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**"How Can We Best Combat  
Communism?"**

SENATOR KARL E. MUNDT

*Republican of South Dakota*

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

*Democrat of Minnesota*

THEODORE GRANIK

*Founder and Moderator, The American Forum of the Air*

*Announcer: The National Broadcasting Company presents The American Forum of the Air, founded twenty-two years ago by Theodore Granik, and dedicated to the full and public discussion of all sides of all issues, coming to you from the NBC Theater in Washington, D. C.*

*Now, here is your Moderator, Theodore Granik.*

*Chairman Granik: In his recent message to Congress, President Truman asked for stronger laws to deal with communist spies and saboteurs. However, he warned against the dangers in extreme measures of the "Police State."*

*On Thursday, the Administration's anti-communist bill was introduced in the Senate by nine Senators. It puts emphasis on vigorous enforcement of existing laws and revision of some of them. However, the Judiciary Committee sent to the Senate floor a sweeping bill by Chairman McCarran, which would require registration of communists and red-front organizations. Previously, the Committee had approved a measure sponsored by Senators Mundt and Ferguson, which likewise proposed such registration, in order that communists and "front" organizations may be required to function in the "open and public channels of the Democratic process."*

*All of the proposals attempt to tighten the internal security of the Nation,—for every loyal American is determined that we must combat the vicious menace of communism! How best to do it is the vital question the American Forum of the Air poses today to two distinguished members of the United States Senate: SENATOR KARL E. MUNDT, Republican of South Dakota, Co-author of the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill, and SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat of Minnesota, co-sponsor of the Administration measure.*

*Now, Senator Mundt, it has been reported in the press that you contemplate adding your bill as a rider to the President's Mobilization Bill.*

*Would you care to comment on that?*

*SENATOR MUNDT: Yes, I would, Ted, but first of all I would like to say it is good to be back on the program with you and Senator Humphrey again. This is the ninth or tenth time I have been on this public service program, and I have learned from experience that it has a wide listening audience and certainly does increase one's mail the next Monday morning.*

*Now, it is true that Senator Ferguson and I have offered S. 2311, which is the so-called Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill, as Title 8 to the Civilian Production Control Bill. We have done that for two reasons: In the first place, there is a great demand in the country that we do something at home to curb the activities of communists, and an equally great demand developing that at the time we are passing legislation requiring good patriotic Americans to make certain sacrifices in the field of economic activity, we should also include legislation requiring disloyal Americans, the communists, to wit, to conform to certain rules of decent procedure in time of war.*

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*So we are very hopeful when the roll is called next Monday that the legislation will be added as a rider to the existing legislation.*

*Chairman Granik: Senator Humphrey—*

*SENATOR HUMPHREY: First, I would like to express my gratitude for again being back on the program. However, I feel that I have been discriminated against since my colleague, Senator Mundt, has been on eight or nine times, I believe he said. I think my batting average is six or seven, or seven or eight times. I, too, know that the mail will be heavy next week.*

*I want to make just a few general observations on the whole issue of communism. First of all, I think it can be honestly stated that all patriotic and freedom loving decent Americans are anti-communist. It is not enough, however, to be anti-communist. You also must be pro-democratic, and I mean with the small "d", pro-freedom. You see, Hitler was anti-communist, and I don't like his anti-communism. Mussolini was anti-communist, and so was Tojo, and I don't like their anti-communism. I want them to be something else besides "aginers".*

*I pride myself on not only being a talking anti-communist, but a practical and practicing one. I have had a little experience in fighting the communists and their stooges. I had the experience in my own state in our political party, and we cleaned them out lock, stock and barrel. We did it by hard work, by intelligent observation and participation; by encouraging decent American citizens to get into the political process instead of sitting home and letting the communists run it. In other words, democracy does not come cheap; it comes with hard work and personal sacrifice and understanding.*

*This communism question has two facets to it. First of all, how does communism get started? How does it grow?*

*It gets started in the social and political and economic environment of chaos, cynicism, frustration, unemployment and political dishonesty and corruption. I say that one of the first jobs that we have in America to combat communism is to keep America strong; to keep it economically strong; to have programs that do something about that—*

