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FACTS FORUM

NEWS

America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine

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NATO:

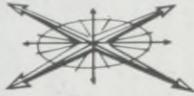
Should it Expand or Expire?



Sen. WALTER F. GEORGE
Presidential Representative
to NATO

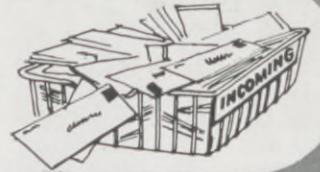
In this Issue:
**SHOULD THE U. S.
IMMIGRATION
POLICY BE CHANGED?**

Do we need
ELECTORAL REFORM?



Editor's

Mail Basket



FORTY-EIGHT GUARDS

Thanks for the article on interposition. Excellent!

States' rights has indeed become more than a regional problem.

Incidentally, Russia is puzzled and stymied as to how to take over such a country as the United States. They couldn't just take the central government and governmental "head" and thus get *all*, because the *states* are in the way.

Let's guard the deterrent — states' rights!

L. V. CLEVELAND
The Highway Magazine
Henniker, New Hampshire

HOME-ADE

You would be doing a great service to Americans if you would print a copy of the enclosed petition, which is being circulated locally.

It is to be hoped that from the reading of this petition others will be impelled to seek their congressmen's willingness to further new Civil Defense legislation.

This petition is based on testimonies offered before the Senate Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee, headed ably by the Honorable Chet Holifield.

We, the undersigned, do not believe that Civil Defense is a purely local issue.

We believe that an attack on an American city would be an attack on the United States, and that Civil Defense should have an equal standing with the army, navy, air force, marines, and coast guard.

So, we hereby petition for federal funds for Civil Defense, to be allocated proportionately according to target area population, and, that such legislation be passed as shall provide for the recommendations made for survival before the Government Operations Committee's hearings on Civil Defense.

EVELYN M. SMART
149 Eustis Street
Roxbury 19, Massachusetts

FAN (applauds) FARE

I believe that the condensed article of Cecil Palmer's great book, *The British Socialist Ill-Fare State*, is one of the most important ever published in this nation. I can only hope that it has the widest circulation. It should be read by every legislator in Washington and every labor leader as well.

Congratulations to you for your foresight in choosing this subject for publication.

ADOLPHE MENJOU
722 North Bedford Drive
Beverly Hills, California

DISPLACED PERSONS

I have been reading with interest your articles on foreign affairs, and would like to call attention to what is happening at our feet — the plight of the American citizen who, through misadventure or consolidation of companies, is forced to look for another

position, and is fifty years of age or more. These men and women are quite often the heads of families, are buying a home, or are preparing children for college, and quite often have small resources at their command. The bitterness aroused by the refusal of corporations to employ these middle-aged can only be imagined.

R. C. PHELPS
1707 Church Street
Galveston, Texas

ATOM BOMB YEAR 11

As a retired science teacher of twenty-five years experience, I was interested in Mr. Schlichenmaier's letter, in your issue of May, 1956 [a Readers Report item which told of Classrooms, Inc., a citizens' fundraising project to solve the classroom shortage in Orlando, Florida].

It is fine that an appeal could be made to Classrooms, Inc. But in Atom Bomb Year 11, when we are falling behind Russia in our output of scientists and technicians, there also should be Laboratories, Inc., Drawing Rooms, Inc., Observatories, Inc., and Greenhouses, Inc.

R. E. BOWMAN
Box 357
Blacksburg, Virginia

The following letters are only a few of many we have received which reveal that the furor about modern art still persists as analyzed in two articles published in *Facts Forum News*: ("Art for Whose Sake," by Esther Julia Pels, Feb., 1956, issue; and "Modern Art and Freedom," by Rene d'Harnoncourt, June, 1956, issue.)

VS. ON MODERN ART

Re: d'Harnoncourt versus Pels — "Art for Whose Sake?"

Most artists and educators agree that the art of a period reflects the thinking and culture of the period.

During the Century of Progress the Art Institute of Chicago had on display the works of contemporary artists from all countries. After finishing a tour of the galleries, I asked myself what one word would best convey what I had just looked upon and decided on "confusion." Two months later I heard a prominent American lecturer say that he had been asking the wise and the learned up and down the land what one word would best express the state of the country and of the world, and they all agreed on "confusion."

Modern art may be the expression of individualism, but modern art and communism have several things in common — they are both the expression of sadistic, perverted, distorted, or confused thinking.

LEILA G. WHITNEY
930 Sunnyside Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

There has always been crude and depraved art, along with those [examples of art] sustaining truth, morality, and beauty. The question of these times seems to be, "Why is it chosen to put before the public for modern inspiration and toward what?"

Probably it is like modern literature; the money goes for that.
(Continued on page 39)



HAPPY BIRTHDAY!

The group [pictured above] is celebrating an oldster's birthday. [Honoree was Mrs. John Benedict Brine, 94, shown at far right.] Instead of the birthday cake, *Facts Forum* magazines were passed around — discussion and spirits rose high. A good time was had by all. One guest said, "How well we employed our afternoon."

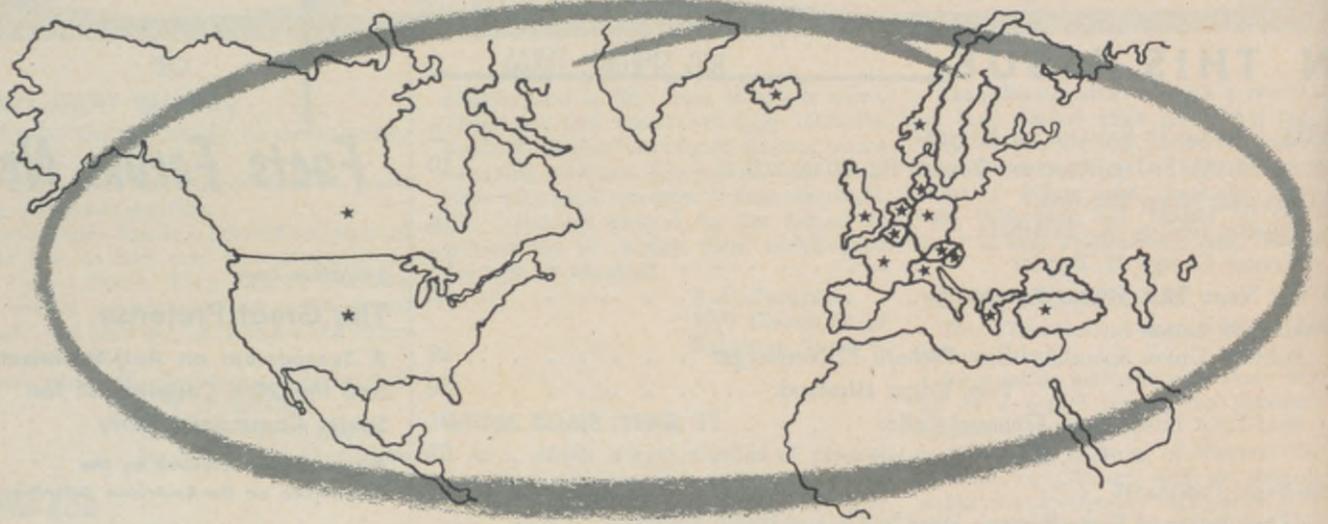
Best wishes for the continued success of *Facts Forum News*, which has grown like a giant from the very first little pamphlet.

MRS. JOHN AUGUSTINE DALY
40 Larch Road
Cambridge, Massachusetts



NATO:

- ★ UNITED STATES
- ★ CANADA
- ★ FRANCE
- ★ BELGIUM
- ★ GREAT BRITAIN
- ★ ITALY
- ★ LUXEMBOURG
- ★ THE NETHERLANDS
- ★ NORWAY
- ★ DENMARK
- ★ ICELAND
- ★ PORTUGAL
- ★ GREECE
- ★ TURKEY
- ★ FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF WEST GERMANY



Should It Expand or Expire?

THE statement made recently by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that the time has come for NATO to advance from its initial stage into the "totality of its meaning" did not come as a surprise to those who have watched the career of NATO during the past seven years — from whichever side of the fence. Yet this announcement has set in motion such a volume of comment, speeches, interviews, and analyses as to goad every thinking American into considering very seriously the purposes and destiny of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

With relatively minor exceptions, our mutual security program in Europe, along with fourteen other nations who signed the North Atlantic Treaty, has been entrusted to the organization implemented to carry out the provisions of that treaty — NATO. Now, with efforts being made to broaden its primary emphasis of maintaining a military defense against a common aggressor to include activity in economic and political areas, many people are earnestly wondering about both the "mutual" and "security" phases of the program.

Has NATO been successful? Are our defenses in the Atlantic area adequate

to meet major aggression? Has the "new face" of the Russian collective leadership actually reduced international tension, and thereby reduced the need for a strong security program in Europe? Is it fair and necessary for the United States to pour such tremendous amounts of money and manpower — many times more than all the other NATO nations put together — into such a cooperative enterprise? Does the proposed expansion program mean world government, or a prelude to it? These are some of the vital questions people are asking. Important decisions are in the making, to be announced in December of this year. American citizens need to understand the issues and have a voice in the making of these decisions.

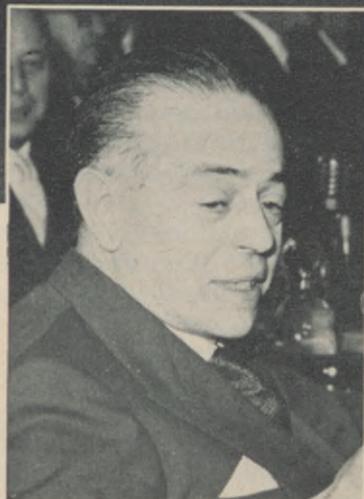
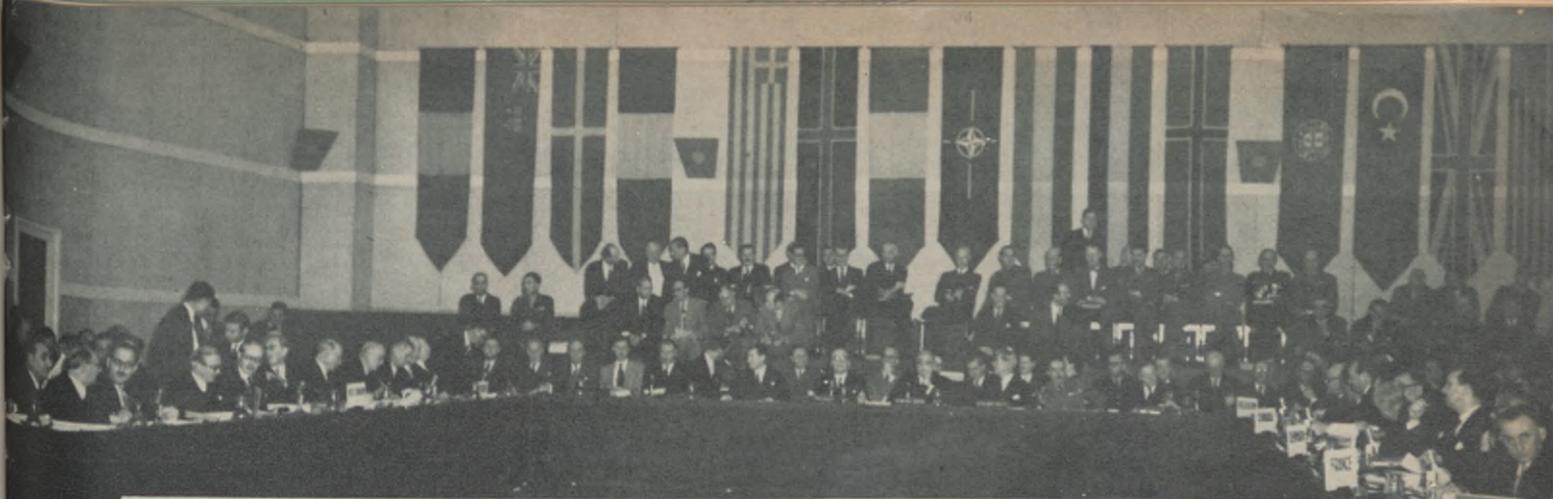
NATO has not arisen from a single foundation, but rather from three: the awareness of a common heritage, the presence of a common danger, and a common determination to resist it.

No one can deny the multiplicity of spiritual, cultural, and personal ties that link the North Atlantic peoples. According to the 1950 census, there were more than 33 million people living in the United States who either were born abroad or had parents born abroad. Of this number, nearly half

came from the fourteen other NATO countries. Because of blood ties, we have necessarily shared our cultures, traditions, educational concepts, religions, and basic political principles, even though each nation has maintained its own identity. The Atlantic community apparently was a living reality long before a treaty stated it to be so.

In the period following World War II the Soviet rulers made clear their determination not only to hold fast to their Eurasian conquests and to exploit their resources and peoples for the aggrandizement of Soviet power, but they made equally clear their intention to continue the expansion of Communist power into other areas.

Faced by the grave peril of a great and menacing threat — the Russian octopus — ten strategically located European nations, together with the United States and Canada, signed a mutual security pact in 1949 known as the North Atlantic Treaty. Those ten European nations are France, Belgium, Britain, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Portugal. Later two more nations, Greece and Turkey, and quite recently the Federal Republic of West Germany, signed the treaty. The door



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is still open to other nations in the Atlantic community who desire to join the alliance and meet the requirements.

In the preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty, the avowed objectives are: "to safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law"; "to promote stability and well being in the North Atlantic area"; "to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security."

The parent organization is NATO, with the North Atlantic Council acting as the top body — the political authority — charged with the responsibility of considering all matters concerning the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty. The Council, which formerly met only periodically, when the several national ministers of foreign affairs, defense, and finance attended, is now in "permanent session" at NATO headquarters in Paris, with "permanent representatives," each with the rank of ambassador, in attendance.

