbach, *Pres*; Thomas R. Dale, *Sec.* Active 15; Associate 1.
- Minnesota State Teachers College, Bemidji, Minn. Active 4.
- Minnesota State Teachers College, Mankato, Minn. Chapter Officer: John B. Foster, *Pres.* Active 15; Associate 1.
- Minnesota State Teachers College, Moorhead, Minn. Active 10.
- Minnesota State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minn. Chapter Officers: Arthur F. Nelson, *Pres*; Arthur Wormhoudt, *Sec.* Active 20.
- Minnesota State Teachers College, Winona, Minn. Chapter Officers: Jean Talbot, *Pres*; Dorothy B. Magnus, *Sec.* Active 10; Emeritus 1.
- Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, Minn. Chapter Officers: J. Edward Gerald, *Pres*; Ruby B. Pernell, *Sec.* Active 444; Emeritus 36; Junior 4; Associate 5.
- Minnesota, University of (Duluth Branch), Duluth, Minn. Chapter Officers: William A. Rosenthal, *Pres*; Ward M. Wells, *Sec.* Active 44; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Misericordia, College, Dallas, Pa. Active 2.
- Mississippi College, Clinton, Miss. Active 5.
- Mississippi Junior College, East, Scooba, Miss. Active 1.
- Mississippi Southern College, Hattiesburg, Miss. Chapter Officers: Leo R. Miller, *Pres*; William G. Burks, *Sec.* Active 41.
- Mississippi State College, State College, Miss. Chapter Officers: Robert B. Holland, *Pres*; Marion T. Loftin, *Sec.* Active 53; Associate 3.
- Mississippi State College for Women, Columbus, Miss. Chapter Officers: Margie C. Morris, *Pres*; Margaret R. Buchanan, *Sec.* Active 37; Emeritus 1.
- Mississippi, University of, University, Miss. Chapter Officers: John E. Phay, *Pres*; Evelyn L. Way, *Sec.* Active 73; Associate 2.

- Missouri State College, Central, Warrensburg, Mo. Chapter Officers: John L. Schmidt, *Pres*; J. Kenneth Markwell, *Sec.* Active 26; Emeritus 2.
- Missouri State College, Northwest, Maryville, Mo. Chapter Officers: William T. Garrett, *Pres*; N. Violette Hunter, *Sec.* Active 39; Emeritus 2.
- Missouri State College, Southeast, Cape Girardeau, Mo. Chapter Officer: Glenn A. McConkey, *Pres.* Active 22; Emeritus 5; Junior 1; Associate 2.
- Missouri State College, Southwest, Springfield, Mo. Chapter Officers: Richard J. Payne, *Pres*; Robert T. Stevenson, *Sec.* Active 33; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Missouri State Teachers College, Northeast, Kirksville, Mo. Active 16; Emeritus 1.
- Missouri, University of, Columbia, Mo. Chapter Officers: Irwin G. Wyllie, *Pres*; John C. Murdock, *Sec.* Active 178; Emeritus 9; Junior 2; Associate 6.
- Missouri, University of (School of Mines and Metallurgy), Rolla, Mo. Active 6.
- Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Mo. Active 6.
- Modesto Junior College, Modesto, Calif. Active 2.
- Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill. Active 27; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Monmouth Junior College, West Long Branch, N. J. Active 8.
- Montana College, Northern, Havre, Mont. Active 3.
- Montana College of Education, Eastern, Billings, Mont. Active 8; Emeritus 1; Junior 1.
- Montana College of Education, Western, Dillon, Mont. Active 7; Associate 1.
- Montana School of Mines, Butte, Mont. Active 4.
- Montana State College, Bozeman, Mont. Chapter Officers: Bernard Ostles, *Pres*; G. Fred Weber, *Sec.* Active 33; Associate 1.
- Montana State University, Missoula, Mont. Chapter Officers: Walter G. Browder, *Pres*; Fred S. Honkala, *Sec.* Active 63; Emeritus 9; Associate 1.
- Montgomery Junior College, Takoma Park, Md. Chapter Officers: Wallace W. Culver, *Pres*; William V. Jouvenal, *Sec.* Active 14.
- Monticello College, Alton, Ill. Chapter Officer: Betty M. Mezger, *Sec.* Active 16.
- Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa. Chapter Officer: Ruth M. Roberts, *Sec.* Active 5.
- Morehead State College, Morehead, Ky. Chapter Officers: Wilhelm Exelbirt, *Pres*; Patti Bolin, *Sec.* Active 15.
- Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md. Chapter Officers: Frederick H. Dedmond, *Pres*; Cyril F. Atkins, *Sec.* Active 23.
- Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa. Chapter Officer: LeRoy B. Nydegger, *Pres.* Active 21.
- Morton Junior College, Cicero, Ill. Active 6.
- Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. Chapter Officers: Minnie E. Lemaire, *Pres*; Marjorie Kaufman, *Sec.* Active 77; Emeritus 13; Associate 1.
- Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh, Pa. Active 3.
- Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, College of, Mount St. Joseph, Ohio. Active 1.
- Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. Active 3.
- Mount St. Scholastica College, Atchison, Kans. Active 1.
- Mount St. Vincent, College of, New York, N. Y. Active 5.
- Mount San Antonio College, Pomona, Calif. Active 3.
- Mount Union College, Alliance, Ohio. Chapter Officer: Robert E. Bader, *Pres.* Active 33; Associate 1.
- Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. Chapter Officers: William M. French, *Pres*; Minotte M. Chatfield, *Sec.* Active 18; Emeritus 1.
- Multnomah College, Portland, Ore. Active 3.
- Murray State College, Murray, Ky. Chapter Officers: Lynn Winget, *Pres*; Walter E. Blackburn, *Sec.* Active 17.
- Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio. Chapter Officers: William L. Fisk, *Pres*; Harvey D. Tschirgi, *Sec.* Active 23; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- National College of Education, Evanston, Ill. Chapter Officer: Janet C. Rees, *Sec.* Active 11; Associate 1.
- Nazareth College, Nazareth, Mich. Active 1.
- Nebraska State Teachers College, Chadron, Nebr. Active 7.
- Nebraska State Teachers College, Kearney, Nebr. Chapter Officer: Calvin T. Ryan, *Pres.* Active 18; Emeritus 3.
- Nebraska State Teachers College, Peru, Nebr. Active 3.
- Nebraska State Teachers College, Wayne, Nebr. Chapter Officers: Lyle L. Radcliffe, *Pres*; J. R. Johnson, *Sec.* Active 14; Emeritus 3.
- Nebraska, University of, Lincoln, Nebr. Chapter Officers: Norman H. Cromwell, *Pres*; Robert E. Knoll, *Sec.* Active 215; Emeritus 19; Associate 5.
- Nebraska Wesleyan University, Lincoln, Nebr. Active 2; Emeritus 1.
- Nevada, University of, Reno, Nev. Chapter Officers: Charlton G. Laird, *Pres*; Verna D. Whittrock, *Sec.* Active 38; Emeritus 8; Associate 1.
- New Brunswick, University of, Fredericton, N. B. Active 1.
- New England College of Pharmacy, Boston, Mass. Active 1.
- New England Conservatory of Music, Boston, Mass. Active 2; Emeritus 1; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- New Hampshire, University of, Durham, N. H. Chapter Officers: Ralph H. Granger, *Pres*; Charlotte K. Anderson, *Sec.* Active 101; Emeritus 1; Associate 4.
- New Haven State Teachers College, New Haven, Conn. Active 19.
- New Jersey State Teachers College, Glassboro, N. J. Active 1.
- New Jersey State Teachers College, Jersey City, N. J. Active 3.
- New Jersey State Teachers College, Newark, N. J. Chapter Officers: John C. Hutchinson, Jr., *Pres*; Lois M. French, *Sec.* Active 9.

- New Jersey State Teachers College, Paterson, N. J. Active 3; Associate 1.
- New Jersey State Teachers College, Trenton, N. J. Chapter Officers: Emerson H. Loucks, *Pres*; Herbert R. Treuting, Jr., *Sec.* Active 19.
- New Jersey State Teachers College, Upper Montclair, N. J. Active 11.
- New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, State College, N. Mex. Chapter Officers: Ralph B. Crouch, *Pres*; Paul W. Zickefoose, *Sec.* Active 85; Emeritus 3; Associate 2.
- New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, N. Mex. Chapter Officers: John S. Johnson, *Pres*; Walter F. Brunet, *Sec.* Active 17; Emeritus 1.
- New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, Socorro, N. Mex. Chapter Officers: James B. Delamater, *Pres*; Joseph A. Schuffe, *Sec.* Active 15; Associate 2.
- New Mexico Military Institute, Roswell, N. Mex. Chapter Officers: James H. Sikes, *Pres*; Eugene J. Fox, *Sec.* Active 13.
- New Mexico University, Eastern, Portales, N. Mex. Chapter Officers: Richard E. Stroup, *Pres*; Arvel W. Branscum, *Sec.* Active 20; Associate 1.
- New Mexico, University of, Albuquerque, N. Mex. Chapter Officers: Allan R. Richards, *Pres*; Jane Kluckhohn, *Sec.* Active 95; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- New Mexico Western College, Silver City, N. Mex. Active 6.
- New Rochelle, College of, New Rochelle, N. Y. Active 5.
- New York Medical College, New York, N. Y. Active 9.
- New York, State University of—
Agricultural and Technical Institute at Alfred, Alfred, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Regis P. Deuel, *Pres*; Philip S. Malafsky, *Sec.* Active 16.
Agricultural and Technical Institute at Cobleskill, Cobleskill, N. Y. Active 1.
Agricultural and Technical Institute at Delhi, Delhi, N. Y. Active 1.
Agricultural and Technical Institute, Farmingdale, N. Y. Active 10.
College for Teachers at Albany, Albany, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Robert F. Creggan, *Pres*; Violet H. Larney, *Sec.* Active 87; Emeritus 6; Associate 1.
College for Teachers at Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Houston Robison, *Pres*; Frances Hepinstall, *Sec.* Active 94; Emeritus 1; Associate 4.
Downstate Medical Center, Brooklyn, N. Y. Active 2.
Harpur College, Endicott, N. Y. Active 19.
Maritime College, Fort Schuyler, N. Y. Active 9.
Teachers College at Brockport, Brockport, N. Y. Chapter Officer: R. Murray Thomas, *Pres.* Active 20.
Teachers College at Cortland, Cortland, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Walter E. Mulholland, *Pres*; Dorothy May Swan, *Sec.* Active 53; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
Teachers College at Fredonia, Fredonia, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Philip Kochman, *Pres*; Vivian M. Robe, *Sec.* Active 34; Emeritus 2.
Teachers College at Geneseo, Geneseo, N. Y. Active 8.
Teachers College at New Paltz, New Paltz, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Alfred B. Rollins, Jr., *Pres*; Joy M. Dawson, *Sec.* Active 40.
Teachers College at Oneonta, Oneonta, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Sanford D. Gordon, *Pres*; Janet E. Green, *Sec.* Active 28; Associate 2.
Teachers College at Oswego, Oswego, N. Y. Chapter Officers: William G. McGarvey, *Pres*; Helen Hagger, *Sec.* Active 20.
Teachers College at Plattsburg, Plattsburg, N. Y. Active 8.
Teachers College at Potsdam, Potsdam, N. Y. Active 5.
Upstate Medical Center, Syracuse, N. Y. Active 2.
New York University, New York, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Hollis Cooley, *Pres*; Timothy W. Costello, *Sec.* Active 347; Emeritus 7; Junior 3; Associate 6.
Newark College of Engineering, Newark, N. J. Active 19; Emeritus 1.
Newberry College, Newberry, S. C. Active 5.
Niagara University, Niagara Falls, N. Y. Active 3.
North Carolina, Agricultural and Technical College of, Greensboro, N. C. Active 13.
North Carolina College at Durham, Durham, N. C. Chapter Officer: C. Elwood Boulware, *Pres.* Active 18.
North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh, N. C. Chapter Officers: Louis H. Swain, *Pres*; Stuart Noblin, *Sec.* Active 67; Emeritus 2; Associate 4.
North Carolina, University of, Chapel Hill, N. C. Chapter Officers: Claiborne S. Jones, *Pres*; Norman W. Mattis, *Sec.* Active 120; Emeritus 3.
North Carolina, The Woman's College of the University of, Greensboro, N. C. Chapter Officers: Alice C. Schriver, *Pres*; Esther Segner, *Sec.* Active 35; Emeritus 3.
North Central College, Naperville, Ill. Active 4.
North Dakota Agricultural College, Fargo, N. Dak. Chapter Officers: John A. Doubly, *Pres*; Loren D. Potter, *Sec.* Active 62; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
North Dakota State Normal and Industrial College, Ellendale, N. Dak. Active 3.
North Dakota State Teachers College, Mayville, N. Dak. Active 1.
North Dakota State Teachers College, Minot, N. Dak. Chapter Officers: Hazel McCulloch, *Pres*; Ruth Norem, *Sec.* Active 37.
North Dakota State Teachers College, Valley City, N. Dak. Chapter Officers: Leo A. Frommelt, *Pres*; Lena Vangstad, *Sec.* Active 19.
North Dakota, University of, Grand Forks, N. Dak. Chapter Officers: William E. Koenker, *Pres*; Robert A. Caldwell, *Sec.* Active 109; Emeritus 5; Associate 1.
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Okla. Active 2; Associate 1.