*Chairman Granik: Could we interrupt, please?*

*SENATOR HUMPHREY: I just want to outline the second point, and then I will turn it over to my colleague, Senator Mundt.*

*The second point is what to do about communists when they actually conspire to overthrow the government or conspire to perform violence. I say what you do is to bring upon them the full impact of law, with due process of law. To do just like we did with the eleven commies in New York; give them a trial, but put them under the impact of the law, prosecute them, and put them where they properly belong, and that is in jail.*

*Chairman Granik: What would your bill do, Senator Mundt?*

*SENATOR MUNDT: It would do exactly that. But I cannot refrain from saying that out in South Dakota I belong to a political party which has never had to clean out the communists because they never joined the Republican Party.*

*As for the bill itself, it follows three basic principles. The first*

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is that it employs a device of disclosure, requiring the communists to register so we know who they are. The second feature is that it employs the policy of identification, requiring the communists to identify their propaganda, their sources of income, the literature they send through the mail, the broadcasts they sponsor, and most important of all, the front organizations through which they operate.

The third thing our bill does is to employ the principle of curtailment. Curtailment from espionage; curtail the privilege of getting federal jobs by appointment—like making it illegal—and curtail the privilege of getting passports to travel abroad.

Since this legislation is the only legislation before Congress doing these three things, we hope it will be adopted when the roll is called next Monday, the amendment being offered to the Maybank Civil Production Control Bill.

*Chairman Granik:* Senator Humphrey, how does your bill differ?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Let me say in quite a measure. But first of all, just a comment about the Republican Party. I cannot pass that up.

As a matter of fact, the time that the Communist Movement got its greatest encouragement in America was at the dismal failures of leadership of the Republican Party. I don't suppose we ever had more communists than right after the first days of the depression. That is what I say—communism is born in that kind of disillusion. But I am sure that my good friend from South Dakota, Senator Mundt, realizes that both the Democratic and Republican Parties are committed to basic American principles.

*Chairman Granik:* Senator Humphrey, let us get back to the bill in question now.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You see, what has happened here with the Mundt-Ferguson Bill is a sort of a hoax upon the American people to indicate that somehow or other there are no laws to protect America from the communists, and their filthy conspiracy. As a matter of fact, there are 27 laws which, by the way, the leader of the Republican Party brought out in Oregon two years ago very aptly, and I refer to Dewey. He debated with the "Minnesotan" out there, and that was the end of the "Minnesotan" and the beginning of Mr. Dewey for a period of time. We have 27 laws on the books, and besides that the Administration bill proposes to strengthen those laws.

My friend from South Dakota talks about the registration of the communists. Let us register all groups, not only the communists, but the fascists, the Ku Klux Klan; let us register the Christian Fronters. I am for that. I point out, however, that the registration the gentleman from South Dakota asks for is only with respect to those who are controlled by a foreign government. You can have local fascists and local communists who may not be controlled by a foreign government who would undermine our government.

Now, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, every single communist in America can now be registered. As a matter of fact, the junior Senator from Minnesota, Hubert Humphrey, thinks that the communists are under the control of a foreign government. I believe that the Communist Party in this country is not an independent, free party. It is a stooge of Joe Stalin. So we don't need

the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill. All we need to do is what the present law says we have the power to do, and that is register them.

*Chairman Granik:* Senator Mundt, do you have a comment on that?

SENATOR MUNDT: Yes, Ted. If that is true, it is a fearful indictment of the present Administration because it has failed to require the communists to register. Either Senator Humphrey's assumption is wrong in the first place, or the Administration is coddling communism unreasonably and in defiance of the law.

Incidentally, the registration to which Senator Humphrey refers does not require the registration of communists nor anybody else unless he is a trained saboteur, trained by some foreign government. Of course, a man trained to engage in sabotage is not going to register before blowing up a factory or dislocating a railroad yard. So we have to have something effective to make the people register.

