We have learned a lot about how the Communists operate. But I am afraid we have not yet thought out the real reasons why we should detest communism. We should hate communism because it stifles free thought, because it will tolerate no criticism, because it pays no respect for human dignity. We should hate communism because it has no respect for law, and because it has no respect for human dignity. We should hate communism because it will use any means to achieve its ends, because it has no respect for the past, because it has no respect for the future.

We should despise McCarthyism for the same reasons.

ELKHORN, MONT.

The Communist Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 29, 1953

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, Mr. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and one of the most eminent and respected union leaders in America, is a fine example to set before the country—a single figure both for the preservation of civil liberties and against the destructive and subversive influence of Communists, both inside the labor movement and outside of it. Last Sunday, July 26, the Tom Watson movement was erected on a most illuminating article by Mr. Dubinsky entitled "Instead of the McCarthy Method." This article should be read by all who fight for our freedoms and who oppose communism.

I ask unanimous consent that this fine article by Mr. Dubinsky, as printed in the New York Times, be printed in the Appendix of the Record. There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record.

INSTEAD OF THE MCCARTHY METHOD—A BATTLE LINE FOR THE COMMUNISTS: SIEGFRIED OUT CONCRETE ALTERNATIVES FOR CURBING THEIR INFLUENCE IN A MORE AMERICAN WAY

Our country is badly in need of an informed, responsible, and effective policy to meet the Communist threat to our free society—a policy that will give us genuine security without imperilling the civil liberties that are the heart of the difference between our democracy and the slave system of those who have the courage to recognize the very reason why we are in a position to have such a policy today.

We have seen the totalitarian dictatorship at work in Russia for three and a half decades. We have seen communism snuff out every vestige of freedom in China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic and Balkan nations. We have watched the dreams of world peace that grew out of our anti-Nazi warlike attitude turn to an evil of the same magnitude. We have seen the masses of the world turned to a warlike mentality. We have seen the world turned to a warlike dictatorship.

Here at home we have fumbled through a variety of approaches to the problem of Communist infiltration. Back in 1919 the Communist movement was established in the United States as a feeble echo of the Bolshevik counterrevolution. It had no roots in organized labor or in any other main section of American life; yet our Government was reduced to panic by this tiny outcropping of radical sentiment. Those were the days of the inhuman Palmer raids when hundreds of foreign-born workers were seized without warrant—the days of the “deportation delirium.” But our country quickly returned to sanity and set aside the fear that had besmirched our traditions and degraded us in the eyes of the world.

We should come out of hiding; it pretended to be loyal and respectable. Here and there it won positions of influence in trade unions. It embarked, for example, on a campaign to wreck the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. After many years of struggle, and at terrific cost, we smashed the conspiracy. But the Communists lost ground all along the line.

The great depression of the thirties gave the Communists a temporary setback. Under the twin spurs of mass unemployment and American recognition of the Soviet Government, they won recruits—especially among the jobless intellectuals who were without hope. These “depression babies” lost faith in America; they saw Russia as the “wave of the future.”

With the rise of the New Deal as a powerful social reform movement and the birth of the CIO, the Communists found new opportunities for penetration and power. The technique of the united front and of borrowing from within established organizations vastly extended the Communist range of authority. Trading on the political innocence and ignorance, they became a real force in Washington. The undisguised sabotage of American defense industries by the Russian revolutionary Bolsheviks produced a temporary setback for Moscow’s American helpers, but they more than regained this lost ground with the coming of the Second World War and the Soviet Union became an ally of the democracies.

Throughout this period our Government has repeatedly attempted to stem the tide of communism. Some of our top labor leaders had the smug feeling that they could use the Communists for discord at the right moment. What they failed to realize was that the Communists were using them as a front behind which to build up Communist prestige. To many liberals it was all right to investigate communism. It was fashionable to demand an all-out fight against liberalism to investigate communism and Communist infiltration.

It was not until the Communists started making serious headway on international cooperation that they had made in the honeymoon period of wartime amity and nation after another succumbed to Soviet blandishments, that we began to face the gravity of the Communist threat.

