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87TH CONGRESS
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SENATE

DOCUMENT
No. 93

EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WORLD COMMUNISM

A SYMPOSIUM

PREPARED FOR THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

DOCUMENTS

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MAY 17 (legislative day, MAY 16), 1962.—Ordered to be printed

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S. Res. 335

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
May 17 (legislative day May 16), 1962.

Resolved, That there shall be printed as a Senate document a symposium prepared for the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, entitled "Education for Survival in the Struggle Against World Communism". There shall be printed six thousand additional copies of such Senate document which shall be for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate.

Attest:

FELTON M. JOHNSTON,
Secretary.

FOREWORD

The original resolution setting up the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on November 27, 1950, authorized and directed this subcommittee—

> to make a complete and continuing study and investigation of * * * the extent nature, and effects of subversive activities in the United States, its Territories and possessions, including but not limited to, espionage, sabotage, and infiltration by persons who are or may be under the domination of the foreign government or organizations controlling the world Communist movement or any other movement seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

The authority has been approved by the U.S. Senate every year since then.

In conducting this study and investigation as directed, the subcommittee has been impressed recently with the fact that the American people are demanding more and more not only the mere facts of espionage, sabotage, and infiltration where they exist, but they are most strongly insisting, for themselves and for their children, that the fundamental facts about the Communist conspiracy, its whys and its wherefores, be delineated and that ways and means to meet this menace be outlined. The American people feel that a sound educational program can be a potent defense weapon in the cold war and a preventive measure against Communist penetration and infection. The American people want their children to be forewarned and forearmed against the insidious wiles of this conspiracy, which is the most serious menace we have faced as a nation. The demand for an adequate educational program has grown in intensity in direct proportion to the advances of the Communist empire and its growing threat to our own national security.

We have therefore invited leading educators, especially those who have specialized in the study and teaching of communism, to contribute their views and suggestions as to how this educational effort may be stimulated in our public and private schools, high schools, colleges, and universities. We have entitled this study "Education for Survival." It has been printed primarily for the information of the committee, and of the Senate, as background for consideration of questions which may arise respecting the nature and extent of Federal efforts to aid in this area.

But it is not out of place, I trust, to express the hope that the symposium here presented will be merely a beginning in this field and that it will help to inspire our educators to far greater efforts toward strengthening the forces of democracy, educationally, against the enemy which seeks to destroy us.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman.

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EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL, A SYMPOSIUM

MORE ANTI-COMMUNIST EDUCATION IN JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

(By Hall Bartlett, Long Island University, November 1961)

Problems in introducing anti-Communist education in secondary schools

There are two broad means whereby anti-Communist education may be more widely spread in junior and senior high schools in the United States. One is to introduce a special course that would meet a given number of periods and days per week per term or perhaps per school year. The other, and probably more effective means, is to provide direction in emphasizing systematically those aspects of anti-Communist education as are appropriate to topics now being taught in established courses in history and the other social studies. To a lesser degree such education might be introduced in English and the natural sciences where the freedoms of speech, press, and inquiry are of concern to teachers and students.

New York State's Education Department, for example, in the early 1950's, made provision for this second means in its optional 2-year American history course (students not electing this option are required to take the 1-year American history course).[1] In April 1961 the New York State Legislature amended the State education law as follows, effective September 1, 1962:

> The course of study beyond the first 8 years of full-time public day schools may provide a program for a course in communism and its methods and its destructive effects.

It should be noted, further, that such instruction, in both instances in New York State, is of a permissive rather than a mandatory character. This is characteristic. In other States, similar steps have been taken at legislative levels and by State, regional, and local agencies responsible for developing junior-senior high school course directives, syllabuses, and manuals for teacher use. Clearly, school administrators and teachers have a strong mandate to proceed. They know this. This is why they are searching at all levels—local, State, national—for answers to such questions as these:

How can we add a separate course on anti-Communist education?

We are being pressured to provide more instruction in mathematics, foreign languages, science, economics, more time for physical education.

How can we find space in the on-going, heavily loaded courses in history, geography, civics, government, problems of democracy, economics to include anti-Communist education?

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[1] Detailed suggestions to teachers for introducing anti-Communist education into the American history course are outlined in "Teaching American History," Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, New York State Education Department, Albany, N.Y., 1955, pp. 248–256.

To find space we must have more time in the school day, which means lengthening periods, or we must drop out some of the material we are now covering—and how can we determine what this should be?

Where can we get materials for use in anti-Communist education programs, materials suited to pupil's comprehension, that schools can afford to buy, that are adapted to appropriate grade levels?

What agencies, public and private, are competent and ready to provide such materials and in what priorities should we obtain them?

Where can we get the assistance our teachers need if they are to use such materials effectively in teaching special courses on anti-Communist education or as they include anti-Communist education in established courses?

What State, regional, and local curriculum planning agencies are ready with suitable advisory services and equipped with specimen materials especially designed for programs in anti-Communist education?

Offsetting typical lag with examples of effective programs

Such questions as the above always recur to responsible school administrators. They know they must have the answers to these questions if they are to launch programs effectively in their schools and among their teachers. Such school administrators know that, to get things done, the right teachers must be at the right places at the right times with the right plans and the necessary materials. Teachers, moreover, rightly object to being called upon to teach courses or topics for which they may be inadequately prepared, for which they are supplied with insufficient materials of a suitable kind, and for which they are given little or no time for satisfactory planning.

These considerations help to account for the slow rate of adaptation to emerging needs that characterizes educational institutions. Studies have shown that there may be as much as a 50-year span between the first awareness of an educational need and virtual universal adoption of satisfactory measures to meet it.[2] It is fortunate, although not fortunate enough, that, in this country, anti-Communist education has reached the point of acceleration on this lag curve, now that State and regional educational agencies are advocating permissive procedures that schools may adopt. This fact suggests that more rapid progress may be anticipated from now on until the leveling-off point in acceleration is reached. This occurs in the institutions most resistant to change. Some such have a predilection for traditionalism; some are small schools in relatively isolated areas.

Many local school systems can and have made changes with great rapidity. The American system of local control of schools makes speeding change possible as to plans, budgets, personnel, and facilities that will bring about the desired changes. These are the school systems to turn to today for practical, systematic programs of anti-Communist education that: (*a*) already are established or (*b*) may function as centers where practical pilot programs may quickly be developed.

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[2] The so-called lag theory in educational adaptation to changing needs is treated in "Administration for Adaptability," Donald H. Ross, editor, revised edition, Metropolitan School Study Council, An Affiliate of the Institute of Administrative Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1958, pp. 31–57.

Ways and means to diffuse rapidly the programs and materials found useful in these schools should be facilitated. For these are the kinds of programs and materials most apt to find ready acceptance in other school systems. In the launching of an anti-Communist education program, it is of highest importance that it have the active and informed support of:

1. The community power groups (newspaper editors, business and labor groups, PTA, patriotic organizations, religious bodies, etc.).
2. The board of education or school committee.
3. The local and county school superintendent.
4. The school building principals.
5. Local curriculum coordinators and departmental heads.

A status teacher—one who has the community's confidence and the respect of his professional colleagues—is the ideal person to lead in shaping the program for local use. With his colleagues' direct participation, he can lay out a program that the teachers may consider as one of their own, rather than a mandated one. This group approach is important in offsetting the complaint that the program is for a master teacher; I'm not that able.

Development of such a plan and its successful launching at the local level, however, is not likely to provide a permanent program of anti-Communist education. It is essential that the local school administration, backed by the school system's overall administration, year in and year out, assure continued use and constant improvement of the program. Even marked success of a program of anti-Communist education for a period of 2 or 3 successive years will not assure its continuance.

Encouraging and facilitating change

This writer has had some direct experience in seeking to introduce new materials into the school program. The air-age education project sponsored in 1942 by the Civil Aeronautics Administration sought during the war years to make young Americans more air-age conscious. It was designed as a general education effort, as distinct from one that sought to offer technical training in aeronautics. The program was relatively short lived. Here and there a few air-age education courses appeared; here and there was some infiltration of the materials developed for use in high school social studies, biology, and English and other subject-matter areas. On a nationwide scale, however, the air-age education project's materials did not achieve wide use, despite their circulation by one of the major publishing houses.

It is merely this writer's opinion that the project failed for at least two reasons: (1) Lack of systematic followup of schools using the materials, and diffusion of practices proven in these schools, to other schools; (2) presentation of air-age approaches perhaps too specialized to secure a firm place in such curriculums as they infiltrated.

Direct experience with the citizenship education project from 1950 until 1959 gave this writer deeper and broader insights into curriculum penetration. This project gathered proven practices used by high school and college students in civic participation. It screened these practices and disseminated them among school systems and colleges at briefing sessions attended by administrators and teachers. It en-

listed the support of State and regional educational agencies such as State education departments and the Associated Public School Systems (an organization of regional school study councils). Moreover, it provided an integrated publishing program of materials for teachers and a field staff which rendered systematic followup service as well as initial briefing sessions or "workshops." But, as an observer pointed out in 1960—

> the termination of its active phase left citizenship education in many high schools without a significant stimulus.[3]

In justice to the citizenship education project it should be said here that it sought to decentralize its operations in anticipation of the termination of its field services. It therefore undertook to promote establishment of a number of citizenship education centers under regional sponsorship. This was accomplished in the late 1950's.

Why this brief excursion into these two projects? The reason is that both demonstrate the necessity for constant followthrough, for continued efforts to consolidate gains, for continuing attempts to improve on going programs.

The agency best equipped for this responsibility is the local school system, through the leadership delegated to its superintendent and principals. It is only realistic, however, to point out that immediate launching of a large-scale enterprise at the local level, be it in citizenship education or anti-Communist education, will be likely to collapse of its own weight. A small-scale operation, on the other hand, launched, as urged earlier, by a status teacher, is more likely to "catch on." And, when it does, things happen. So launched in a sympathetic environment, the enterprise has considerable chance of both horizontal and vertical expansion.

In what soil is this newly planted seed most likely to grow? Plant it among familiar things; that is, teach anti-Communist topics along with traditional topics. For instance, girls and boys in a junior high school American history class have just learned, probably for the first time, of John Peter Zenger and his fight for freedom of the press in colonial America. Here is rich opportunity for the teacher to take up the consideration of freedom of the press—as it has developed since that memorable trial in New York City almost 250 years ago—in contrast to Communist censorship of newspapers, radio, and television today.

As for talented students in a senior high school American history class, the alert teacher might encourage a discussion of de Toucqueville's "Democracy in America" (available in paperbacks) to pin down that author's observations in terms of our own country and Russia.

These illustrations merely suggest the opportunities that await American history teachers eager to relate past and present in terms that are meaningful to their students. For the teacher of world history, the opportunities are perhaps even greater because he deals with such a vast stage; for instance, the procession of "men on horseback" who today ride television and microphone; the ancient conflict over religious liberty and its status in the free world and Communist world today. And in terms of present-day matters that civics, problems of democracy, and current events classes consider, what is the situation

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[3] Franklin Patterson, "High Schools for a Free Society: Education for Citizenship in American Secondary Schools," The Free Press of Glencoe, Ill., 1960, p. 34.

of labor organizations in the U.S.S.R. as compared with that in our own country?

In short, the well-grounded teacher whose eyes are not blinded by the demands of a rigid syllabus knows what he can do; all he needs is the encouragement that he will get from time to plan, from time to pick out the learning materials he knows he needs. Help a few hundred of these proven, dedicated teachers—the status teachers—with time and resources and they will show others what they need to know in terms these others will understand.

The need for meeting the teacher where he is

It is this writer's opinion that the most immediate and fertile field for anti-Communist education is the junior and senior high school social studies program. In a memorandum dated August 1, 1961, from New York State's Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., to city, village, and district superintendents of schools, and supervising principals throughout that State, the following statement, which gives strong support to this view, appears:

> The dangers of Communist infiltration and subversion have been included as part of the curriculum in New York State for many years. So also have the advantages of the American democratic tradition and the basic concepts of individual freedom underlying that tradition. Democracy and communism are not, however, taught as separate courses, out of their natural context. Rather, they are introduced at appropriate points in the school program, particularly in the social studies sequence * * *.

The term "social studies" often has been misunderstood and misinterpreted. The social studies are "the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes." [4]

Patterns of course organization and content in junior and senior high school social studies programs vary somewhat from State to State and school to school. The most widely taught social studies programs, however, tend to follow this sequence: [5]

Junior high school:

Grade 7. Geography, sometimes world, sometimes Eastern Hemisphere; or American history (required).

Grade 8. American history (required).

Grade 9. Civics (required).

Senior high school:

Grade 10. World history (optional).

Grade 11. American history (required either here or in grade 12).

Grade 12. Problems of democracy (optional).

Within this widely followed sequence, however, greatest emphasis upon communism and the U.S.S.R. is most apt to be found in the world history (grade 10) and problems of democracy (grade 12) courses. And both of these courses are "optional" ones. But whether courses be optional or required ones, what are the normally taught topics or areas to which the prepared teacher can apply anti-Communist education? Such a checklist of widely taught social studies areas was prepared by Mr. John O. Steinberg, head of the department

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[4] For a brief account of the term "social studies" and its use consult "Teaching the Social Studies," Edgar Bruce Wesley, D.C. Heath & Co., Boston, Mass., 1942, pp. 3–8.

[5] It should be noted that courses indicated as "optional" are not necessarily "electives" in the general sense of the term. A local school system may require its students to take courses that may be elective in other nearby or State school systems. For an account of current trends in junior-senior high school social studies programs consult "Social Studies in Secondary Schools: Curriculum and Methods," Dorothy McClure Fraser and Edith West, Ronald Press, New York, N.Y., 1961, pp. 14–30.

of social studies, Garden City High School, Garden City, N.Y., in 1958. The list appears in the "Teacher's Guide to Democracy Versus Communism." [6] A modification of this list follows:

AREAS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Agriculture
Alliances
Business and industry
Capitalism
Civil rights
Colonization
Democracy
Education
Foreign policy
Government, local, State, national
Imperialism
Labor
Minority groups
Natural rights
Political parties
Public opinion and propaganda
Religion
Socialism
United Nations

AREAS IN WORLD HISTORY

Agriculture
Capitalism
Class and caste
Colonialism
Democracy
Dictatorship
Education
Genocide
Government
Imperialism
Industrial development
International law
Labor
Law
Mass migration
Minority groups
Nationalism
Natural rights
Political systems
Racial and religious tolerance
Religion
Socialism
United Nations
World peace

AREAS IN PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY, CIVICS

Agriculture
Alliances
Capitalism
Civil rights
Conservation
Consumers
Economic systems and problems
Education
Government, local, State, national
International relations
Law and law enforcement
Minority groups and problems
Political parties
Public opinion and propaganda
Religion
Social welfare
Standard of living
United Nations
World peace

These areas may be regarded as broad topics that embrace specific topics within a course in terms of that course's content. Under "civil rights," for example, the teacher may group the Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, the principle of natural rights, the Bill of Rights in the Federal Constitution, powers of the Soviet secret police, censorship in Communist-ruled countries, the Communist monolithic political party, required adherence of religious practices to the Communist Party line. The teacher who has adequate anti-Communist teaching materials at hand and who has planned appropriately for their use can introduce these materials into the ongoing course in a systematic way. By such means the classroom teacher, upon whom falls the direct responsibility for effective anti-Communist education, is met where he is—in his classroom while he teaches the courses he is accustomed to teach.

[6] "Democracy Versus Communism," by Kenneth Colegrove, is the first textbook of its kind designed for junior and senior high school use. First published in 1957 by the Institute of Fiscal and Political Education, New York, N.Y. and distributed by the D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., Princeton, N.J., it is now in its second and revised edition. A pamphlet series adapted from "Democracy Versus Communism" currently is being used in Armed Forces orientation programs. "The Teacher's Guide to Democracy Versus Communism" was published in 1958 and is now in its second, revised edition.

Inclusion of anti-Communist education therefore can become natural, direct, and progressively more penetrating.

The need for properly phased local planning

Adequate planning for classroom instruction takes time, imagination, and energy on the teacher's part. There are two distinct but related phases to proper planning:

1. *Overall, preliminary planning.*—This first phase of planning is best done toward the close of the school year in anticipation of expected needs. Such planning provides for the ordering of books, periodicals, films, filmstrips and other needed materials well in advance of the time when they will be needed for classroom use. Such planning includes overall decisions as to grade placement of such materials, their assignment and likely scheduled use. It provides opportunity for teachers to plan well ahead for the subjects they will be called upon to teach during the coming school year. It enables them to familiarize themselves with course contents, suitable teaching materials and other resources of instruction. It facilitates lesson planning.

2. *Lesson or teaching planning.*—This second phase of planning cannot be done adequately until the teacher knows the capabilities of the students in his classes. Not until he knows is he able to prepare teaching plans appropriate to the level of his students' understanding, their relative intellectual capacities, study habits and skills. Even in homogeneously grouped classes reading ability may range by as much as 5 or 6 years. He likewise takes into account the varied interests and abilities of his students and provides for learning activities that may capitalize upon them.

To facilitate lesson or teaching planning, many school systems are providing time during the school day for selected teachers to prepare "resource units." A resource unit is not a lesson or teaching plan. Instead, it is a reservoir of information about a topic or area that the classroom teachers may tap for subject matter guidance about the topic or area, for lists of annotated materials useful in teaching the topic or area (textbooks, supplementary readings, articles in periodicals, pamphlets, films, filmstrips, recordings, etc.) that are available and through what agencies; and a wide variety of suggested learning activities suited to a wide variety of student interests and capabilities. The resource unit provides the teacher with information, ideas, and suggestions useful to him in making his lesson or teaching plans. He uses only parts of it and modifies those.

The pooling and sharing of resource units for anti-Communist education that have been developed by many State and regional educational agencies and school systems would be a major step forward in speeding anti-Communist education programs in junior and senior high schools. In the "Teacher's Guide to Democracy Versus Communism" mentioned earlier, 20 different kinds of learning activities are mentioned. These provide a total of 79 specific learning activities that range from map studies, the preparation of simple charts, and oral reports based upon library research to group activities of a community-centered order that enlist the participation of adults in the community. The same teacher's guide lists and annotates over 12 teaching films and more than 20 filmstrips useful in contrasting the democratic versus the Communist way of life. The 25-page

annotated bibliography contained in this teacher's guide was only last month described as the most complete of its kind available. This guide and the textbook it is designed to accompany, "Democracy Versus Communism," may be used by teachers as a resource unit and selected parts or all of the textbook itself may be used by students.

Considerable work has been done and continues to be done at many levels to speed up anti-Communist education in our junior and senior high schools. What seems needed at this juncture is a nationwide, conscious, sustained effort at local, State, and national levels by public and private agencies to promote systematic continuous anti-Communist education. The steps suggested that should lead to action are to:

1. Urge at local, State, and regional levels the pooling and sharing of ideas and procedures that have proven effective.
2. Enlist the active participation of State education departments in facilitating such pooling and sharing among schools.
3. Draw in the many school study councils in the United States. With these councils are affiliated many of the Nation's outstanding school systems. The councils encourage pooling and sharing of educational practices and have the facilities to disseminate them widely among their membership.
4. Call upon such agencies as the Illinois Curriculum Program and the Oklahoma Curriculum Improvement Commission, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, and the National Council for the Social Studies to encourage further the teaching of such programs.[7]
5. Encourage local school officials to inform community power groups of anti-Communist education programs and enlist the support of such groups in promoting such instruction on a stable basis by adequately trained and equipped teachers.

[7] Consult "Social Education," vol. XXII, No. 4, April 1958, pp. 150–209 (suggestions for teaching anti-Communist education in certain subjects and grades are given in articles on pp. 178–180, 187–190, 199–206, and 207–209) which issue is given over entirely to anti-Communist education. "Social Education" is the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies, an organization of teachers of history and the other social studies and whose membership approximates 8,000.

SUMMARY OF 10 LECTURES FOR STUDENT AND ADULT SEMINARS [1]

(By Anthony T. Bouscaren, professor of political science, LeMoyne College)

First lecture: "Communist theory"

The doctrine of Marxism-Leninism (or "scientific socialism") is the basic operating doctrine of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc, Soviet foreign policy, and Communists throughout the world. The basic concepts of the doctrine include dialectical materialism, economic determinism, the class struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Materialism means that only matter exists; there is no God, heaven, or spiritual side of man. Matter moves dialectically forward, the motion being caused by the inner contradictions of society. Economics, or more specifically, the method of production, determines all phenomena of society: the economic substructure determines the political, social, and so forth, superstructure. Writing in the middle of the 19th century, Marx held that capitalism contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction; that its internal contradictions must lead inevitably to class struggle between the bourgeoisie (capitalist class) and the proletariat. If the proletariat is led by a class-conscious vanguard (the Communist Party), it will win the class struggle and establish its dictatorship. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (more precisely of the Communist Party) leads to socialism. But socialism, according to Communists, is an imperfect society. According to the Soviets, what exists in the Soviet Union today is socialism. They are "building socialism" in the satellite countries. But their objective is communism—the perfect society. Communism, however, cannot be achieved so long as capitalist states continue to exist anywhere. Thus today there are 36 million Communists in the world, but there is no communism. According to Lenin (notably in his book "Imperialism"), the transition from socialism to communism takes place this way: capitalist states, in the era of imperialism, go to war with each other for control of the underdeveloped world. In the aftermath of these imperialist wars, the Soviet Union, as vanguard of the international Communist movement, helps Communist parties within the capitalist camp, as vanguards of the proletariat, to establish their dictatorships through force and violence. After the whole world is controlled by Communist dictatorships, it is possible to move forward from socialism to communism. Then the state will wither away and all will live in proletarian bliss.

Problems: How to explain evidence concerning the spiritual side of man. How explain the fact that the class struggle seems more and more remote in the industrially advanced countries; that Communist dictatorships have been established in countries that never went through the capitalist stage of production; that Com-

[1] Also for use as basic course on communism for high schools.

munist dictatorships did not come about because of blind economic forces, but came into existence due to force and violence, military invasion, diplomacy, and Communist initiative and organization. How explain that few try to leave the capitalist camp, but there has been a mass exodus from the socialism camp. How explain that one-time Soviet heroes are now deviationists, traitors, et cetera: Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Beria, Trotsky, Molotov, and others. It seems that many of the leaders of Socialist society turn out to be enemies of humanity by admission of Communists themselves.

Second lecture: "Russia, 1905 to November 1917"

In 1905 the Tsar granted a constitution based on a restricted franchise and an advisory legislature. Previously the serfs had been emancipated, the trans-Siberian rail line had been established, agricultural reforms were underway, and the industrialization and westernization (modernization) of Russia was on its way. The weaknesses of the Russian Empire included lack of a responsible cabinet, political discontent caused by Tsarist policies and revolutionary sentiment imported from the West (liberalism and Marxism), the policy of Russification (imposing the Russian language and Orthodox religion on the non-Russian nationalities of the Empire), and a shortage of trained administrators. Evolutionary progress toward constitutional monarchy was interrupted by World War 1. The Russian Government was incapable of dealing with the problems created by war, and the Russian Armies were not prepared, especially for the Germans. Military setbacks and administrative breakdowns led to demands for reform and peace at any price. In March 1917, a coup d'etat overthrew the Tsarist government, and a coalition of social revolutionaries, Mensheviks (Marxists who disagreed with Leninist insistence of invariable use of force and violence) and the relatively moderate Kadets (republicans). The real leader of this coalition was the liberal visionary Kerensky.

Meanwhile the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social Democrat Party (the other wing being the Mensheviks) was led by Lenin, in exile in Zurich. The German Government, anxious to overthrow the Kerensky regime and liquidate the eastern front, provided money and transportation to Lenin and the exiled Bolshevik leaders, enabling them to return to Russia (Petrograd). Beginning in April 1917, the Bolsheviks gradually infiltrated and took over the chief opposition party, called the Soviet. The Soviets favored radical reforms, government by councils of soldiers and workers and peasants, and peace with Germany. When Kerensky got into an argument with Army Chief of Staff General Kornilov over "democratic" reforms in the army, the Bolsheviks (now controlling the Soviet) denounced Kornilov as a "reactionary," and made common cause with Kerensky. But in welcoming Bolshevik support, Kerensky opened the door to his own destruction. In November 1917, the Bolsheviks overthrew the Kerensky regime, and established their dictatorship. The newly elected Constituent Assembly was dissolved, and a reign of terror instituted. In January 1918, the Bolsheviks changed their name to the Communist Party.

Third lecture: "The U.S.S.R., 1918–39"

Technically, what was left of the old Russian Empire was called the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (F.S.R.S.R.) from 1917 to 1924. Thereafter it was named the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.). The characteristics of the U.S.S.R. are: political dictatorship, statism (collectivism), and expansionism leading to communism. In March 1918, the Soviet regime concluded peace with Germany. But then it was confronted with revolution throughout the old empire: a revolution of non-Russian nationalities against Russia, and a revolution of "Whites" (anti-Communists) against the Communist dictatorship. If the Whites had been able to work together, and if they had gotten consistent support from the Allies (only the French really favored this), they probably would have won. But as it was, the Red army, ably led by Trotsky and some old Tsarist generals, ultimately emerged victorious. Some of the rebellious nationalities won their independence (Finland, Baltic States, and Poland), but others failed (Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, etc.). Thus by 1921, Lenin was in firm control of Russia, but the expected worldwide revolution failed to materialize. In order to appease discontent among the peasantry, Lenin instituted the New Economic Policy (NEP), which consisted of incentives to produce grain by way of restoring some free enterprise on the farms. Meantime Lenin died, in January 1924, and a power struggle ensued between Stalin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Bukharin. By virtue of his control over the party apparatus, Stalin emerged victorious. By 1928 he was in firm control, and in that year he ended the NEP and instituted the first 5-year plan intended to industrialize the U.S.S.R. beginning with electrification. Stalin also perfected the secret police (NKVD) and the slave labor system.

In 1934 the Leningrad party secretary, Kirov, was assassinated. This touched off the purge trials, which lasted from 1935 to 1939. Stalin called this "the cleansing process." Among those liquidated were Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Bukharin. Trotsky was assassinated by Stalin's henchmen in 1940. In 1938 Stalin executed Marshal Tukhachevsky and most of the chiefs of staff, claiming that they were "German spies." By 1939 Stalin described the cleansing process as complete, and declared that now the Soviet Union was a Socialist country. But he emphasized in his famous interview with Ivanov that progress from the imperfect society of socialism to the perfect society of communism was impossible so long as capitalist states continued to exist.

In 1936 Stalin promulgated a new constitution, with the trappings of democracy, but the substance of continuing totalitarianism. The monopoly position of the Communist Party remained.

Fourth lecture: "The U.S.S.R. 1939–61"

After the Hitler-Stalin pact, Stalin had to explain to the people why the Communist Party had changed from its anti-Nazi attitude to a pro-Nazi position. The explanation was that the Western Powers had not cooperated, and that nazism was "a matter of choice." Stalin also suggested that national socialism was an improvement over capitalism, and a step closer to communism. But after the Germans attacked Russia in mid-1941, Stalin recognized that, because of the

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discredited position of the Communist Party, he could induce support, and resistance to the Germans only by making elemental appeals to Russian nationalism, and even to defense of the Orthodox Church against the "heathen Hitler." Even at that the Ukrainians and others welcomed the Germans as liberators, and an entire Russian Army Corps, headed by General Vlassov, deserted to the German side.

After the war, Stalin continued to make use of nationalism, together with boasts of many Russian "firsts" to gain support for the regime. He suggested that Russia won the war because of the superiority of the socialist system and the wisdom of the Communist Party. Actually, of course, it was Hitler's mistakes, together with massive U.S. aid, which saved him. In the economic sphere, Stalin held off on consumer products, and explained the need for continuing military strength and industrialization in terms of resisting "American imperialism." By enforcing rigid conformity to Marxism-Leninism in such fields as genetics, music, and linguistics, Stalin proved that ideological considerations remained paramount.

In 1948, Heir-Apparent Zhdanov died of a "heart attack." He had been Leningrad party leader and head of the Cominform (successor to the Communist International). Georgy Malenkov succeeded Zhdanov as No. 2 man. Then, in January 1953, Stalin announced that Zhdanov had been the victim of a "doctor's plot," and that most of the doctors were Jewish. It appeared that Stalin and Malenkov were denouncing lack of police vigilance (Beria was head of the police) as well as Zionist "cosmopolitanism." On March 5, 1953, Stalin died, and there ensued a power struggle. Shortly thereafter, Beria was shot. Then Khrushchev succeeded Malenkov as party leader, and early in 1955 fired Malenkov as premier. Later on, such prominent Communists as Molotov, Kaganovich, and Voroshilov were fired from the party, and denounced as "antiparty men." Marshal Zhukov was downgraded, as were Shepilov and Bulganin. Thus Khrushchev has emerged as the new strong man, and he dominates the new Presidium (old party politburo).

Fifth lecture: "The Nature of Soviet Foreign Policy"

The objective of Soviet foreign policy is the achievement of communism. The Socialist camp must keep expanding, and Soviet foreign policy is served by all Communist parties abroad. Soviet policy and Communist activity must expedite the unfolding of the dialectical process which moves history from capitalism to socialism to communism. Whereas Lenin and Stalin insisted in the invariable use of force and violence, Khrushchev suggests that this is not inevitable. He says that some Western countries may surrender because of fear of possible nuclear war, and that in some others (presumably France and Italy), Communist parties might come to power through evolutionary means.

Soviet foreign policy is ideologically motivated. It is not based on fear of Germany, insecurity in east-central Europe, or lack of warm water ports. By this we mean that Soviet policy is inflexibly committed to the extension of socialism and the attainment of communism; it cannot therefore be modified or conciliated by geographic or other concessions. Communist tactics in pursuance of their goal of of communism are based on the "ebb and flow of the revolutionary tide." If the tide is flowing, Communists take "one step forward."

If the tide is ebbing, they take "two steps backward." Examples of the former are the invasion of Poland and Finland in 1939, and the invasion of Korea in 1950. Examples of the latter include the united front period, 1935–39, and the "peace" campaign 1948–53, designed to lull the West into a false sense of security, and play upon pacifist sentiment in the West.

The united front tactic was very successful in penetrating non-Socialist societies, even though it did not materially advance the security position of the U.S.S.R. It was most successful in France, Spain, China, and the United States. In France, Communists joined with Socialists and Radical Socialists to form a popular front government, headed by Leon Blum. In Spain, a similar coalition was built, which lasted even longer, from 1936–39. In this case, the Communist terror and control were so oppressive that a counterrevolution finally overthrew it. In China the Communists used the Japanese invasion as a pretext for "unity" with the Kuomintang. But Mao Tse-tung told his followers: "Our policy should be 70 percent expansion, 20 percent dealing with the Kuomintang, and 10 percent resisting Japan." In the United States, Communists used the united front period to penetrate U.S. society on all levels, notably the trade union and governmental levels. The CIO was heavily infiltrated, and in government, this was the heyday of Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Nathan Witt, John Abt, Henry Collins, Nathan G. Silvermaster, and many others.

The "peace" campaign of 1948–53 (evidenced in this country by the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace), is being repeated today, with pleas for no U.S. nuclear testing, and for unilateral disarmament, as urged by pacifists, and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Current Soviet strategy is based on the concept of "protracted conflict." This is a strategy of gradually weakening a stronger force, and changing the balance of power in your favor. Thus while we think only or primarily in terms of general and nuclear war, the Communists are wearing us and our allies down through a series of war actions short of general, nuclear war (including diplomacy and trade as weapons of war, assassinations, guerrilla warfare, and conventional war). They present us with a series of ambiguous challenges, which do not elicit a clear-cut and unified response within the free world (Quemoy, Laos, etc.).

Sixth lecture

Soviet foreign policy, 1939–45. On August 23, 1939, the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, on Stalin's initiative. A secret protocol divided parts of Europe up into German and Russian spheres of influence. The Russians took eastern Poland, the Baltic States, Finland, and parts of Rumania (including Bessarabia and northern Bucovina). Meantime the Soviets and Nazis cooperated through trade and consultation. But on June 22, 1941, the Germans invaded the U.S.S.R. Everywhere they were welcomed as liberators. But Hitler's mistakes, together with massive U.S. aid, saved the Soviets. From the very start, the Soviets had in mind political objectives in Europe: control of as much of east-central Europe as possible, and occupation of German territory. The Soviets, and their Communist agents inside the American and British Governments, took advantage of the naivete and good will of Western diplomats, to extract maximum

concessions at conferences such as Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. Meantime Soviet armies invaded east-central Europe, and established puppet regimes. At Teheran, the Soviets were promised eastern Poland and undefined concessions in the Far East, after the Russians entered that war. At the same time, the United States and Britain promised to withdraw support from the anti-Communist Yugoslav exile government and underground, and throw their support to Tito. At Yalta, the Soviets were given eastern Poland, the Western Powers withdrew support and recognition of the Polish exile government, and promised to recognize the made-in-Moscow Lublin committee, if that group were expanded to include non-Communists, and if free elections were held. Neither of these things was done, but the United States and Britain nevertheless recognized the Lublin group and admitted it into the United Nations. At Yalta the Soviets gained Western approval of their seizure of Outer Mongolia, recognition of their "preeminent interests" in Manchuria and Dairen; they were given Port Arthur as a naval base under lease, and also the southern half of Sakhalin Island, and the Kurile Islands (the latter two belonging to Japan). At Potsdam, the Soviets gained a zone of occupation in central Germany, and Berlin was inside the Soviet zone. The Soviets also gained the northern half of East Prussia, and Communist Poland got the southern half. The Soviets handed over east Germany (east of the Oder-Neisse River line) to Communist Poland (having previously taken eastern Poland). Finally, the Soviets gained all former German external assets along the Danube River.

At the end of World War II, the Western Powers thought the war was over. But the Soviets recognized that a new war had already begun, this being world war III, aimed at destoying or inducing the surrender of the West. This third world war began with the Communist uprising in Greece in December 1944.

Seventh lecture: "Soviet and Communist Actions in the Far East Since 1945"

The Communist conquest of mainland China is partly the story of Soviet intervention, and partly the story of U.S. withdrawal of support from the Chinese Nationalists. At Yalta, the stage was set for Soviet and Communist control of Manchuria, Port Arthur, and Dairen. Soviet forces turned over captured Japanese arms and equipment to the Chinese Communists. The third world war began in the Far East almost as soon as the Second World War was over. The question was, Would the United States give the same aid and support to the Chinese National Government that the Soviets were giving to the Communists? The answer was negative. General Marshall was sent to China not to see what help could be given to the Nationalists against the Communists, but to try to create a coalition government including the Communists. In May 1947, the United States applied an embargo on all arms aid to Nationalist China. This led to deteriorating morale on the battlefield, and by late 1948, to increasing Nationalist defeats, based on ammunition shortages. Meantime a private international organization called the Institute of Pacific Relations (and largely subsidized by Carnegie and Rockefeller funds) influenced public opinion as well as government to take a more critical attitude toward the Chinese Nationalists, and a more friendly attitude toward the Communists. In 1952 a unanimous vote of the Senate

Internal Security Subcommittee held that the IPR was a pressure group working in behalf of the Chinese Communists and Soviet Far Eastern policy.