Several times a year these sessions become ministerial meetings of the Council, by reason of the attendance

Upper picture: Fourteen NATO nations meet in the Palais de Chaillot in Paris for a session of the North Atlantic Ministerial Council. NATO now includes a fifteenth nation, the newly created Federal Republic of West Germany. Inset (l. to r.): Foreign Ministers Gaetano Martino of Italy, Lester B. Pearson of Canada, and Halvard M. Lange of Norway, sometimes referred to as the "three wise men," have been appointed to explore ways and means of expanding the interests and activities of NATO.

of the ministers mentioned. The most recent of these was held in Paris last May 4-5. It was following this last Paris conference that Secretary Dulles announced that a three-man committee had been appointed to study and work out a plan for expanding NATO.

The Council is served by an international staff, headed by a secretary-general, Lord Ismay of Britain, and certain committees. The military command under NATO is SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers, Europe), commanded by American General Alfred M. Gruenther. Scheduled to replace General Gruenther, who retires at the year's end, is another American general, Lauris Norstad.

Since the end of World War II there seems to be little doubt in the minds of most Europeans that Ameri-

can aid, cooperation, and support are needed for adequate defense of Europe. But among Americans the need for Europe's cooperation and support is not so generally accepted.

Some people deplore any ties which would automatically involve us in an armed dispute between a single European nation and an aggressor, and point out that our participation could possibly turn a minor disagreement between two nations into a world conflict. They maintain that building up our own defenses is far more important and that anything we contribute to collective security thereby actually weakens our own defense.

On the other hand, supporters of NATO say that the very fact an aggressor would have to fight the NATO countries all at the same time, is the strongest deterrent against such skirmishes. Even minor skirmishes could result in the seizure of strategic bases, vantage points, or natural resources by Soviet powers for future major blows. The record shows that not one armed conflict has developed in any of the NATO countries since the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty.

In examining the strategic value of the combination of NATO resources primarily from the standpoint of



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

U. S. Air Force General Lauris Norstad, air deputy to General Gruenther since 1953, will become Supreme Allied Commander in NATO when the latter relinquishes his post.

America's own national self-interest, Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, observes:

Stripped to its essence, the justification for NATO is a simple exercise in elementary arithmetic. North America and free Europe combined now produce about 70 per cent of the world's manufactured goods, while the entire Soviet bloc, including China, produces only about 20 per cent. On the other hand, Soviet control of the territory and resources of Western Europe would give the Soviet bloc 50 per cent of the total world's industrial production, as against North America's 40 per cent. The Atlantic nations, so long as they are joined together, are in a position to maintain decisive industrial superiority over the Soviet bloc for an indefinite period of years. Soviet domination of Western Europe would rapidly shift the industrial balance to the Communist side.

One of our great deficiencies in the global struggle with communism is manpower. The population of the Communist bloc outnumbers the American population by a margin of 5 to 1. But with free Europe and North America joined together, this margin is reduced to approximately 2 to 1.¹

Is this enough margin? Do we have a reasonable assurance of protection for the NATO area? General Gruenther, in a recent review of the situation before a San Francisco audience, said, "No, we cannot give that assurance yet." He indicated, however, that if and when the Germans contribute some 12 divisions, 1,300 tactical aircraft, and a relatively small naval organization for use in the Baltic — all probably to be available within three

¹Murphy, "The Foundations for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization," *The Department of State Bulletin*, April 16, 1956, p. 646.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

General Alfred M. Gruenther, respected for his administrative ability and diplomacy as well as for his military leadership, will retire as commander of SHAPE, probably toward the close of this year.

years — we shall be in a very good position. Even though the military weight of Russia is now heavier than that of the combined NATO countries, the SHAPE commander expressed his belief that our present strength and our capacity to retaliate is sufficient to assure us that a third world war is not imminent.

Critics point out certain military weaknesses and difficulties in NATO and charge that it is "falling apart at the seams." High on the list of troubles is that sentiment is growing in West Germany for a regular army plus a national militia instead of a democratic draft army. If these pressures should prevail, the urgently needed German contribution would dwindle.

Another sign of strain is the withdrawal of many of France's troops from NATO positions to join other French troops battling the nationalist rebels in Algeria. The French NATO contribution now amounts to little more than land for bases and depots.

Rival claims in Cyprus by NATO members Greece and Turkey have caused such bitterness and strife that there is a possibility Greece might leave the alliance altogether if Britain refuses to comply with Cypriot demands for unity with Greece. Such a withdrawal by Greece would definitely weaken defense of the vital eastern boundary of the Atlantic alliance.

Here in the United States drastic cuts have been made in President Eisenhower's requests for foreign aid, which include the amount he and

NATO advisors consider minimum support of NATO. Also, there are rumblings of discontent among some of the smaller nations about the heavy financial burdens they bear under terms of the treaty. They were more than willing to bear these burdens when fearful of imminent attack, but not so willing when international tensions apparently are lessened with the new change of Soviet tactics.

To these discouraging elements General Gruenther replies that NATO is, indeed, having its difficulties, but is not falling apart at the seams. Progress is being made in spite of the troubles. One of the main evidences of this is the Russian estimate of the importance of NATO, given in a series of talks during the recent Twentieth Party Congress. There were 12 main speakers at this Congress, including Party chief Khrushchev, and 11 of these speeches cited as the first objective of Soviet foreign policy the dismemberment of NATO.²

Working toward this end, the Russians strive unceasingly to stir up old rivalries and to emphasize all differences and tensions between the member nations. They make the most of such sore spots as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Cyprus riots, French-Algerian problems, and especially have they thrown their weight against German reunification efforts.

Most recently, Russia has announced that the Red army is to be reduced by 1,200,000 men, and has adopted a "new look" of reasonableness and desire for peace. When NATO nations continue to look with suspicion and distrust on such a parade-ground move, the Soviets make full use of their reticence in propagandizing neutral nations.

Considering more specifically protests against the financial outlay for the upkeep of the organization, it is pointed out that during its seven-year history NATO has cost its member nations \$312 billion. Of this staggering sum, the United States has contributed \$252 billion, or more than 80 per cent of the total spent by all the 15 countries. In other words, our NATO spending has equalled 90 per cent of our present official national debt. Conceivably, if we had managed to escape these multi-billion-dollar NATO outlays, our national debt might now be \$28 billion instead of \$280 billion.

Also, there has been considerable confusion, misunderstanding, or plain

²Gruenther, "General Gruenther Tells What Russia's Up To Now," *U. S. News & World Report*, June 8, 1956, p. 104.

lack of acceptance of the President's proposal for funds for long-range non-military NATO projects covering a period of up to ten years. These expenditures would be related to our security by helping areas of the world threatened by Communist subversion and containing people, resources, and strategic locations which, in our own interests as well as theirs, should be secure from hostile alien domination.

Secretary Dulles emphasizes that the need for this type of aid — in raising standards of living, public health, and education — is especially necessary now, since the Soviets themselves are offering development aid.

Many Americans object vehemently to this type of foreign aid, saying that too much is paid out for too little in return; others, who might approve of the principle of foreign aid, argue that there would be too much overlapping and competition between NATO and existing agencies like the United Nations or the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, already functioning in that field.

Another controversial financial item is the maintenance and progressive modernization of NATO's military defenses. Weapons and equipment wear

out or become obsolete, and military plans require constant revision. The furious advances of modern science and technology make it hard to keep equipment up to date. While some think atomic warfare has outmoded the type of resistance that NATO is prepared to give in case of an all-out attack, others think that keeping the best of tactical weapons is still absolutely necessary, and is a means of equalizing the differences in our manpower as against Russian manpower.

C. Burke Elbrick, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, indicates that the value to the Europeans, both in military and psychological terms, of acquiring guided missiles and more advanced types of aircraft and electronic equipment cannot be overestimated. He furthermore states:

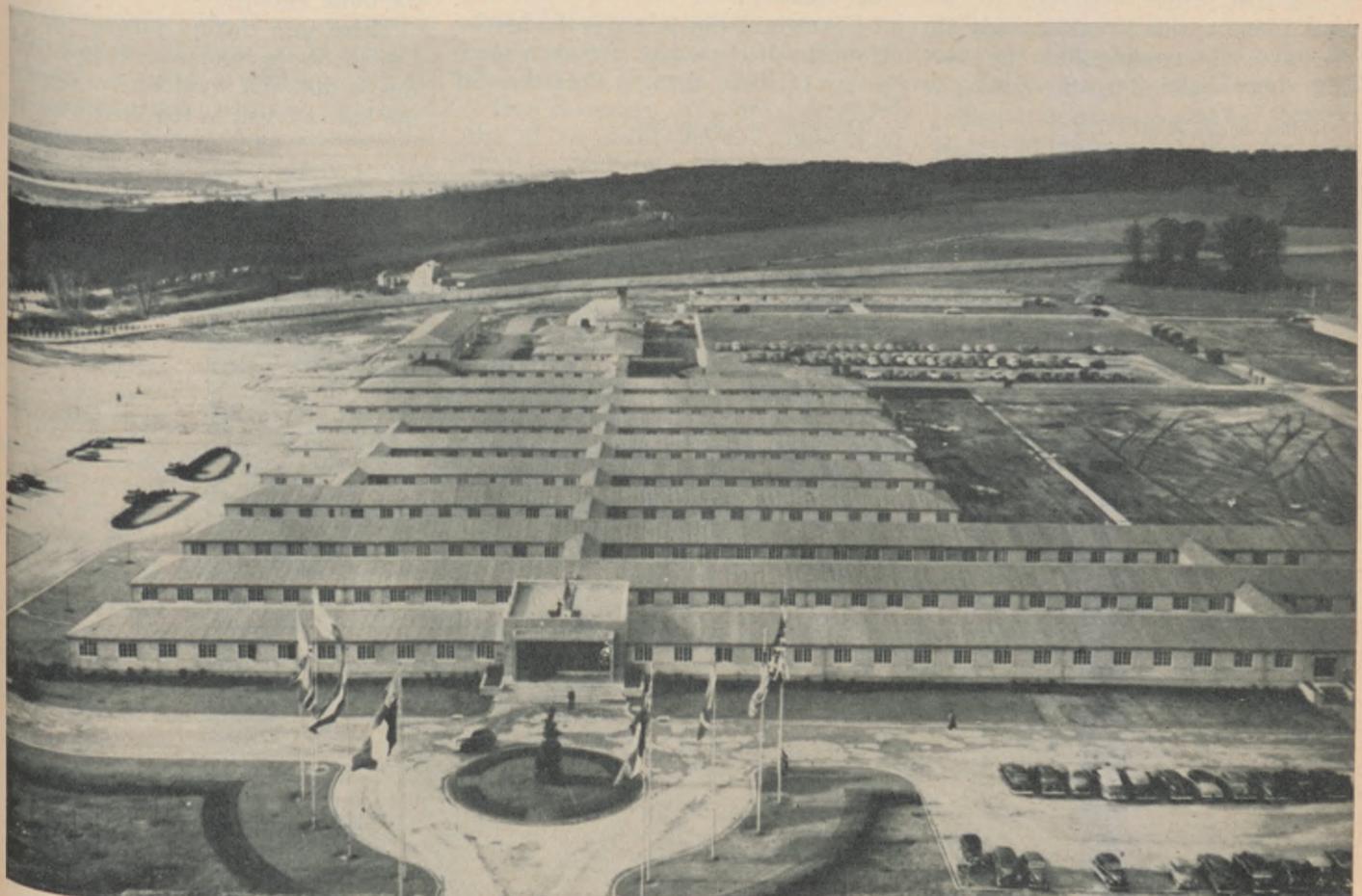
It is to our own benefit that we make these more modern weapons available as a means of insuring that American troops in Europe will have at their side well-equipped forces equally able to mount an effective defense.

There is no question but that the Europeans have become increasingly concerned about the rapid changes in the technology of modern warfare and their limited ability to keep pace with the newer developments. Apart from the British and, to a

lesser extent, the French, our European allies do not have the resources necessary to devote to the large-scale research and development of new weapons. Consequently most European countries are looking primarily to the United States to help them keep pace with the growing capabilities of the Soviet bloc forces. By sharing the newer weapons as they are developed and produced, we can make it possible for them to participate more effectively in the defense of Western Europe and thus to strengthen the deterrent power of the alliance.³

In support of the total financial program of NATO, and of the huge amounts of money contributed by the United States, Secretary Murphy says, "I think it is time to lay at rest the myth that the cost of the NATO program rests primarily upon the shoulders of the American taxpayer." He states that while our defense expenditures are much greater than those of other countries, our national income is nearly three times as great as that of all the other NATO nations combined. "Americans know," he continues, "that the United States has made very large contributions to the equipment and training of the military forces of our European allies. But relatively few

³Elbrick, "The Mutual Security Program for Europe," *The Department of State Bulletin*, April 23, 1956, p. 677.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

SHAPE headquarters occupies this unusual building about fifteen miles from Paris. The many office wings are joined by a single 650-foot corridor. Flags of the member nations are arranged in a semi-circle outside main entrance.

Americans realize that these allies are now spending six dollars from their own budget to match every dollar's worth of U. S. assistance they receive from us. All told, they are contributing about \$12 billion a year to the common defense program.⁴

Dollar costs in other countries are not the same as in the United States, either. For instance, some European soldiers are paid only 12 cents a day.

Added to their financial contributions, the Europeans are contributing industrial and economic resources, and land for the bases and extensive radar network.

Another word of explanation about the importance of NATO defenses is given by General Gruenther. He says that one of the main reasons the Soviets are against NATO is that the European NATO countries furnish areas for bases. In the traditional pattern of strategy, a nation that operates on interior lines has a great advantage. But in air war this isn't true. A nation operating on interior lines, with bases surrounding it, can be hit from 360 degrees. Russia now is the interior nation, and we have an effective base system.

