

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE
1948 REGULAR SESSION

THIRD REPORT
SENATE INVESTIGATING
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
TEXTBOOKS

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Senator Nelson S. Dilworth, *Chairman*

Senator Chris N. Jespersen

Senator Hugh P. Donnelly

Senator Fred Weybret

Senator J. Howard Williams

R. E. Combs, *Committee Counsel*

Col. Louis S. N. Phillipp, *Research and Investigation*

Audrey Shade, *Committee Secretary*

*(Created Pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 71
Continued by Senate Resolution 114)*



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SENATE
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GOODWIN J. KNIGHT
President of the Senate

HAROLD J. POWERS
President Pro Tempore

JOSEPH A. BEEK
Secretary

Letter of Transmittal

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, March 27, 1948

HONORABLE GOODWIN J. KNIGHT, *President of the Senate*
Senate Chamber, State Capitol
Sacramento, California

MR. PRESIDENT: Your Senate Investigating Committee on Education was created by Senate Resolution No. 71 and continued by Senate Resolution No. 114, of the 1947 Regular Session of the Legislature, and the following members were appointed to serve thereon:

Nelson S. Dilworth, Chairman	37th District
Hugh P. Donnelly	22d District
Chris N. Jespersen	29th District
Fred Weybret	25th District
J. Howard Williams	32d District

There is submitted herewith a further report of the investigations of the committee.

The cooperation of the many citizens who assisted the committee in its work is gratefully acknowledged. To the press of California who have extended interested cooperation, the committee wishes to express our commendation and appreciation. The freedom and intelligent insight of the American newspaper men is the keystone of the noble arch of American Liberty.

Respectfully submitted,

NELSON S. DILWORTH, Chairman

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Committee Statement

A record of the important official actions of the Executives of the Department of Education of California in relation to the adoption of the "text book" entitled *Building America*, is appended to this report. Widespread public protest was voiced both before and after the adoption, which occurred at the January 1947 meeting of the State Board of Education.

The controversy was injected into the Legislature in January, 1947, with the introduction and effort to pass Assembly Bill No. 973 to appropriate funds to buy free text books for the elementary schools, in which was included the cost of *Building America*, One Hundred Seventy-three Thousand Six Hundred Thirty-two Dollars. Advocates of the measure considered the matter was of such urgency that a letter was secured from the Executive recommending the consideration of the appropriation in advance of the budget bill and in the Senate the Constitution of the State was suspended to allow second and third reading on the same day.

When the bill was under consideration on third reading for final passage, amendments were submitted from the floor by Senator Tenney of Los Angeles, reading as follows:

"provided, however, that no part of this appropriation may be expended for the purchase of any textbook or supplement thereto which is in any way a part of the "Building America Series" or a duplication thereof whether known by that name or any other name".

After debate the amendment was adopted on a recorded roll call vote of 28 to 8. (1947 Senate Journal Page 836-7). On four subsequent roll calls the Senate affirmed this or similar language in all the text book appropriations of the 1947 Session.

By many this action of the Senate in which the Assembly concurred was considered conclusive.

In March and April during the 1947 session several public hearings were conducted by the Senate Education Committee and also by the Senate Rules Committee in which ample opportunity was given Members of the State Board of Education to express their views.

During these hearings copies were supplied to the committee members of "A Statement by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Roy E. Simpson to the State Board of Education and Curriculum Commission, entitled "The Study of History, Geography and Related Subjects in the California Schools," August 24, 1946"

On Pages one and two of this Statement the Committee members noted the following language.

“These text books will aid our students to understand this world better in its complexity of size and peoples. The courses of study charted to accompany these texts will mark the channel leading toward the achievement of understanding. The teacher will be aided—as director, counselor and friend—to successfully introduce our youth to this complex world in which we live. Without this understanding, only chaos lies ahead. Only too cognizant of this, hundreds of persons—lay and professional alike—have worked for years to bring this program of instruction to a form suitable for use in all the schools of our State. Their task has been a monumental one. To all of them we owe our thanks. They have worked faithfully and well. Approval of their carefully reviewed program means that now it may be put to the practical test in the schools. This is the highest compliment the State Board of Education can pay them”

“For the record then, let me recapitulate today to you and to the public generally what this program or phase of study means to the youth and future leaders of California, a program that for the most of the next decade at least, may condition much of the thinking of our youth as they approach the manifold problem of their world.”

“This program of study in history, geography, and related subjects is intended for use in the fourth to eighth grades of the public elementary schools.”

Certainly if this statement meant anything it meant that completely new material and methods of instruction were being undertaken, a program expected to ‘condition the thinking of our youth’ at an impressionable age.

Of course the Senate of California was concerned and rightly so.

Members of the Curriculum Commission also appeared and were heard as were various representatives of civic, educational and patriotic societies. Reference can be made to the “Report of the Senate Committee on Education on the Complaint of the Sons of the American Revolution against the State Board of Education, the Curriculum Commission and the Superintendent of Public Instruction” in the appendix to the Senate Journal of the 1947 session. However, the proponents, official and otherwise, of the books continued to urge that appropriation be made for their purchase and the Senate by Senate Resolution No. 71 set up the Senate Investigating Committee on Education with general powers of investigation. The committee was appointed April 18th and was unable to complete its inquiry in the short time remaining of the busy legislative session and was continued for the interim until the 1949 regular session.

In this connection it may be stated that the legal significance of the word “supplementary” in the authorization of the State Board of Education to adopt supplementary text books is primarily to relieve the Department of Education from the necessity of complying with the law requiring one text book for each student. In the case of *Building America* the Board of Education within their lawful discretion provided that one set of the books should be provided for each three pupils. However, the use of supplementary books is just as compulsory in teaching in the schools as is

the use of the textbooks not designated as "supplementary". By law, all state funds are required to be withheld from any school which fails to teach the adopted text books, including the supplementary textbooks.

In July 1947 the Investigating Committee met and, impressed by the obvious undesirability of the books, authorized the Chairman to inquire of the Executive Officer of the State Board of Education if the State Board would rescind their action in adopting the books and thus end the controversy. The answer received was inconclusive and the adoption was not rescinded. *Building America* was listed on the requisition forms for textbooks for the semester beginning in September 1947. Therefore this Committee proceeded to study the books in more detail and to secure an evaluation of them by persons deemed competent in their respective fields.

The difficulty and delay in this work can be appreciated when it is known that the State Board of Education in adopting the "Building America Series," found the books as published to be unsuitable and in need of extensive expurgation of objectionable passages and required the addition of considerable text in which the original publications were deficient. This was true of each one of the thirty published sections of *Building America* adopted by the Board for compulsory use as a supplementary textbook.

When criticism of the books was made in the press or in civic meetings or organizations, it was common practice of educators and officials to dismiss the complaints with the statement, "The books have been revised by the State Board of Education and you haven't seen the revised books".

This Investigating Committee secured six sets of the revised books from the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Two of these were incomplete and four sets complete. This is the only material with which we have had to work. We know of no other sets of these books as revised in this state outside of the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction at present. The copies are all freely "revised" by inserts pasted into the books and on numerous pages of each of the thirty, except that subsequently four of the thirty sections were printed by the publishers as revised by the State Board and this Committee has purchased needed additional copies of these four sections. The titles of the four are "Our Constitution," "Social Security," "Europe" and "British Commonwealth and Empire."

In the later months of 1947 it became more apparent that the books were not to be dropped. The State Superintendent in public addresses criticized the Legislature for withholding the funds to buy *Building America*. In the November issue of "California Schools," a publication of the Department of Education, the leading article by Mr. Roy Simpson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, reads on pages 243-4-5 as follows:

"In connection with the adoption of *supplementary* textbooks in history and geography for grades 7 and 8, the California Public School System was subjected last spring to a surprising attack. An attempt was made to apply coercive pressure to the entire system of public education in the State. The attack was extended to the National Education Association and to university schools of education. Its purpose was apparently to induce those persons and

boards constitutionally vested with authority and responsibility in the State Public School System to betray and abandon that responsibility. It was a one-man attack, financed by interests best known to themselves.

“There is in the nation today a widespread concern over the activities of groups whose objectives are subversive. This public concern was shamelessly exploited during the attack on the state public school officials. There was an attempt to indict an entire profession. Public education was depicted as a public danger.

“Fortunately we still live under the decent, democratic forms of government by which our Republic grew to greatness. Representatives of the people in the State Legislature conducted hearings on the charges that were made. The Committee on Education of the State Senate issued reports completely clearing the state school authorities of the charges made by the accuser. The verdict of the senators signing the reports was unanimous in this respect.

“The senators divided equally in their opinions as to the allegations made against the supplementary textbooks, the *Building America* series. The report of the committee was issued too late in the last general session for any vote to be taken by both houses on an appropriation for the purchase of the adopted books. No appropriation is available.

“Legal issues in the case remain to be settled. The major question is this one: Can the State Legislature legally withhold funds for the purchase of elementary textbooks legally adopted by the State Board of Education under its constitutional authority?

“Some school people feel that a textbook, even though it has been legally adopted, would be of questionable value in the classroom after it has been subjected to such slurs as were applied to *Building America*.

“This attitude begs the major question. For if every textbook subjected to criticism in the legislative chambers is to be rejected, then we shall have a new procedure in adopting textbooks. We shall have the final authority to adopt textbooks lodged in the State Legislature. The legal authority of the State Curriculum Commission to *recommend*, and of the State Board of Education to *adopt*, textbooks would be nullified.

“Definition of policy in this context is vital.

“If the Legislature is to be the textbook authority in the state, we must be prepared for a completely changed procedure.

“That body is of a size and composition that do not qualify it to meet these responsibilities efficiently.

“California’s integrity is at stake in this matter. Under present constitutional provisions and state laws, the placing of responsibility is clear. It is lodged in the State Board of Education and its instruments. The Board, and the large branch of state government that it directs, are major agencies of California government.

“On this occasion, the legal contracts of a major agency of state government have been placed in jeopardy. If this issue is pressed by the publisher of the adopted textbooks, the case will have to be decided in the courts, or on legal opinion based on precedent.

“You have heard much of the *Building America* case. I have not gone into its details on this occasion. But I should like to have you keep in mind the implications of the case as they relate to the position of the public school system in state government.”

At the October, 1947, meeting of the State Board of Education the request of the Americana Corporation, Publishers of *Building America*, for a contract for the publication and printing of the books was postponed to the January meeting. At the January meeting the following action is recorded in the minutes of the State Board of Education:

“Mr. Loeb moved that the request of the Grolier Society for the execution of an agreement between the State Board of Education and the Americana Corporation covering the ‘Building America Series’ be laid on the table with the understanding that the request will not be considered hereafter or the contract executed except after a public hearing to be held after ample notice to all organizations which have heretofore appeared before the Board in connection with the adoption of these books. The motion was seconded by Mr. Haggerty and carried by the unanimous vote of all members present.”

The adoption of the text books *not* having been rescinded and the Constitutional head of the Department of Education having raised a constitutional question of the power of the Legislature to withhold appropriations, the Committee feels that a full and complete report to the Legislature is urgent at this time.

The Committee believes that no legal contract to buy exists. If such a contract does exist, as stated above by the State Superintendent, then the State Board of Education allowed themselves to become a party to such contract without the appropriation of state funds being made available. That is a question of law for other authorities to determine. It is the purpose of this report to make available to the Legislature material facts about this revised edition of *Building America*, which comparatively few people have seen, or in the circumstances, can see.

The actual writers or authors of *Building America* are not stated. The names of the members of an “Editorial Board” are published, with the statement that *Building America* is a publication of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the National Education Association. No doubt the prestige of this national professional organization of the teachers of the United States had much to do with the success of the effort to secure its adoption as a compulsory text book in the California elementary schools. However, there is no organization that Soviet sympathisers will not try to infiltrate and make use of. There are many evidences that Education and schools are their Number 1 target in the United States. This controversy far transcends the events in California and is truly national in scope. By no means all of the *Building America* text or pictures are objectionable. No skilled propagandist spares an abundant use of confidence winning bait to conceal his poison. The success of any propaganda is in a large measure determined by the skill with which it is concealed.

Obviously the material is the work of many different minds. Conflicting assertions are found. For example, in the section on Russia, which begins with the caption, "What is the Truth about Russia", are found the following declarations:

On page 78 in referring to the 1936 Constitution of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is the statement, "IT CONTAINS ALL THE FAMOUS FREEDOMS—FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, ASSEMBLY, AND CONSCIENCE". This is an incomplete and deceptive list. The real four freedoms are, freedom of Speech, freedom of Religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear.

On Page 92 in summing up their picture of Russian life under the heading, "Facing the Facts and the Future" is the statement, "RIGHTS THAT MEAN SO MUCH TO AMERICANS—FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND PRESS—ARE LITTLE MISSED IN RUSSIA. MOST OLDER FOLK NEVER ENJOYED MUCH OF THESE FREEDOMS ANYWAY: THE YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE NEVER KNOWN THEM AT ALL". Which is the pupil to believe?

In a compulsory text book for the California Schools assuming the title *Building America*, why should there be this generous section on Russia anyway? Scant mention is given to Canada and other friendly nations who have sent countless thousands of their sons and daughters to settle in our America, and become most loyal and devoted Americans.

It is pertinent at this point to quote from a letter received by Senator Dilworth in March 1947 in reply to his inquiry of the publishers as to the source of their material on the Soviet Union.

It is on the stationery of the publishers, the Americana Corporation, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y. and dated March 24, 1947, and signed by Barry J. Holloway. We quote: "IN REPLY TO YOUR QUESTION CONCERNING THE PICTURES CONTAINED IN THE 'RUSSIA' UNIT, THESE WERE ALL SUPPLIED TO US BY SOVFOTO, THE OFFICIAL AND ONLY SOURCE FOR PICTURES FROM RUSSIA. *BUILDING AMERICA* MADE AN EARNEST EFFORT TO OBTAIN PHOTOGRAPHS WHICH WOULD SHOW EXISTING POVERTY AND DISTRESS. SUCH PHOTOGRAPHS WERE UNAVAILABLE. *BUILDING AMERICA* FEELS THAT ITS PUBLIC IS COGNIZANT OF THE DIFFICULTIES IN DEALING WITH SUCH CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS AS RUSSIA. I THINK EVERYONE IS WELL AWARE OF THE 'IRON CURTAIN' AROUND RUSSIA, AND HOW DIFFICULT IT WOULD BE TO COME OUT OF RUSSIA ALIVE WITH THE TYPE OF REALISTIC PHOTOGRAPHS *BUILDING AMERICA* FEELS SHOULD BE INCLUDED".

At this point the Committee is prompted to ask, "Would the school children know that these Russian scenes were only *favorable* pictures and how would they know it when the books do not disclose this fact"? The publisher's admission that unfavorable pictures were not available proves that they were not ignorant of the pro-Soviet slant of the pictures used which had been supplied by the Official Propaganda Agency of the Soviet.

Of course, these photographs of the Soviet Union, some fifty of them in this compulsory supplementary text book for California elementary school children, are all favorable to the Stalin regime in Russia showing

smiling, happy well-fed people, productive "Collective" farms, two of church services, four pictures of smiling Joseph Stalin, such as are familiar in all soviet propaganda publications and much used in subversive literature. This favorable presentation of the land of the Soviets and its ruler in numerous attractive pictures occupying substantially half of the space of the thirty-two pages devoted thereto is not and can not be cured by the text. In places it is aggravated by the text.

Children of the seventh and eighth grades are at an impressionable age. Pictures leave a lasting impression that can seldom be effaced by words.



Sovfoto picture of Stalin published in "Building America Series."

Out of the last decade of stirring world events has come a great new journalistic triumph, the technique of telling stories in pictures. This technique is so important that it is revolutionizing the entire field of magazine publication. History has been given a new dimension. The power of the picture to tell a story far excels that of words and here the official Soviet propaganda agency supplies the pictures, scores of them, for a compulsory text book for our elementary school children of California. Sovfoto is registered at the U. S. State Department as an agency of a foreign Government, USSR. It was with the knowledge of these facts among others that the Senate of California refused to appropriate the funds to purchase *Building America* as a supplementary or any kind of a text book.

That the Editorial Board and publishers of *Building America* are fully aware of this new pictorial technique is amply demonstrated by

the folder they put out listing the titles of the various units they have published. In large script type midway in the Title page is the legend,

“PHOTO STORIES OF DEMOCRACY IN ACTION.”

The same legend is featured on the letterhead in use by *Building America* in August 1947. Directly under the title *Building America* in large black-faced script appears again:

“PHOTO STORIES OF DEMOCRACY IN ACTION.”

Yes, the story is in the pictures and intended to be. The text is auxiliary.

However, it has seemed to this committee that another error of *Building America* has been that it invades the field of political opinion and injects one type of political thinking slanted as the writers wish it to be. The authors, whoever they may be, whether educators or not, are not necessarily experts and authorities on political action.

Political opinions with which many disagree most intensely are presented in a way that they are to be taught as accepted facts. In the unit on the Constitution of the United States there is some space devoted to the subject, entitled “THE CONSTITUTION SURVIVES A CIVIL WAR.”

The Committee feels that it is necessary to a proper evaluation of *Building America* to reproduce herewith the cartoon of Abraham Lincoln printed therein.

The text of this subject is not above pointed criticism on other grounds but the Committee wishes to quote the only reference in the text to Abraham Lincoln. Certainly in the Civil War, President Lincoln was a material factor in shaping the historical and constitutional events of that time. The following is the only reference in the text to Lincoln:

“IN VIOLATION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, PRESIDENT LINCOLN THREW PEOPLE SUSPECTED OF DISLOYALTY INTO PRISON WITHOUT TRIAL. MILITARY COURTS HEARD CIVILIAN CASES. CHIEF JUSTICE TANEY WAS ALARMED AT THESE ILLEGAL MEASURES, BUT LINCOLN DEFENDED HIS ACTION AS A NECESSITY OF WAR.” ‘IT IS BETTER TO SAVE THE UNION WITHOUT A CONSTITUTION’ He said, ‘THAN TO SAVE THE CONSTITUTION WITHOUT A UNION.’”

The Committee is profoundly shocked at this one-sided and derogatory presentation of President Lincoln. It leaves out all that is noble and inspiring to all peoples in the world in the character and acts of President Lincoln who freed a great race from slavery and is today the outstanding exponent in history of the rights of the common man.

Before the advent of Communistic philosophy into this Country after the Russian Revolution, the teachers of the schools all over the United States encouraged the children to bring pennies to school to build the great memorial monument to Lincoln on the banks of the Potomac at our National Capitol.

Nothing so vividly illustrates the change in attitude of some of our national educational leaders in some policy forming positions of the NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION of professional educators and teachers as this about face toward the memory of Abraham Lincoln who lived and labored “That government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.”

Along with this textual comment on Lincoln there is printed on page 243 of *Building America* the only picture of our martyred President who preserved our Union. (Reproduced herewith.) It is a cartoon presumably the work of Lincoln's enemies. These enemies are not held in



(26) The cartoon above shows Lincoln, Sumner, and Greeley burying the Constitution, Free Speech, the Habeas Corpus and the Union. It illustrates the criticism the President was subjected to when he issued a proclamation early in the Civil War, directing trial by courts-martial or military commissions of all persons who impeded the draft, discouraged enlistments or committed other disloyal acts. In justifying his suspension of certain civil liberties in wartime, Lincoln answered his critics by saying: "Must I shoot a simple-minded boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert?"

any esteem by the American people today and the Committee would like to ask who today wants to teach our California school children the philosophy or propaganda of Lincoln's enemies.

The Committee is the more concerned over this objectionable cartoon by the fact that it was not in the original publication but is one of the revisions by addition to the unit on the Constitution. This cartoon was put into the text book by the revisions adopted by the State Board of Education of California.

This cartoon is a lie, a pictured lie by Lincoln's enemies and the enemies of our country. Lincoln did not attempt to bury the Union. He did not attempt to bury the Constitution. He did not attempt to bury free speech and a free press or any other freedom but fought to preserve them. If this cartoon and this text are forced into our schools they will entirely deceive the impressionable elementary school children of California about the principles and character of Abraham Lincoln. This is a legally adopted compulsory text book and only the refusal by the Senate to appropriate funds for its purchase kept this cartoon out of our schools. If it were not for the seriousness of the situation, the Committee would not reproduce the ugly lie here but it must be seen to be understood and disapproved.

There are two great Americans that the devotees of foreign isms and ideologies consistently smear. They are Abraham Lincoln because he suppressed a revolution and Thomas Jefferson because he is the great advocate of rights of the state and individual as opposed to centralized government control. Not only is the text of *Building America* critical of Thomas Jefferson in its scant reference to him on page 241 but he also is cartooned as reproduced herewith. This cartoon also was revised into the text book by the action of the State Board of Education of California. In this cartoon President Jefferson is pictured as intemperate both in mind and in habits, as well as attempting to pull down the federal government. This cartoon is also untrue and an attack by Jefferson's enemies which can well be forgotten today.

If cartoons are so vital for a text book why were none used for Russia or Stalin? There are thousands available in this country. Only pleasant and complimentary pictures of Stalin are used in *Building America* books. (One of the pictures is reproduced herewith.)

Any ordinary citizen without expert training in science and engineering is competent to judge the *performance* of the automobile produced by the technical mechanical engineers in a modern factory. By the same reasoning, one does not have to be a professional educator to evaluate the *effects* of our schools on our young citizens.

We have a right to expect that our youth are being given a thorough understanding of our American institutions. These institutions peculiar to America have provided the highest standard of living ever attained in the world, and at the same time, the widest distribution thereof among the population.

An undisputed objective of the Government of the State of California in liberally supporting public education of our youth, is to produce good citizens.

When great numbers of our youth in high school, college and university openly favor turning away from our American ways of life and the imitation of backward and oppressive foreign governments, then



(23) This cartoon of 1801, entitled "Mad Tom in a Rage," is a Federalist view of Thomas Jefferson's belief that the central government was assuming too much authority. It shows President Jefferson pulling down the Federal government with the help of his "friends," the devil. Such a portrayal of the President would offend public taste today, but it was in the spirit of the bitter party warfare of its times. Thomas Jefferson thought that the Constitution gave very little power to the Federal government and left most matters to the states to control. Under Washington and Adams (Federalist presidents) the Federal government had taken many steps which opponents like Jefferson claimed went beyond the powers granted to it by the Constitution. It had suppressed local rebellions and established the credit of the United States by vigorous measures. It had passed Alien and Sedition laws which punished those who criticized the government, though this was in violation of the freedom of speech guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. But before Jefferson's term of office was over, he went beyond the powers specifically stated in the Constitution, too. For example, he purchased the Louisiana Territory.



(52) For "frank and friendly" discussions about the war and the peace, representatives of "The Big Three" have had frequent meetings. Shown here are Prime Minister Churchill, Ambassador Harriman, Marshal Stalin, meeting in Russia in 1944.

The committee notes that Stalin is the center of attraction in this photograph published in the "Building America Series," in marked contrast with Lincoln and Jefferson cartoons.

there is great fundamental error and failure in the technical process of education. The educational technicians must bear the full responsibility for their failure.

This Committee recommends for a course of study in our California schools, the selection or preparation of a documented analysis of the comparative living standards available to citizens of our country in contrast with the living standards of countries in which totalitarian rulers hold sway.

The privileges of American citizens to produce freely for themselves and for their own enjoyment may well be contrasted with the economic lot of the subject peoples in the old world. The legal rights and privileges of citizens in their respective governments should be realistically set forth in detail.

The American economic system of individual opportunity has provided much more food, clothing and shelter, than any other people enjoy or ever have enjoyed. It is more widely distributed to a larger proportion of the population than anywhere else. We should give a plain, understandable and emphatic testimony to our youth on the merits of American institutions and it is a proper function of the instructors employed by the State to do just that.

The Senate Investigating Committee on Education in writing this report does not intend to imply that, because there is Communist propaganda in the "Building America Series," Dr. Hanna, Superintendent Roy E. Simpson, or the members of the State Board of Education or of the Curriculum Commission are intentionally disloyal, much as we may disagree with their action on these books.

This situation pointedly illustrates the need for everyone in authority to inform themselves on current subversive activities and to be on guard to prevent subtle infiltration. Especially those charged with the weighty responsibility of the instruction of the youth of this State should be doubly careful.

Therefore, we consider it our duty to publish this complete evaluation of the propaganda aspects of the *Building America* books for the information of the Legislature and the public.

The Committee finds the *Building America* Books to be unfit for use in our schools, and appends hereto independent appraisals of the books and a record of the official actions to date.

Respectfully submitted,

NELSON S. DILWORTH, Chairman
CHRIS N. JESPERSEN
FRED WEYBRET
HUGH P. DONNELLY
J. HOWARD WILLIAMS.

III

Excerpts From

Records of Curriculum Commission

With Explanatory Comment by the Committee

The procedure whereby the "Building America Series" was adopted appears from the official records of the State Curriculum Commission and the State Board of Education.

As early as 1945 the Curriculum Commission planned the use of new supplementary texts in connection with so-called "social studies," as may be seen from the minutes of the Commission for July 5-7, 1945. It was decided to call for bids for the supplying of supplementary text books, and it was in connection with this general educational program that the bids for the "Building America Series" were submitted and approved.

So far as can be ascertained from the minutes of the Curriculum Commission, the first protest on this general subject was made by Mr. Aaron Sargent as counsel for the California Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, that protest having been received and filed by the Commission in June, 1946. The records of the Commission reflect that it recommended adoption of the books during this same meeting held June 29-30 and July 1, 1946:

"It was moved by Mr. Conner, seconded by Mrs. Harsin, and carried by roll call vote, that *Building America*, Seventh Grade, published by the Americana Corporation, be recommended to the State Board of Education for adoption as a supplementary textbook in history and geography for Grade 7, to be distributed on the basis of one book for every three pupils, and subject to revision by the State Department of Education, as to indexing, bibliography, teacher's guide, and editorial revisions. Roll Call vote:

Aye
Miss Burton
Mr. Connor
Dr. Dean
Mrs. Harsin
Dr. McPherson
Dr. Spencer
Dr. Trillingham

No

"It was moved by Mr. Connor, seconded by Dr. Spencer, and carried by roll call vote, that *Building America*, Eighth Grade, Volume I and Volume II, published by the Americana Corporation, be recommended to the State Board of Education for adoption

as a supplementary textbook in history and geography for Grade 8, to be distributed on the basis of one of each book for every five pupils, and subject to revisions by the State Department of Education. Roll call vote:

Aye	No
Miss Burton	
Mr. Connor	
Dr. Dean	
Mrs. Harsin	
Dr. McPherson	
Dr. Spencer	
Dr. Trillingham."	

On October 4, 1946, the Commission met and heard a report from Dr. McPherson, the pertinent portion of the minutes of that meeting being as follows:

"Dr. McPherson gave a brief summary concerning the work of the committee assigned to the revision of the *Building America* books. This committee consisted of Mr. Brady, Dr. Dean and Dr. McPherson of the Commission; Dr. Ivan Waterman of the State Department of Education; and Mrs. Francis Foster, Editor, and Mr. Elkema representing the publishing company. This committee met in Sacramento and considerable work was done at the meeting and subsequently in order to incorporate all suggested revisions.

"The Commission expressed approval of the material as revised which had been studied in detail.

"It was moved by Dr. McPherson, seconded by Mrs. Harsin, and carried by roll call vote that the revised material for the *Building America* books be approved and that the Commission recommend that the State Board of Education adopt the material as revised.

Ayes: Brady, Cobb, Connor, Harsin, McPherson, Simpson, Spencer, Trillingham.

Absent: Dean, Burton (verbal approval from these two members secured)."

Pursuant to the foregoing proceedings, Dr. McPherson presented the following recommendation:

"To the State Board of Education from the State Curriculum Commission. Subject: Revision of *Building America*.

"The State Curriculum Commission herewith submits the accompanying comprehensive outline of the revisions that shall be made in the books, *Building America*, in pursuance of the Commission's recommendation for adoption of July 12, 1946, and in compliance with the resolution adopted by the State Board of Education on August 24, 1946.

"The revisions are extensive and thorough and are in full accord with the requirements of the Curriculum Commission. In arriving at these recommendations, the Curriculum Commission has given consideration to suggestions for revisions from members of the State Board of Education.

“We believe that the books as revised will be an outstanding contribution to the development of an informed, critical thinking, and patriotic American citizenry.

“The Commission therefore recommends the adoption of *Building America*, Seventh Grade, and *Building America*, Eighth Grade, Volume I and II, with the incorporation of revisions as herein indicated and of other revisions as the Commission may deem necessary, as supplementary textbooks in history and geography for use in grades seven and eight, respectively, for distribution as indicated in the recommendation made July 12, 1946.”

“It was moved by Mr. Cobb, seconded by Mr. Brady and carried by the unanimous vote of all members present, that the recommendation quoted above be approved and submitted to the Board at its October 4 and 5, 1946, meeting.

“Dr. McPherson was instructed to present the recommendation to the Board and to make the report on the work of the revision.”

IV

Excerpts From

Records of State Board of Education

With Explanatory Comment by the Committee

On January 4, 1947, the revised *Building America* books were duly transmitted to the State Board of Education, as appears by a letter of that date signed by the members of the Curriculum Commission.