By 1949, the Chinese Nationalists were forced to retreat to Formosa (Taiwan), the Pescadores, and the offshore islands, and the Communists controlled the mainland. When, on January 12, 1950, the U.S. Government announced that it did not consider either South Korea or Formosa to be within its Far Eastern defense perimeter, the Soviets apparently concluded that we would not help either South Korea or Formosa in the event of attack. When the Communists invaded South Korea in June 1950, the United States and token U.N. forces went to the aid of South Korea. But after General MacArthur had liberated North Korea, the Chinese Communists invaded Korea. MacArthur was denied permission to strike at the privileged sanctuary in Manchuria, while the Communists drove the Allied forces south, at great loss; 10,000 American POW's were murdered by their Communist captors. The Panmunjom agreement of July 1953 saved the Communists from military defeat (in June 1951 General Van Fleet had resumed the offensive) and allowed them to keep North Korea. The Chinese Communists had successfully defied repeated U.N. resolutions calling on them to leave North Korea. Ever since Panmunjom, the Communists in east Asia have referred to the United States as a "paper tiger."

The French, seeing our example in Korea, decided to appease the Communists in Vietnam by giving them the northern half of the country at the Geneva Conference of 1954. The French apparently hoped that this would satisfy the Communists. Actually, the Communists have used their new base in North Vietnam to penetrate South Vietnam. Also threatened have been Laos and Cambodia. In January 1955, the United States forced the Chinese Nationalists to evacuate the strategically important Tachen Islands (150 miles southeast of Shanghai) rather than risk the defense of these islands against Communist attack. But in the fall of 1958, when the Chinese Communists tried to take the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, the United States successfully helped the Chinese Nationalists to defend these positions. More recently, the Chinese Communists have tried to obtain U.S. recognition and admission into the U.N. Significantly, 80 percent of the Chinese prisoners taken during the Korean war chose to go to Formosa, and each month an average of 5,000 Chinese escape into Hong Kong.

Eighth lecture: "Soviet and Communist Actions in Europe Since 1945"

In Eastern Europe, the Communists took over through military occupation, diplomacy, and the creation of united fronts with Socialists and other "progressives." Czechoslovakia was the last country to be taken over, this by a coup d'etat in 1948. From 1945 to 1948 some Czechoslovak liberals had believed that by cooperating with the Soviets they could follow a policy of "the third force" and act as a "bridge of friendship" between the Soviet bloc and the free world. The political and economic systems of east-central Europe were gradually all coordinated with, and controlled by Moscow. The Communists failed in Greece in December 1944, because the British intervened. Between 1947 and 1949, Communist forces in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania resumed the attack. When the Soviet veto prevented U.N. inter-

vention, the U.S. Government helped Greece and saved the country from a Communist takeover. The Soviets have used their base in East Germany to try to strangle Berlin, and to weaken West Germany, the anti-Communist bastion. Because 200,000 people annually had left East Germany, the Soviet built a wall in Berlin to try to block further defections (August 13, 1961). Meantime the Soviets concentrated their propaganda against the Adenauer government in West Germany.

In the rest of Europe, the Communists are strongest in France and Italy. In the latter country the Socialists cooperate so closely with the Communists that the two parties are scarcely distinguishable. Communists control the general confederations of labor in both countries.

Elsewhere in Western Europe (notably in Britain and Scandinavia), Soviet and Communist influence is based on pacifist, neutralist, and defeatist influence among certain non-Communist "intellectuals" such as Bertrand Russell and the "better Red than dead" group.

Discontent behind the Iron Curtain is measured by the intensity of the East German revolt of 1953 and the Hungarian revolt of 1956.

Ninth lecture: "Soviet and Communist Policies in the Underdeveloped Countries"

In 1955, under cover of the "spirit of Geneva," the Soviets began a major penetration of the Middle East. They agreed to send arms and advisers to Nasser, and to help out with the Aswan high dam project. As a followup to the Bandung Conference of 1955 (neutralists, mostly), the Soviets established in Cairo in 1956 the Afro-Asian secretariat, to promote neutralism, and Communist-led national liberation movements in Africa and the Middle East. During the Suez crisis, the U.S.S.R. posed as the friend of Arab nationalism against colonialism. It has taken the same pose in Africa, including Algeria and Angola. In 1958 Communists and extreme nationalists overthrew the pro-Western Government of Iraq, and Communist propaganda and terrorism (aided by Nasser) seek to overthrow pro-Western regimes in Jordan, Lebanon, and Iran.

In Africa, the Soviets and their Communist supporters exploit neutralism in Guinea, Ghana, the Congo, and elsewhere. Most "neutralist" African states vote with the Soviets, or close to their position, in the U.N. In the Congo, the Soviets support Gizenga, and with help from the U.N. Congo Command, have realized a coalition government in Leopoldville. The Soviets and neutralists now want the overthrow of the anti-Communist government of Katanga.

The Soviets have tried to weaken resistance to communism in Latin America through cultural exchange programs and promises of trade. This has been particularly successful in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. Neutralism and Castroism are strong in Latin America, so that the Organization of American States seems to be far more concerned about so-called rightwing dictators who don't bother their neighbors than they are about Soviet-sponsored dictators like Castro. The Soviets are trying to consolidate in Cuba, expand into other parts of Latin America, overthrow anti-Communist regimes, and dissuade the United States from interfering (with groups like the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the United States).

Tenth lecture: "Counterattack Against Communism"

On the governmental level, a forward strategy for America must dissuade the Soviets from nuclear adventurism by strengthening the nuclear deterrent and making this deterrent credible to the Soviets. This includes resumption of atmospheric tests (to develop antimissile missiles, perfect existing weapons and test operational weapons never actually tested) and a fallout shelter program for the American people. This might not only save some 80 million lives, but might also make it more clear to Khrushchev that we are serious about going all out to defend Berlin and other key areas. If we can deter the Soviets in this way, we can proceed to defeat them at their own game of protracted conflict: the use of that broad spectrum of conflict short of general nuclear war. In this protracted conflict we would give priority to the liquidation of Communist regimes, beginning with such exposed positions as Cuba, Albania, and North Vietnam. In our psychological warfare we would carry the fight to the enemy, exploiting the unrest behind the Iron Curtain, making use of defectors to educate Americans, allies, and neutralists and, where expeditious, recognizing exile regimes and helping them return to power. Further, we would use diplomacy and trade (embargoes) as weapons in the protracted conflict, together with such devices as Captive Nations Week. We would place less reliance on the neutralists, and be prepared to use the veto if necessary in the U.N. to keep out undesirables like Red China. Nor would we allow the neutralists to use us, as in the Congo. Shorn of all ideological connotations, our policy would be based on the premise that we cannot tolerate the survival of a political system which has both the growing capability and the ruthless will to destroy us.

What can the individual do about communism? The most important requirement is that he know as much as possible about communism. The best book on Communist theory is R. N. C. Hunt, "Theory and Practice of Communism" (Macmillan). The best book on the U.S.S.R. and Soviet foreign policy is Donald Treadgold, "Twentieth Century Russia" (Rand McNally). An excellent treatise on Communist strategy is "Protracted Conflict," by Strausz-Hupé, Kintner, Cottrell, and Daugherty (Harpers). American communism is discussed by J. Edgar Hoover in his "Masters of Deceit." These books constitute, in my opinion, the irreducible minimum. In addition, publications on communism by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Among the leading periodicals are U.S. News & World Report, National Review, Human Events, Freeman, and Counterattack. Information on how to put on seminars, speakers, tapes, films, etc., can be obtained from the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade (Box 890, Long Beach, Calif.), the Mindszenty Foundation (Box 321, St. Louis, Mo.), and the National Education Program, Searcy, Ark. Also the Institute for American Strategy, 140 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. Two excellent handbooks for discussion groups are "A Manual for Survival," published by the Church League of America (1407 Hill Street, Wheaton, Ill.) and "Christian Resistance to Atheistic Communism Through Discussion Groups" (Post Office Box 421, San Gabriel, Calif.). For further details on individual anti-Communist action see my pamphlet "You

Can Stop Communism" (America's Future, 421 Main Street, New Rochelle, N.Y.).

For students, two organizations are recommended: the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, 407 Lafayette Building, Philadelphia 6, Pa., and Young American for Freedom, 79 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y. An excellent annually-revised bibliography on communism is published by Mrs. J. F. Schlafly, 1212 Callahan Drive, Alton, Ill.

Having acquired the basic knowledge about communism, the individual is then prepared to inform others, write letters, take part in seminars, demonstrations and other anti-Communist action. Young people in particular should consider careers in government, teaching, and the mass media. At all times remember the Christopher slogan: "Better to light one candle than to curse the darkness."

(A course outline prepared by Dr. Bouscaren, together with a list of required reading and a supplemental list of reserve books, follows:)

College-University Year Course on U.S.S.R. and World Communism

FALL SEMESTER, 1-YEAR COURSE ON "U.S.S.R. AND WORLD COMMUNISM," TOGETHER WITH READING ASSIGNMENTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

First week:
Text reading: Chapters 1 and 2 (Donald Treadgold, "20th Century Russia," Rand McNally).
Lectures: Orientation and assignments, "Geography and Demography of U.S.S.R.," "Origins of Russia."

Second week:
Text reading: Chapters 3 and 4.
Lectures: "Characteristics of Russian Empire," "Reforms, 1850–1914," "Revolutionary Movements."

Third week:
Text reading: Chapters 5 and 6.
Lectures: "Russia's Position in World Affairs"; "Russia in the War, 1914–17"; "March, 1917 Revolution."

Fourth week:
Text reading: Chapters 7 and 8.
Lectures: "The Kerensky Regime"; "Origin of the Bolsheviks"; "The Bolsheviks Come to Russia."

Fifth week:
Text reading: Chapters 9 and 10.
Lectures: "The Soviets"; "The Kerensky-Kornilov Affair"; "The November 1917 Revolution."

Sixth week:
Text reading: Chapters 11 and 12.
Lectures: "Marxism-Leninism" (1); "Marxism-Leninism" (2); "War, Communism, and Brest-Litovsk."

Seventh week:
Text reading: Chapters 13 and 14.
Lectures: "Civil War"; "War With Poland." Midsemester examination.

Eighth week:
Text reading: Chapters 15 and 16.
Lectures: "Establishment of Comintern"; "New Economic Policy"; "From Lenin to Stalin."

Ninth week:
Text reading: Chapters 17 and 18.
Lectures: "Socialism in One Country"; "First 5-Year Plan"; "Secret Police and Slave Labor."

Tenth week:
Text reading: Chapters 19 and 20.
Lectures: "Soviet Diplomacy in Europe, 1920's"; "Soviet Diplomacy in Asia, 1920's"; "Soviet Diplomacy, 1930–34."

Eleventh week:
Text reading: Chapters 21 and 22.
Lectures: "Dimitrov and the Popular Front"; "The Popular Front in Western Europe"; "The Popular Front in China and the U.S."
Twelfth week:
Text reading: Chapters 23 and 24.
Lectures: "Kirov and the Purges"; "The Stalin Constitution"; "Interview With Comrade Ivanov."
Thirteenth week:
Text reading: Chapters 25 and 26.
Lectures: "The Hitler-Stalin Pact"; "The Execution of the Pact"; "The German Invasion and the Western Alliance."
Fourteenth week:
Text review.
Lectures: "Teheran and Yalta"; "Potsdam and San Francisco." Review. Final examination.

SPRING SEMESTER, 1-YEAR COURSE ON "U.S.S.R. AND WORLD COMMUNISM," TOGETHER WITH READING ASSIGNMENTS

First week:
Text reading: Chapters 26 and 27 (Treadgold, "20th Century Russia").
Lectures: "Orientation and Assignments," "Ideological Essence of Soviet Foreign Policy," "Soviet Foreign Policy in Europe, 1945–49."
Second week:
Text reading: Chapters 28 and 29.
Lectures: "Soviet Foreign Policy in Europe, 1948–50." "Soviet Foreign Policy in the Far East, 1945–49." "The Chinese Communists, 1945–49."
Third week:
Assigned reading : Chapter 1 (Strausz-Hupe, Kintner, Cottrell, Dougherty, "Protracted Conflict").
Lectures: "U.S.S.R., 1945–47." "From Zhdanov to Malenkov." "The 19th Party Congress."
Fourth week:
Assigned reading: Chapter 2.
Lectures: "From the 19th Party Congress to the Doctors' Plot." "Stalin's Death and the Power Struggle." "Khrushchev's Victory."
Fifth week:
Assigned reading: Chapter 3.
Lectures: "Stockholm and the Peace Appeal." "The Progressive Party in the U.S." "The Institute of Pacific Relations."
Sixth week:
Assigned reading: Chapter 4.
Lectures: "The Prelude to Korea." "The Korean War." "Panmunjon."
Seventh week:
Assigned reading: Chapter 5.
Lectures: "The Chinese Communist Regime." "The Vietminh and Geneva, 1954." Midsemester examination.
Eighth week:
Assigned reading: Chapter 6.
Lectures: "The U.S.S.R. and Japan." "Communism in Indonesia." "Communism in India."
Ninth week:
Assigned reading: Chapter 7.
Lectures: "The 20th Party Congress." "National Communism." "The Spirit of Geneva."
Tenth week:
Assigned reading: Chapter 8.
Lectures: "Soviet Penetration of the Middle East." "Soviet Penetration of Africa." "Soviet Penetration of Latin America."
Eleventh week:
Assigned reading: Chapter 9.
Lectures: "East Germany." "Hungary." "Poland."
Twelfth week:
Assigned readings: Chapter 10.
Lectures: "The Spirit of Camp David." "Berlin Disarmament and the Nuclear Test Issue."

Thirteenth week:
Assigned readings: Review.
Lectures: "Soviet Strategy in the U.N." "Soviet Policy Toward the U.S." "Communism, U.S.A."
Fourteenth week:
Text review.
Lectures: "The U.S.S.R. and the International Communist Movement." "An Assessment of the Soviet Bloc Strength and Weakness."
Review.
Final examination.

READING LIST

The following would be required of all students in the course:

"The Communist Conspiracy, Strategy and Tactics of World Communism," 5 volumes. U.S. Congress, 84th. 2d sess. House Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1956: Section A, "Marxist Classics," pages 1–71 and 77–163 must be read by October 25. Following excerpts from other sections must be read by January 10: Section B, "The U.S.S.R.," pages 362–390. Section C, "World Congresses of the Communist International," pages 23–79, 179–232, 294–336. Section D, "Communism Around the World," pages 230–241, 339–348, 388–399. Section E, "The Comintern and the Communist Party, U.S.A." pages 120–189.

Reports on any two of the following books are due October 25 and January 10:

Alexander Barmine, "One Who Survived" (New York: Putnam, 1940). A study of the Soviet regime by a defecting diplomat.

Franz Borkenau, "European Communism" (New York: Praeger, 1953). A classic study by a foremost authority.

Louis Budenz, "Techniques of Communism" (Chicago: Regnery, 1953). An excellent examination of communism in action by the former editor of the Daily Worker.

Anthony T. Bouscaren, "A Guide to Anti-Communist Action" (Chicago: Regnery, 1958). A study of Communist expansionism and subversion, with suggestions on governmental and individual counteraction.

Whittaker Chambers, "Witness" (New York: Random House, 1952). A fascinating autobiography by a former espionage agent who helped the United States uncover the Alger Hiss group.

Jan Ciechenowski, "Defeat in Victory" (New York: Doubleday, 1948). The story of Allied diplomacy and the Communist takeover in Poland by the former Polish Ambassador to the United States.

Edward H. Cookridge, "The Net That Covers the World" (New York: Holt, 1955). A study of Communist espionage throughout the world.

David Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky, "Slave Labor in the Soviet Union" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948). A study of the Soviet slave labor system based on firsthand sources.

Slobodan Draskovich, "Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse" (Chicago: Regnery, 1958). The view is advanced that Tito never really did break with Moscow.

David Dallin, "Soviet Espionage" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955). The best study of Soviet espionage, including recent cases in the United States.

Herbert Dinerstein, "War and the Soviet Union" (New York: Praeger, 1958). A study of Soviet attitudes toward war and nuclear weapons.

Edward J. Flynn, "While You Slept" (New York: Devin-Adair, 1953). A journalist criticizes policies which led to subversion in U.S. foreign policy.

Constantine Fitzgibbon, "When the Kissing Had To Stop" (New York: Norton, 1960). An outstanding novel of the current and future weakening of Britain as the result of pacifism and Soviet nuclear blackmail.

Vladimir Gsovki, "Church and State Behind the Iron Curtain" (New York: Praeger, 1958). An examination of the status of organized religion behind the Iron Curtain.

Edward Hunter, "Brainwashing in Red China" (New York: Vanguard, 1955). A newsman with vast experience in the Far East interviewed hundreds of victims of brainwashing to write this book.

——— "Brainwashing: The Story of the Men Who Defied It" (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1956). An analysis of how American POW's in Korea succeeded in surviving Communist brainwashing techniques.

R. N. C. Hunt, "A Guide to Communist Jargon" (New York: Macmillan, 1957). An excellent introduction to the problem of Communist language and how to interpret it.

——— "Theory and Practice of Communism" (New York: Macmillan, fifth edition, 1957). Probably the best single book on Communist theory.

Harry Hodgkinson, "The Language of Communism" (New York: Pitman, 1954). An analysis of the special meaning of Communist terminology.

J. Edgar Hoover, "Masters of Deceit" (New York: Holt, 1958). A discussion of Communist subversion in the United States by the Director of the FBI.

Raymond de Jaegher and Irene K. Kuhn, "The Enemy Within" (New York: Doubleday, 1950). Father de Jaegher relates his experiences with the Chinese Communists while they subverted China.

Daniel James, "Red Designs for the Americas: Guatemalan Prelude" (New York: 1955). A New York Times reporter analyzes the Communist subversion of Guatemala and its sequel.

W. W. Kulski, "Peaceful Coexistence: An Analysis of Soviet Foreign Policy" (Chicago: Regnery, 1959). A massive study of Soviet policy in all its aspects.

N. N. Krasnov," The Hidden Russia" (New York: Holt, 1960). A study of the Soviet system by a former inmate of a slave labor camp.

Eleanor Lipper, "Eleven Years in Soviet Prisons" (Chicago: Regnery, 1953). A view of the Soviet system not normally seen by tourists.

Walter Z. Laqueuer, "Soviet Union and the Middle East" (New York: Praeger, 1959). An examination of Soviet and Communist policies and activities in the Mid-East.

Arthur Bliss Lane, "I Saw Poland Betrayed" (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947). The former U.S. Ambassador to Poland describes the Communist takeover and U.S. policies between 1945 and 1947.

Stanislaus Mikolajczyk, "The Rape of Poland" (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948). The former Polish Premier and Peasant Party leader analyzes the Soviet takeover.

Robert Morris, "No Wonder We Are Losing" (New York: Bookmailer, 1956). The former chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee analyzes Communist subversion and U.S. foreign policy.

John Noble, "I Was a Slave in Russia" (New York: Devin-Adair, 1956). The Soviet slave labor system described by a former inmate.

E. Merrill Root, "Collectivism on the Campus" (New York: Devin-Adair, 1957). A study of Marxist and collectivist influence in higher education in the United States.

Fulton J. Sheen," Communism and the Conscience of the West" (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947).

Roman Smal-Stocki, "The Nationality Problem in the Soviet Union" (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1953). A study of the different nationalities presently under Soviet control and their historical aspirations for independence.

Hugh Seton-Watson, "From Lenin to Khrushchev" (New York: Praeger, 1960). A survey of Soviet foreign policy and the international Communist movement.

Leonard Shapiro, "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (New York: Random House, 1960). A comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of the only party in the U.S.S.R.

Cleon Skousen, "The Naked Communist" (Salt Lake City: Ensign Publishing House, second edition, 1958). A criticism and refutation of Communist doctrine.

Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky, "Seeds of Treason" (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1949). An excellent history and analysis of the Alger Hiss story.

Peter S. H. Tang, "Communist China Today," volume 1 (New York: Praeger, 1957). One of the best books on Communist China by a leading scholar.

Richard L. Walker, "The Continuing Struggle" (New York: Athene Press, 1958). Professor Walker is probably the leading authority on Communist China, and this is his latest book.

——— "China Under Communism: The First Five Years" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955). A comprehensive study of the Communist regime on mainland China.

Rene Wormser, "Foundations" (New York: Devin-Adair, 1957). An analysis of how certain foundations have been used by groups sympathetic to communism as pressure groups with tax-exempt status.

Eleutherius Winance, "Communist Persuasion" (New York: Praeger, 1959). A study of Communist ideology and propaganda.

Bertram Wolfe, "Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost" (New York: Praeger, 1956). Text, background and meaning of Khrushchev's secret report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, February 24–25, 1956.
Rodney Gilbert, "Genocide in Tibet" (New York: American Education Exchange, Inc., 1959). The story of the Chinese Communist repression of Tibetan freedom.
Raymond L. Garthoff, "The Soviet Image of Future War" (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1960). A Defense Department specialist analyzes Soviet thinking about nuclear warfare.

RESERVE BOOKS

Political science 54: Read five by the midsemester and five more by the final examination. Questions about these books will be asked in the examinations.
Fred C. Schwarz, "You Can Trust the Communists" (Prentice).
Richard L. Walker, "The Continuing Struggle" (Athene).
Bertram Wolfe, "Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost" (Praeger).
C. Turner Joy, "How Communists Negotiate" (Macmillan).
Frank S. Meyer, "The Moulding of Communists" (Harcourt).
David Dallin, "Soviet Foreign Policy Since Stalin" (Lippincott).
James Burnham, "The Web of Subversion" (John Day).
Victor Kravchenko, "I Chose Freedom" (Scribner).
J. Edgar Hoover, "Masters of Deceit" (Holt).
R. N. C. Hunt, "Theory and Practice of Communism" (Macmillan).

COMMUNISM AND AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS—AN EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, ADULT COMMUNITY GROUPS, AND INDUSTRY TRAINING PROGRAMS

(Prepared by Robert K. Burns, professor of business administration, associate dean of the graduate school of business, and executive officer of the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago) [1]

OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE OF PROGRAM

This program is designed to increase understanding of the Communist movement—its theoretical background, its organizational structure and framework, its totalitarian characteristics and techniques of control, its methods of expansion and conflict, and its goal of world revolution. It is also designed to create an awareness of how the Communist challenge can be met.

While a program on this most difficult and complex area must be comprehensive, it must also be made clear and understandable to the high school student and to the adult layman. And it must be presented so that the courses can be conducted by instructors who are not experts in the field of communism.

To meet these objectives and standards, the program integrates well-developed content with relevant audio-visual aids, participation techniques, contributions of recognized authorities on communism, and well-validated testing devices. Thus, the program brings to bear on the subject of communism the latest developments in teaching aids and learning devices.

The result is a coordinated and flexible program designed to give the nonexpert instructor the content, organization, background information, and teaching aids necessary for a meaningful learning experience for participants with varied backgrounds and understandings

PROGRAM CONTENT

In general, the purpose of the program is to develop (1) a better understanding of the nature of the Communist challenge to America, (2) a fuller awareness of the total effort required to meet the Communist challenge, and (3) a greater understanding and appreciation of democratic ideals and institutions by means of a comparison with communism.

The program consists of 3 blocks, each block consisting of 10 sessions, or a total of 30 sessions. Each session will last about 1½ to 2 hours.

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[1] Dr. Burns was graduated from the University of Washington in Seattle and took graduate work at the London School of Economics and the University of Chicago. Upon graduation he and an associate founded a successful business in the publishing and laboratory instrument field.

During the war period he served successively as regional director of the National War Mediation Board, chairman of the Daily Newspaper Commission, and special assistant to the Administrator for Veterans' Affairs. He was named one of the 10 outstanding young men in the United States in 1942 by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The three blocks with their session titles follow:

Block I—Understanding the Communist Challenge:

Session I. Communist Theory: Basis for World Revolution.
Session II. Communist Party: Professional Revolutionaries.
Session III. The Communist State: Dictatorship by Design.
Session IV. The Communist Society: Totalitarianism in Action.
Session V. The World Communist System.
Session VI. The Communist Commitment to World Revolution.
Session VII. The Communist Mobilization: Strength and Weakness.
Session VIII. Strategy and Tactics of Protracted Conflict.
Session IX. The Communist Thrust: Appeals and Contradictions.
Session X. Communist Activities in the U.S.A.: Party Organization, Tactics and Relationships.

This block is designed to give an understanding of (1) the key elements of Marxism-Leninism, (2) the totalitarian nature of Communist societies through the relationship of an all-embracing theory, a monolithic party, and the "dictatorship of the proletariat," all directed toward changing society and man, (3) the relationship of local Communist parties to the Soviet Union, (4) sources of Communist strength and weakness, (5) Communist dedication to world revolution, and (6) the strategy and tactics of conflict and revolution in the world and in the United States.

Questions covered in this section include: Why do people and countries turn to communism? What has been the fate of people and groups who have cooperated and worked with Communists either in front groups or in coalition governments? What is the full meaning to the Communists of peaceful coexistence? Is world revolution a fundamental premise of Russian foreign policy? How do Khrushchev's methods of control and manipulation differ from Stalin's? Is it possible to negotiate meaningfully with the Communists? How do the Communists manipulate language, conflict, and tensions?

Block II—Meeting the Communist Challenge:

Session I. Areas of Challenge and Conflict.
Session II. America and the New Nations.
Session III. Government programs of foreign assistance: Economic, Military, Educational, and Administrative.
Session IV. American Enterprise and Investment Abroad: Importance and Effectiveness.
Session V. The Buildup of Our Military Power.
Session VI. Collective Security: United Nations and/or Grand Alliance.
Session VII. Capitalizing on Communist Weaknesses and Mistakes.
Session VIII. U.S. Policy and Strategy: Defense of the Free World.
Session IX. U.S. Policy and Strategy: Moving to the Offensive.
Session X. Strengthening American Institutions: Basis of Effective Leadership and Power.

A primary purpose of this block is to explore the many problems and various theories of meeting the Communist challenge in order to demonstrate that a totality of effort is required. Major attention is given to the areas involved in the Communist two-pronged drive

to (1) split and divide the NATO powers and (2) exploit the anti-colonial and nationalist revolutions in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

Major points covered are (1) We must reconcile ourselves to an indefinite period of conflict with the Communist world. (2) There will undoubtedly be a prolonged period of turmoil and unrest in the underdeveloped world, apart from Communist manipulation and subversion. (3) There is no single or simple response to the Communist challenge. (4) Foreign aid is no panacea in the development of new and underdeveloped nations. (5) We must fashion more effective collective action against the Communist challenge. (6) We must learn to take advantage of Communist vulnerabilities. (7) We must evaluate clearly, in terms of our self-interest and our own sense of what is right, such issues as "world opinion," neutralism, self-determination, and others.

Block III—American Ideals and Institutions—and Their Communist Counterparts:

Session I. Interpretation of History and the Development of Civilized Societies.

Session II. Individualism and Collectivism: Some Basic Issues and Their Significance.

Session III. Liberty, Freedom, Equality: Their Meaning and Implementation in Democratic and Communistic Societies.

Session IV. Ethical-Moral Codes and Concepts: Underlying Democracy and Communism.

Session V. The Management of Change: Evolutionary and Revolutionary Approaches and Methods.

Session VI. Religion and the State: Contrasting Roles and Relationships.

Session VII. Enterprise and Collectivized Economies: A Comparison of Principles and Performance.

Session VIII. The Process of Government Under Democracy and Communism.

Session IX. Law, Justice and the Citizen.

Session X. Philosophy and Basic Values: A Summation of Democracy and Communist Doctrine.

This bloc is designed to increase the understanding of both Communist and American institutions by comparing philosophy, attitudes, and performance in these 10 key areas. The purpose is not to force a black-and-white contrast but to show that, despite our imperfections and shortcomings, the scales tip decisively in favor of American ideals and institutions. It is also important to understand how we can add to their strength and effectiveness.

PROGRAM MATERIALS

The materials that will be available in this program on "Communism and American Institutions" include:

1. Conference instructor's guides.
2. Conference participant manuals.
3. Background readings for leaders and participants.
4. Audiovisual and other instructional aids.
5. Evaluation materials.

The purpose of each type of material and its use are described below:

Instructor's guides

The instructor's guide is the basic tool of the program. It is the instrument in which program content is integrated with effective educational methods and teaching aids.

The guide develops fully the content to be covered by the instructor in each session. The material is presented in the form of a "script" for the instructor. However, he is urged to recast the material in his own language for more effective presentation.

The guide also organizes the use of education and audiovisual aids, suggests questions and group activities, and integrates content with these aids.

An essential feature of the guide is its flexibility. It can be used as it stands as an effective instructional and learning device or it can be used as a springboard, or a point of departure, by an imaginative and resourceful instructor.

Participant manuals

The participant manual provides the basic reading for each session. Together with background readings, the manual provides the basic treatment of content. Each session has at least one manual—and more than one in those sessions in which contrasting viewpoints or proposals are to be examined.

The authors of the manuals are recognized authorities on communism and the Soviet system selected from leading educational and research organizations.

The manual sets the framework for each session—it conveys the essential information and it serves as a basis for group discussions and other activities. The guide (1) emphasizes major points made in the manual and reinforces them with educational aids, (2) handles the content at a different level, and/or (3) emphasizes evaluation, implication, and analysis.

Background readings for instructors and participants

The main purpose of background readings is to provide the instructor additional information in the area covered by each session in order to increase his competence and his confidence. The readings consist of articles written by authorities, selected writings of Marx and Lenin, and reprints from original documents.

These readings will also be available to participants who want to probe more deeply into the subject.

Instructional aids

Instructional aids include slides, slide-record kits, films, charts, suggested group activities, and materials for distribution.

Slides and charts are designed to help make points clear and vivid, to stimulate discussion, and to add interest.

Slide-record kits and films are used to reinforce, either by graphic illustration or by documentation, a key point being made in the session.

Group activities—such as group discussion, role playing, and the case method—increase interest by actively involving the group and stimulate the learning process by encouraging the interaction of different ideas.

Materials for distribution are used to present special documentation and to present the information and the structure of group activities.

Evaluation materials

The evaluation materials consist of preaudit, progress audit, and postaudits.

The preprogram audit assesses the participants' level of understanding before they have participated in the program.

The progress audit provides each participant with an immediate assessment of how well he understands the basic ideas presented in each unit.

The postprogram audit assesses the participants' level of understanding and attitudinal changes after they have completed the program. A comparison of preaudit scores with postaudit scores provides an objective measure of the increase in the participants' understanding.

The audits serve an additional function of providing data which can serve as a basis for modifying and improving the program.

INSTRUCTOR TRAINING

Training of instructors is an essential feature of this program. This training may be handled in one of two ways: (1) special training classes during the year and including the summer months at the University of Chicago, or (2) training courses in one of the many colleges which cooperate with the University of Chicago in similarly organized training programs.

The purpose of this instructor training is not to make "subject matter experts" of instructors, but to introduce them to the material and give them the practical experience of conference leadership and in the use of audiovisual and group-participating techniques and devices.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

A national advisory committee, composed of leading educators and authorities on communism, is responsible for the quality of program content and educational methods and devices.

CONTINUING RESEARCH

Because of the complex and difficult nature of the subject matter in this course and because instructors cannot be expected to have all the answers, the A. G. Bush Library at the University of Chicago will provide continuing reference and research assistance to the programs. When relevant questions arise that the instructor or the group as a whole cannot handle, they may be sent to the university where they will be researched and answered or discussed for the group.

AVAILABILITY OF PROGRAM

The first part of this program—the 10 sessions dealing with understanding the Communist challenge—will be completed and available by late summer, 1962. The other parts will be completed in 1963.

For additional information, contact Mr. Homer Owen, Industrial Relations Center, University of Chicago, 1225 East 60th Street, Chicago, Ill.

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DEVELOPING AN ADEQUATE TRAINING PROGRAM FOR TEACHERS ON THE PHILOSOPHY, ORGANIZATION, AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM AND ITS THREAT TO THE FREE WORLD

(By Oliver Carlson, a writer, lecturer, and teacher specializing in the study of Communist propaganda techniques)

The year 1961 may well mark a turning point in our public school system—the year when, at long last, some State and local boards of education, some school administrators, and some schoolteachers began taking steps to include in secondary school curriculums some study of world communism and its challenge to our way of life.

The years-long winter of icy indifference to this problem by those in positions of power and responsibility seems to be ending. The thaw has begun. To be sure, as Dr. C. C. Trillingham, Los Angeles County superintendent of schools, told me, and he was echoed by many other responsible educators, "We should have started this work in our public schools a dozen years ago—but, alas, we didn't."

Why didn't we?

From the time the United States came into being, the only threat of another type of government was monarchy, and that had disappeared completely by the year 1800. The rumblings and revolutions in Europe and elsewhere over the next 125 years were things one read about, or talked about now and then, but to the overwhelming majority of our people they did not directly concern us. Even the newly established Soviet Government of 1917 was viewed as a temporary political aberration.

As late as 1930, the number of courses dealing with communism and fascism in all our universities and colleges probably did not exceed 10. I have found no evidence that, up to that time, so much as a single course on communism was taught in any teachers' college in the whole country.

Thus, our hundreds of thousands of older teachers, whose academic careers ended with 1930, could not have taught very intelligently about a subject which they had never studied.

Then came the depression—10 long years of breadlines, unemployment, a host of political innovations by the Federal Government from unemployment relief checks, and make-work programs to theater projects and plow-under campaigns of cotton and corn. The President of the United States, no less, announced that our economic system had reached full maturity and could not be counted on for further growth. He assured us that mass unemployment would henceforth be a perpetual feature of the American landscape. At the same time the Americans learned that Soviet Russia had no unemployment. Its leaders said that, through a series of 5-year plans, Soviet Russia would soon have a higher standard of living than the United States.