General Gruenther continues by saying that people who want to "defend America with Americans only" do not take into consideration the fact that these bases do not belong to

Americans, and that some system of cooperation is absolutely necessary.⁵

During the past year the free world has witnessed what seems to be a drastic shift in Russian policy. The demi-god Stalin, with all the brutality and evil which he represented, has been dethroned, and the new collective leadership is putting forth every effort to assure the West that they are reasonable men — that we *can* do business with them. In foreign policy, instead of threatening violence they speak of peaceful coexistence and economic aid. They smile and go on good will tours instead of locking themselves up in the forbidding Kremlin. They are making a terrific bid for acceptance in respectable Western circles.

In domestic affairs the sway of the secret police seems to have been somewhat curtailed. Red leaders would have us believe there is greater tolerance of independent thinking and that individuals have a greater sense of freedom and security. Soviet doctrine and history are currently being rewritten, literally as well as figuratively, for Russian school children are excused from taking examinations in history; no one yet knows the "correct" answers!

Countries living just over the border from the Red menace are even more aware of these changes than the rest

of the world, and want desperately to believe that the "new look" is real. What effect is this having on NATO? Has the lessening of international tension erased the need for such an elaborate collective security system?

Iceland, vital to NATO defenses because of its strategic position as a warning station far to the north and because of its important role in the sea lines of communication across the Atlantic, finds some attraction in the idea of neutrality as being safe, plausible, and considerably cheaper. It has never had soldiers within its borders before, and now this little country of 125,000 people hear and read that the Soviets are smiling. Why, they are asking, is it necessary to have all those soldiers in their country now? There is, of course, a very substantial element in Iceland that feels, along with the other NATO nations, that neutrality in an interdependent free world is too delicate a situation to maintain, and that a good look in perspective would reveal the Russian smiles to be a clever ruse to lull the free world into relaxing its vigil.

A growing spirit of neutralism is evident to some extent also in Norway and Denmark, and perhaps in some of the other nations.

There are many people in the United States, too, who believe that Russia does not want war — not that she has swerved in the least from the

⁴Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 647.

⁵Gruenther, *op. cit.*, p. 106.



An American Lieutenant Colonel (foreground) gives this class of officers from North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations instruction in the use of the 75 mm. and 57 mm. recoilless rifles at Fort Benning, Ga. The men represent seven of the NATO countries.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Communist goal of world domination, but that as a practical matter war would be extremely hazardous to her plans at this time. Commentator John T. Flynn observed in a Mutual Broadcast on May 20, 1956:

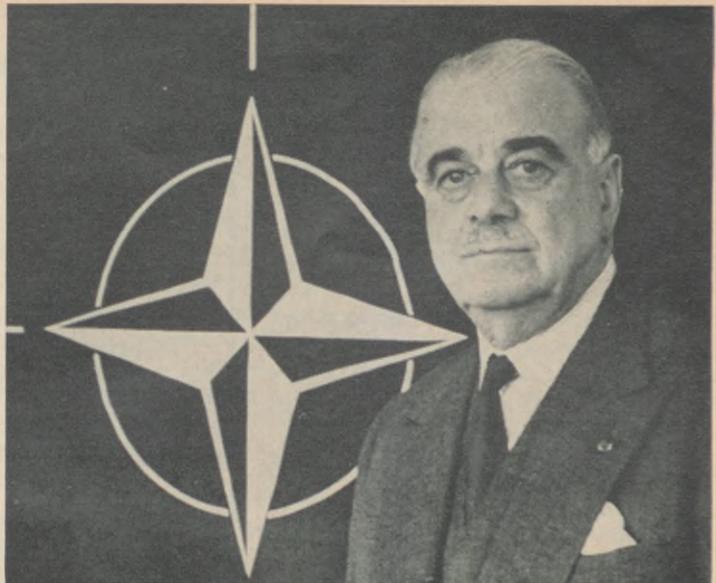
The Russian leaders have taken the position that they want no more war and are interested only in making their Communist system work. Now, I believe that is true. I don't mean I believe communism is a good thing, but I believe that the Communist leaders have now got on their hands the enormous problem of carrying out their promises to produce abundance and freedom for these hordes of slaves. They are trying to make the Czechs and Albanians and Poles and Hungarians and others trust them. Actually, these various populations hate the Russians, and that hatred is the great hazard for the Russian government.

The big problem that confronts Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin is not to grab more lands and peoples but to try to quiet those they already have. For that reason it is perfectly obvious that the Russian leaders want no war. If they became involved in a war with the West, all these conquered peoples would be a frightful hazard. So the Russian leaders want no war, not because they are sweet and gentle, but because they are practical politicians and are afraid of what war would do to them.⁶

Furthermore, Mr. Flynn accuses the so-called internationalists of promoting the fear of war with Russia in order to promote the boom of fantastic spending on militarism, and more particularly in order to convince NATO nations that they are now compelled to organize more solidly along world government lines. Believing this, many Americans feel that NATO has served its usefulness — that it should either be dissolved or remain as it is now, primarily a military organization. They feel it should certainly not be broadened to encompass other fields.

In appraising what the Russian policy changes mean, Secretary Dulles voices the opinion of the State Department and the President when he warns that policy can be changed again overnight, and that there has been no substantial proof that the Soviets are doing anything other than building up their own strength and furthering their own interests by creating the illusion that they are more reasonable. The necessity for their new attitude, moreover, has been brought about because the unity and strength of the free nations demonstrated by the network of mutual security treaties, and backed by our mobile striking power,

Lord Ismay, Secretary-General of NATO, stands before the official NATO flag and emblem, which is white on a navy blue background. He explains the symbolism of the flag as being "a four-pointed star representing the compass that keeps us on the right road, the path of peace, and a circle representing the unity that binds together the fifteen countries of NATO.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

have shown the Soviet rulers the futility of their policies of violence.⁷

Mr. Dulles points out that even though they have admitted some of the lies and false testimony which marked political trials of the Stalin era, they have failed to repudiate "two of the most outrageous lies ever perpetrated by any government, and both perpetrated by Stalin: the lie that South Korea was the aggressor in the Korean war, and the lie that the United Nations forces in that war used germ warfare against the Chinese Communists."⁸

Our Secretary of State has urged that if we want the Communists to continue desisting from violence, we had better continue doing the things which have led them to desist, for the Soviets have not lost the *capacity* to be violent. Their old policies could quickly reappear if we faltered in the policies which have checked them.

The most significant thing about the Atlantic alliance, say its advocates, is not so much what has happened as what has *not* happened. Before NATO began, for instance, we were harassed by a long series of crises in Europe, such as the Communist war in Greece, the Berlin blockade, the Czechoslovak coup, military threats against Norway and Turkey, and so forth. On the other hand, since NATO came into being there have been no military hostilities of any kind in the European area and the Communists have gained no additional territory.

Illustrating this point Secretary Murphy remarked:

Our current situation reminds me of a story I once heard about a highway that

⁶Flynn, "Behind the Headlines," Broadcast M-121, Mutual Broadcasting System, May 20, 1956.
⁷Dulles, "The Mutual Security Program and the National Security," *The Department of State Bulletin*, May 14, 1956, p. 789.

went through a mountain village. There was a very high cliff at a sharp turn in the highway, and quite a number of travelers failed to make it. There was considerable agitation for a project to build a fence at this point, and this was eventually done.

After several years had gone by, however, a traveler happened to be passing through the village and noticed that the fence had been removed. He stopped to ask one of the natives about it and received a very simple explanation. "We kept the fence there for about three years," the old fellow said, "but nobody fell off the cliff any more, so we took it down."⁹

What about disarmament? The announcement that the Soviet Union had reduced its armed forces by 1,200,000 answered a question that for more than a year has perplexed Washington experts who study the statistics that come out of the Soviet Union. It seems these specialists had noticed an unexplained rise in the labor force, particularly in agriculture, of more than a million people in the fall of 1954. They now believe this increase came from the cut in the armed forces, probably made a year and a half ago and just now announced because of the propaganda value.¹⁰ Many of these laborers are believed to be working in munitions plants, on atomic or hydrogen bomb projects, or in other ways strengthening their military might.

Additionally, Secretary Dulles reminded the world that we had proposed at the recent London Disarmament Conference mutual manpower reductions twice as large under an inspection system, which the Russians rejected. Without some kind of an inspection system we have no way of knowing whether the Russian figures on disarmament are correct or not.

⁹Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 649.

¹⁰"Russia," *Human Events*, June 2, 1956, p. 2.

Also, the large, well-trained, and splendidly-equipped forces of Communist China, 400 million strong, remain intact and under the direction and control of the Kremlin.

Most of the foregoing look at NATO has dealt with its present weaknesses and strengths in an effort to evaluate its effectiveness in the past and its potential usefulness for the future. Now, what is the answer to the current controversy: Should NATO expand or expire?

The proposal has been made to the North Atlantic Council by Secretary Dulles, backed by President Eisenhower and the U. S. Department of State, that NATO — without changing its military role — expand its activities to cover more comprehensively the field of economics and politics. This is based on the premise that basically the Atlantic community has so much in common that it should be able to do more in common.

For the first few years of NATO the unifying motive admittedly was fear. Also, the foreign ministers believe that the one thing above all others that contributed to failure in the past has been disunity among our own allies. Now, in the words of Canada's Lester B. Pearson, "NATO cannot endure permanently on fear alone." How, then, to continue the program so that the member nations, without the incentive of fear, will not relax their necessary military vigil?

Dulles' answer to this is to broaden NATO's interests and activities so as better to serve the nations in an advisory capacity. Such expanded activities would enable the member nations to be better informed and to work together cooperatively for changes that hold a possibility of good. Expansion would allow NATO to be for something rather than merely *against* something.¹¹

This new enlargement program could be carried out within the framework of Article II of the original treaty, which reads:

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

At the last meeting of the North At-

¹¹Dulles, "The Time Has Come to Expand NATO," *op. cit.*, p. 106.

PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SENATOR GEORGE

(WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASE DATED MAY 9)

Dear Walter: I know that your present term in the Senate expires this year. In view of that fact, I should like to say two things to you:

It has been my great hope that you would continue on in the Senate where you have been able to make so great a contribution to peace through helping to develop and sustain a non-partisan foreign policy. Your contribution in that respect has been incalculable and I believe it was the overwhelming desire of the American people that you would have found yourself able to continue in the Senate.

I can, however, realize that you may desire to concentrate more exclusively on the great problems of war and peace which confront our nation, free of other responsibilities which inevitably go with the Senatorship. If that is your preference, I earnestly hope that you will be willing to act for this nation with reference to the development of the North Atlantic Community so that it will in greater unity and greater effectiveness serve the cause of international peace and the preservation of those ideals of human liberty and freedom which are so deeply rooted in the Community.

As you know, at the latest meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Council, it was decided to explore ways and means by which the North Atlantic Community, through the NATO Council or otherwise, might more fully realize its potential for peace and human welfare. I regard the contribution which the United States can make to this project as of the utmost importance and feel that it may indeed play a decisive role in the achievement of a just and durable peace and the preservation of the great values inherent in our Western civilization.

It would be a great service to the nation and, indeed in a broader sense, to the whole world if you would be willing, for as long as I may hold my present office, to act as my Personal Representative and Special Ambassador in the development of this new evolutionary step within the North Atlantic Community. In case you do feel impelled to lay down the responsibilities of your present office, I can think of no way where you could better serve our nation and more fittingly crown your great career as a statesman.

I may say that Foster Dulles has asked me to express his warm concurrence in what I say and that he greatly hopes that you will favorably consider this important mission.

With warm personal regard,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

lantic Council in Paris, when Dulles presented this plan, three foreign ministers were selected to explore the possibilities and to present suggestions and recommendations for implementation: Lester B. Pearson of Canada, Gaetano Martino of Italy, and Halvard M. Lange of Norway. They are presently visiting the capitals of the member nations, concentrating on searching for ideas that could defeat com-

munist in its drive to win over the uncommitted nations of Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

Here in the United States, President Eisenhower, the first commander of SHAPE, enthusiastically endorses the new outlook for NATO, to the extent that he has asked retiring Senator Walter F. George (D-Ga.) to be his personal representative and special ambassador to investigate the possi-

bilities of broader functions for the treaty organization.

What, specifically, would be some of the new duties of NATO? At present it seems the foreign ministers read prepared speeches at their infrequent meetings, but have little opportunity to discuss and to hammer out solutions to problems that affect them all.

For instance, in recent months three NATO members — Britain, Greece, and Turkey — have been involved in a tragic dispute over Cyprus, an explosive situation in view of its position affecting the Middle East. Yet Cyprus was not even discussed in the last meeting. In the present set-up there is no chance to discuss other problems of the Middle East, although Europe depends upon millions and millions of barrels of Middle East oil.

The French attitude, under the new leadership of M. Pineau, of accepting the Soviet smile campaign without reserve and of showing an almost complete lack of interest in the proposed common market as a key element in strengthening the Atlantic community caused sharp dismay and concern during this same meeting.

One of the greatest problems facing Europe is the reunification of Germany, and NATO leaders feel it could be of real help in an advisory capacity.

The new NATO Council might also help dispel neutralism in Western Europe, now encouraged by Soviet troop cuts and constant Red propaganda.

Since 1945, over 650 million people who were non-self-governing have become eighteen independent and sovereign nations, and others are in the process of becoming independent. Their problems are great. A broader NATO could help chart their future political, economic, and military course where it affects the present NATO community. The present NATO recognizes its need for and lack of support by all national leaderships. The Dulles plan seeks to overcome this by providing for longer, more frequent, and better-prepared meetings with the foreign ministers; bigger staffs for the national delegations and more information from their governments; and authority to discuss more subjects *before* a crisis breaks.