Throughout the period which began with the first move to adopt the books and ended with the formal adoption of them—a period of several months—objections to the adoption of the “Building America Series” of books were filed with the State Board on behalf of the Sons of the American Revolution through Mr. Aaron Sargent, as has been stated, and the minutes of the State Board for August 24, 1946, show that objections were also registered orally by the Pasadena and San Francisco chapters of the Sons of the American Revolution, We, the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., The National Sojourners, Daughters of the American Revolution and the All America Committee.

Those who spoke before the Board of Education at its meeting on August 24, 1946, in favor of the State Curriculum Commission’s recommendation for the adoption of the books were: Frances Eisenberg, Los Angeles teachers organizations; H. I. Christie, an individual, H. M. McPherson, member of the State Curriculum Commission, but speaking as an individual; W. K. Cobb, member of the State Curriculum Commission, as an individual; C. C. Trillingham, as an individual; Curtis E. Warren, Superintendent of Schools, San Francisco.

The record does not disclose just what “teachers organizations” were represented by Frances Eisenberg, but one of them may well have been the People’s Educational Center, Communist school in Hollywood, since Frances Eisenberg was listed as a member of the board of directors of that institution along with one Dorothy Healy, secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County. Mrs. Eisenberg was a witness before the State Committee on Un-American Activities because of her left-wing teaching at the Canoga Park High School. She has recently been listed as a member of the American-Russian Institute in Los Angeles, one of the more aggressive of the current Communist front organizations.

Minutes of the State Board of Education for October 4 and 5, 1946, show that letters were received urging the adoption of the *Building America* books from the Citizen’s Committee for Better Education in Los Angeles, and from the International Workers Order in the same city. The Citizen’s Committee for Better Education was thoroughly

investigated by the State Committee on Un-American Activities in 1946 and found to be one of several Communist front organizations contacted through the same master mailing list.

The International Workers Order is one of the old, reliable Communist fronts—listed as such in virtually every authoritative work on Communism. This particular Club was named in honor of John Reed, said to have been the first American Communist, and whose body is buried in the Kremlin. Shortly following the formation of the Communist Party of the United States nearly 29 years ago, John Reed Clubs popped up all over the country, and there were several of them in California. With these facts in mind, the letter from this particular organization is quoted in full for the purpose of showing that it was quite satisfied with the books as they were, and wanted no drastic changes made.

“INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

John Reed Lodge 660
2526½ Brooklyn Avenue
Los Angeles 33, Calif.
Sept. 16, 1946

“Mr. Roy E. Simpson
State Dept. of Education
Sacramento, Cal.

Dear Sir:

At a general membership meeting of the International Workers Order, John Reed Lodge 660, a resolution was passed to recommend that the texts recommended by the Commission and read by hundreds of Educators over the State be adopted *without drastic changes* for use in California Schools. We wish to voice our protest against the current attacks and a request for the use of the books in question—the ‘Building America Series’ and others.

Yours truly,

/s/ Rose S. Rivers
Recording Secretary.”

It is significant that the International Workers Order had accurate, up to the minute information concerning developments of official action on the adoption of these particular books. It knew that the books had been recommended by a “commission”—a fact which was not commonly known to laymen; and it is also significant that the organization knew that revision was under way and wanted no drastic changes made so far as these books were concerned. A description of the International Workers Order may be found in the 1943 Report of the California Joint Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities at pages 93 and 94, where it is stated that the national secretary of the organization was Max Bedacht, a well-known Communist who was once the editor of the monthly ideological magazine, *The Communist*. The numerous activities of the International Workers Order are cited in the 1948 report of the California Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities.

The International Workers Order has been cited by Attorney General Biddle as "one of the strongest Communist organizations" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942). This organization has consistently supported Communist candidates, the Communist press and Communist campaigns. It was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on January 3, 1940, and June 25, 1942.

The minutes of the Board of Education taken on October 4 and 5, 1946 contains the following motion :

"Mr. Jertberg moved that the request of Mr. Sargent for public hearing, investigation into the antecedents of these books, for the power of cross examination of witnesses, and the issuance of subpoenas all be denied. The motion was seconded by Mr. Atkinson and carried by the unanimous vote of all members present."

At a meeting of the State Board of Education on January 10 and 11, 1947 the "Building America Series" was finally adopted pursuant to the following resolution offered by Mr. Joseph P. Loeb :

"WHEREAS, The State Board of Education has received the recommendations of the State Curriculum Commission on the textbook material submitted to the State Board of Education in response to the "Call for Bids for Textbooks in History and Geography and Related Social Studies" issued on October 1, 1945, pursuant to the authorization therefor given by the State Board of Education on July 7, 1945, and has given the State Curriculum Commission a public hearing pursuant to Education Code Section 11157 before making the adoption of textbooks herein made; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the State Board of Education, hereinafter also referred to as the Board, adopt pursuant to the authority granted by Section 7 of Article IX of the Constitution of the State of California and by Division 6 of the Education Code of California for a period, commencing July 1, 1947, of not less than six years nor more than eight years, for use as supplementary textbooks in History and Geography in each grade of the public elementary schools of California designated below, the textbook and other material contained in the textbooks of the *Building America* series published by the Americana Corporation named below opposite the number of said grade, said textbooks to be distributed on the basis of one book for every three pupils

For use in Grade 7 Building America, Seventh Grade

For use in Grade 8 Building America, Eighth Grade

Volumes I and II and that the offers of Americana Corporation hereinafter also referred to as the publisher submitted under Alternatives numbered 3 and 5 in the bid of the said Company dated June 6, 1946 be accepted, the Board to determine in its own discretion the extent of the exercise of its rights under either or both of said alternatives, subject to all applicable provisions of law, all conditions enumerated in the above mentioned call for bids and to the following further conditions:

1. That the material adopted be subject to revision by the State Department of Education under the direction of the State Curriculum Commission, and, be it further

Resolved, That the president of the Board be, and hereby is authorized and directed to enter into, on behalf of the State Board of Education, an appropriate agreement with the said Americana Corporation conforming to law and to this resolution and in substantially the same form as other similar agreements to which the State Board of Education has been a party.

The motion was seconded by Mrs. Hale and carried by the following call vote:

Aye: Mr. Blair, Mr. Broderick, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Haggerty, Mrs. Hale, Mr. Loeb, Mrs. Strong.

No: None.

Absent: Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Jertberg, Mr. Smith.”

V

Report by Colonel L. S. N. Phillipp

Louis Samuel Nast Phillipp, Colonel, Cavalry Reserve, U. S. Army, was born in Iowa and graduated from high school in Oklahoma in 1911. Four years later he received his Bachelor of Science degree from Vanderbilt University at Nashville, Tenn. The following year he secured his Masters degree from the same University. His major was German and French and he did graduate work at Lyon University, Rhone, France.

In 1928 he graduated from Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati with the degree of Bachelor of Theology, and served pastorates in Ohio and Indiana, until 1940.

He has served as Preceptor, Mercersburg Academy, Mercersburg, Pa., and as Assistant Professor at Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, Alabama, and Georgetown College at Georgetown, Kentucky.

Col. Phillipp enlisted July 20, 1917 and was commissioned October 26, 1917. He was discharged at the end of the war with the rank of First Lieutenant.

After graduation from the Command and General Staff School in 1939 he was ordered to active duty in 1940 with the rank of Lt. Colonel. After various assignments and duty he was sent to the Military Intelligence Training Center at Camp Ritchie, Maryland.

In 1944 he was Acting Secretary of the Joint Brazil-U. S. Defense Commission. He requested overseas duty and was assigned to the China, Burma, India Theatre. His present rank is Colonel, Cavalry Reserve, U. S. Army.

In view of Col. Phillipp's status as a reserve officer in the United States Army, he has made it clear to the Committee that his report is entirely his own and does not reflect any official attitude. His report follows:

Building America purports to be a new departure in educational practice by providing much illustrative material in proportion to the printed text. This approach is in line with modern trends as indicated in popular magazines. The modern American likes to keep abreast of current affairs with a minimum of effort.

One would infer quite naturally, that such illustrative material should reflect a portrayal of conditions as they now exist or as they existed in some period under discussion in the text. For this reason, materials should be carefully selected with a view to presenting the most accurate record possible to obtain. Source materials should be collected from the widest variety of agencies, including Federal and state departments and bureaus, historical materials from accredited societies, publications of a national character, and even from known propaganda sources such as state and community Chambers of Commerce. Much valuable informative material is also available from air and ground transportation agencies. There should be a leavening of the whole by the considered

inclusion of pictures which depict "bad" conditions, and where changes have been made to improve such conditions, "before and after" pictures should be placed side by side. Of course, propaganda pictures should be carefully labeled as such, particularly if obtained from a known propaganda agency of a foreign government.

Such procedures followed vigorously would impose a great deal of discriminatory work upon an editorial staff, but in the end, no effort should be spared to make such a story true, lifelike, comprehensive and accurate. From the point of view of the stated purpose, anything less than perfection in this regard would be a betrayal of the pupils.

The "Building America Series" has been adopted as a supplementary textbook for study in the Social Study courses of the seventh and eighth grades of the public schools of California. This course is supposed to be an integrated study of the related elements of geography, civics, history, economics and kindred subjects in order to provide a related portrayal of such materials to the pupil in a comprehensive course and give him a clearer over-all perspective of his country and of the world. That such a treatment of related subjects would be beneficial if properly planned and skillfully carried out, is without contradiction.

Dr. John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education, stated in an address on November 28, 1947 at St. Louis, Missouri, before the National Council for the Social Studies that:

"Unfortunately there is some reason to believe that many pupils leave our High Schools with very hazy notions about democracy. . . . In the 26,000 high schools of this country, there is little agreement as to how much or what kind of social studies shall be taught . . .

I believe that *every* pupil should have a chance to learn how difficult it was to establish freedom of speech and the press, freedom of religion, the right of habeas corpus, and the other American freedoms. I believe that *all* American boys and girls need a year of world history to understand how precious is our heritage of freedom and to appreciate the role of the United States in today's world . . .

The schools must help American youth to identify democratic values and to act cooperatively and efficiently in a wide variety of real life situations . . .

The American creed is that of democracy and human liberty. That creed cannot be viewed with apathy or indifference. It must be propagated and supported with an individual and collective passion by all good Americans. The propagation of that creed is the fundamental objective of American education, the improvement and successful working of democracy our continuing goal and determination."

Mr. Studebaker emphasizes that it should be the right of every American youth to learn the true story of the long and painful struggle for democracy, the origin of our freedoms and other American heritages, and to be taught to distinguish between truth and falsehood in the world battle of ideologies. With the travels of the Freedom Train fresh in mind, I wonder how such materials as *Building America* could be offered for use in the schools of a sovereign state of the Union.

It has been interesting to note that modern educators and educational agencies have devoted much space in recent months to a discussion of "democracy" and the democratic ideals in education. The President's Commission on Higher Education devotes considerable space to discussing the role of education. (See Report, Chapter 1, page 5 ff) in which Democracy is redefined as it relates to education.

It has been apparent that the writers mentioned above and others are showing concern over the lack of positive thinking and teaching about the American Way of Life. In one way or another, the suggestion recurs that the time is ripe for a reevaluation of our teaching processes, both within the educational structure and through the medium of radio, newspapers and magazines, in order to discover the values of our democratic civilization in the light of present world conditions. Unless our American youth can be brought to see the positive values of the American system of government, and shall zealously espouse this system as the most enlightened and constructive development of the efforts of sentient human beings to live together in peace and harmony, we shall eventually lose that freedom and liberty which former generations shed their blood to obtain for us. And if we wish to continue to enjoy these rights and freedoms which they have won, we should be willing to defend our basic privileges whenever they are challenged by an aggressor, whether by aggressive action or through propaganda methods.

One of the methods of the modern propaganda writer is to confuse issues by the publication of plausible material omitting certain vital or relevant items. To the naive or inexperienced reader, the subject matter appears normal even if somewhat confused, the omissions are not noticed, and the danger is not apparent. The final impression left on the mind of an immature reader or student is often one of doubt or perplexity, which, if the propaganda is carried far enough, eventually turns into a feeling of distrust, and the pupil's mind has become fertile ground for more potent revolutionary teaching. The alert and experienced reader is rarely caught by such methods, since his experience enables him to spot the false presentation early in his reading. Truth cannot injure any student, but the continual presentation of half-truths under the guise of progressive thought is a serious attempt to subvert the mind. Among the most dangerous individuals with whom we are forced to cope, are those well-intentioned and gullible persons who swallow half-truths and propaganda, and permit themselves to be used for the dissemination of such teachings. To foster the teaching of socialistic doctrines under the guise of Americanism is indefensible, to call it building America is to hide behind a mask of falsehood.

I will agree, under the American concept of freedom of speech, that any American citizen or resident of the United States has the right to advocate socialistic forms of government control in our democracy. However, the teaching of such doctrines to inexperienced children in the public schools of our country under the guise of teaching the American way of life, or progressive democracy, is a matter which concerns the parents and tax-payers of every community.

As a general criticism of the material in the "Building America Series" of publications, I have noted that much valuable, relevant material has been omitted, apparently not because of lack of space, but in order to utilize the space to emphasize other ideas. Many illustrations and charts

appear to be out of date and often not pertinent to the subject matter announced. Some of these illustrations are credited to known propaganda sources. Furthermore, some of the text appears to be slanted toward the more radical political opinions of the unknown writers or authors, and is therefore of questionable value to any text or supplementary text book.

From my recollection of these publications, there were too many "hard-times" pictures credited to the Farm Security Administration. That agency should have few left for future publications. But that agency



(39) Above, President Wilson is choosing the first draft numbers to be called in World War I. Although the Constitution prohibited "involuntary servitude," the draft laws were upheld by the courts.

is not the only source for modern photographs. *The Saturday Evening Post* has published a series of excellent articles on American cities; the *National Geographic Magazine* devotes many pages to American life; yet I do not recall seeing one photograph credited to either. Instead I found a collection of illustrations which might have been selected for a publication entitled "Selling America Short".

On page 250 of the section entitled "Our Constitution" World War I conditions are described. It says: "Then Congress passed the Lever Act, by which storekeepers who charged more than government officials thought proper, were put out of business." There is no suggestion that 'storekeepers' who violated wartime regulations were breaking the law and were thus liable to the penalties imposed. Further: "Wartime legislation of one kind or another threatened most of the liberties guaranteed under the Constitution. Objections were raised, but the courts usually

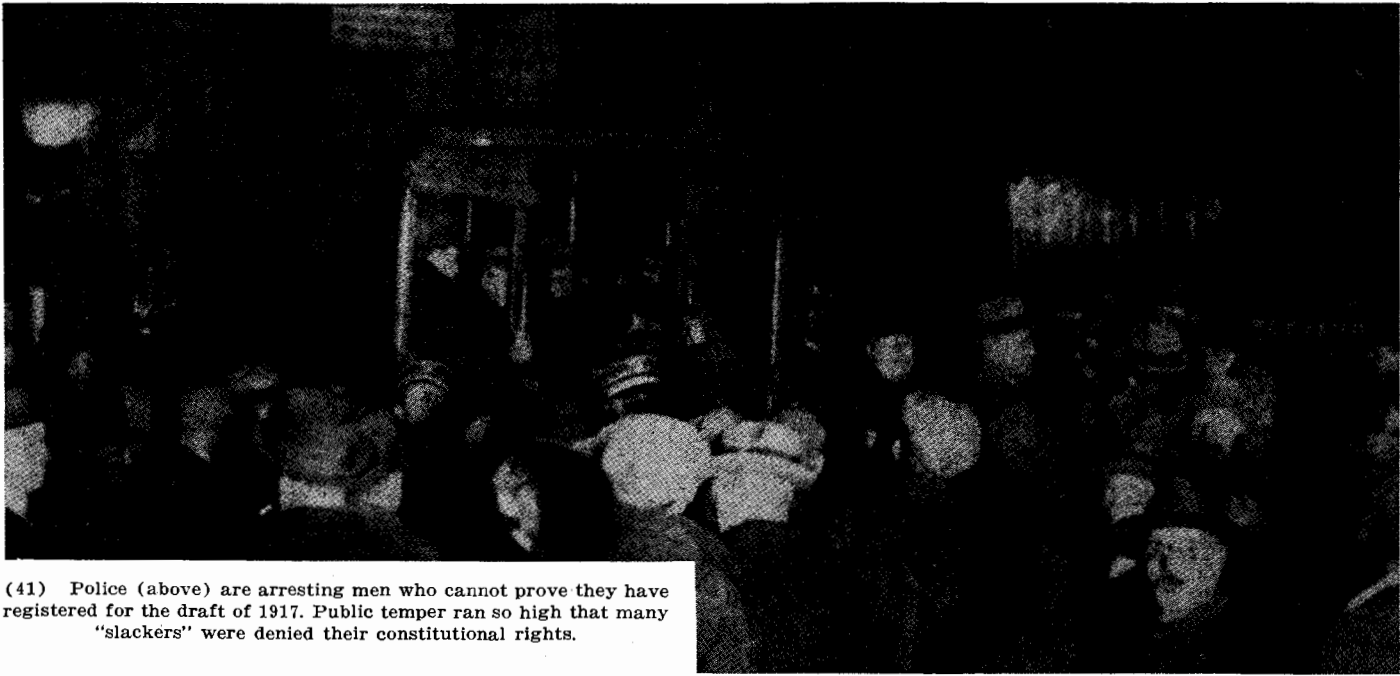
backed the legislation. Opponents of the draft law claimed that conscription meant slavery, in the language of the Thirteenth Amendment. The courts did not agree." This is the rankest example of political slanting in the book. If the legislation was passed by the Congress, even under the stress of war-time conditions, and, if such legislation was upheld by the courts, then it appears to be something more than history which the writer is seeking to inject into the picture which he is drawing of the period. Such language will tend to create a doubt as to the wisdom of the Congress to pass emergency legislation, and upon the fairness of our courts as they review such legislation. The use of such expressions is more reminiscent of the pages of the *Daily Worker* than of the pages of a publication designed to tell the story of the development of the greatest document of our nation.

On the same page is Illustration 39, showing the drawing of the first draft number of World War I. After stating this, the caption further reads: "Although the Constitution prohibited 'involuntary servitude', the draft laws were upheld by the courts." Evidently the courts interpret the "spirit of the Constitution to new conditions" only when the unknown writer concurs. But he does not believe in the draft! And Illustration 41, page 251, carries this idea further. The picture shows "Police (above) arresting men who cannot prove they have registered for the draft of 1917. Public temper ran so high that many "slackers" were denied their constitutional rights." If a man breaks the law, does he still have immunity because of the opinion of this writer?

The impression which I received from reading this section was that an effort was being made, not too cleverly it is true, to cast doubt upon the Executive, Judicial and Legislative bodies of the United States, alleging that these divisions of our government often acted in violation of the Constitution. The use of such questionable expressions as "The Constitution survives a Civil War", "The Constitution survives a World War" "A Depression tests the Strength of the Constitution" will not fail to cast a doubt in the mind of an adolescent pupil concerning the strength and stability of the Constitution itself.

There are further doubts and aspersions cast upon Federal agencies in these publications. In the issues entitled "Our Federal Government" and "Machinery for Foreign Relations", I was amazed to find the inference that the Department of State is filled with inefficient, clumsy employees who take a delight in "axeing" a plan or project. (Machinery for Foreign Relations, page 91, illustration 40) and in this section devoted to unsupported criticisms of the Department I was amazed to read the following (Page 91): "The United States cannot afford to have 'second-raters' representing it all over the world." This is a scurrilous attack upon the integrity and ability of the Secretary of State, (who is responsible), and every Foreign Service officer and employee of the Department. I feel sure that this material has never received the approval of any State Department executive. From these statements, does it not appear that there is a disproportionate emphasis upon the faults of the Department of State without adequate credit for any of its accomplishments?

This over-emphasis upon the worst features of a situation is again revealed in the three sections which deal with the problems of our natural resources. These are called "Conservation" "Our Land Resources" and



(41) Police (above) are arresting men who cannot prove they have registered for the draft of 1917. Public temper ran so high that many "slackers" were denied their constitutional rights.

“Our Water Resources”. Any one who has traveled widely in the United States must realize that as a nation, we have drawn heavily upon our natural resources; that measures for conservation and reclamation are needed; and also, that democratic forces are at work to solve these and kindred problems. Yet conditions are not so bad as to warrant the following statements made in the issue called “Conservation”.

Page 5: “Yet these white Americans have used up and wasted a large share of the natural resources of our continent.” . . . “One thing that alarmed them most was that the axe and plow had destroyed trees and grasses. . . . As a result, our farms and grazing lands were washing downhill to the sea.”

Page 9: “Cattlemen and sheepmen made large profits by selling their meat on the hoof to packing plants in the East. But too many cattle and sheep destroyed the short grasses of large areas, and made these lands into barren wastes.”

Page 11: “Already some 800 million acres of crop and pasture land have been ruined by gullying. When wind and water have swept away the top soil of our country, the land will become a desert perhaps like the Sahara Desert in North Africa and the Gobi Desert of Asia. These deserts were once covered by fertile soil and thick grasses.”

Apparently much of the printed matter used in these issues is a rehash of the propaganda material of the depression era of the '30's, omitting the then familiar photograph of the 'bleached skull' which was so often reproduced. It was fashionable at that time to paint a negative picture of America, depicting the country as a wasted and denuded land, soon to become a desert. Many of the photographs chosen to illustrate these issues appear to have been selected to show the imperfections of the American way of doing things, and to emphasize the failures of our forebears. Where are the pictures of the huge wheat and corn-fields of the middle-west? Or the forests of the north and north-west? Or the successful efforts at reclamation? The constant repetition of faults and the repeated emphasis upon the negative theme of waste and loss throughout these sections cannot fail to make a deep impression upon the minds of elementary school children. It will surely leave them confused and vaguely resentful of the actions of earlier generations, distrustful of private enterprise and ready to accept the suggestions for socialistic solutions which are alleged to alleviate the evils portrayed on these pages. After swallowing the material on these pages, scarcely any youth would feel a thrill of pride in his country, or affection for his native land. The constant repetition of the story of waste and destruction must arouse a feeling of disillusionment in his mind. Such a youth would not voluntarily enlist to defend such a barren, wasted land.

As one who served in the armed forces during two World wars, I resented the omission of the story of the magnificent effort made by American farmers to produce record-breaking crops needed to feed a hungry world; the splendid achievements of the miners of America to provide adequate supplies of coal, ores and minerals to support our mighty war efforts; and most of all, the almost total omission of the work

which has been done by various agencies to arrest the alleged wastful practices of earlier generations. Have any of these writers actually visited the plains and prairies about which they so glibly write?

In the section of *Building America* entitled "Community Planning" the writers were much more concerned with portraying the dismal conditions to be found in our country than to give any hopeful portrayals of some of the efforts which have been undertaken to correct them. Apparently the only solution possible was an era of state, regional and national planning commissions. Nothing was to be left to the efforts or ingenuity of local groups. Let me admit for the sake of brevity, that there is much that needs to be done to improve and modernize our cities and towns; beautify our parks, streets, and highways; and to overcome the inertia caused by the years of the war and the subsequent shortages of construction materials. Problems incident to congestion, over-crowding and lack of long-range planning are all too evident. However, I protest the constant emphasis upon the drab and ugly as the only phase of the present picture. The fact that there is a minimum showing of illustrations about schools, colleges, universities or churches is significant; that no modern 'middle-class' home is represented; no scenes from modern residence streets; no showing of the splendid system of public parks and playgrounds; cannot be entirely charged to an error of omission. Newspapers and magazines are full of the stories of the efforts of communities all over our land to correct bad conditions. The omission of such information from up to date textual material cannot but slant the thought of any unsuspecting reader. Here are a few quotations from this issue:

Page 34: "Today, as a nation and in our separate communities, we face a test no less severe, an extensive replanning and rebuilding of our towns and cities." . . . "Plans that individuals and small groups have made in America, as far back as Colonial days, are largely responsible for what is bad, as well as good, in our communities today." What is 'good' is never too clearly mentioned, the 'bad' is constantly emphasized.

Page 40: the title of the subsection reads: "Our cities show their haphazard growth." Note the choice of words used to describe the city: "haphazard growth"; the city "sprawls"; the "grid-iron pattern" of streets; the skyscraper "core" surrounded by an "irregular band of lower buildings"; "The city is a confusion of movements, sounds and odors."

Page 42 even the "Small towns also show lack of planning" . . . "the arrangements of these communities have frequently come about because of a desire for personal convenience or gain. As a result, we suffer inconveniences and ugliness everywhere." The theme is "personal convenience or gain," which leaves the impression that some one, possibly an economic royalist, in a deliberate effort to cause other people "inconvenience" laid out the small town according to his personal wishes and desires. That line is hardly consistent with general knowledge of the manner in which many of our towns came into existence.

Finally, Pages 62 and 63 contain this paragraph: "City planners are subject to all kinds of pressure from clubs, commissions, boards, chambers of commerce, manufacturers associations, labor unions and other

groups. These groups are all interested in improving the community but they have their own ideas about what should be done. These ideas are sometimes entirely unlike those of the planning board." Of course the "ideas" of the board of a chamber of commerce, or the leaders of a labor union would not have the good of the community at heart to the same degree that a planning board would have, or would they? Should the planning board act independently of all suggestions from local groups or even disregard them? That is the question which is posed to the adolescent student, together with a doubt concerning the disinterestedness of such groups, clubs, boards or unions.

With out of date photographs, textual materials which are obviously intended in many cases for propaganda purposes or lifted from propaganda writings, and a disproportionate emphasis upon the negative or dark side of many of the questions considered, I find little in these publications which would add to the information or education of our teenagers. And little or nothing which would arouse pride of native land or fan the spark of patriotism. Instead there is the constant undercurrent of class struggle; contrast of underprivileged with those who have possessions; the emphasis upon differences rather than upon likenesses. And I did not find a clear reference to America as the Land of Opportunity. As Mr. Studebaker has indicated, the schools of America must rise to meet the challenge of false ideologies in our modern world by inculcating a flaming zeal for the American creed of democracy and human liberty, "propagated and supported with an individual and collective passion by all good Americans."

In Vol. 2, No. 6, "The Public and Education" dated January 12, 1948, published by the *National Education Association* under a paragraph heading which reads "Threatening Circumstances" the statement is made "Educational neglect caused Selective Service in World War II to reject the equivalent of 20 combat divisions, almost as many combat divisions as were deployed in the entire Pacific area during the war." And further along: "The lack of good schools from which vast numbers of our youth suffer today is a major break in the dike of security for American democracy."

As a further evidence for the need of more adequate training in fundamental subjects to fit our youth for a place in our American system, the following information was received from recruiting officers of the Army and Navy in California.

(The California law requires young people to attend school until they reach their 18th birthdays unless graduated from a High School sooner. However, under certain conditions, they may be excused from school in order to go to work, at the age of 16. In the latter event, the pupil must still attend four hours of instruction per week. With these facts in mind, the following information is of more than ordinary interest.)

United States Army recruiting in California:

Total applicants received for enlistment April to September 1947: 7673. Number rejected for failure to pass educational test during this

period: 727 or 9.5%. No record is kept of those who failed to pass the preliminary test.

United States Navy recruiting in California:

Applicants received November and December 1947: 747.

Number rejected for failure to pass educational test: 239. Both of the services use standard tests requiring average intelligence.

LOUIS S. N. PHILLIPP

The last subject of Col. Phillipp's comment interested the Committee for it may indicate that with more adequate education the volunteer system of enlistment would serve in peace time to maintain our national defenses at full strength. A member of the committee arranged to take the educational test given to applicants for enlistment in the United States Army. It was very simple. Correct answers were required to at least 23 out of sixty questions. In less than half the allotted time the committee member answered all questions correctly. It is amazing that any of our eighteen year old youth out of our High Schools fail this test.

Certainly our secondary schools have a duty to prepare our youth to serve in the national defense in time of peril.

VI

Excerpts From

Testimony of Lt. Col. Edwin C. Mead

Lt. Col. Edwin C. Mead, U. S. A. Retired, of 1351 Sonoma Drive, Altadena, California has made a considerable study of many sections of *Building America* text books. He has had a distinguished career in the service of our Country.

He enlisted in the United States Army in 1908. He was promoted regularly through the ranks and commissioned as a first lieutenant in 1916. He completed a two year course in the General Staff School in 1932 and attained his present rank in 1938, since having been honorably retired.

Extracts from his testimony before the Committee on February 24, 1948 follow:

"Col. Mead: May it please the Committee; I might say that I made a study of this series initially as a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, as a member of the American Legion and some other organizations that I belong to * * * I consider these series as definitely subversive in that they tend to pervert or I might say lead away from the truth, to lead astray or corrupt and mislead decidedly the minds of our children before they have ever had a chance to study American History. Their minds at that time are, we might say, virgin and they are receptive to ideas which they don't understand, yet if presented before them, they will adopt them probably throughout their lives.

"Now, the first issue of this series that I have is the one about our Constitution * * * Now this series purports to teach by words and pictures. * * * at the very start, it puts the idea into the minds of these children, who have not studied history, that our Constitution was just born to enslave the laboring, or let us say, enslave the working classes.