In the colleges, throughout the 1930's, political radicalism ran rampant. Procommunism spread among students and faculties alike. But even more rapid was the growth of feeling against businessmen, bankers, industrialists. They were the low men on the totem pole of public opinion. It was an era of "debunking" every great figure, every tradition, every cause and movement of our American past. Communism, it was commonly said in those days, would be perfectly acceptable if it used less violence.

Those were the days when a British Communist intellectual, Strachey, was lionized on every American college campus where he lectured. And his book, "The Decline of Capitalism," became a best seller.

Could we have expected our public schools, and those who went into teaching during that decade, to point to the dangers of communism, and hold high the basic American values and traditions? It is a credit to our school system that less damage was not done.

Consider the period from 1940 through 1948. Except for the short period of the Hitler-Stalin pact, which ended in June 1941, our concern was to defeat and destroy Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese Empire. Soviet Russia became our wartime ally. Stalin became "good old Joe." And woe to those who insisted that Soviet Russia and the Communist philosophy were as dangerous to a free world as nazism or fascism.

The volume of pro-Soviet propaganda that poured into our schools and colleges during those years was incredibly high. And thousands of highly placed leaders in Federal, State, and local governments gave aid and comfort to our most deadly enemy—simply because they had never learned to know the nature of the beast. Here and there teachers and administrators raised their voices against the coddling of the Communists, but these were brave and hardy men and women.

But how could we expect the public schools to take the lead in this most necessary work of enlightenment, when at that very time the Vice President of the United States, not knowing he was speaking to a captive audience of tens of thousands of political prisoners in a notorious Soviet slave-labor camp in Siberia, hailed them as having "the pioneer spirit of our own West"; when high Presidential aids referred to Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese Communist leaders as "mere agrarian reformers"; when well-known university professors wrote books and lectured to their students on the basic similarities between the U.S. Constitution and Stalin's constitution of 1936.

The change began, but oh, so slowly, when President Truman ordered military and financial aid to Greece and Turkey against Soviet aggression; when Winston Churchill made his famous "Iron Curtain" speech; and when the United States and Britain began the airlift of 1948 to save Berlin from being starved out by Stalin's order. It gathered momentum when we fought in Korea to save that country from a Communist takeover.

The sad and shameful record of capitulation and brainwashing of thousands of our boys who were captured by the Chinese and North Korean Communists, stunned many of our Nation's political and educational leaders. Our public schools had failed—had most miserably failed—to give these boys a sense of the values and issues for which they were fighting. Equally, they knew nothing of communism and what it stood for, or its cruel record of mass murder, mass deportation, mass slavery of millions of its own people.

Ever since the close of the Korean war there has been a growing awareness among the American people of the nature of world communism. Almost without exception, the ardent apologists for Soviet Russia and Red China have been swept from their seats in Congress by voter indignation. At our leading universities as well as at hundreds of colleges there are now many courses, at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, dealing with the Communist governments, Communist propaganda, and Communist philosophy. Many are staffed by highly competent instructors. Books, pamphlets, monographs, and articles on the various aspects are being published and used. Some excellent scripts have been given on radio and documentaries on television.

Side by side with the above have grown demands by all manner of groups (veteran, labor, business, fraternal, civic, religious, and educational) that our public schools prepare themselves to intensify their students' understanding of our American ideals, values, and heritage. Last of all has come the demand that our children also learn to know and understand the nature of communism, and its threat to us and the whole free world.

The thaw is on.

The problem now no longer appears to be: Dare we teach our children the truth about communism? Rather, in the immediate years ahead it will be: Are our teachers sufficiently well trained and equipped to do an honest, objective, and meaningful job in dealing with this problem? How does one relate information about communism to existing courses of study? What can one do at the elementary school level? At junior high? At senior high? What modifications are needed in the curriculum at junior college level? What about textbooks? Reference books? Outside reading and audiovisual material? How much time shall be spent pointing out to our children the widely differing purposes and objectives of our school system and those of the Soviet Union?

There are at present approximately 820,000 elementary and 500,000 secondary teachers employed in the public schools of the United States. An additional 100,000 are employed as librarians, supervisors, and principals.

In addition, another 450,000 young men and women are now preparing for a teaching career at our teachers colleges, liberal arts colleges, and universities. From these schools come nearly 100,000 new public school teachers each year.

No other force, of equal size or importance, exists within our country dedicated to the task of preparing our children to function as free, intelligent, responsible citizens.

Our school teachers insist, and rightly so, that neither their college courses, teacher-training courses, nor their subsequent inservice training has prepared them to cope with the problem of communism as a subject for study and discussion. Year after year, their training teachers and their administrators had hammered away at them that they must always be neutral on controversial issues. In fact, whenever possible, controversial issues should be avoided. Furthermore, when any such issue did arise, teachers must bend over backward in their efforts to be truly impartial. Otherwise they could be accused of being propagandists—a real dirty word in the teaching profession.

Surely we want our teachers to be objective? Surely we want them to present factual information. Surely we want them to pre-

sent conflicting views. But we don't want them to be so neutral that they have no opinions of their own. Or that they fear being branded "ultranationalist," "narrow minded," or "out of step with today" when they speak up and defend their country, its heroes, and its heritage.

Perhaps too little thought has been given to a determination of what is controversial and what is not. Of course the range of controversial issues, local, State, National, and international, is very great. Taxes, for example, are always a matter of controversy. But, surely, the rights of a free press, of free speech, of the right to worship as we choose, these are not. That murder is a crime is no longer controversial, though the nature of the punishment for it is. Communism, viewed strictly as a philosophy, could be considered controversial. But communism as a world conspiracy which is actively engaged in trying to destroy both the basic values as well as the basic institutions of the United States and all other free people—this is not a matter of polite controversy. Here we must pit our values, our institutions, our way of life openly, clearly, and forcefully against theirs. Without doing so, every teacher, every professor, every school administrator, every member of a board of education, is derelict in his duties.

Dr. Trillingham put it this way:

> Let's inform our youngsters what the Communists are trying to do to them. Then let's review with them our many freedoms and opportunities, our comforts and conveniences, that are too often taken for granted. Let's try to build a new loyalty and dedication to our Bill of Rights, our free enterprise system, our universal education, and our Judeo-Christian religion. Let's begin living up to these great foundation stones. Let's help the youngsters to see that we're in a battle of ideologies for keeps.

The Communists learned long ago that before they could win people over to their way of thinking they must first cause them to doubt, and then reject their existing values. Kill national pride. Scoff at patriotism. Put feet of clay on every national hero. Give ignoble meanings to noble causes. Laugh at the flag. Call veterans fools. Call politicians knaves and crooks. Point up and exaggerate the weaknesses of our institutions. Breed class hatred and race hatred. See only the seamy side of American life. Do this long enough and you are a pushover for the Commies.

Any program of anti-Communist education in the public schools must first be authorized by the local board of education, and implemented by specific directives from the school administration to its teaching staff. Without this, all would be chaos. Dr. Everett Chaffee, assistant superintendent of the Los Angeles city schools, maintains that the single most important job needed to be done before a school system undertakes to teach its pupils the nature and scope of communism is the adoption of clear guidelines by the board of education. On March 31, 1961, said Dr. Chaffee, the Los Angeles school system issued a 25-page detailed bulletin on "Instruction About Communism." Copies were distributed to every social studies teacher in the junior and senior high schools. This document summarized all major policies and actions by the board of education which make clear the responsibility for classroom instruction about the menace of this ideology and movement. The publication pointed out that the California Education Code defines "communism," states that upholding the principles of free government is a major purpose of

the public schools, and specifically indicates that the State legislature does not intend to prevent the teaching of the facts about communism.

The bulletin lists in detail those units in social studies courses, grades 8 through 12, which are directed toward an understanding of the Communist threat. Authorized, available materials of instruction for classroom use were also listed.

Cited in the bulletin, was the following quotation from the comprehensive curriculum policy of the Los Angeles city schools:

> The study of current problems is always based on the foundation of positive instruction toward a belief in the ideals and processes of American democracy, and on the understanding of totalitarian ideals and methods which are contrary to American democracy.

During the course of 1961 several additional bulletins and instructions were prepared and distributed to the social studies teachers.

The public now knows—

declared Dr. Chaffee—

> that in the Los Angeles city system the schools are carrying out their responsibility of instruction directed toward a constructive belief in American democracy and an awareness of the Communist menace.

There are bound to be many cities, or school board districts, where the general public is still either hostile to, or indifferent about, innovating programs along the lines mentioned above. There, it seems to me, school board members and school administrators should take the lead in changing the attitudes of the public. Such is the case at this writing, in San Diego County. Superintendent of Schools Cecil D. Hardesty reports:

> At present we are attempting to create a climate of opinion in the San Diego area which would support having the schools teach the facts about communism. There is lipservice, but as I am sure you recognized, both of the extreme ends of the political spectrum are inclined to give schools a hard time on specific materials selected for this purpose.
>
> We are in the process of developing a "package" including written materials and films to be used at the senior high school level. It is our belief that use of the material must be preceded by agreement on the part of the governing boards of the school districts if the job is to be done. This should be followed by an in-service education program for principals of the schools and by a somewhat more detailed in-service education program for the individual teachers who will undertake the teaching.

One of the areas where the school system has already secured public acceptance for teaching about communism is Ventura County, Calif. Under the direction of Superintendent Dean E. Triggs, the Ventura school system has prepared and issued to all of its staff a remarkable and thorough resource guide to teachers, entitled "Teaching About Communism."

This syllabus—

insists Dr. Triggs—

> was devised to aid secondary schools as they prepare to meet the challenge of communism. Our point of view holds that the fundamental purpose of education is the teaching of the ideals of democracy and the simultaneous forearming of our students with a potent and lasting defense against attitudes contrary to these ideals.
>
> We are mindful of the fact that the conflict ahead is an extended one, and that its resolution will in all probability be effected by the students we educate today

The Ventura book offers, among other things, the following specific recommendations to teachers on techniques in teaching about communism:

1. Democracy and communism can be effectively contrasted. The facts of each can be taught honestly without bias. A "perfect" case for democracy need not be made in order to conclusively demonstrate the destructiveness of communism and its violation of human freedom.

2. A significant program for teaching about communism must be based upon providing the student with a thorough knowledge of its ideology and its political and economic objectives, together with a clear understanding of its threat to mankind and its inherent invalidity. To foster a superficial aversion by employing the methods of totalitarian indoctrination would be neither efficient nor worthy of American education.

3. Teaching about communism is meaningless unless it is paralleled by a solid foundation in the principles of democracy, the basic tenets of free enterprise, and by an intelligible understanding of the problems facing the world in which the student must live and exercise responsible choice.

4. The problem of teaching an effective unit about communism is both pointed and complex. The task is such that it cannot be relegated to a series of inspirational speakers or to a 2-week survey unit. We must avoid being deceived by pseudounderstanding that results from an accumulation of peripheral fact. Since our target is one of deep-rooted commitment that is based upon a lasting understanding of how the spirit of man is best fulfilled, we would be wise to regard the instruction on a long-term, rather than a short-term basis.

5. Because teaching about communism is comparatively new to the instructional program, schools will generally find it difficult to obtain personnel adequately prepared for teaching the topic. Accordingly, schools should make special provisions for study opportunities, inservice education, and expert assistance, in order to enlarge the effectiveness of the staff responsible.

The Soviet Government has been a going concern for 45 years. Its major satellites, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany are nearly 15 years old; and Red China nearly 14 years.

To meet the external threat of Communist aggression we waged war in Korea; we built up airbases throughout the world; we committed hundreds of thousands of our troops to service abroad; we gave away tens of billions of dollars to beef up half a hundred countries' economy and military posture.

To meet the internal threat Congress passed many laws. Both House and Senate investigating committees (as well as the State committees) have been turning up massive evidence on the widespread ramifications of Communist propaganda, subversion, and outright espionage here at home. The FBI (as well as other Government agencies), has devoted a very large part of its time and effort to the Communist conspiracy. Republican and Democratic Presidents alike have branded communism as the major threat to our existence as a free nation.

In the face of all this, it is difficult to understand how the training schools for our teachers (and especially those who are to teach at the secondary level) have failed to incorporate into their curriculums courses of study which would acquaint and prepare the oncoming teachers with this most vital problem of our times. Yet, such has been the case. One wonders what kind of a dreamworld the administrators of these teachers' colleges have been living in. One wonders at the silence of their teaching staffs—particularly during the past dozen years. One wonders at the failure of State boards of education, and of State legislatures to take cognizance of such a basic gap in the requirements to teach in the schools of today. It does no good to blame the teachers for their inability to deal with the issue of communism when (except in a very small percentage of cases) they were never given the training to do so.

We learned long ago that we couldn't stamp out small pox, yellow fever, or venereal diseases by magic incantations, oratory, or denunciation of the victims of these cruel killers.

It's high time we learned such methods are equally futile against that dread social cancer of our times—communism.

Now that the thaw is on, a major task to be undertaken by every college, university, or teacher training institution, is to revise its curriculum. Needed, in every part of the country, are late afternoon and evening classes, as well as summer school classes for those who are now teaching in our public schools. Courses should range from general orientation in Communist philosophy, to the world Communist movement; a comparison of our concept of political parties versus that of the Communists; the Communist press versus the press of the Western World; Communist education versus ours; Communist semantics; Communist ethics, how Communists teach history; etc. Above all, these courses should be taught by competent authorities. We have many hundreds, perhaps several thousands of people in this country (many of them refugees) who are highly qualified, but who cannot be used at present because of rules and regulations that need to be revised or more broadly interpreted.

For the oncoming crop of 100,000 new teachers each year, I believe at least 20 percent of their academic work should be in the fields listed above.

To those who throw up their hands in horror at so much emphasis, let me point out that in the Soviet Union, where every person has been indoctrinated in Soviet communism from the day he entered kindergarten, the teacher-to-be is compelled to devote not less than 1,876 class hours to Communist indoctrination. In other words, in the Soviet 5-year teacher training colleges, each student must devote 40 percent of his class time to this type of education.

The report of the first official U.S. education mission to the U.S.S.R., published in 1959, by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, entitled, "Soviet Commitment to Education," reports (p. 91) that all who intend to teach either the Russian language, literature, or history (they have nothing called social studies) are required to take 224 clock hours in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 140 clock hours in the political economy (Marxism-Leninism), 140 clock hours in dialectical and

historical materialism, 160 clock hours in ancient history (a la Marx), 178 clock hours in history of the middle ages (same), 264 clock hours in modern history (same), 106 clock hours in modern history of the East (same), 430 clock hours in history of the U.S.S.R. (same), 100 clock hours in methods of teaching Russian, 70 clock hours in methods of teaching literature, 64 clock hours in methods of teaching history.

On page 94 of the same report there is this statement:

> Four state examinations are required in each specialty upon completion of the period of training. One is the same for all specialties, namely, "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

More immediately, is the need for each school district to revamp and enlarge its required teacher institutes and inservice training classes. As the Ventura school guide cited earlier, stated, what is needed are less inspirational talks and more solid factual material. And more careful analysis. There is always the danger of over-simplifying the issues, or of confusing issues with which we disagree as being Communist inspired.

Needed, as I see it, are first of all special compulsory institutes for all principals, vice principals, and other administrators. Unless they know the score, how can they hope to give intelligent guidance, supervision, and criticism to their teachers, when they are attempting to handle the complicated and sticky problems at classroom level. Then, too, the principals must know enough about communism, and how the teachers are handling it, to explain to emotionally upset or angry parents, and other citizens, just what the school is trying to do. In certain communities, where pro-Communist or ultra-right-wing sentiment is fairly large or local, there are bound to be some difficult times for administrators and teachers alike. At such times, above all, a knowledge of how the Communists work, will be of great help to school personnel.

Once the school administrators have had some basic training, the next step consists in setting up similar courses for all teachers of social studies at the secondary level, for they are the ones who are going to have to handle most of the work of enlightenment about communism. But the training should not stop with the social studies teachers. There should be more general courses of study for all teachers, both secondary and elementary. The reason for this is that, just as it is so frequently said that every teacher is, perforce, an English teacher, so, I believe, we can say with even greater conviction that every teacher must be, perforce, a teacher of American ideals, values, and citizenship.

With adequate training they will be such teachers. They will strengthen our national fabric. They will give our children the tools of truth and understanding with which to fight and destroy the Communist ideology. And when the ideology topples, the movement and governments it dominates will, in due time, topple too.

When the will to win is coupled with a knowledge of what we are fighting against as well as what we are fighting for, then communism will be in retreat. The job of forging that will and that understanding rests most of all upon our public schools and their teachers.

THE USE OF CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE MATERIALS

(By Dr. Kenneth Colegrove, professor of political science, C. W. Post College of Long Island University)

Many public schools as well as colleges and universities fail to make adequate use of one of our most important sources of accurate information regarding the Communist international conspiracy.

This source is the large number of reports and hearings on communism published by congressional committees. The two most important of these sources are the reports of the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on Internal Security Laws, and the reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives.

From time to time, I have asked teachers who were not using congressional committee materials why such a valuable source was ignored. Sometimes, the answer by even college and university professors indicated an ignorance of the existence of these materials. Sometimes, teachers excused their failure to use these materials by declaring that the committee reports were "mere propaganda" or lacked "objectivity." Most teachers who expressed such a prejudice against the reports admitted that they had never read a report by either one of the two congressional committees.

The widespread propaganda against congressional committee investigations has included the charge that the congressional committee reports lack "objectivity." The accusation of lack of "objectivity" is often bandied by persons who have not even the remotest idea as to the meaning of this technical term in scientific method. Among scholars, it is generally assumed that objectivity is attainable in the physical sciences. At the same time, most scholars seriously doubt whether any studies in the social sciences can ever achieve objectivity, or the complete absence of bias, prejudice, or preconceived notions. Suffice it here to say there are no textbooks, monographs, or treatises in history, political science, economics, or sociology which are "objective" in the same manner as treatises in mathematics or the physical sciences. Perhaps the best that can be attained in all the social sciences is an approximation toward objectivity.

The committee reports, of course, fall in the field of the social sciences. And here the problem is not one of "objectivity," but rather the question whether the report or monograph or findings meet the standards of scientific method in the social sciences.

What are standards of scientific method in the social sciences? These standards include: (1) documentation of sources; (2) accuracy of data and verification of evidence; (3) authenticity of quotations and avoidance of distortion of quotations; (4) scientific analysis of data; and (5) the logical formulation of conclusions.

An honest appraisal of the committee reports will show that they fully meet the canons of scientific method in the social sciences. In fact, the committee reports are deliberately prepared in conformity

with the canons of modern scientific method. The research staffs of the committees do not engage in name-calling, card-stacking, question-begging, glittering generalizations, and other propaganda tricks. On the contrary, the research staffs of the committees employ approved standards of research in testing the creditability of evidence, in the verification of sources, in the analysis of data, and in the formulation of conclusions.

Obviously, the committee reports contain a large amount of testimony by experts and eyewitnesses which is derogatory to Communist leaders and Communist regimes. But the research staffs treat such evidence as testimony, the validity of which must be appraised in a scientific manner. Quotations of Communist leaders are always carefully verified. And they are not distorted or lifted from context. Nothing is stated as a fact, which has not been carefully substantiated. Most of the reports have complete documentation, such as would be found in a treatise by an erudite university professor. Indeed, the staffs of the committees show the same intellectual honesty found in the best research work in American universities and colleges, and in the research institutions supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, or any of the other great foundations. It is naive to assume that the research staff of a governmental agency cannot maintain the same scientific standards as the staff of a private institution.

The reports of the congressional committees contain a vast array of facts carefully verified in thousands of hours of staff research. For instance, the Subcommittee on Internal Security Laws of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has issued a committee print on "Soviet Political Agreements and Results." This compilation enumerates (with details covering 100 pages) over 200 violations of treaties and other international agreements by the Soviet Union. I have used this compilation on numerous occasions, and have never found an error of fact. Nor have my students who frequently study this compilation ever reported to me any error of fact.

Not only do the committee reports furnish a vast amount of accurate information but also the information is generally presented in convenient form. For instance, the first volume of "Facts on Communism," issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1960, is devoted to "The Communist Ideology." The volume gives, with proper documentation, the principal Communist doctrines, arranged under 80 topics. With this booklet in her hand, a high school teacher who, for example, is unfamiliar with the history of the Communist doctrine of the "inevitability of war," can promptly inform herself regarding this dogma with very little time and effort. Or again, she can readily ascertain the Communist distinction between "propaganda" and "agitation," or still again, fathom the Marxist-Leninist hocus-pocus of "dialectical materialism."

As to documentation, a large part of the contents of the committee reports is based on testimony given under oath in the hearings of the committee and in other authenticated evidence laid before the committee. The reports indicate the sources of such evidence. Many reports, such as the Senate document, prepared by the Subcommittee on Internal Security Laws on "The Communist Party of the United States of America," contain material acquired by research as well as derived from testimony before the several committees. Another

example of a completely documented research paper is "The Soviet Empire: Prison House of Nations and Races: A Study in Genocide, Discrimination and Abuse of Power" (S. Doc. 122, 85th Cong., 2d sess., 1958). In all such cases, the reports indicate the source of all evidence obtained by research. In other words, the research staffs of the committees comply with the standards of scientific method regarding documentation of sources in the social sciences.

It will not be amiss to emphasize again the remarkable convenience of some of the committee reports. Forty years ago, the standard treatise for studying the inconsistencies and false predictions of communism was Vladimir G. Simkhovitch's "Marxism versus Socialism" (New York, 1913). But that was 40 years ago. Today, where can the student find in systematic and succinct form a review of the inconsistencies of modern Marxism-Leninism and Soviet practice? There are many ponderous tomes. But for brevity and modernity, none of them can hold a candle to the 54 pages of the committee print of the Subcommittee on Internal Security Laws, published under the title of "Contradictions of Communism." The 172 footnotes in this compilation furnish all that is required in the matter of scholarly documentation.

The reports of the congressional committees, of course, cannot take the place of adequate textbooks, study guides, or syllabi. Textbooks, of course, must include the pedagogical devices required by educational experts. At the same time, however, the committee reports offer a vast amount of pertinent material to supplement a textbook, or to supply the broad field of information required by a study guide or syllabus.

Again, a textbook, by itself, cannot furnish all of the "workshop" activities that should accompany studies in the social sciences in the public and private schools. There are problems which the pupil should attempt to solve outside the confines of his textbook. Where did the authors of a textbook obtain the information furnished in the textbook? What are the various sources of information on the subject? Has the textbook failed to present evidence that might conflict with the conclusions of the textbook? What further information should be offered on any subject? These are important questions. And the pupil should be encouraged to test these problems for himself.

With reference to questions which unfortunately have become controversial, the committee reports furnish information that may be difficult to obtain elsewhere. No textbook adequately covers all phases of many of these problems. A case in point is the student riots in San Francisco in May 1960. Incontestable proof shows that a large number of students in the San Francisco area were the dupes of the Communist Party in staging these riots. And, since American youth were involved in this spectacular outburst of violence, boys and girls in our high schools in all States of the Union are particularly interested in this episode. If this case is deliberately omitted from classroom discussion, the chances are that some bright boy or girl will raise the subject. The prudent teacher will take the precaution to arm herself with authentic information. For this purpose, she should study the report entitled "The Communist-Led Riots Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, Calif., May 12–14, 1960" (House Rept. No. 2228, 86th Cong., 2d

sess., Oct. 7, 1960). In particular, she should study the report of these riots by J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, published under the title of "Communist Target—Youth: Communist Infiltration and Agitation Tactics" (July 1960). She should complete this preparation by a study of "The Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition'" (House Rept. No. 1278, 87th Cong., 1st sess., Oct. 5, 1961). The alert teacher will not allow herself to be embarrassed by lack of information on a subject of this character.

The well-informed teacher will also point out to her class that youth has always been a special target of Communist tactics, and that in recent years the Communist Party in all countries has instigated students to mob violence. Where will the teacher find evidence for this conclusion? It will suffice to read the committee print of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, entitled "Communist Anti-American Riots: Mob Violence as an Instrument of Red Diplomacy: Bogota–Caracas–La Paz–Tokyo" (Aug. 26, 1960).

In particular, the committee reports and hearings often present more timely information than can be found in any textbook or study guide. The best textbooks, of course, depend very heavily upon the findings of the committees. But, at the present moment, I know of no textbook that shows the connection of the propaganda organ, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, with the Communist regime of Fidel Castro. Data on this subject has recently been given to the public in the published hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Laws. Copies of these hearings are available to all schools. The teacher who uses such materials as assigned readings in her classroom gives her pupils the satisfaction of knowing that they are holding in their hands the very latest published information on the subject of subversive activities.

In conclusion, the reports and hearings of the congressional committees furnish materials that are indispensable for an adequate understanding of the ideology and operation of the Communist Party in all countries as well as the United States. Much of this material is available in no other source. The reports conform to the best research standards of scientific method. The information is authentic and fully verified. These reports should be in the hands of every teacher giving instruction relating to communism. And they should also be found in the library of every public and private school.

TWO WAYS OF LIFE: THE COMMUNIST CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY [1]

(By William Ebenstein, professor of politics, Princeton University)

I. Why I wrote "Two Ways of Life"

For over 25 years I have studied, taught, and written in the field of comparative political studies, particularly the philosophies and policies of totalitarianism. In pursuit of such professional studies, I visited the Soviet Union in 1958. I was deeply impressed and disturbed by one overriding thought as a result of this firsthand contact with Soviet reality: that we in the United States had not even begun to grasp the immensity of the Communist threat to the free world. In the 1930's many failed to understand the nature and aggressive aims of the fascist variety of totalitarianism. Such failure to understand and act in time was a decisive link in the chain of events that culminated in the tragedy of World War II. Today, the need for proper understanding and resolute action in time is even greater than it was yesterday. The challenge of totalitarian, imperialist communism today is infinitely more dangerous than was the challenge of fascism: never before in history have the enemies of human liberty possessed such material means of destruction as are at the disposal of international communism today.

Long before Lenin was in power, he formulated, in "What Is To Be Done?" (1902), the famous doctrine of the "professional revolutionary." According to that doctrine, the Communist movement needs in order to seize power by force within a country, a cadre of full-time revolutionaries, whose whole life is geared, 24 hours a day, to the Communist goal of power. After 40 years of Communist rule in Russia, the Soviet leadership is now trying to apply the Leninist principle on a much broader scale. Every citizen of the entire Soviet population of nearly 220 million is part of a national plan directed toward the ultimate goal of Soviet communism: world domination. During my stay in the Soviet Union I had the impression that communism worked on a 24-hour day schedule for its professed goal of bringing the whole world under its sway, whereas the free nations still operated on the 8-hour day.

Since 1917, when the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership seized power in Russia, we have consistently underestimated the seriousness of the Soviet claim to world domination and the persistency with which they have pursued that goal. Before the people of the free world, and particularly the American people, are ready to make the all-out effort and sacrifice which alone can stop the growth of world-wide communism and expand the realm of law and liberty, they will first have to understand the principles of communism, its past actions and policies, and its future goals and ambitions. "Two Ways of Life" seeks to provide such understanding of communism for a decisive segment of the American people: the youth in our high schools,

[1] Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., publishers.

on the threshold of meeting the responsibilities of work and citizenship.

II. Principles of analysis and presentation

"Two Ways of Life" is based on the following principles of presentation and analysis.

(1) The struggle between communism and democracy is not one among many issues in the contemporary world, but the overriding issue of our time. Free government under law will vanish from the earth unless we are willing to pledge for its preservation "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." This thought at the end of "Two Ways of Life" reminds the high school youngster that today, as at the time our Republic was founded, the supreme sacrifice is the price of liberty.

(2) The Communist offensive is not aimed at one particular aspect of democracy such as constitutional government, the free-market economy, or the personal freedom of speech and religion. The target is the whole free way of life. This way-of-life concept is also applied to the analysis of Communist totalitarianism: it is presented as being more than a specific political or economic system. It seeks to possess all of man, his body and soul, and allows no human sentiment or activity—religious, political, economic, or educational—to escape its control.

(3) "Two Ways of Life" is based on the conviction that, if the young American is to be fully aware of the scope of the Communist menace, he must first understand the deeper meaning of democracy, what it stands for in terms of ultimate beliefs and values, and how it has worked out in the reality of American life. For this reason, the first half of "Two Ways of Life" presents the guiding tenets of American democracy, with particular emphasis on the American system of constitutional government and on American capitalism as the economic system of free enterprise.

(4) In its general emphasis and illustrative materials, "Two Ways of Life" is focused on the United States as the leader of the free world and on the Soviet Union as the leader of the Communist bloc. Such a treatment shifts the material from the abstract to the concrete, thus enabling the student to understand the issues at stake more easily and intelligently. Moreover, the choice of the United States as the representative nation of the free world is designed to heighten in the high school youngster an awareness of the importance of the United States to the survival of freedom not only in our own Nation but throughout the whole world. Such an awareness should strengthen an attitude of greater effort and sacrifice on the part of each and every American.

(5) In presenting the nature of the Communist challenge, "Two Ways of Life" emphasizes not only the challenge of Communist imperialism (propaganda, infiltration, subversion, revolution, and aggressive war), but also of Soviet economic power and science and education. The purpose of stressing the latter two aspects of the Communist challenge is to impress the high school youngster that, in the areas of economic activity and education, he can make a personal contribution to the national effort of making America as strong as possible. The discussion of Soviet economic growth and technological progress also sharpens in the high school reader an awareness that the

struggle with communism may be of long duration, and that its outcome may well be decided by protracted effort rather than by a few dramatic strokes.

III. The responsibility of high schools for instruction on communism

Although communism threatens not only the liberty of America, but its very survival, our educational institutions, private and public, have paid little attention to the treatment of communism in a coherent fashion. The grade school is too early a level for proper instruction on communism. In college, the tendency toward specialization combined with individual traditions and approaches makes a general program of instruction on communism difficult. Moreover, only about one-quarter to a third of American youth ever attends college. This leaves the high school as the crucial type of institution for the realization of such a program. Until now, instruction on communism in American high schools has been given too little attention. This was revealed during the Korean war, when many American prisoners of war proved ideologically ill equipped to withstand the propaganda barrage of their Communist captors.

So far, the insufficient attention given to instruction on communism in the high school curriculum has been due to several factors. First, such instruction on a comprehensive scale was, until recently, not required in any State of the Union. In the last 2 years, several States (such as Virginia and Florida) have made full-fledged courses of instruction on communism mandatory in the high school curriculum. Other States (such as California and New York) now require the teaching of communism, without, however, prescribing, as yet, a special course program in that area. Methods and techniques of integrating the instruction on communism will, of course, vary in line with local circumstances. The important educational issue is the recognition of the need to give substantial attention to the subject of communism. Another factor which has obstructed a more coherent and detailed program of instruction on communism in high schools has been the scarcity of teaching materials. Admittedly, the proper understanding of communism and of democracy is not always an easy matter for a youngster of high school age. Yet in recent years public opinion in the United States, both among professional educators and community leaders, has developed a remarkable degree of consensus that the American high school must give more to, and demand more from the high school student than it has done in the past. Such changes of attitude cannot be reflected in institutional changes overnight; but it is not too much to suggest that the high school student of today and tomorrow will be expected to develop more intellectual self-dicipline and independence than the high school student of yesterday. A systematic program of instruction in the fundamentals of communism and democracy, based on facts and sober evaluation rather than on wishful thinking and propaganda, can significantly contribute to the growing trend in American high schools toward greater intellectual toughness and responsibility. It is hoped that "Two Ways of Life: The Communist Challenge to Democracy" will help to fill the existing gap in scholarly materials of instruction, thus showing that America's safety and welfare have nothing to fear, and everything to gain, from an objective study of communism and democracy.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS BEHIND ANTI-COMMUNIST EDUCATION

(By Kazimierz Grzybowski, consultant with the Rand Corporation)

I. The state of our moral and intellectual defenses in the face of Communist aggressive designs is causing a good deal of uneasiness. Many aspects of American life are coming under scrutiny. Our affluent economy, the softness and comforts of our existence, the tempo of our life, and finally our schools, all receive a fair share of criticism and are pointed out as the cause of our weakness on the ideological front. It is not the purpose of this paper to identify the source of our ideological shortcomings. Instead, the writer of these lines prefers to point out the method by which our defenses could be strengthened, and the best method seems to be to proceed with the broadly discussed school reform in our country, also for the purpose of bolstering up our strength in ideological weapons. This places the problem of anti-Communist education squarely within the complex of issues which, alone, would permit it to be treated in a systematic manner. Although educational activities encompass a great deal which is not included in any of the formal curriculums of instruction, with roughly one-fourth of our population enrolled in our schools, from childhood well into the years approaching maturity, the school population represents the most important social group for which to design a program of anti-Communist education. The timeliness of this approach is further indicated by the fact that for some time, and most actively since the orbiting of the first Soviet sputnik, the state of American education has been the subject of soul-searching discussion, with this particular object in view, and important changes are taking place in various aspects of education.

Critics point out the failure of our schools to prepare our youth for the grim contest in which we, as a nation, are actively engaged, and for the tests that may lie ahead, as a result of the nature, purposes, and methods of American education. Since the turn of the century, under the impact of John Dewey, our educational institutions, and particularly the public school system, which represents one of the finest achievements of American civilization, have concentrated on the social aspects of education. The purpose of education has been declared to be to bring about an adjustment of the individual to his place in the social environment. With this end in view, school curricula and methods of instruction have been reorganized and modernized. The emphasis is no longer on acquiring knowledge, with a constant testing of individual performance, and former college-preparatory emphasis has given way either to the comprehensive high school, with its multiple curriculum, or to a system of specialized high schools in which each school adjusts the pupil to a particular profession, thus leading to a narrow specialization providing little in the nature of a general education. In due course the public schools in a number of States began to devote many years of primary and secondary educa-

tion to programs which have almost completely abandoned traditional subjects of instruction. Some educators even went so far as to advocate the total removal of such subjects as mathematics, science, English, history, and geography, and their replacement by courses in vocations, health, moral conduct, home life, leisure occupations, educational opportunities, and social communications.

However justified the criticism of these exaggerated tendencies may be, it cannot be said that progressive education had no idea behind it. There are at least two good reasons for the modernization of American schools. In the first place, the growth of industrial centers has created great cities with their problems of life in mass communities. Secondly, there was the traumatic experience of the depression in the thirties. Both called for reexamination of the moral premises on which our society relied. It seemed to many that the depression should be credited to the egotism of the capitalist economic and social order. It was claimed that education for acquisitive individualism was a proper aim in the earlier part of the history of our country, when the expansion of American society, both geographically and economically, called for bold initiative, the ability to take risks, and the attitude of mind known as rugged individualism. But these times are gone, and in the new social and economic conditions the emphasis must be on the social aims of education, and on teamwork and the development of the cooperative attitude.