But the suddenness of our shift in attitude after long years in which we had done too little to stamp out the system was a shock to Americans with a sense of panicky disquiet.

The problem of fighting communism became a football in our national political life. Peddlers of fear found it both fashionable and profitable to trade in on the concern that was gripping the country. They indulged in fanciful exaggerations, in smears and such damage to our world position. These “depression babies” lost faith in America; they saw Russia as the “wave of the future.”

We have learned a lot about how the Communists operate. But I am afraid we have not yet thought out the real reasons why we should detest communism. We should hate communism because it stifles free thought, because it will tolerate no criticism, because it pays no respect for human dignity. We should hate communism because it has no respect for law, and because it has no respect for human dignity. We should hate communism because it will use any means to achieve its ends, because it has no respect for the past, because it has no respect for the future.

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A5060 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD  July 30

I do not mean to underrate the urgency or importance of curbing Communist treachery in this country, but that endeavor is no substitute for the vastly more challenging task of stopping Communism in its forms that those who are concerned with the global battlefield the Kremlin seeks to make. We must all do the difficult, costly and imaginative things that are necessary to offset the dangers our American people continue to increase the power and fighting faith of our friends. That means something more than arms and financial aid; it means respect for our enemies, the very remedial—explosive ways of doing things, and, above all, the establishment of the United States in world opinion as a citadel of opportunity, of free expression, and of integrity in the world.

It is in the light of that fundamental belief that the recent national convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union offered a program that I am moving to vindicate, with solicitude and reiteration. We feel that this program will help us to guard against and defeat our internal foes and still keep us strong in the preservation of our own liberties.

This program would take the Communist issue out of politics and out of the hands of the politicians. It would operate through two principal agencies, designed to supplement the established organizations as the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

One of the new agencies would be a non-partisan advisory commission, appointed by the President of the United States, to advise the Nation on every aspect of the Communist problem. The second would be a privately sponsored nonprofit clearinghouse for information that would help unions, employers, employees, and individuals to keep from being sucked into unsuspecting involvement in the Communist web. Here is how each would work:

I. THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION

The basic function of this group would be to make the American people continuously aware of the nature of the Communist problem and to map an integrated policy for coping with all its ramifications. Its mission would be to supply facts instead of fancy, to change the atmosphere of our culture, to clean up the whip-lash of hysteria, to unite American against communism instead of dividing Americans over communism.

This is not an assignment for mean, middlemen, or self-seeking political agitators, who conceive of the fight against communism as a hunt for heads or headlines. The Commission should be made up of men who combine imagination and alertness with scholarship and experience. Its members should be broadly representative of our national life and experienced in dealing with the Communist issue in both its civil and governmental aspects. It should bring together individuals who have shown a past awareness of the Communist menace and an understanding of its complexities.

The Commission would be charged with investigating Communist infiltration in various sectors of American society, with an eye to assisting the decent forces in either of their own ranks. Its investigations would be in confidence, and it would have the authority and the duty to make public its findings whenever it felt disclosure was in the public interest.

Not the least of its constructive functions would be to devise channels through which the repentant Communist or fellow-traveler could liberate himself from the party. At present, the Communist Party holds many of its members in bondage with the threats of blackmail, economic reprisal, and even violence. The man or woman who wants to get out of the party should have some agency to speed his exit.

The responsibilities of the proposed commission would go far beyond those now fulfilled by the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is primarily concerned with identifying organizations that serve the Communist cause and which has the power to communicate directly with the American people. The new group would make periodic reports to all Americans on our progress and our setbacks in the fight against communism, and it would be the agency in which improvement was most needed.

How well the Commission performed its task would, of course, depend on the caliber of the men the President appointed to it and the caliber of the men the President appointed to it and his prestige with which he invested its functions. Some of the most beneficial reforms America has enjoyed have stemmed from citizens' advisory groups of this kind. One of these was the study commission on the conservation of natural resources started with a Commission appointed by Theodore Roosevelt. Herbert Hoover's Commission on Social Trends did much of the research underlying subsequent legislation. It boldly to fight the depression—the New Deal of Hoover's successor, Franklin D. Roosevelt. In recent years, Hoover himself rendered distinguished service as Chairman of President Truman's Commission on Governmental Reorganization.