"All these pictures have the same idea of creating in the minds of the children that there is something wrong with our country and that the Constitution is probably to blame for it because these things continue to exist * * * it gives the child the idea that the Constitution should be changed much more frequently than it is now, which of course any subversive group would welcome * * *

"Now we have a series here about 'Seeing America' * * * if you look this over, why, and one would get the impression we must be a very poor nation. * * * in fact there is no place in this whole series in which there is anything that glorifies our country. There isn't one single American hero praised anywhere in the whole series * * *"

"Chairman: Now Colonel Mead, as a man with military experience and military training * * * is this suitable material to encourage good and proper defense of the United States by its young citizens?"

Answer: "Decidedly not."

VII

Grand Juries Recommend Against Use of *Building America* Text Book

Several Grand Juries in various counties have considered the *Building America* text books and sent to the Senate Investigating Committee on Education copies of recommendations to their county school authorities against the use of the text books.

The mildest of the resolutions was that adopted by the Grand Jury of Alameda County, as follows:

“RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, it has been called to the attention of the Grand Jury of Alameda County that a series of text books known as the ‘Building America Series’ was being used as supplemental reading in the schools of certain counties throughout this state; and

WHEREAS, the use of such text books was opposed by various patriotic organizations interested in the education of youth and the development and stimulation of loyalty towards American institutions and traditions; and

WHEREAS, such organizations had expressed the opinion that this series of text books was critical of the ideas and ideals of our democratic form of government and gave an unfavorable presentation of the historical background and contemporary growth of our country; and

WHEREAS, the 1947 Session of the Legislature of this state had determined that state moneys should not be used for the purchasing of said books; and

WHEREAS, this Grand Jury did appoint a special committee to study said text books and to report its findings and recommendations; and

WHEREAS, said committee did study said text books and did conclude that the criticism of said books was justified and that there was a wealth of other material available for supplemental school reading which was accurate as to facts and inspirational in its presentation; and

WHEREAS, said committee did recommend to the Grand Jury that it adopt a resolution urging the school authorities of Alameda County not to use the ‘Building America Series’ text books in the schools of this county;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that we, the Grand Jury of Alameda County, hereby urge and recommend to the school authorities of this county that the “Building America Series” of text books be not used in the schools of this county; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be sent to the County Superintendent of Schools, to each of the Boards of Education and Boards of School Trustees in Alameda County and to the Grand Juries of each of the other counties of this state.

/s/ H. L. SIMPSON
Foreman

/s/ JANE CLARK LANKTREL
Secretary

I hereby certify that the foregoing resolution is a true and correct copy of the resolution adopted by the Grand Jury of Alameda County at its regular meeting on the 20th day of October, 1947

/s/ JANE CLARK LANKTREL
Secretary

VIII

Letter From Parent Teachers Association

During the discussion and hearings on *Building America*, the State President of the California Congress of Parents and Teachers, Inc. sent the following letter to members of the Senate Committee;

April 2, 1947

Senator Nelson S. Dilworth
Education Committee
State Legislature,
Sacramento 14, California.

Dear Senator Dilworth :

The incendiary contentions and charges brought by Mr. Aaron Sargent against the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the members of the State Board of Education, and the State Curriculum Commission have caused the California Congress of Parents and Teachers grave concern.

Prior to the last meeting of the Board of Managers, our State leaders gave careful consideration to the "Building America Series," both old and revised texts, and full discussion of the whole subject was had by the entire Board. After painstaking study of the material contained in this supplementary textbook series, the Board unanimously agreed to the following statement :

"After careful and critical reading of the "Building America Series" of textbooks in use in the public schools and now under attack, the Education Study Committee of the California Congress of Parents and Teachers finds them well prepared and factual in approach. They are neither subversive nor communistic. The books emphasize the advantages of the democratic way of life. They stimulate students to assume their responsibilities in upholding and improving the traditional principles of American life.

We recommend that the Board express its confidence in the Curriculum Commission, the State Department of Education and the State Board of Education, which are the legally constituted agencies charged with the responsibility of selecting and adopting textbooks for the public schools of the State.

While we recognize the necessity for vigilance on the part of citizens concerning the education of our youth, we deplore unwarranted and unsubstantiated attacks on the integrity of public officials.

We have confidence that the members of the State Legislature will base their decision on a careful reading of the books in question."

We hope that you will give this matter your personal attention for many well intended persons are being misled by Mr. Sargent's extravagant and ill-considered statements.

Yours very truly,

/s/ ETHEL G. BROWN
MRS. ROLLIN BROWN, President.

IX

Resolution From the American Legion

In March 1947 the Senate Education Committee was provided with copies of a resolution from the Executive Committee of the American Legion, Department of California. A verified copy was secured under date of February 18, 1948.

“AMERICANISM RES #2

LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATION RE—TEXT BOOKS STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

WHEREAS, There has been directed to the attention of the Americanism Commission, Department of California, American Legion, by The California Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, that the State Department of Education is involved in a program for introduction of text books in the public schools, which is alleged to have a subversive trend, and,

WHEREAS, It is evidently apparent that this matter cannot be corrected within the Department of Education, and that the matter is being taken directly to the State Legislature for action, and,

WHEREAS, Said California Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, through its Citizenship Committee, is preparing and submitting suggested amendments to the Educational Code of California, in order to correct said text-book condition,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, By the Executive Committee of the Department of California, in regular meeting assembled this 9th day of February 1947, at Santa Barbara, California, that approval is hereby given to our Legislative Commission, to assist and work with said Society, with the end in view that corrections to the use of text-books in our public schools may be accomplished, through proper legislation, and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the California Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, to the Legislative Commission Chairman of the Department of California, American Legion, and to the California State Senate Committee dealing with Educational matters.

ADOPTED FEBRUARY 9, 1947.

It is hereby certified that the foregoing resolution was adopted at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Department of California, held in Santa Barbara, California, February 9, 1947.

ATTEST:

/s/ D. L. CLARKE
Department Adjutant”

SEAL

X

Excerpts From Testimony of Curriculum Commission Members With Comments by the Committee

Some members of the Curriculum Commission were emphatic in their insistence that there was no Communist propaganda in the "Building America Series." H. M. McPherson, Secretary of the Commission, testified before the Senate Committee on Education on April 8, 1947, and stated:

"Paragraph 4 on page 2 (of Mr. Sargents' petition protesting adoption of the books) makes the charge that *Building America* is a subversive publication in that it undermines principles essential to our form of government. The Curriculum Commission categorically denies that the material it has examined and recommended for adoption are subversive. The members of the Curriculum Commission are loyal citizens of the United States, serving without compensation in a sincere belief in the fundamental American democratic ideology and with a single purpose, viz., that of providing the best possible system of public education for the children and young people of our state." (Tr. p. 6)

At the same hearing Mr. J. D. Conner, another member of the Commission stated:

"Now, it is going to be obvious in my comments that we take a position with reference to the suitability of *Building America* textbooks which is in direct contradiction to conclusions and opinions and assertions that have here been stated by Mr. Sargent. It is our conviction that the *Building America* materials are excellent materials for the very purpose I have outlined. As a matter of fact, there are no materials available to us so uniquely qualified to do the job that we have in mind." (Tr., p. 49.)

According to further testimony given by Dr. Conner at the hearing before the Senate Committee on Education, April 8, 1947, sets of the "Building America Series" had been used in many public schools throughout California long before the adoption of the books by the State Board of Education. Despite the fact that the Legislature refused to appropriate funds for the purchase of *Building America*, there is nothing in the law to prevent any school from purchasing the books with district funds. Many sets are currently being used by the public schools of California. Mr. Conner's testimony in this regard is as follows:

"Senator Dilworth: Now, you stated, I believe, a short time ago that a considerable number of copies of *Building America*

were used in California schools. Are they used in the schools of your city?

“Mr. Conner: Yes.

“Senator Dilworth: And for how long?

“Mr. Conner: Well, I believe during the entire period of their publication. We, as a matter of fact, used some of the first experimental issues that were put out by the National Education Association to determine the grade level and suitability, and so forth.” (Tr., p. 88).

This Committee does not impugn the loyalty or sincerity of any member of the Curriculum Commission or the State Board of Education, but it is quite plain that they know little about the highly specialized field of Communist propaganda techniques. Many professional educators who hold the “Building America Series” in such high esteem, appear to take a position that since experts in education detected no Communist propaganda in the books—then the matter was closed, and anyone who presumed to disagree was casting aspersions on the patriotism of the educators. As is pointed out elsewhere in this report, a professional educator is not necessarily an expert on Communist propaganda. The members of the State Board of education, for example, were apparently not familiar with the Communist significance of John Reed, Francis Eisenberg or the International Workers Order. Neither were they nor the members of the Curriculum Commission nor the Editor-in Chief of the “Building America Series” familiar with the Communist front records of the writers whose works were listed in the several bibliographies of the Series.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS
of
"BUILDING AMERICA SERIES"

by
R. E. COMBS

Submitted to
SENATE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION
California Senate Resolution No. 71

For competent authority to evaluate the communistic propaganda in the *Building America* series of text books, the Committee secured the services of Mr. R. E. Combs, for 10 years Counsel for the various committees of the Legislature mandated to investigate subversive activities. He has A.B. and LL.B. degrees from the University of California and is a Member of the State Bar of California.

Table of Communist Front Organizations

1. Academic and Civil Rights Council of California
2. All America Anti - Imperialist League
3. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom
4. American Friends of the Chinese People
5. American League Against War and Fascism
6. American Student Union
7. American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born
8. American Committee to Save Refugees
9. American Friends of Spanish Democracy
10. American Youth Congress
11. American Committee for the Struggle Against War
12. American Relief Ship for Spain
13. American-Russian Institute
14. American Youth for Democracy
15. American Council on Soviet Relations
16. American Artists Congress
17. American Fund for Public Service
18. American Committee for Free Yugoslavia
19. American Slav Congress
20. American Committee of Liberals for the Freedom of Mooney and Billings
21. Art Front
22. Artists Front to Win the War
23. Banquet Celebrating 25th Anniversary of the Red Army
24. Black and White
25. Conference for Pan-American Democracy
26. Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America
27. Consumers National Federation
28. Cooperating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo
29. Celebration of 15 Years of Biro Bidjan
30. Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder
31. Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges
32. Congress of American Revolutionary Writers
33. California Labor School
34. Council of U. S. Veterans
35. Daily Worker
36. Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights
37. Ella Reeve Bloor Banquet
38. Friends of the Soviet Union
39. Friday
40. Film Audiences for Democracy
41. Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
42. Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians
43. Golden Book of Friendship with the Soviet Union
44. Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights
45. Hollywood Writers Mobilization
46. Hollywood Quarterly
47. Hollywood Community Radio Group
48. Hollywood Democratic Committee
49. Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts Sciences and Professions
50. International Student League Against War and Fascism
51. International Labor Defense
52. International Workers Order
53. ICOR
54. International Juridical Association
55. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
56. John Reed Clubs
57. Jefferson School of Social Science
58. Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain
59. League of American Writers
60. League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford
61. League for Women Shoppers
62. Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy
63. Model Youth Legislature
64. Moscow News
65. Motion Picture Artists Committee
66. National Conference for the Defense of Political Prisoners
67. National Conference for Peoples Rights
68. National Emergency Committee to Combat Anti-Democratic Bills in Congress
69. National Emergency Conference
70. National Peoples Committee Against Hearst
71. National Negro Congress
72. National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields
73. Negro Playwrights, Inc.

74. Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio
75. National Lawyers Guild
76. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
77. National Writers Congress
78. National Citizens Political Action Committee
79. National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax
80. Nailebn
81. New York Tom Mooney Defense Committee
82. New Masses
83. Open Letter to American Liberals
84. Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union
85. Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party
86. Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee
87. Prestes Defense Telegram
88. Pacific Weekly
89. Peoples Educational Center
90. Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.
91. Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee
92. Student Congress Against War
93. Supporters of Simon Gerson
94. Schappes Defense Committee
95. School for Democracy in New York
96. Southern Negro Youth Congress
97. Soviet Russia Today
98. Statement Defending the Communist Party
99. Southern Conference on Human Welfare
100. Sunday Worker
101. Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials
102. Soviet Russia
103. Science and Society
104. Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee
105. Statewide Legislative Conference
106. Tallentire Jubilee Committee
107. Tom Mooney Labor School
108. The Book Union
109. United Committee of South Slavic Workers
110. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
111. Washington Committee for Democratic Action
112. Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo
113. Woman Today

Building America Authors Affiliated With Communist Front Organizations

(An asterisk indicates that the author was omitted from the bibliography, but included in the text or a footnote)

1. Adamic, Louis
2. Anderson, Sherwood
3. Beard, Prof. Charles A.
4. Beard, Mary
5. Buck, Pearl S.
6. Burns, Eveline M.
7. Chaffee, Prof. Zachariah, Jr.
8. Chase, Stuart
9. Corsi, Edward
10. Crawford, Kenneth
11. Crow, Carl
12. Embree, Edwin
13. Epstein, Abraham
14. Ernst, Morris
15. Fisher, Dorothy Canfield
16. Flanagan, Hallie
17. Goodsell, Prof. Willystone
18. Hays, Arthur Garfield
19. Johnson, James Weldon
20. La Farge, Oliver
21. Lattimore, Owen
22. Lynd, Prof. Helen M.
23. Lynd, Prof. Robert S.
24. Macgowan, Prof. Kenneth
25. Mather, Prof. Kirtley F.
26. McWilliams, Carey
27. Mumford, Lewis
28. Nelson, Rose
29. Overstreet, Prof. H. A.
30. Radin, Prof. Paul
31. Roberts, Prof. Holland D.
32. Sandoz, Mari
33. Seabrook, William
34. Spaeth, Sigmund
35. Staley, Prof. Eugene
36. Steffens, Lincoln
37. Stern, Prof. Bernhard J.
38. Stowe, Leland
39. Strong, Anna Louise
40. Traube, Shepard
41. Wise, James Waterman
42. Witke, Carl W.
43. Williams, Albert Rhys
44. Wright, Frank Lloyd
45. Yutang, Lin
46. *Alexander, Dr. Will H.
47. *Bourke-White, Margaret
48. *Graham, Prof. Frank P.
49. *Hicks, Granville
50. *Webb, Sidney and Beatrice

Persons Affiliated With Communist Front Organizations Listed Herein but Not Connected With the Building America Series

1. Addis, Prof. Thomas, see Cal. 1947, pp. 88, 93, 103. Member of the faculty, Stanford University.
2. Amter, Israel, see Cal. 1947, p. 12. Member Communist Party.
3. Barbusse, Henri, see Cal. 1947, p. 106. Member Communist Party.
4. Bedacht, Max, see Cal. 1947, p. 180. Member Communist Party.
5. Berne, Lewis Alan, see Cal. 1947, pp. 201-204, 209, 214, 216, 219. President of the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.
6. Bittleman, Alexander, Member Communist Party.
7. Bloor, Ella Reeve, Member Communist Party.
8. Brady, Prof. Robert, see Cal. 1947, pp. 78, 79. Member faculty, University of California.
9. Brant, Carl, see Cal. 1943, pp. 60, 83, 135, 145-147; Cal. 1947, p. 96. Member Communist Party.
10. Bridges, Harry, see Cal. 1943, pp. 100, 197, 234, 294, 296, 297; Cal., 1945, pp. 147, 195, 196.
11. Brodeur, Prof. Arthur, see Cal. 1947, pp. 78, 79, 88, 93. Member faculty, University of California.
12. Browder, Earl, head of the American Communist Party for fourteen years.
13. Budenz, Louis F., see Cal. 1947, p. 31. Former national official of the American Communist Party who resigned in 1946.
14. Counts, Prof. George S., Associated with Dr. Paul Robert Hanna in the publication of *The Social Frontier*; associated with Prof. Robert Speer and William Kilpatrick in the John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture. Prof. Hollis L. Caswell was also a member of the Board of Directors of this Society.
15. Ehrenbourg, Ilya. Official journalist for the U. S. S. R. See Cal. 1947, p. 106.
16. Eisler, Hanns, brother of Gerhard Eisler, recently convicted for contempt of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, and alleged to be a Comintern agent.
17. Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, a member of the National Committee of the American Communist Party. See Cal. 1947, p. 227.
18. Foster, William Z. Present head of the American Communist Party.
19. Gallagher, Leo. See Cal. 1947, pp. 47, 64, 65, 70, 74, 77, 170, 188, 221, 248, 249.
20. Grossman, Aubrey. Educational Director for the Communist Party in San Francisco County. See Cal. 1943: pp. 60, 86, 99, 176; Cal. 1947, pp. 78, 83, 92, 100, 103, 104, 189, 211, 212, 221, 227, 255, 256.
21. Grossman, Hazel, Wife of Aubrey Grossman, and a staff member of the California Labor School; see Cal. 1947, pp. 78, 79, 83, 84, 89, 90-92, 100, 104, 211.
22. Hathaway, Clarence. Editor of the *Daily Worker*, official organ of the American Communist Party. See Cal. 1945, pp. 121-123; Cal. 1947, p. 68.
23. Healy, Dorothy. Chairman of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County; member of the Board of Directors of the Peoples Educational Center. See Cal. 1943, p. 86; Cal. 1947, pp. 23, 26, 28, 71, 96, 115, 129, 138, 221, 227.
24. Himes, Prof. Norman E. Author of one of the objectionable sex books used in Chico High School. See Cal. 1947, pp. 323, 324, 341.
25. Hudson, Roy. Head of maritime organization for the American Communist Party. See Cal. 1947, pp. 172, 204.
26. Jenkins, David. Registered as a Communist in New York; Director of the California Labor School. See Cal. 1947, pp. 78, 79, 81, 85, 97, 89-91, 98-101, 103, 145-147, 153-156, 160, 163, 213.
27. Kenny, Robert W. Former Attorney General of California. See Cal. 1943, pp. 162, 210; Cal. 1947, pp. 48-51, 54, 55, 57-59, 89, 93, 96, 97, 142, 179, 188, 243, 235, 237, 239, 242, 249.

28. Kilpatrick, Prof. William H. Associated with Dr. George S. Counts, Prof. Hollis L. Caswell and Prof. Robert K. Speer in the John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture.

29. King, Carol Weiss, New York lawyer who specializes in the defense of Communists, including Gerhard Eisler.

30. Lawson, John Howard. See Cal. 1943, pp. 42, 148; Cal. 1945, pp. 116, 118, 121, 122, 128-130, 132, 133, 137, 139, 171, 172, 195, 196; Cal. 1947, pp. 36, 47, 65, 67, 68, 70-72, 95-98, 105-109, 129, 138, 142, 170, 180, 187, 189, 239, 242, 260, 261, 297, 301-303, 313, 369.

31. Marcantonio, Vito. Member of Congress from New York. National head of International Labor Defense, a Section of International Red Aid, or MOPR—headquarters, Moscow. See Cal. 1947, pp. 70, 214.

32. McKenney, Ruth. Author of the best-seller "My Sister Aileen." Recently resigned from the Communist Party.

33. Oppenheimer, Dr. J. Robert.

34. Parsons, Bishop Edward L. See Cal. 1947, pp. 79, 90, 93, 242.

35. Pinsky, Paul. See Cal. 1943, pp. 158, 167; Cal. 1947, pp. 78, 79, 89, 91, 204, 205, 209.

36. Rathborne, Mervin. Cal. 1943, pp. 60, 177, 188, 189; Cal. 1947, pp. 78, 79, 101, 163, 202, 209, 210, 241.

37. Refrigier, Anton. See Cal. 1947, pp. 82, 91, 94.

38. Resner, Herbert. See Cal. 1943, pp. 186, 197; Cal. 1947, pp. 78, 149, 189.

39. Robeson, Paul. See Cal. 1943, p. 123; Cal. 1947, pp. 34, 98, 233, 235, 236, 288, 293, 294.

40. Schappes, Morris U. See Cal. 1947, p. 219.

41. Segure, Rose. See Cal. 1943, pp. 160, 163; Cal. 1947, pp. 89, 208, 209, 212, 216, 218.

42. Sorrel, Herbert. See Cal. 1943, pp. 60, 95, 162, 167; Cal. 1945, pp. 139, 142; Cal. 1947, pp. 12, 97, 169-173, 175, 187, 189, 191, 192, 221, 256, 257, 371.

43. Speer, Prof. Robert K. Associated with Prof. George S. Counts, Prof. Hollis L. Caswell, and Prof. William H. Kilpatrick in the John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture.

44. Strack, Celeste. Educational Director for the Communist Party of California. See Cal. 1947, pp. 81, 84, 89, 91, 92.

45. Steinmetz, Prof. Harry C. Member of the faculty at San Diego State College. See Cal. 1947, p. 97.

46. Trachtenberg, Alexander. Member Communist Party, and in charge of publications through Workers Library Publishers, Inc. See Cal. 1945, pp. 84, 85, 119, 121, 128; Cal. 1947, pp. 68, 267.

47. Weatherwax, John. Organizer for Consumers Union in Southern California. See Cal. 1943, pp. 60, 106-108; was member of the State Committee of the Communist Party of California.

48. Weinstock, Louis. Member of the Communist Party. See Cal. 1947, p. 227.

49. Wheeler, Helen. See Cal. 1943, pp. 60, 95, 96; Cal. 1947, pp. 89, 242.

50. Whitney, Anita. Member of the Communist Party of California. See Cal. 1943, pp. 189, 190; Cal. 1947, pp. 74, 77.

51. Winter, Ella. Widow of Lincoln Steffens, now married to Donald Ogden Stewart. See Cal. 1943, p. 150; 1945, pp. 121, 127; Cal. 1947, p. 77.

*Senator Nelson S. Dilworth, Chairman,
Senate Investigating Committee on Education,
Senate Resolution No. 71*

DEAR SENATOR DILWORTH: Pursuant to your request I have made a critical study of the thirty booklets comprising the "Building America Series" for the purpose of determining whether they contain Communist propaganda. I have examined the text material, illustrations and captions, and have checked the background of the authors listed in the bibliography of each volume. Some of the booklets contain no Communist propaganda. Others contain it in abundance. The majority of these books are slanted in such a manner that they pointedly disparage the American way of life by criticizing the defects and failing to devote commensurate attention to the benefits. In many instances the text material is erroneous. Frequently the most insidious and effective propaganda is accomplished through the illustrations and captions.

It is impossible to properly evaluate these books without taking them one by one, paying particular attention to the documented affiliations with known Communist front organizations of the authors whose texts are listed in the bibliographies—the authors and professional educators whose works provide the materials on which the "Building America Series" is based.

Adoption of the Building America Series

In 1946 the California State Curriculum Commission recommended that the State Board of Education place in the Seventh and Eighth Grades a revised edition of the "Building America Series" as supplementary texts. The books were adopted in January, 1947. While the matter was before the Curriculum Commission objections to the books were made by the Sons of the American Revolution, 926 DeYoung Building, San Francisco. Mr. Aaron Sargent, a member of that organization, was retained by it as counsel and appeared before the State Board of Education to protest against the adoption of the books on the ground that they were, in effect, subversive. Mr. Sargent thereafter presented arguments against the books at public hearings of the California Senate Committee on Education.

On April 17, 1947, Dr. Paul Robert Hanna, Chairman of the Editorial Board of the "Building America Series," appeared before the Senate Committee on Education and testified at length concerning the books. He stated that:

"... this material is wide open: It is just setting ducks to people who want to attack it because of its very nature. We have attempted to present all of the significant points of view on any significant American problem, and to present it as accurately as we can in the very words which are used by the leaders on each of these positions." (Hearing Transcript, pp. 51-52).

With regard to the individual records of those concerned with writing the books, Dr. Hanna testified:

"As Chairman of the Editorial Board, I felt a responsibility to the Board and to my fellow educators *to make sure we were not propagandizing or being open to subversive literature*, (my italics) so I wrote a letter which is in our files to the editors which said, 'This project must not have anyone on its writing staff who has any connection with any Communist organization,' and I was assured, and I can assure you this has been and will be the case so long as I am connected with *Building America*—as far as I know, no member who has written any material for *Building America* has had any connection with any Communist or subversive organization." (Tr. p. 116).

Dr. Hanna later exhibited surprise and concern when he was informed that Professor Alain Locke, a member of his staff, had been affiliated with twelve Communist front organizations, according to a documented report of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, and stated that he had no prior information concerning Locke's background. (Tr. pp. 60-61).

Communist Front Organizations

The Communist Party of the United States celebrated its 28th birthday in September, 1947. During that time it has managed to flourish, grow, and place its members in key positions, not because the American people were sympathetic to Communism, but because they were apathetic toward it.

The Party operates largely through so-called "front" organizations. A "front" organization is christened with a misleading name, espouses a popular cause, and attracts a majority of non-Communist members who are duped into lending the enterprise a semblance of respectability and who support the movement financially. At the head of each front are trained and disciplined Communists who manipulate it to serve as a medium for propaganda, a source of funds, or a recruiting center to serve the best interests of the Soviet Union. It is often difficult for the layman to detect a Communist front organization. The expert, who is familiar with the names of party members and sympathizers, can detect them quite readily and accurately. When the old, familiar names appear as officers; when the organization follows the current party line, and when it is lavishly praised in the Communist press—these indicia serve as danger signals.

The process of spotting a Communist is quite another matter. Official investigative bodies have their own techniques and their own system for exchanging information. Some labor unions have used the principle of association in uncovering Communists in their ranks. One member stated in effect, when asked how he knew another member to be a Communist:

"When I see a fowl about the size of a duck, with feathers like a duck, webbed feet like a duck; a yellow bill like a duck, and it swims like a duck, goes 'Quack, Quack' like a duck and associates with ducks—then it's reasonable for me to assume that I'm looking at a duck!"

Detection of Communist Propaganda

It is much more difficult to detect Communist propaganda in a motion picture, in written form, or over the air than it is to spot a Communist. Most Party members have records of association with other known members and fellow travelers. They subscribe to Party publications, affiliate with known front organizations, and the pattern of their activities over a period of years is available to official investigating bodies. This type of information can be accumulated, correlated and documented until it is overwhelming in its implications concerning a given individual. In addition, the reports from trusted informants who join the Communist Party and its front organizations for counter-espionage purposes are most helpful by way of corroboration.

Communist propaganda is necessarily subtle. The Party is not so stupid as to openly or obviously urge the unlawful destruction of our Government, so it concentrates on the indirect approach. In Labor Unions, the Communists ostensibly strive for higher wages and better conditions, while actually they further the class struggle by setting the workers against the bosses. In racial minority groups they ostensibly strive for tolerance and work against discrimination while they foment

strife by setting class against class. On the stage and screen and over the air the technique has been particularly subtle and usually consists in portraying the boss as a corpulent exploiter, while the working hero is underfed, underpaid, and "progressive". News commentaries by left-wing broadcasters follow the current Party line—urging us to fight any measure for military preparedness, to bring the troops home from overseas (especially from China and Greece), to sabotage the Marshall plan, share our atomic bomb secrets, and abolish all agencies that presume to investigate Communism.

It is conceivable that a Communist may write material that contains no propaganda, although such a thing is unlikely. It is also conceivable that a non-Communist may unwittingly write Communist propaganda, but that is even more unlikely. If there is a covey of writers who have been affiliated with a long series of front organizations and they unite in providing basic material for a series of supplementary texts for use in the Seventh and Eighth grades in our public schools, then obviously such books should be viewed with suspicion. That, as will be seen, is precisely the case with the "Building America Series."

Nothing in this report is intended to imply that because there may be Communist propaganda in these books, that Dr. Paul Robert Hanna is a Communist or in any sense subversive. I have made a careful search to ascertain whether Dr. Hanna has ever been affiliated with a Communist front group and have not found a single instance of such affiliation. On the contrary, there is much evidence that he is an eminent educator and a loyal, patriotic American. The fact remains, however, that even educators can be fooled by clever Communist propagandists, and I am forced to conclude that both Dr. Hanna and Dr. C. C. Trillingham of the State Curriculum Commission, and Mr. Roy Simpson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, have been fooled. This statement is made with the utmost respect, and is intended to cast no aspersions on the loyalty of these gentlemen.

C. C. Trillingham is listed in Appendix IX, p. 1667, of the 1944 Report of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities (78th Congress, 2nd Session) as a member of the National Advisory Board of an organization known as the Council of U. S. Veterans, 20 West 43rd Street, New York City. The history of this group is an excellent example of the devious manner in which a Communist front can disguise itself. The Council of the U. S. Veterans grew out of the parent organization which was started on May 1, 1920, at Geneva, Switzerland, by two internationally famous Communists, Hugo Graef of Germany, and Henri Barbusse of France.

The Council of U. S. Veterans was launched in 1930 as an integral part of the parent organization, and was originally known as the Worker's Ex-Servicemen's League. Emanuel Levine, First National Chairman, acquainted his American comrades with the League in an article in the August, 1934, issue of the Party's monthly magazine—"The Communist", stating that it was affiliated with the international movement started by Graef and Barbusse.

R. N. Borgen, an ex-Communist and a former official of the League, stated under oath that:

“The purpose of the Worker’s Ex-Servicemen’s League was to spread Communistic propaganda among the war veterans and to disrupt such organizations as the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled American Veterans.” (Hearings, Cong. Com. on Un-American Activities, Vol. II, pp. 1402-1403).