The program of progressive education was not without its merits. In the first place it provided the framework for the enormous task of reorganizing public education in order to open public schools to all children. It also provided a driving force for the expansion of the school system in the years of the depression. It also had serious shortcomings which seriously affected the general level of our education, and put an unnecessary strain on the institutions of higher learning. Progressive education contributed to the lowering of our education in science at the time when the progress of science and technology became one of the most important forces of social and economic progress. The emphasis on social adjustment was achieved by deemphasizing the quest for individual excellence. The effects of education were no longer measured in terms of individual intellectual, moral, and spiritual growth, which can only be obtained by high standards of required performance and a system of tests. Instead, a facile and easygoing attitude became prevalent in our schools. Both the professional qualifications of teachers and the grading system suffered in the school environment which was guided by the performance of the least gifted and industrious.

Perhaps the high sounding nomenclature under which the general lowering of educational standards was presented to the public was most detrimental to public morale. It was claimed that the new trend in schools represented the realization of the Jacksonian ideals of democracy, and that quantity takes precedence over quality which, for some reason, was thought to embody aristocratic principles in education, ignoring the fact that in education it is not so much the breadth of the curriculum as the quality of the instruction that counts.

In the final analysis, the climate of progressive education became unhistorical and dangerously unrealistic. It anticipated no challenge to American society or to the American Nation, no crisis in interna-

tional relations. Its weaknesses were visibly demonstrated in times of national danger, when the quality of education proved to be inadequate for the training of personnel for the various trades needed for national defense. The curricula of progressive schools had to be adjusted in order to train students in traditional subjects.

The impetus toward a general reexamination of the school system in this country came from the realization that our society was facing a new historical epoch which would call for an ever greater supply of skills and talent, as the progress of science and technology became a steady and permanent factor in the life of modern society. The position of a leading nation can be maintained only through a planned drive toward a higher degree of excellence, away from narrow specialization.

> In this day of technologies that become antiquated overnight, it is hazardous to predict a favorable future for any narrow occupational category. There will be economic advantage to the individual in acquiring the kind of fundamental training that will enable him to move back and forth over several occupational categories. Individuals so trained will find market for their talents under most circumstances. * * *

According to the Rockefeller report, from which these words were quoted,

> It is not a shortage, now of engineers, now of economists, that lies at the roots of the problem. *It is the constant pressure of an ever complex society against the total creative capacity of its people.*

Thus, in order to save American education from the doldrums of progressive education it is indispensable to abolish the myth of the conflict between quantity and quality, and to provide both for a broad program of education for all American children, with an opportunity to identify talent and ability, and to stimulate individual students to make the most of their potentialities. We must rediscover the disciplinary qualities of hard study, and social adjustment through solid work in school. The development of talent where it is found has no relation to the aristocratic principle in the social order. Rather it is democratic as, fortunately, there is, as yet, no biological formula for the systematic production of gifted individuals except through the challenge of education.

II. It is easy to see that the new trend is toward intellectualism in American schools which, when finally established under conditions of universal education, may produce a genuine curiosity which will stimulate the exploration of the broader problems facing modern man and our polity. Furthermore, young men and women, even before reaching college age, must acquire a solid education, an indispensable precondition for a proper understanding by the coming generations of the great issues of the struggle between free societies and regimented communism. One cannot accuse our youth of a lack of ideological fervor, but one cannot fail to see that, on the whole, they are ill equipped to see ideological problems in their real dimensions. Our education is not designed to introduce young people to the world of controversial ideas and of facts by which to judge them.

In contrast, the student of the Communist world will be struck by the fact that their education is extremely broad, highly ideological, and organized in detail. It embraces the entire cultural apparatus. It includes all the agencies involved in the molding and informing of the minds of both young and old. In a truly totalitarian fashion the

schools reflect the ideological content of the political indoctrination of society at large.

The standard method is to incorporate the axioms of political ideology in the discipline taught during the regular hours of instruction. So, for instance, a Soviet child learns from the first geography lessons that the world is divided into two parts: the Socialist, to which the Soviet Union belongs, and the capitalist, which is headed by the United States. Since 1956, after the Twentieth Party Congress, a third part has been added, which includes all neutral nations, which are opposed to capitalist imperialism, as they consist mostly of former colonial countries and follow the Soviet peace policy. The capitalist part of the world is characterized by colonialism, the exploitation of man by man, and by the struggle of all oppressed peoples to throw off the yoke of oppression. In contrast, the Socialist part presents a picture of constant progress, of the peaceful labor of the Socialist nations through the high cultural level and the raising of the living standards of all. Thus the doctrines of communism constitute the axis of the process of instruction, in addition to special subjects taught by the best, most highly qualified teachers, devoted exclusively to the systematic exposition of the theories of the leading Communist philosophers. In the entire curriculum the role of the Soviet state, of Soviet leadership, and of the Communist Party as the most important moving force toward progress and peace, is constantly emphasized.

The theories of Karl Marx, which provided the core of the Soviet world outlook, consist of two elements. One is the theory of progress toward higher forms of social organization. Its mechanism is the constant evolution toward more efficient and collective forms of production, emphasizing the collective aspects of the industrial economy. The other is the theory of the revolution, of a violent overthrow of the social and economic order, based on the private ownership of means of production. In their original form, Marxian doctrines envisaged the transition from capitalism to socialism as an interplay of social and economic forces alone. Soviet communism added a new element to this simple pattern by assigning an active role to the Soviet state which, in the Soviet version of Marxism, is the main instrument of the so-called Socialist construction.

The chief reason for this modification was that the Bolshevik revolution took place in a country which, according to all theoretical premises of socialism, was not yet ready for socialism. It was largely untouched by the industrial revolution, and a long process of economic and social development was needed before Russia would become a country with a modern economy and a modern society. In this situation the Bolshevik government resolved to overcome the backwardness of the country by developing it economically, building modern industries and cities, and reconstructing the Soviet society. It could only accomplish this by the use of force, in order to overcome the opposition of practically everybody, workers, peasants, and subjected nationalities, which constituted more than 50 percent of Russia's population. Thus emerged Stalin's regime and the Soviet state, with its totalitarian suppression of political opposition, its regimentation of intellectual and artistic activities, its labor camps, its suppression of organized religions, and its subjugation of the Orthodox church.

Philosophically speaking, Marxism and Soviet communism have little value. Marx's chief achievement consisted in the realization of

the social injustices of the contemporary system of English economy, which was undergoing a process of rapid expansion. He was impressed by the appalling cruelty of the industrial system, which he came to know through his associate Engels and the reports of the royal commissions. He saw that this system was likely to progress from competition toward monopoly, and that its injustice must produce a movement of revolt in the proletariat. He held that in a thoroughly industrialized community the only alternative to private capitalism is social ownership of the means of production. He drew attention to the social aspects of all economic systems, and particularly to those of the industrial economy, and he contended that capitalism was unable to see the social function of commodity production.

At the same time Marx made a series of mistakes. In the first place, quite wrongly, he ruled out the possibility that a free enterprise society might have the means of correcting its social abuses. He was quite contemptuous of the reform movement in England, and was unable to see the significance of humanitarian ideas. Furthermore, he quite artificially combined his observations with an elaborate doctrine pretending to have scientific foundations, which was supposedly constructed according to scientific principles. In this respect Marx fell victim to the general conviction of his time that science had at last provided a sure guide to the understanding of reality, and the history of the progress of humanity. Practically none of the basic elements of his doctrine is his own. His materialism came from Feuerbach, his dialectical method from Hegel. His most important borrowing was from Darwin. Although a good deal of Marxian theory was constructed before the publication of the "Origin of the Species," as a scientific doctrine Marxism was put together as an adaptation of the Darwinian theories to social conditions.

In a sense it could hardly be expected that Marx would rise above the level of other sociologists of his day, all of whom came under the spell of Darwin's theories. What Galileo and Newton were to the 17th century, Darwin was to the 19th. His theories consisted of disparate elements, some of them still scientifically valid, and some no longer considered the last word. The doctrine of evolution was not his own, and is still valid. It was much older than Darwin, and its origins go back to Greek philosophical thought. The chief merit of the great English scientist was that his observations produced a mass of facts supporting the view that various forms of life had developed gradually from a common ancestry. But, in addition, Darwin believed that he had discovered the mechanism of evolution, a set of causes which originate change in various forms and lead to new varieties. This was the theory of the struggle for survival and of the survival of the fittest. According to this theory, each species in a given environment survived owing to certain characteristics, and within each species the individuals best equipped to survive were also given a better chance to transmit these lifesaving characteristics to future generations. In this manner, changes in the species produced new species. Given enough time, this mechanism of change would account for the long development from the simplest forms of life to the highest living form, which Darwin considered homo sapiens.

Darwin's theory on the mechanism of change is now seriously challenged. But it was this part of his theory which provided a pattern for various theories of change in relation to human societies.

Marx adapted it to economics, Bagehot and Spencer to politics and sociology. In politics Darwinism emphasizes the collective aspects of organized activity as opposed to the role of the individual. His theory led to various concepts of historical determinism, and to the devaluation of ethics and morals as guides of political action. What is the value of ethical commands when the course of human societies is predetermined by the laws of nature, equated with the laws of history?

Under Darwin's influence, Marx cast the drama of the transition from a free enterprise economy to socialism in terms of the inexorable march of historical forces. The worker has to sell his labor for wages calculated at the level of subsistence. The capitalist has to extract the surplus value, and to expand the industrial establishment, which is finally to be inherited by the future Socialist society. Finally, the machine, that material condition of economic and social progress in the free enterprise system, represents the greatest danger to human society. It ruins both the capitalist class, as it leads to the constant elimination of the weaker members, and the worker, as it eliminates the need for productive labor, and reduces the level of industrial skills. The increasing mechanization of capitalist factories is, according to Marx, one of the chief reasons for the progressive pauperization of the laboring masses.

The least reasonable role, in this scheme of things containing the promise of a brighter future, was that of the political revolution, which was to wrest power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and give ownership of the means of production to society at large. By some sleight of hand, a political event, and a change in legal conditions, was supposed to change the laws of economics and to reverse the trends in the development of industrial economy.

III. Thus it is comparatively easy to demolish the claims of Communist theoreticians to the scientific foundation of their doctrines. One can prove the internal inconsistencies of communism in its Soviet form, the unscientific character of its determinism, and the unsoundness of Marxian economics and its shortcomings in terms of moral and ethical values. In addition, the political dangers of Soviet communism are more than obvious. The totalitarian management of the national economy is inefficient. Soviet claims regarding the libertarian and democratic character of their regime are disproved by facts. Soviet arts and culture suffer from centralized control and lack of freedom. The Socialist state is far from a benevolent patron of arts and sciences, and has little use for the free flight of human genius.

But in spite of its shortcomings, the Communist doctrine has a great appeal in certain social and political conditions. Soviet experience, appearing in the garb of a scientific theory, provides a pattern of action justifying dictatorial and totalitarian regimes. It permits the suppression of political opposition, the nationalization of foreign investments, the expulsion of aliens, and the repudiation of foreign loans. In the new ex-colonial countries, Soviet factories, a great military force, and the Soviet Union's position of a superpower, lend credence to the myth that Socialist labor has created all these elements of Soviet greatness in spite of foreign sabotage and imperialist intrigue. It offers a sure, unfailing pattern for the solution of the problems of incipient statehood for the leaders of new

nations, who quite shrewdly see that the secret of Soviet success is due less to the ideological trappings of communism, than to the totalitarian enforcement of governmental policies.

Furthermore, it must also be admitted that Communist doctrines have a great attraction as a mass propaganda technique. In spite of its unscientific features, Marxism is the only complete theoretical formulation of the laws of social and economic conditions of our times. Combined with the theory of history and the elements of systematic philosophy, it represents a quasi-scientific explanation of our age which is attractive, owing to the universal reduction of all social phenomena to a central principle, at the same time the law of natural science and of economic science, and a philosophical explanation. It also provides a program of action especially adapted by Soviet experience to primitive social and economic conditions. In view of the Soviet successes in Russia it is useless to argue that the Soviet pattern could not work in ex-colonial territories.

Thus it is impossible to compete on equal terms with communism as a doctrine. The need for a broader approach, transcending the rights and wrongs of Communist doctrines, is also dictated by the moral and ethical foundations of our polity, which is based on tolerance, freedom of opinion, and the absence of official political philosophy. Consequently, the argument for anti-Communist education must be formulated in relation to moral values and intellectual procedures which are beyond question and beyond the scope of political controversy. Such a program must be based on the correct understanding of the history of free societies and proper comprehension of the role of modern science and technology in our age.

Marx regarded the industrial economy of his time from the viewpoint of one who benefits from the advantages which it was able to bestow upon contemporary society, and found that they were largely withheld from the broad strata of the population. If regarded from this point of view, one of the greatest failures of Marxism is that the Socialist states of the Soviet orbit have failed to fulfill his prophecy. In effect, the economy of the Soviet Union, and of the Socialist states established under its aegis, is still run according to the classical pattern of primitive capitalism. It is true that, instead of a great number of private entrepreneurs, various organizations of the state act as industrial managers, but the state, as the arch capitalist, intercepts all profits, reinvests them in the industrial establishment and uses the income for the maintenance of large armies, the police, propaganda, and espionage, and various other repressive agencies. The workers are certainly not the main beneficiaries of the bounty of Soviet economy. This goal of the social and economic revolution, which consisted in replacing profit seeking by the service-rendering attitude of the Socialist entrepreneurs and managers, is still, in the Soviet Union and other Socialist states, a matter of future development.

Most of the changes which failed to materialize in Socialist countries were realized without revolution in the free enterprise economies. The manner in which the changes were effected seems to indicate that the sociologists and economists who believed that social change is possible in a free enterprise system were anticipating the future more correctly than were the founders of scientific socialism. The pauperization theory, which constituted one of the pillars of the theory of the revolution, was disproved by history. Certainly workers in the free

societies of the Western World are better off now than they were in the past. The dignity of man has reached a new high in our world. Out of the turmoil of war and the economic crises came lessons which provided a guide toward a progressive improvement of the general welfare.

The ingredients of a transition toward higher standards of living and of social justice are to be found in two areas. In the first place, free enterprise economies have undergone important structural changes. Secondly, as a result of these changes public authority and the democratic state have been given an opportunity to assume their share of responsibility in influencing the course of the economic affairs of the nation.

The process of the concentration of capital has produced new forms of industrial organization without expropriating from the ranks of owners the means of production, and has introduced a new social function of the management and productive processes. The personal ownership of industrial property has been replaced by the ownership of stocks and bonds, while control of production has passed to centralized groups of professional managers, who act on the basis of the delegation of power, being, in a sense, representatives of the diffused economic interests of the entire community. With the management of property in bulk, business concerns have acquired the character of public institutions, and their activities have come under public control and have had to conform to general standards established by the laws of the country.

The development has contributed to the emergence of other social forms which also, although not a part of the official state, have become public institutions. The growth of great factories and of industria centers has caused the movement of the population to the cities. Large masses of industrial employees living in similar social and economic conditions have begun to give expression to the identity of their interests, either in local government or in social organizations for the defense of their professional interests.

These developments have changed the nature of industrial relations. The place of individual entrepreneurs, and of family businesses, have been taken by great corporations and employers' associations. They were confronted by workers' organizations, primarily trade unions, with a list of other organizations, representing related or intermediate interests of consumers, cooperatives of small producers, and great professional associations. Organizations became the main vehicles of social action and of reform movements, reviving the value of ethics and morals in public life, and establishing general principles and codes of conduct in the management of the economic and social affairs of free societies.

But even more significant of the changes which are taking place in our own age has been the versatility of the public authority in tackling the new tasks created by the new social and economic conditions. In the original theories of Marx, the liberal state had no function, and the state itself was to disappear from the socialist order of things. In fact, in free societies, the state with its rule of law, and the institutions of political and judicial control, became the most useful instrument for the protection of the general interests of society at large, and of individual rights. In the new alinement of social and economic forces the state has been forced to abandon its exalted posi-

tion of social umpire, and to assume direct responsibility for the operation of the basic services and the enforcement of national policies in the field of economic and social relations. The general welfare of the country and the development of its economy have become the direct concern of government. Certain functions resulting from modern conditions, such as the planned promotion of scientific research and technological progress, which have become the most important lever of progress in our time, have become, most significantly, the prime responsibility of the national governments in free societies.

In spite of the dire predictions that industrial revolution is incompatible with the democratic form of government, in this process of change the issues of individual liberty and civic rights and freedoms have lost none of their vitality. The concepts of liberty formulated at the end of the 18th century as a result of the revolutionary upheavals on both sides of the Atlantic, have survived the social and economic crises of modern times.

The protection of individual existence, as of old, is the primary duty of public authority, and the genius of Western civilization, and the sense of its historical growth, has again been demonstrated in this connection.

In final analysis, the social history of our societies has again proved that no social doctrine is able to transcend its historical circumstances. Neither is it possible to outline the course of economic development in a human society as science and technology constantly introduce new elements, changing the basic conditions of production, and primarily the output in relation to the amount of human labor. Indeed, science has proved to be the most revolutionary factor of modern life, a realistic promise of constant progress toward higher standards of living, greater equalization of opportunity, and of general participation in the material and spiritual aspects of our civilization. At the same time, the contemporary state of scientific research demonstrates the impossibility of reducing collective or individual existence to a single principle determining all human relations with equal validity. Philosophically speaking, science is not a substitute for ethics and morals. We are warned that human vision, even that of the highly trained specialists, must be broader than a single discipline or a specialized area.

> There is danger of training scientists so narrowly in their specialties that they are unprepared to shoulder the moral and civil responsibilities which the modern world thrusts upon them. But just as we must insist that every scientist be broadly educated, so must we see to it that every educated person be literate in science. In the short run this may contribute to our survival. In the long run it is essential to our integrity as a society * * * (Rockefeller Report, p. 28).

Thus, between a proper understanding of our own social and economic history, and an understanding of modern trends in science and their revolutionary role in social relations, is enclosed that general area of problems and issues concerning our individual and collective existence for which philosophy must provide a guide and a code of conduct. Within this context it is necessary to devise methods and programs to make the public mind of America aware of ideologies, and to equip it with the ability to relate them to practical problems. It is no longer possible to view the social environment in terms of concrete issues and practical solutions. It is necessary to see it in a wider context of our historical existence and to view it as a mile-

stone on the road to the future. We must realize that science and technology have given us tools of social progress and that the manner and purpose of their use must come from our inner selves, from our decision to employ the forces of progress in concordance with our traditions in order to carry out the commands of the code of ethics.

The perspective of our past, and an understanding of the process of change in which our policy is involved, must supply the meaning of our day. American youth must realize that our society has experienced a major ideological and psychological transformation. To a large degree this has been reflected in what may be called the ideology of our economic processes. Although profit seeking still represents an important motivation in our economic order, the service concept is equally important, determining the variety and quality of services, and the distribution of the national product. Serving the public is a public duty, whether in Government or in the management of our industrial establishment and our marketing channels. In a sense, our polity has been able, without a revolutionary upheaval, to cross the dividing line from profit seeking to a social service motivation in our economic life. The same spirit has protected the independence of our scientists, writers, and artists, which, together with religion, represents a variety of channels to accommodate the diversity of longings for self-expression and for the search for truth.

This seems like a tall order, and yet it is not suggested that we work towards molding the mind of the average American in the image of a universal man. One can discover the sense of our reality from a particle of truth in one of the broad areas of knowledge or professional activity. The essential condition is to make our schools channels of opportunity for solid education, in the spirit that individual and collective life must be based on the twin foundations which were known to the Greek philosophers at the first flowering of our civilization, the laws of nature and the moral order.

TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM IN THE SCHOOLS

(By Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C.)

Silence on the subject of communism in the school curriculum is not golden. To exclude a study of Russia and its ideology serves chiefly to leave the pupil uninformed about the most dangerous adversary our country has ever known. It substitutes for the organized teaching of a difficult subject, the hit-or-miss instruction of casual experience. Because of the unreliability of propagandist writings, the content of the out-of-school curriculum on communism may produce dangerous distortions and misconceptions. Any timidity educators and boards of education may feel about introducing the study of the U.S.S.R. should promptly be suspended in favor of a carefully prepared program of instruction.

THREE MAIN PURPOSES

Three main purposes should be achieved by a school program about communism. The first is that education is the surest protection against the aggression of Communist ideas. The informed American citizen will not be a gullible victim of those who promote the spread of communistic doctrine within our own country. The only possible explanation for the subversion of any American citizen is ignorance or, even more corrosive than the lack of knowledge, a warped, incomplete, and superficial acquaintanceship with the ideas of communism. The few who, for such selfish reasons as personal gain or the lust for power, engage in subversive activities must be restrained mainly by the sanctions of law. While the traitor in the main must be controlled by the exercise of police power, if the great majority of the citizens are informed as to the hazards of condoning treasonous actions, the social order is more likely to be invulnerable to internal attack. Education must, therefore, be the means of creating a strong will to resist attacks upon the security of the American system of government, whether they are mounted from within or outside the borders of the country. In other words, the best protection against subversion is a citizenry committed to an almost instinctive—and a voluntary—repulsion of such effort.

If, because of sound education, all but a few unfortunate persons know what they want in the way of freedom, the protection of our objectives is secured by a means greater than force or the threat of police action. The bonds of mutual security are strong when they are created by education.

The opposite is also true: If a society can maintain its system of ideas only by keeping most of its members in ignorance, its destruction is inevitable. Those who are deprived of the right to learn will rebel eventually against such tyranny. If the history of man proves anything it is that, sooner or later, knowledge will replace ignorance. Ignorance as an instrument of public policy has historically proved to

be abhorrent to those whom it is designed to subjugate. Thus, though it may be used behind the Iron Curtain to support Communist ideologies, we should never make the mistake of using ignorance as a means to national security in this country. In fact, education has been the major support of freedom in this Nation since the days of our Founding Fathers and herein lies our greatest security. We ought surely to apply this doctrine to the study of the Communist system.

The second main reason for including in the school curriculum a study of Russia and its system of government is that it serves as an admirable vehicle for clarifying the meaning of our own ideas. All too little is done to instruct in the values of our way of life. This flaw in educational planning is not the result of a conscious effort to downgrade the American system. It is the result, it would seem, of a self-consciousness about self-appraisal, as if to count the blessings of our way of life were somehow unbecoming and bordering on Babbittry. It also stems from the belief that indoctrination of pupils in any manner is a curtailment of their right to think for themselves. The propagators of this line of thought fail to understand that this method, if fully applied, is the way to anarchy. Control and even change in the practice and structure of government must first be predicated upon their acceptance, otherwise the base for action suddenly will become a mire into which everyone, indiscriminately and unhappily, will sink.

Indoctrination is a universal aspect of education. It begins in the cradle, when the infant begins to learn and accept the parental environment and relationship. By the time he leaves the cradle he is quite thoroughly indoctrinated in the principles of family living. Surely, to fail to apply the same purposes to education for membership in our democratic society is foolish and dangerous. Yet, we have still to put behind us a lingering tendency to tone down planned and purposefully developed education for patriotism. A comparative study of the Russian and American systems of government offers an unexcelled method of developing enthusiastic and inspired support for our national aims. In a world in which our citizens need to look beyond the boundaries of the Nation and to be alert to the need for international interdependence among like-minded nations, the schools must make sure that every pupil understands and honors this country's system of government and the guarantees of economic and political rights it accords to the individual. Nothing on this score should be left to chance. If we fail to inspire young citizens with a zeal for the protection of the privileges they enjoy as freemen, we invite the loss of these rights and the universal tragedy that would follow such an event.

A third important reason for teaching about Russia is to impart information about its geographic and economic characteristics to pupils who need to know about the world in which they live. As a part of the curriculum in geography, Russian studies will not be unlike those of other major nations of the world. Landmarks, topography, climate, mineral and soil resources, population distribution, industrial resources—these typify the content of this phase of the study. Apart from ideological characteristics, the geographic facts about the U.S.S.R. should be included in the education of every American citizen.

On this it is difficult to imagine a difference in point of view. I must say, however, that at least once I disapproved of geography textbooks because, in their treatment of Russia, the illustrations were limited to official Sovfoto pictures. The text and accompanying photographs presented what seemed to be the officially approved information about Russia, and by officially approved is meant that which is allowed to emanate from the Soviet propaganda mills. Accurate and realistic portrayal of life in this great Nation was impossible because the sources of information were controlled by Russian propaganda agencies. Possibly my own unwillingness to approve textbooks which presented only the favorable aspects of Communist life was in itself an expression of fear and an unrecognized form of thought control that is abhorrent to our own beliefs. Yet, the problem of incomplete exchange of information is illustrated in this action. It would be far less difficult to teach about Russia if we could be sure that in all its characteristics: geographic, social, economic, and political, we were in possession of the truth.

I believe now—it may be this is the effect of greater maturity—that we must inform American pupils of the facts as they are available, and must at the same time instruct them as to the source and degree of reliability of those facts. Our own sense of national security is strengthened if we can accept and evaluate information and judge its sources and weigh its reliability, rather than ignore it by refusing to acknowledge its existence. In other words, our national aims can withstand the best that can be said about the Communist system and its accomplishment. If our youth are taught to see the difference between free choice and imposed direction and if they learn the value of individual rights, they will not be willing at any time to surrender these values for any conceivable transient benefits.

The conclusion is that any teaching about Russia must presuppose a thorough grounding in the essentials of the American way of life and must be a means of reconfirming these views. Even if the most unrealistic claims of progress are made for the economic, social, and political dictatorship which we know as communism, Americans should instinctively and intellectually rebel against the cost of liberty these gains entail. In short, we should so love freedom that no material advantage should ever induce us to put it on the bargain counter. This is the principle upon which our Nation was founded. It is for this principle that those who settled this country left the securities of an organized state for the uncertainties of the wilderness. Education has no greater responsibility than to keep this principle alive in the hearts of each American. When this is done properly, nothing we learn about the U.S.S.R. can threaten our future.

FREEDOM TO TEACH

The first thing that must be done is to create a climate in which teachers will feel free to teach about Russia and the Communist doctrine. Anxiety about being misunderstood is common. Teachers can be understood if they run away from the responsibility. Administrators and school boards may also have a natural reluctance to include Russia, particularly its system of government and economics, in the authorized curriculum.

Therefore, careful planning is the best assurance of success. Through this means, the pitfalls in this field of instruction can be avoided. Among these is any possibility of a misinterpretation by the community of the purposes of such a program.

The deliberate use of the teacher's platform to influence support for Communist ideology may occasionally be expected. This is a calculated risk, because there is no completely foolproof protection against the infiltration of subversive elements into the teaching profession. Maximum safeguards against Communist infiltration into education must be continued with or without programs of instruction about Russia. At the same time, these should not threaten academic freedom and the treatment of controversial issues in the classroom, if these are within the acceptable range of such differences. Communism, for example, is not a controversial issue in American schools. What it means and how it operates as a system of thought and action are not treated as issues of choice. Fear of dealing with such content, however, because a few teachers or administrators may be Communists, is cowardice unbecoming to the American spirit.

Finally, the vigorous effort to protect the classroom against Communist sympathizers should be judicious, objective, and particular rather than general. This simply means that accusations and charges should never be directed toward the total group whenever an individual is under investigation. While no citizen with Communist affiliation or sympathy should be allowed to enter or to remain in the teaching profession, the process needed to eliminate this should not discredit the teaching profession as a whole. When this happens, freedom becomes emaciated, and ignorance in the vital area of communism grows robust because teachers do not attack it.

A PUBLIC SCHOOLS PROGRAM

To describe the program of instruction about Russia in the Washington, D.C., schools is, on the face of it, somewhat immodest. To do this may seem to suggest that the local system has come upon the right answers to a difficult question. This is not the case, because the local development of this part of the curriculum leaves much yet to be done. The use of the program requires careful preparation of teachers. They must know the subject, in itself a taxing demand on scholarship. The choice of materials of instruction is also difficult. Clearly this is a curriculum field which, if the Washington example is typical, must be firmed up with careful study and experience.

However, even if less than perfect, practice is often more useful than theory to illustrate how something can be done. Thus, the following exposition of the way the public schools of the Nation's Capital are developing a system of instruction about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is presented as an example of something that can be done with some degree of success.

The secondary school program

Although the major part of this report will deal with the recently developed sixth grade curriculum on Russia, an outline of the treatment of this subject in the secondary schools is needed to present a complete picture of the treatment of this subject.

In the history department: As might be expected, Russia is treated as a part of the curriculum in many subjects.

Information about the U.S.S.R. is included in the following subjects at the grade levels indicated:

Grade 7: U.S. geography for honors [1] students. In addition to the units on the United States, one unit of study is the geography of the U.S.S.R.

Grade 8: U.S. history, required of all students. This full-year subject includes a study of the rise of communism, particularly in Russia, during World War I, the middle years, the United States and the U.S.S.R. relations in World War II, the study of the United States and U.S.S.R. as participants in the United Nations, and the United States and the U.S.S.R. relationships in world affairs during postwar and the present cold war periods.

Grade 9: World geography for college preparatory track pupils. This subject includes a study of the geography of the U.S.S.R.

Grade 10: Modern history for college preparatory and honors tracks students. This subject includes the history of Russia during the post-Napoleonic period, with special emphasis on internal development and foreign relations; and a study of the Marxian form of socialism; the cultural development of modern Europe including Russia and Russia's involvement in colonial wars and territorial expansion.

The curriculum includes a study of the transition to the U.S.S.R. during World War I and the governmental and economic systems of the U.S.S.R. It defines the United States and U.S.S.R. goals and aspirations in the modern world.

Grade 10: World geography for basic curriculum students. This subject includes a study of the geography of the U.S.S.R.

Grade 10: World history for General and College Preparatory tracks students.

This subject includes a study of the tsarist and Soviet systems in Russia, the U.S.S.R. during the two World Wars, and the position of the U.S.S.R. in relation to present international problems including challenges to democracy and peace.

Grade 11: American history, required of all students. This subject includes a study of 20th century movements, the rise of America to leadership in the world community, the rise and spread of communism, the search for world security, and United States and U.S.S.R. relations.

Grade 12: U.S. Government and Constitution, one semester, required of all students. This subject includes a comparative study of governments, usually those of Great Britain and the U.S.S.R.

Grade 12: World problems, one semester, for College Preparatory and Honors tracks students. This subject deals with the national outlook, traditions, and political principles of the five great powers, including the U.S.S.R.; international cooperation and rivalry, the main element being the United States and the U.S.S.R. relations; and special world problems including such topics as atomic energy, resources, social and population problems, backward areas, and armament reduction.

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[1] The secondary school curriculum is organized on the ability level principle. There are four tracks: Honors Curriculum for academically gifted students; Regular College Preparatory for the less gifted but college able students; the General Curriculum for those not planning to attend college; and the Basic Curriculum for academically retarded students.

The elementary school program

The recently completed curriculum bulletin for the sixth grade study of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics contains special features that are particularly useful in developing a clear understanding of the differences in the American and Russian systems. As a new resource guide for elementary teachers, the document has been received with considerable confidence by the local teachers. It was carefully prepared under the direction of the curriculum department and with the generous assistance of consultants who brought special experience and capabilities to the project.[2]

THE STUDY OF TWO SOCIETIES

A chart developed for the sixth grade was designed to inform the teacher in concise and usable form of the differences between personal, political, and economic freedoms in the United States and Russia.

Because it accomplishes this purpose effectively, the chart is reproduced in full on following pages. It deserves careful study by every citizen of this country. If it is used wisely in the instruction of pupils at any level, they should emerge more deeply appreciative of American ideals than before, because they are better informed as to the meaning of the Russian ideology, and hence more deeply confirmed against the possibility of accepting it.

Freedoms: A Comparative Study of Two Societies

United States	*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*
PERSONAL EDUCATION	
Free choice of schools and studies.	State directs education for its needs.
Functions to develop each individual to the utmost of his abilities.	Trains mainly for technical skills and obedience to the state.
	Science emphasized rather than humanities and social sciences.
	Permits only the politically reliable to graduate.
Teaches how to think and how to create.	Teaches what to think and what to create; emphasis on conformity discourages critical thinking, independent choice of values.
RELIGION	
Freedom to worship as one chooses.	Constitution provides for freedom of worship and freedom of antireligious propaganda.
	Religious organizations must be registered; require permission for general meetings and for the printing and selling of religious books; are forbidden to own land, buildings, precious metals, or to engage in activities other than the performance of rituals.

[2] These should be mentioned, not only as an expression of appreciation but to increase the credibility of the material. They are as follows: Dr. Phillip Bacon, head of the Geography Department, Teachers College, Columbia University; Dr. Leon M. Herman, specialist in Soviet economics with the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress; Dr. Wilhelmina Hill, specialist for social science, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Dr. Helen K. Mackintosh, Chief, Elementary Schools Section, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Mr. Benjamin Mandel, research director, Internal Security Subcommittee, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate.

United States	*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*
RELIGION—continued	
Separation of church and state; non-intervention practiced.	Separation of church and state; state proclaims neutrality to religion but hostile party dominates state. Church must actively support Soviet foreign policy, display Red flag. Active promotion of atheism official policy of party, the school, science, art, literature. Religious believers ineligible for party membership; teachers must be non-believers in God. Moral values adapted to needs of party; party's objectives primary; deeds perpetuating communism justifiable; moral relative ethics practiced. "* * * combine legal with illegal work * * *."—LENIN. "To us everything is permitted."—LENIN. "We shall bury you."—KHRUSHCHEV. "Religion is the opium of the people."—MARX.
Religious and democratic ideals based on beliefs in human dignity and human cooperation in a spirit of loyalty to truth. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."—Leviticus 19: 18. "* * * one nation under God * * *."—Pledge of Allegiance.	
SOCIAL JUSTICE	
Steady expansion of area of freedom and self-fulfillment for all individuals; conscious progress toward achieving human rights for all citizens. Freedom to exchange ideas encourages efforts of all men, according to ability, to improve productivity of society, to reach common objective of a better distribution of goods, services, and leisure. Free negotiation for human rights encouraged; open criticism of existing conditions allowed; right of groups to act to share in benefits of free society recognized.	Rights of citizens 'guaranteed insofar as they conform to the interests of the regime and further cause of communism; Russian majority dominates all spheres of life. Communist Party control and censorship suppress ideas and information of an unorthodox nature; thought control official party policy. Criticism stifled; social and national groups penetrated by party, assuring will of ruling oligarchy; grievances of minority groups abroad exploited for propaganda purposes.
MOVEMENT	
Travel unrestricted within continental United States. Visits to foreign countries encouraged. Minimum security measures and formalities at borders.	Internal passports required for identification and travel in the U.S.S.R. Citizens changing address must report to police before and after change; moving into large cities forbidden. Foreign travel forbidden unless authorized by party. Borders heavily fortified by watchtowers, troops, electrically charged barbed wire, searchlights, dogs.
POLITICAL ELECTIONS	
Multiparty system; free choice of candidates; no predetermined outcome; secret ballot; write-in candidates allowed. Only elected officials write the laws of the country; officials are periodically changed through free election.	One-party system; candidates Communist Party nominees; one list of candidates; outcome predetermined; write-in candidates not allowed. Central Committee writes laws, determines policies; Central Committee self-appointed and self-perpetuated; changes result from death or intraparty conflict.