- Northeastern University, Boston, Mass. Active 11.
- Northern State Teachers College, Aberdeen, S. Dak. Chapter Officers: Emeline L. Welsh, *Sec.* Active 18; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Northwestern Lutheran Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. Active 2.
- Northwestern State College, Alva, Okla. Chapter Officers: Kristine K. Brown, *Pres*; Eva A. Wood, *Sec.* Active 30.
- Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. Chapter Officers: Ray A. Billington, *Pres*; Karl de Schweinitz, Jr., *Sec.* Active 286; Emeritus 13; Associate 5.
- Norwich University, Northfield, Vt. Chapter Officers: William L. Edgerton, *Pres*; Richard M. McNeer, *Sec.* Active 16; Emeritus 2.
- Notre Dame, University of, Notre Dame, Ind. Chapter Officers: Paul A. Montavon, *Pres*; Donald J. Lewis, *Sec.* Active 83; Junior 1.
- Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Ralph H. Turner, *Pres*; Joseph R. Wood, *Sec.* Active 74; Emeritus 9.
- Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif. Chapter Officers: J. Donald Young, *Pres*; Frank L. Lambert, *Sec.* Active 36; Emeritus 3.
- Odessa College, Odessa, Texas. Active 1.
- Oglethorpe University, Oglethorpe University, Ga. Active 3.
- Ohio State University, The, Columbus, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Ralph L. Dewey, *Pres*; Meno Lovenstein, *Sec.* Active 324; Emeritus 14; Junior 12; Associate 7.
- Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. Chapter Officers: George T. LeBoutillier, *Pres*; Marguerite E. Appel, *Sec.* Active 124; Emeritus 4; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Harry P. Bahrick, *Pres*; Mary Helen Fretts, *Sec.* Active 61; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Okla. Chapter Officers: Joseph S. Vandiver, *Pres*; William B. Leake, *Sec.* Active 49; Emeritus 3.
- Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Eastern, Wilburton, Okla. Active 1.
- Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Northeastern, Miami, Okla. Active 1.
- Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee, Okla. Active 7; Associate 1.
- Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Okla. Chapter Officer: Virgil F. Dougherty, *Sec.* Active 7.
- Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha, Okla. Active 2.
- Oklahoma Junior College, Northern, Tonkawa, Okla. Associate 1.
- Oklahoma, University of, Norman, Okla. Chapter Officers: Willis H. Bowen, *Pres*; Eunice Lewis, *Sec.* Active 157; Emeritus 4; Junior 4; Associate 3.
- Olympic College, Bremerton, Wash. Active 12; Emeritus 1.
- Omaha, Municipal University of, Omaha, Nebr. Chapter Officers: C. Glenn Lewis, *Pres*; Thomas N. Bonner, *Sec.* Active 25; Emeritus 2; Associate 2.
- Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, Ont. Active 1.
- Oregon College of Education, Monmouth, Ore. Chapter Officers: Edgar H. Smith, *Pres*; Jack V. Edling, *Sec.* Active 27.
- Oregon College of Education, Eastern, La Grande, Ore. Chapter Officers: Leonard F. Good, *Pres*; D. Helen Bliss, *Sec.* Active 17.
- Oregon College of Education, Southern, Ashland, Ore. Chapter Officers: Alvin L. Fellers, *Pres*; Dorothy E. Stolz, *Sec.* Active 30; Associate 1.
- Oregon State College, Corvallis, Ore. Chapter Officers: Roy B. Saunders, *Pres*; Phyllis Grant, *Sec.* Active 182; Emeritus 7; Associate 8.
- Oregon, University of, Eugene, Ore. Chapter Officers: Frank G. Black, *Pres*; Roland Bartel, *Sec.* Active 197; Emeritus 6; Associate 1.
- Oregon, University of (Dental and Medical Schools), Portland, Ore. Active 9.
- Osteopathic Physicians and Surgeons, College of, Los Angeles, Calif. Active 3.
- Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kans. Active 1.
- Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, Active 2.
- Ouachita Baptist College, Arkadelphia, Ark. Active 1.
- Our Lady of Cincinnati College, Edgecliff, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, Ohio. Active 2.
- Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas. Active 1.
- Pace College, New York, N. Y. Chapter Officers: John C. Sherry, *Pres*; Alice Lewis, *Sec.* Active 41; Associate 2.
- Pacific, College of the, Stockton, Calif. Chapter Officers: George S. Ingebo, *Pres*; Kathleen Shannon, *Sec.* Active 40.
- Pacific Lutheran College, Parkland, Wash. Chapter Officers: Magnus Nodtvedt, *Pres*; Burton T. Ostenson, *Sec.* Active 29.
- Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif. Active 1.
- Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore. Chapter Officer: Myrtle F. Smith, *Sec.* Active 9; Junior 1.
- Paducah Junior College, Paducah, Ky. Active 1.
- Palomar College, San Marcos, Calif. Active 1.
- Pan-American College, Edinburg, Texas. Active 11; Junior 1.
- Park College, Parkville, Mo. Active 9; Emeritus 1.
- Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa. Active 3.
- Pasadena College, Pasadena, Calif. Active 2.
- Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore, Md. Active 2.
- Pembroke State College, Pembroke, N. C. Active 1.
- Pennsylvania Military College, Chester, Pa. Chapter Officers: Russell C. Erb, *Pres*; Claude B. Helms, *Sec.* Active 10.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Bloomsburg, Pa. Active 5.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, California, Pa. Chapter Officer: George S. Hart, *Sec.* Active 8.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pa. Active 2.

- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Clarion, Pa. Active 2.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, East Stroudsburg, Pa. Chapter Officers: Catherine A. Reimard, *Pres*; Katherine E. Griffith, *Sec.* Active 32; Associate 1.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Edinboro, Pa. Active 11; Emeritus 1.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Indiana, Pa. Chapter Officer: Edward W. Bieghler, *Pres.* Active 16; Associate 1.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Kutztown, Pa. Chapter Officers: Gladys C. Mathias, *Pres*; Nicholas G. Stevens, *Sec.* Active 13.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Lock Haven, Pa. Chapter Officers: Allen D. Patterson, *Pres*; Ruth M. Holmes, *Sec.* Active 10; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Mansfield, Pa. Active 1.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Millersville, Pa. Chapter Officers: Richard C. Keller, *Pres*; Dorothy Hughes, *Sec.* Active 24; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Shippensburg, Pa. Chapter Officer: Etta C. Skene, *Pres.* Active 8.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, Slippery Rock, Pa. Active 12.
- Pennsylvania State Teachers College, West Chester, Pa. Active 6; Emeritus 1.
- Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa. Chapter Officers: Mervin W. Humphrey, *Pres*; Dorothy H. Veon, *Sec.* Active 444; Emeritus 21; Junior 3; Associate 2.
- Pennsylvania, University of, Philadelphia, Pa. Chapter Officers: Clark Byse, *Pres*; Bertram W. Zumeta, *Sec.* Active 249; Emeritus 19; Junior 5; Associate 5.
- Pennsylvania, Woman's Medical College of, Philadelphia, Pa. Active 4.
- Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer, N. C. Active 3.
- Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, Philadelphia, Pa. Active 2.
- Phlander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark. Chapter Officers: James D. Boyack, *Pres*; John R. Ewbank, *Sec.* Active 12.
- Phillips University, Enid, Okla. Active 1; Emeritus 1.
- Phoenix College, Phoenix, Ariz. Chapter Officer: K. Dale, *Pres.* Active 17.
- Pikeville College, Pikeville, Ky. Active 2.
- Pine Manor Junior College, Wellesley, Mass. Active 1.
- Pittsburgh, University of, Pittsburgh, Pa. Chapter Officers: Donald L. Cleland, *Pres*; Robert P. Newman, *Sec.* Active 223; Emeritus 8; Associate 2.
- Plymouth Teachers College, Plymouth, N. H. Active 6.
- Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico, San German, Puerto Rico. Active 12.
- Pomona College, Claremont, Calif. See Claremont Colleges.
- Portland State College, Portland, Ore. Chapter Officers: Carelton G. Fanger, *Pres*; Ruth S. Lottridge, *Sec.* Active 69; Associate 2.
- Portland, University of, Portland, Ore. Chapter Officer: Merle A. Starr, *Pres.* Active 14; Emeritus 1.
- Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College, Prairie View, Tex. Active 14.
- Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Roland E. Partridge, *Pres*; Pauline Pfeifer, *Sec.* Active 40; Associate 3.
- Presbyterian College, Clinton, S. C. Active 1.
- Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. Chapter Officers: Carlos H. Baker, *Pres*; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., *Sec.* Active 93; Emeritus 12; Associate 5.
- Principia College, The, Elsie, Ill. Chapter Officer: Robert C. LeClair, *Pres.* Active 7.
- Providence College, Providence, R. I. Active 1.
- Pueblo Junior College, Pueblo, Colo. Active 1.
- Puerto Rico, University of, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. Chapter Officers: William Sinz, *Pres*; Julia M. Guzman, *Sec.* Active 42; Associate 1.
- Puget Sound, College of, Tacoma, Wash. Chapter Officers: John T. Lantz, *Pres*; Shirley M. Bowing, *Sec.* Active 36; Emeritus 2.
- Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind. Chapter Officers: John Dyer-Bennet, *Pres*; Margaret M. Sullivan, *Sec.* Active 273; Emeritus 9; Junior 5; Associate 2.
- Queens College, Flushing, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Wilbur E. Gilman, *Pres*; Helen F. Storen, *Sec.* Active 122; Associate 1.
- Queens College, Charlotte, N. C. Chapter Officers: Earl F. Berg, *Pres*; Summers Tarlton, *Sec.* Active 9; Emeritus 1.
- Quincy College, Quincy, Ill. Active 2.
- Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. Active 2.
- Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. Chapter Officers: J. Kenneth Morland, *Pres*; Helene M. Crooks, *Sec.* Active 37; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Redlands, University of, Redlands, Calif. Chapter Officers: William J. Klausner, *Pres*; Mary W. Coulter, *Sec.* Active 37; Emeritus 2; Junior 1; Associate 2.
- Reed College, Portland, Ore. Chapter Officers: Burrowes Hunt, *Pres*; Alan L. Logan, *Sec.* Active 32; Associate 1.
- Regis College, Weston, Mass. Active 3.
- Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Robert E. Whallon, *Pres*; William R. Birge, *Sec.* Active 27.
- Rhode Island College of Education, Providence, R. I. Chapter Officer: Mary M. Keefe, *Pres.* Active 8.
- Rhode Island College of Pharmacy, Providence, R. I. Active 2.
- Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R. I. Active 1.
- Rhode Island, University of, Kingston, R. I. Chapter Officers: Lawrence E. Bretsch, *Pres*; Edward B. Hogan, *Sec.* Active 93; Emeritus 3; Junior 6; Associate 4.
- Rice Institute, Houston, Tex. Chapter Officer: Alan D. McKillop, *Pres.* Active 23; Emeritus 3; Associate 2.
- Richmond, University of, Richmond, Va. Active 11.

- Rider College, Trenton, N. J. Chapter Officers: Laurence Eisenlohr, *Pres*; Alfred K. Brown, *Sec*. Active 27.
- Ripon College, Ripon, Wis. Chapter Officers: George H. Miller, *Pres*; H. R. Cort, Jr., *Sec*. Active 18; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Riverside College, Riverside, Calif. Chapter Officer: Cecil E. Stalder, *Pres*. Active 5; Emeritus 1.
- Roanoke College, Salem, Va. Active 6; Associate 1.
- Robert College, Istanbul, Turkey. Active 5; Associate 1.
- Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, N. Y. Active 2.
- Rochester, University of, Rochester, N. Y. Chapter Officers: James K. Scott, *Pres*; Frances L. Horler, *Sec*. Active 87; Emeritus 5; Junior 2; Associate 1.
- Rockford College and Rockford Men's College, Rockford, Ill. Chapter Officers: Atwood Hudson, *Pres*; Editha Underhill, *Sec*. Active 17; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla. Chapter Officers: George Saute, *Pres*; Flora L. Magoun, *Sec*. Active 23; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Roosevelt University, Chicago, Ill. Chapter Officers: Robert C. Cosbey, *Pres*; Katherine M. Carroll, *Sec*. Active 43; Emeritus 1; Junior 1; Associate 2.
- Rosary College, River Forest, Ill. Active 2.
- Rose Polytechnic Institute, Terre Haute, Ind. Chapter Officer: Robert D. Strum, *Pres*. Active 13; Emeritus 1.
- Rosemont College, Rosemont, Pa. Active 1.
- Russell Sage College, Troy, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Isabelle W. Taylor, *Pres*; Robert F. Smith, *Sec*. Active 27; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.
- Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J. Chapter Officers: Charles A. Whitmer, *Pres*; Isabel Dimmick, *Sec*. Active 178; Emeritus 8; Associate 2.
- Rutgers University (The Newark Colleges), Newark, N. J. Chapter Officers: C. Willard Heckel, *Pres*; Clarence C. Ferguson, Jr., *Sec*. Active 48; Associate 3.
- Sacramento Junior College, Sacramento, Calif. Chapter Officers: Howard C. Day, *Pres*; Catherine C. Patterson, *Sec*. Active 12.
- Sacramento State College, Sacramento, Calif. Chapter Officer: J. Merriitt Winans, *Pres*. Active 49.
- St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa. Active 3.
- St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C. Active 1.
- St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, N. Y. Active 7.
- St. Francis College, Loretto, Pa. Active 1.
- St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. Active 1; Emeritus 2.
- St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn. Active 7.
- St. John's University, Brooklyn, N. Y. Chapter Officer: George F. Monahan, *Sec*. Active 23.
- St. John's University (School of Commerce), Brooklyn, N. Y. Active 9.
- St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Conn. Active 6.
- St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg, Md. Active 1.
- St. Joseph's College, Collegeville, Ind. Active 1.
- St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, Pa. Active 3.
- St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn, N. Y. Active 1.
- St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Gilbert E. Moos, *Pres*; Edward Clark, *Sec*. Active 39; Associate 2.
- St. Louis College of Pharmacy and Allied Sciences, St. Louis, Mo. Active 1.
- St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo. Active 25; Emeritus 1; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- St. Mary-of-the-Wasatch, College of, Salt Lake City, Utah. Active 1.
- St. Mary-of-the-Woods College, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Ind. Active 3.
- St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Ind. Active 1; Associate 1.
- St. Mary's College, Winona, Minn. Active 1.
- St. Mary's College of California, St. Mary's College, Calif. Chapter Officer: Victor C. Ferkiss, *Pres*. Active 13.
- St. Michael's College, Winooski, Vt. Active 3.
- St. Norbert College, West De Pere, Wis. Active 1.
- St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn. Chapter Officers: Clifford A. Hauberg, *Pres*; F. Marian Walker, *Sec*. Active 55.
- St. Peter's College, Jersey City, N. J. Active 2.
- St. Teresa, College of, Winona, Minn. Active 4.
- St. Thomas, College of, St. Paul, Minn. Chapter Officers: Anthony L. Chiuminatto, *Pres*; John L. Doll, *Sec*. Active 13.
- St. Vincent College, Latrobe, Pa. Active 2.
- St. Xavier College, Chicago, Ill. Active 1.
- Salem College, Winston-Salem, N. C. Active 3; Emeritus 1.
- Sam Houston State Teachers College, Huntsville, Texas. Active 6.
- San Angelo College, San Angelo, Texas. Active 1.
- San Antonio College, San Antonio, Texas. Active 17.
- San Bernardino Valley College, San Bernardino, Calif. Chapter Officer: Grace Baumgartner, *Sec*. Active 8; Junior 1.
- San Diego Junior College, San Diego, Calif. Active 6.
- San Diego State College, San Diego, Calif. Chapter Officers: Kramer J. Rohlfleisch, *Pres*; William McBlair, *Sec*. Active 111; Emeritus 2; Associate 3.
- San Francisco, City College of, San Francisco, Calif. Chapter Officers: Robert P. Utter, *Pres*; Leah L. Cooper, *Sec*. Active 32; Emeritus 1.
- San Francisco College for Women, San Francisco, Calif. Active 4.
- San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif. Chapter Officers: Frank L. Fenton, *Pres*; Mary MacWilliam, *Sec*. Active 56; Emeritus 2; Junior 2; Associate 1.
- San Francisco, University of, San Francisco, Calif. Active 10.
- San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif.