Mr. Borgen also explained that the League later changed its name to the Council of U. S. Veterans.

The Communist control of this organization is readily discernable from the records of its top-flight officers. Thus Harold Hickerson, Organizational Secretary, was also a section organizer for the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, (Daily Worker, June 1, 1937, p. 4); he was the Communist Party candidate for Congress from the 15th Congressional District of New York in 1936 (Daily Worker, Nov. 2, 1936, p. 5); and contributed to “Soviet Russia Today,” official publication of the well-known front organization, *Friends of the Soviet Union* (Soviet Russia Today, May, 1936, p. 12).

Emanuel Levine was on the managerial staff of the *Daily Worker* and was the Communist candidate for United States Senator from the 13th District of New York in 1940 (Daily Worker, August 4, 1940, p. 5).

Paul Crosbie, also a member of the National Advisory Board of the Council of U. S. Veterans, was at the same time a member of the State Board of the Communist party of New York (Daily Worker, May 24, 1936, p. 1).

Gardner Jackson, Legislative Representative for the Council of U. S. Veterans, was one of the bondsmen for Herbert Benjamin, national Communist official (Hearings, Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Vol. I, p. 490); he signed a protest against banning Communists from the American Civil Liberties Union, (*Daily Worker*, March 19, 1940, p. 4) and protested a proposal to banish the teaching of Communism in the public schools (*Washington News*, February 25, 1936).

Thus, Dr. Trillingham himself, having once been unwittingly drawn into a Communist front organization and elevated therein to a position on its National Advisory Board, could hardly be expected to detect Communist propaganda in the “Building America Series” as a member of the State Curriculum Commission. A professional educator is not necessarily an expert on Communist propaganda.

During the testimony of Dr. Paul Robert Hanna before the Senate Committee on Education at the April 17th hearing, it appeared that there was another Dr. Paul Hanna whose political beliefs were considerably left of center and that the two educators had occasionally been confused,—to the embarrassment of Dr. Paul Robert Hanna of the “Building America Series.”

In June, 1935, Dr. Paul Robert Hanna was listed as a member of the Board of Directors for a publication called *The Social Frontier*, “a journal of educational criticism and reconstruction” edited by Dr. George S. Counts. The Journal stated that it intended to bring to teachers:

“Keen analyses of the various aspects of our civilization, especially as they bear upon the work of the school. Forthright advocacy of

social pioneering in education. Fearless struggle of the school for the right to discharge its obligation *in building a new social order.*" (My italics.)

Dr. Hanna, who had been embarrassed because he was sometimes confused with his ultra-liberal namesake, was undoubtedly not aware of Dr. Counts' proclivity to joint Communist front organizations. He had been connected with thirteen of them by 1944.

Professor Hollis L. Caswell was a member of the Editorial Board of the "Building America Series." He was associated with Professors William H. Kilpatrick and Robert K. Speer on the Executive Board of the John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture. Dr. Counts was also a member of that Board. Professors Kilpatrick and Speer have long records of affiliation with Communist fronts, as will be seen.

Apparently moved by the impressive record of membership in Communist organizations of Professors Kilpatrick, Speer and Counts, the *National Republic* for March, 1937 had this to say about the John Dewey Society with which they and Professor Caswell were connected :

"*Radical Educators Form New Movement.* Under the guise of a fear that a threat of 'fascism' exists in the United States, and which they charge is making rapid strides, a number of 'educators', some widely known for their Marxist views, recently organized a new movement which is to be known as the 'John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture'.

"Members of this organization condemn the trend toward public attempts to keep educators on the side of American Constitution government through oaths of allegiance as 'assaults on educational freedom.'"

Professor Alain Locke, already mentioned as a member of the editorial staff of the "Building America Series," was affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

- American League for Peace and Democracy (US, 389,392)
- American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, (US 473).
- Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, (US 653).
- Golden Book of Friendship with the Soviet Union, (US 771).
- School for Democracy in New York (US 1207).
- National Negro Congress (US 1293).
- National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields (US 1335).
- Negro Playwrights, Inc. (US, 1348).
- Southern Negro Youth Congress (US, 1601).
- Washington Committee for Democratic Action (US 1697).

It appears, therefore, that Dr. Trillingham, a member of the California Curriculum Commission and a staunch supporter of the "Building America Series," was a national officer in a Communist front organization; that Dr. Paul Robert Hanna, chief editor of the series, was connected with a publication headed by Dr. George S. Counts, member of *thirteen* Communist fronts; that Professor Alain Locke of the *Building America* editorial staff was a member of *twelve* Communist fronts; that Professor Hollis L. Caswell, also of the *Building America* editorial staff was connected with an educational enterprise headed by Professors Counts, Kilpatrick and Speer, whose front affiliations are hereinafter set forth.

Some of the books in the "Building America Series" have not been used as media for propaganda. This technique is in perfect accord with Communist practice. The Party has made no particular effort, for example, to infiltrate those labor unions which are not peculiarly suited to the Communist long-range program, and the bulk of the effort, therefore, has been concentrated on those unions whose members work in the critical fields of transportation, communication, the handling of food, in scientific laboratories, shipping industries, Social Welfare and in key Governmental position, as well as in unions whose members are employed by newspapers or who write for the stage, screen or radio.

In California, we find relatively no Communist infiltration in those departments of Government such as insurance, corporations, real estate, highways, and banking. The departments of Social Welfare, labor, immigration and housing, on the other hand, have been quite thoroughly infiltrated at one time or another, for obvious reasons.

This same technique has been used in the "Building America Series." Those books dealing with the Constitution, housing, family life, minority groups, and the like, are full of propaganda. Those dealing with such subjects as conservation, land resources, arts, the American craftsman, and the like, are devoid of propaganda for the simple reason that they are not suitable vehicles for its dissemination.

The sources of information concerning the Communist front organizations mentioned in this report and the data concerning the affiliations of some of the authors listed in the bibliographies, include the U. S. Department of Justice, reports of the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities, reports of the California Legislature's Committee on un-American activities, and various Communist sources. The California committee reports are referred to by year and page number. The Congressional reports are used in all cases where the same information is also covered by other source materials and are designated by the letters "U.S." followed by page numbers which refer to Appendix IX of the reports of said committee.

The "Building America Series"

Vol. I—Our Constitution

During his testimony before the Senate Committee on Education in April, 1947, Dr. Hanna declared that the booklet called *Our Constitution* was undoubtedly the poorest in the series (Tr. p. 96). Mr. Chester Hansen, veteran reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, attended this hearing, heard Dr. Hanna's testimony, and expressed his impressions as follows in the *Los Angeles Times* for April 21, 1947:

"The big point I got out of his (Dr. Hanna's) interesting discussion, lecture and sales talk to the Committee was that it was the purpose of the books to give 'both sides' in the presentation of a subject. That was his excuse for putting in items derogatory to men and issues in our history.

"Well, let's take a sample that I think is typical of the writing in these supplemental textbooks for the 7th and 8th grades. This is from the book on 'Our Constitution.'

“ ‘In 1917 housewives were paying fantastically high prices for war-scarce butter, sugar and flour. President Wilson’s solution to this ‘profiteering’, as it was called, was to set up a ‘food dictator.’ He chose Herbert Hoover, a mining engineer who had spent most of his life outside the country. Many people began to complain this was ‘one man rule’ and ‘unconstitutional’. Said Sen. James M. Reed: ‘It is proposed to give this man, whom the American people have heard of through the newspapers only during the past few months, the power to say to every housewife what she shall feed her babe, her husband and herself.’

Mr. Hansen continues: ‘May we hope that the children’s ‘inquiring minds’ will lead them down the path of historical curiosity to learn just a few more truths about Herbert Hoover. It would help them in their knowledge of our relations with Europe to know that Hoover and his staff did such a good job as ‘food dictators’ that the United States was able to feed herself and her armies and then save the starving Belgians and the other hungry people of Europe. And that the people of Europe were grateful for this.

‘Also that this same Herbert Hoover who is presented to the seventh and eighth grade children of the public school of his own home State in this supplemental textbook only as a ‘mining engineer who lived most of his life outside the country,’ later became Secretary of Commerce and then President. There is no mention of those facts in the book. Why refer to him as food ‘dictator’ rather than food administrator?’ ”

This book commences by describing the Constitution as a “living document,” sets forth its “English heritage”, describes the struggle of the colonists against the tyranny of Britain and traces the drafting and adoption of the Constitution. Particular attention is devoted to the Bill of Rights and the interpretation of Constitutional provisions by the United States Supreme Court. The Civil War, the development of big business enterprises, the growth of organized labor, the first World War and the post-war depression are highlighted as severe tests of the strength and elasticity of the Constitution.

There are forty-four illustrations in this book. Seven are graphs or charts. Of the remaining thirty-seven, twenty-six deal with the period after the adoption of the Constitution. One of these shows Thomas Jefferson attempting to pull down the Federal Government, with the enthusiastic assistance of the Devil. The caption (p. 240) admits that such a picture “would offend public taste today,” and explains to the children how the Bill of Rights broke down: “Under Washington and Adams (Federalist presidents) the Federal Government had taken many steps which opponents like Jefferson claimed went beyond the powers granted by the Constitution. It had passed Alien and Sedition laws which punished those who criticized the government, though this was in violation of the freedom of speech guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.”

On page 245 is a picture of “Lincoln, Sumner and Greeley burying the Constitution, Free Speech, the Habeas Corpus and the Union,” each of the latter being shown in a separate casket beside an open grave.

On page 244 appears a picture of downtrodden workers supporting on their bowed shoulders the nation's industries, and seated on top of the heap are the capitalists—fat, opulent and wearing silk hats.

The illustration on page 245 shows how the Supreme Court allowed excessive freight rates to build up a railroad monopoly which impoverished the farmers of America. The monopoly is represented by the ubiquitous capitalist in the silk hat. On the same page the Interstate Commerce Commission is depicted as a wild west show, and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is shown clambering out of a coffin.

On page 246 a group of roughly-clad and angry factory workers are shown gathered around the front porch of their employer. A sad-looking lady stands nearby with a babe in her arms and a little girl at her side. The workers are demanding more pay and better working conditions, and the owner of the factories looks coldly down at them from under his silk hat, while a servant in livery stands behind his master.

On page 247 is a picture of a dejected lad who appears to be about the age of the pupils for whom the "Building America Series" was intended. He is working the night shift in a factory.

On page 250 Herbert Hoover is shown with this comment: "The 'war powers' conferred on him by the President were regarded by some legislators as unconstitutional." On the same page President Wilson is shown drawing the draft numbers during the first World War. The caption says: "Above—President Wilson is choosing the first draft numbers in World War I. Although the Constitution prohibited 'involuntary servitude', the draft laws were upheld by the courts."

On page 251 a police patrol car is about to depart for the nearest jail with a load of draft slackers. The usual curious crowd is milling around. The caption states: "Police (above) are arresting men who cannot prove they have registered for the draft of 1917. Public temper ran so high that many 'slackers' were denied their constitutional rights."

On page 252 are two illustrations. The first shows a breadline; the second a run on a bank. These indicate to the grammar school children how "A Depression Tests the Strength of the Constitution."

The text material in this book has been criticized on the ground that it is, in many instances, historically and technically inaccurate. It is submitted that the 8th graders for whom this particular volume was intended would not be bothered too much about the interpretation of legal matters by the Supreme Court. From the excerpts cited above, however, it will be readily seen how Herbert Hoover is castigated, and that same type of castigation is being currently published in the *Peoples World*, Communist publication for the West Coast; the class-struggle is highlighted by contrasting the silk-hatted capitalists with the ill-clad sad-faced workers—not just once, but over and over again. The right of our Government to protect itself in an emergency is pointedly questioned by an implication that the wartime draft is prohibited by the Constitution as involuntary servitude, although "the draft laws were upheld by the courts," and by stating that the unfortunate slackers were "denied their constitutional rights." The effect of these statements and these illustrations on the impressionable minds of grammar school students is obvious.

This sort of statement is particularly vicious because it plants in the mind of the 7th and 8th grader that their country should not defend itself by raising armed forces through conscription because the Constitution forbids involuntary servitude. This type of propaganda strikes a three-fold blow at our national security, our Constitution and our Supreme Court.

It should be stated, parenthetically, that in setting forth the Communist front organizations, the same groups have been repeated each time an author listed in any of the bibliographies is found to have been a member, and the various individuals have also been listed in each instance. This has been done deliberately to show clearly how the members of the left-wing educational cult have flocked to the same front groups and have subscribed to the same fundamental political philosophy through their affiliations.

It is obviously impossible to list the entire membership of each Communist front organization, so I have selected members of the Communist party and enthusiastic fellow travelers and listed them, in addition to the Building America authors. This has been done for the purpose of indicating to the layman the Communist nature of the front organization and also for the purpose of making him familiar with the elite membership of the Communist Party front organizations in America.

Question marks are used throughout the book on our Constitution to lend a touch of sarcasm to certain key phrases. Thus on page 244 we find "rail kings," "steel barons," and "meat princes." On page 251 the high prices after 1917 are attributed to "profiteering" and the President is accused of seeking to solve the problem by appointing a "food dictator." On the same page it is stated that "'Due process of law' was disregarded in forcing businessmen to make the things needed for war."

Much of the text material in this book is most certainly not subversive in the sense that it advocates the overthrow of the Government by unlawful means. The text does create the impression that the Constitution may be outmoded and has been stretched and pulled out of shape to cover a social era not contemplated when the document was drawn. There are pointed suggestions that despite Constitutional safeguards, civil liberties have been violated, monopolies encouraged and that the toiling masses have been pretty much at the mercy of the corpulent gentlemen in silk hats. These general impressions are created through the vague and confusing language of the text and by the plainly biased nature of the illustrations. No fair person wants such a supplementary text to present a distorted picture of our Constitutional form of government; no such person believes that our government has been perfect—but to emphasize the defects and minimize the virtues as this book does is too much.

Professor Charles A. Beard has a text book listed in the bibliography for "Our Constitution." There are other books listed therein by Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Mary Beard and James Waterman Wise.

Professor Charles A. Beard has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (US, 331-336); other members were: Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. George S. Counts, Lewis Alan Berne, Paul Robeson, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin and Oliver La Farge.

Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, (US 962-966) ; other members were : Robert W. Kenny, Carey McWilliams and Leo Gallagher.

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (US 1209-1216) ; other members were : Prof. William Kilpatrick, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio, Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, Oliver La Farge, Lillian Hellman. One of the publications of this front organization quoted Prof. Beard as follows :

"With another war threatened, the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate should investigate the F.B.I. before Mr. Hoover begins to round up the progressives and other independent citizens as possibly detrimental to the security of the U.S. (Id. p. 1214).

Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Vito Marcantonio to Congress (US 1374-1375) ; other members were : Louis Adamic, John Howard Lawson, Sherwood Anderson, Arthur Garfield Hays.

Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, (US 1701-1703) ; other members were : Robert W. Kenny, Louis Adamic, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Mumford.

Mary Beard was a member of the Consumer's National Federation. This innocent-sounding organization was called an important Communist "transmission belt" by no less an authority than Earl Browder (US 659-660) ; other members were : Prof. George S. Counts, Stuart Chase, Abraham Epstein.

James Waterman Wise has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations :

American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born (US 350-355) ; other members were : Prof. William Kilpatrick, Prof. Thomas Addis, Lewis Alan Berne, Sherwood Anderson, Vito Marcantonio and Herman Shumlin.

American Committee to Save Refugees (US 356-362) ; other members were : Prof. Robert K. Spear, John Howard Lawson, Stuart Chase, Ruth McKenney, Lillian Hellman and Herman Shumlin.

American Friends of the Soviet Union (US 779) ; other members were : John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Thomas Addis.

American League for Peace and Democracy (US 389-404) ; other members were : Prof. Robert K. Spear, Robert W. Kenny, Prof. Alain Locke, Lewis Alan Berne, Sherwood Anderson and Vito Marcantonio.

American League Against War and Fascism (US 416-424) ; other members were : Earl Browder, Lincoln Steffens, Prof. George S. Counts, Vito Marcantonio, Louis Adamic, Sherwood Anderson and Ella Winter.

Golden Book of Friendship with the Soviet Union (US 467) ; other members were : Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Thomas Addis and John Howard Lawson.

American Student Union (US 514-523) ; other members were : Prof. George S. Counts.

American Youth Congress (US 536-546) ; other members were : Oliver La Farge, Celeste Strack.

The Book Union (US 588-589) ; other members were : Alexander Trachtenberg, Leo Gallagher, John Howard Lawson, Lewis Mumford, Lincoln Steffens, Ella Winter.

Celebration of Fifteen Years of Biro Bidjan—Communist Colony in the U.S.S.R., (US 603-604) ; other members were : Vito Marcantonio, Max Bedacht, Alex Bittleman. Both of the last two persons are Communist Party functionaries.

Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, (US 615-627) ; other members were : Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Thomas Addis, Carey McWilliams, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Leo Gallagher and Paul Pinsky.

Council for Pan American Democracy (US 672-673) ; other members were : Prof. George S. Counts, Louis Adamic, Mervyn Rathborne.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 750-755) ; other members were : Robert W. Kenny, Carey McWilliams, Leo Gallagher, Lillian Hellman and Herman Shumlin.

Friends of the Soviet Union (US 758-759) ; other members were : William Z. Foster, Roy Hudson, Alexander Trachtenberg, Clarence Hathaway and Prof. George S. Counts. (This is not to be confused with the American Friends of the Soviet Union, supra).

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights (US 775-776) ; other members were : Prof. Robert K. Spear, Prof. William Kilpatrick, Vito Marcantonio

International Labor Defense, (US 831) ; other members were : Ella Reeve Bloor, Leo Gallagher, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Vito Marcantonio, William Z. Foster.

International Workers Order, (US 849-904) ; other members were : Carey McWilliams, Vito Marcantonio.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (US 940-948) ; other members were : Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, Carey McWilliams, Paul Robeson, Lin Yutang.

Ella Reeve Bloor Banquet (US 1165) ; other members were : Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Louis F. Budenz, Leo Gallagher, Alexander Trachtenberg, Vito Marcantonio.

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (US 1176-1177) ; other members were : Prof. George S. Counts, Louis Adamic, Lewis Mumford, Lincoln Steffens, Ella Winter, John Howard Lawson.

Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio (US 1374-1375) ; other members were : Prof. Charles A. Beard, Sherwood Anderson, Louis Adamic, John Howard Lawson.

Open Letter to American Liberals (US 1379-1380) ; other members were : Carey McWilliams, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Robert K. Spear, Prof. Robert S. Lynd.

Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee (US 1472) ; other members were : Carol Weiss King ; Lewis Mumford.

Prestes Defense Telegram, in behalf of Luis Carlos Prestes, Communist Leader of Brazil (US 1173-1174) ; other signers were : Lewis Mumford, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio.

American Friends of the Chinese People (US 1484) ; other members were : Paul Robeson, Herman Shumlin.

Soviet Russia Today (US 1602-1604) ; other contributors to this official organ of Friends of the Soviet Union were : Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, Lin Yutang.

Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy (US 1611-1614) ; other members were : Sherwood Anderson, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 1648) ; other members were : Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Paul Robeson, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Vito Marcantonio.

Vol. II—Civil Liberties

On May 5, 1947, the Los Angeles Times published a letter from a Florence Fowler of Hollywood concerning this book, and it is herewith quoted :

"C. C. Trillingham, superintendent of schools, Los Angeles County, recently invited the public to investigate the now notorious series of supplementary textbooks, '*Building America*'.

"I did. I find that Mr. Trillingham is quite correct in saying 'the issue goes much deeper than the approval of a mere set of books'. It does.

"It goes clear to the pitiful fact that too many good Americans do not recognize 'subversive' writing and methods of presentation when they see them. I should like to suggest here and now that every public official—elective and appointive—should be required to take an examination on the techniques and tactics of the Communists and other subversives. Then no such controversy as this could arise.

“*Building America* is actually a series of pamphlets designed to supplement the regular textbooks. I read two—‘Civil Liberties’ and ‘Our Constitution.’ At least on these two the Red fingerprint lies heavy on every page—in text, illustration and caption.

“For the purposes of clarity, I will state first the Red Technique and then give actual quotations from the text itself. In this manner I hope to prove my charge.

“Red Technique: Never miss an opportunity to classify the American people. Divide them into groups. Point out and up their differences.

“Our Constitution says it the American way—‘people’, ‘persons’, ‘citizens’. Here is the Red technique in action: On the first page of the book ‘Civil Liberties’, your child will find these gems:

“1. . . ‘jury of His Equals.’ The Constitution uses the plain old American word ‘jury’.

“2. . . ‘All citizens are entitled to the equal protection of the law . . .’ Here is where the American writer would stop. These authors go on and add to that sentence . . . ‘Regardless of Race, Religion or Wealth.’

“3. ‘. . . When a man is accused of a crime he is given a fair trial . . .’ Here, again, is where an American author would put his period mark. But these authors go on and add to that sentence ‘. . . No matter what his views’.

“4. The very next sentence reads: ‘Jewish and Christian Children go to School Together. And Everyone Takes it as a Matter of Course.’ I ask—Why bring this up? Haven’t Jewish and Christian children always gone to school together? Has there ever been a question in this county about their not going to school together?

“Red Technique: Break down every respect for law and authority . . . of home, school, church, courts, police—any kind of authority. Point out the exceptions to the rules. Build them up. Play on them.

“Here is this Red attack in action. It concerns your child’s faith in our courts and justice:

“1. ‘. . . Under these war-created conditions (1919), Accused Persons Were Often Denied a Fair Trial.’

“This introduces a discussion about ‘a fish-peddler and a shoemaker . . .’ the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

“Is it but sheer coincidence that Granville Hicks in his very Red book ‘I Like America’, calls these men by the very same words ‘fish-peddler and shoemaker’, and that the paragraphs in his book and the book ‘Civil Liberties’ vary in but a few words?

“Your child’s proposed textbook revels in this Communist cause celebre. It states that the men were duly tried by jury, convicted and sentenced by a judge to death. Then it adds this sentence:

“2. ‘. . . later investigation by Private groups seemed to indicate that the Men May Not Have Been Guilty, yet all appeals failed, and they were executed in 1927.’

“Do you begin to see the viciousness of this kind of writing? Remember—these books were designed for 7th and 8th grade use! You teach your child that he must do right. But you tell him that if

he is ever accused he is assured by the Constitution that all of American honor will stand behind him to see that he receives a fair trial and just punishment.

"So what happens when he reads this section? He thinks—'Trials are often unfair'. Juries are wrong. Judges sentence innocent men. Private investigation is more effective than public. But even in the face of this "doubt" men were executed. Shame on America!'"

"I charge:

"1. That the entire technique of presentation of both text and illustration is strictly 'subversive'.

"2. That the books present as truth such items as the burning of the KKK cross 'before a fraternity house in California'. Our State un-American Activities Committee has indicated that this particular episode was but a Communist stunt to stir up dissension.

"3. That the items receiving the most intensive discussion and attention throughout the book 'Civil Liberties' are unquestionably those 'causes' which have always been stressed and emphasized by the Communists—for example: The Sacco-Vanzetti case, the 'Sedition Acts', the Negro problem, the charge that there is 'unfair' disqualification of signatures on minority party petitions to keep them off the ballot, Bilbo—

"4. That never is an opportunity missed to suggest that our American Constitution and its Bill of Rights is either old, out of date, subject to breakdown—or incomplete.

"The parting shot of the authors at your child is this subtle bit of 'suggestion':

"The United States Commission of Human Rights has received many suggestions for an international bill of rights. In general these drafts closely follow our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution in asserting the right to life, liberty, equality before the law and freedom of religion and opinion. Some of them add the 'right' to education, medical care and a job equal to the individual's capacity as a necessary to real freedom.'

"May I now quote from the Soviet Constitution?—

"Article 12—'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'

"Article 120—'. . . right to material security in case of old age, sickness or loss of capacity to work.

"Article 121—'. . . right to education'.

"I should like to point out that this is not a discussion of educational practices or philosophy. It is simply a question of: are these particular books subversive—or aren't they?

"I join Mr. Trillingham, who defended the books, in asking that you, too, investigate for yourself."

The article quoted above does not mention statements in the volume on "Civil Liberties" that takes pot shots at the Communists; for example this appears on pages 27-28:

"The policy of the Communist party in this country is as foreign to the American philosophy of democracy as that of the hate groups. To us a democracy means a government 'of the people, by the people and for the people.' Communists claim they believe

in a democracy, too, but they think of it as a government by a single political party for the working class, in which only the state has rights.

“Although they have frequently appealed to our Bill of Rights for their own protection, they have recently maintained that no fascist should be accorded the right of speech or assembly. According to British Prime Minister Clement Atlee, they regard ‘everyone who does not take his orders from the Communists . . . as a Fascist’. They have even called Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader, a fascist.

“There were well under 100,000 Communists in the United States in 1948, but their influence is greater than their numbers because of their single-minded devotion to their party. Although they contend that they have no connections with the Russian government, Communists in the United States support measures which they think will help the Soviet Union. Because of this divided allegiance, Cardinal Spellman has said:

“‘Every Communist is a potential enemy of the United States . . . We cannot fight Communistic propaganda with their own weapons of deceit, lawlessness, violence, and “liquidation” because we believe in justice, law and liberty . . . Nevertheless it is our right and duty to meet the challenge of Communism in active loyalty.’”

This is the strongest anti-Communist statement in the entire series; it is plain, forceful and direct. In view of the insidious propaganda in the rest of the book, one is led to suspect that it was inserted by someone who was dissatisfied with the volume as a whole and included this statement to offset in some measure the propaganda in the rest of the volume. It is manifestly impossible in a Report of this size to give each volume the detailed attention, page by page and illustration by illustration, that would most effectively indicate the pernicious nature of the series as a whole. This being true, particular attention has been concentrated on the writers whose texts provide the basic material for these books. Dr. Hanna stated to the Senate Committee on Education that he had taken pains to prevent pro-Communists from having anything to do with the Series. Ordinary common sense dictates that one or two indoctrinated Party members or ardent fellow travellers could slip a great deal of subtle propaganda into these books—and what better medium for the dissemination of Marxist propaganda could be found than this series of booklets designed for use by 7th and 8th graders? If, therefore, despite the efforts of Dr. Hanna, there are found not a few but many authors with decided pro-Communist sympathies whose books have been used as a basis for the material in *Building America*, one would be naive, indeed, to assume that they had not taken advantage of this unparalleled opportunity.

The same technique has been used in the various *Building America* books. Those dealing with racial problems, social problems, minority groups, housing, family life, and the like are full of propaganda. Those dealing with such topics as conservation, land resources, soil, water, oil,

the East Indies, arts and the American craftsman, and the like, are devoid of propoganda for the simple reason, as has been stated, that they are not suitable vehicles for its dissemination.

Included in the bibliography for "Civil Liberties" are books by Prof. Charles A. Beard, whose affiliations have already been discussed. Others whose books are listed are Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Morris Ernst and Arthur Garfield Hays.

Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (US 331); other members were: Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Prof. George S. Counts, Oliver La Farge, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Lewis Alan Berne, Paul Robeson and Robert W. Kenny.

Citizen's Committee to Free Earl Browder (US 621); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Paul Robeson, Arthur Garfield Hays, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Thomas Addis, Leo Gallagher, James Waterman Wise.

Statement Defending the Communist Party (US 647-650); other signers were: Paul Robeson, Prof. Thomas Addis, Aubrey Grossman, now Educational Director for the Communist Party of San Francisco County. (Cal. 1947, p. 83).

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (US 1243); other members were: Carey McWilliams, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Paul Robeson, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Louis Adamic, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Leo Gallagher, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons (see 1st Report, Senate Investigating Committee on Education, 1947, p. 13), Herbert Sorrell, Sigmund Spaeth, Anna Louise Strong.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 1648); other members were: Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio, Bernard J. Stern, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather.

Morris Ernst also has a book listed in the bibliography to the volume on "Civil Liberties." The record of his affiliation with Communist front organizations is as follows:

Trustee of the American Fund for Public Service, or Garland Fund (US 764). This fund was used to further Communism in the United States, and one of the other trustees was William Z. Foster, now head of the Party in this country. Communist organizations which received money from the Garland Fund were: The Daily Worker, The New Masses, The Vanguard Press, The Federated Press, International Labor Defense, International Publishers, Inc., Workers Library Publishers, Trade Union Unity League and Young Workers League. This last-named organization later was known as the Young Communist League and is now called American Youth for Democracy. (Id., pp. 384, 385, 764).

National Lawyers Guild (US 1274 & 1267); other members were: Carey McWilliams, Leo Gallagher; Robert W. Kenney.

Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio (US 1374); other members were: Dr. Charles A. Beard, Louis Adamic, Sherwood Anderson, Arthur Garfield Hays, John Howard Lawson and James Waterman Wise.

Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy (US 1614); other members were: Herman Shumlin, Arthur Garfield Hays, James Waterman Wise.

Arthur Garfield Hays also has a book listed in the bibliography to "Civil Liberties". His Communist front affiliations are as follows:

All-America Anti-Imperialist League, (US 310, 315, 383, 606, 1476); other members were: William Z. Foster, Louis F. Budenz.