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United States	*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*
SPEECH, PRESS, AND ASSEMBLY	
Guarantee of rights of all citizens, of majority as well as the minority, to speak, publish, assemble for discussion of public issues regardless of political complexion.	Media of mass communication must reflect party policy.
Free access to outside sources of news and information.	All information material strictly controlled; foreign radio broadcasts frequently jammed.
Criticism of government by private citizens, press, creative artists, political opponents permitted.	Writings subject to censorship; reading choices restricted to state-approved literature; cultural activities not reflecting principle of "socialist realism" harshly condemned; protests permitted called self-criticism, a procedure designed to divert pressure from party leaders to more expendable officials; way of carrying out policy can be criticized rather than actual policy.
ARREST AND SEARCH	
Law requires warrant or charge for arrest and search; persons and homes inviolate; police are subject to legal authority of courts.	Secret police may arrest or search without warrant or charge; disappearances from home or work common; secret police required to be party members, have no legal restrictions; network of informers assists police.
TRIAL BY JURY	
Right of habeas corpus.	Right of habeas corpus nonexistent.
Right to a speedy, fair, public trial.	Indefinite detention, prolonged interrogation, extraction of confessions by torture, secret trials, forced labor camps, assassination of party opponents, disappearance, banishment.
Courts independent of other branches of government.	Courts instruments of state policy.
ECONOMIC PROPERTY	
The right of private ownership of property recognized and protected.	Individual can own only personal property, small homes, household belongings.
Ownership of property by private persons or groups extends to factories and machines (means of production) as well as stores, railroads, ships, planes, trucks, cars, pipelines (means of distribution).	State owns or controls nearly all resources and instruments of production and distribution of goods.
Production of goods is intended for sale through the market in competition with other producers; rigors of the market impose upon the producer the discipline needed to improve quality, provide diversity, reduce price to get a larger share of the total sales.	State controls markets; fixes prices and wages based on state needs; lack of competition minimizes incentive to improve quality; bonus system emphasizes quantity rather than quality and diversity.
Goods produced in response to effective demand; prices determined through operation of the principle of supply and demand.	Consumer preferences ignored; state alone decides what, how much, what quality to produce.

United States	*Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*
JOBS	
Free choice of training and jobs.	Government maintains training institutions; graduates required to work 3 to 4 years at assigned jobs and locations.
UNIONS	
Independent, self-governing organizations, free of influence by the Government or by management.	Instruments of the state; dedicated to achieve party goals in industry such as: Speeding up production, organizing competition among workers for high output records, helping meet Government production plan, enforcing work discipline within plants.
Dedicated to the improvement of the economic position of the worker in industry and in trade.	Responsible in areas of labor safety, plant recreation and indoctrination, distribution of benefit payments to sick workers and employed mothers; administer rest homes and vacation facilities to deserving workers.
Use collective bargaining to obtain best possible terms from management in wages, fringe benefits, and working conditions of members.	Use collective bargaining to achieve party goals stated above; have no power to negotiate on wages and hours which are established by Government decree.
The right to strike recognized as inherent in the right of the citizen to unite with his fellows for the improvement of his economic conditions.	Strikes not expressly forbidden by law; do not occur because of the known heavy repression of past strikes and close police surveillance; severe punishment for "sabotage" and "damage to the interests of the state."

WHAT DO THE WORDS MEAN?

Words have the power to destroy as well as to build. If taken at face value, the words used by Russian spokesmen to describe their ideology can destroy meaning and lead possibly to self-deception about communism. To protect against such delusions, the sixth-grade curriculum on the U.S.S.R. includes a short glossary of often misunderstood terms. Far from complete, the list provides the beginnings of a comparative glossary that might well be more fully developed not only for school but general use.

A Study of the Semantics of Two Societies [1]

United States	*U.S.S.R.*
REPUBLIC	
A representative democracy.	A division (geographic, political) of the U.S.S.R.
A State in which all of the people of a nation have a voice in the government, directly or through elected representatives.	"* * * the constituent Republics of the U.S.S.R. * * * are unalterably subordinate to the almost unlimited jurisdiction of the Soviet Government."

[1] The citations are keyed to the bibliography accompanying this report.

United States *U.S.S.R.*

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is twofold in meaning. It is a form of government and a way of life or an ideology:

(*a*) "Government of the people, by the people, for the people."

(*b*) Belief in individual worth, equality in certain inalienable rights, basic freedoms.

Communists use the term "people's democracy" to describe many of the nations under Communist control, to imply that they are actually democracies.

The organizational principle of the party, as once set forth by Lenin, is "democratic centralism." This Humpty-Dumpty contradiction in terms (democracy equals rule by the people, but centralism equals rule by the center) means that authority comes from the top.

RIGHTS

A fundamental belief is that all men have an equal right to justice under the law, and should have equal opportunities for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The careful reader of the Constitution of 1936 will note that the impressive list of rights can be exercised only "in conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system.

THE STUDY OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND GEOGRAPHIC FACTS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.

As it should, the sixth grade curriculum on the U.S.S.R. deals with the geography of Russia: regions, rivers, mountains, cities, the Soviet Republics, land use, mineral resources, industries, and population.

The cultural characteristics of this vast and variegated land also come in for consideration. Though only superficially treated—a hazard in such a complex subject—education, literature, music, and art of the richly endowed Russian people are included for study. With so much to be learned, obviously a short-term study such as the sixth grade curriculum on Russia is inadequate. Here is illustrated the great and increasing burden of education, for not only should the American citizen be well informed about Russia but he needs equally to know the rest of Europe and Asia, including China, the South American States and, now, Africa with the emergence of its many new states and the complexities of the forces at work there.

The staggering proportions of the job now confronting the schools have not yet been accurately appraised. When this is done, the means must be found to choose what is to be taught and what eliminated in the present curriculum, to reeducate teachers in the light of the changes in content that will follow such analysis, and to find ways to organize learning as an ongoing experience through adulthood. The plain fact is that the present period of systematic training, encompassing mainly the years from 5 to 18, is far too short a time to do the job. The effect of this is twofold: in scheduling the study of the U.S.S.R., in the school curriculum, the school time must be judiciously allotted and education, formal and informal, must be extended throughout the lifetime of the adult.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHOOL TEXTS AND REFERENCE MATERIALS

In general, special textbooks on Russia are not available for classroom use, in view of the fact that few school curriculums carry semester or year-long courses in this subject.

Short texts which could be covered in from 6 to 9 weeks continuous study are needed. These should be geared to the grade levels most appropriate for the systematic study of this subject. These seem to be the 6th grade, possibly the 10th and the 12th grades. The texts should be complete yet not overloaded with unimportant details so that pupils may reasonably be expected to acquire the major learnings included in the books.

These texts should be economically produced, so that replacements may easily be made, and so that teaching materials may be kept current.

With a limited availability of specially prepared textbooks on Russia (or Africa, China, India, for that matter) the general texts in geography and history must suffice. Many such books are now available from publishers of school textbooks, To list them is unnecessary, and, perhaps, unwise, because this is hardly the place to voice opinions as to the choice of textbooks.

An important and valuable text which contrasts American democracy with communism is worthy of special commendation. A recently revised edition that brings the story up to date is now available. In a factual, objective, and clear manner this volume describes the characteristics of both systems, providing an excellent vehicle for study of the American system at the same time that it teaches the perils of the Communist system.

The title of the text is "Democracy Versus Communism, Second Edition," published by D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc. It is listed in the bibliography of this report.

As to general materials about Russia, items 1 through 12 in the following list are included in the sixth grade curriculum on the U.S.S.R. The last three are promising new books.

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THE CASE METHOD FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

(By Abraham Kalish, free lance writer on education) [1]

Propaganda is one of the prime instruments by means of which the Communists have been able during the past 40 years, to soften up and take over country after country. In view of the success the Communists have had in using their propaganda, it is reasonable to suppose that, through a study of their techniques in this area, we might be able to obtain a good indication of the direction which Communist activities will most likely take in the future.

Lenin advised Communists that, to achieve their aim, they "must learn how to make use of all strategems, of ruse, adopt illegal methods, keep silent at times, conceal the truth." The Communist use of such methods is fully exemplified in the output of their vast propaganda machine. For while Communists will use the truth in the rare cases when it suits their purpose to do so, and they have, for similar reasons concocted pure lies, forged documents, and engaged in other such activities, they depend, for the most part, in their propaganda, on the use of partial truths.

Unfortunately for the Free World, the spreading of Communist propaganda is a full-time occupation for a large number of highly trained professionals. These professionals have, over the years, developed uncanny ingenuity and expertness in making partial truths appear very plausible.

A study of Communist propaganda shows that, once Moscow decides upon a particular target and direction of its propaganda, the message is sent worldwide to the various Communist parties where the phraseology may be modified to suit local conditions. The propaganda is then repeated again and again, not only by party members but by strategically placed fellow travelers and Communist sympathizers. In this manner, through plausibility and repetition, Communist propaganda eventually comes to be accepted by many non-Communists as the truth and is often repeated by the intellectually lazy in ever widening circles.

As a means of exposing and countering this situation, a case method for the study of Communist propaganda is suggested for use in college-level classes. Briefly, the method calls for the application of the basic rules of logic to typical quotations selected from the outpourings of the Communist propaganda machine. The method also calls for the development of knowledge and an awareness of the specific techniques by which Communists subvert the principles of logic and make the illogical plausible.

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[1] Mr. Kalish holds B.A. and M.A. degrees from Harvard University.

THE CASE METHOD

A. Collection of appropriate quotations

The course calls for the constant and systematic collection, by the instructor, of Communist propaganda quotations suitable for student exercise. An excellent overall guide for the collecting of such quotations is the small pamphlet written by J. Edgar Hoover, "The Communist Party Line," which was issued by the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1961. Among other features, this pamphlet reflects the wide range of Communist involvement, listing fields of Communist propaganda activity as: Foreign policy, domestic issues, labor and industry, agriculture, colonialism, legislative and judicial affairs, armed forces, minority (national and racial) groups, education, culture, science and religion, women, youth.

The Hoover pamphlet also indicates the broad, general lines along which the Communist propaganda is directed. For example, in the field of foreign policy, the Communist line affirms that the Berlin situation is a crisis artificially created by Washington in order to justify increased military spending and to stampede the American public into a war hysteria. Similarly, the Communist line charges that the aggression and intrigues of the United States are making it impossible to arrange for a cease fire in Laos. In similar fashion, Communist propaganda presents Cuba as a flagrant example of American imperialism.

Suitable Communist quotations illustrating these and other propaganda themes can be found in a wide variety of places: The speeches of Khrushchev and other Communist leaders as reported in U.S. daily newspapers; reports of broadcasts from behind the Iron Curtain; the pages of the Worker, Political Affairs, and other acknowledged Communist Party publications; pamphlets, public statements, newspaper advertisements issued by identified Communist front organizations; books, magazine articles, cartoons, published letters to newspaper editors by known Communists and Communist sympathizers.

B. Preparation and distribution of quotations

Any quotation, when assigned to a student for analysis, should not have more than one major point. For this reason the quotations should be kept as short as possible. At the same time they should not be so brief that, when divorced from the context, the meaning is altered or not clear. Each quotation should, of course, have careful identification of its source and the date of publication.

C. The exercise

Each student should be given a different quotation and asked to do the necessary research to determine what if anything is logically or factually wrong with the quotation. At the conclusion of his research, the student should write a short paper (500 to 600 words) summarizing anything he found wrong with the quotation, a statement of the true situation, and where information was obtained that led to his conclusion.

Problems posed by the quotations should be such as can be solved through the use of available library material. The student should be admonished that, because of the nature of the exercise, nobody can help him in his research without that person doing the work and

employing the mental faculties which the student himself is supposed to use if he is to derive the hoped for benefits from the exercise.

D. Reference material

The instructor should outline to the students the type of reference material which will help them in their research.

1. Primary sources: Reports of contemporary events as told in Free World press (Keesing's Contemporary Archives, U.S. News & World Report are valuable supplements); official statements, handbooks and statistics of Free World governments.

2. Personal accounts of escapees and defectors; A few of the most informative are A. Barmine, "One Who Survived"; P. S. Deriabin, "The Secret World"; Ben Gitlow, "I Confess (The Whole of Their Lives)"; Igor Gouzenko, "The Iron Curtain"; N. E. Khokhlov, "You Are All Alone"; Victor Kravchenko, "I Chose Freedom"; Wolfgang Leonhard, "Child of the Revolution"; V. M. Petrov, "Empire of Fear"; M. Z. Schakovskoy, "The Privilege Was Mine." These accounts are in contrast to most descriptions of conditions in Communist countries written by casual visitors who do not know the language, have no base of comparison with previously existing conditions, and are often susceptible to the organized programs of blandishment operated by the Communists especially for such visitors.

3. Secondary sources—an essential but very difficult area in which personal aims often obscure the facts: One guide for truly scholarly works in that statements which may be controversial are documented by references to easily identified sources. Books by David Dallin are of this type. Other suggested models are Manya Gordon, "Workers Before and After Lenin"; J. Edgar Hoover, "Masters of Deceit"; Edward Hunter, "Black Book on Red China"; Naum Jazny, "Soviet Industrialization"; W. W. Kulski, "The Soviet Regime"; Stefan Possony, "Century of Conflict"; David Saposs, "Communism in American Unions (politics)"; Fred Schwartz, "You Can Trust the Communists"; Bertram Wolfe, "Three Who Made a Revolution."

E. Techniques of Communist propaganda

The instructor should list some of the most frequently used techniques by which Communist propaganda makes the untrue and illogical plausible to many people. This list might be expressed in the form of the following questions which the student should ask himself when analyzing the quotation assigned to him:

1. Are the facts referred to in the quotation demonstrably true by reference to original sources? Have the Communists altered history to suit their purpose?

2. Does the quotation violate basic rules of logic? Is it self-contradictory?

3. Does it beg the question? Does it blur and confuse the issue by such phrases as "everybody knows"?

4. If it uses statistics, does the quotation shift the base of comparison? Does it, at all times, compare exactly the same subjects or categories?

5. Does the quotation use different standards of accomplishment? Does it accept as virtually completed or as accomplished fact Communist claims for the distant future? Does it infer that any weakness of the West is permanent?

6. Does the quotation employ vituperation and words of evil connotation, instead of facts and logic?

7. Does the quotation depend on a double standard of conduct? Does it accept any type of conduct by the Communists without raising the question of morality? On the other hand, does it demand perfection on the part of the West?

8. Does it blame the West for all the errors of the past while praising the Communists for vague promises or even the author's surmises regarding future improvement?

9. Does the quotation accuse the West of crimes which the Communists themselves have committed in the past and are perhaps still committing?

10. Does it identify the interests and desires of the Communist masters with that of their slaves?

11. Does the quotation change the meaning of words? Do the Communists use the word "democracy" for "communism"? Is "reactionary" one of their common names for those opposed to the Communists?

12. If an authority is quoted, is he an authority in the particular field in question? Is he an individual whose past statements reflect a double standard so far as communism is concerned?

F. A typical example

To illustrate how propaganda quotations might be analyzed by students, we take, as an example, the definition of "cold war" which appears in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia (vol. 46, 1957). The definition reads:

> Cold war: An aggressive political policy adopted after the end of World War II toward the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies by the reactionary circles of the imperialist powers headed by the United States and Great Britain * * *.

Encyclopedias and standard history books would furnish a general picture of political conditions after World War II. Official U.S. Government statements of the period and contemporary newspaper accounts would lead to such corroborative sources of information as James F. Byrnes', "Speaking Frankly." The overwhelming weight of the evidence would clearly estabish that the quotation under discussion is a partial truth, i.e. the cold war is an aggressive policy adopted after World War II.

The research, however, would bring out that it was the Communists who, in defiance of all previous agreements, initiated the aggression; taking over the present Communist satellites, crushing all vestiges of democracy and freedom, threatening Greece, Turkey and the rest of the Free World with the same fate. It was these aggressive acts on the part of the Communists which finally forced the United States and Great Britain to take the lead in forming a defensive alliance of Free World powers in order to resist further Communist aggression.

Some of the minor points raised by the quotation should be noted. The quotation uses the term "people's democracies" when in fact democracy had been eliminated in these countries by Communist terror and violence. In the past, the crushing of democracy has been called "reactionary." Further, the quotation used the term "imperialist" to describe Western powers. Yet it is these powers which have been giving up their former colonial possessions. Meanwhile, the Communists have been constantly expanding their rule over formerly free people (the satellites) and made them part of their empire.

Briefly, in the few words discussed above, we find the Communists using the following propaganda techniques: Altering history to suit their purpose (see sec. E. 1); misusing words of evil connotation (E. 6); accusing the West of acts which the Communists alone have committed (E. 9); changing the meaning of words (E. 11).

G. Summarizing the exercise

After the instructor has graded the students' papers, each quotation should be reviewed in class, as a method of demonstrating the wide variety of Communist propaganda techniques as well as the reference tools and research methods by which the quotations are analyzed and their effectiveness destroyed.

Ideally, each quotation should be put on a blackboard or flashed on a screen. All the students are then asked to glance through the quotation and try to figure out what might be wrong; and, on the basis of their own recent experiences, how they would go about finding the true facts of the situation. After a few minutes of class rumination, the student who had been assigned this particular quotation to analyze would be asked to tell briefly what he had found was wrong and where he found his proof. If the student omitted any important points, the instructor should be able to supplement the student's presentation with the necessary information.

When each quotation has been covered in this fashion, the class should hold a general discussion of any specific quotation or of the entire presentation. In this way it is hoped that each student will develop a critical attitude toward reading material which is slanted to serve the Communist cause.

ANTI-COMMUNIST EDUCATION—VITAL PREREQUISITE TO SAVE THE FREE WORLD

(By Suzanne Labin, author and journalist) [1]

I. THE URGENT NEED

We live under a tragic paradox. Our Western World, without being ideal, is immensely better, in all respects and for all men living in it, than the Communist world. Nevertheless, it is the Communist world which moves with immensely more self-assertion and gains immensely more influence. In brief, the contest is being won by the worst contender. To make this paradox still more acute, it must be stressed that the Communist is not only the worst but also the weakest. His inferiority in material strength (economic and military potential) is such that, in any normal setting, his triumph would be inconceivable.

And yet he is triumphing. If not by merit, not by strength, then by what? Where lies the ferment of that devious growth?

The Communists derive their strength essentially from the capacity they have developed to penetrate, dismember, and control the sources of political thought and action in our world. This capacity is applied not so much to winning zealots for Communist doctrines, which would be hopeless in many cases, but simply to dissolve resistance to the daily international undertakings of the Kremlin government.

Now, the astounding ease with which the Soviet machine achieved, for the goal, the capture of so many minds, reveals a basic inadequacy in the working of these minds. So, we are back to Thomas Aquinus' golden rule: the strength of the bad is always a weakness of the good. And we have reckoned the precise weakness through which we are threatened: it is the weakness of the mental capacity of the citizens of our Western democracies, in the field of politics, which leaves the majority of them (with the intellectuals heavily represented in the majority) practically defenseless against a colossal machine, cleverly engineered to deceive public opinion and manipulate public institutions.

And as the obvious way to cure a deficiency is to inculcate the missing ability, the general teaching of communism in schools becomes clearly necessary.

Some reflections about the etiology of our illness will illuminate its therapy. The illness stems from old habits of superficial thinking about what is required to have a democracy functioning properly. The founders of democracy believed that it was enough to "submit government to the control of opinion," and inquired no further about the way opinion is formed. They took the "opinion forming" capacity

[1] Mme. Labin is a graduate of the Sorbonne, a journalist who has published four books, among them "Stalin's Russia," "The Secret of Democracy," and "Must We Grant Freedom to the Enemies of Freedom?" The latter won the Prize of Freedom, a French literary award for "the book which best defends the principles of liberty." She is also the author of the brochure "The Technique of Soviet Propaganda," which has been published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

of every man for granted. The problem was not to build it but only to give it an outlet. Driven by the optimistic views of the 18th century enlightenment, they thought that men's minds have a natural trend toward truth, so that it was sufficient, in order to generate political good, to grant them a free road. Besides, in those times, it was tacitly assumed that the conduct of politics was reserved to an elite and would carry no more than the usual moderate fringe of intrigue.

Finally, the pace of events was pretty slow. Claims or novelties were given long periods to mature. Problems could be understood without much social knowledge. All this diluted, easy world made it unnecessary to be overly concerned about the exact genesis of political conclusions.

But all this diluted, easy world is gone, and under the very impact of democracy. The more it progressed, the more it became dependent on the masses and the wider, the more complex became the fields it ruled. We have now an ultracomplex and fast-reacting society, and this has considerable consequences.

First, it makes the spontaneous capacities of human minds hopelessly insufficient to master the new force. Second, it offers a powerful attraction to appeals to passion and oversimplification. It turns political power into an end in itself. A new class appears, of which the Communist leaders are the naked exponents, whose ambition is mainly to exert absolute political power. They have searched for the true springs of political influence in the depths of society and thus become able to channel them to their profit. We are today living not under capitalism, but under politicism, an era where events are shaped no more by the bosses of factories, but by the bosses of opinion. In this new era, the lazy "laissez-faire, laissez-passer" attitude of the earlier architects of our democracies about the underlying fabric of public opinion has become tragically inadequate. Once our destiny is conditioned by political opinions, it becomes suicidal folly not to prepare the citizens for the task of elaborating opinions clearly, the more so as communism is massively entrenched to make them produce erroneous opinions.

The assault of communism exploiting democracy against itself to first capture and then trample public opinion is so dangerous that it calls not only for a general tightening of the fiber of the common man against it, but, in addition, calls for a body of specialized fighters. These officers of our political resistance would need an extremely sophisticated and comprehensive, university-type training on communism, just like the officers of our military resistance. And it is well known that the university cannot train specialists unless the nonspecialists at a lower level are already well trained in the field. This important requirement leads also to the necessity for a careful general teaching of communism in the public schools.

II. THE PRINCIPLES OF TEACHING

It could be rightly considered that teaching communism should be a part of civic education. Now, civic education was conceived in those diluted and easy times of precommunism, mainly in order to breed love for the Constitution and to preach the duties of a good voter, worker, father, and neighbor. I have no room here to discuss

the efficiency of this sort of education in general. In its fitness to prepare good anti-Communists, it is absolutely inadequate.

The Soviet machine would induce American people to applaud Lumumba, not to rob neighbors. As for decency in everyday life and devotion to "public affairs," communism could be compatible with the sort of impulses current civic education would consider as good. The vices of communism are much more intellectual and psychological than moral, in the ordinary sense.

Communism breeds immorality too, of course, but at an entirely different level: A collective immorality by which the individual is enslaved, a Machiavellian immorality by which the individual is corrupted. That type of immorality is indeed relevant to the teaching we have to dispense about communism; but it belongs rather to the realm of political maneuver than to civic education.

We are thus led to the first principle: that the main body of the education on communism at school should be political.

This would enable the pupils to consider communism in its proper background and get more assurance in their opposition to it. Communism is essentially a swindle in political life. To grasp its significance, one must understand well what a nonswindled political life should be. Training students to better master politics is also important in order to avoid that, later on, they appear as simpletons, unable to utter their convictions properly, in the face of para-Communist dialecticians. When the latter bluff the common man with terms like imperialism, surplus value, accumulation, class struggle in Rome, historical process, what is played is simply the old comedy of Moliere's doctor earning his prestige by speaking Latin.

Some years ago, two gentlemen of high standing in the American intelligentsia reported, in a well-known magazine, about a visit they had paid to the U.S.S.R., that they had been deeply impressed by the "dialectical ability" of their Russian interlocutors. Why? The Americans, having assured the others that elections in the United States were democratic, the Russians asked them to prove it. "Well," they answered, "in the United States, anybody can be a candidate." And then, they were bewildered by the dexterity with which the Russians annihilated their argument. Think of it. Those satanic dialecticians pointed to the heavy costs required, in practice, to emerge as a candidate in the United States. The true answer, which would have left the Soviet "dialecticians" hopelessly embarrassed would have been, of course, that in American elections, in contrast to the Soviet ones, there is a genuine debate between opposing camps.

This story shows how top westerners, though intelligent and well informed, can be childish in politics. Actually, they had probably engaged in politics, like most of the citizens in our democracies, every fourth Sunday, while the addicts or auxiliaries of the Communist apparatus engage in politics every hour of every day. We find, here again, the basic inconsistency I stressed above: Democracy is a regime driven by political opinion but, until now, only its Communist enemies have reckoned that fact. It is high time that the driving forces of our society become familiar to its members—that all learn the basic Latin of it.

A second principle should be to teach not only communism but also its opposite; I mean freedom. And along with explaining the meaning and functioning of freedom, our schools should cultivate love and

enthusiasm for it, in the way they cultivate love for the mother country.

III. ANSWERS TO OBJECTIONS TO THIS TEACHING

A certain group of thinkers labeled—unjustly in my opinion—"liberals," will probably rise in fury against these proposals. They will say that it would be a scandal to "invade" schools with politics, to introduce a "thought directorate" of "official truths," to "take sides" in the classroom with opinions and beliefs. Let us take a look at this objection of "Mister Liberal," to whom I shall refer to as "Mr. L."

"Invasions" of schools have been the very engine of human progress, when they have tended to eliminate superstitions, prejudice, religious intolerance. Mr. L certainly favors such invasions and venerates the legion of enlightened philosophers and reformers who have struggled hard during centuries to perform them. Recently, and surely with Mr. L's approval, many authorities (the U.N. Charter, the U.S. Supreme Court, etc.) have "invaded" schools to impose the teaching of the basic equality of all men. Why, then, should it be a scandal to introduce in schools the criticism of Communist dictatorship, which is detrimental to human dignity?

Would it really imply a "directorate of thoughts" stuffed with "official truths" about political issues? By saying so, Mr. L seeks to block our attempt with the ghosts of past errors. During the last century there was indeed a tendency to set children's minds against dissenting ideas and mold them in agreement with the established order of things. This was reactionary because it tended to hamper the "more free" for the benefit of the "less free." Meeting communism today with democratic teaching would be the exact opposite. Furthermore, the real obstacle we have to combat in communism is not at all a social doctrine, but simply and more seriously, a conspiracy against freedom. And freedom is not, in our democratic society, one of so many optional items of political programs, but the basic condition of existence for all possible programs.

Therefore, teaching freedom against communism does not imply imposing any orthodoxy on ordinary political issues, any "government dictated" credo. Unless Mr. L suggests that even liberty is a particular bias (which would be a curious position for a liberal), my answer is that bias is entirely fitting in schools. In fact, not on every issue is education neutral. Some definite choices about how life in society should go are indeed defended in schools, because they have been raised to the rank of postulates of a civilization. Such are: "You shall not kill"; "You shall not rob"; "You shall not lie"; "You shall not despise a man because of the color of his skin." Well, such a postulate should be the maxim: "You shall be free." It is high time that freedom gets the status of an undisputed commandment of democratic society, that governments be responsible for its defense, that teachers be bound to its teaching and not in abstract terms but by pointing out its main enemy: presently communism.

The more so as freedom displays, in politics, the same role as the experimental method in science. While scientists would be right to protest if the conclusions reached in a research by one of them were taught as official truths against the conclusions of another, all would require that the authors of both competing theories apply the experi-

mental method and all would request that this method be taught. In the same way, in politics, the one may advocate more Federal and the other more State power; the one more unions and the other less; the one more subsidies to farms and the other less; and school education would not have to bias children's minds in favor of the one or the other. But all the champions of these diverse programs should equally uphold freedom, and school education should therefore, without taking sides, defend that common ground and denounce its common enemy: totalitarian communism.

Why, says Mr. L, should education denounce communism? Why not simply expose it and let the pupil be free to draw his own conclusions? All right, provided communism is exposed for what it is, and not what it pretends to be, i.e., not a theory of historical determinism, but a system of absolutist power and absolute cheating, then the teacher would not violate the child's mind by expressing the conclusions aloud. As a matter of fact, the purpose of the whole teaching about communism in the free countries is precisely to prevent the children's minds from being violated by the propaganda machine and afterward their bodies crushed by the police machine of a Communist dictatorship.

The aim is not to dictate the ways young consciences have to follow, but to prevent young people from following dictators unconsciously.

III. CONTENT OF TEACHING

We shall now have a look at what should be taught. The skeleton program that follows is arranged only following logical divisions. Questions of timing among the various divisions will be solved by more competent pedagogs. I will indicate the relative weights, in parts per 100, I suggest be given to the various topics.

(1) The fabric of opinion—weight: 20

There are already several courses on politics under the present programs of civic education. Unfortunately, these items are generally taught in a formalistic, lofty, one could say, mundane way, where only the facade of the political process is described. This education follows precisely that basic deficiency we have discovered in our present democracy: that it does not care for what happens behind the scenes, in the backstage of the political arena, where the true roots of political influence lie and exactly where the Communists have installed their levers.

That is why I prefer calling the subject matter not general politics but the fabric of public opinion. It comprises, of course, general politics and economics, but treated so as to put in full light the deep "working" forces (a fascinating topic for the young), and pushed right into the hot actuality which is the arena of Communist agitation. The main weight should be placed on a careful disclosure of the underlying springs of political life.

How does the press operate, from newsgathering down to the printing plant? Who is responsible for what one finally reads on it? How does the news flow from the events? Show the determining part played by the reporter and the relatively small part played by the editor? How is a party, a union, a committee actually controlled? Explain fully the new role of the professional "activists," the power of

a secretary to orientate the organization even in a direction at variance with the desires of the majority. Who selects the books which are published? Who selects the reviewers of the books in the press? Make statistics on the favorable or unfavorable accounts given of the books of various tendencies throughout the press and contrast them with the statistics of the number of citizens supporting the various tendencies. That would put in evidence that, in a strong anti-Communist country like the United States, most of the pro-Communist books receive considerably better reviews than one would expect. Analyze the impact and the inner life of broadcast and television. Disentangle the intricate net of the channels through which political matters go up from the minds of the voters to their representatives and to government and then back down to everyday life through the various stages of the administration.

The teaching here should be not only descriptive but also normative. It should show the delicate but essential conditions which have to be observed if one wants to have objective information and sound and fertile public debate, together with the rules organizations have to obey in order to serve as engines and not prisons for the aspirations of their members.

And those conditions and rules concern not only the exchange but also the inner consistency of ideas. As Possony acutely understood, a fundamental part of the Communist political conspiracy is an intellectual conspiracy, or rather a conspiracy to catch brains with the vices of the brain, what Possony ably calls "subjugation by semantics." It exploits systematically every trick of subtle sophistic ratiocination or gross rhetoric hypnotization: twists, distortions, loopholes, lies or half truths, unspoken and unproven assumptions, uses of words with other meanings, surreptitious or exalted recourse to myths, passions, prejudices, etc.

A good part of the engineers of the Communist apparatus are engineers of discourse who spend their time preparing, with extreme care, these verbal guiles of political discussions. And the ordinary education leaves the citizens utterly unable to find clear ways out of this jungle. Even at higher degrees, intellectuals are taught a scholastic and sterile form of logic which does not prepare them any better than the common man to detect well-cooked artifices of Communist demagogy or sophistry.

Education should insistently dispel this semantic sorcery and train pupils for sound political reasoning. It should also teach how to avoid the common pitfalls of oversimplification (such as "Communism is economically efficient because Moscow has sputniks"), logomachic reflexes (such as "Anticommunism equals rightism"), schematicism and dogmatism (following abstract "principles" without due regard to the prevailing facts, such as declaring that unqualified democracy is a panacea, while actually, if democracy is not bolstered by a full set of safeguards against the swindle of totalitarians, it can favor, rather than block, Communist expansion as was shown tragically in Czechoslovakia and is still shown in France, in Italy, in India), unwarranted mental associations (such as "Dictators are bad, hence anyone who overthrows a dictator is good; hence, applaud Fidel Castro").

There should be also abundant examples of current aberrations. For instance, the teacher should ask: where lies the trick of branding the present East-West contest as a "clash between two blocs?" (in

that it exploits the external appearance of U.S.S.R.–U.S.A. to induce the idea that the competition involves merely national interests, thus hiding the true issue, which is a deadly fight between civilization and absolutism), or: where lies the sophism in saying that the Kremlin gets tense out of fear of an attack? (in that obviously nobody plans such an attack and there is no reason to suppose that the well-informed Soviet leaders believe an obvious falsehood). Another example: One should unravel in schools the haze of fallacies which pervade the widespread argument that freedom is obliged by its principles to protect its very murderers.

This would provide an exhaustive exercise in sharp thinking and the opportunity of a comprehensive review of the "fabric of opinion."

(2) Analysis and critique of Communist doctrine—Weight: 10

The relatively low weight I assign to this topic will surprise some. It is deliberate. I do not think that doctrine—or ideology, in the true and noble meaning of the word—is the relevant issue with communism. Should it be so, then events would have destroyed communism long ago, as these events have so blantantly dismantled the body of social theories and predictions built by Marx.

Another proof of the irrelevancy of this dead doctrine to our problem is that communism, or paracommunism, today captures peoples of all imaginable brands, even the most antagonistic to Marxism, like Buddhist bonzes, Hindu idealists, Roman bishops, British marshals, and international bankers. It captures impartially atheists and deists, cynics and dreamers, epicurians and puritans, cruel and sentimental folk. All these specimens do not know a bit about, nor care a damn for, class struggle, or economic determinism.

The most that Communist propaganda borrows from the old Marxist stuff to seduce its patrons is a loose collection of shiny words such as: people, workers, progress, social justice, historical process. What really matters with all this crowd of pro-Communists of so many different beliefs is that they vote motions in favor of "pacific coexistence" or "unilateral disarmament" or whatever other delusion the Kremlin is throwing that day into the field of international politics.