The reason we have the registration clause in our bill is because the Attorney General testified he was not negligent, that he was not coddling communists, but that the existing law was inadequate to compel the registration of communists.

*Chairman Granik:* Senator Humphrey.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I might say that my friend from South Dakota wants to keep the communists out in the open, but unfortunately what he is going to do is to drive them underground. The only way you can combat the communist menace is out in the open.

I want to ask my friend, Senator Mundt from South Dakota, just how he is going to get the communists to register. He said at the "Meet the Press" program that he doubted they would register. He also knows that his bill requires all kinds of procedures before they will register. The Department of Justice states that it would take anywhere from two to four years before they would be able to put the effect of the law upon those who refuse to register.

We have had all kinds of experiences with commies—they come and go. They change their party line as fast as a woman changes her hat. I point out that wherever the communists are required to register, they will say they are not communists and they will join this organization and that organization and deny that they are communists, which will mean that the Department of Justice will have to dig them out just as they do now. As a matter of fact, I might point out that during the war the Communist Party dissolved.

*Chairman Granik:* Senator Mundt, have you a comment?

SENATOR MUNDT: As Senator Humphrey said, "How are we going to force the communists into the open?" We force them into the open by the device of making it necessary under the law that they register. Once the law has passed, they have 30 days to make up their minds. They can come into the open or go to jail. Either place satisfies me. If they are in the open, the good people of America will see that they do not engage in secret propaganda or sabotage. If they are in jail, I think it is a wonderful place for the communist, where he is happy and at home.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That is fine; put them in jail. But that is not what the law says.



SENATOR MUNDT: If they don't register—

SENATOR HUMPHREY: They can appeal. They have all the protection of the courts. First, they have the appeal to the Subversive Board, and how long will that take? We have had those appeal cases. After that, they can go to the courts of the United States. They can go as high as the Supreme Court of the United States. And all the time they are appealing, may I say to the Senator from South Dakota, they are not in jail. No, they are out collecting money around the country to have more bail.

*Chairman Granik: Gentlemen, may we go ahead, please?*

SENATOR MUNDT: I doubt, Senator Humphrey, whether you or I want to take away from the Americans the right to appeal to the courts of the United States. You have that to contend with.

Now, under this bill they have 30 days time in which to register. The FBI said that they know the names of 55,000 communists in our country. As a matter of fact, there are 30 in my state, and there are 300 in your state, Senator Humphrey. We don't know who they are; neither you nor I know who they are, and the people do not know who they are. But, under this bill, everybody will know who they are, and I think the people of Minnesota can handle your 300 and the people of South Dakota can most certainly handle our 30 who somehow or other slipped over into our state from the Minnesota border. We may take care of them, I guarantee, if we know who they are.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: May I observe that under the Senate rules we would have the Senator from South Dakota set down in his seat for impugning Minnesota.

I would like to point out that the Senator from South Dakota stated that the Department of Justice and the FBI already know that there are 55,000 communists in this country and where they are and who they are.

SENATOR MUNDT: That is correct.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: They are the people that ought to take care of them. This personal vigilante business of accusing this fellow or that fellow of being a communist—if the FBI knows that there are 55,000 communists in this country, and has them tagged—and it has—the way to control the communists is to give the FBI the trained manpower that it needs so that it can keep its finger on them. And not to have a hocus-pocus program where everybody runs around as a “junior Dick Tracy”. We have a government. We have the Department of Justice that is fully capable of handling these communists with the laws that we have on the statute books, plus the additions which have been recommended by the Administration bill.

SENATOR MUNDT: The difficulty, of course, is that the FBI has gone as far as it can go whether it has its present staff or 100,000 agents. It has identified the communists and knows where they are. But until you pass the Ferguson-Mundt-Nixon Bill, or something similar, there is nothing further the FBI can do. It is not illegal to be a communist. They don't require them to register. Unless a law is passed to compel them to do something which they decline to do, there is nothing that can be done. As you know, they cannot be arrested. We are squandering the taxpayers' money if the best that we can do is

to assign an FBI agent to tail every single communist in America. 55,000 FBI agents watching 55,000 communists—that is a silly way to solve the problem.