American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born (US 341, et seq.); other members were: Ella Reeve Bloor, Vito Marcantonio, Ella Winter, Paul Robeson, Lewis Alan Berne, Sherwood Anderson, Prof. Frank F. Graham,

Carey McWilliams, Prof. William Kilpatrick, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. Thomas Addis, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Herman Shumlin.

Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., (US 472); others active in this move to assist Soviet farmers were: Stuart Chase, Robert W. Dunn.

Art Front (US 584); other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Stuart Chase, Vito Marcantonio.

Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges (US 598-600); other members were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Lillian Hellman, John Howard Lawson, Ruth McKenney, Paul Robeson, Herbert Sorrell, Ella Winter.

Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder (US 622); other members were: Carey McWilliams, Prof. Thomas Addis, James Waterman Wise, Leo Gallagher, Max Bedacht, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio.

Consumer's Union (US 664); other members were: Carey McWilliams, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 666 et seq); other members were: Louis Adamic, Lewis Alan Berne, Robert W. Kenny, Paul Robeson, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. George S. Counts, Sigmund Spaeth, Leland Stowe, Lillian Hellman, Oliver La Farge, Lewis Mumford, Prof. Thomas Addis, Margaret Bourke-White.

John Reed Clubs, named after the first American Communist (US 939) other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Anton Refrigier, Dr. David Saposs, A. B. Magil.

Lawyer's Committee on American Relations With Spain (US 963); other members were: Carey McWilliams, Robert W. Kenny, Leo Gallagher, Vito Marcantonio.

National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields (US 1338); other members were: Robert W. Kenny, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Lewis Alan Berne.

Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio (US 1375); other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Sherwood Anderson, John Howard Lawson, James Waterman Wise.

Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 1702-1705); other members were: Robert W. Kenny, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Louis Adamic, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Mumford.

League of American Writers, (US 980); other members were: Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Granville Hicks, Prof. Helen Lynd, Prof. Paul Radin, Leland Stowe, Lillian Hellman, John Howard Lawson.

People's Committee Against Hearst, (US 1300); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Clarence Hathaway.

American League Against War and Fascism (US 412; see Daily Worker, April 6, 1937, p. 5); other members were: Louis Adamic, Sherwood Anderson, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Lincoln Steffens, Ella Reeve Bloor, Harry Bridges, Prof. George S. Counts, Clarence Hathaway, Roy Hudson, Ella Winter, Vito Marcantonio, William Z. Foster, Dr. David J. Saposs.

When one considers the Communist front organizations with which Granville Hicks, James Waterman Wise and Arthur Garfield Hays were jointly affiliated, it does not seem strange that some of the language in "Civil Liberties" and Mr. Hicks' book should strike Florence Lyons as similar. These three gentlemen were members of similar organizations, and apparently thought along the same lines. The organizations were:

Golden Book of Friendship with the Soviet Union (US 467-771); Hicks and Wise.

The Book Union (US 589); Hicks and Wise were members of the Editorial Board.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, (US 667); Hicks and Hays.

Friends of the Soviet Union (US 758); Hicks and Wise.

Ella Reeve Bloor Banquet (US 1163-1164); Hicks and Wise.

Open Letter to American Liberals (US 1379-1380); Hicks and Wise.

Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee (US 1472); Hicks and Wise.

Committee for Medical Aid to Spain (US 1614 and 1765); Hicks and Hays and Wise.

The incident regarding the burning of a KKK cross at a Los Angeles college fraternity house was thoroughly investigated by the Police Department of that city in 1946. The State Legislature's Committee on Un-American Activities questioned assistant Chief Joseph Reed concerning the incident during one of the Committee's public hearings. Reed testified that the activity was traced by his department to American Youth for Democracy—the new name for the Young Communist League. (Cal. 1947—pp. 59-60).

On page 16 of the book on Civil Liberties this statement appears :

“For more than 150 years the American people carried on a struggle to establish free public schools. Today our nation's children have an opportunity to get an education at public expense. Our people have also worked to make the schools free intellectually, so that students would have an opportunity to learn the truth about the world in which they live. Their efforts have sometimes been opposed by special organized groups which have denied the rights of civil liberties to both students and teachers.”

That is precisely the charge made by the proponents of the “Building America Series” in the present controversy. “Special groups” are tacitly approved when they launch a private investigation of a Sacco-Vanzetti case and attack our system of justice; they are disapproved when they have the temerity to criticize the left-wing educational cult for trying to put in the public schools a series of books based on the writings of some of the most notorious Communist sympathizers in the country.

On page 17 an inference is made that teachers are all lumped together as a class stripped of their Constitutional rights: “School children cannot be taught democracy by teachers whose Constitutional rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly are denied.”

On page 29 Professor Frank P. Graham is cited for “working to improve the status of Negroes.” Besides being President of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Graham has engaged in extra-curricular activities with the same closely-knit group of educators whose names adorn the “Building America Series” bibliographies. His affiliation with Communist front organizations is as follows :

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (US 323-327) ; other members were : Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Geo. S. Counts, Lewis Mumford and Oliver La Farge.

American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, (US 354) ; other members were : James Waterman Wise and Arthur Garfield Hays, Ella Winter, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Sigmund Spaeth, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Alan Berne, Carey McWilliams, Prof. William Kilpatrick, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. Thomas Addis, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd.

Committee for Medical Aid to Spain (US 380, 1614, 1765) ; other members were : Granville Hicks, James Waterman Wise and Arthur Garfield Hays.

American League for Peace and Democracy (US 392) ; other members were : Prof. Robert K. Speer, James, Waterman Wise, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Alan Berne, Clarence Hathaway, Robert W. Kenny, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Israel Amter, Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Prof. Robert Brady, Herman Shumlin, Ella Reeve Bloor, Roy Hudson, Lincoln Steffens, Ella Winter, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather.

Citizens Committee to free Earl Browder (US 621); other members were: Paul Robeson, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Arthur Garfield Hays, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Prof. Thomas Addis, Leo Gallagher, Louis Weinstock.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, (US 666); other members were: Prof. George S. Counts, Oliver La Farge, Louis Adamic, Lewis Alan Berne, Arthur Garfield Hays, Robert W. Kenny, Paul Robeson, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Sigmund Spaeth, Lillian Hellman, Lewis Mumford, Leland Stowe, Prof. Thomas Addis, Margaret Bourke-White.

International Labor Defense (US 840); other members were: James Waterman Wise, Paul Robeson, Carey McWilliams, Leo Gallagher, William Z. Foster, Vito Marcantonio, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ella Reeve Bloor, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, Lincoln Steffens, Henri Barbusse, Harry Bridges, John Howard Lawson, Prof. Kirtley P. Mather.

Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, (US 965); other members were: Robert W. Kenny, Leo Gallagher, Arthur Garfield Hays, Carey McWilliams, Vito Marcantonio, Lewis Mumford, Prof. Charles A. Beard.

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (US 1212-1215); other members were: Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, Oliver La Farge, Lillian Hellman, Vito Marcantonio.

Soviet Russia Today (US 1603-1604); other contributors were: James Waterman Wise, Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, Anna Louise Strong, Frank Lloyd Wright, Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Albert Hays Williams, Pearl S. Buck, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Lin Yutang.

Professor Graham was also a leader of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Party ideological magazine, formerly called *The Communist*, now *Political Affairs*, sets forth the Communist infiltration of this organization, and cites Prof. Graham for his activities in the January, 1939, issue, pp. 57, 60, 61 and 65. The article was written by the Secretary of the Communist Party of Alabama.

Vol. III—Our Federal Government

This book is a brief description of the Government in action. In my opinion it is entirely free from propaganda. The topic does not lend itself well to propaganda techniques, since it includes virtually no controversial material. In considering all of these books that are devoid of propaganda it should be emphasized that in many instances the bibliographies include books by members of the left-wing educational cult. The mere inclusion of these authors clothes them with prestige and invites the teachers and the children to read the books if they are available. In the volume under consideration, for example, the bibliography includes three texts by Prof. Charles A. Beard, one by Stuart Chase, and one by Lincoln Steffens.

Stuart Chase, who is listed in other bibliographies in the Series, as will be seen, has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee to Save Refugees (US 362); other members were: James Waterman Wise, Prof. Helen Lynd, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, John Howard Lawson, William Seabrook, Lin Yutang, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Ruth McKenney, Preston Slosson.

Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc. (US 472); other members were: Arthur Garfield Hays, Robert W. Dunn.

The Art Front (US 594); other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Arthur Garfield Hays, Vito Marcantonio, Margaret Bourke-White.

Consumers National Federations (US 659); other members were: Mary Beard, Prof. George S. Counts, Abraham Epstein, Israel Amter.

Friends of the Soviet Union (US 758, 769); other members were: James Waterman Wise, Prof. George S. Counts, William Z. Foster, Clarence Hathaway, Granville Hicks, Roy Hudson, Albert Rhys Williams, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis P. Budenz, Louis Weinstock.

The late Lincoln Steffens, whose Autobiography is listed in the bibliography to this volume, was affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Struggle Against War (US 409); other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Ella Reeve Bloor, Roy Hudson, Ella Winter.

American League Against War and Fascism (US 416); other members were: Louis Adamic, James Waterman Wise, Israel Amter, Ella Reeve Bloor, Harry Bridges, Earl Browder, Prof. George S. Counts, Clarence Hathaway, Roy Hudson, Ella Winter, Vito Marcantonio, William Z. Foster, Dr. David J. Saposs.

Book Union (US 589); other members were: Granville Hicks, Alexander Trachsenberg, Leo Gallagher, Clarence Hathaway, John Howard Lawson, Lewis Mumford, Bernhard J. Stern, Ella Winter, James Waterman Wise.

Congress of American Revolutionary Writers (US 657); other members were: Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Bernhard J. Stern, Ella Winter.

International Labor Defense (US 842, 960); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Frank P. Graham, William Z. Foster, James Waterman Wise, Paul Robeson, Carey McWilliams, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Leo Gallagher, Ella Reeve Bloor, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, Henri Barbusse.

League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, candidates for President and Vice President of the United States on the Communist Party Ticket (US 986); other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Granville Hicks, Ella Winter.

International Student Congress Against War and Fascism, (US 1083); other members were: Prof. George S. Counts, Granville Hicks.

The Partisan, John Reed Clubs Publication (US 1389); other contributors were: Albert Rhys Williams and Ella Winter.

Pacific Weekly (US 1454); other contributors were: Carey McWilliams, Dorothy Erskine, Ella Winter, Prof. Harry C. Steinmetz.

Sunday Worker, Official Communist Publication (US 1458); other contributors were: Clarence Hathaway, Earl Browder, Margaret Bourke-White, Ilya Ehrenbourg, William Z. Foster, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Anna Louise Strong, Ella Winter.

Vol. IV—Congress

This volume, like the one dealing with our Federal Government, tells the story of how Congress functions. It traces the course of a piece of legislation from its inception through Committee hearings and finally its enactment into law. It describes the physical structure of the Congress, its powers, its weaknesses, the special privileges accorded to Congressmen, suggests but does not advocate possible reforms and points out that the American people get from Congress just what they put into it. There is no propaganda in this book. Two of the texts listed in the bibliography are by Prof. Charles A. Beard. None of the other authors have records of affiliation with Communist front organizations so far as I have been able to discover. In this connection it should be stated that the mere fact that a writer, or anyone else, for that matter, has been unwittingly lured into a front organization should cast no reflection on his loyalty. Several of the authors listed in the various bibliographies have records of affiliation with a few such organizations, but the record shows that they quietly dropped out after a time, and thenceforth were apparently more wary about lending their names to organizations without first making some investigation. When, however, there is a persistent pattern of affiliation with one front organization after another, despite the fact that some of them are notoriously Communist-dominated, it is quite another matter.

It should also be added that the character of the front organizations themselves make a considerable difference. If a person were innocently lured into joining the American League against War and Fascism, for

example, that fact alone would be of little significance. If, however, they were affiliated with the American Friends of the Soviet Union or the American-Russian Institute, or if they contributed Articles to *Soviet Russia Today*, that would be quite another matter.

Vol. V—Machinery for Foreign Relations

For the same reasons that were mentioned in connection with the volumes entitled *Our Federal Government and Congress*, this subject is not the sort that lends itself to propaganda. It is mainly concerned with the history of our foreign diplomatic service and our State Department. Much of the book concerns itself with the structure and operation of the State Department, with diagrams and charts depicting the various secretariats, bureaus, and services.

Vol. VI—America's Outposts

The principal American outposts, as described by this book, are Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Samoa, Guam, Tinian, Saipan, Howland, Baker, Midway and Wake Islands, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands and the Panama Canal Zone. The United States is here presented in the role of a colonial power with military bases and naval outposts scattered throughout the Pacific area.

On page 67 the text declares: "It took a war for many Americans to 're-discover' America overseas." During the last war "almost before the people of the United States realized they had one, they lost an empire." The pupil is told at the outset of the book that his country is charged with the administration of "60,000 square miles of territory, inhabited by some 2,700,000 people." He is asked, "What were we to do about America's far-flung outposts?" The question is then answered as follows: In Alaska we indulged in racial discrimination by segregating native and white children. Natives were made to attend separate Federal schools while the whites were sent to the Territorial schools (p. 70).

The granting of independence to the Philippines, says the book on page 76, "contrasts with the policy of bringing other outlying territories into closer union with the United States."

Speaking of the Samoan Islands, the book quotes a correspondent who asks: ". . . shall we complacently dismiss (the Samoans) from our service and turn them out to grass? Shall we tell them to eat bananas after we have educated them up to hamburgers, ice cream and cokes?" (p. 80)

Speaking of Guam on page 81: "Although in 1940 American citizenship was granted to Guamanians serving in the armed forces, the others remained 'nationals.'"

"Despite their lack of 'rights' the Guamanians so much prefer America that, after enduring two and a half years of privation and ill-treatment under the Japanese, a tearful populace waving tiny American flags welcomed the American troops."

Speaking of Puerto Rico on page 86:

"By 1946 over 80 percent of the population lived in one or two-room cabins, with perhaps a lean-to kitchen. About half the people lacked even primitive sanitation, and a greater number depended in whole or in part on relief."

Speaking of the Panama Canal Zone, the racial minority problem is injected once again on page 93:

"American workers are called 'gold employees', the others, the bulk of them Negroes from the West Indies, 'silver', because in the old construction days they were paid in these metals."

On the same page is an illustration of barred pay windows labeled "Gold" and "Silver", respectively. The caption states:

"Signs in public places in the Canal Zone remind the people of the old days of 'gold' and 'silver' employees and still mean 'white' and 'colored'."

The book concludes on pages 94-95 with these observations:

"We have imposed our will without the consent of the governed, we have taxed without representation, and . . . our Navy has governed largely on a line of military necessity and sometimes almost by whim." (Quoting a New York Times correspondent).

There are no authors listed in the bibliography with records of affiliation in Communist-dominated organizations, but the entire text material and the illustrations obviously highlights and emphasizes the gloomy, seamy side of our colonial administration. Scant attention is paid to the establishment of schools under great handicaps; the protection afforded through our Government to backward peoples; industrial improvements that have afforded employment to thousands of natives. The Navy is disparaged and its administration ridiculed, without adequately pointing out the necessity of using many of these "outposts" as necessary means of protecting the nation.

This book, while not seriously objectionable from a subversive standpoint, nevertheless presents a sorry picture of our administration of these "outposts." Instead of indicating that the independence of the Philippines was an outstanding example of democracy in action, and dwelling on that phase of the matter to some degree, the book states on page 83 that:

"Granting independence to the Philippines had been, in many ways, an admirable example of what American trusteeship could accomplish. In other islands of the Pacific, America had a similar responsibility. Over most of these islands the United States Navy was in charge. Navy career men were building up a colonial service to govern these outposts."

"We had finally kept a long promise and given 18 million Filipinos their independence, and one billion Maylayans, Chinese and Indians were watching." (P. 94).

Vol. VII—America and Foreign Trade

There is no objectionable propaganda in either the text or the illustrations in this book. It simply discusses foreign trade in general, and the American foreign trade policy in particular.

The bibliography lists books by Stuart Chase, whose background has already been discussed, Carl Crow and Prof. Eugene Staley.

Carl Crow was affiliated with the American Committee to Save Refugees with: Stuart Chase, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Helen Lynd, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin and Lin Yutang, (US 360-362).

Prof. Eugene Staley was affiliated with the American League for Peace and Democracy, which has been identified as a Communist front organization by the United States Department of Justice (Attorney General's Memorandum 1942; US 389-413); other members were: James Waterman Wise, Prof. Alain Locke, Sherwood Anderson, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Bernhard J. Stern, Lincoln Steffens, Lillian Hellman and Herman Shumlin.

Vol. VIII—Pacific Neighbors: The East Indies

The text and illustrations in this book are unobjectionable. It presents a description of the East Indian countries—their customs, their natural resources, and political status under the administration of such governments as Great Britain and Holland.

There is only one author listed in the bibliography who has a record of affiliation with a Communist front organization, which is an example of how an individual may be impelled to join such a group, not because it is Communist-controlled, but in spite of that fact. The author in this instance was a member of a New York organization known as the Schappes Defense Committee. It was formed in protest of the ouster from the public schools of one Morris U. Schappes because of his Communist activities. The Committee is listed on pages 1556-1557 of the documented Report of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as a front organization, and other members of it were: Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Bernhard J. Stern, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, John Howard Lawson. There was great feeling engendered about the case, and many non-Communists joined the Committee to protest the conviction of Schappes for perjury because he refused to admit knowing other teachers who were alleged to be Party Members. This, of course, is quite a different matter from a long, consistent pattern of affiliation with a series of known front groups.

Vol. IX—Our Neighbors in North Africa

I found no propaganda in this book. Much of the text is devoted to the importance of that area as revealed during the last war, and how our own foreign policy has been necessarily shaped to conform with the realization of that fact. None of the authors listed in the bibliography have known affiliations with front organizations.

Vol. X—Europe

This volume approaches the subject from the standpoint of ascertaining why the great wars have occurred in Europe, and in doing so traces the historical and ethnical development of the European continent, bringing out the fact that one of the causes of war is the wide divergence of political beliefs and national heritages in Europe; how the people are broken into many small racial and political bodies—each with its own barriers of language, media of exchange, suspicions, and

fears. There is no propaganda in the book, and the only writer listed in the bibliography with a record of affiliation in Communist front organizations is Leland Stowe.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (US 381); other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Lewis Mumford, Prof. Thomas Addis, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

American Relief Ship for Spain (US 489); other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Ella Winter.

International Labor Defense (US 844); other members were: James Waterman Wise, Paul Robeson, Carey McWilliams, Leo Gallagher, William Z. Foster, Vito Marcantonio, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ella Reeve Bloor, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, Lincoln Steffens, Henri Barbusse, Harry Bridges, John Howard Lawson, Prof. Kirtly F. Mather.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, (US 668); other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Lewis Mumford, Arthur Garfield Hays, Lewis Alan Berne, Oliver La Farge, Robert W. Kenny, Lillian Hellman.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 754); other members were: James Waterman Wise, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Leo Gallagher, Carey McWilliams, Robert W. Kenny.

League of American Writers (US 978); other members were: Earl Browder, Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Paul Radin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Helen Lynd, Ruth McKenney, Anna Louise Strong, Bernhard J. Stern, Albert Rhys Williams, Mari Sandoz.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (US 1200); other members were: Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, Lin Yutang, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, William Seabrook, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Harry Bridges, Pearl Buck, Bishop Edward L. Parsons.

Vol. XI—British Commonwealth and Empire

Examination of this book discloses nothing but a discussion of the history and general characteristics of Great Britain, her people, resources, government, colonial possessions and dominions. The authors whose books are listed in the bibliography have no known records of affiliation with Communist front organizations.

Vol. XII—China

This book is peculiarly useful to the Communists as a medium to further disseminate the current Party line concerning conditions in China. It will therefore be necessary to analyze it at considerable length.

Ever since the Russian revolution of 1917, the Communizing of China has been accorded a high place on the Soviet agenda for world domination. In the first place, China and the Soviet Union adjoin, which makes the former country of vital strategic importance to Russia. In the second place, the more than four hundred million Chinese people have long been torn asunder by internal dissension and thus been ripe for the infiltration and revolutionary tactics of the Communists.

Immediately following the overthrow of the Manchus by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1911 efforts were made to establish a Chinese Republic based on democratic principles. The *Building America* book describes this era as follows:

“Up to this time, (1918) Chinese Revolutionaries had taken many of their ideals from the Western Democracies, and particularly

from the United States. Now the Communist revolution in Russia, China's next door neighbor, began influencing her thinking too. The Chinese were drawn closer to that country when Russia announced that it was giving up extra-territoriality and other privileges the Tsarist government had enjoyed in China. When Sun tried to persuade America, Germany and Britain to send military specialists to help train a modern army to fight the war lords, he was unsuccessful. But from the Russians he got his help. With their advice the Kuomintang was reorganized. Members of the Communist Party, peasants and youth groups joined its ranks and it was made more representative of China." (pp. 20-21).

Dr. Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, and was succeeded by Chiang Kai-shek, who was determined to put into operation his predecessor's plans to unify China. Chiang had been sent to Moscow to study, and after he returned to China he observed the Russian agents of the Comintern infiltrating his Kuomintang government. In 1928 he moved to sweep them from the positions in which they were becoming more and more firmly entrenched—which was the beginning of the long and sanguinary struggle between the Communists and the forces of the Kuomintang. The book describes these activities as follows:

"In 1928, the Communists and others who opposed Chiang's policy were driven from the Party . . . He lessened further their opposition to his policies by harsh—sometimes 'terrorist' methods. Communists fled. Deserters from Chiang's National Army joined them. The Chinese Red Army was organized and by 1931 a Chinese Soviet Republic had been established in Kiangsi Province. Like the National government, it was ruled by one party—the Communist. It seized the lands of the rich and distributed them among the poor. It reduced taxes and established people's schools." (p. 21).

Coincidentally with this open warfare between Chiang and the Communists, a whole new series of American front organizations sprang into action to persuade the American people that Chiang was a monster and that the Chinese Communists were just a group of simple peasants who had no connection with Moscow and were only trying to protect their fellow countrymen against the fascist oppressions of the Kuomintang.

Some of these were:

- American Friends of the Chinese People (US 371)
- China Defense League (US 1479)
- Chinese Emergency Relief (US 395)
- Chinese National Salvation Association (US 1489)
- China Aid Council (US 324)
- China Information Service (US 1492)
- China Institute in America (US 1107, 1482)
- China Aid News (US 1478)
- China Today (US 303)
- China Aid Information Exchange (US 1492)

At the same time the Communist newspapers, the *Daily Worker* of New York and the *Peoples World* of San Francisco carried on the Party line, and articles were published in the monthly ideological magazine of the Party, formerly called *The Communist*, now called *Political Affairs*.

Pro-Communist writers turned out material in books and articles calculated to lull the American public into believing that Russia had nothing to do with the Chinese Communists—who were non-Marxist, independent of Moscow and fighting to emancipate themselves from the fascist terror of the Kuomintang. Since the last war the propaganda has, of course, been designed to keep American troops out of China and to prevent this country from giving any assistance to Chiang Kai-shek.

The material quoted from the text of the *Building America* book on China indicates to the grammar school pupil that the United States, Germany and Britain refused to help the Chinese people free themselves from the grip of the War Lords, but that Russia kindly agreed to assist in this cause; that Chiang Kai-shek rewarded these kindly and cooperative Russian Communists by chucking them out of his government by "terrorist" methods; that the Chinese Communists broke the unfair concentration of wealth in the hands of the few and distributed it to the needy many, reduced taxes and promoted education of the masses.

No mention is made of Stalin's scheme to send his agents swarming throughout the entire structure of the Kuomintang government. Nothing is mentioned about Chiang's sojourn in Moscow where he studied the Bolshevik technique of infiltration, boring from within and taking over a foreign government. The writers of this book seem to have avoided with studious care any mention of the fact that the Chinese Communist Party was conceived, nurtured, directed and dominated by the Kremlin as a part of its plan for the eventual Communizing of China.

There must have been some sources somewhere from which the learned and liberal authors of this volume could have learned the facts of life about the Chinese Communists. One of the standard and accepted authorities is a work entitled "Stalin", by Boris Souvarine, Alliance Book Corp. N. Y. 1939, which has been printed four times. It describes the report made by Stalin to the Executive Committee of the Comintern in November, 1926, to the effect that Kuomintang was now ripe for infiltration, and the Chinese University that was established in Moscow by Stalin and Bukharin to train Chinese Communists in the necessary technique whereby this objective could be accomplished, (pp. 441-442, 444-445.)

Some of the authors listed in the bibliography to this volume could have obtained, through their front organizations, if necessary, a book by Chen Lin called "China's Fight for National Liberation," which quotes Georgi Dimitrov, head of the Comintern, as stating:

"The Communist Party of China has grown into . . . one of the best sections of the Comintern." (pp. 44-45)

For additional documentation concerning the very real connection between the Chinese Communists and the Kremlin, from unquestionably authentic sources see: "The World Communist Movement," by D. Manuilsky, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y., 1939, pp. 40-41; and "The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China," in *The Communist International*, October, 1936.

One of the texts listed in the bibliography to this volume is "Thunder Out of China," by Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, William Sloan Associates, N. Y., 1946. That book is reviewed in January,

1947, issue of the *American Mercury*, pp. 108-118, in a well-documented article by Bertram D. Wolfe, who says:

“. . . the new White-Jacoby work bears certain tell-tale stigmata: to-wit—the Communists are ‘not really Communists’ but ‘agrarian democrats’; they have no connection with Moscow but make their own line; the ousting of the Japanese is made to seem all important to the integrity and independence of China, but not the ousting of the Russians; American troops should be withdrawn from Manchuria; but the Russian troops can stay in Fort Arthur and Darion for the ninety-nine years of their leasehold and the authors will do their demure best not to notice it.” (p. 108)

“The White-Jacoby book . . . explains away all the virtues of the Central government that have to be admitted, and explains away all the deficiencies and vices of the Communists which cannot be ignored. However, the trusting reader does not have to wait for these curious exercises in appologetics in order to know whom to applaud and whom to hiss. As in the stock-company melodrama the villain is known by his oily black moustache and the hero by his honest, blond, smooth-shaven features, so the authors give you a key as they introduce each character: ‘A slim, cold-eyed Chekiang youth named Chiang Kai-shek;’ ‘his brittle wife, Mrs. Chiang’; ‘a gimlet-eyed character called Chiang Ting-wen’. And on the other side; Mao Tse-tung, a round, unlined, curiously serene face, more vivid and more given to broad smiles than the disciplined countenance of Chiang Kai-shek;’ ‘Huang Chen, the ruddy-faced, hardy defender of the North’; ‘the handsome dark-eyed insurrectionary of the North, General Chou En-lai’.

“One is never in doubt for a moment, unless one doubts the integrity of authors who would use such devices on their readers.” (pp. 114-115).

There are plenty of books that tell the truth about Communism in China, but for the purpose of this particular volume of the “Building America Series” they have been completely ignored.

Those authors listed in the bibliography of this volume who have records of affiliation with Communist front organizations are Pearl S. Buck, Owen Lattimore and Lin Yutang.

Pearl S. Buck has been affiliated with the following front organizations:

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, (US 1200); other members were: Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, Harry Bridges, Lin Yutang, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, William Seabrook, Leland Stowe, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 668); other members were: Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, Louis Alan Berne, Robert W. Kenny, Prof. George S. Counts, Leland Stowe, Oliver LaFarge, Lewis Mumford, Lillian Hellman.

Banquet Celebrating 25th Anniversary of the Red Army, Sponsored by “Soviet Russia Today” (US 1604); other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Frank F. Graham, Paul Robeson, Lin Yutang.

Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, (US 1703); other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Charles Beard, Sherwood Anderson, Arthur Garfield Hays, Lewis Mumford.

Owen Lattimore has been connected with the following Communist front organizations:

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, (US 1200) ; other members were: Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, Harry Bridges, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, William Seabrook, Leland Stowe, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Pearl S. Buck.

American Committee to Save Refugees (US 360) ; other members were: James Waterman Wise, Prof. Helen Lynd, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Stuart Chase, William Seabrook, Preston Slosson, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, John Howard Lawson.

Artist's Front to Win the War (US 577) ; other members were: Hanns Eisler, Paul Robeson, Ella Winter, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, John Howard Lawson.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugees Committee (US 942) other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, John Howard Lawson.

Banquet Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army, Sponsored by Soviet Russia Today, (US 1604) ; other members were: Pearl S. Buck, Louis Adamic, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Paul Robeson.

Vol. XIII—Russia

If any book in the "Building America Series" were examined for Communist propaganda, this would be the most natural target. Assuming that some of the writers who had to do with the drafting of the material for this particular volume wanted to say nice things about the Soviet Union and subtly play up the good points of Marxism and play down the worst features, and assuming further that they were quite aware of the probability that this book would be the first to go through a critical examination; how would they proceed?