Here, indeed, do we come to the nucleus of the enterprise. Communism has reduced itself to nothing else than Soviet matter; and Soviet matter is nothing else than a system of absolute power, aiming at subjugating the whole world (because it must destroy freedom abroad, otherwise freedom will destroy it at home). It tries to perform that world conquest by any suitable means, without caring in the least for consistency with its facade doctrines. Degeneracies progress rapidly in our times and Nikita Khrushchev is further away from Karl Marx than Pope Alexander Borgia was from Jesus Christ.

That is why, for present-day communism, doctrine is nothing, the committee is all. This is why our schools should not spend too much time on thorough dissections of a pretentious "philosophy" which has, a long time ago, been degraded to a mere stiff ritual. It serves as an arsenal of verbal accessories for decorum and deception, and to catch the small—every day smaller—bunch of gullibles who are still impressed by the logomachy of class struggle and economic determinism. Because of this "underdog" function of Communist scholastics, the treatment it deserves in our schools should be limited to the following:

Refutations—it is easy to make them glaring and simple—of the "old" stuff or Marxist orthodoxy about classes, accumulating infrastructure, determinism, dictatorship of the proletariat.

Warnings on the robbed prestige which communism still derives from its appeal to those who would revolt against the "exploitation and oppression of man by man." Our teachers should have no difficulty in showing whom this revolt should strike today: it is communism, the most exploiting and oppressing regime of human history.

Analysis of the Leninist additions to Marxism, which are more relevant to the present characteristics of communism, especially that essential theory of political activism, the reduction of all goals to the conquest of power, the professional revolutionaries, etc.

(3) History of communism—Weight: 15

This is much more illuminating about the true nature of communism than a lengthy study of its "doctrines." It is also a much more lively subject for youngsters to learn. It should therefore be taught with much care and color.

It should dissolve the legends woven around the career of bolshevism, such as the exaggerations about the social evils of the old Russian regime; the myth of the leading role of the Bolshevik faction in the Russian revolution of 1917 (the authentic one is the democratic revolution of February 1917; October 1917 having been a mere coup d'etat); the myth of the merits of communism in the war against Hitler (while there were 4 million defectors, and the Vlassov Army, the huge shipments of American help, etc.); the real conditions under which China and Eastern Europe fell after the last war (cynical cheating of the Allies and violations of signed agreements).

This course on history should also emphasize the list of crimes against humanity: the Red terror, the liquidation of democratic classes, the forced collectivization of the peasants and consecutive starvations, the concentration camps, the trials where innocents were forced to confess guilt, the imprisonment of the population behind the Iron Curtain, the reign of unlimited lie, universal delation, opaque censorship, etc.

One should also give, in the schools, the history of international communism outside the Communist countries. Here again, there should be insistence on the dispelling of so many false beliefs about the development of the Communist parties; show that most of those parties were turned very early into mere appendixes of the Soviet totalitarian state, twisting their lines innumerable times in strict and immediate obedience to their Soviet masters. How they adopted totalitarian ways in their inner life, etc.

(4) Picture of the present Communist regime—Weight: 15

After dealing with history, our teaching must present its result: the Communist regime and international communism of today.

As for the regime in Communist-dominated countries, its analysis in schools should show mainly the human condition under dictatorship, which is at the same time the most revealing for young spirits and the most moving for young hearts. The true serfdom of the workers bound by working cordons and factory tribunals, drilled by harassing norms, stakhanovite competitions; the reduction of peasants

to "proletarians under open sky," depending on "points" given to their works by bureaucrats; the regimentation of minds, the death penalty for children of 12 years old; the unions as state police over labor; the faked elections; the Communist Party as the union of the bosses.

All this veridical and vivid picture should culminate in the true definition of the regime: absolutist state capitalism where all the instruments of political control, as well as those of economic action, are concentrated in the hands of a dictatorial bureaucracy.

(5) *The apparatus of political warfare—Weight: 40*

This topic should be the cornerstone of the whole teaching. Here the pupils should be introduced to all and every part of that fundamental phenomenon of our time: the colossal apparatus built by communism to seize and control the springs of political decisions all over the free world. The main chapters would be as follows:

Description of the tentacular, ceaseless, all pervading propaganda. Disclosure of the new force discovered by Lenin: the force or organization which transforms the adepts into soldiers and is an adaptation to the era of the masses of the old force of intrigue theorized by Machiavelli in the era of the princes. Detailed review of the techniques used for colonizing and manipulating organizations; in particular, the technique of occult fractions. Anatomy of the vast species of Soviet auxiliaries, ranging from the paid agent to the honest but unconscious tool, with case stories taken from well-known examples (confessions of defectors, public trials, etc.).

The work of the illegal apparatus always flanking even the most legal movements. The work of the "parallel" organizations and of the innumerable fronts. The significance of "exchanges" with the Western World (which is exchanging for the Westerners but subverting for the Soviets). The role of diplomatic Communist agencies as fortresses of political warfare. The industry of organized deception trips. (One can today show indisputably what it means by contrasting the rosy reports of travelers invited under Stalin's reign with the horrors confessed by Khrushchev now.) The fantastic flood of words, printed or spoken, and of images, submerging all corners of the globe: leaflets, pamphlets, periodicals, books, radio, films, television.

The systematic infiltration of all places having a bearing on public opinion (press, broadcast, universities, other parties, unions, police, administrations, churches, etc.). The immense flora of calculated lies, demagogies and sophisms adapted to each social field to be captured. The accentuation of "civilian" political warfare with gangster type weapons: (blackmail, kidnaping, opium, murder) and violent paramilitary means (riots, terrorism, guerrillas), and in the center of all this, the tremendous net of special schools to prepare the professional agents. And above all this, the constant fertilizing rain of Soviet money.

(5) *Methods*

1. *Selection of teachers.*—With the present training of the common teachers, it would be a total mistake to entrust the program on communism to them. Most are the very prototype of misguided minds on this subject on which their teaching would only propagate still more confusion.

This teaching has to be managed as a separate undertaking carried by a body of specialized professors. They would be trained in a higher institution like the "Freedom Academy" proposed by Senators Dodd and Mundt and Congressman Judd. Should the project of said Academy fail to be implemented, then the task should be passed to an ad hoc commission comprising a dozen first-class specialists working on a full-time assignment.

The recruitment of professors on communism must not be restricted merely to the teachers carrying full diplomas. A better supply can be found among the cultivated professionals of politics, social analysts, freedom fighters, specialists on Communist studies. The teachers should be endowed not only with a sharp insight into communism but also with a sense of mission.

2. *Manuals.*—There is enough pertinent knowledge of communism available in the existing literature, but not in a form suitable for school teaching. It should, therefore, be the task of a special commission to prepare the material in "manual" form; well digested, and popularized with all the aids of clever graphics, pictures, etc. Many items should be presented as answers to questions.

3. *Audiovisual material.*—Communism is specially well suited to the audiovisual pedagogy now widely advocated, because it carries intense human dramas, even stirring personal and collective deeds—like the revolt of the oppressed Hungarian or Tibetan; trials of the innocents, adventurous flights at the risk of the refugees' lives, heroic resistance under terror, dramas about the Iron Curtain, denunciations of fathers by children, etc.

Unhappily this saga of men against tyranny has not yet been exploited by the film industry, in spite of its extraordinary richness (a lack, be it stressed, which, when contrasted with the cataracts of Communist films against our society, reveals the depth of our inferiority). It should be another task of those specialists preparing the educational programs, to manufacture small films or TV pieces illustrating all those points.

4. *Practical training.*—It is essential, as in all disciplines, to combine practical, personal exercises with ex-cathedra lessons. Pupils could be induced to conduct debates and to detect the sophisms contained in crypto-Communist arguments; to recognize demagogy from true reformism on concrete examples; to diagnose the exact nature and degree of the allegiance of Soviet auxiliaries (only on the examples of past figures).

They could be induced to play the part of a public committee with a small minority of them secretly requested to organize a "fraction" so as to manipulate the majority, for instance to have their man elected to an office without the majority realizing what happened. The pupils would also be instructed to mimeograph a dummy newspaper with one or two members of the publishing team, unknown to the others, who would have the duty of orientating its content in favor of Soviet theses without raising suspicion, etc. Thus they will better understand the tricks of Communist maneuvers.

CONCLUSION

I want to stress that the whole task presented here is of vital importance to mankind. Because education on communism, as suggested here, would not only arm our civilization in its life-or-death battle against a most formidable enemy, but it would also, indirectly, give birth to an entirely renewed, much healthier, and finally more fruitful democracy than the one we have today.

"Liberals" often insist on the idea that the sound way to stop communism is not to strike at its apparatus but to cure the evils of our society. This idea is only right if, by the evils favoring Communist influence, we understand the inability of democratic citizens—and above all, intellectuals—to think sharply about communism. Well, we propose to cure this evil. Intelligent education on communism in schools is the instrumentality for it. Let it be implemented quickly, because we are so late that we have only 5 minutes left to midnight.

COMMUNIST CONTROL OF THE INDIVIDUAL: THE USES OF HOSTILITY

(By William E. Mayer, M.D., major, Medical Corps, U.S. Army)

[NOTE.—The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are solely those of the author, and do not purport to reflect those of the U.S. Army or branch thereof].

What, really, is so terrible about communism?

If it is true that Communists make slaves of people, and use torture and brutality, why are they so successful? How have they been able to take over the lives of a billion people? No other slave-masters ever did as well.

For years now, we in the free Western World have heard stories of Communist cruelty, inhumanity, executions, slave-labor camps, secret police, brutal suppressions, and purges. Many people have come to think of the U.S.S.R. and Red China primarly in such terms. But this leads to the kinds of questions above. Other tyrants have used the same techniques, and come to disaster. Not even the English King against whom the American colonists revolted, was accused of as widespread and serious abuse as the Communists, and yet successful revolution resulted. The history, even of the 20th century, is replete with examples of dictators, including some in our own hemisphere, whose excesses were surely no worse than those of the Communists and whose power in their countries was relatively as great, who were nonetheless violently overthrown. Men will always, it seems, throw off the chains of political tyranny.

And yet the fact remains: The Communists have been singularly successful, both in gaining new territories and peoples, and in controlling what they have taken over. If their progress is to be stopped and their successes reversed, those who are still free must, first of all, learn, realistically, what it is that makes the Communist system "tick": how it works. This short article obviously cannot tell the whole story, but it can tell a useful part of it, looking into the psychological and emotional circumstances of life for the individual—the "little man"—in Communist lands.

Throughout history, mankind has consistently striven to achieve fairly simple and reasonable goals, basically. These goals most importantly include a degree of security in man's person and his property, combined with at least a limited degree of freedom: Freedom to grow, to express himself, to realize his individual potential, to seek for himself, in his own ways, those spiritual and material possessions which appeal to him. In order to obtain these goals, he has tried all degrees of social organization from the chaos of anarchy to the most stringently applied police state regulation.

Every monarch or dictator or other tyrant who has chosen the latter, and prescribed for his people the details of everyday life, has had to deal with the rebellion which arises in the hearts of most people who are so rigidly controlled. Communist leaders have developed ways for doing this which are evidently the most efficient ever

devised. This does not mean their system is good, or their people happy, or that terrible abuses and inhumanities do not exist. It does mean, however, that man's simple and reasonable goals have been put in greater jeopardy than ever before. It also means that those men who would deprive the rest of us of security and freedom, are daily gaining strength. When that strength, through the domination of a large enough number of people, becomes great enough, then those free men who remain will be helpless to preserve their own freedom. Not even our own country, with all its great strength in people and resources, will ever be able to defend itself against the whole rest of the world, or even a majority of it.

Rebellions, revolts, revolutions, and counterrevolutions are functions of individual men, acting both in groups and as individuals. The sparks which light the fires of freedom exist in the hearts of individuals, and it is the heart of the individual which is the target of every tyrant. The spark is what we call, in psychological parlance, hostility—anger, aggressiveness—directed toward the oppressor. It is kindled by anxiety, as a simple example will illustrate: you are driving your car in a safe and sensible manner. A completely unexpected obstacle—another car—appears in your way, and for a moment your life is in great danger, and a surge of fear sweeps through you, leaving you shaken, weak, perhaps sweating freely. The other car was unexpected, because to appear there, at that time, it had to violate not only the laws, but the rules of commonsense and simple decency as well. What happens to the fear you felt? Very often it is transformed, almost immediately, into hostility. You become very angry, even furious. You may lean out of the window and hurl imprecations and malefactions upon your tormentor, using language you normally avoid. Your secret impulse is to pour on power, even smash the monster by deliberate collision. If you are quite civilized and controlled, you may only sound your horn in as ugly a fashion as possible; you may even content yourself with a quiet oath, privately. The important thing to recognize, in this homely little example, is how anxiety and fear are transformed into hostility, which is a perfectly normal and healthy response to being threatened.

Dictatorships, tyrannies, all forms of oppression, create anxiety and fear. Generally they begin with force and brutality. Men do not forget this. To consolidate power, they must then operate a powerful police system. They must—and do—suppress and eliminate dissent. The whole atmosphere becomes a fearful one; anxiety is present, in unacceptable degrees, in all aspects of daily life. The very weak can be defeated by this, and transformed into quivering, terrified, helpless little creatures. But most men do not ever give in, this way. Instead, their anger grows. It is dangerous for the dictator. It can be handled for a while by shooting or exiling the angriest men, but this in turn can create more anger in others. It can also be handled by directing the anger toward enemies both within and without the country, and it is characteristic of new tyrannies that they undertake aggressive foreign military adventures early in life, for this reason. They also seek out or even create internal enemies for public denunciation and punishment as individuals or as a whole people, the way Hitler's Nazis monstrously dealt with Europe's Jews. The Communists have done precisely the same thing, singling out an economic and social class as the enemy, and the story of

village trials and executions of landowners in Red China, for example, is one of the most incredible, debased, inhuman chapters in the whole history of mankind.

But where does the dictator go from there? Many years can pass, yet the anxiety which goes with living under oppression persists, and the threat of resulting hostility continues. This is why Communist masters continue to denounce deviation, resist the emergence of popular heroes who might lead others in revolt, and so fear counterrevolution that they see deadly enemies lurking behind every tree.

But Communists differ significantly from their spiritual forebears in the arts of tyranny. They have devoted much study and much effort to the further handling of hostility and rebelliousness among the people they dominate, and their success reflects this. It is for this reason that so few major rebellions have occurred in the Communist world, I believe, and for this reason that even the bravest and largest of the uprisings, like in Hungary, have been poorly organized, largely unplanned, lacking in materiel and communications and transport, and thus relatively simple disturbances for a finely trained and equipped regular military force to smash absolutely. It is useful and important, therefore, to examine what Communist leaders do about hostility among the billion human beings they govern.

Psychiatrists are concerned with anxiety and hostility, for when these emotions are improperly dealt with by individuals, they can cause illness, or worse. It is a mistake, however, to think that psychiatrists attempt to eliminate these feelings altogether, or think of them as evil or destructive in themselves. Both feelings are useful to man. Both can stimulate sensible and constructive behavior, like getting to work on time, doing a thorough job at work, providing a solid house and insurance protection for the family, guarding against accidents, preserving good government. All these activities require thoughtful effort, and feelings within the individual which are basically related to anxiety and hostility motivate and support that effort. The anxiety may be called concern or caution or prudence or carefulness, foresightedness, preparation for a "rainy day," and many other things. But it is basically anxiety. The hostility may take the form of aggressiveness in pursuing acceptable economic and social ends, a go-getter approach to selling or manufacturing, enthusiastic assault on a golf ball, shouted support at a boxing match, or the hurling of a bowling ball down a slick floor to go crashing into an innocent group of neatly arranged wooden soldiers standing many feet away and not hurting anyone. In any case, we all have the basic feelings, and we all seek outlets for them, and release from them. Our people are blessed by a truly remarkable number and variety of available outlets.

But what about people in a Siberian village, a town in Albania, a province in China? It is likely that they have both more anxiety and more hostility to handle than most of us, and fewer outlets. Their Communist leaders have to deal with this, and they do. Partly, the people are provided with releases in the mass meetings, parades, and demonstrations of military might that are so typical of enslaved states—Hitler's and Khrushchev's alike. Characteristically the people are exhorted and driven to enormous exertion in factory and farmwork. As most people realize, hard work can be a tonic for out-of-hand emotions, and in the slave states it usefully drains off much of the energy and emotion that might otherwise be invested in counter-

revolution. Finally, the people are given an external enemy to be angry at, to account for their anxiety (to be blamed for it, really), and to hate—perhaps hate enough to fight one day. So far, this is all in keeping with classical traditions of dictatorship and tyranny. The problems and the solutions described have existed in all the places and in all the periods during which the mass of people have been denied reasonable freedom. The Communists have been more successful than previous slavekeepers because they have gone beyond these traditional techniques. We can examine how they have gone beyond, by considering hostility in the individual (*a*) toward the State, (*b*) toward other individuals, and (*c*) toward himself.

HOSTILITY TOWARD THE STATE

From the very beginning, Communist rulers have promoted one of the most incredible frauds in history: that there is no state. Accustomed as we are to thinking of the leaders of the U.S.S.R., or China, as a government—which is what it most assuredly is—we often lose sight of the fact that the majority of subjects in Communist countries probably do not think of their actual leaders in this way. The myth of "the people" began with the Communist revolution. All authority supposedly rests directly in the hands of the people. All courts are "people's courts," all police "people's police." All government offices and branches are labeled as elements of "the people," not of the government. All national achievements, like space technology, are said to be "the people's" achievements. If a worker exceeds his factory output quota, or a mother delivers 10 live babies, or a soldier excels on the battlefield, such a person is designated "people's hero" and rewarded (by "the people") with a medal stating this fact.

If this sounds like an advertising campaign carried to ridiculous extremes, it is because that is exactly what it is. Every person in a Communist state belongs to "people's" or "workers'" groups, councils, or other organizations. Surrounded by his fellow people, he is informed of all the rules, restrictions, production goals, necessary sacrifices, contributions, and working and living conditions prescribed by the masters in the Kremlin. He may even be permitted to object and argue, to some extent, in the innumerable compulsory meetings and rallies he attends. But he cannot vote on the issues, nor veto them; Communists well know the power of vetoes. Whenever a rule or demand or new law is published, it is published to "the people" in groups assembled. It is invariably said to be the product of other such groups—in unanimous and spontaneous agreement. There are constant references to "the will of the people," the "voice of the people," the desires and aspirations of "the people," the infallibility of the judgment of "the people"—this goes on every day in the meetings, the press, over the radio, through the loudspeakers permanently installed in public places. Seemingly it comes from many sources, from all sides, and it comes contantly.

As months and years of this go by, the desired idea becomes firmly established: there is no state to hate. Only "the people." Surely many people were skeptical in the beginning and perhaps many still are. But there is no voice raised to refute the idea—no voice that

lasts very long, at any rate. And it is true of most of us that we tend to believe things the more often and the more assertively and authoritatively they are said. This is the "big lie." It is no new technique, and it has been exposed repeatedly and clearly every time a dictator has used it. But it still works. The belief that "everybody agrees" or "everybody prefers" is a powerful molder of human thought, as advertisers well know, and as Communists well know.

Communist prating about "democracy," then, and about "the people's government," and the "popular" will, is all in deadly earnest. It is not a sham. It is a dead serious and highly effective device for protecting those in power, by diverting hostility away from them toward something one cannot fight, or even feel violently rebellious toward for very long: all the rest of the people—your own people.

HOSTILITY TOWARD OTHER INDIVIDUALS

All of us are capable of, and from time to time feel, hostile impulses even toward those we love the most. The inability to tolerate such feelings, which are often perfectly reasonable and normal, disrupts many otherwise good and potentially enduring relationships. We have had an example of hostility toward another driver; there are many more examples that could be mentioned, some of them close to home in the experience of us all. Sometimes the hostile feelings are a natural consequence of the acts of others, sometimes not. Most of us have had the experience of behaving in a hostile or aggressive fashion toward others, even those we love dearly, because of happenings completely unrelated to our "victim." In the same way, hostile and rebellious impulses developing out of the anxieties and fears engendered by the Communist slave state, can be directed toward other individuals, who are blameless in themselves. Were this sort of thing to go too far, people would be at each others' throats, and chaos would result. It would be impossible to get people to work together, constructively, for common ends prescribed by the state.

The Communists both control and make definite use of the hostility which develops between or is directed toward individuals. Informing, for example, is apparently almost universal among Communist groups. A dramatic instance existed among the 21 American soldiers who refused repatriation after the armistice in Korea freed them from Communist captivity. Among this small group of men were no less than five separate smaller groups or cells, organized for control, each of which contained at least one informer—watcher, spy—from each of two other groups, and each of which sent out at least two other men to infiltrate and spy and report upon other groups. This is the ultimate in "interlocking directorates" of subversion. A strikingly similar arrangement exists in shops, offices, neighborhoods, and even government departments in Communist states; in the end, everyone is spying (and reporting) on everyone. This is an exercise in applied individual hostility. It has the effect of making the group self-policing, and has proved to be both economical and remarkably efficient. Most of the time, information so obtained is merely filed away in the dossier which is kept on each member of "the people," no matter how insignificant he may be. Nothing happens. Nothing is necessary, for each man knows his dossier exists, and is probably being added to steadily. When serious information turns up, or when

the total of all reports adds up to the picture of an "unreliable" member of "the people," off he goes to be "reeducated," or if necessary, eliminated altogether. This, then, helps to control Communist slaves directly (including very high-ranking slaves), as would an enormous police force, but also it controls indirectly, by draining off—in a useful way—the hostility of individuals toward other individuals.

HOSTILITY TOWARD ONESELF

When one feels angry and hostile toward himself, we call it depression. Very often the anger does not sensibly relate to something one did or did not do, but it is nonetheless directed inwardly. This happens to men who are confined in ordinary prisons, at least for a time, usually at the beginning of imprisonment. It can happen to all of us when fate turns a deaf or negative ear to our wishes or needs, when we lose a loved one and recall we did not always behave lovingly toward him, and for many other reasons. We generally search for explanations and scapegoats outside ourselves, when we feel depressed, and we feel worse if explanations or excuses are not forthcoming or not tenable. When depressed, one becomes less likely to initiate action, less likely to behave in rebellious ways and certainly less likely to cook up a counterrevolution.

A certain amount of depression, therefore, is desired among the subjects of a tyrant, and discussions with those who have come from Communist societies reveal that their masters were well aware of this fact. It is a depressing way of life—in a large part because there are inadequate outlets provided even for a normal amount of hostility, and much of it is turned inward. Obviously this cannot be allowed to go to extremes, or the society would be overcome by inertia, despair, and helpless inactivity. It is counteracted by occasional easing of restriction, occasional small material rewards, and publication of the dramatic achievements of Communist scientists and spacemen—all of this accompanied by great fanfare. The fanfare is for our benefit in the free world, of course, and for the benefit of the nonalined nations who may be considering alinement with one side of the world or the other, but mainly it is for the benefit of the people themselves, and is essential to their control and their continued productivity.

From this brief discussion of Communist uses (and abuses) of the normal human emotions of anxiety and hostility, one might conclude that the system which does these things is unnatural, even sick. I believe this is true. I believe, moreover, that the successes so far achieved, using these distortions of human feelings, cannot forever, or for very long, endure. It must definitely not be concluded that the deliberate distortion of human impulses and feelings, in systematic ways, constitutes an irresistible method for dominating the human race, for there is nothing to support such an idea, in spite of the numbers of people so far successfully enslaved in the Communist colonial empire.

The value of understanding these methods, however, is that such understanding must precede the construction of methods for halting and eventually reversing the trend of Communist aggression—this assault on the individual and collective freedom we possess and cherish, and wish for all of mankind—freedom to seek his own solutions, his

own salvation, and his own rewards. · It is obvious that communism is vulnerable to simple truth. It is obvious also that it cannot succeed where communication is free and there are multiple sources of information, like the American press and radio and television, for the myth of "no state to hate" is wholly insupportable in the light of real knowledge. Communist devotion to informing, individual denunciation and accusation is itself an endorsement of the validity of our belief in loyalty among individuals, respect for persons as individuals, and in the importance of love among human beings. The Communists assault upon such beliefs has been so direct and intense and unrelenting that it demonstrates that these things are not mere intangibles; they are the things which make this new, Red form of enslavement impossible. Their preservation is a first condition for the survival of freedom.

REACHING THROUGH TO YOUNG MINDS

(By Harry and Bonaro Overstreet) [1]

Many teachers are hesitant in their approach to the subject of communism. This is not only because they doubt the adequacy of their own command of the facts but also because the subject carries a different emotional "charge" from any other in the curriculum. As educators, they feel that they must be "objective." But as citizens—and as human beings—they are partisans of freedom; and they want their students to recognize that communism is a real and present danger to all free institutions. Thus, they often feel pulled two ways at once—and end up by wishing they could just leave the subject alone.

This type of confusion results, we believe, from a misunderstanding of what "objectivity" requires. It requires us to be as accurate as possible in our presentation of facts. It does not require us to be neutral in our judgments: cutting ourselves down to the dimension of moral ciphers because we are teachers.

If it required this, we would, for example, in our physical education and hygiene classes, feel obligated to present a well-balanced picture of the claims of illness and health, refusing to load the scales by any preference for the latter. And in our history classes we would be careful, when teaching about Magna Carta, not to attach any value to the concessions won from King John; and in our teaching about World War II, not to say anything that our students could interpret as a condemnation of Hitlerism.

The fact that communism is an active danger now, and not one that has been consigned to the archives of the past, does not obligate us to cultivate an above-the-battle neutrality. Nothing in the code of a free teacher requires him to adopt a tone that puts freedom and despotism on the same value level.

Obviously, we cannot forsake our role as educators to become propagandists. If we try to pressure our students into taking on, readymade, our particular brand of anticommunism, they are likely to erect in their own minds stubborn barriers to exclude what we say. Any brand of anticommunism that is to serve them for the long pull must be their own. It must reflect their sense of values and their understanding of what is at stake in the worldwide struggle of our time. It must be grown into; not imposed from the outside.

Our proper task as educators, then, is to make certain that our facts are as accurate as we can make them; and then to choose the approach to the subject of communism that seems most likely to bring these facts into association with the normal concerns of young people. It is not enough, in short, for us to talk out of our own frame of reference. We must also talk into the frame of reference of today's youth.

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[1] Authors of "The Mind Alive," "The Mind Goes Forth," "What We Must Know About Communism," and "The War Called Peace."

Because we define our problem thus, the approach to the subject which we ourselves prefer is by way of the Iron Curtain. Such trial-and-error experience as we have had has convinced us that there is no better way to make the character of the Communist system real to students, and to help them discover for themselves the differences between this system and our own, than to bring their minds to focus on the Iron Curtain and to put to them the problem of figuring out why the Communists need the Curtain. What is it about their theory and their plans that makes intolerable to them "the open market places of the mind"? What are they aspiring to do that can only be done by closing off the orbit from the rest of the world?

This Iron Curtain approach seems to us to be psychologically right for two reasons. In the first place, it lets us begin with a tangible product of the spirit of communism. The 6,000-mile barricade of barbed wire, concrete wall, minefields, and guard towers—stretching along the border of the Communist orbit from Iran to the northernmost point of Europe, where the Soviet Union and Norway meet—exists on the face of the earth for one reason only: because the Communists have put it there. The same holds true for the whole intricate machinery of radio jamming, press censorship, and travel restrictions. All of these together add up to a report on how the Communists feel themselves to be related to everything outside their own domain—and their own doctrine.

In both the Soviet Union and the East European satellites, the accumulating of capital for productive purposes has always been a chief problem. A manpower shortage has been another problem. Both raw materials and electrical power for the fulfillment of economic plans have always been in short supply. Yet these regimes withhold from the fields of normal production and consumption enough material resources, electric power, and manpower to keep this gigantic, formidable barricade in good working order. And in 1960, they spent as much money jamming the Voice of America as we spent on our whole information program. These are facts for student minds to reckon with. What sort of system is it that must attach such importance to the sealing off of its own domain from everything on the outside?

In the second place, this Iron Curtain approach gives us a principle of organization that lets us begin in the here and now, rather than in the remote past, and that lets us pull together into one integrated whole all the aspects of Communist theory and practice that must be dealt with before the system can really be understood and evaluated.

Everything that needs to be brought into focus in student minds, so that they can knowledgeably say, "This is communism," might be summed up under two headings: "The Theory and Practice of Dividing" and "The Theory and Practice of Controlling." The two, of course, interrelate—since division is practiced for the sake of control. But the important thing for young people to learn is that the 6,000-mile barricade on the face of the earth did not get there by a kind of happenstance; nor did it get there simply as a byproduct of Stalin's paranoia. Rather, it is a tangible projection into the sphere of geography of that which antedated it on communism's "landscape of the mind." It is a report on what the Communists take to be necessary because of their view of "objective reality."

Before they try to go any further, then, into the intricacies of Communist ideology and its "science of conspiracy," our young people

should study the actual structure of the Iron Curtain: the barbed wire and guard towers and minefields; the wall in Berlin across which the members of ruthlessly divided families try to catch a glimpse of one another; the provisions for radio jamming and press censorship—coupled with worldwide publication of Communist papers and worldwide use of the airwaves to penetrate every country on earth with the party line on every issue. When they have brought the grim totality of this barricade into focus in their minds, they can say to themselves, "Whatever communism is or is not, it is at least that which cannot operate without this Iron Curtain." What becomes obvious at that point is that communism, stripped of its deceptive propaganda, is exactly as attractive, and no more attractive, than is electrified barbed wire stretched across the earth to keep in and keep out.

With the image of the curtain thus in mind, where do we go next? We would say, "Back to Marx." Certainly, Marx did not conceive of anything like the present barricade; and, we must note, there would have been no occasion for it if Marx's version of the "inevitable" had taken place: if revolution had sparked revolution until the world simply became Communist. The curtain exists because Marx's "infallible" theory turned out to be so glaringly fallible after a self-appointed power elite—the Communist Party—already had a vested interest in it, and therefore an unalterable commitment to its perpetuation. The curtain—tangible and intangible—is the party's machinery for creating a situation in which that which would never happen of its own accord can be forced to happen and can be called inevitable.

If Marx did not conceive of anything like the present barrier, he nonetheless laid the theoretical foundation upon which it has been reared. The barbed wire, we might say, was first stretched across the landscape of the mind—though not yet across the landscape of the earth—when Marx set forth a dialectical version of nature and history that made struggle the one significant agent of change. Within this dialectical framework, he proclaimed the class struggle to be irreconcilable; and he left no room for any happy ending that did not involve the total victory of one side and the total liquidation of the other. In line with this concept of division as absolute, he made it clear that neither compassion nor good faith should extend across class lines. Most important of all, his definition of man as a material part of the material universe—without any significance higher than that granted to him by his role in the class struggle—opened the way for expediency as the sole guide to the correct treatment of the class enemy.

If our students can learn to trace the lines of psychological logic that extend from the pages of Marx to the Iron Curtain on the boundary of communism's empire, they will have learned the basic lesson from which other lessons can be successively learned. Against this Marxist image of irreconcilable struggle and either-or victory, with no holds barred, they must be encouraged to set a different image. They must learn how far removed from Marxism is the long struggle of men of good will everywhere to affirm the unalienable worth of the human being; to affirm universal standards of values that can overspan and somehow temper our multiple human struggles; and within the frame of these values, to provide room for diversified freedom. If

our young people once understand in depth this contrast between the Marxist and the traditional non-Marxist concept of the human enterprise, they are not likely to be taken in by the everlasting efforts of the Communists to make young minds identify the party line [2] with their own social ideals.

When the spirit and letter of Marxism have been thus absorbed, Lenin comes next—with his structuring of a hard-core party to take the place of a proletariat that did not stage a revolution; and with his elaborate "science of conspiracy" to force an overthrow that history failed to deliver. If students could be helped to explore the long-range human significance of the methods set forth by Lenin in "What Is To Be Done?," published in 1902, and if they could similarly be helped to explore his design for the Comintern—the Third Communist International—set forth for parties around the world, after the take-over in Russia, they would be prepared for the Communists' Iron Curtain stratagems of penetrating without being penetrated.

From Lenin to Stalin to Khrushchev the line of development goes on—with division treated at every point as the indispensable predecessor to total control. Our students should learn, for example, the character of the "shotgun wedding" that Stalin brought to pass between Communist internationalism and Russian nationalism—under the label of "socialism in one country." They should learn how variously Stalin exemplified in his foreign policy the Marxist edict that good faith should not extend across class lines, and the Leninist "science of conspiracy"—building, in the process, the Soviet empire. They should learn the role which Stalin assigned—in behalf of Soviet power—to the Cominform, cold-war sucessor to the prewar Comintern. Not least, they should learn how and why Stalin, in the mid-1930's, ordained for the parties around the world that tactic of the "united front"—against war, colonialism, racial discrimination, unemployment, and the rest—which has, ever since that time, been the Communists' chief tool for the exploitation of non-Communist idealists, and most particularly of young idealists.

When it comes to the Khrushchev era, they will need to work into the interminable pattern of dividing to conquer his tactics for avoiding genuine give-and-take while exploiting processes—from those of negotiation to those of tourism and cultural exchange—that must be infused with the spirit of give-and-take to be legitimate. They will need, further, to look through his phrases about "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful competition" to the point where these make ideological contact with his statements to his own fellow Communists about the fact that there can be no permanent peace until "capitalist imperialism" is wiped from the face of the earth.[3]

It is of supreme importance, in brief, for our students to know that, in Communist theory and practice, no truly binding force is permitted to extend from Communist to non-Communist orbit or from Communist to non-Communist mind. In this connection, they should study communism's "class morality"; its inverted "class" use of such words as "peace," "internationalism," "nonintervention," et cetera; and

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[2] See "The Communist Party Line," a treatise by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. (5 cents a copy at Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.)

[3] See "Wordsmanship" by Stefan T. Possony, of the Hoover Institution, published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

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its exploitative use both of such international machinery as that of the United Nations and the legal defenses and civil liberties established in free nations. When they have really got the hang of communism's ideologically sanctified double standard of word and action, they will be well prepared to study the specific current programs of the party that are designed to exploit youth and to alienate it from the institutions that are its birthright.

But this is not the only thing that our students should learn. In this Khrushchev era, it is vitally important for them to learn what the party can do to the lives and minds of the people of the sealed-off orbit that it could not do in an "open" world, without the benefit of the Iron Curtain.