- Chapter Officers: Verne James, *Pres*; Lew Girdler, *Sec.* Active 81.
- San Mateo, College of, San Mateo, Calif. Active 3.
- Santa Ana College, Santa Ana, Calif. Active 1.
- Santa Barbara Junior College, Santa Barbara, Calif. Active 1.
- Santa Clara, University of, Santa Clara, Calif. Active 3.
- Santa Monica City College, Santa Monica, Calif. Chapter Officers: Hillis Brown, *Pres*; Margaret F. Baird, *Sec.* Active 18.
- Santa Rosa Junior College, Santa Rosa, Calif. Active 1.
- Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Charlotte Houtermans, *Pres*; Ermine Stone, *Sec.* Active 18.
- Savannah State College, Savannah, Ga. Active 9.
- Scranton, University of, Scranton, Pa. Active 9.
- Scripps College, Claremont, Calif. See Claremont Colleges.
- Seattle Pacific College, Seattle, Wash. Active 2.
- Seattle University, Seattle, Wash. Active 1; Associate 1.
- Seton Hall University, South Orange, N. J. Active 16.
- Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pa. Chapter Officers: Helen V. Irwin, *Pres*; Margaret Garrity, *Sec.* Active 4.
- Shasta College, Redding, Calif. Chapter Officers: Roy Hudson, *Pres*; Michael Grayben, *Sec.* Active 2.
- Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C. Active 5.
- Shenandoah College and Shenandoah Conservatory of Music, Dayton, Va. Chapter Officer: Glen C. Law, *Pres.* Active 3.
- Shepherd College, Sheperdstown, W. Va. Chapter Officers: Fred B. Edgell, *Pres*; Mary F. Dunstan, *Sec.* Active 24; Associate 1.
- Shorter College, Rome, Ga. Active 3; Emeritus 2.
- Simmons College, Boston, Mass. Chapter Officers: Donald K. Beckley, *Pres*; Virginia L. Bratton, *Sec.* Active 36; Emeritus 4.
- Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa. Active 4; Associate 1.
- Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Henry C. Galant, *Pres*; Priscilla M. Greeley, *Sec.* Active 44; Emeritus 3.
- Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Chapter Officers: Clifford R. Bragdon, *Pres*; Henry L. Miller, Jr., *Sec.* Active 44; Emeritus 10; Associate 1.
- South, University of the, Sewanee, Tenn. Active 15; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- South Carolina, Medical College of, Charleston, S. C. Active 4.
- South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C. Active 8; Associate 1.
- South Carolina, University of, Columbia, S. C. Chapter Officer: Arthur E. Fourier, *Pres.* Active 87; Junior 1.
- South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, Rapid City, S. Dak. Active 2; Associate 1.
- South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Brookings, S. Dak. Chapter Officer: Donald E. Kratochvil, *Sec.* Active 52; Junior 1.
- South Dakota, University of, Vermillion, S. Dak. Chapter Officers: Vincent E. Montgomery, *Pres*; Sherwood P. Cummings, *Sec.* Active 60; Emeritus 3.
- Southeastern State College, Durant, Okla. Active 9; Associate 1.
- Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. Active 1.
- Southern California, University of, Los Angeles, Calif. Chapter Officers: E. Kent Springer, *Pres*; Carl Q. Christol, *Sec.* Active 205; Emeritus 11; Junior 2; Associate 3.
- Southern College of Optometry, Memphis, Tenn. Active 2.
- Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex. Chapter Officers: John M. Glowacki, *Pres*; Don E. Edmondson, *Sec.* Active 72; Associate 2.
- Southern State College, Magnolia, Ark. Chapter Officers: Stanley R. Rolnick, *Pres*; John A. Smart, *Sec.* Active 24.
- Southern State Teachers College, Springfield, S. Dak. Active 2.
- Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Baton Rouge, La. Active 16.
- Southwestern at Memphis, Memphis, Tenn. Active 3; Associate 2.
- Southwestern College, Winfield, Kans. Active 4; Associate 1.
- Southwestern State College, Weatherford, Okla. Active 1.
- Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas. Active 5.
- Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga. Active 5.
- Spring Hill College, Spring Hill, Ala. Active 1.
- Springfield College, Springfield, Mass. Chapter Officers: Edward J. Sims, *Pres*; Arthur Blumberg, *Sec.* Active 11.
- Stanford University, Stanford, Calif. Chapter Officers: Daniel Mendelowitz, *Pres*; Lawrence G. Thomas, *Sec.* Active 189; Emeritus 22; Associate 1.
- Stephen F. Austin State College, Nacogdoches, Texas. Active 15.
- Stephens College, Columbia, Mo. Active 20; Associate 2.
- Stetson University, DeLand, Fla. Chapter Officers: Gilbert L. Lycan, *Pres*; Maxine L. Patterson, *Sec.* Active 23; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J. Active 5.
- Stout State College, Menomonie, Wis. Chapter Officers: Herbert A. Anderson, *Pres*; Ellen F. Nelson, *Sec.* Active 18; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Suffolk University, Boston, Mass. Active 1.
- Sul Ross State College, Alpine, Texas. Active 6.
- Sullins College, Bristol, Va. Active 2.
- Susquehanna University, Selingsgrove, Pa. Active 15.
- Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. Chapter Officers: John D. McCrumm, *Pres*; Hilde D. Cohn, *Sec.* Active 58; Associate 2.
- Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. Chapter Officer: G. Noble Gilpin, *Pres.* Active 36; Emeritus 4; Associate 2.

Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. Chapter Officers: George L. Bird, *Pres*; Florence Van Huesen, *Sec.* Active 324; Emeritus 18; Junior 21; Associate 3.

Syracuse University (Utica College), Utica, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Thomas F. O'Donnell, *Pres*; Rosemary E. Ulrich, *Sec.* Active 24; Associate 1.

Talladega College, Talladega, Ala. Active 7.

Tampa, University of, Tampa, Fla. Active 16.

Tarleton State College, Stephenville, Tex. Active 3.

Taylor University, Upland, Ind. Active 2; Associate 1.

Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. Chapter Officers: David H. Webster, *Pres*; Jacob W. Gruber, *Sec.* Active 139; Emeritus 5; Associate 2.

Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University, Nashville, Tenn. Active 9.

Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville, Tenn. Active 3.

Tennessee State College, East, Johnson City, Tenn. Active 15; Associate 1.

Tennessee State College, Middle, Murfreesboro, Tenn. Chapter Officers: Norman L. Parks, *Pres*; Lane L. Boutwell, *Sec.* Active 34; Associate 1.

Tennessee, University of, Knoxville, Tenn. Chapter Officers: Charles W. Keenan, *Pres*; Rena Josie, *Sec.* Active 177; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.

Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens, Tenn. Active 1; Associate 1.

Texas, Agricultural and Mechanical College of, College Station, Texas. Chapter Officers: Sidney O. Brown, *Pres*; Walter S. Manning, *Sec.* Active 85; Emeritus 1; Associate 3.

Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas. Active 20; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.

Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville, Texas. Active 18; Emeritus 2.

Texas Lutheran College, Seguin, Texas. Active 1.

Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas. Active 10.

Texas State College, North, Denton, Texas. Chapter Officers: Martin Shockley, *Pres*; Florence Cullin, *Sec.* Active 63; Associate 3.

Texas State College, West, Canyon, Texas. Active 4; Associate 1.

Texas State College for Women, Denton, Texas. Chapter Officers: Evelyn K. Dillon, *Pres*; Bethel M. Caster, *Sec.* Active 47; Emeritus 3; Associate 1.

Texas State Teachers College, East, Commerce, Texas. Chapter Officer: Myrtice Pledger, *Sec.* Active 16; Associate 1.

Texas State Teachers College, Southwest, San Marcos, Texas. Active 14; Associate 1.

Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas. Chapter Officer: Archie L. Leonard, *Pres*; Active 41; Emeritus 3; Junior 1; Associate 1.

Texas, University of, Austin, Texas. Chapter Officers: Alfred L. Seelye, *Pres*; Oscar E. Mauer, Jr., *Sec.* Active 174; Emeritus 6; Associate 4.

Texas, University of (Dental Branch), Houston, Texas. Chapter Officers: Henry Browning, *Pres*; Ozro B. Wiswell, *Sec.* Active 16.

Texas, University of (Medical School), Galveston, Texas. Active 8.

Texas, University of (Southwestern Medical School), Dallas, Texas. Active 4; Emeritus 1.

Texas, University of (Texas Western College), El Paso, Texas. Active 8; Junior 1.

Texas Wesleyan College, Ft. Worth, Texas. Active 4.

Thiel College, Greenville, Pa. Active 6; Associate 2.

Tift College, Forsyth, Ga. Active 2.

Toledo, University of, Toledo, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Norma F. Stolzenbach, *Pres*; B. W. Stevenson, *Sec.* Active 81; Emeritus 4; Associate 6.

Toronto, University of, Toronto, Ont. Active 7; Junior 1.

Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. Active 11; Emeritus 1.

Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. Chapter Officers: D. G. Brinton Thompson, *Pres*; Eugene W. Davis, *Sec.* Active 44; Emeritus 4; Associate 1.

Trinity College, Washington, D. C. Active 7.

Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas. Chapter Officers: Frances K. Hendricks, *Pres*; Donald E. Everett, *Sec.* Active 30.

Tufts University, Medford, Mass. Chapter Officers: Ruth Whittredge, *Pres*; Dawson G. Fulton, *Sec.* Active 86; Emeritus 6; Associate 3.

Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. Chapter Officers: Abram Amsel, *Pres*; Howard G. Schaller, *Sec.* Active 156; Emeritus 4; Junior 2.

Tulsa, University of, Tulsa, Okla. Active 33; Emeritus 1.

Tusculum College, Greeneville, Tenn. Active 2; Junior 1.

Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala. Active 14.

Tyler Junior College, Tyler, Texas. Active 2.

Union College, Barbourville, Ky. Chapter Officers: Charles W. Simms, *Pres*; Rena Milliken, *Sec.* Active 7; Associate 1.

Union College and University, Schenectady, N. Y. Chapter Officers: A. H. Fox, *Pres*; Alan Nelson, *Sec.* Active 71; Emeritus 8.

Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y. Active 2.

Union University, Jackson, Tenn. Active 8.

United States Coast Guard Academy, New London, Conn. Active 2.

United States Merchant Marine Academy, King's Point, N. Y. Active 27.

United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y. Active 2.

United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md. Active 9; Emeritus 3.

United States Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Chapter Officers: Gilbert F. Kinney, *Pres*; A. Boyd Mewborn, *Sec.* Active 38; Emeritus 1.

Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Iowa. Active 6.