In the first place, there is always propaganda through the omission from text material of objectionable topics. An example of this technique has already been seen in the volume of China, in the omission of mentioning the very solid ties between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kremlin. Then there is the use of the illustration. This is a particularly effective technique in books of this sort, designed for use by grammar school children who are prone to pay more attention to the many photographic pictures than to the comparatively dry text. Thus all the Russian women are robust, sturdy, well-fed, well-dressed and appear to have been freshly scrubbed. Every field is lush with grain or corn; every barn is bursting with hay; the people are smiling and happy. None of these Soviet citizens appear to be afraid of the secret police, the purges, exile to the salt mines or Party discipline. The scarcity of necessary materials bothers them but little; stores are shown displaying flowered yardage materials, there are pictures of gay ballerinas in the theatres, travelling shops serving the "collective farmers in the fields"; church services to dispell the silly notion that there is anything atheistic about these carefree Marxists.

On page 87 there is a picture of a storekeeper reducing some commodity from 7.50 to 4.90, and the caption states: "A clerk in a government-owned grocery store in Moscow in 1935 changes the price cards after the government had decreed an end of rationing and a reduction of food prices." There is no mention of inflated prices before or after this clerk changed his prices—just an implication that this was a general practice under the Soviet system, which, as other authorities tell us, is

unfortunately not the fact. (See: "Report on the Russians" by William L. White; Harcourt, Brace & Co., N. Y., 1945, pp 147-159; "Official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", International Publishers Inc., 1939, Chap, XII). This latter source is an official text book, used by Communist parties throughout the world. It was published by a Commission in Russia, and Chapter 12 discusses the economic crisis in 1935-1937.

On page 46 there is a picture of children clad in uniforms and marching in a column behind a drummer boy. The caption states:

"Members of the Young Pioneers on a hike. Young People are 'graduated' from this organization into the Komsomols to which they can belong up to the age of twenty-nine."

This statement, together with the text which refers to the illustration, gives the impression that these organizations of young people are open to all Russian juveniles. What is omitted is the fact that the Young Pioneers is strictly a Communist Party organization to train the teenagers, and that the Komsomols is simply the Russian name for the Young Communist League. Such organizations are open only to an elite minority—as is the Communist Party itself.

The cardinal sin of this volume is that it propagandizes by omission. So far as the reader can tell, there was never any such thing as the Third International or Comintern—which was and is the heart and soul of international Marxism, operated from Moscow. It is not even mentioned in the book. The Comintern was organized by Lenin in 1919. After his death in 1924, Stalin vowed:

"In leaving us, Comrade Lenin enjoined on us a fidelity to the Communist International. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, to devote our lives to the enlargement and strengthening of the union of the workers of the whole world, the Communist International." (Stalin, by Boris Souvarine, op. cit., p. 352).

Marxism is basically international—a world revolution by which one capitalist nation after another falls into the Soviet orbit. That was the dream of Marx, the father of Communism; that was the ambition of Lenin, his disciple, in creating the Comintern as "a general staff for world revolution." (Soviet Communism—a New Civilization, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Vol. I, p. 409). It was through the Comintern that every Communist party in the world was directed from Moscow; it was through the medium of the Comintern that propaganda was carried on in foreign countries; the Comintern was a sort of combination of Russian Foreign Office, Secret Service, Espionage Agency, Propaganda Bureau, headquarters for world revolt. It operated continuously from 1919 until 1943, and every Communist Party in the world was a "Section of the Communist International", and the several Party Constitutions so stated. The world was told in 1943 that the Comintern had been liquidated; but documents taken from the office of the Russian Ambassador in Ottawa, Canada, in 1945, prove that the Comintern merely considered it expedient to go underground and thenceforth function more secretly.

The two-volume work by Sidney and Beatrice Webb cited above is considered an authoritative treatise, is available in most Communist book

shops, and devotes a considerable amount of space to the Comintern. Since it is cited (but for another purpose) in a footnote on page 90, there is really no excuse of failing even to mention the Comintern at least in passing.

This is the only one of the thirty volumes for which an entirely new bibliography was prepared. It is difficult to see why this was necessary, because the first one was innocuous enough, and the revised list contains books by such noted anti-communists as Victor Kravchenko, William H. Chamberlain and David Dallin. There isn't a pro-Communist in the lot, and no one with front organization connections. Here, again, was a clever job. The left-wing authors were omitted from the bibliography but included in the footnote citations. In this list are included: Anna Louise Strong, Albert Rhys Williams, Dorothy Erskine, Holland Roberts, Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Margaret Bourke-White.

Anna Louise Strong has been connected with the following Communist front organizations:

American Council on Soviet Relations (US 364); other members were: Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Prof. Thomas Addis, Lewis Alan Berne, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, William Seabrook.

Moscow News (US 468); Miss Strong was editor of this obvious Communist publication.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (US 480); with: Harry Bridges, Pearl S. Buck, Lin Yutang, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, William Seabrook, Leland Stowe, Herman Shumlin, Lillian Hellman, Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson.

American Student Union (US 520); other members were: Abraham Epstein, Alexander Trachtenberg, Prof. Geo. S. Counts, Celeste Strack, James Waterman Wise.

Consumers Union (US 665); other members were: Arthur Garfield Hays, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio, Carey McWilliams, Prof. H. K. Overstreet.

Friday (745); other contributors were: Paul Robeson, Harry Bridges, Ella Winter.

ICOR, (US 793); other contributors were: Earl Browder, William Z. Foster.

International Workers Order (US 862); other members were: Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Max Bedacht.

League of American Writers (US 968); other members were: Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Alexander Trachtenberg, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Ruth McKenney, Albert Rhys Williams, Prof. Paul Radin, Leland Stowe, Earl Sandoz, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather.

Tallentire Jubilee Committee (US 1153); other members were: Max Bedacht, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, William Z. Foster, Ruth McKenney, Alexander Trachtenberg.

Mother Bloor Celebration Committee (US 1164); other members were: Earl Browder, Louis F. Budenz, William Z. Foster, Leo Gallagher, Clarence Hathaway, Granville Hicks, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Weinstock, Vito Marcantonio, James Waterman Wise.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (US 1256); other members were: Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, Paul Robeson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Alain Locke, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Thomas Addis, Ella Winter, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Max Bedacht, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Leo Gallagher, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Sigmund Spaeth.

Open Letter to American Liberals (US 1379); other members were: Lillian Hellman, Granville Hicks, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, James Waterman Wise.

Sunday Worker (US 1458); other contributors were: Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, John Howard Lawson, Granville Hicks, Lincoln Steffens, Margaret Bourke-White, Ilya Eherenbourg.

Soviet Russia Today (US 1602); other contributors were: Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, James Waterman Wise, Albert Rhys Williams, Frank Lloyd Wright, Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Pearl S. Buck, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Lin Yutang.

Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials (US 1617); other signers were: Louis F. Budenz, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Clarence Hathaway, Lillian Hellman, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Prof. Holland D. Roberts, Prof. Morris W. Schappes.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 1648); other members were: Paul Robeson, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr.; Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, James Waterman Wise.

The Washington Bookshop (US 1678); other members were: Prof. Paul Radin, Ruth McKenney.

Albert Rhys Williams has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Friends of the Soviet Union (US 758); other members were: Prof. George S. Counts, William Z. Foster, Clarence Hathaway, Granville Hicks, Roy Hudson, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis F. Budenz, Stuart Chase.

League of American Writers (US 977); other members were: Anna Louise Strong, Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Alexander Trachtenberg, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Ruth McKenney, Prof. Paul Radin, Leland Stowe, Earl Sandoz, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather.

American-Russian Institute (US 1098); other members were: Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Louis Adamic, Prof. Holland D. Roberts.

Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (US 1385); other signers were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Robert Brady, Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Granville Hicks, Prof. Norman E. Himes, John Howard Lawson, Ruth McKenney, Prof. Paul Radin, Herman Shumlin.

Soviet Russia (US 1457); other contributors were: William Z. Foster, Ella Reeve Bloor, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Soviet Russia Today (US 1603); other contributors were: Anna Louise Strong, James Waterman Wise, Frank Lloyd Wright, Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Louis Weinstock, Louis Adamic, Pearl S. Buck, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Paul Robeson.

Dorothy Erskine was affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Pacific Weekly, (US 1454); other contributors were: Lincoln Steffens, Carey McWilliams, Ella Winter, Prof. Harry C. Steinmetz.

Holland D. Roberts was affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Tom Mooney Labor School (Cal. 1947, 78); other members were: Herbert Resner, Aubrey Grossman, David Jenkins, Prof. Robert Brady, Prof. Arthur Brodeur.

California Labor School (Cal. 1947, 88-89); other members were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Arthur Brodeur, Hazel Grossman, Robert W. Kenny, Celeste Strack.

American Russian-Institute (US 468; Cal. 1947, 103) with: Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, William Seabrook, Lewis Alan Berne.

Model Youth Legislature (US 538, Cal. 1947, 103); other members were: James Burford, Helen Wheeler.

Academic and Civil Rights Council of California, (Cal. 1943, p. 97); other members were: Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, Prof. Arthur Brodeur, Prof. Thomas Addis.

American Youth for Democracy (Cal. 1947, p. 103); other sponsors were: Carl Brant, John Howard Lawson, Dorothy Healy, Robert W. Kenny, Herbert Sorrell.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb are members of the English clique of Fabian Socialists. For several years they lived in Russia, accumulating data for their monumental work "Soviet Communism—A New Civilization." The Webbs became enamoured with the Marxist way of life during their sojourn, and their writings are definitely not slanted in an anti-Communist direction; in fact, as has been pointed out, they may be bought in most Communist book stores. The Book Union, already identified as a Communist front organization, offered the Webb book as a premium for new members (US pp. 588-591.)

Vol. XIV—Social Security

On the cover of this volume is shown a father and mother with their three children. They are well dressed and beaming with happiness. In the background is seen a row of new white houses, clean and inviting.

On the first inside page the text reads:

"Practically everyone in our country has a change of clothes and some place to live. Many people do have only old clothes, and millions do live in dwellings which our experts say are not healthful and sanitary. Yet by comparison with millions elsewhere who are ragged and living in dugouts, caves, makeshift huts, or even in the street itself, we are well off."

On the opposite page are two pictures. The first shows a plump mother and her chubby daughter in a grocery store. A pile of food is stacked on the counter and the clerk is reaching toward the well-stocked shelf for a king-sized can of what appears to be pineapple juice. The second picture shows a ragged old woman with a shawl over her head. Seated on the ground nearby is a scrawny lad. Between them is a box or basket that appears to be full of sticks. The cave in which they live can be seen in the background, crude, dirty and uninviting. The scene is in Greece; the implication is obvious.

Page 168 presents a picture called "Our Homeless Poor" depicting impoverished New York teamsters in the late 1800s; on the same page is a "typical county poorhouse." Page 169 shows a breadline in 1930. Page 171 shows a dejected mob leaving a factory while the caption proclaims:

"With the rise of the factory system, millions of Americans left rural areas to work in cities. The security that their own labor gave them when they worked on farms and in small shops disappeared. When factories shut down in hard times, many soon became destitute."

On page 174 is a picture of a young man reading the "help wanted" ads in a newspaper and two men standing before the iron bars of a factory gate reading the sign "No Help Wanted". The caption reads:

"Always there are thousands of workers who are 'between jobs', looking for work. Each year some enterprises fail, throwing their employees temporarily out of work. Each year, too, new inventions displace some jobs while creating brand new jobs for other workers."

On page 175 are a series of pictures of an employment office. The first shows four men seated on a bench in a bleak waiting room. Their

shoes are heavily caked with mud. One of them is hunched over, apparently asleep. The others are pictures of utter despair. The caption to this illustration states:

“These men, willing and able to take suitable work, are waiting in a state public employment office to be referred to new jobs.”

From the roster of left-wing authors listed in the bibliography to this book, one might expect to find it objectionable. Four texts are listed; two of them are by Evaline M. Burns and Abraham Epstein, respectively. The text material is relatively inoffensive, but the pictures present a pretty grim story of the American way of life. The general question of social security is adequately discussed, the needs of working people for proper economic security are presented—but it appears that this particular topic is used too much as an excuse to stress the Marxian class struggle theory by constantly contrasting the few who have much with the many who have too little.

It is, of course, true that there are depressions in America; depressions with the problems of unemployment, inflation and general economic upheaval, bread lines that are its ordinary and inevitable consequences. But this book dwells on that theme too much. One is left with the impression that our capitalistic system doesn't operate very well, after all. It highlights the unequal distribution of wealth, the constant class struggle and the inevitability of periodic depressions and economic disasters in capitalist governments. This sort of Marxist salesmanship is neatly packaged—but it is there, just as surely as two of the authors of the basic texts for this volume were members of front organizations.

Evaline M. Burns belonged to the following Communist front:

The League for Women Shoppers (US 1006); other members were: Mrs. Arthur Canfield Hays, Prof. Mary Beard, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Lillian Hellman, Mrs. Sherwood Anderson. This innocent-sounding organization is in fact one of the most potent Communist transmission belts in the Country. (See: Cal. 1943, pp. 100, 134, 132, 133).

Another book written by Evaline Burns is “Socialist Planning and a Socialist Future,” and the Congressional Report quotes from pages 22-31 of it to show how the author thought politically:

“This analysis suggests that the society which desires to avoid the all-too familiar periodic economic disorganization, with its accompanying unemployment, will have to devise methods of preventing the indiscriminate use of resources by every optimistic would-be producer, and of replacing the coordinated guesses of individual producers by a more orderly method of estimating. Such a development would imply, inter alia, the imposition of controls that would take away from individuals the right to make what use they wished of their own labor and property.” (US, p. 1006).

Abraham Epstein has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Consumers National Federation (US 659); other members were: Prof. George S. Counts, Stuart Chase, Mrs. Sherwood Anderson, Prof. Mary Beard. This organization was termed a Communist transmission belt by Earl Browder in September, 1939.

American Student Union (US 519); other members were: Prof. George S. Counts, Celeste Strack, James Waterman Wise, Alexander Trachtenberg, Anna Louise Strong.

Celebration of 15 Years of Biro Bidjan (US 603); other sponsors of this Jewish settlement in the U.S.S.R. were: James Waterman Wise, Max Bedacht, Alexander Bittleman.

Nailebn, Published by the Association for Jewish Colonization in the U.S.S.R., and edited and managed by Epstein (US 1452).

Vol. XV—Family Life

This volume emphasizes the family unit as the most basic influence in society, and compares American family customs with those in foreign countries. The self-supporting, independent family of the American colonists is contrasted with the modern family that has been forced to adjust itself to the complex, swiftly developing problems of the machine age. Wars, depressions, unemployment, housing, sharply-drawn class distinctions—these are pointed out as factors contributing to the disruption of modern family life in the United States. The book emphasizes the fact that “there is no ‘typical’ family life today . . .” (p. 236); that “husbands and wives are not so dependent upon each other for the material things of life as they once were”; that “fewer homes are owned, and they are smaller” (236); that “in many cases young children see their father only on holidays and Sundays, for he leaves for work before they are up and they are in bed before he returns” (236); and on page 237 the text cheerfully announces that: “The home can still be the citadel in which the younger members meet their need for ‘belonging’ and for feeling secure. It can still be a training ground for vocational and social life for the ability to get along with people is important to jobs and friendship”; that “Many a young couple live together happily, making or preparing a home for children, sharing the modern duties and responsibilities, and enjoying experiences together some of which were never shared by men and women of the older generation. However, all families are affected to some extent by a lack of a pattern for living that fits modern life. Conflicts and confusions are so serious in some that values possible in family living are lessened or lost altogether.” This sort of gloomy revelation is preceded by the general statement on page 235 that: “With a rich land and an ingenious and ambitious people, the standard of living rose until it was the highest in the world. But was the American family happier?”

The general effect of the book leaves the impression that the average American family is confused, unhappy, plagued by financial insecurity and perhaps slipping a bit in the effort to adjust itself to our abundant but complex American way of life.

Prof. Willystone Goodsell and Prof. Bernhard J. Stern have texts listed in the bibliography.

Prof. Willystone Goodsell has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (US 333); other members were: Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Prof. George S. Counts, Paul Robeson, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Oliver LaFarge, Lewis Alan Berne, Robert W. Kenny.

American Council of Soviet Relations (US 365); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, William Seabrook, Lewis Alan Berne, John Howard Lawson.

American League for Peace and Democracy (US 397); other members were: Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Granville Hicks, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Lewis Alan Berne, Vito Marcantonio, Lewis Mumford, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Sherwood Anderson, Robert W. Kenny, Lincoln Steffens, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (US 1249); other members were: Prof. Robert K. Speer, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Louis Adamic, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Herbert Sorrell.

Open Letter to American Liberals (US 1379); other signers were: Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Prof. Robert K. Speer, James Waterman Wise, Carey McWilliams, Granville Hicks, Lillian Hellman, Anna Louise Strong.

Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (US 1383); other signers were: John Howard Lawson, Granville Hicks, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Robert Brady, Ruth McKenney, Prof. Paul Radin, Albert Rhys Williams, Ella Winter.

Soviet Russia Today (US 1603); other contributors were: James Waterman Wise, Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, Lin Yutang, Anna Louise Strong, Albert Rhys Williams, Frank Lloyd Wright, Louis Weinstock, Pearl S. Buck, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather.

Prof. Bernhard J. Stern has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, (US 352); other members were: Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Lewis Alan Berne, Sherwood Anderson, Carey McWilliams, Herman Shumlin.

American League for Peace and Democracy (US 387); other members were: Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Granville Hicks, Lewis Alan Berne, Vito Marcantonio, Lewis Mumford, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Sherwood Anderson, Robert W. Kenny, Lincoln Steffens, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, (US 486); other members were: John Howard Lawson, Herman Shumlin.

Book Union (US 589); other members were: Granville Hicks, Alexander Trachtenberg, Leo Gallagher, John Howard Lawson, Lewis Mumford, Lincoln Steffens, James Waterman Wise.

Statement Defending the Communist Party (US 650); other signers were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Aubrey Grossman, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Paul Robeson, Herman Shumlin.

Congress of American Revolutionary Writers (US 657); other members were: Earl Browder, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Lincoln Steffens, Clarence Hathaway, Alexander Trachtenberg.

Council for Pan-American Democracy (US 674); other members were: Prof. George S. Counts, Vito Marcantonio, Louis Adamic, Dr. David Sapos, James Waterman Wise.

Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (US 707); other members were: Lewis Alan Berne, Marcel Scherer, Paul Pinsky, Prof. Robert S. Lynd.

Jefferson School of Social Science (US 927); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Alexander Trachtenberg, Prof. Alain Locke.

League of American Writers (US 973); other members were: Louis Adamic, Earl Browder, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Oliver LaFarge, James Waterman Wise, Anna Louise Strong, Alexander Trachtenberg, Carey McWilliams, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Ruth McKenney, Albert Rhys Williams, Prof. Paul Radin, Mari Sandoz, Leland Stowe, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather.

Prisoners Relief Fund (US 1148); other members were: Anita Whitney, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (US 1177); other members were: Louis Adamic, Lincoln Steffens, John Howard Lawson, Lewis Mumford, Sherwood Anderson, Prof. George S. Counts, Granville Hicks, Ella Winter.

National Committee for Peoples Rights (US 1179); other members were: Louis Adamic, Lillian Hellman, Granville Hicks, Lewis Mumford, Sherwood Anderson, Prof. George S. Counts.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (US 1237); other members were: Prof. Robert K. Speer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Alain Locke, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Ella Winter, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Paul Robeson, Louis Adamic, Max Bedacht, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Leo Gallagher, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Sigmund Spaeth, Anna Louise Strong.

National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields, (US 1335); other members were: Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Lewis Alan Berne, Prof. Alain Locke, Robert W. Kenny.

Open Letter to American Liberals (US 1379) ; other signers were: Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Lillian Hellman, Granville Hicks, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Anna Louise Strong, James Waterman Wise.

Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (US 1384) ; other signers were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Robert Brady, Prof. Willystone Goodwell, Granville Hicks, Prof. Norman E. Himes, John Howard Lawson, Ruth McKenney, Prof. Paul Radin, Herman Shumlin, Albert Rhys Williams, Ella Winter.

Science and Society, A Marxist Quarterly (US 1456) ; other contributors were: Granville Hicks, Prof. Harry C. Steinmetz.

Schappes Defense Committee (US 1555) ; other members were: Prof. Robert K. Speer, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, John Howard Lawson, Henry Epstein, Prof. Thomas Addis, Ruth McKenney, Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee (US 1565) ; other members were: Leo Gallagher, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Sorrell, Douglas Ward, Anita Whitney, Prof. Norman E. Himes, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Herman Shumlin.

Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials (US 1617) ; other signers were: Louis F. Budenz, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Lillian Hellman, Granville Hicks, Holland D. Roberts, John Howard Lawson, Morris U. Schappes, Anna Louise Strong.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 1648) ; other members were: Paul Robeson, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Vito Marcantonio, Anna Louise Strong, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, James Waterman Wise.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher's book "Our Young Folks" is not listed in the bibliography, but is cited in a footnote on page 233 of this volume on Family Life. Her record almost matches that of Prof. Stern, and is as follows:

American Committee to Save Refugees (US 262) ; other members were: Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, John Howard Lawson, William Seabrook, Lin Yutang, Preston Slosson, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Stuart Chase.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (US 383) ; other members were: Prof. Frank P. Graham, Vito Marcantonio, Lewis Mumford, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Prof. Robert K. Speer.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, (US 668) ; other members were: Louis Adamic, Lewis Alan Berne, Arthur Garfield Hays, Robert W. Kenny, Paul Robeson, Prof. George S. Counts, Sigmund Spaeth, Prof. Thomas Addis, Margaret Bourke-White.

American League for Peace and Democracy (US 397) ; other members were: Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Granville Hicks, Lewis Alan Berne, Vito Marcantonio, Lewis Mumford, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Sherwin Anderson, Robert W. Kenny, Lincoln Steffens, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

American Youth Congress (US 450) ; other members were: Prof. Robert K. Speer, Celeste Strack, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Prof. George S. Counts, Lewis Mumford, Earl Browder.

Films for Democracy (US 729) ; other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Lillian Hellman, Louis Adamic, Prof. Robert K. Speer.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (US 941) ; other members were: Lillian Hellman, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, Carey McWilliams, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Herman Shumlin, Lin Yutang.

League for Women Shoppers (US 1009) ; other members were: Prof. Mary Beard, Mrs. Morris Ernst, Mrs. Arthur Garfield Hays, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Lillian Hellman, Ella Winter.

Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 1703) ; other members were: Robert W. Kenny, Louis Adamic, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Lewis Mumford, Arthur Garfield Hays.

Vol. XVI—Community Planning

Here, again, is an example of where, in the process of pointing out the need for adequate city planning, a sordid picture is painted of the average American community. Page 34 of this book shows a large sign across the entrance to Madisonville, Kentucky. The caption reads:

“A Kentucky community on a transcontinental highway announces that it is ‘The Best Town on Earth.’ Whom does the town hope to attract by mentioning coal and tobacco?”

The text traces the early development of American town and cities, the haphazard growth of metropolitan areas and small towns and in doing so presents pictures of slums and squalor. Some of the illustrations were furnished through the courtesy of the Farm Security Administration, and were apparently selected because they show children playing on the bare ground in filth (P. 43). Only nine of the sixty-one photographic illustrations in the book are examples of good community planning; there are twenty-three examples of bad planning, and some of them are horrible.

The bibliography in this volume lists books by Lewis Mumford, whose name should by now be getting familiar, and architect Frank Lloyd Wright.

Lewis Mumford has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (US 380); other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Prof. Thomas Addis, Vito Marcantonio, Leland Stowe.

American League for Peace and Democracy (US 392); other members were: Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Granville Hicks, Lewis Alan Berne, Vito Marcantonio, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Sherwood Anderson, Robert W. Kenny, Lincoln Steffens, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

American Youth Congress (US 392); other members were: Prof. Robert K. Speer, Celeste Strack, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Prof. George S. Counts, Earl Browder.

Book Union (US 589); other members were: Granville Hicks, Alexander Trachtenberg, Max Bedacht, Leo Gallagher, Clarence Hathaway, John Howard Lawson, Lincoln Steffens, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Ella Winter, James Waterman Wise.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, (US 668); other members were: Louis Adamic, Lewis Alan Berne, Arthur Garfield Hays, Robert W. Kenny, Paul Robeson, Prof. George S. Counts, Sigmund Spaeth, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Prof. Thomas Addis, Sigmund Spaeth.

Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain (US 965); other members were: Robert W. Kenny, Leo Gallagher, Arthur Garfield Hays, Carey McWilliams, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Charles A. Beard.

American Artists Congress (US 1075); other members were: Margaret Bourke-White, William Gropper, Anton Refrigier.

National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners (US 1177); other members were: John Howard Lawson, Lincoln Steffens, Louis Adamic, Prof. George S. Counts, Granville Hicks, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Ella Winter.

National Writers Congress (US 1340); other members were: John Howard Lawson, Ella Winter.

Frank Lloyd Wright has been connected with the following Communist front organizations:

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (US 1202) ; other members were: Louis Adamic, Max Bedacht, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Anton Fefrigier, Paul Robeson, Herman Shumlin.

New Masses (US 1351) ; other contributors were: Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Paul Robeson, John Howard Lawson.

Soviet Russia Today (US 1603) ; other contributors were: James Waterman Wise, Louis Adamic, Pearl S. Buck, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Paul Robeson, Lin Yutang.

Vol. XVII—Conservation

This volume, which discusses the methods whereby our natural resources can be conserved, presents seventeen photographic illustrations of desolated farms, drought-stricken areas, starving cattle, parched soil, denuded forests, floods, expanses of river mud, families of broken jaloopies traveling in "Grapes of Wrath" style from the dust bowl region. There, on the other hand, eight pictures showing examples of correct methods of conserving natural resources.

The text material is not objectionable; the illustrations once more accent the seamy side of American life. If this volume stood alone, it would be quite inoffensive. Studied in connection with the other books in the series, however, it merely adds to the cumulative effect; that our American system is just not working out very well.

Among the authors whose texts are listed in the bibliography are Stuart Chase and Prof. Kirtley F. Mather. Mr. Chase's affiliations have already been discussed. Prof. Mather has been connected with the following Communist front organizations:

American Council on Soviet Relations (US 370) ; other members were: Lewis Alan Berne, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, William Seabrook.

American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born (US 349) other members were: Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Lewis Alan Berne, Sherwood Anderson, Carey McWilliams, Herman Shumlin.

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (US 333) ; other members were: Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Prof. George S. Counts, Paul Robeson, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Oliver LaFarge, Lewis Alan Berne, Robert W. Kenny.

American League for Peace and Democracy (US 397) other members were: Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Granville Hicks, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Lewis Alan Berne, Vito Marcantonio, Lewis Mumford, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Sherwood Anderson, Robert W. Kenny, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

American Relief Ship for Spain (US 489) ; other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Ella Winter.

American Youth for Democracy (US 566) ; a National Sponsor with John Howard Lawson.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 754) ; other members were: Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Leland Stowe, Vito Marcantonio, James Waterman Wise.

League of American Writers, (US 981) ; other members were: Louis Adamic, Earl Browder, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Oliver LaFarge, James Waterman Wise, Anna Louise Strong, Alexander Trachtenberg, Carey McWilliams, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Ruth McKenney, Albert Rhys Williams, Prof. Paul Radin, Mari Sandoz, Leland Stowe, Prof. Robert S. Lynd.

Statement Defending the Communist Party (US 650) other signers were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Aubrey Grossman, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Paul Robeson, Herman Shumlin (see also U.S. p. 1125).

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (US 1200) other members were: John Howard Lawson, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, William Seabrook, Lillian Hellman, Frank Lloyd Wright, Louis Adamic.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (US 1251) ; other members were: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Alain Locke, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Ella Winter, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Paul Robeson, Louis Adamic, Max Bedacht, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Leo Gallagher, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Sigmund Spaeth, Anna Louise Strong.

National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields, (US 1335) ; other members were: Lewis Alan Berne, Prof. Alain Locke, Robert W. Kenny.

New Masses Letter Defending Communists (US 1356) ; other signers were: Paul Robeson, Herman Shumlin, Anton Refrigier.

Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary (US 1531) ; other members were: Louis Adamic, Earl Browder, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Lillian Hellman.

Soviet Russia Today (US 1604) ; other contributors were: James Waterman Wise, Louis Adamic, Pearl S. Buck, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Paul Robeson, Lin Yutang.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 1648) other members were: Paul Robeson, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Vito Marcantonio, Anna Louise Strong, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, James Waterman Wise.

Council of U. S. Veterans, (US 1666) ; other members were: James W. Ford, Peter V. Cachione, Paul Crosbie, Gardner Jackson, Emanuel Levine, Dr. C. C. Trillingham.

Vol. XVIII—Our Land Resources

This volume is entirely unobjectionable. The pictures are not slanted, the text is lucid and objective, and there are no authors with records of Communist front affiliations listed in the bibliography. If one compares this book with the volume on Conservation, the difference is strikingly apparent. A certain amount of slanted propaganda crept into that book, and some of the authors have objectionable records. There is no propaganda in this book, and none of the authors have objectionable records.

Vol. XIX—Our Water Resources

There is no propaganda in this book, and there are no authors with records of Communist front affiliations listed in the bibliography.

Vol. XX—Oil

This volume is also unobjectionable. There are no authors with records of affiliation to Communist front organizations listed in its bibliography.