What has been the response to this new plan? It is too soon yet to know the complete reactions of the other member nations, but the response in the United States has ranged from hearty acceptance to bitter rejection. Many who favor the general plan as

outlined by Mr. Dulles are prepared to go even beyond this very flexible organization into a supra-national government.

What is the basis for these bitter protests? Some point to the present military weaknesses, saying that even after such staggering amounts of money have been poured into the arming and maintenance of a common army, the commander of its forces tells us that NATO is not quite prepared to protect Europe. They point out that equipment is becoming obsolete almost as fast as it is being supplied, and maintain atomic war-



Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) asks "How much have the Communists gained in Asia because we are allied with the European powers?"

fare has outmoded NATO's methods of defense.

These criticisms, together with the apparent lessening of international tension, contribute a great deal to the feeling that it is time now for NATO to retire, or at least stand still.

Senator William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) summarized much of the opposition to NATO in a recent speech before a patriotic rally of *For America* when he said:

I have never believed in the concept of regional defense. The Soviet forces are disposed by one grand strategy. Why should we divide our forces? It is folly. I have never believed the Soviet leaders intended to attack Europe. They have won most of Asia without large-scale war. They do not want to take over a Western Europe reduced to ruins by bombing. I even question whether we have not lost more, militarily, by allying ourselves with the colonial nations of Europe than we gained by NATO's armed forces.

When five divisions of NATO troops appear in French Africa, to fight against Arabs who are asking for liberty, we lose military strength from Morocco to Pakistan. How much have the Communists gained in Asia, because we are allied with the European colonial powers? For all the billions we have spent on NATO, I see no proof that we are militarily stronger than we were seven or eight years ago.¹²

By far the most explosive issue involved, however, is the question of just how far this new expansion program will go. Where will it stop? Opponents contend that this is merely the opening wedge in a move that would eventually lead to the development of a global government, causing a surrender of our sovereignty.

Senator John W. Bricker (R-Ohio) is a strong critic of the plan, calling it an "exploration of the desirability of junking the American Declaration of Independence." He envisions the plan as one in which "the United States would become a vassal province in a regional superstate evolving out of NATO."¹³

Senator Jenner sees NATO's task as being twofold: first, to plan a joint strategy for defense of the West; and second, to help manufacture the "parts" of a world government, and to condition the member nations quietly to give up their familiar independence and their unique political ideals.¹⁴

What the various candidates for President believe about international government and treaties which might supercede the Bill of Rights has become an election issue of major magnitude. Several of the presidential aspirants within both major parties have expressed themselves as being for a much closer cooperative effort of the Atlantic community, even to the extent of actual union — if not now, then at some time in the foreseeable future. Others are diametrically opposed to what they call the "one world" concept of international relations.

The "Atlantic Union" plan, which is supported by a number of U. S. senators; the "Federal Union" plan, with widespread support abroad; the "United World Federalists" plan — these are becoming familiar terms in foreign policy vocabulary. Candidates are having to make their views known.

This is only a bare outline of the thinking that will go into the important decision which is at present in the making: Should NATO expand or expire? END

¹²Jenner, from a speech in Carnegie Hall, New York, February 22, 1956.

¹³"'One World' — Election Issue?" *U. S. News & World Report*, February 24, 1956, p. 82.

¹⁴Jenner, *op. cit.*

The immigration policy of this country is embodied in the Walter-McCarran Act of 1952, which was passed over ex-President Truman's veto. The Act has been constantly under fire since that time. Some humanitarians ask that barriers to immigration be removed, making it possible for the homeless and downtrodden to find sanctuary in this country. Wary patriots point out that liberalization of our immigration policy may be part of a master plan to populate the country with subversive hordes. Facts Forum News presents here both viewpoints on this question . . .

Should the U. S. Immigration Policy Be Changed?

Presented first are views of those who do not favor a change in the present immigration policy

JUDGING from the flood of immigrants who are being washed to the shores of America, one might think that the country has become a giant blotter, one with the express purpose of absorbing all the surplus people of the world.

Indeed, if one is to believe the hue and cry raised by pressure groups, he may think that it is mandatory for the United States to accept all immigrants. All propaganda to the contrary, it must be remembered that it is still a privilege to be allowed entry into the United States, not an inalienable right.

Many gullible "bleeding hearts" are all for casting aside the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act and welcoming the hordes of people clamoring for entry into the country. Proponents of the Act claim that if such "gulliberals" have their way, the country may well have not one Trojan horse in the national camp, but millions.

Many informed people are saying, "Let those who have judgment to exercise start exercising it." For pressure groups are working overtime to change the Walter-McCarran Act, with Communists cheering from the grandstand. Those favoring the Act charge that some of the opposing groups lean so far to the left that many members have permanent curvature

of the spine. They allege that if these groups have their way, Communists and fellow-travelers will swell the population.

Perhaps the most overworked approach in the campaigns of these opposing pressure groups is an affected sympathy for the downtrodden people of over-populated countries. Persons favoring our present immigration policy state that the "emotion engineers" are masters of this sort of thing. It is alleged that if these groups have their way, a national crime, in the liberalization of immigration, will be committed in the name of suffering humanity.

Individuals favoring the Walter-McCarran Act say it might be well for the empathetic and the do-gooders to pause and take stock. If immigration bars are let down to the traffic of new citizens, America, too, will become overcrowded. A simple, mathematical explanation reveals why America cannot solve the population problems of the world. Take Europe, for example — each year its population increases three million. America cannot begin to contribute anything toward the solution of such a problem.

It has been said that the greatest tragedy regarding immigration is the way that soft-hearted Americans are being misled. Under the guise of humanitarian proposals a campaign of

misrepresentation has been responsible for misleading newspapers, commentators and far too many others into thinking that the immigration policy of the country is in need of drastic changes. Actually, the aim of enemies of the Act is not to change it, as stated by Congressman Walter, but to destroy it.¹

Almost every issue of Communist publications in the United States calls for either a weakening or a destruction of the Walter-McCarran Act. This in itself is proof enough that the Act is doing one of the jobs intended, which is to prevent as many subversives from entering the country as is possible.

The American Legion recognizes the danger, and is in favor of the Act. The present rate of immigration suits the economy of the country, and the Legion understands that under the present quota there will be enough jobs for all, which will include returning veterans.²

The following was stated in a special tribute by the American Legion:

The American Legion is for the Walter-McCarran Act because we finally have a law which provides effective weapons in our fight against subversives . . . because it

¹Representative Francis E. Walter, "The Truth About the Immigration Act," *Reader's Digest* (Mar., 1953), p. 7.

²"Should Basic Changes Be Made in U. S. Immigration Policy?" *The Congressional Digest*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (January, 1956), p. 29.

now makes possible the supervision and deportation of literally thousands of aliens against whom final warrants of deportation have been issued but who, for one reason or another, were undeportable . . . because it retains the national origins quota system . . . because all racial discrimination has been removed from our immigration laws in a very realistic manner.³

Daughters of the American Revolution are also aware of the threat posed to the country, and urge patriots to oppose weakening amendments which might destroy the Immigration Act.⁴

The Walter-McCarran Act covers 120 pages, and has 307 separate sections. President Truman vetoed the bill, but Congress passed it over his veto by 278 to 113 in the House, and by 57 to 26 in the Senate. Parenthetically, both authors of the Act were Democrats. And, since it was passed over a Truman veto, it seems, generally, to have bipartisan favor.

It has been charged that the Act is hysterical legislation that was "rushed" through Congress.⁵ It cannot, in truth, be charged as "hysterical," for almost five years of hearings, of study, and of investigation and intense research went into the making of this basic immigration law. Dealing with both immigration and naturalization, it represents a recodification of all the immigration laws. The time spent on this legislation is said to have been the longest ever devoted to any single bit of legislation in all the history of Congress.

The Departments of State and Justice were the two agencies responsible for administering the immigration and naturalization laws. Therefore, they made up committees to give help to the preparation of the Act. The Act went through six entire revisions. All the hundreds of immigration enactments were made into a single law.

Not only did the Departments of Justice and State favor the bill in its final form, but it was also viewed with favor by the Central Intelligence Agency. It is a matter of record that no government agency opposed it.

Enemies of the Act maintain that it is both reactionary and Fascist. Proponents of the Act say that it is the most liberal of laws. For instance, racial bars are removed. Countries of Asia are given quotas based on the same formula as the one for European countries.

The Act sets a limit of approximately 154,000 immigrants who can be

admitted to this country in any one year. This is divided into nationality quotas, which are based on the census of 1920. The Act is very hard on Communists, criminals, and subversives.

Granted, the existing law does require careful examination of those persons entering the country. But ask those who uphold the Act — is it not better to inconvenience the thousands of aliens who enter than to endanger the millions of citizens who reside here? No foreigner has any inherent right to come to this country. After all, these same proponents ask, what is the use of having laws if they are not designed to protect the people of America?

If enemies of the Walter-McCarran



RENI PHOTO

Representative Francis E. Walter (D-Penn.), co-author of the Walter-McCarran Act, who stated that enemies of the Act didn't want to change it; rather, they wished to destroy it.

Immigration Act have their way, the doors will be thrown open to the crowds of European Socialists and worse, claim those favoring the Act. They state that these people, drenched by socialistic ideology, would add to the already-mounting volume of Socialists' votes in the large industrial centers of the country.

A provision of the Act, indicative of its liberality, is that alien wives, husbands, and children of United States citizens are now permitted to enter the country quota-free. The "trickle" of immigrants has also been increased to a somewhat larger flow because of the provision for non-quota groups. This has increased the annual immigration total to approximately 200,000.

The Act employs selectivity in the choice of immigrants. Its aim is to

select those immigrants who most likely would be useful to the country and be integrated most easily into the American culture. The three categories set up are: first, relatives of American citizens; second, those of skilled or exceptional training; and, third, all others. Fifty per cent of each quota is reserved for the category of the skilled or exceptionally-trained. If less than fifty per cent of the skilled category apply, then the balance is absorbed by other categories.

It has been charged that the Act precludes an important psychological weapon — namely, that of offering refuge to those people escaping from behind the Iron Curtain. However, it must be remembered that in West Germany alone there are ten million refugees from communism. In other countries of Europe there is probably an equal number. For the United States to attempt to absorb these people would be foolhardy. Not only would it not solve their problem, but it would create a problem at home. And this country has long since passed the point where it can observe unrestricted immigration, which many opponents of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act seem to be seeking.

A complaint heard frequently is that the Act makes it possible to deport large numbers of "worthy" people, and that denaturalization is easy for naturalized citizens. These complaints are representative of the ammunition used by word-mongers when attacking the Immigration Act.

There are good reasons for such restrictions as the above. The Act keeps out of the country aliens who might endanger public safety. Also, it makes it possible to deport aliens who engage in activities which endanger public safety.

There are between three and five million aliens in the country illegally. Due to loopholes in the old law, deportation orders could not be enforced. For this reason, before the Walter-McCarran Act, hordes of foreign-born subversives and criminals walked the streets in this nation.

A statistic unfamiliar to many is the percentage of Communist Party members who were foreign born. The fact is that 91.5 per cent were either foreign born, married to persons who were foreign born, or were born of foreign parents. Also, more than half of them traced their origins to Russia or to her satellites. That was one reason for creating the Act, to make it harder for aliens with objectionable

³83 Congressional Record (1953), p. A2767.

⁴"Should Basic Changes Be Made in U. S. Immigration Policy?" *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵Representative Francis E. Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

ideologies to get into the country illegally. Also, the Act makes it possible for naturalized citizens to be deported if they participate in subversive activity within five years of naturalization.

The basis of the present immigration policy is the national-origins quota system. It necessarily follows that enemies of the Act attack in this area. President Truman stated that the system "breathes prejudice against the foreign-born."⁶ Briefly, the national-origins quota system limits the number of immigrants from any country to one-sixth of one per cent of the people of the United States who, in 1920, traced their origins back to the country in question.

A defense for the national-origins formula is that it works out a number by mathematics rather than by politics. First off, it limits the number of quota immigrants who can enter the country; next, it determines the nationality of immigrants in order to maintain a population pattern. It puts quota nations on an equal basis, and it puts immigration out of the reach of pressure groups.

The system has flaws in it, to be sure. For one thing, in 1920 the population of the country was mostly of European origin. Thus, Northern and Western Europeans have larger quotas than Southern and Eastern Europeans. The largest quotas are for Great Britain, Northern Ireland, and Germany.

A point of fact argued by those favoring the present law is that many nations are close to the United States in culture and customs, with subsequent respect for law. People from these countries are, therefore, more easily woven into the mosaic of American democracy.