- Upsala College, East Orange, N. J. Chapter Officers: Donald A. Sears, *Pres*; Donald K. McKee, *Sec.* Active 55; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. Chapter Officer: Helen Garrett, *Sec.* Active 20; Emeritus 2.
- Utah, College of Southern, Cedar City, Utah. Active 8.
- Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah. Chapter Officer: Burrell Hansen, *Pres.* Active 50; Emeritus 3.
- Utah, University of, Salt Lake City, Utah. Chapter Officers: William P. Kent, *Pres*; Ralph Thomson, *Sec.* Active 124; Emeritus 7.
- Valdosta State College, Valdosta, Ga. Chapter Officer: Harold S. Gulliver, *Pres.* Active 7.
- Vallejo Junior College, Vallejo, Calif. Active 1.
- Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind. Active 3.
- Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. Chapter Officers: Josef Rysan, *Pres*; Gilbert W. Meier, *Sec.* Active 38; Emeritus 1; Junior 1; Associate 1.
- Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Active 76; Emeritus 14; Associate 1.
- Vermont Junior College, Montpelier, Vt. Active 1.
- Vermont, University of, and State Agricultural College, Burlington, Vt. Chapter Officers: Samuel M. Bogorad, *Pres*; Willard A. Fletcher, *Sec.* Active 59; Emeritus 11; Junior 1; Associate 3.
- Villanova University, Villanova, Pa. Chapter Officers: Vito J. DiVincenzo, *Pres*; Frederick M. Burgess, *Sec.* Active 42.
- Virginia Interment College, Bristol, Va. Active 1.
- Virginia, Medical College of, Richmond, Va. Chapter Officers: Jesse H. Weatherby, *Pres*; Leslie E. Edwards, *Sec.* Active 17; Emeritus 1.
- Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va. Active 4; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va. Chapter Officers: Edward A. Hancock, *Pres*; William L. Gibson, Jr., *Sec.* Active 52; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- Virginia Polytechnic Institute (Radford College), Radford, Va. Active 18; Associate 1.
- Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va. Chapter Officers: Clarence C. Gray, III, *Pres*; Mary W. Neugent, *Sec.* Active 34; Emeritus 1; Junior 1.
- Virginia State College (Norfolk Branch), Norfolk, Va. Chapter Officers: Roy A. Wood, *Pres*; Thelma B. Watson, *Sec.* Active 21; Junior 2.
- Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va. Active 7; Emeritus 1.
- Virginia, University of, Charlottesville, Va. Chapter Officers: James Hart, *Pres*; Irby B. Cauthen, Jr., *Sec.* Active 98; Emeritus 2; Junior 2; Associate 3.
- Virginia, University of (Mary Washington College), Fredericksburg, Va. Chapter Officers: Stanley F. Bulley, *Pres*; Mildred Cates, *Sec.* Active 46.
- Wabash College, Crawfordville, Ind. Chapter Officers: John F. Charles, *Pres*; Victor M. Powell, *Sec.* Active 22; Associate 1.
- Wagner Lutheran College, Staten Island, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Virgil Markham, *Pres*; Johann Schulz, *Sec.* Active 42.
- Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, N. C. Chapter Officers: Dalma A. Brown, *Pres*; John E. Parker, Jr., *Sec.* Active 23; Emeritus 1.
- Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa. Active 7.
- Washburn University of Topeka, Topeka, Kans. Chapter Officers: Richard M. Godlove, *Pres*; Margaret Southworth, *Sec.* Active 37; Emeritus 2.
- Washington College, Chestertown, Md. Active 9; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Washington College of Education, Central, Ellensburg, Wash. Chapter Officers: Edmund L. Lind, *Pres*; John P. Allen, *Sec.* Active 49; Emeritus 1; Associate 3.
- Washington College of Education, Eastern, Cheney, Wash. Chapter Officers: William R. Dell, *Pres*; Mabel L. Bright, *Sec.* Active 26.
- Washington College of Education, Western, Bellingham, Wash. Chapter Officers: Howard J. Critchfield, *Pres*; Herbert R. Hearsey, *Sec.* Active 18; Emeritus 3.
- Washington, State College of, Pullman, Wash. Chapter Officers: Richard D. Daugherty, *Pres*; Winifred Knox, *Sec.* Active 140; Emeritus 5; Junior 3; Associate 1.
- Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. Chapter Officer: John A. Modrick, *Sec.* Active 26; Emeritus 3.
- Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va. Active 5; Emeritus 1.
- Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Chapter Officers: William Ringler, *Pres*; Homer C. Bishop, *Sec.* Active 135; Emeritus 8; Junior 5; Associate 2.
- Washington, University of, Seattle, Wash. Chapter Officers: Arnold Stein, *Pres*; Frederick S. Hulse, *Sec.* Active 249; Emeritus 22; Associate 5.
- Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. Chapter Officers: Edwin B. Smith, *Pres*; Max Mark, *Sec.* Active 194; Emeritus 1; Junior 4; Associate 4.
- Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pa. Active 8; Emeritus 2.
- Webb Institute of Naval Architecture, Glen Cove, N. Y. Active 2.
- Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. Chapter Officers: Katherine C. Balderston, *Pres*; Joseph L. Sullivan, *Sec.* Active 70; Emeritus 8; Associate 2.
- Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. Chapter Officers: Robert G. Marshall, *Pres*; Lynn Kirtland, *Sec.* Active 27; Emeritus 2.
- Wenatchee Junior College, Wenatchee, Wash. Active 1.
- Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga. Active 3; Emeritus 3.
- Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Chapter Officer: Louis Q. Mink, *Pres.* Active 55; Emeritus 6.
- West Liberty State College, West Liberty, W. Va. Chapter Officers: Emil A. Holz, *Pres*; Vivian R. Boughter, *Sec.* Active 15.
- West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery, W. Va. Active 14.

- West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va. Chapter Officer: Neal Riden, Jr., *Pres.* Active 15; Associate 1.
- West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. Chapter Officers: Armand E. Singer, *Pres.*; Charles P. Yost, *Sec.* Active 81; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, W. Va. Chapter Officer: S. A. Small, *Pres.* Active 18; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Westbrook Junior College, Portland, Maine. Active 1.
- Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, N. C. Active 4.
- Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Ruth Limmer, *Pres.*; Margaret A. Barrier, *Sec.* Active 29; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md. Chapter Officers: Reuben S. Holthaus, *Pres.*; Jean Kerschner, *Sec.* Active 25; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Western Ontario, University of, London, Ont. Active 12.
- Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Arvel B. Erickson, *Pres.*; Lawrence W. Kuhl, *Sec.* Active 155; Emeritus 11; Junior 2; Associate 9.
- Westmar College, Le Mars, Iowa. Chapter Officers: Merrill C. Davis, *Pres.*; Rose Hoebet, *Sec.* Active 18.
- Westminster College, Fulton, Mo. Active 4.
- Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. Chapter Officer: Paul E. Brown, *Pres.* Active 20; Emeritus 2; Associate 1.
- Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah. Active 1.
- Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill. Active 1.
- Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. Chapter Officers: Maud A. Marshall, *Pres.*; Nancy P. Norton, *Sec.* Active 31; Emeritus 3.
- Wheelock College, Boston, Mass. Active 6; Emeritus 1.
- Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. Chapter Officer: Richard H. Clem, *Sec.* Active 17; Emeritus 3.
- Whittier College, Whittier, Calif. Active 13; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Whitworth College, Spokane, Wash. Active 3.
- Wichita, University of, Wichita, Kans. Chapter Officers: Vergil A. Shipley, *Pres.*; Henry H. Malone, *Sec.* Active 63; Emeritus 1.
- Wilkes College, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Chapter Officers: Elwood Disque, *Pres.*; George F. Elliot, *Sec.* Active 16.
- Willamette University, Salem, Ore. Chapter Officer: Murco Ringnalds, *Pres.* Active 20; Emeritus 2; Associate 2.
- William and Mary, College of, Williamsburg, Va. Chapter Officers: Fraser Nieman, *Pres.*; Howard Stone, *Sec.* Active 44; Emeritus 1; Associate 2.
- William and Mary, College of (Norfolk Division), Norfolk, Va. Chapter Officer: Elizabeth M. Simcoe, *Sec.* Active 15.
- William and Mary, College of (Richmond Professional Institute), Richmond, Va. Chapter Officers: John T. Hilton, *Pres.*; Evelyn Cochran, *Sec.* Active 21.
- William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo. Active 6.
- William Woods College, Fulton, Mo. Active 1.
- Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. Chapter Officer: William G. Cole, *Pres.* Active 33; Emeritus 4; Associate 1.
- Willimatic State Teachers College, Willimatic, Conn. Active 9.
- Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio. Active 5.
- Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. Active 10; Emeritus 1.
- Winston-Salem Teachers College, Winston-Salem, N. C. Active 1.
- Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C. Chapter Officers: Allen D. Edwards, *Pres.*; Dorothy Jones, *Sec.* Active 27; Emeritus 2.
- Wisconsin State College, Eau Claire, Wis. Chapter Officers: Lee O. Hench, *Pres.*; Lillian Bahr, *Sec.* Active 28; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Wisconsin State College, LaCrosse, Wis. Chapter Officers: Emerson G. Wulling, *Pres.*; Arnold I. Temte, *Sec.* Active 14.
- Wisconsin State College, Oshkosh, Wis. Active 3.
- Wisconsin State College, Platteville, Wis. Associate 1.
- Wisconsin State College, River Falls, Wis. Chapter Officers: Charles J. Graham, *Pres.*; Richard A. Cooklock, *Sec.* Active 28; Associate 1.
- Wisconsin State College, Stevens Point, Wis. Active 4.
- Wisconsin State College, Superior, Wis. Active 8.
- Wisconsin State College, Whitewater, Wis. Chapter Officers: Henry A. De Wind, *Pres.*; Hildegard Kuse, *Sec.* Active 21.
- Wisconsin, University of, Madison, Wis. Chapter Officers: Louis Kaplan, *Pres.*; Robert L. Clodius, *Sec.* Active 262; Emeritus 19; Junior 2; Associate 6.
- Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of, Milwaukee, Wis. Chapter Officers: Irwin D. Rinder, *Pres.*; Florence L. Walz, *Sec.* Active 53.
- Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. Chapter Officers: Howard E. Maurer, *Pres.*; Paul K. Glascoe, *Sec.* Active 22; Emeritus 1; Associate 1.
- Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C. Active 6.
- Wooster, College of, Wooster, Ohio. Chapter Officers: F. James Davis, *Pres.*; Charles L. Adams, *Sec.* Active 33; Emeritus 2.
- Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Mass. Chapter Officer: Louis P. Granath, *Sec.* Active 11; Emeritus 2.
- Wyoming, University of, Laramie, Wyo. Chapter Officer: Gale W. McGee, *Pres.* Active 48; Emeritus 6; Associate 4.
- Xavier University, New Orleans, La. Active 9.
- Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio. Active 4.
- Yakima Valley Junior College, Yakima, Wash. Chapter Officers: Vera Johnson, *Pres.*; Robert S. Seamons, *Sec.* Active 9.
- Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Chapter Officers: August B. Hollingshead, *Pres.*; George A. Schrader, Jr., *Sec.* Active 100; Emeritus 16; Junior 2; Associate 3.

Yankton College, Yankton, S. Dak. Chapter
Officers: J. Laiten Weed, *Pres*; James H.
Cobb, *Sec.* Active 25; Junior 1.
Yeshiva University, New York, N. Y. Chap-
ter Officers: Meyer Atlas, *Pres*; Seymour

Lainoff, *Sec.* Active 30; Emeritus 1; As-
sociate 2.
Youngstown University, The, Youngstown,
Ohio. Chapter Officers: Eugene D. Scud-
der, *Pres*; Leonard T. Richardson, *Sec.*
Active 36.

Academic Vacancies and Teachers Available

To assist in the placement of college and university teachers the American Association of University Professors publishes notices of academic vacancies and of teachers available. Factual data and expressions of personal preference in these notices are published as submitted. It is optional with appointing officers and teachers to publish names and addresses or to use key numbers.

A member of the Association is entitled to one free announcement of his availability, not to exceed 100 words or 10 printed lines, during each volume-year, subsequent insertions being charged for at the rate of 50 cents a line. Non-members may also insert announcements at the same rate for each insertion. There is a charge of \$1.00 for each cross-reference. There is no charge to institutions of higher learning for the announcement of academic vacancies.

Letters in response to announcements published under key numbers should be sent to the Association's Central Office for forwarding to the persons concerned, a separate letter for each person. Address in care of the General Secretary, American Association of University Professors, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Vacancies Reported

Accounting: Midwestern university in metropolitan area desires to add a full-time professor to its faculty in the fall of 1957. C.P.A. and/or Ph.D. required. Salary can be supplemented by summer teaching and consulting work. V 1377

Associate Director and Statistician: Splendid opportunity for a person with at least a Master's degree in business or economics, with a background in applied economic statistics. Position is with a Bureau of Business Research in a South-eastern university. 12-month contract with a month's vacation. Salary dependent on experience and educational background. V 1378

Biology: Assistant or associate professor, depending on qualifications. Courses in general botany, general zoology, and possibly a course in the history of science. Other work according to qualifications. Ph.D. degree or at least Master's degree with additional work. Strong liberal arts college in Illinois. V 1379

Biology: State institution, for September, 1957. Teaching subjects: general biology, life sciences, bacteriology, histology. Rank and salary dependent on qualifications. In first letter give personal vitae, training and experience, references, picture, and salary expected. Chairman, School of Applied Science, Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William and Mary, 901 West Franklin Street, Richmond 20, Virginia.

Botanist: Plant physiologist to develop a vigorous teaching and research program in plant physiology. Must also be capable of teaching other courses in botany. Man with extensive biological background preferred. Ph.D. required. Large California university. Position open June or September, 1957 for instructor. Beginning salary \$4500, with opportunity for additional earnings by summer or extension teaching. Please give full details in first letter. V 1380

Business Administration: Professor wanted for fall, 1957, in private metropolitan university in the Middle West. Must have Ph.D. Salary and rank depend on

previous experience, publication, etc. Full-time salary can be supplemented by summer teaching. Opportunity exists for consulting work in the community.