Vol. XXI—Arts and the American Craftsman

This volume is also unobjectionable. The only author listed in the bibliography who has a record of affiliation with Communist front organizations is Lewis Mumford. His record had already been discussed.

Vol. XXII—America Discovers Its Songs

This description of the folk songs of America, the development of popular songs, Negro spirituals and provincial music is certainly not propaganda. It does accentuate the "hill billy" type of song, the Negro crooners and the like, while it refrains from mentioning Church choirs, religious music and college glee clubs. Aside from this relatively unimportant criticism, the book is innocuous. When religious songs are briefly mentioned on page 232, it is in connection with Negro slaves who were forbidden by their masters to attend a religious service and sometimes used songs as a means of secretly communicating with each other. On page 252 "groups of hymn singers in the South" are briefly mentioned, but the rich and religious store of church songs is otherwise ignored, as is the typical college music as exemplified by glee clubs.

The bibliography includes books written by James Weldon Johnson and Sigmund Spaeth.

James Weldon Johnson has, according to my records, been affiliated with only two Communist front organizations, neither of which would ordinarily be mentioned except for the fact that he was one of the trustees of the so-called Garland Fund that played such a significant part in the financing of many important Communist propaganda activities in this country. These two organizations were:

American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) (US 384); other trustees were: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, William Z. Foster.

National Writers Congress (US 1340); other members were: John Howard Lawson, Lewis Mumford, Ella Winter.

Sigmund Spaeth has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, (US 576); other members were: Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Lewis Alan Berne, Sherwood Anderson, Carey McWilliams, Herman Shumlin, Ella Winter, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Kirtley P. Mather, Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 668); other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Lewis Alan Berne, Arthur Garfield Hays, Robert W. Kenny, Paul Robeson, Prof. George S. Counts, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Oliver La Farge, Lewis Mumford, Leland Stowe, Prof. Thomas Addis, Margaret Bourke-White.

Musicians Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (US 1139).

Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 1702); other members were: Robert W. Kenny, Arthur Garfield Hays, Louis Adamic, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Sherwood Anderson, Pearl S. Buck, Margaret Bourke-White, Lewis Mumford.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (US 1256); other members were: Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, Paul Robeson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Alain Locke, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Thomas Addis, Ella Winter, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Max Bedacht, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Leo Gallagher, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons.

Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee (US 1532); other members were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Louis Adamic, Max Bedacht, Earl Browder, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Leo Gallagher, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Louis Weinstock.

As one sometimes finds in these books, many names are cited in the footnotes but not included in the bibliographies—even when their books are mentioned. On page 232 there is a footnote citation to work by Rose Nelson, for example.

Rose Nelson has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Consumers National Federation (US 658); other members were: Prof. Mary Beard, Stuart Chase, Prof. George S. Counts, Abraham Epstein, Mrs. Arthur Garfield Hays.

Tallentire Jubilee Committee (US 1153); other members were: Max Bedacht, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, William Z. Foster, Ruth McKenney, Anna Louise Strong, Alexander Trachtenberg.

Ella Reeve Bloor Banquet (US 1163); other members were: Earl Browder, Louis F. Budenz, Leo Gallagher, William Z. Foster, Clarence Hathaway, Granville Hicks, Anna Louise Strong, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Weinstock, Vito Marcantonio, James Waterman Wise.

Woman Today (US 1460); other contributors were: Ella Reeve Bloor.

Vol. XXIII—The American Theater

It is obviously easier to propagandize through such media as the motion picture, the stage, the radio and the written word than through music and the dance. The motion picture industry in California has been one of the principal targets for Communist infiltration, as was forcibly demonstrated to a somewhat apathetic public during the studio strike of 1945. Communists have been equally energetic in their efforts to infiltrate the American stage. During 1938 and 1939 the Federal Theatre Project, a division of WPA, was literally infested with Communists, as was shown by the affidavit of Rena M. Vale, a former member of the staff of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California. In its 1943 report to the State Legislature, this Committee quoted from Miss Vale's sworn statement as follows:

“. . . Mary Virginia Farmer reported to said Unit 130 (of the Communist Party) that the national fraction of the Federal Theater Project, of which she was a member, had decided that in order to advance Communist Party cultural endeavors, the Federal Theater Project in each locality over the nation would set up a unit to deal with history, as interpreted by the Communist Party, of that particular locality; Miss Farmer informed us that the National Director of the Federal Theaters, Hallie Flannagan, was a Communist Party member and was in agreement with that Communist Party decision; be that as it may, the Communist Party fraction of the Federal Theater Project in Los Angeles organized the Southwest Unit of the Federal Theaters composed entirely of Communist Party members and sympathizers, with the exception of the secretary thereof, who, I have since learned, was keeping a very careful record of Communist activities in the Southwest Unit at that time; correspondence with the National officials of the Federal Theater Project, which I saw, indicated that Hallie Flannagan was in complete agreement with the idea of the Southwest Unit of the Federal Theater; later, in the late Fall of 1937, Miss Flannagan, together with Mrs. Ellen Woodward, National Director of Women's and Professional Work in the WPA, called on the Southwest Unit and voiced perfect satisfaction with its work, despite the fact that said unit was not only writing Communist

propaganda into the plays it was preparing, but also rehearsing and conducting schools of the theater along the accepted Communist party lines . . ." (Cal. 1943, pp. 146-147).

At the time Miss Vale was connected with the Federal Theater Project she was a member of the Communist Party. After she resigned from the Party she rendered invaluable services to the State Committee on Un-American Activities as well as to many Federal investigative agencies. Careful checks of her statements have invariably shown them to be entirely accurate and reliable.

The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities has this to say about Miss Flannagan in the report that has been heretofore quoted:

"Hallie Flannagan, in charge of the experimental theater division at Vassar College, and later Director of the Federal Theater Project, was an ardent supporter of the New Theater League. She and Margaret Clifford, a student, wrote and staged a play called *Can You Hear Their Voices?* which Ben Blake, of the New Theater League, described as follows in the *Awakening of the American Theater*:

"The play told with hard and bitter realism the tale of impoverished and drought-stricken Arkansas farmers, hunger-driven to militant action to secure relief from starvation. Their leader finally sends his son to a Communist Worker's School to learn the basic causes of their misery and how to organize to overcome them."

"Under Miss Flannagan's direction of the Theater Project, the following plays were produced at Government expense: *The Sun and I*—'a story of the struggle of Joseph and his brethren against the capitalistic system'; *Triple A Plowed Under* including Earl Browder as a noteworthy character; *Class of '29*, in which the Communist marching song is sung; *It Can't Happen Here*, and *Power* both approved by Earl Browder; *Revolt of the Beavers*, a Communist play. (Cong. Com. on Un-American Activities, Hearings, Vol. 4, pp. 2798, 2800, 2801, 2809, 2819; see also 1944 Report of said Committee, above quoted, pp. 1538-1539).

This particular volume, after devoting the first eight pages to a general history of the American theater and a few to business problems in connection with the staging of a play, swings into its stride. On page 237 it declares that:

"Most States have laws protecting the 'civil rights' of public audiences. These laws provide that no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color or creed. The spirit, if not the letter, of these laws is sometimes violated, however. A Negro *may* be told untruthfully that 'the house is sold out' when he tries to purchase tickets, or he *may* be given the least desirable seats in the house. To obtain redress, he must bring the case to court and prove that he has been discriminated against. The evidence *may* be very difficult to get, and *as lawsuits are expensive and time consuming, discrimination goes on.* (My italics).

Under the heading "There are Theaters for Minority Groups", the New Theater League is praised on page 247. This typical Communist front is described as "using the theater to present social problems in drama form."

On pages 252-253 the Federal Theater Project, under the leadership of Miss Hallie Flannagan, receives general praise, and winds up with the statement that:

"Criticism of various kinds were levelled at the project. It was accused of presenting Communistic and other subversive themes to the people in the guise of entertainment." (P. 253).

Most of pages 254-255, the last pages in the volume, are also devoted to singing the praises of Miss Flannagan's Federal Theater Project.

There are, unquestionably, many able and eminent playwrights and producers in America besides Lillian Hellman and Herman Shumlin, whose names should by now have become quite familiar in connection with the Communist front organizations heretofore mentioned. Only two playwrights and producers are, however, mentioned besides Hellman and Shumlin and they are Robert Sherwood and William Saroyan. Such outstanding figures as Eugene O'Neil were ignored. On page 242 there is a picture of Miss Hellman and Mr. Shumlin, conferring with members of a cast. The caption reads:

" "They have made good in a tough field"—Herman Shumlin, producer and director (standing left) puts the cast of "Watch on the Rhine" starring Paul Lukas (wearing hat) through their paces. The playwright, Lillian Hellman (seated second from left) looks on. "

The bibliography lists Hallie Flannagan and Kenneth MacGowan. In addition to the activities of Miss Flannagan already discussed, she was also a member of the Executive Board of the Theater Arts Committee with Lillian Hellman and Herman Shumlin (US 1539).

Kenneth MacGowan is now teaching at the University of California at Los Angeles, and prior to his employment by the Board of Regents, was a motion picture writer and director. At the time he was being considered for his position on the faculty of the State University in 1946, that institution made a written inquiry of the California Legislature's Committee on Un-American Activities as to the affiliations of Mr. MacGowan, and the documented record was immediately forwarded as requested. A few days thereafter Mr. MacGowan was a member of the faculty. No doubt the Committee has records of other persons who have been connected with Communist front organizations in the event the State University has vacancies on its teaching staff. (Cal. 1947, 70).

Mr. MacGowan has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Motion Picture Artist's Committee (US 783); Member of the Executive Committee with: John Howard Lawson and Herbert Sorrell.

Writers Congress (US 790); other members were: John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams, Hanns Eisler.

People's Education Center, (Cal. 1947, 70); other members of the faculty and administrative staff of this Communist school were: Dorothy Healy, Chairman of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, John Howard Lawson, Bruce Minton, since expelled from the Communist Party, Meyer Frieden, organizer for the Young Communist League, Cal. 1947, pp. 70-71).

Hollywood Quarterly (Cal. 1947, 107); other contributors to this magazine jointly sponsored by the State University and the Hollywood Writers Mobilization: John Howard Lawson.

Hollywood Community Radio Group (Cal. 1947, 179); other members were: Carey McWilliams, Robert W. Kenney.

1947 Statewide Legislative Conference (Cal. 1947, 241-242); other members were: John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams, Robert W. Kenny, Helen Wheeler, Bishop Edward L. Parsons.

Hollywood Writers Mobilization (Cal. 1947, 108); other members were: John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams.

Hollywood Democratic Committee (Cal. 1947, 108); other members were: John Howard Lawson.

Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, (Cal. 1947, 108); other members were: Robert W. Kenney, Carey McWilliams, John Howard Lawson.

Mr. Shepard Traube also has a text listed in the bibliography to this volume. He has been connected with the following Communist front organizations:

American Council on Soviet Relations (US 368-369) other members were: Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Lewis Alan Berne, John Howard Lawson, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, William Seabrook, Vito Marcantonio.

Artists Front to Win the War (US 575-577); other members were: Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, John Howard Lawson, Paul Robeson.

National Wartime Conference of the Professions, the Sciences, the Arts, The White Collar Fields, (US 1338); other members were: Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Lewis Alan Berne, Robert W. Kenney, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern.

Vol. XXIV — Our Minority Groups: The American Indian

The American Indian is not susceptible to Communist indoctrination, and for that reason this book is not a good medium for Communist propaganda. It points out with embarrassing accuracy the plight of our Indian minority for many years under Government supervision, and with equal accuracy the fact that the administration of Indian affairs has vastly improved since 1934. The text and illustrations in this book are not objectionable.

The bibliography lists books by Edwin R. Embree and Oliver La Farge.

Edwin R. Embree has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, (US 487, 1193); other members were: Harry Bridges, Pearl S. Buck, Lin Yutang, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, William Seabrook, Leland Stowe, Herman Shumlin, Louis Adamic, Max Bedacht, Lillian Hellman, Anton Refrigier, Paul Robeson, Frank Lloyd Wright.

American League Against War and Fascism (US 412); other members were: Lincoln Steffens, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, James Waterman Wise, Max Nedacht, Ella Reeve Bloor, Harry Bridges, Prof. George S. Counts, Roy Hudson, Ella Winter, Vito Marcantonio, William Z. Foster, Dr. David J. Sappos.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (US 1222); other members were: Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, Paul Robeson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Alain Locke, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Thomas Addis, Ella Winter, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Max Bedacht, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Leo Gallagher, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Sigmund Spaeth.

There have been many instances where apparently indoctrinated Marxists—whether they have been Party members in the formal sense or ardent fellow travelers—(and there is virtually no distinction between the two) have bolted the Party for a comparatively trivial reason.

If we compare a long series of inconsistent turnings and twistings in the Communist Party line to a series of indigestible meals, it is simply a case of the Marxists with the weaker digestive apparatus leaving the cause because the time finally arrived when they swallowed one meal too many and acute indigestion set in. These Marxists go along year after year gulping and swallowing manfully to digest each new change and twist in the Party line or policy, until there finally comes a time when the mess just won't stay down. Examples of this phenomena are Ruth McKenney, author of "My Sister Aileen," her husband Bruce Minton, Lewis F. Budenz, Vern Smith, late reporter for "The People's World," and many others. It is also to be anticipated that even some of the persons listed in the front organizations set forth here may timidly criticize the Marxian way of life now that Communism is becoming somewhat unfashionable in the United States.

In fairness to Mr. Oliver LaFarge, whose name appears in many front organizations, there apparently came a time when he could stomach the Communist way of life no longer. According to the Report of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, heretofore cited, (P. 971), he resigned from the League of American Writers in 1941, declaring the League was using:

"... the old Communist false-front technique of getting people to serve as a front, then clinging to a very narrow Communist Party line." (New York World-Telegram, June 5, 1941, p. 6).

Mr. Granville Hicks pulled out of the League at about the same time, for the same reason. The fact remains, however, that both of these gentlemen had no trouble with their mental digestive apparatus for many years, and through an impressive succession of Communist front organizations, each of them did swallow many twists and turns in the line before indigestion set in. For that reason, when their names appeared on organizations with such stalwart Marxists as Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio, John Howard Lawson, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin and Carey McWilliams, it merely indicated that here was another group of the same old Marxists operating under a new front.

Oliver LaFarge has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Statement Defending the Communist Party (US 1126); other signers were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

American Youth Congress (US 535); other sponsors were: Margaret Bourke-White, James Waterman Wise, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Celeste Strack, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Prof. George S. Counts, Lewis Mumford, Earl Browder, Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 668); other members were: Prof. George S. Counts, Louis Adamic, Lewis Alan Berne, Arthur Garfield Hays, Robert W. Kenny, Paul Robeson, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Sigmund Spaeth, Lillian Hellman, Lewis Mumford, Leland Stowe, Prof. Thomas Addis, Margaret Bourke-White.

National Emergency Conference, (US 1206); other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Thomas Addis, Lewis Alan Berne, Prof. Alain Locke.

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (US, 1210); other members were: Prof. William Kilpatrick, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, Lillian Hellman, Vito Marcantonio.

League of American Writers, (US 971); other members were: Earl Browder, Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Paul Radin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Ruth McKenney, Anna Louise Strong, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern. Albert Rhys Williams, Mari Sandoz.

Vol. XXV—Our Minority Groups: Spanish-Speaking People

Whereas the volume dealing with our Indian minority was not suitable for propaganda purposes, there is no such limitation so far as this book is concerned. The Communists have for years devoted much of their recruiting activity to the Spanish-Speaking minority and the Negro people. An example of how Communist organizers can stir up racial bitterness may be found in the 1945 report of the California Joint Committee on Un-American Activities in its description of the so-called "Zoot Suit" riots in Los Angeles county, pp. 160-208.

The section of this book on page 134 is entitled: "Descendants of Our Earliest Settlers Are: 'Strangers in Our Land!'" Three pages later the school children are told that after the Southwest passed from Mexico to the United States by 1853:

"Most of the people in the old Spanish Communities accepted the fact that they were now 'Americans' as calmly as they had accepted their freedom from Spain. Writers tell us they gave their loyalty to the United States at once. A flood of settlers poured in—lusty, adventurous, English-speaking people, looking for opportunity to better themselves, accustomed to change and new ideas, and used to thinking in terms of money and competition. With them came American government, American laws, American ways of living and doing business, and American education.

"What happened to these Spanish-speaking people? The pictures (9-17) gave some indication."

Picture No. 9 shows "Descendants of the first Spanish Colonials in New Mexico . . . quietly watching a traveling show which has come to their village". Picture No. 10 shows three Mexicans repairing their house—"Once a year the Spanish Colonial families in New Mexico replaster their adobe houses (made of bricks dried in the sun). Neighbors help each other with this work." Picture No. 11 shows a man plowing. "A Spanish Colonial farmer prepares his field before irrigation. With irrigation and enough land he can produce the food he needs. Some families own a horse or two, and a cow or perhaps a pig." This particular Colonial is driving four pretty good-looking horses.

Picture No. 12 shows seven men working on a levee. "In some of the New Mexican villages the families have almost no land or livestock left. To earn money many of the people have worked on WPA jobs, as shown here."

Picture No. 13 shows a group of melancholy "Colonials" at a fiesta. The two musicians seem on the verge of tears, and no one is even mustering a faint smile for this festive occasion. The caption states: "But life is not all work, and at their fiestas the Colonials make merry with old

Spanish songs and dances. These musicians are dressed for the occasion in costumes like those some of their ancestors wore." These merry-makers look decidedly unhappy. The musicians are each clad in strictly American dress, except that the guitar player has a chin strap on his felt hat and each musician wears a sash.

Picture No. 14 shows a Colonial woman stirring a washtub of hot soup. There isn't a spear of grass in sight—just a pine box nearby, and that is full of knots. The ground is barren and littered with sticks and rocks. The caption states: "This Colonial woman uses a big old-fashioned kettle. She is stirring the soup which is cooking on an outdoor stove."

Picture No. 15 shows a woman cooking tortillas in her kitchen on a wood stove. Her sad and skinny little boy is seated on a chair watching the camera which was manipulated by someone for the Farm Security Administration. The caption states: "Unlike many of her neighbors, this woman can boast a modern stove in her kitchen. Here she is making tortillas while her hungry little son waits patiently to be fed." It may well be observed in passing that the little sons of "Spanish Colonials" have no monopoly on being hungry—it is a common characteristic of all "little sons" at meal time.

Picture No. 16 shows a group of Colonial children in school. The caption: "These Spanish-speaking children are playing games in the tiny school room in their village."

Seven of these eight pictures were obtained through the courtesy of the Farm Security Administration. The other was furnished by the Department of Agriculture. Persistent use of the word "Colonial" suggests that our Spanish-speaking people were just sent here from abroad to establish colonies in a foreign land. They are, of course, either American citizens or foreigners—and they are not to be set apart as this book implies that they are. From the text and the illustrations one is left with the impression that there is simply no such thing as a Spanish-speaking person owning land, a store, a car—not even a tamale parlor—but just unhappy, persecuted "Colonials".

On page 141 is a picture of "a Colonial family group in New Mexico (courtesy Farm Security Administration)"—a mother, father and four little Colonials. The caption: "This family is typical of others who live there. They are poor, but poverty has not embittered them for they are friendly and courteous."

On page 145 is a picture of an ancient car. Blankets are roped on top and tubs, buckets and a large garbage can are lashed to the back. A little Colonial girl is peering from a window. The caption to this illustration (courtesy Farm Security Administration) reads: "The 'great adventure' is over for this Mexican family. With almost their entire fortune loaded on their 'jalopy' they are on their way back to Mexico."

On page 146 is a picture of the Mexican section in Texas where "the signs in the stores are printed in Spanish, and in the movies Mexican pictures are shown." On the same page illustration No. 21 (courtesy Farm Security Administration) shows a man and a woman separating whole meats from broken ones in a pecan shelling plant. This caption points out that "Shelling pecans is a tedious and usually low-paid job."

Picture No. 22 (courtesy Farm Security Administration) shows a young man and his father on their knees picking vegetables. The caption: "Many Mexican families work on truck farms in Texas. This young boy is already a 'man' working beside his father in the fields."

Picture No. 23 (courtesy Farm Security Administration) shows "A crowd of Mexicans . . . waiting for a local WPA office in Texas to open. Here they got free clothing and other help."

Picture No. 24 (courtesy Farm Security Administration) shows a squalid hovel. The caption: "In this shack of discarded lumber lives a Mexican family. With no sanitary facilities disease finds fertile soil."

Picture No. 25 shows a Mexican family—father, mother and six children. The caption: "Most Mexican families are large. During periods of unemployment the family shown here received \$38.00 monthly from the WPA."

Picture No. 26 shows Chicago Mexicans celebrating Mexican Independence Day. The caption: "Note that American flags outnumber Mexican flags." This caption fails to explain, however, that there are two men standing on a truck. They are side by side. One carries an American flag and wears a large CIO banner. The other displays a Mexican flag and wears a banner bearing the initials "C.T.M." This stands for "Confederacion Trabajadores Mejicano," or Confederation of Mexican Workers. This organization is headed by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the leading Mexican Marxist. Proof of the Communist nature of the CTM is to be found in the May, 1938, issue of *The Communist International*, p. 495. Señor Toledano, incidentally, addressed Herb Sorrell's striking Studio Unions in Hollywood on February 5, 1947, (*People's World*, Feb. 3, 1947).

Picture No. 27 shows a group of men repairing a railroad track in Chicago. The caption: "Many Mexicans are unskilled and have little opportunity to train for better jobs."

Picture No. 28 (courtesy Farm Security Administration) shows a group of tents and ramshackle shacks. In the foreground is a large rubbish pile—complete with tin cans, tubs and broken boxes. The caption: "A camp for Mexican Migratory workers. This camp was maintained by private employers but living conditions here were very poor. Families were constantly coming in or moving out, and little was done by employers or the Mexicans to keep the place clean."

Picture No. 29 (courtesy Farm Security Administration) shows a truck parked in a bleak and barren field. The caption: "Constantly on the move, this Mexican family has just come back to Texas after working the crops up North."

Under the heading "Equal Opportunity for the Spanish-Speaking—An American Problem," the text states on page 156: "Not all the Spanish-speaking groups in the United States have been described, and the descriptions do not fit all the people who might be known as Spanish Colonials, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, etc. Some groups are so small and scattered that studies of them have never been made. Among our Spanish-speaking people some have been able to develop their talents and have distinguished themselves in the arts, in statesmanship, education, business and other fields. They are few in number, however, for whom the nation's door of opportunity has been widely opened."

“Those who have been described in the earlier pages belong to the vast majority, and these are: ‘dwellers in urban slums, frequently dependent upon (but infrequently aided by) welfare services; migratory workers, with uncertain pay and bad working and living conditions; farmers supporting themselves at a low level with primitive methods and small or poor plots of ground, living very isolated lives . . . ; and a smaller group of sheep and goat herders, even more disadvantaged.’ The foregoing gloomy statement was taken from the finding of Dr. David J. Saposs, whose affiliations included:

The John Reed Clubs (US 939) ; these clubs throughout the United States were named in honor of the first American Communist. Other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Arthur Garfield Hays, Anton Refrigier.

American League Against War and Fascism, (US 428) ; other members were: William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, Prof. George S. Counts, Vito Marcantonio, Lincoln Steffens, Louis Adamic, James Waterman Wise.

Council for Pan-American Democracy (US 673) other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. George S. Counts, James Waterman Wise, Vito Marcantonio.

The text then continues on page 156 with a statement from Dr. Will W. Alexander: “‘By and large’, says one writer, ‘they are all looked upon as “Mexicans” and are frequently thought of as aliens.’”

Dr. Alexander’s affiliations include:

National Citizens Political Action Committee, Member of the National Committee, (US 263) ; other members were: Carey McWilliams, Edwin R. Embree, Louis Adamic.

National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, (US 1168) ; other members were: Robert W. Kenny, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Vito Marcantonio. This organization received financial assistance from the Communist Party of the United States (Id. 1167).

The text continues: “Their ‘presence is felt as a weight, a problem, an annoyance’. Some Anglos think of them as ‘inferior’ people whose condition cannot be improved, although neither science nor our democratic beliefs support the Axis theory of superior or inferior peoples. No one denies, however, that as a group they hold an inferior place in America. They are said to be “probably the most submerged and destitute group in the United States—economically and socially.”

“‘Mexicans,’ says the text on page 156, “‘have been denied the right of admission to parks and restaurants, and their children have been victims of discrimination in school.’”

It would appear, on the whole, that living conditions for the Mexican people in the United States—with medical facilities, a variety of welfare and social services, hospitalization and educational opportunities—all provided free by the taxpayers, are a good deal better than they are in Mexico. The opportunities in America, despite considerable adroit propaganda to the contrary, are limited principally by the natural limitations of the individual. Such natural limitations are common to all men, regardless of their race or color. In the May 31, 1947, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* there is an article entitled: “Why Mexicans Don’t Like You,” in which a small and unrepresentative class of our tourists have exhibited such arrogance, conceit and vulgar exhibitionism in Mexico that they have aroused the resentment of the Mexican people against us as a whole. But we can hardly regard these tourists as a persecuted American minority. The entire background of the Mexican people—their

customs, traditions, standard of living and educational advantages—are radically different from ours, and a complete assimilation of such a minority group is consequently not a simple matter.

This book presents the worst side of the picture and views it through literary microscope. The Mexican-American children in our grammar schools who read the text and see the illustrations will inevitably believe that under the American form of government we treat our Spanish-speaking minority with contempt, regard them as inferior people, deliberately force them to live in squalor, discriminate against them in public places and in the schools.

The bibliography lists four books by Carey McWilliams, who is a writer about the persecution of minority groups by profession and a joiner of Communist front organizations by avocation. A partial list of his affiliations is as follows:

National Citizens Political Action Committee, (US 265); other members were: Paul Robeson, Edwin R. Embree, Louis Adamic.

American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born (US 340); other members were: James Waterman Wise, Arthur Garfield Hays, Ella Winter, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Sigmund Spaeth, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Alan Berne, Prof. William Kilpatrick, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. Thomas Addis, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd.

American Peace Mobilization (US 432); other members were: Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio, Lewis Alan Berne, John Howard Lawson, Anton Refrigier.

Black and White, (US 587); other contributors were: Prof. Robert A. Brady, Herbert Klein.

Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder (US615) other members were: Max Bedacht, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Arthur Garfield Hays, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, James Waterman Wise, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Prof. Thomas Addis, Leo Gallagher, Paul Pinsky.

Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, (US 651); other members were: Prof. Robert K. Speer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Prof. Alain Locke, Herman Shumlin, Ella Winter.

Consumers Union (US 661); other members were: Arthur Garfield Hays, John Weatherwax, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Anna Louise Strong.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 755); other members were: Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Herman Shumlin, Leland Stowe, Vito Marcantonio, Leo Gallagher, Robert W. Kenny, Lillian Hellman, James Waterman Wise.

Hollywood Writers Mobilization (US 786); other members were: John Howard Lawson, Kenneth Macgowan.

International Juridical Association (US 795); other members were: Leo Gallagher, Aubrey Grossman, Robert W. Kenny.

International Labor Defense (US 814); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Frank P. Graham, William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, James Waterman Wise, Paul Robeson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Leo Gallagher, Ella Reeve Bloor, Clarence Hathaway, Henri Barbusse.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, (US 940) other members were: Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Lin Yutang.

Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, (US 963); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Robert W. Kenny, Leo Gallagher, Arthur Garfield Hays, Lewis Mumford, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Charles A. Beard.

League of American Writers (US 1182); other members were: Louis Adamic, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Granville Hicks, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Prof. Paul Radin, Leland Stowe, Lillian Hellman, John Howard Lawson.

National Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America (US 1182); other members were: Prof. Robert K. Speer.

National Emergency Conference (US 1205) ; other members were: Louis Adamic, Prof. Thomas Addis, Lewis Alan Berne, Oliver LaFarge, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Robert K. Speer.

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (US 1209) ; other members were: Louis Adamic, Oliver LaFarge, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Bishop Edward L. Parsons.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (US 1222) ; other members were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Paul Robeson, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Louis Adamic, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Leo Gallagher, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Herbert Sorrell, Sigmund Spaeth, Anna Louise Strong.

National Lawyers Guild (US 1278) ; other members were: Aubrey Grossman, **Robert W. Kenny.**

New Masses (US 1350) ; other contributors were: Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Frank Lloyd Wright.

Open Letter to American Liberals (US 1377) ; other signers were: Lillian Hellman, Granville Hicks, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, James Waterman Wise.

Vol. XXVI—Our Minority Groups: Italian-Americans

Communism has made little headway among the Italian-American people in this country, and this book is therefore not suitable propaganda. Text and illustrations are entirely inoffensive, and this volume is an example of what could have been done with the volume dealing with the Spanish-Speaking People. The bibliography lists books by Edward Corsi, William Seabrook, and Carl W. Wittke. Mr. Corsi has been affiliated with the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Greater New York Emergency Committee on Inalienable Rights; Mr. Seabrook has been affiliated with the American Committee to Save Refugees, the American Council on Soviet Relations and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Mr. Wittke has been affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the American Committee to Save Refugees. Each of these organizations is a Communist front.