That the barbed wire and the wall in Berlin are designed to prevent people's escape from the orbit is obvious. Even Ulbricht has admitted as much with respect to the wall in Berlin; and the whole system of border guards and barricades is an admission of this fact. But many people who can recognize this function of the Iron Curtain do not push through to any understanding in depth of how the corralled condition of human beings within the orbit fits into long-range party planning. What must be understood is the whole pattern of party control over life, livelihood, thought process, and human association where there is a calculated ruling out of those two essentials of human dignity: the right to choose between alternatives and the right to compare and evaluate.

A multitude of forces, today, are trying to persuade our young people that the Soviet economy is a kind of eighth wonder on the face of the earth; that Soviet education is far more advanced than our own; and that the "collective" experiences established within the orbit are a happy contrast to the isolated experiences of the lonely, aimless, alienated individual in the Western World. It would do much to safeguard the future of freedom if young people in multitude would read such books as, for example, Joseph Novak's "The Future Is Ours, Comrade," and "No Third Path." In these books, they meet face to face the human product of Soviet communism: what Khrushchev proudly calls Communist man. As they become acquainted with this "highest" product of the system, they know why the Iron Curtain exists: without it, the party could never provide for its own interminable exercise of total power in an industrialized society; and it could never keep up that colossal misrepresentation of everything outside the orbit without which the drive for international communism would have no meaning.

It is impossible for us to detail here the full study plan for an Iron Curtain approach to the subject of communism. But in brief summary, we would say that this approach should begin with a study of the curtain itself and the elements of steel and censorship that have gone into the making of it. It should then return to Marx, and should proceed through Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev—with emphasis at every point on the theory and practice of divide and control. It should explore the telling contrast between what the Communists say—about civil liberties, for example, and colonialism—in propaganda directed at non-Communists and what they do within their sealed-off orbit. It should take account of their "class moral ity" and their "class language." It should take account, no less, of

the "class" use to which they put all the machinery designed to promote international accord and good will. Not least, it should involve a journey of the mind into the orbit: for a study of Communist man in the making.

In the end, we believe, against this background of fact and implication, our young people should be given a chance to weigh, one after another, the major propaganda appeals currently being directed at young non-Communist minds. They should also be invited to become acquainted with themselves as targets: to estimate their own vulnerabilities to one type of propaganda and another; to see what discontents and restlessnesses in their own minds are estimated by the Communists to be exploitable; and, most important of all, to see how their own best wishes for the human future can be turned aside from their natural path and diverted to one of Communist choice, without they themselves being aware of what is taking place.

Almost before we know it, these students in our classes will be parents and teachers, members of the business community and of voluntary organizations, citizens and officeholders. As they try to preserve and extend our hard-won human freedoms, they will have to cope with all the problems of an age of vast and unpredictable change. These alone would be enough to test the capacities of any generation. All along the line, however, they will also have to cope with Communist efforts to make their efforts fail. A decent respect, we might say, for our students and for the human future impels us to do what we can to help them get ready for the task of being free in an age like this and of making freedom the heritage of the future.

SOME PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM IN THE SCHOOLS

(By Rev. Stanley Parry, C.S.C., head, Political Science Department, University of Notre Dame)

Since every purposeful action involves the exercise of prudence in the use of means, it is a matter of elementary wisdom that one considers the means carefully. In the case of the attempt to inform future American citizens of the nature and characteristics of communism this counsel of wisdom requires that the process of education involved be carefully analyzed. The object of the analysis attempted here is limited in its scope primarily by the competence of the writer. But such limits as are set may be justified rather than rationalized on the ground that the problems examined are viewed with the intent of avoiding predictable opportunities for error. It lies in the province of the skilled educationalist to determine the specific content and procedures of the educational process.

While there can be little debate over the desirability of having a citizenry accurately informed concerning the menace of communism, some may question whether an already overburdened school system should undertake this additional task. A fairly good argument may be made for this point. As a result of a growing tendency to solve all our problems of order through the educational system, the grade and high school curriculum of the average school is bloated with courses of questionable educational value. The waste of time involved is the least of the evils. Far more substantial is the distraction of the system from its primary function: the transfer of skills and culture from one generation to the next. To add still another subject to this crowded curriculum in any manner, burdens and further inhibits the proper functioning of the system. Moreover, little positive value can be derived from the study of an essentially erroneous set of ideas by youngsters too immature to benefit from the process of dialectic among ideas.

The cogency of this argument demands, in response, a close analysis indeed of the reasons why schools should inform students of the true nature of communism. The value of such analysis is that it gives important guidelines for the manner in which a course on communism should be offered.

We take it, as a first principle of the early stages of education, that nothing should be included in the curriculum that interferes with the main task of imparting culture and skills to young people. Such a principle immediately raises doubts about the desirability of courses, for example in traffic safety, dancing, and the like. But this same principle becomes, in our day, the basic reason why a course on communism should be offered. Culture, the human content of a civilization, cannot be transferred from generation to generation in a vacuum. For the process of transfer is deeply involved in the very process of living. When the transfer of culture is static, formal,

purely historical and unrelated to the conditions surrounding the transfer, then the culture begins to die. It is transferred without the capacity itself for survival. Each age has its particular problems of transfer. And these problems derive from the conditions of the age. It is essential therefore to any effective transfer of culture that the transfer be related vitally to the major constitutive factors of the age. It is only on this condition that the culture has a capacity, not only for survival, but also for further development.

It should be obvious that whatever other characteristics of our age one may identify, communism is a major one. It should also be obvious that the question of the survival of Western culture, with its exalted conceptions of freedom and human dignity, will be answered in large part by the manner in which the West confronts communism. It would seem then, that any effective transfer of Western culture in our age must have, built into it, the capacity to cope successfully with communism. The issue here is not whether children should be indoctrinated with specific policies against communism. Such an approach would violate, in the seed, the freedom of the future citizens to live their own national life, to make their own policy when that grave duty falls to them. We should let our children alone on the policy level. Our history of success has not indicated any particular or exceptional capacity for policy in the present generation. Nor is the issue here whether the youth of the country should be taught to hate persons who subscribe to a doctrine like communism. The youngters would be gravely injured by such a process, for personal hatred corrodes the life of the one hating. The issue here is precisely that Communist ideology should be understood accurately. This means that an organized set of ideas should be perceived in their unity as the negation of the principles on which Western civilization rests. The perception should be the result of real understanding, not of indoctrination. Moreover this means that the future citizen should know that this set of ideas is backed by organized power capable of turning the negation inherent in them into historical reality. The objective of such a course on communism should be to turn out a citizenry who can think about communism calmly and realistically, without succumbing to a false fear or to an even more false security before this threat.

The examination of communism in the schools can be made an integral part of the educational objective by approaching communism as the survival aspect of the positive transfer of a vital culture. Handled in this way, teaching about communism becomes not only desirable in our schools but even necessary. Its presence in the curriculum involves no sacrifice of essential objectives in the teaching process. For this is not simply an addition to the program. Rather it appears as an inward adjustment of education to the realities of the contemporary world. This adjustment is the price of survival of the culture that is being transferred.

From this justification of a course about communism we have already identified a few guidelines for method. The course must be taught in such a way as to be, in fact, the survival aspect of culturation. The course, therefore, will not be anti-Russian nor anti-Chinese, but anti-Communist. The course must focus on ideas and their consequences. The course, finally, should not constitute a brainwashing operation in favor of any particular foreign policy. Policy consists

in the adjustment of principled objectives to current circumstances. Children should be taught the principled objectives inherent in our own culture and the threat of those objectives inherent in communism. The circumstances of their adult life are still unknown and cannot be taught.

From the culture-oriented approach to teaching about communism, there follows also a solution to the problem of devoting time to the study of error. Our own culture can be better understood when it is contrasted with another way of thinking about reality. This principle is well established in the teaching profession. And it has already led to the introduction of cultural comparisons with other forms, for example, Indian, Chinese cultures. In the analysis of Communist ideology we have a particularly valuable opportunity to increase understanding of Western culture by the comparative method. For in communism, and the institutions of control it has set up on areas it has conquered, we do not have an absolutely alien form. Communism is, in its roots, an aberration of Western culture itself. It was born and developed by Western thinkers. While it is true that its form was altered in a profound way by Russian thinkers and the background of Russian history, this alteration was not total. In communism one can still perceive the elements of Western thought in cancerous growth. Communism, that is to say, is a possibility of aberration in our own form of culture. To know this, to see communism as an inner breakdown, an aberration of the Western mind, will contribute in a significant way to the vital perception of our own culture. It will also contribute to the ability to defend that culture against further aberration of a similar kind.

It follows from the above that, in primary and secondary schools, the content of Communist ideology should not be presented to the children simply in a value-free, descriptive manner. In general it is desirable for youngsters to understand that other cultures have elaborated institutions, ways of thinking, and customs different from our own. And it is to be hoped that the objective study, say of oriental cultures, will engender in the student a tolerant appreciation of these possibilities of human development. Thus the study of other cultures should be objective and friendly. Communism, however, is not a culture but a world view, motivating an elite in their search for power. It exists as consciously opposed to Western culture from which it emerged. It imports no questionable and subjective hostility to study this world view precisely as it presents itself: a total rejection of Western life combined with the clear intention to implement that rejection through the use of power. The injection of an anti-element in the study of communism is not the result of a subjective decision to dislike ideas because we disagree with them. Nor is it consequent upon a jingoistic decision to teach our youngsters to dislike a set of ideas simply because they cause friction and disorder in the modern world. The anti-attitude proper to this study is implicit in the study itself. In the contemporary world, the very process of culturation necessarily involves a rejection of the Communist position as a sickness of Western culture.

When we consider the education of children from the point of view of formal intellectual development, rather than from that of culturation, a new point emerges. In this context, it is important that the child learn at least the elements of a dialog among opinions. In the

early stages of education, this aspect of study is minor. Such a dialog is proper to the advanced stages of study and is the life of research scholarship. Nevertheless, in a democracy where the process of discussion is essential, there must be some training in the debate among points of view. It would seem completely improper to present Communist ideology in the context of a legitimate debate among opinions. The position itself is inadmissible in our society. This rejection is not consequent upon blind reaction. It is bolstered by the best scholarship in the land. The position has been demonstrated to be logically inconsistent, empirically inaccurate, and philosophically absurd. From the point of view of intellectual respectability, communism has about the same status as astrology. The need for the future citizen to understand it derives from its existence as a threat to our own order of life, not from any possibility of truth in it.

It seems then that a course on communism is justified in terms of the very purposes of education itself. The justification, however, is contingent on the manner in which the course is taught. Great care must be used to avoid the two extremes of an emotion-laden hatred on the one hand and a detached, uninvolved curiosity on the other. The basic approach should be that of a disciplined awareness that one is examining a dangerous cultural sickness that has afflicted the West. Only on this condition will the study yield valuable positive advantages in addition to its basic defensive gains.

Our first conclusions were reached by looking at the proposal to study Communist ideology against the background of the general cultural purposes of education. If we shift our focus to the teaching process itself, additional problems can be discovered. The solution of these will offer further guidelines to the manner in which such a study can be pursued effectively.

Any teaching operation involves two objectives: the imparting of information and the development of interpretive understanding. There are, with regard to communism, certain fundamental ideas that can be identified precisely and accurately as communistic. There are are also characteristic Communist modes of organization and strategy that must be covered in any study of the movement. The issue of the interpretive understanding of these facts about communism is much more complicated. And this issue is easily mishandled. The consequence of such mishandling is that the student ends up with a good deal of information about communism but manages to misunderstand the fundamental significance of the Communist movement. This problem calls for some careful analysis.

The reasons for mishandling the issue of interpretative understanding are not difficult to find. They lie in certain imperatives of the teaching process itself. The study of communism needs some concrete justification; the student must be motivated. The natural and obvious beginning of such a study, therefore, is with the tensions of the bipolar world. We must understand the "other force" in the world. This, in turn, naturally leads to a look at the U.S.S.R. and a comparison between it and the United States. Thus, unwittingly, the study of communism falls into the form of a comparative government approach. And, almost of necessity, the phenomenon of communism is interpreted in terms and categories elaborated to explain the ideas and organization of Western civilization. But the truth is that the phenomenon of communism cannot be explained in such terms and

categories. For it presents itself precisely as the negation of the life for which they are relevant. The right understanding of communism begins with the awareness of that fact: that Communist ideas and organization exist in an order of awareness that, on the showing of the Communists, makes it incommensurate with the classical Western way of life. The two cannot be compared with one another; they can only be set in antithesis.

The pitfalls of a false comparison can be avoided by a properly set up order of study, one which, by its very unfolding, points toward a true understanding of the movement. The following pages attempt to establish what that order is. They first set out three basic areas of study, and then suggest the fundamental understanding that should be communicated in each area as well as by the overall study of the three successive areas.

The task of determining the basic ideas to be taught in a course on communism is not a particularly difficult one in itself. In its simplest contours, communism is a view of reality, coupled with a carefully thought out strategy to implement it. To put it another way, communism is an ideology organized as a regime. That is to say, it exists in history as a set of ideas held by a group of men who are organized as a power for purposes of action. Therefore, if we are to study communism adequately we must cover (1) the fundamental ideas that constitute the motivating ideology, and (2) the system of organization through which Communists seek to implement that ideology. The system of organization, in turn, can be subdivided into two parts, the organization of the party's power as a regime in the U.S.S.R., east-central Europe, and Red China, and the organization of the party as a subversive force in the rest of the world. Out of this we get three general areas of study: (1) The study of Communist ideology, (2) the study of the Communist regime, and (3) the study of the Communist Party outside the regime. Different levels of study and teaching will be distinguished only by the sophistication and completeness of the endeavor; whether the level is that of high school or that of graduate study in a center of Soviet studies, these are the areas in which instruction ought to be given.

I. COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

In the few high school treatments of communism available, little or no attention has been paid to the Communists' world view. Yet, Communist organization and strategy can be properly evaluated only in the light of the Communists' conception of what they are trying to do. Since Communists have written at great length on this, there is no question here of subjective, hostile interpretations of motive and goal, but simply a question of accurate reporting of a voluminous Communist literature. From that literature, it is quite evident that Communist ideology has two basic elements in it. First, an interpretation of the entire history of human life. And secondly, a specific interpretation of the nature of the capitalistic stage of that history. In this paper, I do not wish to catalog the fundamental ideas in this ideology. These are readily available in a number of publications. Much more relevant, from the point of view of teaching about communism, is the question of the quality and character of the ideology as a whole. If the teacher is to convey the truth

about that ideology, the truth that the Communists insist on, he must get the student to see the mentality that lies behind the particular ideas, the mentality that polarizes the ideas into a world view. For the heart of the truth about communism is not that it differs from the dominant tradition of the West in this or that particular, but that it differs from our way of thinking in its very mode of conception about reality.

Then, in any examination of Communist ideology, one must study its materialist philosophy, its inevitable laws of historical development through five stages of societal relations, its theory of exploitation through private ownership of productive property and all the rest. But this can result only in the usual dichotomies: they're for socialism, we're for private property; they're for atheism, we're for God; they're for violence, we're for persuasion. If it does, then Communist ideology is not rightly perceived. This way of thinking must be perceived as rooted in a view of reality that is not only different from ours, but totally incompatible, and absolutely hostile to our way of thinking. Communist ideology must be seen as rooted in a total rejection, as evil and distorted, of everything we value. It must be seen moreover, and this is difficult, as a rejection formally rooted, not in emotional animosity, but in a studied and highly documented and annotated conviction that the very developing structure of reality moves toward such a rejection of our values. The point is not to prove that communism is atheistic (a theistic idea) but to see that it has a God whom it serves—called History. The point is not to prove simply that the Communist rejects classical morality, but that he appeals to a new morality—a Communist morality—in the name of the God called History. One must understand, in this context, that, to the Communist, he does not break treaties, for he really never considered himself bound by them.[1]

Thus the ultimate product of a study of ideology should be the awareness that Communists do not disagree with us the way we disagree with one another. The Communist has a different version of reality. He does not live in the same world as we do. For example, within the Western tradition, Hume and Aquinas project completely different *theories* of morality. But both men agree that the *rules* of morality are pretty well summed up in the Ten Commandments. The Communists, however, consider the Ten Commandments to be irrelevant to Communist action. They do not consider themselves as violators of the Commandments, precisely because they never were subject to them. Fundamental Communist ideology, therefore, should be understood, not as a competing political theory, but as a competing religious doctrine, one that rejects not only Christianity, but Judaism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, any religion that worships a transcendent God. It is a world religion whose basic doctrine is hostility and conquest, that preaches redemption through force.

It might seem like a large order to lead high school students to this level of understanding. But really it is not. For here we are dealing with those total views of reality characteristic of religion. Therefore we are dealing with a set of ideas concerning good and bad, true and

[1] "The staff (of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee) studied nearly a thousand treaties and agreements * * * which the Soviets have entered into * * * (and) found that, in the 38 short years since the Soviet Union came into existence, its government had broken its word to virtually every country to which it ever gave a signed promise."—U.S. Senator James O. Eastland in a preface to the subcommittee's publication "Soviet Political Agreements and Results" (1959). Government Printing Office, 75 cents.

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false, which can be presented in the starkest simplicity without distortion.

It is characteristic of a religion that the same truths taught to the child can also occupy the life study of a scholar. The Communist faith shares this quality. Indeed, the most appropriate place for the study of ideology is in a class in religion. To study it as a "political" position in the Western tradition is to misunderstand it completely. In public schools, the ideology should be looked at in a course on American social ideals rather than in one on American government.

II. COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

The study of Communist organization, basically the study of the Communist Party, should be conducted against the background of Communist ideology. For the Communist does not recognize a distinction between thought and action or organization. The organization of the Communist elite is itself part of Communist ideology. The natural transitional point from the analysis of basic ideas to that of organization can be found in the Communist conception of the party. For this conception is absolutely in harmony with the rule of the party as the regime in U.S.S.R. and Red China, and it fully explains the otherwise inexplicable behavior of party members in non-Communist countries, for example in the United States.

The Communist Party is the organization of that elite who know the laws of history and who are in possession of the strategy that will hurry history along. The party and its members, therefore, consider themselves to be the vanguard, the cutting edge of history existing always at the point where the present opens up to the future. Within the matrix of struggle, exploitation, and revolution postulated by the ideology, the party looks upon itself as an army. Its mentality is one of disciplined struggle, implicit obedience, absolute dedication. If it can be compared with anything, it can be compared only to a medieval military order like the Knights Templar, dedicated to implacable war against the heathen or the Mohammedan. To compare it with the Democratic or Republican Parties would be to preclude any understanding of it. For it does not exist in that order of significance.

Once one understands the Communist Party as the Communist himself understands it, then the behavior of the party becomes quite explicable. And this is true for the party, considered as the regime of the U.S.S.R. or as a subversive force in the United States.

A. The party as the regime

In the study of the U.S.S.R. and Red China, as well as the satellite countries, one must keep clear the distinction between reality and appearances, between propaganda and truth. The reality and the truth here is that, where communism has won power, the party is the real government. To study the "forms of government" in the U.S.S.R. and China, as though they were the reality, as though these regimes were ordinary type governments, is to mislead and misinform. In the first instance, therefore, the Communist regimes should be studied as the implementation of an ideology by an elite who have captured a population. While it is true that the Government in the U.S.S.R. performs the usual functions of government, it is more true that the real rule in the U.S.S.R. is by the party, and the purpose of

this rule has nothing to do with the usual purposes of governments as we conceive of them.

It is not enough to show that the Russian and the Chinese people are not free under Communist rule. One must inquire into the reasons why they are not. And when this is done, one sees that freedom is an irrelevant concept for the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party, as ruler, does not claim to represent the people. Indeed, in the margin, it does not claim to represent an existing proletariat. It represents the future. Any idea of representing, even the worker, is the heresy of "tailism," of riding at the tail of history, instead of leading the way. The party as regime does not claim to preserve order; it claims to be revolutionary, to represent a future truth which it implements by imposing a new order on the society. The proletariats are identified, even in the Socialist state, not by their function but by their conformity to Communist rule.

In high school, one can teach only the simple truths, the basic realities. Therefore, one must leave until a higher stage of education the nice distinctions between a legal facade and the realities of a regime based on terror, absolute control, and pure power. And here again, this focusing on the reality, rather than the appearances, is justified and preserved from subjective hostile attitudes on our part by an appeal to the Communist writings themselves. None of this is hidden or secret. The Communists have been one of the most open groups in history as far as their real intentions are concerned. Hitherto we have simply refused to believe they meant what they said. But such refusal is impossible after 15 years of cold war.

B. The party as subversive force

The true party member has the same mentality whether he operates in the U.S.S.R. or the United States. Both focus on the fact of the organization of Communist power in one part of the world. Both think in terms of the extension of that power. Both justify the extension of that power in the name of history and the ultimate liquidation of the exploitive owning classes. When the time comes to study the Communists native to America, therefore, it is imperative not to interpret them in terms of the tradition of dissent in the American scene. Communists are not "dissenters" in the usual meaning of that term. They are an organized, disciplined elite working from a total rejection of what we consider the normal way of things. They work for concrete ends, defined by party authority. Their ultimate goal is not persuasion but destruction.

Once again, we should teach the students that the Communist Party is what it says it is. We should not be misled by obvious propaganda. On the other hand we should make it clear that the party is skilled in making dupes of those whose good intentions are not guided by commonsense. Further we should distinguish between criticism and dissent on the one hand and conspirational organization on the other. But we should not deliberately shade the analysis of the true nature of the party in order to avoid the possibility of abuse in anti-Communist activity. We must have confidence in the good sense of a well-informed populace. And our function is to see that they are well and rightly informed. When their time comes, they will make policy for themselves. It is not our function to indoctrinate them with the current winds of opinion.

These then are the teaching goals that seem to me to be basic objectives of any teaching about communism. I have already suggested that a right understanding of the phenomenon of communism depends largely upon a view of it against the background of what Communists themselves say about it. To this extent the order of presentation is an integral part of the subject matter to be taught. Now I would like to close with a few cautions about the method of teaching which will recapitulate my general point in a more concrete way.

Do not confuse teaching about communism with teaching about the Russian or Chinese people—who are the chief victims of the Communist elite. In the same vein do not confuse teaching about communism with teaching about international relations, American government, or any other subject that should be studied in its own right.

In the inevitable comparisons between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, do not compare things that are not in the same order of existence. This means:

The Communist Party cannot be compared, even adversely, with an American party.

The MVD cannot be compared with the FBI.

Racial discrimination in the United States cannot be compared with class discrimination in the U.S.S.R.

One could go on and on here. The point is that, for most of the institutions in the Communist regime, there is simply no parallel in the United States. It is part of the Communist propaganda to draw such parallels, a propaganda all too easily swallowed by people who want to lump everything they don't like under the same label, and who tend to say that because we do so and so, we are no better than Communists, or that for certain people who are discriminated against in the United States, life would be no worse in the U.S.S.R.

Be careful of general contrasts that are rooted in a false idea of democracy. A typical example is to say that the United States stands for freedom, the U.S.S.R. for obedience. The United States also stands for obedience. A people cannot be free unless it has learned true obedience. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. does not require obedience from its subjects. It demands only submission, the only thing that power can exact. Similarly, do not explain communism by starting with Plato and the early Christians. These things are absolutely different from the system imposed by the Leninist-Stalin regime. There is no comparison. Finally, in this line, do not say that the Communist regime is unrepresentative because it excludes all but workers from representation. It excludes workers too. The very idea of Western representative government is odious to the Communist.

Finally, in a course about communism, one must be especially careful to avoid introducing any policy questions currently debated in domestic America. The course about communism should be precisely that, not a course against socialism and for capitalism. There should be no innuendoes, for instance against the welfare state. These are matters for American citizens to debate among themselves with a view to policy. Many Americans feel quite strongly about socialism, welfare legislation, and the like. But these current debates should not be injected in this grave matter of understanding communism. The object is to get the children to understand as precisely as possible

what communism is. Such a course should not even be concerned with what particular things should be done about Communists, whether in the United States or in the U.S.S.R. The question of action is a question of public policy. We should leave the children free to make up their own minds in their mature years concerning the prudence of various courses of anti-Communist action. We can only insure that their future decisions will be based on a well-informed understanding of communism. For never before in history has it been so true that freedom depends on a well-informed citizenry.

THE DANGER OF SUPERFICIAL TEXTBOOKS

(By E. Merrill Root, author and lecturer)[1]

The greatest danger to America and to free enterprise and our constitutional republic does not lie in outward military attack but in inward cultural subversion.

In Korea, America had the men and the weapons to overcome the enemies of man. But did Americans have the vision, the wisdom, and the will to refute the lies or to refuse the blandishments of those enemies of the human cause? The Army itself, through one of its chief experts in psychological warfare, Maj. William E. Mayer, has testified that at least one-third of all the GI's captured, succumbed to the lies and blandishments, and were successfully brainwashed, and engaged in some sort of collaboration with the enemies of their country—and of freedom and sanity everywhere. What good does it do to give our young men rifles—or even the atom bomb—and bid them defend us, if they do not, in their minds and wills, know what they defend and why they defend it? The will to fight depends upon intellectual and spiritual power: upon faith, hope, and love; upon the clear mind, the fervent spirit, the resolute will. Our real war is not a battle of bullets but of brains, not of space but of spirit, not of missiles but of minds, not of weapons but of wills. As always, it is not the gun but the man behind the gun that is the real defense of America.

The chief defense of sanity and freedom is, and must be, a faith in America, a hope for America, a love of America—that is a clear-minded and resolute-willed patriotism.

But unfortunately, for the last two decades and more, the dominant "intellectuals" (who betray intellect)—who are not Communists, or even necessarily Socialists, have supposed that it is "liberal" to be skeptical, negative, nihilistic. They have too often written, in our textbooks,[2] as if it is "corny" at best and wicked at worst, to be "patriotic." In too many of the dominant texts the authors speak as if patriotism were an evil thing (to them) called "100 percent Americanism," or "nationalism," or even something to be always equated with "the Ku Klux Klan." Is it any wonder that too many of our young men do not know why they should fight in defense of a cause that they do not understand and for an ideal that they have been indoctrinated to believe is "corny" or evil?

Too often, too, our young men do not understand the economic and social epic that is America. The dominant pseudo-intellectuals indoctrinate them, through our textbooks, with a cynical distaste for free enterprise, a sentimental affection for collectivism. Thus one text, used in outstanding high schools over the country, has this snide notation in the index: "Business: See also Panic." And another

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[1] E. Merrill Root graduated from Amherst College. He was professor of English for many years at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. He is author of four prose books and nine volumes of poetry. At present he is living in New England.

[2] See, for details, my book, "Brainwashing in the High Schools," Devin-Adair, New York.

justifies World War I, not because America had to defend herself, but because overnight "our country was transformed suddenly from the scene of thousands of independent competing businesses into one vast workshop under Government direction." If that is good, why is it not good to seek, as the Soviets do, the perpetual destruction of "independent competing businesses" and a final fashioning of "one vast workshop under Government direction"? Why fight for a system that, to the wrongly cynical and the wrongly sentimental, seems evil? Why not welcome the system that turns free enterprise into state coercion for the supposed "welfare" of man? Why do these texts not unequivocally reveal that any and every collectivist system means the illfare of man?

Too many of our texts today accentuate the negative. They, as the late Hon. Paul W. Shafer said long ago in a speech before the U.S. House of Representatives, undermine us because—

> they attribute supreme virtue to the new, to the attitude of critical skepticism, to cynical distrust of human motives and impulses, and * * * at the same time, belittle the old, decry inherited loyalties, and minimize truth and values established by past experience.

This is especially true, too often, of the treatment of the creators and heroes of the American epic. There, too often, the attitude is the accentuation of the negative as revealed in an article written for a Canadian magazine by an American professor, in which he said that our American Revolution is a "myth," that it created "platitudinous words" such as "liberty," "freedom," and "independence," that our Founding Fathers welcomed it as an escape from personal frustrations, and that today "the pledge to the flag is recited by the simple minded as a proof of their loyalty." After such cynical negation, how can we expect our indoctrinated youth to say, with Nathan Hale, "I regret that I have only one life to give for my country"?

Thus our greatest danger today is not atomic fission, but academic fission; our greatest peril is not nuclear fallout, but scholastic fall down. Teachers and texts that accentuate the negative can be of far greater danger to America than the loosing of a hundred panzer divisions or the launching of a thousand missiles. Texts that accentuate the negative are more dangerous to us than a fleet of bombers over our cities. The Communists do not plan to loose a shooting war: they plan to infiltrate our culture, and to be in the saddle and ride our minds. And they succeed when, as happened in 1959, an innocent 16-year-old high school girl in California can write seriously—and receive an "A" for it from her teachers—that "We must prepare for a Russian occupation of the United States by a major change in the attitude of the American people."

And we must sadly but starkly realize that it is not the outright, actual, party-member Communists who most undermine us, but their dupes and tools who suffer from the old Greek hybris—the blind arrogant pride in arrogant blind brains. The Communists know what they do—and do it; the dupes and tools among the pseudo-intellectuals know not what they do—but they also do it. And both destroy us; but the pseudo-intellectual dupes and tools are more dangerous just because, since they are not Communists, we give them credit and credence.

What are some of the falsities, the negations, the wrong emphases, the perversions that we must watch for in our textbooks and that we, as freemen and clear minds, must criticize?

Does a history text reduce the American Revolution to a "social revolution" and a "class war"? Is that Revolution made a struggle between the "privileged" and the "underprivileged," the "haves" and the "have-nots" in the Colonies? If so, it reduces the nation indivisible into a class war—and it prepares the way for the Communist attack.

Does the text reduce the Constitution to a "class document" in which the "wealthy" and the "aristocratic" wrote their own license to exploitation? If so, it reduces the basis of our constitutional republic to a flaw, and it prepares the way for the Communist attack.

Does the text present the post-Civil War years—the expansion of industries, of railroads, of businesses—as largely exploitation by "the interests," by "robber barons," by "Napoleons of finance"? If so, it reduces the history of America to "a rich man's plot" against all the rest of us—and it prepares the way for the Communist attack.

Does it picture, by illustrations and by commentary, largely the "seamy side" of American life: slums, strikes, drunken drivers, "plutocrats," "bloated Senators," etc., etc.? If so, it presents America exactly as the Communists wish us to see it—and it prepares the way for the Communist attack.

Does the text charge the United States with "imperialism?" Does it present the Spanish-American War, and our course in Cuba and the Philippines, as a sordid and greedy "imperialism" leading to a greedy and sordid "colonialism"? If so, it accepts without criticism the charge Communists are always making, and so it prepared the way for the Communist attack.

Does the text tell the real nature of the Bolshevik Revolution? That they overthrew the constitutional republic and the people who had overthrown the Czar? The fraud and force of the Bolsheviks? Does it show the Nazis and the Soviets as the Siamese twins of politics—both nourished by the same bloodstream of fraud and force? Or does it uphold a double standard—whitewashing the Communists and blackwashing the Nazis? Does it tell the truth about the Nazi-Soviet pact that collaborated to loose World War II and to loot Poland? Does it tell the truth about China or does it still prate of the "corruption" of our faithful and noble ally, Chiang Kai-shek, and still speak of Mao Tse-tung and the Ant Men as "gentle agrarian reformers"? If so, it falsifies history, butters the Soviets with lies, and prepares the way for the Communist attack.

Does the text, in our own country, recognize the nature of infiltration and subversion? Or does it attack congressional committees that investigate communism? Does it dismiss our concern with subversion as hysteria and witch hunting and just the Red scare? Does it name and accuse Alger Hiss, Gregory Silvermaster, Harry Dexter White? If not, it deals in a mid-Victorian hush-hush about the facts of political life, and it prepares the way for the Communist attack.

These are some of the most crucial points in criticizing any text. And, judging by these crucial criticisms, far too many—far, far too many—of our dominant texts are lacking. If any text fails to be sound on any of these points, it is a bad text because it is a false text.

And it is a dangerous text because it is a false text. We need the truth, for the truth alone can make us free.

In my study of 11 outstanding history texts used in American high schools, I found that, in discussing the famous bonus march and the action of President Hoover and Gen. Douglas MacArthur in relation to it, not one text told the truth about it, and every one of the texts, uncritically and in unscholarly fashion, interpreted it ignorantly in terms that the Communists use. What sense does it make to give our young men rifles and bid them defend us, when we undermine at home their knowledge of things as they are?

Thus, as I said at first, our greatest danger is not outward military attack—but inward cultural subversion.

Our first line of defense against inward cultural subversion does not lie in the Pentagon: it lies in the Congress of the United States. That Congress, by authorization through our Constitution, has the power, the right, and the duty to investigate, to expose, and to criticize. It has the right and the responsibility to expose, in the pitiless light of pitiless publicity, all that undermines, subverts, and threatens our constitutional Republic. It does not censor, it does not forbid, it is simply the legitimate critic (in Matthew Arnold's great sense of the word) of all that is false, destructive, perverse. Plato said that true education is to turn the eye of the soul toward light. In that great sense of education, the congressional investigating committees are Platonic, for they educate as no other individual or group can do today. They are the great champions of the intellect against the anti-intellectuals of collectivism—to whom truth is only the most expedient lie. They are the great affirmers of reason against the enemies of reason—who reduce ideas to "ideology," and art to "propaganda." They are lights that shine as a defense of all free men and all sane minds.

In a time when too many, in the name of a "liberalism" that is not liberal in the great classic sense, would turn the eye of the soul toward darkness, the congressional investigating committees turn the eyes of the soul toward light.

COMBINING ANTI-COMMUNIST AND ECONOMIC EDUCATION

(By Emerson P. Schmidt, director, Economic Research Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

To be against communism and totalitarianism is not enough; every individual needs a faith, a belief, a mystique. "Man does not live by bread alone," is a fundamental truth.

But faith and belief, we now know, must rest on respect for the wisdom of the ages, on solid information and on favorable experience. While faith will move mountains, it has been said a well-trained craftsman takes dynamite along, in spite of the expense. Faith or belief and works must go together.

This has been the approach of the national chamber's anti-Communist research, publications, and educational programs, including economic education. For example, some 15 years ago, after publishing "Communist Infiltration in the United States," "Communists in the Labor Movement," "Communists Within the Government: The Facts and a Program," we followed up with another action program called: "A Program for Community Anti-Communist Action" (1948). But simultaneously we published a large number of reports explaining the structure, the nature, and the operations of a free market economy and we have continued to do so; a majority of these publications were designed to improve our public and private policies in order to make our economy function more effectively. Several economic discussion group programs for use at the local level were established in order to deepen understanding.