V 1381

Chemistry: Assistant professorship, Eastern liberal arts college, in organic and analytical chemistry. Total student load of thirty or less. Excellent situation and climate for retiring professor. \$5500.

V 1382

Chemistry: Ph.D. or M.S. with additional training to teach organic chemistry and possibly a course in physical chemistry. Salary and rank according to qualifications. Permanent position in Midwest liberal arts college.

V 1383

Chemistry: Temporary appointment, 1 year, beginning September, 1957. General inorganic chemistry. State institution. Teaching experience necessary. In first letter give personal vitae, training and experience, references, picture, and salary expected. Chairman, School of Applied Science, Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William and Mary, 901 West Franklin Street, Richmond 20, Virginia.

Chemistry: Woman, to teach 2 years in India. Advanced chemistry degree required and 4 years' experience in teaching chemistry in college or university. State in detail experience and academic vitae. Give references. Wells, Associate Board, Women's Christian College, 36 Hill Street, Naugatuck, Connecticut.

Classics-English: Small East Coast liberal arts co-educational college requires man or woman to teach freshman English, classics in translation, two small sections of intermediate and advanced Latin. \$4000-\$4500.

V 1384

English: Eastern liberal arts college has one-year temporary appointment, renewable at instructor level only, to teach freshman and sophomore English, one semester of drama, and one semester of Renaissance. Excellent opportunity for young person desiring experience in advanced courses. Instructorship or assistant professorship (Ph.D. required for latter), depending on experience and training. \$4500-\$5300.

V 1385

English: Instructor or assistant professor, Far Western state university. Man or woman with Ph.D., experience, and specific qualifications for teaching in and sharing direction of freshman composition-communications program. Background in remedial area, testing, or reading comprehension helpful but not essential. Man with fresh ideas, publications, national professional associations in field preferred. Salary \$5000 up depending on qualifications.

V 1386

English: Southern College will have a vacancy beginning September, 1957, for a young man with a Ph.D. degree in English. He is to teach an advanced course in his special field, a sophomore survey course, and 3 freshman courses. Rank and salary will depend upon his particular qualifications. Inquiry and application should be made as soon as possible.

V 1387

European Study Tour: Lecturer and/or assistant conductor. Member of college faculty; art, languages, or social sciences preferred. All-expense-paid 2½ months' tour of Europe from New York to New York, plus minor expense allowance. Duties: Recruiting and organizing students; lecturing, and light supervisory and administrative duties during the tour.

V 1388

Geology (teacher for expanding program): Ph.D. or M.S. State training, experience, and availability. Retired teachers invited to inquire. Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri.

Mathematics: Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. Most of work at advanced undergraduate and graduate level. Employment in accordance with Civil Service regulations. Grade levels available: GS-9 (\$5440), instructor; GS-11 (\$6390), assistant professor; and GS-12 (\$7570), associate professor. Applications should be made on Standard Form 57, available at any Post Office, or by letter to Head of the Department of Mathematics, Resident Instruction Division, School of Engineering, Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio.

Mathematics: Assistant professor or professor, teachers college in the East, for September, 1957. Assistant professor to have successful teaching experience and to hold a Master's degree in mathematics or mathematics-education; salary, \$4698. Professor to have excellent teaching qualifications and to hold Doctor's degree; salary, \$6696. Position involves teaching undergraduate mathematics;

- for the professor, also graduate courses and an opportunity to develop a new curriculum. V 1389
- Mathematics: Midwestern state university desires a man for fall, 1957, with a Ph.D. and an interest in teaching. Rank: assistant professor or associate professor. Salary, \$6000 up for 9 months. V 1390
- Mathematics: Starting September, 1957, Portland State College will have several positions open at ranks commensurate with the qualifications and experience of the applicant. Write: T. S. Peterson, Chairman, Division of Science, Portland State College, Portland 1, Oregon.
- Mathematics: Associate professorship at a salary of \$6200 for 9 months with state pension, Social Security. Blue Cross, Blue Shield, group life insurance, and group health and accident insurance are optional. Tenure is indefinite. A Ph.D. degree with some published research is required. Assistant professorship at a salary of \$5200 for 9 months with the same additional benefits as for the associate professorship. Tenure is indefinite. Ph.D. degree is required. Instructorship at a salary of \$4200 for 9 months with same additional benefits as for the associate professorship. Tenure is temporary and is not expected to exceed 3 years. A Master's degree is required. Graduate assistantships at a salary of \$1600 for 9 months to teach 6 freshmen classes per week while earning a Master's degree. Nonresident tuition is waived. Tenure is temporary. A Bachelor's degree is required. R. F. Graesser, Head, Department of Mathematics, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.
- U. S. Bureau of Mines: Research and development positions in chemical, mining, petroleum, and ceramic engineering; metallurgy; chemistry; physics and related fields. Locations are in field stations throughout the country and in Washington, D. C. Salaries range from \$4480 to \$10,320 per annum.* Submit 2 copies of Standard Form 57, available in all Post Offices, to Branch of Personnel, Bureau of Mines, Washington 25, D. C.

In the near future the Department of English, History, and Government of the United States Naval Academy will hold a competitive examination to fill vacancies in the civilian faculty in English, history, economics, and American government. Appointments will be made in the rank of assistant professor, normally at \$4895 per annum, effective July 1. Among minimum requirements: doctorate, one year's college or university teaching. Inquiries should be directed to the Head of the Department of English, History, and Government, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

Teachers Available

- Academic Dean: Ph.D. 12 years' experience in college teaching, 3 years' experience in teaching-administrative combination. Interested in administrative, policy-forming responsibility with soundly financed college whose sponsoring body wishes to develop outstanding liberal arts education. Will consider technical college seriously interested in introducing strong liberal arts work. A 6312
- Accounting, Economics, Business Management: Man, 52, married, excellent health. Many years' successful business experience and college teaching experience. Widely traveled. Seek A-1 institution, financially stable, with vigorous faculty and high scholastic standards, Midwest or East. Available summer or fall, 1957. A 6313
- Accounting and/or Education: Man, 25, married. B.S. in accounting, M.A. in education; taught 1 year as instructor of college accounting, large Midwestern university; 2 years of experience with public accounting firms; member of A.A.U.P., A.A.A., and *Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges*. Prefer position with some student counseling responsibilities at a college or university. Will start Ph.D. program soon. Available September, 1957. A 6314
- Administration: Man, 42, married, 3 children. Ph.D., English, State University of Iowa. Former Chairman of Humanities Division and Head of English Department in liberal arts college of 800. 14 years' experience as college professor. At present have executive appointment in the U. S. Government. Seek deanship in liberal arts college. Salary of less importance than academic objectives of the institution. A 6315

Administration: Man, 37, married. Ed.D., educational administration. Desire position as president, dean, or similar post. Author, 4 books, editor of 3, and have 45 professional articles in print. Member of 19 learned societies. World traveller. Currently serving as director of institutional self-study. Available June or September, 1957. A 6316

Administration: Chairman of university department returning from significant European assignment desires presidency, academic deanship, or other administrative position offering opportunity for educational leadership. References available with respect to scholarship, personality, and administrative ability. A 6317

Administration-English: See English-Administration *Late Addenda*, Key No. A 6446

Administration—Student Personnel Services, Admissions, or Registrar: Man, 38, married, 2 children; B.S. in biology, M.A. in school administration, Ed.D. in higher education; 10 years' combined experience in teaching and administrative experience in a state teachers college and in a state university; experienced as a Dean of Men and Director of Admissions; formerly an associate professor of educational psychology; also trained and experienced in general education biology; lecturer in marriage and family life education. Available June, 1957 or before with 30 days notice. A 6318

Anthropology (Cultural): Special fields include (West) Africa, race-relations, culture-contact. British graduate training; field experience; 5 years' teaching experience, U. S.; publications. Married, 3 children. Available, June onward. A 6319

Art: Man, 41, married. B.F.A., Pratt Institute. M.A. in painting and graphics, University of Illinois. Assistant professor in prominent professional art school. 5 years' teaching and administrative experience in basic 2 and 3 dimensional design, sketching, figure drawing, illustration and graphics. Author-illustrator of several published children's books. Active exhibitor. Awards for graphics and publications. 8 years' professional art and design experience. Desire assistant professorship in liberal arts college or university. Northwest preferred. Available September, 1957. A 6320

Art: Man, single. Experienced teacher. Trained at Kunstgewerbe Schule, Hanover, Germany. M.A. and Ph.D., University of Chicago. Exhibited in U. S. since 1928. One-man shows in New York and Chicago. Available now, for college or art school. Painting, life drawing, design, theory, history of art. A 6321

Art History: Man, married, 2 children. B.A., M.A. in fine arts, Boston University. Special interests: 15th, 16th century Northern Renaissance painting and culture, Italian Renaissance art and culture, 19th and 20th century painting in Europe and America. Art historical research experience. 2 years' teaching in New York State. Member, College Art Association. Available June, 1957. A 6322

Biological Sciences, Zoology, Microbiology: Man, 35, family. Ph.D. 6 years' teaching. Broad training and teaching experience in invertebrates and vertebrates. 6 research papers, some grant-supported. Available September, 1957. A 6323

Biologist: Single, 28. Ph.D., zoology, U.C.L.A., 1954. Desire teaching position, preferably with research opportunity. Teaching preferences: embryology, general biology, general zoology, physiology, evolution. Research areas: embryology, oncology. University teaching and research experience. A 6324

Biology: Man, 37, Ph.D. Major interests: parasitology and physiology; academic minors: botany, bacteriology, biochemistry. 3 years' university teaching experience, exclusive of graduate teaching assistantships. Desire to return to teaching, if reasonable salary can be offered, otherwise must soon decide permanently to abandon teaching. Teaching experience largely in the area of general zoology and general physiology. Can be available after July. A 6325

Biology: Man, 36, married, 2 children, Ph.D. 10 years' teaching and research experience in large university and college. Experienced in biology, anatomy, physiology, microbiology, and physical education subjects. Available September 1, 1957. A 6326

Business Administration (Industrial Relations, Production, and Administrative

- Process): Man, 36, doctoral dissertation in progress. Considerable experience in industry and as a consultant. 5 years of successful experience in universities, teaching in the above and related areas. Excellent references. Seeking associate or assistant professorship. A 6327
- Business Law: Man. B.A., LL.B., M.A. Private practice of law and many years' experience teaching business law. Member, American Association of Business Law Teachers. Currently teaching in a junior college. Available only summer school, 1957. Prefer Far West or Northwest. A 6328
- Chemistry: Man, 34, married. B.A. in engineering chemistry; Ph.D. in physical and surface chemistry, Stanford University. 4 years of teaching and research in petroleum production engineering at major university. 6 years of research and administration in physical and surface chemistry. 14 publications. Member: A.C.S., A.I.M.E., A.A.U.P., A.S.E.E., Sigma Xi, Phi Lambda Upsilon. Desire academic position with both teaching and research opportunities. Available September, 1957. A 6329
- Chemistry: Man, 25, married. M.S., February, 1957. Recent teaching experience in general, organic, physical, qualitative analytical chemistry. Research experience. Organic chemistry background. Desire academic teaching and/or research position, preferably in organic and general chemistry. Interested in encouraging both the science and non-science student to develop appreciation for the scientific method. Available February, 1957. A 6330
- Chemistry: Man, 41, married. Ph.D., M.I.T., organic. Presently full professor and chairman of department, accredited midwestern college. Desire return to eastern school. Considerable academic and industrial research, publications and patents. Available June, 1957. A 6331
- Chemistry: Man, family. M.S., organic major. 4 years in industrial research. Experience teaching general, qualitative, quantitative, physical chemistry and general physics. Available June, 1957. A 6332
- Chemistry: Man, 41, married. M.S. and Ph.D., with major in biochemistry and minor in physiology. Strong background in analytical chemistry. 15 publications. 2 years' teaching experience on the university level: organic chemistry, biochemistry, chemistry for student nurses and medical technicians, instrumentation. Member: Phi Lambda Upsilon, Sigma Xi, A.A.A.S., A.C.S. Considerable research experience, both industrial and university. Desire academic teaching post with opportunity for research into cellular biochemistry and physiology. Available September, 1957. A 6333
- Chemistry: Man, 56, married, 2 boys. B.S., Haverford; Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania. 30 years in teaching. 19th year in present position; wish to change to a liberal arts colleges of 750 students or less. Publications, consulting work, research. A 6334
- Chemistry—Organic: Assistant professor, 34, married; wish to relocate September, 1957. 9 years' post-doctoral academic and industrial research. Directing M.S. and Ph.D. theses, publications, research grants, industrial consultant. Desire advancement in progressive department with good opportunities for research. A 6335
- Civil Engineering: Man, 44, married, children, Ph.D. Structural engineer and educator, full professor, registered engineer, rich academic and professional background. Invite correspondence regarding post as chairman of a civil engineering department or dean of engineering beginning September, 1957 or later. A 6336
- Classics: Man, 50, unmarried, Jew, European background. Dr. jur., M.A., Ph.D., New York University, Latin, Greek, ancient art, literature; published books and articles; member A.P.A., A.I.A.; highest recommendations; presently teaching classics at large university. Desire position at university or liberal arts college, preferably eastern seaboard. Available February, 1958. A 6337
- Dance, contemporary: Woman, studied ballet with Agnes Boone and Bernardi; modern dance with Martha Graham, and member of her concert group. Teaching experience: Converse College, YMHA, community and settlement houses. Founder and director, School of Thought of the Dance and Its Related Arts (New York City). Wide concert experience. Available for part or full time teaching, summer sessions, workshops. Highest recommendations. A 6338