Vol. XXVII—We Americans

This volume is also inoffensive from a propaganda standpoint.

Vol. XXVIII—Politics

This volume emphasizes the political machine, boss-politics, ward organization and the technique of large-scale political campaigns. Examples of how the text reads may be seen in the following excerpts: It is declared on page 227: "In the United States there are always two or more political parties, and the voters must choose sides"; "Our people may know their Federal and State Constitutions, and all the laws that govern their community, and still know little about their government 'as a going concern' worked by political parties and politicians." "People call their friends in political positions 'statesmen', and those whom they do not like 'politicians'."

Page 241 contains a statement that: ". . . platforms are made to get in on and not to stand on."

The bibliography lists books by Prof. Charles A. Beard, Kenneth Crawford, Prof. Robert S. Lynd and Lincoln Steffens.

Prof. Beard's affiliations have already been discussed.

Kenneth Crawford has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America (US 653); other members were: Carey McWilliams, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Prof. Alain Locke, Herman Shumlin, Ella Winter.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (US 1228); other members were: Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, Paul Robeson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr.

Washington Committee for Democratic Action (US 1695); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Prof. Robert S. Lynd has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (US 236); other members were: Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Paul Robeson, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Oliver LaFarge, Prof. George S. Counts, Robert W. Kenny.

American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born (US 354); other members were: Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, Paul Robeson, James Waterman Wise, Ella Winter, Vito Marcantonio, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Alan Berne.

American Council on Soviet Relations (US 364) other members were: Lewis Alan Berne, John Howard Lawson, Vito Marcantonio, William Seabrook.

Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America (US 654); other members were: Carey McWilliams, Harry Bridges, Arthur Garfield Hays, Vito Marcantonio.

Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (US 709); other members were: Lewis Alan Berne, Rose Segure, Paul Pinsky.

League of American Writers (US 770); other members were: Louis Adamic, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Paul Radin, Leland Stowe, Prof. Helen M. Lynd.

Statement Defending the Communist Party (US 1125); other signers were: Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Oliver LaFarge.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (US 1200); other members were: Louis Adamic, Paul Robeson, Harry Bridges, Pearl S. Buck, Lin Yutang, William Seabrook, Leland Stowe, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

National Emergency Conference (US 1207); other members were: Louis Adamic, Lewis Alan Berne, Oliver LaFarge, Prof. Alain Locke, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Robert K. Speer.

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (US 1209); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Lillian Hellman, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, Oliver LaFarge, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Frank P. Graham.

Open Letter to American Liberals (US 1379); other members were: Lillian Hellman, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Robert K. Speer, James Waterman Wise.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 1648); other sponsors were: Paul Robeson, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee Jr., Vito Marcantonio, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, James Waterman Wise.

Lincoln Steffens, whose autobiography is listed in the bibliography of this volume, has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American League for Peace and Democracy, (US 409); other members were: James Waterman Wise, Granville Hicks, Prof. Alain Locke, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Earl Browder, Lewis Mumford, Vito Marcantonio, Sherwood Anderson, Lewis Alan Berne, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin.

American League Against War and Fascism (US 417); other members were: Louis Adamic, Sherwood Anderson, James Waterman Wise, Earl Browder, Prof. George S. Counts, Ella Winter, Vito Marcantonio.

Book Union (US 589); other members were: Granville Hicks, John Howard Lawson, Lewis Mumford, James Waterman Wise.

Congress of American Revolutionary Writers (US 657); other members were: Earl Browder, John Howard Lawson, Ella Winter.

International Labor Defense (US 842); other members were: Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Carey McWilliams, James Waterman Wise, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Leo Gallagher, William Z. Foster, Harry Bridges, Prof. Frank P. Graham.

League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, Communist candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States (US 986); other members were: Sherwood Anderson, Granville Hicks, Ella Winter.

International Congress Against War and Fascism (US 1083); other members were: Prof. George S. Counts, Granville Hicks.

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (US 1176); other members were: Louis Adamic, John Howard Lawson, Sherwood Anderson, Prof. George S. Counts, Granville Hicks, Lewis Mumford, Ella Winter.

Sunday Worker (US 1458); other contributors were: Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, John Howard Lawson, Ella Winter.

Vol. XXIX—For the Right of Liberty—Civic Responsibilities

This volume is unobjectionable both as to text and illustrations.

The bibliography lists books by Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., and Prof. H. A. Overstreet.

Prof. Chaffee has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (US 331); Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Prof. Robert K. Speer, Paul Robeson, Lillian Hellman, Herman Shumlin, Oliver LaFarge, Prof. George S. Counts, Robert W. Kenny.

Citizen's Committee to Free Earl Browder (US 620); other members were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Carey McWilliams, Leo Gallagher, Vito Marcantonio, James Waterman Wise, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Statement Defending Communist Party (US 647) other signers were: Prof. Thomas Addis, Aubrey Grossman, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Paul Robeson, Herman Shumlin.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (US 1243); other members were: Prof. Robert K. Speer, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carey McWilliams, Prof. Alain Locke, Vito Marcantonio, Herman Shumlin, Ella Winter, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Prof. Thomas Addis, Herman Shumlin, Ella Winter, Paul Robeson, Louis Adamic, Max Bedacht, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Sigmund Spaeth, Anna Louise Strong.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (US 1648); other sponsors were: Paul Robeson, Vito Marcantonio, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Lillian Hellman, Prof. Thomas Addis, Herman Shumlin, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather.

Prof. H. A. Overstreet has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (US 329); for other members see list supra.

American Committee to Save Refugees (US 361) for other members, see supra.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (US 381); for other members, see supra.

Consumers Union (US 664); for other members see list supra.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (US 1253); for other members, see list supra.

Vol. XXX—Seeing America

This being the last, and certainly one of the worst, books in the Series, it deserves a longer and more detailed treatment than some of the others.

On the front cover of this book is a picture of a boy and girl of college age. They are standing by their new automobile and studying a road map. Immediately behind them is a cluster of road signs, looming white against the dark foliage of trees in the background. This picture, together with the title "Seeing America", would indicate that the young couple is about to take a cross-country trip to see the national parks, great cities and rich farmlands and historical landmarks in America. They will, to be sure, also see some farms that are run down, some cities with slums, some of the roadside scenery will be bleak and barren—but on the whole they will see America: progressive, democratic, prosperous and independent.

Twenty-two of the fifty-five photographic illustrations in the book were secured through the courtesy of the Farm Security Administration. On page 2 the first picture in the book shows the town of Norway, Nebraska, population—10 people. It is a photograph of three shacks and some tired-looking power poles. The caption reads: "Norway with its ten residents is a farming village in Nebraska. It is one of thousands of small communities which dot the face of our nation and are as typically American as New York."

On page 3 is an airplane view of New York City. The caption reads: "Below—The airview shows New York City, largest metropolis in America. Within an area of only 299 square miles, some 7,500,000 people live and work, crowded together in many-storied buildings." The close-up view of Norway highlights its ramshackle aspects; the long-range view of New York accentuates the congestion of buildings and the crowded living conditions.

On page 4 is a picture of a dejected-looking middle-aged man clad in overalls and leaning against a vacant building. Three realty firms have plastered their "To Let" signs on the window. The caption reads: "As motionless as the cigar-store Indian of old, the despairing figure of a jobless man leans against a vacant store. This might be 'Any Town, U. S. A.' where unemployment is still a problem." By scrutinizing the "To Let" signs with a magnifying glass we discover that what this book calls "Any Town, U. S. A.", in fact San Francisco, California. No doubt the sightseeing young couple would have little trouble finding an unemployed man in overalls leaning against a vacant South of Market building almost any time. They would also have very little difficulty in finding Golden Gate Park, Chinatown, the Civic Center, and even some attractive residential sections—but these attractions didn't exist so far as the writers of this book were concerned.

On page 5 there are three pictures. The first shows a clutter of roadside buildings. The caption reads: "What could be more American than these roadside stands? They line the roads everywhere, refreshing the traveler with soft drinks, hot dogs and fruits and spoiling his view of the countryside." One might venture to suggest that an even more typically American scene would be one where at least the curbs and sidewalks were paved and there was no rubble heap showing.

The next picture shows a two-story building. It is partially obscured by a water wagon which is being drawn across the foreground by two lackadaisical horses. The driver is the only person in the picture. This caption reads: "The red brick, two-story buildings (there is only one) have offices above, stores below, cars parked outside. This is 'Main Street',

the business and shopping district of the typical American town." The most prominent feature in this illustration is the horse-drawn water wagon, which is fast becoming a piece of rare Americana.

The third picture shows a group of men, most of them in overalls. Some are seated on the courthouse fence. Others are just standing idly on the sidewalk. The caption reads: "As typically American as apple pie is this scene outside a county courthouse. Saturday afternoon, townsmen and farmers gather along stone walls to talk or just to sit and watch."

Page 6 shows a picture of a power-operated scoop shovel digging on a rocky New Jersey hillside. This caption reads: "This rural scene in New Jersey today shows not only the rolling hills of that region, but also the stony character of the soil. The tractor is being used in the building of a new power dam." There is, however, not the slightest evidence of the dam—only a sluggish irrigation canal.

The second picture on page 6 shows a lighthouse, while the caption announces that rocky coasts were dangerous to sailing vessels "before the days of steam. Today, lighthouses throw their beams out to sea, warning vessels from these dangerous spots."

Page 7 displays two pictures. The first is of a pleasant mountain lake in Maine. The second is of "Boston's Million-Dollar Fishing Wharf"—a clutter of fishing boats, dump carts, barrels and boxes.

Page 8 shows an aerial view of a Pennsylvania steel mill with its smoke obscuring the lower right-hand portion of the picture. The caption states: "This huge steel-making plant at Clairton, Pennsylvania, stretches along the Monongahela River for several miles. In the background are the homes of the men who work in this mill. Clairton is one of the many great industrial cities of the Pittsburgh area."

On the same page is a picture of two shacks—there are gaps in the shingled roofs, the walls are patched and one leans to the right and the other to the left against their wooden props. Even the fence posts in this illustration list at various angles. There is a heap of tin cans in the right foreground. The caption reads: "This abandoned farm in New York shows what has happened when the richness of the soil was exhausted." It is truly amazing to note how far these two emaciated shacks can lean without collapsing.

On page 9 the first illustration whisks the two sightseers back to New York for a quick glimpse of the Radio Corporation of America's Skyscraper at Rockefeller Center, and the caption announces that "On its many floors work 8,000 people." The second picture shows two men loading sacks of cement on a ship, while the caption explains that this particular cement came to New York on barges from the Great Lakes, thence through the Erie Canal and then down the Hudson River.

Having thus followed the cement on its journey, the next picture shows a closeup of a man making shoes in a New England factory. This scene, which features a right shoe surrounded by machinery, illustrates how "A skilled worker levels the soles of newly-made shoes to fit the lasts. He works in a factory in New England, which makes most of the shoes on which America walks."

The fourth picture on this page shows the New York Stock Exchange, while the caption states: "When trading is active, the floor of the Stock

Exchange in Wall Street, New York City, is filled with men who buy and sell millions of dollars' worth of stocks and bonds daily."

Page 10 displays a picture of a mining town in the South, at the lower right foreground of which is a field of what appears to be corn shocks. At the left is an embankment on which is a row of wooden houses. The mining structures are shown in the right background. The caption reads: "The South had an abundant supply of soft coal, so mining towns, such as this, grew up. At right are the tipples over the mine shafts; at left are the tiny houses of the miners." The second picture on this page shows a group of Negroes weighing in cotton.

On page 11 are four pictures illustrating: a swank hotel, viewed from the swimming pool side; the completely destructive force of a hurricane; a small sawmill; and a Mississippi river boat. These pictures, together with those of the Negroes and the "tiny houses of the miners" on the preceding page, are included under the section entitled: "The South—Goodliest Soil Under Heaven."

On page 12 the South is further extolled under the title: "The South—A Great Agricultural and Rising Industrial Region." The first illustration shows a row of rickety wooden houses near a dirt road. There are no sidewalks, no curbs; only a litter of rubbish in front of the houses. Six hound dogs are shown, and a group of Negroes watch curiously while two men scuffle in the dirt. The caption under this example of the South's agricultural and industrial might reads: "Above—Here is the Negro section of a Southern town. The hot sun beats down upon poorly-built and unattractive homes and stores. There are no trees, lawns, shrubs or flowers to soften the ugliness. Negro youths look on while two of their number scuffle."

There are two other illustrations on page 12. One shows a radio interview between the town schoolteacher and an aged woman. Two disconsolate-looking young girls dressed in overalls stand nearby. This caption reads: "The radio broadcasts a talk between the local schoolteacher and the oldest inhabitant of a mountain village, one of those communities that until recently had no contact with the outside world."

The next illustration shows two well-dressed white men grading tobacco leaves. In sharp contrast to the poorly-clad people in the other pictures, these men wear white shirts and dark trousers. One wears a gray fedora hat, vest and necktie, and is seated. The other stands before a rack of tobacco leaves. The caption states: "In this North Carolina warehouse, expert judges grade tobacco leaves. This state is the largest tobacco-raiser in America, alone producing nearly half our nation's supply."

On page 13 the first picture shows a steel mill in Alabama. The illustration is dark with black smoke. There is a row of shabby wooden houses in the left foreground and a dirt road runs in front of them to the mill in the background. The caption states: "These houses are homes of workers who labor in the steel mill seen in the background. The mill is in Alabama, a state which has rapidly developed modern industries, including textile mills."

The next picture shows three men joining sections of an oil pipeline "that carries oil swiftly and cheaply from the Texas-Oklahoma oil fields, producers of about half the nation's oil, to refineries long distances away."

The third picture is a view along one-half block of Main Street in Macon, Georgia. The caption reads: "Main Street of Macon, Georgia, is lined with independent stores, chain stores and parked automobiles. Pedestrians hurry along its sidewalks. It is a comfortable Southern city whose main street resembles those of other prosperous Southern communities."

Page 14 devotes half its space to an airplane view taken at an altitude which presents the earth as a dim vista of checkered land spotted with trees. Pastures, orchards, vineyards and fields are virtually indistinguishable from each other. This caption states: "Below—This remarkable airview shows how flat the land lies in this region and how fertile the earth is with its fields of wheat, corn, its orchards and pastures. This farmland helps to feed and clothe American people living in cities thousands of miles away." This picture is remarkable for yet another reason. It is a graphic example of how closeup pictures of unpaved roads, rubbish heaps, squalid shacks and underprivileged people are contrasted with "airviews" of rich farmlands taken from such an altitude that even with the aid of a magnifying glass one cannot distinguish a wheat field from a weed patch.

The four illustrations on page 15 are innocuous enough, but take up space that might be devoted to just one National Park—even seen from an altitude of 15,000 feet. The first picture shows some boats loading iron ore from the Great Lakes region; the next, a man trapping a muskrat through the ice, and, third a Wisconsin farmer spraying pea vines. The fourth illustration is a closeup of two men grubbing out stones with a span of horses.

Page 16 presents a large picture of some men in an Illinois barnyard attending the auction of a mule, which is prominently shown in the foreground. Perhaps an Illinois mule is more important than a National Park, but the writers of this book had other ideas.

The second picture on this page is a closeup of two men loading milk cans on a truck. This caption makes the solemn statement that this procedure is a daily occurrence; that the trucks haul the milk to commercial dairies where "the milk and cream are bottled or made into butter or cheese." This explanation of the most common uses to which milk and cream are put is undoubtedly true. To make the caption complete, however, the editors might have added that milk and cream are ordinarily obtained from cows.

On page 17 is a picture of two mechanics drilling holes in engine blocks in a Detroit automobile factory. They are surrounded by large drill presses. The other illustration on this page shows beef cattle in a Middle West stockyard.

Another airview occupies half of page 18. It features large expanses of the precipitous and rocky slopes around Boulder Dam. The picture measures nine inches in length by six in width; the dam is one inch in height and three quarters of an inch in width.

The two pictures on page 19 are of a small, long-range view of the Rocky Mountains and the process of extracting salt from the Great Salt Lake in Utah.

On page 20 is the only good, close-up picture of a prosperous farm in the entire book. Below it are two other illustrations. One shows the main street in Salt Lake City, and the other what appears to be a ghost



A young farmer looks thoughtfully over his land which gets poorer and poorer each year as the rains wash down the gullies, widening them, and carrying more good topsoil as they go.



(33) Threshing wheat on a collective farm. Except for a small plot reserved for the farmer's own family, the land is used by all the members together. By having big, instead of small, farms a great deal of machinery can be used. Some of this is bought by the farm and some is rented from Government Machine and Tractor Stations. Contrast this picture and caption from the "Russia" volume of a prosperous scene on a Russian "Collective Farm" with the American farm scene on the preceding page which appears in the "Seeing America" volume.

town—frame buildings, no sidewalks or curbs, deserted dirt streets, and not a soul in sight.

On page 21 is a picture of a man shearing a sheep by hand, undoubtedly taken before power shears were invented. Next is a picture of some Navajo Indians in costume. The other two pictures show the interior of a silver mine and what is termed a "petrified forest." The interior of the mine shows four men walking up a steep incline. The petrified forest is a bleak expanse of Arizona desert with eight hunks of calcified tree in the background.

On page 22 is a very good picture of a combine harvesting wheat. This illustration, which occupies half the page, demonstrates what might have been done with this book instead of displaying mules, airviews, milk trucks and squalor.

The three illustrations on page 23 show, respectively, logs being hauled by a tractor, a tub of salmon being hoisted from a fishing vessel, and five jackasses in Death Valley staring curiously at the camera.

Page 24 shows a picture of an Imperial Valley cantaloupe field furrowed for irrigation. Below it is a picture of baskets filled with what the caption says are peaches. They extend in rows along a concrete loading platform and are ". . . a very small part of the Far Wests' peach crop." The third illustration shows three lumber ships on the Columbia River in Washington.

On page 25 is a closeup of a sound stage on a Hollywood motion picture lot, and an airview of San Francisco taken during the last world fair several years ago.

On page 26 is a half-page illustration of a lad about eighteen years old leaning against his weatherbeaten house. One foot is bare, his overalls are torn and he is a picture of utter dejection. The wooden house is sun-baked and cracked. One side is propped up with stones. By the young man is a vegetable skeleton of what was once a vine, still clinging stubbornly to the porch. The young man is staring at barren hills, furrowed with washes, in the background. It would indeed be difficult to imagine a more dreary picture. (Courtesy Farm Security Administration). The caption reads: "A young farmer looks thoughtfully over his land which gets poorer and poorer each year as the rains wash down the gullies, widening them and carrying more good topsoil as they go." The other picture on this page shows a flood. The caption reads: "In this flood scene is shown some of the hardships that come to our people living near rivers, when the trees and grass upstream have been cleared for farms, industries or cities."

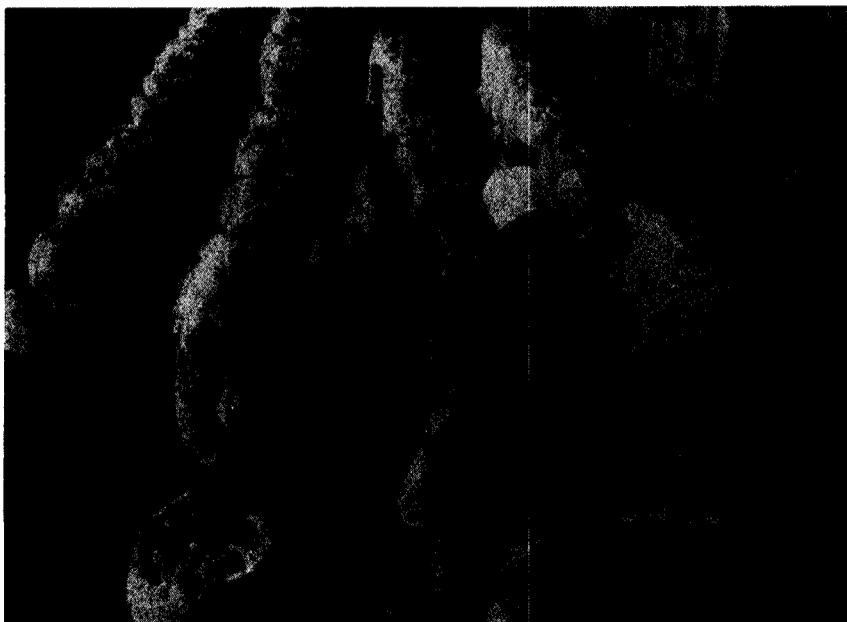
The first picture on page 27 shows some children peering from a truck. The caption says: "A family of refugees from a drought area. When droughts come and cattle and vegetation die, some farming people who are poor leave their farms and become tenants or sharecroppers."

The second picture on this page shows a determined lad fighting a forest fire.

The upper half of page 28 shows a large billboard of the Foster & Kleiser variety. On it is a picture of an American family—father, mother and two children, well-dressed and smiling happily as they ride along in their car. The legend on the signboard reads: "World's Highest Standard of Living—There's No Way Like the American Way." One can look past



A family of refugees from a drought area. When droughts come and cattle and vegetation die, some farming people who are poor leave their farms and become tenants or sharecroppers. (From "Seeing America.")



(34) Members of a collective farm family receiving 32,000 kilograms of grain (rye and wheat) from a government agent in payment for their year's work. (From "Russia.")

the billboard on the right and see some more dilapidated shacks surrounded by weeds. The caption under this picture (Courtesy Farm Security Administration) reads: "Above—A scene along a road on the outskirts of a small town. American roads are made ugly by man with billboards of every description on untenanted land and in places *where the people have too little power to protest.*" (My italics).

Just below the billboard illustration is a smaller picture of two armed guards standing near a large sign which reads: "STOP—MARTIAL LAW". The caption reads: "Below—A 'border patrol' keeps the unemployed people of other states from entering. Where shall I look for work?" is the problem that faces the jobless who reach such stations at State borders."

On page 29 is a picture of a jam-packed street in New York "where the population averages 23,000 to the square mile. Note the children on this street. The street is not only a 'playground' for the children, but also the neighborhood shopping district."

The other picture on this page presents a scene of almost indescribable squalor (Courtesy Farm Security Administration). The caption states: "When depressions become severe, scenes like this are sometimes met on the waste land around our communities. The jobless build 'cities' of boxes and junk to shelter themselves."

On page 30 the sightseers are taken from their close-up view of dumps, hovels and shanties up into the clean, rarefied air for several thousand feet to look at a scene of abundance. The caption: "Fertile farms now cover what was once desert land, on this reclamation project in the West. Such reclamation projects show what more might be done by our people to make our nation fruitful and bountiful." One has to take the word of the caption writer for the fertility of these farms, but there is no doubt that some of the lands in the picture have been cultivated while other areas have not.

The last picture appears on page 31. It is another "airview", this time of the Jane Addams Houses in Chicago, which "present an interesting contrast with nearby slums."

And so the young couple have seen America. They have seen its slums, its shanties, its expropriated farmers and drought victims, its hot dog stands, and the shanties of the miners and steel workers. They have seen its mules, its jackasses, and its jobless. They have been shown the class struggle through pictures and the wording of captions. Someday they may take a trip and see a National Park, a public library where people can prepare themselves for a better standard of living, a decent residential section from the ground instead of from an elevation of 5,000 feet.

I have described every illustration in this particular booklet and it should now be observed that while such illustrations as a scoop shovel on a rocky hillside, a light-house on a rocky coast, a lake, steel mills, Rockefeller Center from an altitude of several thousand feet, some sacks of cement being loaded on a ship, the New York stock exchange, a small sawmill, a Mississippi river boat, an aged school teacher, two men grading tobacco leaves, an oil line, a mule, milk cans being loaded on a truck, mechanics drilling holes in engine blocks, a man shearing a sheep, and similar pictures, add nothing in particular to this book, they serve the very useful and practical purpose of taking up space that could have been

devoted to just one public library, one national monument, one Church, and some of the other public buildings of which every American should be proud, and which have been ignored so far as this particular volume is concerned.

In writing this report it was decided to list the front organizations to which the various text writers were affiliated after each of the several volumes instead of placing the entire group at the end of the report. This was done at the risk of monotonous repetition, but it was desired to make the reader familiar with the fact that these writers were connected with the same Communist front organizations in many instances and to emphasize that fact through repetition of their names. Such a technique might well be called counter-propaganda—at least the average person is more apt to remember the names by seeing them several times than he is if he reads them once in the last page of the report. The writers listed in these bibliographies constitute the left-wing educational cult. Their records have been carefully documented, and ample proof is readily available in the Report of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities heretofore cited in each instance by page number. There is much additional proof of the accuracy of the listings and affiliations of these writers from other sources, as well.

Louis Adamic and Sherwood Anderson, whose works are listed in the bibliography to "Seeing America," should by now be so familiar to the reader that it will not be necessary to do more than name the Communist front organizations with which each has been connected.

Mr. Adamic has been affiliated with the following:

National Citizens Political Action Committee (US 263)
 American Committee for Free Yugoslavia (US 338)
 American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born (US 340)
 American Friends of Spanish Democracy (US 380)
 American League Against War and Fascism (US 412)
 Soviet Russia Today (US 461)
 American Slav Congress (US 494)
 American Writers Congress (US 524)
 Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 666)
 Council for Pan-American Democracy (US 672)
 Daily Worker (US 677)
 Films for Democracy (US 730)
 American-Russian Institute (US 1096)
 National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (US 1174)
 National Committee for Peoples Rights (US 1179)
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (US 1193)
 National Emergency Conference (US 1206)
 National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (US 1209)
 National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (US 1222)
 New Masses (US 1350)
 Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio (US 1374)
 Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee (US 1530)
 Soviet Russia Today (US 1604)
 United Committee of South Slavic Americans (US 1641)
 Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 1701)

Mr. Sherwood Anderson has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee of Liberals for the Freedom of Mooney and Billings (US 339)
 American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born (US 349)

American League for Peace and Democracy (US 396)
 American League Against War and Fascism (US 419)
 American Relief Ship for Spain (US 489)
 Artists Union (US 584)
 Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 668)
 Films for Democracy (US 729)
 League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, (US 985)
 John Reed Clubs (US 939)
 National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (US 1176)
 National Committee for Peoples Rights (US 1179)
 National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (US 1212)
 National Student League (US 1313)
 Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio
 (US 1374)
 Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (US 1611)
 National Committee for the Student Congress Against War (US 1620)
 Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (US 1703)

Also listed in this bibliography are books by Stuart Chase and Oliver LaFarge, whose records have already been amply discussed.

The pictures in the volume of Russia have been explained as showing plump, well-fed people, fertile farms, and a general air of well-being and prosperity. They were obtained from Sovfoto, an official Soviet agency, and many were taken by Margaret Bourke-White, whose affiliations have been considered. These pictures should be contrasted with the Farm Security illustrations in "*Seeing America*". When the two volumes are placed side by side, the contrast is striking. This, too, is propaganda of the most subtle and vicious type.

Appended to this report is an appendix in three parts. The first is a table of the Communist Front Organizations herein set forth. The second is a list of the authors listed in the Building America bibliographies who are connected with Communist front organizations; and the third is a list of the individuals affiliated with the Communist front organizations listed herein but who were not connected with the "Building America Series." These individuals are either members of the Communist Party or fellow travelers who have been so enthusiastic about joining a long series of front organizations that the mere inclusion of their names is an indication of the Communistic character of the organizations to which they belong.

In conclusion, it remains to consider that the "Building America Series" is no better than the text books on which it was based; and those books are no better than the authors who wrote them.

At the very outset we found that Dr. Paul Robert Hanna had been closely associated in a publishing venture with Prof. George S. Counts; that Prof. Hollis L. Caswell had similarly been associated with Prof. William H. Kilpatrick and Prof. Robert K. Speer; that Prof. Alain Locke had been associated with these men in a wide variety of Communist front organizations, that is, with Counts, Kilpatrick, Speer and many of the other text writers. We also found that Dr. C. C. Trillingham was a national officer in a definite Communist front organization. He was one of the members of the California Curriculum Commission who insisted that these books were proper for seventh and eighth graders.

It should be repeated that nothing in this report is intended to imply that Dr. Hanna, Prof. Caswell or Dr. Trillingham are in any respect subversive. There is no specific evidence that they are anything but loyal, sincere patriotic professional American educators.

Whether or not they were fooled by the men whose records have been cited, and who wrote the texts on which much of the "Building America Series" was based, is something the reader will have to conclude for himself. It should also be emphasized that there were many authors listed in the various bibliographies to these books besides those whose records have been documented. Some of them have been found to belong to front organizations at various times but have not been listed because it was felt that only where there was a plain and consistent pattern of such affiliations should a writer be included in the subversive category. Many of the other authors were found to have no such affiliations.

Experience has indicated that the indoctrinated Communist or fellow traveler will work unceasingly and with a fanatic zeal to further the cause of Marxism. Two or three such individuals, trained in the specialized art of writing, could easily contaminate these books with subtle propaganda. In many cases this propaganda has not even been subtle, but has hit with the blunt impact of a clenched fist.

It is suggested that copies of this report be made available to teachers and Parent-Teacher organizations throughout the State so they may have before them the facts about these books. They almost went into the 7th and 8th Grades, and it is believed that a dissemination of the information contained herein will make a similar attempt less likely in the future.

Respectfully,

R. E. COMBS.

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