A Presidential agency to deal with communism would not exclude the establishment of investigatory committees by Congress or the right to conduct investigations of communism or anything else they feel may assist them to legislate more wisely. But congressional investigatory committees might also be subject to the same limitations that would enable them to gather facts without utilizing the elementary rights of those under investigation. A companion step in the direction of freedom would be to establish procedures to protect individuals against slander in congressional debate.

The FBI, under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, has demonstrated that it is possible to do a great deal of investigating against the enemies of our country without trampling on the immunity of the innocent. We must apply the same rigorous yardstick of respect for personal liberties to everything we do in the cause of our country. That is our purpose in setting up a Presidential commission as a general staff in charge of our domestic offensive against Kremlin-inspired intrigue and by making salutary changes in congressional legislation. It is a great thing and he must be given credit for being sincere.

There has long been a need, now widely recognized, for a trustworthy agency to which the citizen who wants to be sure he is not being blackballed may turn in his own interest. It would be this agency which the Soviet conspiracy can go for guidance.

In the absence of a trustworthy source of information, we have a rash of professional counselors on communism. The primary job of these men is to make the maximum dollar they can out of the bonfire concern of businessmen, unionists, and other community leaders anxious to avoid the danger of Communist entanglement.

These counselors cannot stay in business unless the public understands the problem. Thus, any movie, radio, or television performer who ever lent his name to an innocent-looking front may find himself permanently blackballed for his crime. On the other hand, those who are careful in the blissful days of the united front and who do not evince any applause for their capitulation to Communist blandishments, but the craven knuckling under of our own leaders and advertising sponsors to the dictates of censorship martinet is even less admirable.

What the present situation requires is a responsible, fact-gathering committee with the power to deal with organizations and individuals who can come for balanced information. The sponsorship and initial financial support for such a committee should come from private sources. Our country should welcome the opportunity to contribute to such an enterprise, and there should be widespread response from foundations, business houses and other groups.

This committee would seek no headlines, would hunt down nobody, would propose no policies. It would act as a clearinghouse for all relevant data about Communist activities and individuals. It could take the place of the proposed Presidential commission deemed by the FBI very properly prohibited private access to its files. The Attorney General's Subversive Activities Control Board is permitted to establish confidential access to information in the Government's possession, but it would be essentially a private agency operating in the public interest on a nonprofit basis.
Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "McCarthyism: The Record to Date—Part II," written by Richard Gray, president of the building and construction trades department, AFL. At my request, the first installment was printed in the Appendix of the Record about a week ago. The article has created a great deal of comment throughout the country because it provides information about certain elements of the leftwing press.

There being no objection, the article was printed in the Record, as follows:

**McCarthyism: The Record to Date—Part II**

Certain elements of our free press in America in commenting on last month's issue of the Bulletin did their best to mislead in the minds of many people who are not aware of the facts. The purpose of these articles is to highlight the real issues of communism and the false statements made by some of our critics.

The basic issue of communism in America is not just a matter of opinion but a matter of facts. Senator McCarthy and other critics have done a great deal of damage to our society. The basic issue of communism in America is not just a matter of opinion but a matter of facts. Senator McCarthy and other critics have done a great deal of damage to our society.
The Advertising of Alcoholic Beverages in Magazines and Newspapers and Over Radio and Television Stations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS
OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 29, 1953

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the record petitions and lists of signers in support of H. R. 1227. These citizens protest the advertising of alcoholic beverages in magazines, newspapers, periodicals, etc., and its broadcasting over radio and TV. We favor the above-named bill:


HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

(Congressman, please note.)

We, the following petitioners, ask you to present to the House and have it noted in the Congressional Record the number of signatures in favor of H. R. 1227—Bryson, to prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of alcoholic beverage advertising in newspapers, periodicals, etc., and its broadcasting over radio and TV. We favor the above-named bill:


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