Economics: Man, 34, married. M.S., A.M., Ph.D., University of Illinois. 5 years in business; last 4 years in teaching. Economic thought, price and income theory, money and banking, corporation finance, investments, managerial economics, international economics, economic systems. Available September, 1957. A 6339

Economics: Man, 65, unmarried. M.A., history, Columbia, plus all requirements for Ph.D., except dissertation. Summer schools at several other large universities. 8 years' teaching senior economics, plus history. Excellent background and practical experience in railroad transportation. Much personal independent study of general economics. Historical publication published in January, 1956. Liberal, progressive, stressing critical approach and emphasizing factors of social change. Desire permanent, part or full-time position, northern United States, fall, 1957. A 6340

Economics, Economic Geography: Man, 30, married, 2 children. M.A., Columbia; all Ph.D. requirements (Columbia) completed and first draft of dissertation complete. 4 years' teaching experience at large Eastern university in fields listed above at both undergraduate and graduate levels. 2 years' industrial experience in area of market research and general statistical analysis. Capable of teaching in own special field of economic history, international trade and development, industrial concentration, and theory as well as general subjects. Seek relocation in college or university hospitable to research. Résumé upon request. Available September, 1957. A 6341

Economist: Man, 52. Seek challenging new position at end of present visiting professorship in 1958 (conceivably earlier). Ph.D., Stanford, 25 years' university teaching in many fields, much at graduate level. Also research and administrative work for government and private foundations. Business experience. 2 books plus many articles in professional journals. Married, 4 children. A 6342

Education: Man, 49, married, child. Ph.D., Yale. Professor, chairman of department at well-known liberal arts college. Fields: history and philosophy of education, educational psychology, secondary school methods, comparative education, education of the handicapped. Member of several professional societies. Publications. Extensive travel. Interested in permanent position offering opportunity for greater service in teaching or administration. Excellent references. A 6343

Education (Special—Mental Retardation; Science), and/or Human Relations Studies: Man, 36, married. Ed.D. in special education and human relations studies. Desire summer position for 1957. Presently professor of exceptional children education. 8 years' experience on college, high school, and junior high school levels, including 1 year in Burma as Fulbright science supervisor. World travelled. Articles on science, human relations, and special education published in *The Science Teacher*, *American Biology Teacher*, *The New Times of Burma* (Rangoon), *Clearing House*, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, and accepted for future publication by *Science Education* and *Phi Delta Kappan*. A 6344

Engineering: Ph.D., 37 years of age, interested in teaching mechanics. Background a combination of advanced study, teaching, and research work. Specialty of elasticity, experimental stress analysis, structures, and related fields of mechanics. Desire to teach a combination of undergraduate and graduate courses with time for industrial research in above mentioned fields. Present position as associate professor in mechanics department. Invite correspondence regarding position as described above which offers "Professional Advancement." A 6345

Engineering: Registered engineer with 21 years of progressively responsible experience, including 6 years of foreign service. B.S. degrees in civil and electrical engineering (1936) and M.S. in engineering (1952). 4 years' teaching in mechanics at undergraduate and graduate level, sometime consultant to well-known firms. Married, 3 children. Would welcome correspondence regarding full professorship in (preferably) a private institution. A 6346

English: Man, 49, married. Ph.D., Minnesota; 20 years' college and university teaching; author 2 books, editor of a third. Special interests: freshman English, humanities, 19th century English literature, 20th century British and American literature. Prefer, but do not insist on; liberal arts college or small university, East or Middle West. A 6347

English: Man, 29, married, 1 child. Ph.D. Milton, Shakespeare, Drama. 5 years of broad teaching experience. Desire position in Southwest. Available September. A 6348

- English, Husband and wife. Both Ph.D.'s in English. 10 and 5 years' experience. Renaissance, Milton; creative writing, novel, American literature. Desire positions together. Available June or September. A 6349
- English: Man, 46, married. Have taught creative writing or literature at Yale, U. of Iowa, Wayne U., Mt. Holyoke (Resident Poet four years), and Columbia (lecturer in short story). Author of 4 novels (one recommended by Book-of-the-Month Club), 4 collections of poetry; contributor to over 40 publications such as *Atlantic*, *S.R.L.*, *Am. Mercury*, *Yale Review*, *L. Home Journal*, *Poetry*, *New Republic*. On staffs of 3 writers' conferences; have made recordings of own work for Harvard Vocarium Series of Modern Poets. Will consider instructorship. A 6350
- English: Man, 36, married. M.A., Ph.D., Columbia. 7 years' college teaching, 7 years' business and government. Can start September, 1957, in, or within commuting distance of, New York City area. Credentials upon request. A 6351
- English: Woman, 33. Ph.D. Degrees in Pennsylvania and Middle West. Fellowships, Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Delta Kappa Gamma. 8 years' university teaching. Adviser to campus organizations. Also library and government experience. Independent travel in Europe, the Levant, North and South America. Special interests: American literature, composition. A 6352
- English: Man, 38, married, children. Ph.D. At present assistant professor in private university. 10 years' university level teaching experience. Specialties: 17th century, bibliography. Numerous publications, 1955 research fellow. No geographical limitations at associate professor level. A 6353
- English: Man, married, 2 children. Ph.D., leading university. Over 20 years' varied, successful teaching, university and college. Chairmanship and other administrative experience. Major fields: literary criticism and Shakespeare. Publication and work in progress. Desire associate or full professorship, university or strong liberal arts college. Prefer urban location, East, but will consider other situations. Available September, 1957. A 6354
- English: Man, 37, married, 2 children. Ph.D., Brown. Major field: American literature. Other interests: English literature since 1500, especially 19th century and the novel. Publications. 9 years' experience college teaching. Fulbright lecturer in Denmark. Available summer or fall, 1957. A 6355
- English: Man, 1956-57 visiting professor (from England), M.A. (Cantab.). 6 years' Senior English Master of Bootham School, England, lecturer and broadcaster, author of *Four Quartets' Rehearsed* (1946), *Chaucer* (1952), articles in *Speculum*, *Notes & Queries*, etc.; lecturing at Loyola University English Summer School, Chicago, July 1-August 9; considering long-term openings in this country. Raymond Preston, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.
- English-Administration: Man, 40, Ph.D. 11 years' undergraduate and graduate teaching in larger western state colleges and universities; administrative work; many committee memberships and chairs. Veteran; Ford Foundation, Huntington Library Fellow; M.L.A., A.A.U.P. officer. Listed *D.A.S.* Publications in 1956, 1 book, 3 articles; others printed and pending. Special interests: British novel, neo-classicism, general Semantics—but teach shamelessly and enthusiastically in other areas when asked. Like present job as associate professor at \$6500 for 12-hour load, but might leave for better salary, prestige, location, research opportunities, or a combination of these. Available fall, 1957. A 6356
- English and/or American Literature, American Civilization: Man, 31, married, 2 children. Educated at Hamilton and Pennsylvania; Ph.D. course work complete. 3½ years' experience in English, freshman composition, drama history, short story; also "engineering English" and 1 year chairman of business English sections, large university. Currently hold editorship and teach part-time. Desire responsible full-time position with good possibilities for tenure, either immediate or after dissertation accepted. Prefer strong liberal arts program. A 6357
- Fishery Biology, Zoology, or General Biology: Man, 46, married, 4 children. Ph.D. 10 years' teaching experience in zoology and biology; 9 years' research experience in fisheries. Publications. Available fall, 1957. A 6358
- French: Man, 37, single. A.B., Ph.D., Princeton. Special interest: basic courses and introduction to literature. Co-author of textbook introducing oral practice, and of 2 other textbooks. Currently assistant professor at large uni-

- versity. Desire associate or full professorship, and/or department head. Prefer South and West, but do not limit possibilities to this region. A 6359
- French, German, Elementary Spanish: Man, Ph.D., Paris, fellow Yale University, 10 years' teaching experience, excellent references. Available summer or fall. A 6360
- French; Latin, Greek Language and Civilization: Englishman, 47, married, 3 children, 5th year U. S. residence. M.A. (Honors), Cambridge University, England. Variety teaching experience, including good U. S. college preparatory school. Many published translations from French. Broad interests. Widely traveled, with periods residence French and Spanish speaking countries. Organizing and administrative experience. Desire teaching position in September, 1957. Curriculum vitae, references, on request. A 6361
- French, Latin, Spanish, German, Comparative Literature: Man, 42, single, Ph.D. Continental background, of bilingual (French and German) origin. Extensive U. S. teaching experience, strong U. S. recommendations. Resigned headship romance language department in Midwestern college because of desire to live in large city or within commuting distance. Available fall, 1957. A 6362
- French, Spanish: Man, 46, married, 2 children. Ph.D. 25 years' teaching, mostly on college level. Have taught all normal undergraduate courses in French and Spanish. Now head of Department of Romance Languages in liberal arts college. Would prefer to be in a university or larger liberal arts college. Any location considered. Special interests: 17th century French literature and drama, courses in language teaching. Available summer or fall, 1957. A 6363
- French, Spanish, German: Man, middle aged, single. A.B., M.A., all class work completed for Ph.D. 24 years' teaching experience; 12 college level, 12 senior high school. Studied at the Sorbonne and Royal University at Perugia, Italy. Any location considered for 1957-58. A 6364
- Genetics (Biochemical and General): Man, 31, married. B.S. and M.A. in chemistry; M.S. and proximate Ph.D. in biochemical genetics. Also trained in microbiology and plant physiology. Some teaching experience. Available September, 1957. A 6365
- Geography: Man, 36, married, 2 children. B.S., geology-geography; M.A., history and political science; Ed.D., geography-geology. Publications, 2 books, 2 in preparation. Listed in *American Men of Science*. Now 7th year department chairman, liberal arts college. Other teaching experience. Qualified to teach wide range of geography courses and basic geology ones. Have set up 2 departments, present one offers B.A., B.S., M.A. degrees. Seek chairmanship or professional advancement. Available summer or fall, 1957. A 6366
- Geology: Man, 27, married. B.S., engineering; M.S., geology; Ph.D. approximately half finished. 1 year teaching experience at rank of instructor, plus 3 teaching fellowships, industrial experience in mineral exploration. Listed in *Who's Who in American Education*. Member Tau Beta Pi, Sigma Gamma Epsilon, Sigma Xi, A.A.U.P., A.I.M.E. Publications. Desire position as instructor or assistant professor teaching general geology, structural geology, ore deposits, tectonics and/or field geology. Available September, 1957. A 6367
- Geology, Geography: Man, 39. Ph.D. Experience: 8 years college and university, of which 3 years were as department chairman, 9 years non-academic positions. Publications; author. Member various professional and scientific organizations in U. S. and abroad. Listed in various directories. Extensive experience in foreign travel and public relations. Qualified to teach other sciences. Desire teaching appointment at undergraduate and/or graduate level. Would prefer a Midwest, West Coast or New England university. Available September, 1957. A 6368
- German, Humanities, Philosophy: Man, 57, married. European Ph.D. Former positions: European universities and colleges, American colleges. Publications. Available on short notice. A 6369
- German, Librarianship: Man, 32, married, European background. Ph.D., M.S. in library science, with several years' experience in large academic library. Desire position in smaller liberal arts college or university, which is expanding its foreign language program and wants a teacher of German while also having need for a competent humanities librarian. Would consider teaching some hours of library science. A 6370

Health and Physical Education: Man, 55, married. B.S. in education, B.P.E., Ed.D. 24 years' experience in college teaching and 4 years' experience in high school teaching and coaching. Special interest and experience in the field of teacher education. Recipient of Honor Award of the Southwest District, American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. Listed in *Who's Who in American Education*. Member of N.E.A., A.A.H.P.E.&R., C.P.E.A., W.C.M.P.E.S., A.H.E., A.A.U.P., various state professional organizations. Member of various civic and church organizations. Available June, 1957. A 6371

History: Man, 46, married. Ph.D., Cornell University. 4 years' college teaching; also administrative experience in business. Currently in university administration and anxious to return to teaching, writing, and research. Field: general American history, American economic history, recent American history, modern European history, 19th century English history. Articles published. Manuscript being considered for publication as book. Travel abroad. Public speaking experience. Available September, 1957, possibly summer, 1957. Wife has M.A. in education, 6 years' elementary teaching experience. A 6372

History: Man, 41, married, 1 daughter, Presbyterian. B.S. in education, Ph.D., University of Missouri. 15 years' college teaching. Now associate professor. Specialties: Recent U. S., American Diplomatic, Frontier. Minors: American Government and Social Studies. Publications: 9 articles; co-author, 2 studies. Projected: 2 volume biography and editor volume of essays. Television lecturer and program manager. Instructor Naval Reserve Officers School. Prefer liberal arts school eastern half U. S. Administrative duties acceptable. Available September, 1957 or 1958. A 6373

History: Man, 38, married, 3 children. Ph.D., 1953. 9 years' college teaching experience. 1 article. Member, A.H.A., M.V.H.A., A.A.U.P. Now head of social studies department at church-related college in the West. Would like to relocate in Midwest to improve salary and professional contacts. Available summer or fall, 1957. A 6374

History: Man, 33, Ph.D., Harvard; on faculty of ivy league university. Desire summer school teaching, 1957. Either survey European history course or any British and British Empire history. A 6375

History: Man, 32, married, veteran. Ph.D., University of California. 7 years' college teaching experience in American, European, Far Eastern history, and American government and foreign policy. Specialties: recent American history, diplomatic history, and Civil War period. Available June, 1957. A 6376