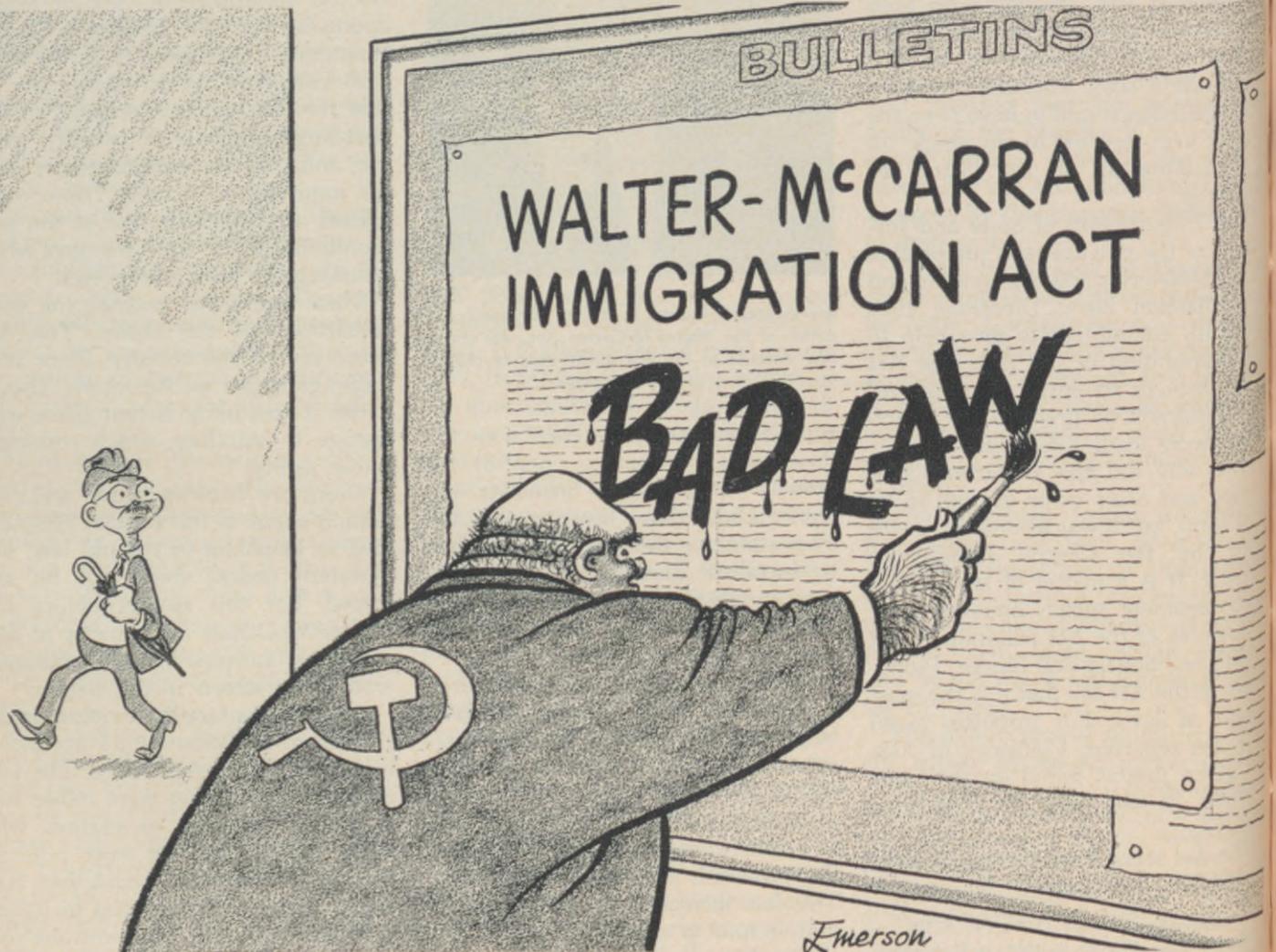
A proposed change in the national-origins quota system is that of a unified quota. This system would have an administrative agency appointed by the President, with the responsibility of choosing among different nationalities. Opponents of this plan state that one needs no crystal ball to see that this brings immigration within the scope of politics and pressure groups, whereas immigration is now blessedly removed from these influences.

It is left to the people of America to decide whether they want an immigration policy which is for their protection, or one based on the desires of other countries, some of which are unfriendly and a few of which would like to see this country destroyed.

The Walter-McCarran Act is claimed by its proponents to be the most effective weapon against subversion that this country has ever devised. It is no great secret that repeal of this Act is one of the top objectives of the Communists. And repeal of this Act is almost certain to be an issue in the forthcoming presidential election.

The main reason the Communists wish the Act to be repealed is because it will facilitate the entrance of Kremlin supporters into this country, and it will also stop the deportation of Communist aliens.

Proof that the Act was overwhelmingly accepted at its inception is shown by the way in which various departments worked on it — all the governmental agencies participated in the formulation of it — and more than 100 patriotic, religious, and civic



Emerson

SHOULD HIS OPINION MAKE US WARY?

organizations endorsed it. Opposition to the Act came for the most part from the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the National Lawyers' Guild. As a point of fact, both of these organizations have been cited as Communist-front organizations.⁷

In a report to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in 1954, one Abner Green remarked that a movement for repeal of the Act had the help of a hundred organizations in as many as fifteen states. These organizations, Green let it be known, operated for the purpose of carrying out the Communist party line in regard to immigration.⁸

Supporters of the Act claim that "pink" and "liberal" organizations with all their criticisms and accusations, have led many people to believe that the Act is un-American, when, really, the opposite is true.

Attacks in the press come principally from the *Daily Worker* and the *People's Daily World*. These are the two leading newspapers of the Communist Party. However, when Congress overrode the veto and made the Walter-McCarran Act a public law, campaigns against the Act were started by not only the *Daily Worker*, but also by the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune* and others.⁹ Critics of these newspaper campaigns stated that the usual approach was the hyper-emotional drive¹⁰ about discrimination, about suspicion toward all and bigotry toward some.

In Congress the Act was opposed by a left-wing coterie, among which were Senators Humphrey of Minnesota and Lehman of New York. William F. Heimlich charged in an article appearing in *American Mercury* that they were for opening all the gates to an almost unrestricted flood of aliens.¹¹

One of the most amazing things about the present immigration controversy is the fact that the "good friends" of labor are all for relaxing restrictions on immigration. Those favoring our present restricted policy say that this influx of cheap labor would hinder rather than help American labor. Senator Walter F. George (D-Ga.), in a speech on the floor of the Senate, May 22, 1952, stated he

believed in restrictions on immigration in the interest of the American worker.

Individuals who are satisfied with the present legislation state that anything more than a perfunctory examination of the Walter-McCarran Act will disclose it to be fair and impartial, a law fashioned by experts. These experts had no axe to grind; they were interested in preserving and protecting the American way of life. On the other hand, claim the proponents of our present law, the groups who work day and night to destroy the Act, if only by attrition, are the Reds, the pinks, the misguided, and the professional promoters and politicians who would denude the American eagle of feathers in a swap for minority-bloc votes.

It is charged that such groups do not speak specifically when maligning the Act. They are accused of employing tergiversation and utilizing the old emotional "hokum" that has been successful for decades. Using this tried-and-true approach, they speak of discrimination and racism. They are charged with concocting and disseminating propaganda, and, under the guise of humanitarianism, of organizing pressure groups.

Persons who support the present law claim that the left-wing proposal of open-door immigration, with its resulting political control, could not keep from becoming a veritable carnival of fraud, pressures and corruption. They claim that immigration would be a political football, to be kicked by unscrupulous political aspirants. Such

politicians might promise minority blocs that if they voted right, immigration doors would open magically to friends in distant lands — this at the expense of other countries. Visas for votes would be the result.¹²

It has been charged that the one-worlders are satisfied with making a "circus" out of the Walter-McCarran Act controversy. While they seem content with pointing out the deficiencies of the Act and its "inhuman" inhumanity, in the background they are working hard to have immigration controlled on an international basis.¹³

Proponents of the Walter-McCarran Act warn patriots not to be deceived. They state that the knife is being sharpened, and through immigration the subversives are hoping to slice some collective throats. These supporters of the present law claim that the entire ethnic and cultural composition of the nation could be altered by the influx of a "controlled" people into the country. This, they say, is the real conspiracy behind a proposed loosening of immigration restrictions.

Many who favor making no change in the present system say that the Communists are in business at the same old stand; that the product is the same — only the label is different. They warn that America can be inundated by a Red tide of immigration. They plead that it is the eleventh hour, that the danger is real, and that if the immigration policy is changed, the country will be in need, not only of a modern Horatius at the bridge, but of a Paul Bunyan finger for the leaky immigration dike.

Presented below are views of those who propose a change in the present immigration policy

IF AMERICA is to remain a citadel of freedom, if it is to continue to be known throughout the world as a haven for the oppressed, then there must be changes in the immigration policy as reflected today by the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act." Thus say many persons, including a number of national legislators.

Those native-born citizens who cry that a relaxation of the present immigration policy would result in an "open sesame" for Socialists and Communists might be considered by some to be alarmists. It is pardonable, per-

haps, that in such perilous times there are always some who will breathe clean air and smell smoke — or, more aptly, perhaps, who see every signal light in immigration traffic as red.

President Eisenhower has stated that the Walter-McCarran Act should be rewritten, and that a better law should be written that would strike an unbigoted balance between the welfare of the country and the "prayerful hopes" of the homeless and

¹²Ibid.

¹³"Corralling the Trojan Horse Called Immigration," *Don Bell Reports* (bulletin), May 18, 1956.

⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁸"Immigration: America's Trojan Horse," *Don Bell Reports* (bulletin), December 30, 1955.

⁹J. B. Matthews, "Immigration: 1956 Issue," *American Mercury* (October, 1955).

¹⁰"Immigration: America's Trojan Horse," *op. cit.*

¹¹Ibid.

¹²William F. Heimlich, "Immigration Visas for Votes," *The American Mercury* (February, 1956).

oppressed.

Former President Truman said that the national-origins system "breathes prejudice" against the foreign born, and that it shows racial and religious discrimination.

Others label the Act as hysterical legislation which was rushed through Congress; also, that the Act is both reactionary, Fascist, and racist.¹ They claim, further, that passage of the Act marked a new high in American bigotry and narrowmindedness. They charge that never before were there so many barriers to immigration, and that never before were so many reasons given as grounds for deportation of many Americans who were foreign born.

Senators Lehman, Humphrey, Morse, Kefauver, Moody, Benton, and Douglas led a fight against the original bill, and they were able to force acceptance of 21 amendments before the bill passed through the Senate by a vote of 44 to 28.

The objections to the Walter-McCarran Act are many. For one thing, a foreign-born American can have his citizenship taken away and be deported if it is proved that he once belonged to a subversive movement, no matter if he is a perfectly good American at present. Moreover, the Act puts *native-born* Americans abroad in danger of loss of citizenship without so much as a hearing.

The Act expands the powers of immigration officials, consuls, and the attorney general. The opinions of these people are basis enough for exclusion or deportation, without benefit of a judicial review.

Under the Act political and religious refugees may be deported, and the Act reduces further immigration of such people.

Additionally, the Act is responsible for many obstacles to international travel for citizens and non-citizens alike.

A large number of organizations have, from the beginning, opposed the Walter-McCarran Act, and have carried on a running fight to have it repealed. Many such organizations are religious or racial groups, together with most of the merged CIO-AFL labor groups.

Opponents of the Walter-McCarran Act claim that the national-origins system, as an immigration policy, has been responsible for much resentment against the United States in foreign



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Former President Truman, who said that the national-origins quota system "breathes prejudice against the foreign born, and is the embodiment of racial and religious discriminations."

countries. Also, they state that such a policy refutes the oft-heard cry of equality of opportunity for all peoples in America, regardless of race, creed, or color.

To many the Walter-McCarran Act represents a philosophy of fear and distrust of foreigners abroad and aliens within. So long as this situation exists, America cannot in truth be regarded as a haven for the oppressed. Furthermore, as things stand now, many potentially valuable immigrants are prevented from ever reaching the shores of America. So, in the thinking of many Americans, the Walter-McCarran Act is a monument to the inconsistency between words and deeds.

Most proponents of the Act justify their positions on the basis of national security. The Act, in short, makes it difficult for foreigners to enter America, and makes it easy to deport those who have entered. Also, these proponents spend a great deal of their time discrediting opponents of the present immigration policy, charging them as being dupes of the Communists.

If the above is true, many persons of prominence must be so labeled. Opponents of the Act claim that it is a familiar method of attack to label as Communists, Socialists or leftists those who do not agree with the policies of any given side.

Departing from the political aspects for a time, and considering only the historical, it must be remembered that America was settled by refugees in

the beginning, by persecuted people and by those who wanted to start a fresh life in a new land. They wanted religious and political freedom.

As the trickle from abroad became a steady stream, there came the English, Germans, French, Irish, Jews, Czechs, Italians, Greeks, Poles, and Serbs — potential Americans all. These people helped populate a country which has become the wealthiest, most productive nation in the world.

Immigrants have been responsible for many accomplishments. The building of transcontinental railroads in the nineteenth century was accomplished only through the help of Chinese and Irish immigrants. Farms were cut out of the wilderness by Scandinavian and German immigrants. And great eastern factories are presently being run in large part by immigrants and their children — representing many races.

During times of war immigrants have always been in the thick of the fight with our armies. And not only have they contributed muscle and bravery, but brain-power as well. Immigrants have made names for themselves in all fields of endeavor.²

Taking the above into consideration, would it not be acceptable, as well as humanitarian, to welcome today those people who are fleeing from tyranny in their native countries? This is not to say that everyone should be welcomed with open arms, for there are those who would like to destroy the American system of government — murderers, thieves, and subversives. Immigrants should be both limited and screened, of course. But on the other hand it would seem that the system should not preclude entrance into this country of those men of giant intellectual stature, or those men who are exceptionally gifted — scientists, musicians, educators, artists, and others.

For example, where would America be today if it were not for those scientists who fled from persecution at home and came to America, some of them ultimately to assist in producing the nuclear weapons which helped this country to win World War II? What would have happened if our enemies in that war had possessed these skilled men and, as a matter of course, the nuclear weapons?

It has been said that some provisions of the present immigration policy are more closely related to communistic philosophies than they are to

¹"Should Basic Changes Be Made in U. S. Immigration Policy?" *Congressional Digest* (January, 1956), p. 24.

²"Corralling the Trojan Horse Called Immigration," *Don Bell Reports* (bulletin), May 18, 1956.

the traditions of freedom in this country, and there are many who will agree.

Senator Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.), in a statement before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, November 22, 1955, said that the Walter-McCarran Act adopted most of the worst features of old laws and added new evils. He stated, further, that the Act isolated the country rather than protected it, for it could be taken for granted that those subversives who were determined to enter the United States would be resourceful enough to enter through either Mexico or Canada.³

On the other hand those who would be desirable citizens are prevented from entering the country.