*Chairman Granik: Senator Humphrey.*

SENATOR HUMPHREY: First of all, I wish to say that Senator Mundt's bill does not make communism illegal. And all you want to do is to say they are mean, nasty people, which the American people already know. You want to have a registry down here in Washington, which we already have in the files of the FBI. But now you want it so that the 30 from South Dakota will be known by the 600,000 people in South Dakota, which is not going to change the minds of the 30 at all. They are not going to be able to handle them any better.

Now, I want to point out another thing. Who has been doing the anti-communist work of this country? We didn't have the Ferguson-Mundt-Nixon Bill to get the eleven commies in New York. We had the Smith Act. We would not have caught Judith Coplon; we would not have been able to apprehend Gold, Fuchs or Alger Hiss under the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill, because, first of all, these people deny they are communists, and the Department of Justice has to dig them out.

*Chairman Granik: Senator Mundt, do you care to comment on that?*

SENATOR MUNDT: Yes. Precisely you would not have had a Judith Coplon or an Alger Hiss in the government had we had the Ferguson-Mundt-Nixon Bill, because they would not have been hired in the first place. It would have been illegal to do that.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: First of all, may I say that Judith Coplon never said that she was a communist.

SENATOR MUNDT: And probably never will.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Then how would she register as a communist? The very people you want to get, the insidious people, the ones who desire to destroy the country, the vile unpatriotic, treasonable people will never register. They are the kind of people who will do like Judith Coplon did; they are the kind of people like Mr. Fuchs and Mr. Gold. They went around parading as nice, patriotic Americans, and they fooled the American people and they fooled the Congress and they fooled their local people and their own employers until the FBI, which is trained to get them, got them.

I submit that the Mundt-Ferguson Bill does not do one thing to strengthen the hand of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. All it does is strengthen the headlines.

SENATOR MUNDT: I might say that the FBI would have gotten them immediately without waiting for them to commit a crime if the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill had been a law.

You say that they would not register. The FBI knows that they are communists, and if they fail to register, it hooks them up for two to five years. That is the basis we use—disclosure and investigation—to safeguard America in time of war, and why I believe at the time when you are passing legislation to push decent Americans around to do the proper thing in their economic lives, we had better add a separate title to push the disloyal Americans around, and also make

them do something patriotic, or at least make them cease their espionage activities.

*Chairman Granik: Now, gentlemen, it is time to give our studio audience a chance to participate with questions, and I would like to take a question from the audience.*

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Before you do that, Ted, I just want to state this: There is no argument about the registration.

SENATOR MUNDT: I thought there was.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Not at all. Let them register.

SENATOR MUNDT: In that event, we are wasting a lot of time.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: There are others besides the communists who are bad boys.

SENATOR MUNDT: I welcome you as a convert to the bill.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, not a convert. May I say that the bill is just catching up with the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The whole interpretation of the act is that if you are an agent of a foreign power, or of a party governed by a foreign power—and it is the interpretation of Hubert Humphrey, the junior Senator from Minnesota, that the Communist Party is a part of the international conspiracy and therefore is an agent of a foreign power. That is my interpretation.

SENATOR MUNDT: Unfortunately, the Attorney General does not agree with your interpretation, and if he did, he would be guilty of gross negligence, because under existing law, it does not compel communists to register.

*Chairman Granik: Gentlemen, it is time to give our studio audience a chance to participate with questions. I see that my assistant is ready with a question from one of our speakers.*

QUESTION: My question is addressed to Senator Humphrey.

If there were some legislation, such as the Administration has passed, do you think that it would be used to clean out communists from our labor unions as well as those outside?