These publications did not argue, as some do erroneously, that free enterprise is the foundation of human freedom; rather, they stressed that free enterprise is the indispensable economic counterpart of the larger and more basic concept of human freedom. This is well shown in our report, "The Ethics of Capitalism" (first edition 1953). In our most recent eight-session educational program, "Freedom Versus Communism" (1961) more than half of the materials are devoted to an explanation of and emphasis on the potentials and the merits of a republican form of government and a free market economy (without, however, arguing that life under our Republic and free economy is perfect). One way to get wider readership and study is to organize such courses. Let us examine, therefore, the procedure of and materials for this most recent program. (While communism appears frequently in what follows, the U.S.S.R. has little communism in the Marxist-Lenin sense; rather its economic and political system is monopolist-totalitarian.)

"Freedom Versus Communism: The Economics of Survival" is a citizen's course, based on eight especially prepared pamphlets and other teaching materials. It is designed to help all individuals do their part, in their own way, in meeting the Communist challenge to our way of life. It was developed for use by a wide variety of groups—

students, employees, women, civic, fraternal, church, business, professional, labor, and the many other groups—found in American communities.

A key individual in the administration of the course is the discussion leader. One of his major responsibilities is developing a thorough understanding of what is involved in applying course methods and materials with a group.

For that reason the discussion leader's first step in preparing for the course is to read the "Discussion Leader's Manual" in its entirety and to familiarize himself with all materials used in the course. He need not be an expert on the subject and he should not play the part of a teacher or lecturer.

The workshops are primarily discussion sessions and the effectiveness of the course depends on making them discussion meetings. All course methods and materials were carefully developed (and pretested before issuance in printed form) so that the learning process would be maximized and the discussion leader could maintain the most effective posture.

For some years many Americans have been superficially aware of the Communist challenge to our way of life. Too few Americans, however, have understood the many aspects of the total Communist challenge—ideological, political, and economic. (But this course does not pretend to get into military and national defense issues.)

Most Americans do not understand the economic challenge and all its implications. If our way of life—with its emphasis on a pluralistic society, on individual initiative, freedom and human dignity—is to survive and become the wave of the future, then we must marshal our total resources in this global struggle.

Paramount among our resources is a strong economy—strong enough—

1. To provide the resources that will enable us to maintain a military deterrent sufficient to discourage any aggressor—any country or group of countries—from turning the cold war into a hot war.
2. To provide the resources that will enable us to play a leadership role in scientific and space exploration.
3. To provide the resources to win support for freedom from the so-called neutral or uncommitted nations.
4. To continue to provide an increasingly higher scale of living for Americans.

To accomplish all this requires a strong, stable, growing economy. A society, however, is the sum total of the institutions, the values, the work and the will of the people in it.

So all of us, it assumes, need first to understand how our own economic system works; then work smarter and more effectively to give us the sinews and strength which we need to undergird our efforts to meet the Communist challenge. We also need to know some of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist economic system, because one of the first rules of war is to "know your enemy." This the course provides.

It was developed with the assistance of private economists and experts on our free institutions and on communism and assistance of individuals in both the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. Government.

The course gives careful consideration, since it is designed for use by laymen as well as by experts, to program objectives, materials, methods, and administration.

1. *Objectives.*—The main problem here was to determine the objectives for the course that would be realistic and capable of being attained in a limited number of meetings (eight).

2. *Materials.*—The reading material, exercises and case problems were prepared with the guidance and counsel of leading economists and authorities on communism. The eight pamphlets were written specifically for this course.

3. *Methods.*—Plans for the group meetings were developed with the help of individuals experienced in the field of training, to benefit from both their knowledge of program organization and their experience with effective training methods.

4. *Administration.*—Predictable administrative problems were taken into account in developing objectives, materials, and methods. In addition, details of preparation and leadership are spelled out in appropriate places in the leader's manual to aid discussion leaders.

What was done in each of these areas is outlined more fully as follows:

I. The objective of the course, stated in the broadest terms, is to help individuals through local groups to learn more about our economic system and the Communist challenge and what they can do about the latter.

To accomplish this broad purpose, the course has been built around the following specific objectives:

A. To explore key aspects of the Communist challenge to the United States.

B. To help participants gain a better knowledge of how our private competitive economic system operates as contrasted with a centralized totalitarian or authoritarian economic system.

C. To develop understanding of the roles of consumers, employees, businessmen, and investors in our economic system and to compare their roles and functions as performed under communism.

D. To enable participants to get a better idea of the role which government (authority) plays in both economic systems.

E. To give participants some insight into the causes and possible cures of some of our major economic problems—unemployment, economic growth, inflation, and the business cycle. An economic system strong enough to meet the Communist challenge must work toward solving these problems.

F. To help individuals determine the part they can play in meeting the Communist challenge.

These objectives relate to the course as a whole, rather than to particular segments. Materials and methods are applied in such a way that knowledge and understanding related to each is expanded from session to session. The discussion leader's understanding of how this is accomplished will improve as he becomes familiar with the literature and with the separate "leader's guides" for each of the eight workshops.

On the other hand, it is equally important for the discussion leader to be conscious of what the course does not attempt to do. Certain limitations were advised both by discretion and by judgment of

what might be reasonably accomplished in a limited number of meetings. For example, the course does not attempt to examine in detail the contrasting ideologies of the United States and Communist countries. Being brief, it is not designed to develop experts in either American or Communist economic systems. It is assumed that in each group of 16 to 20 members, several will be stimulated to further self-improvement; each pamphlet carries extensive annotated bibliography for the discussion leader and for those who wish to deepen their insights.

II. To conduct the course, a discussion leader needs three constituents of the basic kit of course materials:

A. A discussion leader's manual.

B. A set of pamphlets for each participant.

C. A set of problems, exercises, and other course material for each participant.

The basic materials for the course are the following eight pamphlets which were developed specifically for the eight workshops:

1. The Communist challenge: General examination of the Communist challenge; what it is and what can be done to meet it.

2. Consumer control or controlled consumers: The role and influence of the consumer in a free competitive enterprise economy and in a centralized Communist economic system.

3. Profit motive or master plan: How the profit motive influences the use and distribution of resources as contrasted to production and distribution under a Communist master plan.

4. Who gets what: An examination of how the rewards of production are distributed under the two contrasting economic systems.

5. The role of government: The economic role of government in the United States and in a Communist state.

6. The big picture: The interrelationship between the elements of an economic system.

7. Meeting the economic challenge: An examination of some major economic problems influencing the Nation's ability to meet the Communist challenge.

8. What you can do about communism: Subversive forces at work in the United States and in other countries; how they operate, and what the individual can do to help fight communism.

III. In general the course is conducted according to the following method: Before each workshop, participants, as a minimum, read the appropriate pamphlet. For workshop No. 6, participants also study a flow chart on income and spending. Those whose interest is heightened will study additional materials listed in the bibliographies of each of the eight pamphlets.

All sessions are conducted as group discussions. In some sessions the participants discuss a series of prepared questions developed to cover key aspects of a subject or problem. In other sessions they discuss case problems designed to extend their knowledge of the operation of the American economic system. In a few sessions the two types of discussions are combined.

Session outlines are developed in such a way that the discussion leader is not required to be an expert. Emphasis is on the development of understanding, improved perception, etc., through the exchange of ideas and opinions within the group.

IV. The administration of the course is important. As far as individual eligibility for participation is concerned, it is equally suitable for those who have had some exposure to history, basic economics, etc., and for those who have had little.

In the makeup of groups, however, there is a place for exercising judgment, because the composition of groups can have some effect on the success of the meetings. Problems might grow out of mixing participants of different backgrounds in meetings that depend on group discussion for their success.

For example, articulate participants with considerable training in economics could have an adverse effect on the willingness of others with no experience to express themselves. Individuals with college or university backgrounds, articulate, persuasive, and knowledgeable in their participation, could cause group members with lesser backgrounds to feel that they couldn't compete or don't belong.

In regard to industrial management personnel, the mixing of different levels of management from different plants or even different departments within a plant usually has no adverse effect on participation. However, the mixing of individuals who actually report to one another in the line organization may have an adverse effect. Subordinates sometimes tend to defer to their bosses, giving them the last word and even waiting for them to provide the answers.

Women usually participate well with men when they are about equal in number or in the majority. However, they often accept a silent role when substantially outnumbered.

But these are possible problems based on pretests and on observations of experienced meeting leaders, not automatic results. Many individuals, who could affect participation unfavorably because of their advantages in experience, education, or numbers, have perception enough to avoid dominating meetings and are able to blend well with the efforts of the group. Local administrators of the course, knowing the individuals involved, are in the best position to judge whether the makeup of a group will interfere with individual participation and learning.

The discussion leader, if not himself responsible for scheduling participants, might well introduce some of these considerations to those responsible. There will be times when there are advantages to conducting several separate courses to avoid problems anticipated in conducting one larger course involving questionable mixing.

On the other hand, the discussion leader should not misinterpret these observations about the effects of group makeup on participation. Varieties in background and experience in themselves are not unfavorable to good discussion; they are, in fact, advantageous. Discussion takes place when based on different points of view and experience. Different backgrounds become a concern only when they might possibly interfere with individual participation rather than stimulate it.

What has been said above should reveal the nature of the approach and the care which has gone into the planning of this citizens' course. More information is provided in the discussion leader's manual and the separate instructions for the eight sessions.

THE ECONOMIC DISCUSSION GROUP PROGRAM

Although numerous economic education materials have been available from the national chamber for nearly half a century, about a decade ago it released a 17-pamphlet series for adult economic education and economic understanding discussion groups. To spark interest and to facilitate the educational process, pairs of special tape recordings were prepared for each pamphlet, along with a set of multiple-choice questions for each tape and pamphlet.

Too many adults fail to understand the philosophic and institutional foundations of our civilization. This course is designed to help fill this gap.

The range of subjects covered is indicated by the titles:

I. The Mystery of Money.
II. Control of the Money Supply.
III. Money, Income and Jobs.
IV. The National Income and Its Distribution.
V. Progress and Prosperity.
VI. Sustaining Prosperity.
VII. Demand, Supply and Prices.
VIII. Prices, Profits, and Wages.
IX. Why the Businessman?
X. How Competitive Is the American Economy?
XI. Understanding the Economic System and Its Functions.
XII. Spending and Taxing.
XIII. Taxing, Spending and Debt Management.
XIV. Labor and the American Economy.
XV. Individual and Group Security.
XVI. International Trade, Investment and Commercial Policy
XVII. The Ethics of Capitalism.

A discussion leader's workbook was prepared to guide those who wish to explore the possible use of the 17 pamphlets, tapes, etc., as well as to guide the discussion group leader, once a discussion group is formed. A group usually meets once a week for a breakfast session, frequently beginning at 7 or 7:30 a.m. so as to minimize extra trips and interference with regular jobs.

Participants are presumed to read the relevant pamphlet in advance of the session. After short opening remarks, the discussion leader plays the first half of the relevant tape recording. This tape recording is a spirited conversation between two persons, only one of whom has read the pamphlet but who does not pretend to understand all the issues discussed.

Then each participant is given a printed sheet called "Quest-O-Nomics." The discussion leader may read aloud the 8 or 10 questions so that the participants will get a quick overview of what is to be covered. A period of silence follows, 3 to 4 minutes, allowing each participant to check the one best answer to each question. While the questions turn heavily on what the participant has just heard on the tape, they are also based on the content of the pamphlet in question.

Once the participants complete checking their answers, the discussion leader conducts a discussion based on the questions and answers, taking maximum care to avoid becoming a lecturer.

When the allotted time has elapsed (preferably 1 to 1½ hours for each discussion period) or the questions are all reviewed, the dis-

cussion leader plays the second half of the pertinent tape, in which an expert answers the same set of questions, drawing on his additional background, and encouraging further study.

This may be followed with a few minutes of "talk-back," challenging the expert. It is always made clear that the participants should feel free to disagree with the expert and indeed with the pamphlet itself. This is important to the purpose of this course—to aid in developing well-informed, thoughtful, articulate spokesmen for the philosophy of human freedom, free enterprise and energetic and effective but limited government. "Brainwashing" the participants is discouraged by this approach.

With that the session is closed along with necessary announcements.

The foregoing procedure is based on the well-established educational principle that reading and studying for most individuals is not enough. Individuals, in order to become influential opinion leaders or opinion makers, must have experience in expressing themselves and in developing convictions. Learning to do so, in small friendly groups of kindred spirits, encourages them to be active in community affairs: Intelligent voting, speechmaking, writing letters to the editor, and challenging questionable ideas wherever they may appear. If the group leader merely lectured the group, they would be denied this developmental experience.

As a result of the satisfying experience and enjoyment of such economic group discussion participation, the national chamber quickly received many requests for, "What's next," "What other courses do you have?", etc. Consequently we prepared advanced economic discussion group programs which outline four additional possible courses as follows:

Course A: Economic Stability and Inflation.

Course B: Understanding Our Economic System.

Course C: Employment, Economic Growth and Foreign Competition.

Course D: The Nature of Man, Institutions and Society.

Each of the first three lists a series of some 8 to 10 pamphlet study materials and a set of 10 to 12 questions for each pamphlet. There are no questions for the last of the four dealing with the general subject: "The Nature of Man, Institutions, and Society," which is intended only for the most mature and advanced individuals.

COURSE IN PRACTICAL POLITICS

In addition to the foregoing formal courses, the national chamber also developed a nine-session (2 hours per session) "Course in Practical Politics Action." The material for the course includes eight pamphlets, other teaching aids and a discussion leader's manual. This course is designed to encourage the participants to engage in practical politics; it provides extensive know-how. The participants gain experience in the practical art of politics while taking the course. This course is completely devoid of partisan politics; it advances no ideology but does help the citizen to see the importance of participating in the affairs of government.

As mentioned above, the foregoing formal courses are only a part of the national chamber's educational efforts. Every department issues educational materials. World Challenge, for example, is a

bimonthly report and analysis of the Communist offensive as it affects our economy. A list of timely publications and information on any or all of the formal courses and other materials are available upon request at headquarters (1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.) or at regional offices in New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Minneapolis, Dallas, and Menlo Park, Calif.

As the title of this report indicates, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States assumes that to be anti-Communist is not enough; we need also to understand our own economic system, our institutions and our values. Education is never complete. Even among learned and studious former Communists one too often can find shocking ignorance or lack of understanding as to what makes for economic progress under individual freedom. Thus, Milovan Djilas, former vice president of Yugoslavia under Tito and subsequently imprisoned, after producing an extraordinary revelation of the dictatorial methods of Communist leaders in "The New Class" (F. A. Praeger, New York, 1957), concludes that they were merely bad men, misled men, etc. He fails to see the importance of the dispersal and the diffusion of power. He does not see that a civilized society needs a rule of law, which even government may not ignore. He fails to see the great human benefits which flow from a decentralized private enterprise system, from private property, from the freedom and the sanctity of contract, etc., and from the separation of economic and political activities, as a freedom safeguard, into different hands.

Erich Fromm in his new book, "May Man Prevail" (Doubleday, 1961, paperback, 95 cents), in which he tries to develop a viable approach to the East-West conflict, concludes that we must welcome even so-called democratic socialism in Africa, South America, and Asia. Although learned and sophisticated and in many ways a close student of human nature, Fromm has not grasped the fact that in a centralized society there is a strong, perhaps overriding, tendency for "the worst to come to the top," and for human freedom to be ever in jeopardy. If this is a sound diagnosis, Fromm is unwittingly playing into the hands of the Communists, totalitarians, and authoritarians. Similarly, Fred W. Neal in "United States Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union" (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif., 1961) provides a shorter but somewhat similar attempt to fashion an East-West reconciliation; but he is the unwitting victim of a type of "brainwashing," even though the study is directed to those who have misunderstood, as he sees it, the inner nature of the East-West conflict. Both he and Fromm have glibly accepted the "organization man," "hidden persuaders," "the passing of a free market economy" and similar exaggerated and dubious characterizations of our society. They seem to conclude that the Marxists are right when they argue that capitalism is moving toward its last days. They assume that the "vested interests" in armsmaking contribute to East-West tensions.

Perhaps we all have blind spots; certainly one's insight is never complete. But these three authors are mentioned here only because their writings reveal the need for the educational approach outlined above: a combined anti-Communist and economic education program.

For the first time, a respected group of professional economists, in the autumn of 1961, strongly recommended the teaching of economics in high schools.

Fortunately, this national task force, appointed by the American Economic Association, urged that economics be taught as economic analysis, rather than as mere factual description of our economic system or only its problems and shortcomings.

Some 90 books, parts of books, pamphlets, and other materials were found suitable for high school and general adult use by a cooperating group (a materials evaluation committee); this selection resulted from the examination of 7,000 different items. A catalog of these 90 items, along with a copy of most of these items, was sent to over 25,000 high schools in all 50 States by the Joint Council on Economic Education, New York, late in 1961.

The report of the task force of economists urges better materials as well as improved training of economics instructors; without the latter, it concluded, improved instruction (and better selection of teaching materials) are not likely.

Both reports (but not the 90 items) are available from the Committee for Economic Development (711 Fifth Avenue, New York, $1 and $0.50, respectively), which cooperated in this effort.

The materials evaluation committee recommended the following publications of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States:

1. The National Income and its Distribution ($0.50).
2. Prices, Profits and Wages ($0.50).
3. Individual and Group Security ($0.50).
4. The Promise of Economic Growth: Prospects, Costs, Conditions ($1).
5. The Goals of Economic Policy ($0.50).
6. Debt: Public and Private ($1).

The first three pamphlets are a part of the 17-pamphlet series mentioned above and widely used since 1953 in high schools and for adult economic education discussion groups; this series of 17 earned the George Washington Honor Medal Award from Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, Pa., in 1954 and has been revised and updated annually. The last three are reports of the chamber's committee on economic policy. This matter is mentioned here because a completely independent, outside group made these selections.

There will be resistance to adding to crowded high school curriculums. Interested citizens, members of school boards, PTA groups, librarians, etc., will be asked for advice on changing high school curriculums to include economics and what materials may be most useful. The interested individual will want to examine the two reports and the materials, or the catalog of the 90 items, before responding to requests for advice or discussing this with teachers and others.

The national chamber publications can be ordered from: Economic Research Department, 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C., although all the materials for classroom use are available at special prices in quantity lots from the Joint Council on Economic Education, Box 807, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Some economics has been taught, of course, in high schools, for decades. Everyone of us "talks" economics in ordinary conversation; it comes up in history classes, in social studies, in civic and community problems, and in private conversation. But much of this has been chitchat and idle economic gossip, excessively problem-oriented. All of us, of course, should be concerned with problems; life under our economic system is not perfect; it could stand improvement. But

one would not expect a student or citizen to solve a difficult engineering problem without some thorough training in the mathematics and physics which underlie that engineering problem. Economics is a science; there are well-known economic laws and principles to which all trained economic analysts adhere, though in some public policy matters they may disagree.

The one assumption lying behind all economics is that human wants are insatiable and unlimited, but the means to meet these wants (human and other resources) are always relatively scarce—that is, they have a cost. Thus the economist is concerned with a pricing system which expresses human priorities and encourages maximum benefits in return for the cost outlays.

The science of economics, based on the foregoing assumption, is otherwise objective, just as physics and chemistry are objective.

Before the student or citizen studies or draws conclusions about national problems, community problems, civic problems, or U.S.S.R. versus U.S.A., he needs a grounding in economics as a technique of analysis. Such an approach encourages him to seek all the facts and their complicated interrelations; it encourages him to suspend judgment, to weigh the pros and cons. It alleviates fuzzy thinking and deters snap judgments.

But economics will do this only if it is taught and studied as a tool of analysis.

Again, it is not enough to be anti-Communist; needed also is a basic foundation in the values of free institutions, a dedication to the dignity of the human individual, and a realization of the diversity of human needs, tastes, and desires, to which only a free economic system can cater effectively.

COLD WAR IN THE CLASSROOM

(By Robert Strausz-Hupé and William R. Kintner) [1]

It is with an armed doctrine that we are at war.—EDMUND BURKE

It has become a commonplace to say that the current global struggle is a struggle for the mind of man. But commonplace or no, this is profoundly true. All through human history, ideas have proved to be important elements of power. Power, after all, is nothing else but the capability of influencing the actions of men, and ideas are among the most compelling forces which motivate men. Ideas serve as vessels through which men express their aspirations; they serve as blueprints of the kind of life toward which men wish to move. And they can serve as weapons, either offensive or defensive. Only at their peril can freemen ignore the powerful role which idea-systems play on the current international scene.

We must understand first what is meant by "ideology." We define ideology as a set of ideas, beliefs, prejudices, intellectual and emotional reactions which determine a people's outlook on life. An ideology may have as its center point the nation-state (nationalism); or a set of political institutions (liberal democracy); or an economic class (Marxism—either socialism or communism); or some other phenomenon. One and the same ideology might be expressed by intellectuals in a very elaborate philosophical language, and be reduced to simple slogans for popular consumption. Some ideologies become absolute; they take on the character of religious dogma, as in the case of modern fascism and communism. Other social ideologies, such as conservatism or liberalism, remain relatively moderate. Indeed, one could say that the liberal democratic ideology is almost undefinable since it is open to varied interpretations. Thus, ideologies differ widely in their nature. But it is a truism that they are playing a fundamental role in the world conflict of systems that characterizes the last half of the 20th century. The proponents of one ideology—communism—are, in their own words, seeking to establish the world-wide hegemony of their ideology and all its works. It behooves us to examine the nature of communism's efforts to expand ideologically.

Of all the avenues by which communism has spread among the nations of the world, one of the most subtle and steadily successful over the long haul has been its appeal among students. Within the Soviet Union and China, and among the satellites, rigorous saturation training of the young in Communist doctrine is mandatory. But where communism does not yet prevail—in the undeveloped countries, and among the Western Allies, including the United States—infiltration of Communist views into schools and universities has proved dismayingly easy and hard to combat.

Student response to communism varies with the degree of sophistication of the students. To the ripening student mind, eager for action, impatient with tradition, and immersed in intellectual generalizations, ideational panaceas for the world's problems hold great appeal.

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If the battlefield were only the plane of the intellect, the current situation would not be alarming. Unlike his Communist counterpart, the educator in a democracy rejects indoctrination in a single viewpoint as inimical to the interests of both the individual and society. But it is this very difference which strengthens communism in the fight, and has been the historical weakness of democratic education, including that of the United States. For the Communist is fighting for the control of immature minds in order to control their lives for his own ends, and chief among these ends is the destruction of individual freedom of thought and action. Moreover, communism is not just an abstract ideology antagonistic to our traditional way of life; it is a controlled instrument of the Soviet Union in its drive toward total domination of the world's peoples.

The truth of this, and of its application among student groups, is well documented. Student riots in Japan, in Latin America, and elsewhere, have been shown to have been prepared, organized, and intensified by cadres of the international Communist movement, which receives aid and directives from Moscow. In the United States itself, as reported by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, the rioting which occurred during hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco in May 1960 was inspired by the Communist Party among students in that area. Thus are the aspirations of the young toward free thought, openmindedness, and a brave new world cynically exploited by the Communists to undermine the very ends for which these young people strive.

Against such tactics, centrally planned and thoroughly executed, the forces of freedom all too frequently appear at a disadvantage. Subduing of rioters, breaking up of meetings becomes grist for the Communist propaganda mill the world over; actions taken merely to preserve order or restore freedom of action can easily be made to look, in print and picture, like the ruthless methods of a police state. Even worse, from the long-range view, these are defensive actions taken after the event; they cannot serve effectively to combat communism in the minds and among the organizations of young students. Something more is needed and—in the face of the enemy's goal and strength—needed imperatively.

"It is with an armed doctrine that we are at war." This is true as perhaps never before in human history; certainly it has more vital import now than when Burke wrote it in 1790. He was viewing the anarchistic whirlwind of the French Revolution. We face the brutal inhumanity of a totalitarian regime which uses unrest and revolution throughout the world to weaken and coerce, while flaunting the banners of liberation and democracy. We can meet and defeat such an enemy only by developing and employing weapons equal in effectiveness and appeal to his own—the principles and ideas of the ideology of freedom. The battle for the minds of youth everywhere, and first of all within our own Nation, must be fought with the weapons of the mind. Nor need we fear to use them. The traditional principles of the West, individual liberty and human dignity, are superior in the strength of truth to the false concepts of the Communist ideology. These weapons of our intellectual arsenal were forged and tested over centuries of struggle. The plain fact is that we have allowed them to rust unused in the magazine of historical documents; it is time, and past time, to draw them forth, resharpen them against the hard stone of present circumstance, and use them in the battlefield of the classroom.

Our failure to do so thus far results from a complex of causes. One is our democratic tradition of open competition within the marketplace of ideas. Another is our long-held assumption that practice of our traditional principles will speak adequately for them; this is underscored by our honest bewilderment when it does not do so. But underlying both of these is a characteristic of American life which, too frequently, we fail to assess, a trait noted by Alexis de Tocqueville as far back as 1835, in his "Democracy in America":

> In America the purely practical part of theory is admirably understood, and careful attention is paid to the theoretical portion which is immediately requisite to application. * * * But hardly anyone in the United States devotes himself to the essentially theoretical and abstract part of human knowledge. In this respect the Americans carry to excess a tendency that is, I think, discernible, though to a less degree, among all democratic nations. * * *
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> In a community thus organized, it may easily be conceived that the human mind may be led insensibly to the neglect of theory. * * * In the present age the human mind must be coerced into theoretical studies; it runs of its own accord to practical application. * * * It is well to divert it from them sometimes, in order to raise it up to the contemplation of primary causes. By dint of close adherence to mere applications, principles were wholly forgotten, the methods derived from them would be ill pursued.

Such a disassociation of theory and practice is a deliberate and deceitful actuality in the Soviet Union today. We cannot let it develop by default in the United States. The people of the United States, its leaders and its educators, have not lost sight of their basic principles. But by failure to reexamine them steadily and, especially, to reenunciate them clearly, we have neglected to implant them firmly in the minds of our youth. Yet it is the nature of youth to seek principles and to embrace them with enthusiasm; the Communists, recognizing this, have, at every opportunity, seized the initiative to fill the vacuum created by our neglect. That the Communist ideology is false, self-contradictory, and denied in practice cannot, under these conditions, be readily grasped by the young mind. It is offered as a whole theory, increasingly decked in the terminology of freedom and democracy and promising a revivification of those ideals which are pictured as submerged in the older democracies under the weight of custom, expediency, and self-interest. Is it strange that some youth should follow the song of the pied piper?

Before the educator, then, lies a twofold task: to expose the historical fallacies of the Communist ideology, together with its perversion to the ends of ruthless power politics; and to strengthen the ideology of freedom by reasserting its historical principles, together with their application for good in the world today. These must be done together by means of comparative analysis. If communism is exposed to the student without a positive vision to set against it, the effect will appear weakly defensive, merely an "anti" gesture for self-preservation. If, on the other hand, the two ideologies are set forth side by side, point by point, the student will be enabled to grasp and retain those fundamental principles of freedom and dignity to which he would otherwise be prepared only to pay lipservice—lipservice which can be rendered as glibly by the Communist as by the exponent of true freedom.

The American educator cannot win the minds of his students by presenting the democratic ideal only as a vague abstraction or a glib doctrine. The routine reciting of the Pledge of Allegiance must be given meaning by specific and current examples of "liberty and justice for all." The portrait of Washington will only hang on the wall if the

faith and example of the man and his contemporaries are not made to live in the present. Jefferson's declaration of inalienable rights—"life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—can be best vivified for students of today by a comparative analysis of Western and Communist ultimations of these abstractions. To do less than this is to leave the young mind open to one-sided attack which exposes "capitalistic" deficiencies far out of proportion while hiding its own flagrant violations of life and liberty.

An approach which thus interprets the swift and confusing flux of current events in the light of broad principles can do much to counteract the Communist technique of "changing masks" to suit the moment's opportunity. It will provide a steady platform from which the student can view and evaluate the worldwide conflict, and more surely arrive at sound conclusions when left on his own.

If the comparative analytic approach is to be effective, it must be applied throughout pertinent aspects of the curriculum. In the ideological war the front is everywhere; it penetrates into every aspect of human life and relationships—social and cultural, as well as political and economic. The teachers of literature and the humanities, of science and sociology will be engaged, as well as those instructing specifically in history, government, and economics. The Communists well know the need for control of the whole mind; a full and balanced presentation is equally imperative on the side of its free development.

Here as elsewhere, the enemy seeks to conquer by dividing the forces against him. He arranges cultural youth "congresses" to emphasize the international brotherhood of his cause, and berates the Western Powers for interfering with his efforts. He fosters meetings among African and Asian students with strong nationalist ties, denounces the Western colonialism which oppresses them, but remains silent to the fact that their schooling is provided under the laws of, and often with the money from, the "repressive" West.

In January 1960, the Center for International Studies at Harvard University submitted a report on "Ideology and Foreign Affairs" to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. According to this report, there is a widespread feeling in Asia, the Arab world, and Latin America that—

> in the final analysis the present conflict in the world is not between freedom on the one hand and Communist oppression of the other, but between two rather sharply different systems of socioeconomic organization. In such a conception of the present conflict, America tends to be placed on the right, as the defender of the status quo, and the U.S.S.R. on the extreme left, as a revolutionary power striving to undermine that status quo.

This state of mind is primarily the result of prolonged Marxist indoctrination. In the United States, Communists use free rostrums to release clouds of verbal "peace doves," and protest as warmongering the need for a fallout shelter program against the bombs with which Moscow continues to threaten us.

Against such an onslaught, the full truth is the only reply; it is also an effective one. For the Communist ideology is a narrow archaic one, based on an economic theory promulgated by one man over a century ago, and borne out by neither history nor reason. Here is one of its basic weaknesses for the teacher of economics to reveal, drawing the comparision with the steady progress of economic liberalism. Marx proclaimed that under "bourgeois" free enterprise

the poor would inevitably get poorer as the slaves of property. That the opposite has happened in the United States and elsewhere is demonstrable by reference to statistics readily available, such as average income and purchasing power, the amazing increase in numbers and classes of people entering into capital investment, and the profit-sharing plans developed jointly by management and labor. The Soviet economic system, with its state ownership, scarcity of consumer goods, and low level of purchasing power, is by contrast not the "peoples paradise" as advertised.

Again, in the field of politics and government, a comparative analysis is fruitful for the cause of the free world. Marx's vision of a classless state was qualified from the outset by reiterated need for an interim "dictatorship of the proletariat." The totalitarian methods instituted by Lenin and followed by his successors have, when admitted, been justified as necessary to the abolition of outmoded institutions. Hence the perfection of the classless society demanded a single party domination of government, murder of political enemies, wholesale slaughter of dissident groups (euphemistically called "liquidation," to borrow a term from the capitalist system), and rigid suppression of rights of speech and action long since taken for granted in the Western nations. Meanwhile the "withering away" of the state envisioned by Marx has been replaced by an all-encompassing governmental power in the hands of the party—a dictatorship indeed, but not of the proletariat.

All this, too, can be easily documented by the teacher, and set deliberately against the facts of political life at home—the almost exact numerical balance between two parties in 1960, a President seeking advice from his "opposing" predecessor, the gradually inevitable expansion by constitutional process of free opportunity among minority groups, the guarantees of the Bill of Rights which preserve freedom at the expense of little license. The student who fails to see this comparative balance sheet between the two ideologies must be willfully blind to political truth—or else it has not been clearly explained to him. Here again, the force of current events can serve to strengthen the historical perspective, as in the contradiction between the grandiose title of the Soviet Union's westernmost satellite—"The German People's Republic"—and the patrolled Berlin wall over which these people clamber for their lives, and for freedom.

Underlying the relation of the individual to his government is the concept of man's essential nature and function in society. To the student preparing to take his place in life, this is a central question. American education in the fields of psychology and sociology, in literature and the arts, will serve him and the society into which he emerges, if it shows him clearly the value placed on the individual by the tradition he is preparing to inherit. The rights of man are inseparable from belief in his integrity and dignity. Western societies, whether founded directly on the religious faith that man is the image of God, or on the humanistic philosophy which developed from that faith, regard the individual as morally free, capable of determining his own status and destiny. His life and freedom are hence sacred, "inalienable," a heritage that is his apart from all other conditions of heredity or environment. The institutions of which he is a member, from family to nation, are dedicated to the preservation of his heritage as man, in the balanced sharing of mutual rights and obligations.

Without this faith in the individual, democracy does indeed become a hollow slogan, and freedom a mockery. The words may still be

employed, as they are by spokesmen for both ideologies; but to mistake the name for the reality is to be uneducated in truth. Here beyond all other considerations, analysis must show clearly to the youth of this country the difference between the Communist and the free ideology—the difference between the individual as free will contributor to his commonwealth, and as pawn of the state for which he exists. From this fundamental divergence spring all the other distinctions of theory, institutions, and modes of conduct.

Comparative examples of each system's view and treatment of the individual are potent instruments to help the student pierce through the word to the reality. One such example is provided in the field of literature by the annual Nobel Prize Award to an outstanding man of letters. In 1959 the literature committee in Stockholm named the Russian writer, Boris Pasternak, for his novel "Dr. Zhivago." This powerful work, included now on many college reading lists, speaks of and to the heart of man beyond the framework of ideologies. The student cannot fail to be struck by the fact that it has never been published in the author's native land, which refused to let him accept the Nobel Prize and did him the ultimate dishonor of ignoring his recent death. Why did the Soviet Communist Party thus censor a Russian internationally acclaimed? Because his novel carried a message of individual dignity and moral freedom, and these were hostile to the purposes of Soviet communism.

In 1950 an American novelist, William Faulkner, stood up in Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature that year. His acceptance speech of a few paragraphs has been anthologized in many school and college texts. It is a noble document of our time, declaring with passionate conviction Faulkner's faith in man, and ending with these lines:

> He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance. The poet's, the writer's duty is to write about these things. It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past. The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man, it can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail.

In itself this is a powerful testimony of the Western liberal tradition, the ideology of freedom. Set clearly against the Communists' repression of a companion voice in their midst, it can have lasting effect in the mind of the American student.

Faulkner's work and his ability to speak thus about it are examples of the opportunities and the standards provided in an open society. Here is no party voice, speaking the dictated will of an autocratic minority, but an individual freely addressing his fellow men everywhere. In it is found the strength of the liberal tradition. That tradition will prevail among the rising generation of Americans, if by a thorough and planned analysis its values are declared in our schools and colleges, in full comparison with the false and destructive ideology against which we are now engaged in vital combat.

If we are engaged in a battle for the minds of men, we must understand better the conquering force of motivating ideas. Armed with understanding, we must wage and win this battle in its most crucial sector—the education of our youth.

AVAILABLE RESOURCES MATERIAL

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