Opponents of the Walter-McCarran Act claim that citizenship by naturalization can be too easily taken away from the "side-door" citizen; he can be forced to forfeit it for any one of a number of reasons. Therefore, the distinction is too great between native-born and naturalized citizens.

A false premise of the Walter-McCarran Act is that all immigrants are potential Communists and subversives until proved otherwise. This, of course, is in contradiction to the long-established tradition in this country that one is innocent of wrongdoing until proved guilty.

Proponents of the Walter-McCarran Act have another argument against any "new look" in liberality, immigration-wise: they hold that increased immigration would threaten the economy of the country by affecting wages of the native-born. Opponents of the Act state that this argument has no basis in fact, because if it did, labor organizations would not favor a liberal immigration policy, which most of them do.

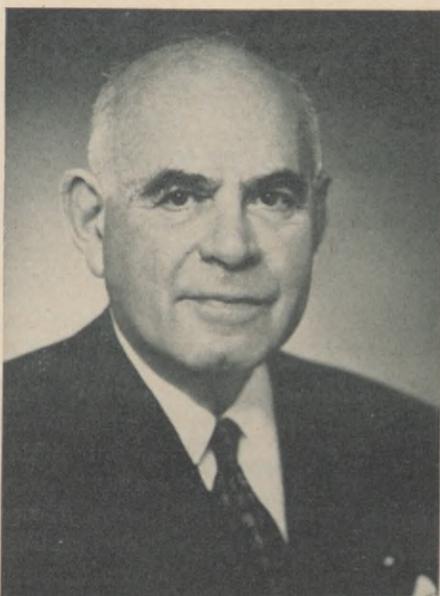
Those persons who favor a more liberal immigration policy claim that if immigration ever begins to endanger the American economy, the shut-off would be practically automatic. When no jobs are available, immigrants either do not come or do not stay. During the depression of the 1930's more immigrants left this country than came into it.

Another thing to bear in mind is that many American citizens, because of marriage or other reasons, leave the United States each year and move to other countries.

Opponents of the Walter-McCarran Act say it is no great secret that the

Act is archaic and in need of a face-lifting. Even those who favor the Act are agreed, for the most part, that some changes might prove beneficial.

The Act contains provisions which burden international transportation companies. Designed primarily to protect citizens from dangerous aliens, under certain conditions the law imposes fines and penalties on steamship lines and airlines. For example, if an alien misrepresents his eligibility to enter the country and is admitted temporarily, the carrier is made responsible. It must pay for many expenses,



PACH BROS., N. Y.

Senator Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.), above, stated that the Walter-McCarran Act has isolated this country rather than protected it.

in addition to the return fare of the alien. And this applies, even if an alien has been given permission to enter the country by the State Department, already has his visa, and has been approved by the Immigration Service. Still, the carrier can be fined as much as \$1,000 for bringing him.⁴

The carrier must, in addition, furnish office space and facilities for the Immigration Service, even though the Service is performing a public function.

Under the present law foreigners who come to this country for temporary visits are required to meet the same tests as those coming as permanent immigrants. This, of course, necessitates considerable work. The President, in a state of the Union message, recommended that temporary visitors be subjected to modified requirements.⁵

⁴84 Congressional Record (1956), p. 1412.

⁵Ibid., p. 1299.

President Eisenhower's opposition to the Act is one of long standing. Holding that the Act is discriminatory, he has asked that the number of persons allowed to come into this country each year be based on the 1950 rather than the 1920 census. Also, he favors a flexibility of quotas, so that if any one country does not utilize its quota, another may be able to do so. For example, unused quotas for Great Britain, Austria, or Germany might be apportioned to Italy or Greece.⁶

President Eisenhower stated that the United States has always welcomed immigrants to its shores. In his message the President said:

Experience in the postwar world demonstrates that the present national-origins method of admitting aliens needs to be re-examined, and a new system adopted which will admit aliens within allowable numbers according to new guidelines and standards.⁷

Representative Torbert H. MacDonald (D-Mass.) remarked that the immigration laws needed thorough revision, that the time had come to stop shadowboxing on such a vital issue. He held that it was in the best interests of the country for the Walter-McCarran Act to be abolished and replaced by one without national or racial bias.⁸

The present law states, in actuality, that an Englishman or a German is welcome in this country, but that a Greek, Italian, etc., is not. This, naturally, is an un-American concept. This is judging a man by his nationality rather than by his individual worth.⁹ Communists have pounced on this like a hungry dog on a bone, using it as propaganda against America. For this law says, in effect, that for biological reasons all immigrants are "equal," but that some are more equal than others. In other words some can enter the United States only if they are from an "approved" country. This, opponents of the Act claim, is reminiscent of Hitlerism. America has always represented multiple cultures. It is this plurality which lends color and variety to the great national scene.

If America is to remain the bright and shining symbol of freedom, justice, and equality, if it is to avoid the patina of bigotry and suspicion, it necessarily follows that unfair and archaic laws must be amended. Terror-stricken inhabitants, shrouded in

(Continued on page 54)

⁶Ibid., p. A751.

⁷Ibid., p. 1998.

⁸Ibid., p. A751.

⁹"America's Racist Immigration Law," the San Francisco Call-Bulletin, January 16, 1956.

³Ibid., p. 12.

Do Defenses Need Mending?



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

◀ *Bender and Smathers,
A REP and a DEM,
Discussed our defense
On Fact Forum one P.M.*

*Says Smathers, "We're weak!"
Says Bender, "We're strong!"
On "both sides" of defense,
Who's right, and who's wrong?*



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Do political considerations influence decisions in the Defense Department to the detriment of our national welfare as has been charged by former Chief of Staff General Matthew Ridgeway? The conflicting opinions of Senator George A. Smathers (D-Fla.), shown at right above, and Senator George H. Bender (R-Ohio), left, on a recent Facts Forum program point to the danger of a partisan approach regarding our national defense needs.

SENATOR SMATHERS: I wish with all my heart that I could say that our current defense program offers national security, but the weight of provable evidence indicates a creeping deterioration in our defense position. We have fallen behind the Soviet in the development of the intercontinental guided missiles, and it appears now that we are in grave danger of losing the contest for air superiority and even for technical superiority on the ground.

Meantime, on several fronts about the world, the Communists have launched the big push to grab the British overseas bases upon which our medium-range striking power is almost totally dependent. This renewed aggressive attitude of the Communists is testimony to the decline of our relative position in defense. If the free world's overseas bases fall our striking power disappears, because our principal air weapon at this point is the medium bomber, the B-47. This bomber must have land bases within

range of the Soviet Union for successful operation.

Moreover, our supply of long-range intercontinental bombers is pitifully inadequate. The main long-distance bomber is still the lumbering B-36. The new B-52 jet bomber would meet the need if produced on a large scale, but we have only a handful of B-52's and an extremely limited production schedule which sees some seventeen being produced each month. These are the specific of our problem in air power — a problem which forms the basis of General Nathan Twining's recent statement that Russia has (and I quote him) "long since passed us" in the quantity of our air power, and is now rapidly narrowing the United States margin of superiority in the quality of their planes.

While intercontinental missiles afford an alternative field to develop this long-range striking power which is so essential to deter aggression, in this field, too, the United States effort is sadly lagging. Trevor Gardner, the

chief of research for the Air Force, resigned just a few days ago in protest against too little attention and too little money for the development of the intercontinental ballistics missile. Added cause for concern about research has been provided by General Twining (who, of course, is the Chief of Staff of the Air Force) when he said that the Soviet is greatly increasing its research and development efforts. And then General Twining warned, "It is apparent that they are putting more money and more men into this battle of the laboratories than is the United States."

Both General Twining and the Air Force Secretary, Mr. Quarles, have tagged this current Air Force budget by saying that it is indeed austere. What an admission coming directly from the chiefs of the air power themselves! Indeed, these are no times, it seems to me, for austerity in our national security program.

At sea, too, it seems to me that our defense posture is not all that

should be. We dominate the surface, but the Communists have more submarines than does the entire free world put together.

On land the Administration proposed to reduce the army still more this year to a size of little more than one million men. We now have about nineteen divisions including just three which are equipped for atomic warfare, although there's some question about whether or not they are ready for that. Russia and her satellites have four hundred divisions, regular and reserve. The Soviet Union itself has 170 divisions, three of which, according to the *Chicago Tribune*, have already been well-equipped for atomic warfare.

The indication here is that Russia is moving ahead in all technical developments. Certainly the essential field for our superiority is this matter of technological developments, since we are not going to be able to match the Communists by sheer manpower alone.

Perhaps the most distressing recent development is the charge made by former Chief of Staff General Matthew Ridgeway in which he says that "decisions in the Defense Department were unfortunately based on many political considerations." Senator Dick Russell, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the United States Senate, said just the other day that we are lagging in our air effort. And he proposes to add at least a billion and a half dollars to the new Air Force budget.

The developments which I have reviewed engender grave doubt about the survival of future generations. My concern is not from the slant of a partisan — but rather I speak as an American, and as a father, who is troubled by the somewhat indeterminate course of security measures. These developments call upon Americans and especially the executive leadership at Washington to search its soul and delve into its motives in further reducing these national defense expenditures. We must not gamble with the security of this nation.

★ ★

SENATOR BENDER: I believe we have the best defense machine that we have had in our entire history. I believe our leadership is competent and capable. We elected a great President largely because of his military experience. Certainly he knows what is hap-

pening in the Defense Department as well as in all of its branches. We have had testimony from our experts on what the facts are concerning our defense.

Some people have the quality of saying nothing with an immense amount of seriousness. Yesterday and the day before and week before that the airwaves were thick with accusations about the deficiencies of our defense. I need not use superlatives nor indulge in spurious conversation to make my point. There has not been a war in this century under a Republican administration. President Eisenhower stopped the war in Korea. In his administration he has been intent in keeping us out of war by having the best defense of any country in the world. I do not know of a better deterrent to war than a strong defense, without fanfare, without blowing of trumpets, and without ostentation. This administration is keeping the peace. As a matter of fact, everything is booming but the guns.

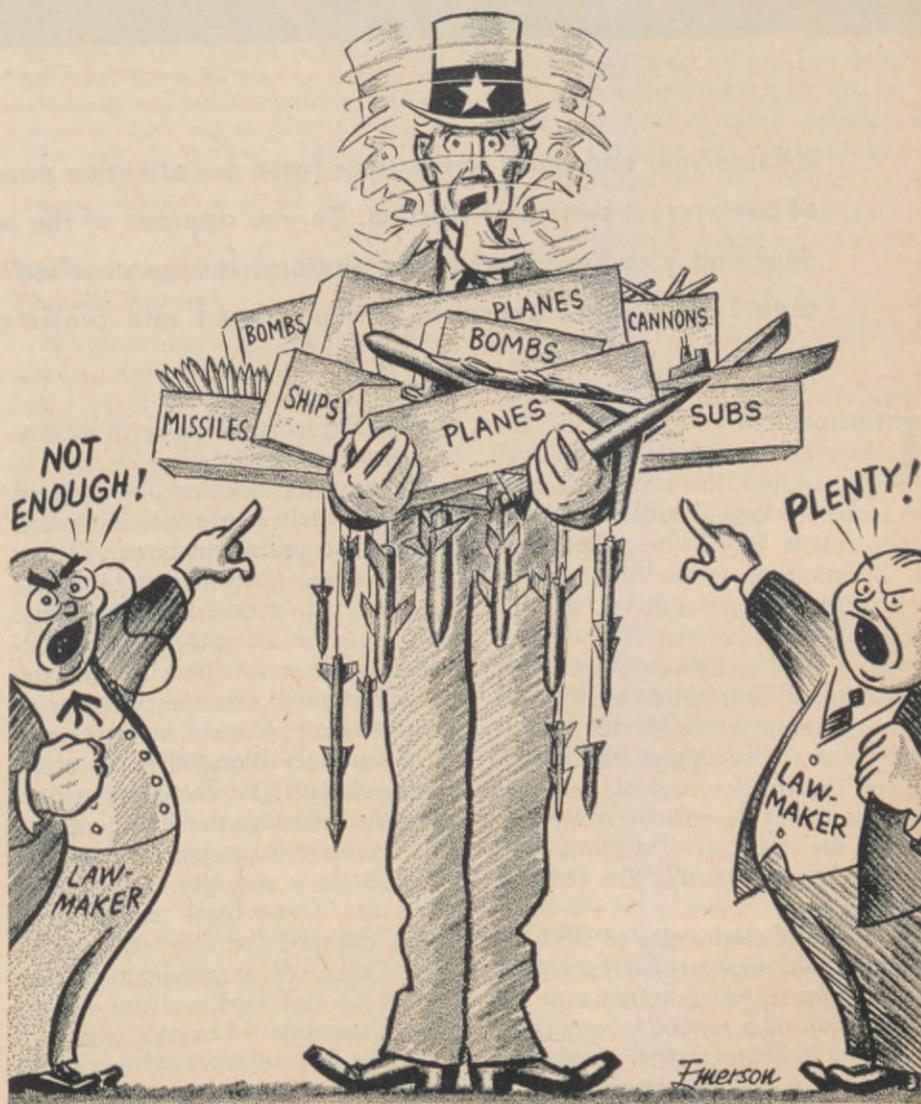
Air Force Secretary Quarles reas-

sured the nation on February 18, as far as the nation's defense strength is concerned, after scary remarks by certain statesmen relating to Soviet propaganda boasts of superior achievements in the missiles field.

In testimony before the House Appropriations Subcommittee early in February, an enlarged version of the February 18 release, Mr. Quarles made these points:

1. The United States is probably well ahead of Russia in the guided missiles race.
2. A missile armed with a nuclear warhead is horrifying but it does not kill you any deader than a bomber does with an atomic bomb.
3. Long-range bombers are the best way of reaching targets and will continue to be in any war occurring in the next five years.
4. America will have B-52 bombers which can do a better job than anybody will be able to do with missiles for some time to come.
5. Even if Russian boasts of the de-

(Continued on page 39)



Do We Need Electoral Reform?