That is sort of a touchy question.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It is not touchy at all. It is a very good question. It affords the junior Senator from Minnesota a chance to say this: the labor movement in America has done more than any one institution, with the exception of the churches in this country, to eradicate from American life communism; and I want to pay tribute to Mr. William Green of the A. F. of L., to Philip Murray of the CIO, to Mr. Hayes of the Machinists Union, to Mr. Kennedy of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, to the late Mr. Frazer and Mr. Lyons and Mr. Harrison, and the others of the great American labor movement who have done more to expose communists in America than all of the Congressional committees put together. And they have not only cleaned them out of their organizations at home, but they are doing a tremendous job abroad at the London Conference of Free Trade Unions in combating the international communists. God bless the American free trade unions for what they have done. They have worked on behalf of all of the good and decent things that the American citizens ought to work for.

SENATOR MUNDT: I might say that I secondly agree also that any

legislation should affect the labor unions if it affects every other segment of our economy or social or political life. And that is why a great many labor organizations, a great many locals, a great many individuals have written to Senator Ferguson and to me saying, "If you pass the Mundt-Ferguson Bill requiring the communists to register, we can complete the job of ridding our ranks of the communists who have crept into the labor unions."

*Chairman Granik: We have another question from the audience.*

QUESTION: I address my question to Senator Mundt.

Do you believe that your bill would have a good effect on our combat against communism abroad?

SENATOR MUNDT: I think we could do nothing next Monday noon which would be more emphatic from the standpoint of action by the Congress of the United States to register the expression of America against worldwide communism than at long last passing something in Congress striking against Communism.

*Chairman Granik: Is that a prediction that the bill will pass?*

SENATOR MUNDT: I am very hopeful it will pass, and I am willing to predict that before this session of Congress is over, that you will have legislation on the statute books looking so much like the Ferguson-Mundt-Nixon Bill—regardless of what name it bears—that it would take a man with seagoing binoculars to distinguish anything different.

*Chairman Granik: Senator Humphrey.*

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I say that we must have better legislation than that because the Ferguson-Mundt Bill does not go far enough. All the bill says is that if you are communist, "You come and be a nice boy and tell us."

What the junior Senator from Minnesota wants is the kind of legislation so that if you find a communist you can prosecute him. That is, that you have a right to deport him; you have the right to detain him in a port of deportation. So you have the right, if you please, to tighten up the espionage laws of this country. So whenever you find a communist who is conspiring to overthrow the government, or in any way infiltrate the national defense or the national security of this country, you deal with him, and that you deal with him, let me say, with the full impact of the law. In other words, not just to register them and say, "Now, you are a communist; we know you are a communist," and let them go.

SENATOR MUNDT: I might say that the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Act is a bill of some 37 pages and that Senator Humphrey has devoted his entire conversation to Section 4(a) and Section 4(b) of the bill, which does deal with registration. The rest of the bill provides definite and specific restrictions against the communists, denying them, as I have said, the right to get a federal passport; denying them the right to hold an appointive federal job; and requiring them to go to jail if they fail to register. In other words, setting up exactly the kind of protection that Senator Humphrey says should be written into the law.

Now, we go further than that. We deny them the right, through their front organizations, of the tax exemptions that they have been



enjoying. One of the great deficiencies of the so-called Administration bill is that it fails entirely to compel a single front organization controlled by the communists to be identified any way at all with the control chain from Moscow. Nothing is done about the front organizations. Nothing is said in this legislation offered by Senator Lucas and Senator Magnuson and Senator Humphrey and Senator Kilgore and the rest about registering the communists and forcing them out in the open.

*Chairman Granik: Senator Humphrey, do you have a comment?*

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. First of all, I wish to say that the Department of Justice already has the right to deny passports. As a matter of fact, you will recall that it denied one to Paul Robeson.

SENATOR MUNDT: Of course, Browder has had passports to go back and forth to Moscow.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: He has had one in the past, and that was before the date of my friend from South Dakota. But in recent times, the Department of Justice has had the power to deny passports to communists. Also, we already deny the communists the right of jobs in government.

SENATOR MUNDT: Not so very well, however, because the State Department has recently fired 205 communists from government jobs.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We have had it for nine months. I might say that that kind of comment came from the Senator from Wisconsin.

SENATOR MUNDT: I am not talking about that. Jack Peurifoy, the Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, said that they fired 205 communists. Senator McCarthy is talking about some that he still thinks are there.