History: Man, 43, veteran, family. Ph.D., major Eastern university. 11 years' teaching of graduate and undergraduate courses in American history. Theses supervision. Research on Colonies, South, and Westward Movement with book and other publications. More underway. Now associate professor with tenure at Deep South state university. Desire position in more liberal environment. A 6377

History: Man, 40, married. Ph.D., Harvard University; Sorbonne, 2 years. 3 years' teaching experience at leading university and liberal arts college. Field of specialization: modern Europe. Prepared to teach all periods of European history. Experience in teaching survey course at two institutions. Preparing part of recently completed thesis for publication. With government several years prior to entering academic profession. Available July, 1957. A 6378

History: Man, 65, unmarried. M.A., history, Columbia, plus all requirements for Ph.D., except dissertation. Summer schools at several other large universities. 11 years' experience teaching modern European history. Some experience teaching American history. Excellent background in economics. Some experience in railroad transportation. Publication, January, 1956: *Christianity, A Critique of Christian Doctrine*. Liberal, progressive, stressing social, economic, critical approach, and emphasizing factors of social change. Want permanent, part or full-time position, as instructor in modern European history, northern part of United States, fall, 1957. A 6379

History and Allied Subjects: Man, 35, married, 1 child. Wartime service. Ph.D. (1952) in economic history from leading midwestern university. Broad background in teaching, including 7 years' university and college experience in U. S. and European history, political science, economics. Familiar with recent con-

cepts in anthropology and sociology, and have organized an introductory course in the social sciences. Several articles published, 1 book. Presently assistant professor at state-supported college. Available June, 1957. A 6380

History and/or Economics: Man, 31, married, 2 children. M.A., Michigan; Ph.D. candidate, Florida. 5 years in college teaching; now assistant professor of economics at a small Eastern college for women. Prefer to teach modern European and Latin American history; comparative economic systems or comparative government; labor relations; and introductory courses. Would like, but do not require, a liberal arts college in the Middle West or Florida. Available after June, 1957. A 6381

History and International Relations: Man, 40, married, children. Ph.D., University of Chicago; steady teaching positions; research aptitude; excellent qualifications and references. A 6382

History and/or Political Science: Ph.D., Columbia, Phi Beta Kappa, Tau Kappa Alpha, *Who's Who in America*, etc. Retired after 35 years' teaching in two first class colleges. 1955-56, Visiting Professor from the John Hay Whitney Foundation at an Eastern college. 1956-57, Visiting Professor at an Ohio college. 450 major students in many walks of life and professions. Have taught all normal courses on the undergraduate level in American and European history and political science, except public administration. Have specialized for years in the introductory course for freshmen in the social sciences. Would like to teach by the year, semester, or quarter. Available September, 1957. A 6383

History, Political Science, International Relations: Woman, 32, single. B.A., M.A., Ph.D. candidate, Oxford University. 5 years' administrative, publishing and research experience, 2 years' teaching. Special subjects: British and British Commonwealth history, 19th and 20th century Europe, international organization, African affairs. Have also taught American history and foreign policy, American intellectual history. Fulbright and Ford Fellow; extensive foreign travel. Available September, 1957. A 6384

History and U. S. Government: Man, 38, married, 2 children. Ph.D., U. S. history, 1951, Columbia University. Book to be published in 1957. Book reviews published in 1952 and 1955. Taught U. S. Constitution (Political Science 101), in college, 1954. 2 years' experience as Assistant Order-Librarian for Serials and Government Documents in college library. 3 years' experience teaching 12th grade U. S. history and 12th grade modern history in high schools. Minor, history of England and British Empire. Desire position teaching history in a college anywhere. Available July, 1957. A 6385

Home Economics: B.S. in home economics, M.S., Columbia University. Expect to receive Ph.D. in June, 1957. Have had widely varied experience in the field of home economics. 8 years' college teaching, 3 years in administrative-type work. Desire position as head of a home economics department. Southwest or South preferred. A 6386

Humanities, Philosophy, Western Civilization: Man, Ph.D., years of European and American experience. A 6387

Library Director or Library School Professor: Man, 35, married, 2 children. Ph.D. Varied experience in research and college libraries. Will be listed in Vol. 38, *Who's Who in America*. Library association officer; publications. Present salary \$7000. Available June, 1957. A 6388

Mass Communications: Ph.D. Experienced in administration, curriculum development, production, instruction, and research in radio, television, and films. Family man. Now director of radio-television section at midwest university. Excellent record with present employer. Seeking permanent position with future. Salary, location, open. A 6389

Mathematics: Man, European background. Ph.D. in political science, University of Bonn, Germany, and M.A. in mathematics; the latter degree is an adequate equivalent to a local degree of Ph.D. in mathematics. 14 years' university and junior college teaching experience in Europe and 5 years' teaching experience at an accredited small liberal arts college in New England. Member of American Mathematical Society. Desire position at an undergraduate or junior college. Excellent references. Extensive travel throughout Europe. Available September, 1957. A 6390

- Mathematics: Man, 45, American, married, 2 children. Ph.D. Professor, 15 years' college and university teaching experience, 7 years as department head, 5 years' applied mathematics in scientific development work. Strong in applied mathematics and mathematics education at the college level. Membership in professional organizations, officer in one, scholastic honors, publications. Prefer departmental chairmanship with institution interested in providing a balance between good teaching and research. Excellent references. Position, salary, and availability open. A 6391
- Mathematics: Man, 45, M.A., proximate Ph.D. 3 years' university teaching experience. Excellent references. Available June, 1957. A 6392
- Mathematics: Man, 38, married, 3 children. Ed.D., with major in education and minors in mathematics and school administration. A.B., with major in mathematics. Experience: high school plus 11 years of college mathematics teaching; also engineering and research. Publications in several journals. Areas of special interest: secondary mathematics, measurement and evaluation, statistics and research. Invite correspondence regarding college, university, or junior college teaching or administrative positions. A 6393
- Mathematics: Man, 42, married, 3 children. 14 years' experience in mathematics and physics teaching in leading engineering college. B.A., Montclair Teachers College; M.S. in mathematics, N.Y.U. Ph.D. in mathematics education, N.Y.U. Was assistant professor of physics; now associate professor of mathematics. Major interest is undergraduate mathematics teaching. Would prefer large university School of Education, with strong statistics department. Would like to teach, write, guide research. Excellent references from present employer, former students and teachers. Available fall, 1957. A 6394
- Mathematics, English Literature, Philosophy: M.A. of the University of Oxford, England. 16 years' successful experience in both undergraduate and graduate teaching in England and in U. S. A. Desire appointments for summer, 1957 and for academic year 1957-58. A 6395
- Music: Man, married. Symphony and opera conductor, violinist, music education. B.M. in violin, B.Mus.Ed., M.A. 10 years' teaching experience in strings, music education, theory, appreciation, conducting, orchestration. Also professional experience: symphony, opera, radio, ensemble. Member: A.A.U.P., A.S.T.A., Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia. Successful teaching record. Recommendations. Consider any locality with a growing, stimulating music school. Available summer or fall, 1957. A 6396
- Music: Man, 41, married, veteran, Dr. of Fine Arts (musicology), Chicago. Performer, pianist, choir director, 10 years' college teaching: music history, music theory, fundamentals in music, music appreciation, etc.; also German and French. Member: Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia. Excellent references. Available September, 1957. A 6397
- Music: Woman, retired after teaching organ-playing and serving as college organist for 33 years. Also experienced church organist and musician and organ recitalist. Fellow in the American Guild of Organists and A.M., Radcliffe College. Would like to teach part- or full-time by the year or the semester. Available September, 1957. A 6398
- Music (Conductor, Soloist, Educator): Man, 30; B.A. in music, M.M.; graduate fellow, Eastman, graduate study Juilliard, American Conservatory, and with Pierre Moneaux and Walter Hendl. Experience: teaching; conducting symphony and choral organizations; directing concert and marching band with superior results and honors; department administration, public relations, college admissions. Past 3 years, conductor, college-community symphony, college band; in charge of string, music education, and conducting courses; also conduct two choral societies and play professionally. Member, A.F.M., Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia; in *Who's Who in Music*. Excellent references, credentials upon request. Available June or September, 1957. A 6399
- Music, Education: Man, 33, married, 3 children. Performer, conductor, music education. Several years' concert violinist, symphony, radio, television, quartet experience. B.S., M.M., Wayne University; Ed.D., University of Virginia, Indiana University. 5 years' college teaching and some administrative experience in music education, orchestration, fundamentals of music, strings, conducting, etc. At present, in charge of string and music education programs in

- Eastern state university; conductor of university orchestra. Member: A.A.U.P., A.F.M., Phi Delta Kappa, Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia, *Who's Who in American Education*, etc. Excellent references. Available September, 1957. A 6400
- Music Educator: Available for entire summer, 1957. Subjects: Fundamental theory, harmony, pedagogy of harmony, church music, music history and appreciation, form and analysis, pipe-organ playing, class piano instruction and methods, conducting, and music methods for the elementary school. Henry R. Casselberry, D.Ed., State Teachers College, Kutztown, Pennsylvania.
- Music, History of Art, General Humanities: Man, 34, B.Mus., M.Mus., completing Ph.D. in eastern university. Broad liberal education in history, literature, language, psychology, besides specialties. World traveler. Studied in museums, Europe and South America. 8 years' college teaching, piano, music history, music theory, history of art. Developed and taught general education course embracing literature, music and fine arts within historical perspective. Perform on piano. Interested in total educational program, including counseling. Desire position in college or university teaching any of subjects mentioned. Welcome opportunity to develop new or young department of music or fine arts. Excellent references. Available September, 1957. A 6401
- Philosophy, or German: Man, Ph.D., naturalized in 1946. Extensive teaching experience in America and Europe. Also available for humanities, World Literature. A 6402
- Philosophy, History of Philosophy: Man, 47, married, small family. Ph.D., University of Toronto. About 20 years' teaching experience in both Catholic and public institutions. Some administrative experience, public service experience. Publications rather considerable. Full particulars and references on request. Middle West preferred. A 6403
- Philosophy and/or History of Religion: A.B., *Magna cum laude*, and A.M., Harvard, Ph.D., Iowa. Phi Beta Kappa. Now visiting professor of history of religions; retired after 35 years teaching in mission colleges in India and Pakistan. Health excellent. Specialty: Indian regional studies. Have taught at Harvard, Columbia, Duke. Available September, 1957. A 6404
- Physical Education: Man, 32, married, 2 children. M.A., Teachers College, Columbia University, some credits toward Ph.D. 6 years' college teaching and coaching, 4 of these as Director of Physical Education and Athletics in branch of a state engineering college. Public health sanitarian summers. Member: A.A.U.P., N.E.A., M.E.A., C.P.E.A., A.A.H.P.E.&R. Can coach soccer, basketball, track, direct intramurals, teach health, physical education, first aid. Desire responsible position in larger college as director or assistant in intramurals or athletics. A 6405
- Physical Education: Man, 52, married, 2 children. Ph.D., New York University. 27 years' teaching experience in camps, private school, colleges, university, and national staff of American Red Cross. Have taught many major and minor courses in teacher training program. Coaching has produced All-American players. Present rank, professor. Desire summer position. A 6406
- Political Science: Man, 34, single. M.A., Ph.D. Post-doctoral visiting fellowship at Princeton. Nearly 6 years' teaching experience. 2 years' research on contract. Currently serving with the Government. Fields: political theory, comparative government, English Government and British Commonwealth, American National Government, international politics, area study East Europe and Soviet Union. Cognate discipline economics. Veteran. Listed in directories: A.P.S.A., American Economic Association, *American Men of Science*. Publications include a book (co-author) in the field of foreign institutional changes, journal articles, and book reviews. Available fall, 1957. A 6407
- Political Science: Man, married, 3 children. B.A., M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. in international relations. 7 years' teaching experience, plus business and legal. Fields: international law, international politics, international organization, American and comparative government, civil liberties. Veteran. Widely travelled. Available immediately, or September, 1957. A 6408
- Political Science: Man, 31, married. Ph.D., Chicago. 3 years' teaching experience in Western state university and in liberal arts college, including introductory courses in both history and government, plus wide variety advanced

courses. Fields of major interest: political theory, political sociology, international relations. Articles and reviews in academic and general periodicals. Radio work. Overseas veteran World War II and Korean War, military intelligence and psychological warfare background. Seeking association with strong department. Currently, assistant professor. Available summer or fall, 1957.
A 6409

Political Science: Man, 43, married, 2 children. Ph.D., University of Minnesota. Theory, American government (national, state, local), comparative government, international relations, world politics. Eighth year teaching at small Western state university, tenure status, but desire move to position with fuller opportunity for professional growth and more hopeful financial future. Also trained in journalism; 4 years' experience as feature writer, plus free-lancing in U. S. and Latin America. Overseas military service. Active in several professional societies, officer in two; papers, panels. Variety of published articles; book in process. Active in community. Excellent recommendations. If reasonable notice, available September, 1957.
A 6410

Political Science (Minor Field: Economics): Man, 40, married, 2 children. Ph.D., M.A., John Hopkins; A.B., Colgate; Phi Beta Kappa. Presently teaching government and economics at small Northeastern men's college. 7 years' teaching experience; current research for state advisory committee; supervisory experience in market and social research. Active in community affairs, radio-television work, candidate for public office. Fields: political parties, business and government, public administration, legislation, American government, state and local, comparative government, elementary economics. Desire permanent position promising academic freedom. Available summer, September, 1957.
A 6411

Political Science and History, European Government, International Relations, Political Theory, also some Economics: Man, mature, Ph.D.
A 6412