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Election year and party conventions focus our attention once again on the validity of our present system of election. Do you approve of the way we elect the President and Vice President? Is the electoral college obsolete? Does your vote really count? Here is an appraisal of the present and projected electoral provisions.

THE method of election of the President and Vice President of the United States was not only the source of considerable and vociferous debate before the adoption of the Constitution; it has continued to be a target for proposals of "reform" throughout most of the 167 years of our history as a nation. During the Constitutional Convention of 1787 two major opposing points of view developed: that of creating a strong centralized federal government, and that of emphasizing the relative independence of the states in all matters, with slight federal authority. The tempest is still raging.

The Great Compromise of 1787 endeavored to incorporate both points of view insofar as possible, not only by the creation of a republic, but necessarily also in the method of election of the President and Vice President. The

system adopted then and still used is that of an electoral college.

Three major revisions have been made to Article II of the Constitution through the years, but none of these deals with the electoral college, or has tampered with state laws of unit rule. Unit rule means that the slate of electors in each state which obtains the greatest number of votes, whether or not a majority, is empowered to cast all of the votes allocated to the state.

Amendment XII changed the provision for selecting the President and Vice President in case an election does not indicate a majority. Amendment XX is the "Lame Duck" amendment, which changed the date of termination of office of congressmen to take care of the awkward problem created when a member of Congress is defeated in the November election, yet has several months to serve. The last

change, Amendment XXII, prohibits the President from serving for more than two terms.

A presidential election year is a natural time to raise the question of whether or not the electoral system is adequate. This year is no exception, although any change adopted would not affect this year's contest. The subject has been debated at length in the Senate this spring, but as yet no decisions have been reached.

Very few people defend the present system as being entirely fair or just. Under the operation of the unit rule, for example, there have been three Presidents elected who did not even gain the popular vote. Out of the hundreds of proposals submitted to Congress for improvement of the electoral college system, why haven't any changes been made?

There are two primary reasons:

First, a change in the electoral process involves an amendment to the Constitution, a complicated and time-consuming procedure which requires a two-thirds vote by both branches of Congress, plus ratification by three-fourths of the states. Second, the consensus after each attempt seems to be that the proposed change, in attempting to solve one or more problems, would create others, so that apparently it would be better to hold off until a more perfect solution presents itself. The most progress such a proposed amendment has ever made was passage by the Senate of the Lodge-Gossett amendment in 1950, only to be followed by defeat in the House.

What Is the Present System?

Under the present procedure for the election of the President and Vice President, the Constitution provides that each state appoint, in such manner as its legislature directs, a number of electors equal to the number of senators and representatives of that state in the U. S. Congress. Although the electors, meeting in their respective state capitals, are not under any legal compulsion to vote for the candidates to whom they are pledged, in general they cast their votes in accordance with their pledges. The candidates for President and Vice President receiving a majority of the electoral votes cast are elected.

If no candidate for President receives a majority, the House of Representatives chooses the President from the three candidates having the greatest number of electoral votes. This voting in the House is conducted by states, each state having one vote regardless of its size, the vote of each state being determined by separate vote of its delegation. A majority vote is necessary for election.

Similarly, if no candidate for Vice President receives a majority from the electoral college, the outcome is decided in the Senate from the two highest candidates.

Federal statutes govern the mechanics of the electoral process, including the laws determining time of election, meeting of the electors and casting of their ballots, and counting of the electoral ballots in Congress.

State laws determine the manner in which the electors are chosen and govern other election procedures and party activities within their respective borders. These laws naturally vary, but in one important aspect the states are uniform: they have all adopted the

"unit rule." This means, for example, if one state has 24 electoral votes, and a popular election gives 14 for the electors on the slate of the Democratic party and 10 for the Republican, the Democrats would control all 24 votes.

As originally conceived, the electoral college was intended to be composed of men of ability and reputation, who would exercise an independent judgment in their selection of the President and Vice President.

At first the states elected or appointed members to the electoral college by districts. There was no such thing as a party slate of electors. Then in 1800 several northern anti-Jefferson state legislatures amended their election laws in such a way that the voter would vote for a general ticket of the state's entire quota of electors. Thus an entire state bloc of electors would be elected by majority vote, and the minority of pro-Jefferson voters, in those states, would have no representatives in the electoral college. The Virginia Assembly then adopted a similar law in defense of Jefferson, and the "unit rule" was on its way toward being universal—as it is today. It has remained common to all states down through the years. It is, of course, to the advantage of whichever political party is dominant in a state to retain the system.

Legally, the electors cannot be bound to vote in the electoral college for any nominee, but may vote as they please. Politically and morally, however, they are pledged in advance as a unit and they so vote with rare exception. Thus the "unit rule" is part state law and part political custom which has gained the force of law.¹

Reasons for Maintaining Present System

Proponents of the present electoral system defend it primarily on the basis that it has served the people reasonably well for many years, in spite of certain defects. More specifically, they say unit rule has discouraged the growth of minority parties. The two-party system, as opposed to multiple-party or coalition government, is generally conceded to be an integral part of the success story of American government. None of the sponsors of contemporary proposals for change, at any rate, want to encourage the development of splinter parties, the scourge of European politics. Homer Ferguson, U. S. Ambassador to the Philippines and former senator, says:

It is perhaps the best commentary on the importance and durability of the two-party system that this country has known 70 political parties in its history, each of which has elected at least one member of Congress. But each one, and in a very short time, disappeared or was absorbed in one of the two major parties. This did

¹"What the Law Now Provides," *Congressional Digest*, April, 1956, p. 102.

not happen by luck or chance. The electoral system itself had much to do with it. . . .

Under the present unit system, minority political groups, usually advocating extreme views, rarely attract enough votes to capture the electoral vote of a state. At most, they can swing their voting strength between the two major parties. . . . Their inability to gain electoral votes under the unit rule deprives them of incentive to remain compact and to grow as individual parties. At the same time, their limited voting strength is enough to cause ferment in the major parties, which are forced to clean house and adopt new ideas to gain the aid of minority groups. The result is to prevent fragmentation into multiple parties with all its attendant evils, and to preserve and to invigorate the two-party system.²

Some who favor the present system, or at least who feel that the best possible alternative has not been produced as yet, point out that the electoral college is federal in its concept, preserving the basic rights of the states to vote as states.

Defects in Present System

The defects of the prevailing method of election, according to those who would change it, are threefold:

(1) *Retention of the office of elector.* The electoral college has degenerated into a mere rubber stamp, say its critics. Instead of being selected for ability, prestige, and keen judgment, as envisioned by the framers of the Constitution, present-day electors are often unknown, completely meaningless to the average voter.

More important, the individual elector is only morally and politically bound to vote for candidates of his party. Legally, there is the possibility that electors may disregard their pledges, thereby conceivably creating a dangerous situation. For instance, if on election day it appeared that one candidate needed but one electoral vote to command a majority in the electoral college, the pressure on individual electors would be tremendous. One or more such changed votes, under the unit rule, could change the vote of the entire state, perhaps having a decisive role in the total election picture.

There is the risk, furthermore, that a successful candidate for the Presidency or Vice Presidency will become incapacitated between the date of the election and the date on which the electoral college meets. The selection of a substitute candidate would necessarily be left to the discretion of the electoral college.

²"Should the 'Proportional' Electoral Method Be Adopted?" *ibid.*, p. 109.

(2) *Elections in the House of Representatives.* When no presidential candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives is designated in the Constitution as the final umpire. This would give all states, regardless of population equal power in electing the President. Similarly, if a candidate for Vice President does not carry the majority electoral vote, the Senate will determine the victor. This is entirely contrary to the basic principle of the whole approach to presidential elections, namely, that each state's relative voting power shall be measured in terms both of the state as a unit (represented by the two electoral votes for the two senators) and the state in terms of relative population (represented by the number of electoral votes for the number of representatives). Of course, such an emergency situation has not happened very often. There are only two instances in the history of the country, 1801 and 1825, in which Congress has thus performed the duties of the electoral college.

(3) *The unit rule method of counting electoral votes.* Opponents of this general ticket method contend that literally millions of American voters are disfranchised in every presidential election. The 1948 elections furnish an excellent example of this point:

Mr. Dewey received in the 16 states which he carried a total of 8.6 million votes. These 16 states gave him a total of 189 electoral votes. But in the 32 states which Mr. Dewey failed to carry, he had a total of 13.3 million votes. This great mass of popular votes for Mr. Dewey gave him not one single electoral vote and, therefore, counted for naught. They were of no more effect than if they had not been cast at all.

In the 1948 elections, Mr. Dewey was credited with all of Connecticut's eight electoral votes, even though he commanded but a bare plurality of the popular votes. Some 423,000 votes were cast for Mr. Truman, but these votes were wholly disregarded in the computation of Mr. Truman's electoral strength, and, actually, they were all credited to Mr. Dewey. In other words, these 423,000 votes were computed precisely the opposite of the way they were cast.³

Senator Herbert Lehman of New York, as well as many others, pointed out in the Senate debates that under the unit rule system the weighting of electoral votes is not fair. In South Carolina in 1948, for example, it was demonstrated that one electoral vote represented 17,000 people, while in California an electoral vote represented 168,000 people. In New York one

³Senate Committee Report, *ibid.*, pp. 106 & 108.

1952 RESULTS UNDER THREE METHODS

Result of the Popular and Electoral Vote Cast in 1952 Presidential Election
Comparing the totals under (1) the present system, (2) the proposed "proportional" plan and (3) the proposed "district" plan.

State	Total Popular Vote	Party Percent R (Republican) D (Democrat)		The Electoral Vote				
				(1) Pres't. Sys'm.	(2) Proportional System		(3) District System	
Alabama.....	426,120	35.0 R	64.5 D	11 D	3.85 R	7.1 D		11 D
Arizona.....	260,569	58.4 R	41.6 D	4 R	2.3 R	1.7 D	4 R	
Arkansas.....	404,800	43.8 R	55.9 D	8 D	3.5 R	4.5 D	1 R	7 D
California.....	5,141,849	56.4 R	42.7 D	32 R	18.0 R	13.7 D	26 R	6 D
Colorado.....	630,103	60.3 R	38.9 D	6 R	3.6 R	2.3 D	6 R	
Connecticut.....	1,096,911	55.7 R	43.9 D	8 R	4.5 R	3.5 D	8 R	
Delaware.....	174,010	51.7 R	47.9 D	3 R	1.6 R	1.4 D	3 R	
Florida.....	988,986	55.0 R	45.0 D	10 R	5.5 R	4.5 D	7 R	3 D
Georgia.....	651,303	30.6 R	69.4 D	12 D	3.7 R	8.3 D		12 D
Idaho.....	276,254	65.4 R	34.4 D	4 R	2.6 R	1.4 D	4 R	
Illinois.....	4,481,058	54.8 R	45.0 D	27 R	14.8 R	12.15 D	20 R	7 D
Indiana.....	1,955,325	58.1 R	41.0 D	13 R	7.6 R	5.3 D	12 R	1 D
Iowa.....	1,268,773	63.8 R	35.6 D	10 R	6.4 R	3.5 D	10 R	
Kansas.....	896,166	68.8 R	30.5 D	8 R	5.5 R	2.4 D	8 R	
Kentucky.....	993,148	49.8 R	49.9 D	10 D	5.0 R	5.0 D	3 R	7 D
Louisiana.....	651,952	47.1 R	52.9 D	10 D	4.7 R	5.3 D	1 R	9 D
Maine.....	351,786	66.0 R	33.8 D	5 R	3.3 R	1.7 D	5 R	
Maryland.....	902,074	55.4 R	43.8 D	9 R	5.0 R	3.9 D	8 R	1 D
Massachusetts.....	2,383,398	54.2 R	45.5 D	16 R	8.7 R	7.3 D	12 R	4 D
Michigan.....	2,798,592	55.4 R	44.0 D	20 R	11.1 R	8.8 D	16 R	4 D
Minnesota.....	1,379,483	55.3 R	44.1 D	11 R	6.1 R	4.8 D	9 R	2 D
Mississippi.....	285,519	39.6 R	60.4 D	8 D	3.2 R	4.8 D	1 R	7 D
Missouri.....	1,892,062	50.7 R	49.1 D	13 R	6.6 R	6.4 D	9 R	4 D
Montana.....	265,037	59.4 R	40.1 D	4 R	2.4 R	1.6 D	4 R	
Nebraska.....	609,660	69.2 R	30.8 D	6 R	4.2 R	1.8 D	6 R	
Nevada.....	82,190	61.4 R	38.6 D	3 R	1.8 R	1.2 D	3 R	
New Hampshire.....	272,952	60.9 R	39.1 D	4 R	2.4 R	1.6 D	4 R	
New Jersey.....	2,419,554	56.8 R	42.0 D	16 R	9.1 R	6.7 D	13 R	3 D
New Mexico.....	238,608	55.4 R	44.3 D	4 R	2.2 R	1.8 D	4 R	
New York.....	7,128,241	55.4 R	43.6 D	45 R	24.9 R	19.6 D	31 R	14 D
North Carolina.....	1,210,910	46.1 R	53.9 D	14 D	6.5 R	7.5 D	4 R	10 D
North Dakota.....	270,127	71.0 R	28.4 D	4 R	2.8 R	1.1 D	4 R	
Ohio.....	3,700,758	56.8 R	43.2 D	25 R	14.2 R	10.8 D	21 R	4 D
Oklahoma.....	948,984	54.6 R	45.4 D	8 R	4.4 R	3.6 D	7 R	1 D
Oregon.....	695,059	60.6 R	38.9 D	6 R	3.6 R	2.3 D	6 R	
Pennsylvania.....	4,580,562	52.7 R	46.9 D	32 R	16.9 R	15.0 D	22 R	10 D
Rhode Island.....	414,498	51.0 R	49.0 D	4 R	2.04 R	1.96 D	3 R	1 D
South Carolina.....	341,121	46.4 R	50.7 D	8 D	3.7 R	4.1 D	3 R	5 D
South Dakota.....	294,283	69.3 R	30.7 D	4 R	2.8 R	1.2 D	4 R	
Tennessee.....	892,553	50.0 R	49.7 D	11 R	5.5 R	5.47 D	5 R	6 D
Texas.....	2,076,846	53.1 R	46.7 D	24 R	12.7 R	11.2 D	16 R	8 D
Utah.....	329,554	58.9 R	41.1 D	4 R	2.4 R	1.6 D	4 R	
Vermont.....	153,557	71.5 R	28.2 D	3 R	2.1 R	.8 D	3 R	
Virginia.....	619,689	56.3 R	43.4 D	12 R	6.8 R	5.2 D	10 R	2 D
Washington.....	1,102,708	54.4 R	44.7 D	9 R	4.9 R	4.0 D	9 R	
West Virginia.....	873,548	48.1 R	51.9 D	8 D	3.8 R	4.2 D	2 R	6 D
Wisconsin.....	1,607,370	61.0 R	38.7 D	12 R	7.3 R	4.6 D	11 R	1 D
Wyoming.....	129,251	62.7 R	37.1 D	3 R	1.9 R	1.1 D	3 R	
Total.....	61,547,861	55.1 R	44.4 D	442 89	288.5 R	239.8 D	375 R	156 D
		%	%	R D				