*Chairman Granik: Gentlemen, we have another question from the audience.*

QUESTION: This question is directed to Senator Humphrey:

How would closer cooperation with Franco Spain, as has been advocated in some quarters, affect our battle against communism?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think you should have asked that question of the man who voted for the loan to Franco Spain.

SENATOR MUNDT: I will be glad to answer.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: First, however, I might say that the bill would deny the right of a man who was a Falangist, who is a member of the Spanish Government, to enjoy any privileges in the United States. He would have to register. The McCarran Bill will thoroughly deny them the right to have any privileges in the United States, even though we are giving them \$100 million.

Now, directly to your question, I think this was a hard blow to American foreign policy because Franco, as a political figure, stands as a symbol of the remnants of fascism in Europe. Franco was a colleague of Hitler and of the whole fascist movement, if you please. I want to say that Franco does not represent his people. As far as I am personally concerned, if I knew that the \$100 million was going to be used for the Spanish people, well and good; but I am afraid it is going to bail out Franco and the Falangists.

*Chairman Granik: Senator Mundt, have you a comment?*

SENATOR MUNDT: Yes, Ted. It must be a pretty compelling loan

and a highly interesting one because you will notice among those voting for it was Senate Majority Leader, Senator Lucas, who went against the wishes of the State Department and the White House in that connection. Also, the Senator Majority Whip, Senator Myers of Pennsylvania, went against the prevailing opinion down in the State Department.

The reason the loan to Spain was a cinch is because in worldwide warfare against communism we have to work with people who are on our side, people that control the beach heads so essential if we are going to land troops in Europe. We will have to work with people who will stand up and fight against communism. For instance, just as in the war against Hitler, we had to make an alliance with Russia to defeat Hitler. This time we have to work with types of governments we do not approve of so that we can defeat communism.

*Chairman Granik: Gentlemen, I must interrupt. We have time for just brief summaries. First your summary, Senator Humphrey.*

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I just want to make this quick summary.

First of all, may I point out that the Mundt-Ferguson Bill—the one that my colleague is so happy about sponsoring—has a section in it that says that if anyone directly aids or abets or in any way assists an organization that is following the communist line, ipso facto, that organization and that individual is a communist.

What I ask of the American people is this: What have the communists fought against the most in the last three years? The Marshall Plan. They hate it because it is effective. Also, the military assistance, the North Atlantic Pact.

I want to ask my friend from South Dakota, what would happen to certain members of Congress, what would happen to certain editors in America who have followed the Communist Party line in their bitter opposition to the Marshall Plan, the military assistance, the North Atlantic Pact, and the Point IV Program, playing into the hands of the communists? That is the communist doctrine. That is, anti-Marshall Plan, anti-Point IV, and anti-military assistance. I know they are not communists. They are good loyal Americans who have a different point of view, but they follow the line and under the Mundt-Ferguson Bill, I am afraid it would be tough.

*Chairman Granik: And now your summary, Senator Mundt.*

SENATOR MUNDT: Rather than answer questions as far afield from the bill as those questions, I would suggest to my good friend from Minnesota that if he will read the Act carefully, he will see that it does not apply to any of the people he is talking about.

I will use my time for summary, all of the 45 seconds, in suggesting to you people in the radio and television world who may be hearing this broadcast, if you feel we should do something about communism in the closing days of this session of Congress, if you think we should add a communist control bill at the same time we are having a civilian control bill, spend a dollar and bet on Uncle Sam, and wire your two Senators on Monday and urge them to vote for Title 8 of the so-called Ferguson-Mundt-Nixon Bill. This will make S. 2311, the communist control bill, operative and effective in order that we can have at one and the same time the proper kind of economic controls in this country,

and the proper kind of political safeguards to keep the communists from sabotaging the very economic controls that Congress is expected to enact next Monday.

*Chairman Granik: Thank you very much, gentlemen. Our time is up.*

*You have been listening to a discussion, "How Can We Best Combat Communism?" Our speakers have been Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota.*

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