Political Science and/or Public Administration: Man, 25, single, veteran. M.G.A., University of Pennsylvania. Part-time college teaching experience in American government, public administration, personnel management, and accounting. Desire position in university. Available June, 1957.
A 6413

Psychologist: Man, B.A., English, University of California, Berkeley; M.A., education, University of Southern California, Los Angeles; Ph.D., applied psychology, Purdue. Retired at 55 after wide collegiate experience; past 3 years, lecturing, clinical psychology practice; prefer cooperative practice or university teaching and counseling, for a semester to 3 years. Will accept position involving solution administrative problems, such as entrepreneuring a department or psychological services (preferably with M.D. cooperation). Excellent references and family assets. A.P.A. Fellow, Sigma Xi, S.S.R.S., N.A.A.C.P., Unitarian.
A 6414

Psychology; Teacher, Counseling Psychologist: Man, 39, presently counseling psychologist, Veterans Administration. A.B. (Swarthmore), M.A. (Pennsylvania), psychology; Ed.D. requirements in guidance and student personnel administration, leading university, complete except dissertation. Years experience: 3 college teaching, 3 directing counseling service, 2 industry, 2 government (exclusive of military). 3 publications in psychology. Member: American Psychological Association, divisions of counseling and teaching psychology; N.E.A., N.V.G.A., A.P.G.A., A.C.P.A. Prefer coeducational liberal arts institution, Middle Atlantic. Will do admissions or other student personnel work; especially interested in deanship or personnel responsibility. Can teach and work with teachers toward improving student advising and counseling.
A 6415

Religion (Comparative Religion and Old Testament): Man, 52, Ph.D. Publications; 6 years' college teaching, state university. Fields of specialization: Near East, Hebrew, Arabic. Other interests: archaeology, literature, art history, languages. Training in various countries. Seek teaching position on graduate and undergraduate level. Invite correspondence for coming academic year.
A 6416

School Administration, Music Education, Vocal Music, and Music in General Education: Man, 37, married, 4 children. 13 years' college teaching experience. Mus.B., voice and theory; Mus.M., music education; Ed.D., school administration. Presently associate professor of music and director of music education.

- a challenging position in any one, or a combination of, the above areas. Available June, 1957. A 6436
- Biology, Genetics: Man, 28, single. B.A., Stanford University; M.S., Cornell University. Primary interest in undergraduate teaching. Seek position at liberal arts college. A 6437
- Economics: Man, 45, married, 2 children. Ph.D. in economics, Columbia. Now professor at small Eastern university. 7 years' teaching experience. 10 years' experience with Federal Government in Washington as economist in responsible staff positions. Specialties: economic principles; labor; planning; and courses integrating economics and political science at level of national economic issues. Publications. Desire teaching position at larger college or university with wider horizons and greater opportunities. Available September, 1957. A 6438
- Economics and Political Science—Summer, 1957 Lectureships: Man, European origin, in America since 1949. Well qualified, with varied experience, with creditable publication record; perfect in German; now faculty member at accredited American university. Desire summer lecturing positions in the United States or Germany and Austria, or as a leader of American student groups in foreign countries. Available June 1 to July 7, 1957. A 6439
- Economics and Sociology or History: Man, 43, married, 1 child. European background. Ph.D., Dr. jur., post-doctoral work in economics and sociology (Dr. Habil). Training and experience at a top foreign institute for socio-economic research. 10 years' teaching experience at a large Central European university, in adult education and an American college. Fluency in 5 languages. Member of several professional societies. Excellent references. Desire permanent position. Available summer or September, 1957. A 6440
- Education: Man, 40, married, 1 child. M.A. in English, Ed.D. in secondary school administration, Columbia University. 16 years of experience as high school teacher and counselor; considerable experience in teaching college extension courses, including school finance, extracurricular activities, and secondary school administration and supervision. Desire position in education department preparing teachers for secondary schools. Available July or September, 1957. A 6441
- Education: Woman, 44, unmarried. B.S., M.A., plus over a year of graduate study. Fields: elementary education, teacher education, educational psychology, 15 years of public school experience in rural schools and urban systems of Iowa and Minnesota. 6 years of college teaching in state institutions. Experienced in teaching elementary methods in the teaching of reading, language arts, arithmetic, social studies and science. Prefer to locate in Mississippi-Ohio Valley States. A 6442
- Education: Man, 52, married. Ed.D., Columbia University. Fields: educational administration, teacher education, secondary education. Formerly professor of secondary education in well known liberal arts college. Currently engaged in public school administration. Will serve in college or university administrative capacity. Experienced in teaching educational measurements, history of education, secondary school methods, philosophy of education, and supervision of student teachers. Wife is also a well qualified instructor in dramatics and elementary teacher education. Available summer and September, 1957. A 6443
- Engineering: Man, married, 3 children. Aeronautical, or engineering mechanics. 8 years' industrial experience in stress and structural analysis. 5 years' teaching experience. Held rank of assistant professor in 1951. Qualified: elasticity, plates and shells, elastic stability, structures, fluid mechanics, and airplane and helicopter aerodynamics. B.S., aeronautical engineering *magna cum laude*. M.S., aeronautical engineering and engineering mechanics. Research and papers; bending of thin-walled curved tubes, inelastic column theories, buckling of orthogonally stiffened plates, and biaxial fatigue stresses. Prefer teaching with research secondary. Middle Atlantic states desired but not mandatory. Request rank of associate professor or professor. A 6444
- English: Man, 34, single. M.A., Stanford; Ph.D., Harvard. Phi Beta Kappa. Publications, including a book. 8 years of college teaching in a wide range of courses in English and humanities. Specialist in Victorian literature and history of criticism. Desire assistant professorship in liberal arts college or university interested in good teaching and research. Excellent references. Available September, 1957. A 6445

- English-Administration: Man, 54, married, 2 children. Ph.D., Harvard. Department head Western state university with active supervision freshman program, interdepartmental humanities area courses, long and successful teaching and administrative experience, including visiting posts. Editorial background, textbooks; special interests: composition, introduction to literature-humanities, 19th century, criticism. Would like administrative and/or teaching position (full professorship) in more equable climate—Pacific Coast preferred. A 6446
- French: Woman, middle-aged, single, American citizen, European background and experience, plus 10 years' American college teaching; at present assistant professor. References from leading scholars, publications. Advancement less important than good library facilities. Specialties: Modern European literature, beginners' language courses. M.L.A., A.A.U.P., L.S.A., S.A.S.S. Can also teach German, Latin, Italian, humanities. Would consider part-time appointment, if full-time unavailable. A 6447
- German on all levels, French, and Latin: Woman, mature, European background. Dr. jur., Heidelberg University. 6 years in France. Special interest and publication in ethnology; teaching experience; desire college teaching position; prefer West, consider other; available on short notice. A 6448
- History: Man, 38, single, educated in European and American universities. Ph.D., Frankfurt University. 8 years' teaching experience, of which 6 were in the U. S. Formerly head of Research Section, Documents Intelligence, Records Division, UNRRA HQ, APO 757 U. S. Army. At present guest professor of social studies at a college in Switzerland. Excellent references. Desire permanent position. Available fall, 1957. A 6449
- History: Man, over 50, in excellent health, married. Ph.D. Associate professor. Widely travelled in Europe. Presently teaching undergraduate and graduate courses in American, English, European history, civilization, Renaissance. Author of several books and articles. Desire appointment for summer, 1957. A 6450
- Humanities, Philosophy and/or Education: Man, 55, family of 3. 20 years of teaching education, psychology, philosophy, social science in college and university, and English in secondary school. A.B., M.A., A.M., Ed.D., and Ph.D. candidate (all requirements fulfilled in a leading university, except partly-written thesis). Ex-editor, publications, experience in publicity. National biographical directories; professional and charitable societies. Present position permanent. Prefer connection with one institution. Available summer, 1957. Salary not primary issue. A 6451
- International Relations, Political Science, German, French: Man, 45, married, 2 children. Doctorate, jurisprudence and political science; Master of comparative law (George Washington University). European background. 8 years' foreign service for State Department and Defense Department, research associate in political science at Yale University; senior research associate, assistant professor at university in Washington, D.C. Fields: international law, international politics, international organization, American and comparative government. Major in U. S. Army Reserve (Public Information), freelance writing. Available on short notice. Excellent references. A 6452
- Microbiology: Man, 37, married, 3 children. Ph.D. 9 years' college experience teaching and research in virology and microbial genetics. Numerous publications. Research grants. Interested in position at university with graduate program. A 6453
- Music (Pianist): Graduate Juilliard School of Music, Master of Music, Southern California, 2 years in Europe. Private piano teaching 25 years. Teaching college piano, theory, musicianship, and music history since 1945. Class piano for beginners and master classes for advanced students for last 3 years. 2 texts in preparation. Special interest: chamber music. Member: A.A.U.P., Pi Kappa Lambda, M.T.N.A., Piano Teachers' Association. Available June, 1957. A 6454
- Philosophy and Great Books: Man, 35, family, Ph.D. 10 years' teaching experience (undergraduate and graduate) at large midwestern universities; publications. Desire position for summer, 1957. A 6455
- Philosophy, Psychology and/or Education: Man, 55, family of 3. A.B., M.A., A.M., Ed.D., Ph.D., except partly written thesis—Boston, Brown, Harvard Universities, etc. 16 years' college and university teaching in day and evening divi-

- sions; 10 years' chairman, division of philosophy, psychology, education. 20 years' instructor of English in high school; 5 years' director of public relations also. Ex-editor, publications. Member, A.P.A., A.A.U.P., A.A.A.S., etc. Listed in *Who's Who in East*, *Who's Who in American Education*, *Who Knows-What*, *A. F. and A.M.*, etc. Available for teaching or administration, or both, after June, 1957. Present positions permanent. Salary secondary issue. A 6456
- Political Science: Man, veteran, married, 4 children, Protestant. Ph.D. Desire environmental improvement for family, greater professional scope and potential in climate of high academic standards where fine teaching emphasized. Experience in radio broadcasting, 5 years in business, 9 in college and university teaching, including some fine summer appointments. Tenure status, associate professor, member of many professional societies. Book in progress. Specialties: international law, comparative government (including British and Latin American), American foreign policy. Have also regularly taught American national, state, municipal government, American political thought, political parties, international organization. Excellent up-to-date recommendations. Available fall. A 6457
- Political Science: Man, 46, Ph.D. American government and administration (national, state, local), Latin American government, comparative government, international relations. Varied college and university teaching in U. S. and Latin America. Most recent book in Latin American field. Desire change for reasons of professional growth. A 6458
- Political Science, French: Former Hungarian diplomat, political analyst, journalist, with doctorate. Details on request. A 6467
- Psychology (Social and Personality): Man, 33, married. Ph.D., Illinois. Over 5 years' teaching and research experience. A.P.A., S.P.S.S.I., Sigma Xi. Desire position in large college or university. 2 articles published, 3 in preparation. Available September, 1957. A 6459
- Psychology, Sociology, Political Science, Geography, History, Education, and Philosophy: Man, 32, single, Ph.D. 6 years' college teaching experience; highly successful; desire position in East. Available September, 1957. A 6460
- Sociology: Man, 46, married. Two Master's degrees and Ph.D. 18 years' experience. Specialization in race relations, criminology, family, social pathology. Desire to leave the Deep South. Available June or September, 1957. A 6461
- Soviet Specialist: Man, 36, married, no children. B.S., Harvard; some post-graduate work at Cornell and University of California. Experienced as intelligence officer and research analyst; 2 years' practical experience working with Soviets as translator and Assistant Secretary for Russian of U. S. Element of Allied Commission for Austria. Interested in possibility of teaching career. A 6462
- Spanish (Language, Literature and Linguistics): Ph.D. Well-versed in all Romance languages, as well as in general and Indo-European linguistics. Have reached salary ceiling in present position. Top references. Publications. A 6463
- Spanish and French: Man. Professor retired from a large eastern state university; seek position (with Social Security coverage). Visiting lecturer, 1 year, at eastern university. B.A., Haverford; M.A., Ph.D., Harvard. Phi Beta Kappa. Outstanding publications. Special fields: Old Spanish, modern literatures of Spain and Spanish America. Have also taught Romance philology, French (recently), Italian, and Portuguese. Available September, 1957. A 6464
- Speech: Man, 26, single. B.A. in English. M.A. in speech (theatre), Northwestern University. 2 years' experience teaching both fundamentals course and theatre courses. Desire position that will combine both directing and technical work. Available June. Midwest or East preferred but not essential. A 6465
- Speech and Public Address: Ph.D., general speech and public address. Experienced in teaching general speech and public address courses, undergraduate and graduate. Highly trained and experienced in debating and other speech activities. Married, middle forties. Prefer South, Southwest, Southeast, or West. Will consider other areas. Broad background and experience. Active in professional organizations. Employed but open to new suggestions. Papers including references sent on request to suitable openings. A 6466



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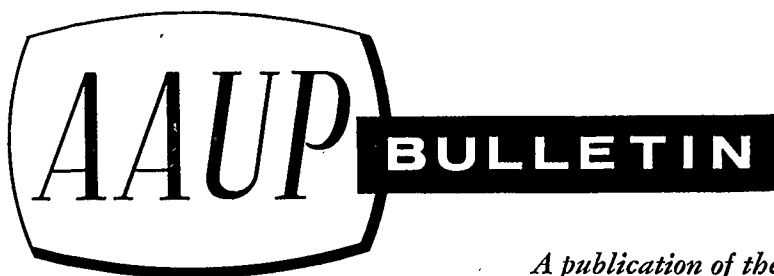


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VOLUME 43 NUMBER 1

Spring 1957

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