Reprinted by permission from the pro and con publication, *Congressional Digest*, April, 1956, p. 102.

electoral vote represented even more people.⁴

Proponents of electoral reform contend that unit rule results in too much emphasis being placed on the larger, so-called "swing" states in presidential campaigns. It is pointed out that there

⁴*Congressional Record*, March 23, 1956, p. 4839.

is a natural temptation for a candidate who can win 45 electoral votes from New York State alone to concentrate his campaign in that state, and a natural temptation for a party to pick candidates from the larger states. Furthermore, strategy frequently dictates that important concessions be made to

minority groups found in metropolitan centers who often can swing an election within a state from one major party to the other. Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota explains further:

Sometimes these minority blocs are ethnic, religious, political or economic in character, but in the main they inhabit the metropolitan communities, where such blocs can hold the balance of power in the states with large blocks of electoral votes, to the point of determining presidential decisions for 175 million people in 48 states. Such groups and organizations should have the right to operate politically in our body politic. They have a perfect right to endeavor to sell their wares to the average voter. However, . . . they should be compelled, as presidential candidates should be compelled, to make a nationwide appeal, instead of a localized appeal.⁵

The unit rule method is charged with discouraging individual political activity in "sure" states. Few members of the minority party bother to vote, since they know their votes will be lost; nor do many members of the majority party vote, since they know their votes are not needed.

Another serious shortcoming of the unit rule system is the possibility that a President can be elected not only with less than a majority popular vote, but with fewer popular votes than his leading opponent. This latter situation has actually happened in the case of Adams in 1824, Hayes in 1876, and Harrison in 1888.

Basic Problems for Electoral Reform

The first problem that must be resolved in seeking electoral reform is the very one that plagued the framers of the Constitution: Should each voter have an equal voice in the selection of the President and Vice President, or should the sovereign states be the major voting units?

Those who favor a strong centralized government, with each individual voter having an equal voice, propose a direct popular vote. This would necessarily erase state lines during an election, and would eliminate the electoral college entirely. Advocates of a direct vote remind us that ours is, or should be, a government of the *people*, by the *people*, and for the *people*. Those who want to maintain the unity and identity of each state in a national election, believing that the chief executive is President of the *United States* rather than of the American people as individuals, favor either a proportional or district vote, or a compromise of

the two.

The second problem is inherent in any election: Within either system, what simple procedure will result in selection of the candidate whom a *majority* will prefer over his leading opponent? The present system provides that whenever a majority is not achieved in the electoral vote, such a decision would be made by the House of Representatives, in the case of the President; or by the Senate, in the case of the Vice President. Most people seem to think that an election should not be made in Congress except in the most exceptional cases, yet perfecting an election mechanism that would prevent such an event seems to be extremely difficult and controversial.

Many approaches have been embodied in amendments recently presented and debated before Congress. None of these amendments have been passed but they will be coming up again, in one form or the other, with many of the same arguments for and against them presented over and over again.

One of the most interesting observations at the conclusion of the recent debate on the Daniel-Mundt amendment was made by Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut, who said: "I think other senators, like myself, can testify that we have received virtually no communications from the voters of our states, from the people who would be most affected by the amendment. Interest in the proposal is at a very low ebb, indeed. I think that is very significant, because, as I have said, we are debating a very important amendment to the Constitution of the United States."⁶

In view of this lack of a show of interest on the part of the voters, the various major proposals for electoral reform will be considered here in some detail in the hope that voting citizens may become better informed, and will let their congressmen know their wishes on this important matter.

Current Proposals

In 1950 the Lodge-Gossett amendment passed the Senate; but was subsequently defeated in the House. The Daniel-Kefauver amendment, essentially the same as the Lodge-Gossett plan and embodying the proportional method of counting electoral votes, was debated this spring.

A second major proposal receiving attention was the Mundt-Coudert plan, which would provide for the

district method of computing electoral votes.

Shortly before the two plans were to be discussed, Senator Price Daniel of Texas announced that since neither plan could count on enough votes for passage, a compromise had been agreed upon by cosponsors of the two proposals, and therefore he would present a substitute amendment. This compromise became known as the Daniel-Mundt plan, and provided for a choice to be made by each state in the electoral procedure.

When the Daniel-Mundt proposal was introduced, and before action on it was taken, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota proposed two substitute amendments providing for a direct popular vote and totally changing the picture of the original proposed amendment. After due consideration, both substitute amendments were rejected.

Another substitute amendment was introduced by Senator William Langer of North Dakota, which would make use of the direct popular vote, but with variations. The Langer amendment was also rejected.

The simplest of the direct vote amendments was introduced by Senator Herbert Lehman of New York. This plan garnered a few more votes than the Langer proposal, but it, too, was rejected.

After several days of exhaustive and thorough debate, S. J. Res. 31 as proposed by Senator Daniel and Senator Mundt was not voted upon, but instead was recommitted to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, along with several suggested changes and amendments for further study.

Soon thereafter, Senator Mundt worked out a new formula and introduced it into the Senate as a basis for study, but not for action any time soon. He indicates the new proposal simplifies his former plan and is framed to meet various objections which arose during the March debates.

With this over-all picture of recent Senate action, let us consider each of the resolutions mentioned above, with a condensed statement of the pros and cons as aired in the Senate.

Daniel-Kefauver Amendment

This amendment would do the following:

- (1) Abolish the electoral college.
- (2) Abolish the office of presidential elector.

⁵Congressional Record, March 22, 1956, p. 4754.

⁶Congressional Record, March 27, 1956, p. 5047.

(3) Provide for direct voting for President and Vice President.

(4) Retain the electoral voting strength of each state as at present, one vote for each member of Congress, but provide that such electoral vote be divided in exact ratio with the popular vote.

(5) Provide that the winning candidate must receive at least 40 per cent of the electoral vote, failing in which the Congress would select the President or Vice President from the two highest numbers of electoral votes.

Arguments for the Daniel-Kefauver Amendment

Proponents of the Daniel-Kefauver amendment claim that by abolishing the electoral college they will abolish an archaic and undemocratic method that not only is not helpful, but contains potential harmful elements, such as allowing electors to depart from a pledged vote. Most of the defects of the electoral college have already been discussed.

The Senate Committee Report that was to accompany S. J. Res. 31 to the floor stated also that because this proposed constitutional amendment provides for the automatic division of a state's electoral votes on the basis of the popular vote, all the evils inherent in the unit rule method of counting electoral votes are either wholly eliminated or greatly minimized. The counting procedure would be legally uniform in all the states.

The possibility that a President might be elected in spite of the fact that he polled fewer popular votes than his opponent would be virtually eliminated for the simple reason that the new system would bring the electoral vote and the popular vote much closer together.

This plan is supposed to reduce substantially the influence that pressure groups or "splinter" factions exercise in the large pivotal states and the big cities by swinging large blocks of electoral votes. In 1948, for example, the Wallace vote, though meager in comparison with the total vote, threw two states to Thomas Dewey. Small groups in the large pivotal states, under the present system, hold an enormous bargaining power because they may add enough votes to either party, or withhold enough votes from either party, to swing 47 electoral votes in New York or 35 electoral votes in Pennsylvania. Former Representative Edward Gossett of Texas explains further:



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Senator Price Daniel (D-Texas) authored an amendment for electoral reform using the proportional system of counting electoral votes. Later he cosponsored a compromise bill with Senator Mundt which has gone back to committee for reconsideration.

Now, under the present system, it is generally conceded that you have got to carry a number of the pivotal states. How do you do that? You don't appeal to those who are normally Republican or normally Democratic. If you can go out and appeal to the prejudice or selfishness of some particular group and get the votes of that group en masse, you have won.⁷

Under the proportional plan, however, no minority group would be any stronger than the number of votes actually cast for it, and these would be cast on the basis of merit rather than on bargaining power.

Also from the Senate Committee Report:

Presidential campaigns, campaign effort, and campaign funds would no longer be almost exclusively concentrated in the big pivotal doubtful states, to the exclusion of the smaller populated states or sure states. This method of making every vote for President count would tend to spread the campaign and any subsequent presidential activity into all the 48 states. . . .

It would discourage the prevailing tendency to nominate presidential candidates only from among the residents of those states having a large electoral vote. The danger and detriment to the general welfare is obvious when the field of presidential possibilities is so restricted. The whole nation should be the field from which to select Presidents.⁸

The arguments given thus far in favor of the Daniel-Kefauver amend-

⁷Senate Committee Report, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁸"Should the 'Proportional' Electoral Method Be Adopted?" *op. cit.*, p. 110.

ment are so-called corrective measures, designed to remedy evils in the present system. Aside from these, there are three additional advantages claimed:

(1) By effecting a compromise between the existing system and the idea of a direct popular election, the amendment would completely preserve and protect the rights of the small states. No state is given any greater power in electing a President than it has in passing a bill through Congress, and by retaining the distribution of electoral votes on the basis of each state's number of congressmen, representatives and senators, this power is in no way diminished.

(2) The proposed system of dividing each state's electoral vote in proportion to its popular vote offers a far more accurate and equitable method of reflecting popular sentiment within that state. Under the present system, without popular vote totals, it would be completely impossible to tell whether a state had voted overwhelmingly in favor of the successful candidate or whether he had gained all of the electoral votes in a "photo finish." Considered from this point of view, this proposed new system enhances a state's vote in presidential politics because it reflects more accurately the popular will in the state.

By this same token, the illusion that a relatively close election is a "landslide victory" on a national scale, and a crushing defeat for the loser, would be dispelled.

(3) Supporters of this proposed reform believe also that its incorporation into the Constitution would greatly invigorate the two-party system in the United States, therefore breaking up so-called solid or one-party areas.

Arguments Against the Daniel-Kefauver Plan

Most of those who oppose the proportional plan of electoral reform agree that the electoral college should be abolished, and perhaps agree that the unit rule as now employed is unjust and needs changing. But they have grave doubts as to the workability and advisability of counting state electoral votes in direct proportion to a popular vote within the state.

One major objection is to the requirement that a candidate receive a simple plurality of electoral votes instead of a majority.

The fathers of this country took special care to see that a person elected as President attained a clear majority of the total

electoral vote. They knew the evils which arise when a chief executive assumes office, backed only by weak support of a plurality of the total electoral vote.

It is true, I know, that on twelve occasions a President of the United States has been elected without having had a majority of the popular vote. But rather than improve upon that situation, the proposal to elect by plurality is almost certain to perpetuate it. The condition will be perpetuated because it is a certain invitation for many parties to enter the field, if a plurality only is required.

That means a breakdown of the two-party system as we know it. While that two-party system is unknown to the Constitution, it is one of the most constructive features of American government. . . .

Wherever plurality decisions are provided for . . . there is an ever-present tendency toward minority control. A well-organized, compact minority may easily prevail over scattered, divided majorities. . . .

Furthermore, it is never enough to say that a possibility is remote when a failure to guard against such a possibility may be fatal. The supporters of representative government must win every battle; their opponents need only one victory and it is over for the future.⁹

Not only do the opponents of this plan believe that the proportional system would encourage the growth of third parties, or fourth, or fifth, until the two-party system is endangered, but that if these parties have a vote in the election of the President or Vice President, they will then probably demand proportional representation in Congress.

Wherever proportional representation in the legislative body has been employed an unstable government develops, as in France. This principle would put men in the legislature who are uncompromising and immoderate, people who measure their differences rather than their likenesses. This is because under proportional representation the constituents of a representative are not the people living in a geographical area, but an abstract group of voters who think alike. Such a representative would not have to consider those who may differ with him.

In line with this it is also argued that under the proportional system the representative in the legislature would be controlled by the party managers who really appoint him to represent a mathematical constituency, and these party managers would demand obedience rather than thought.

The Senate Committee Report answers this objection by pointing out that the election of the President and Vice President by proportional count would not introduce the principle of

proportional representation in Congress.

But proportional representation is obviously inapplicable to the election of a single official to one position, such as the President of the United States. As Senator Lodge has stated, "Even the cleverest surgeon cannot divide one man up, proportionally or otherwise, and expect him to live."

This proposed plan to give each presidential candidate his rightful share of the electoral vote, therefore, should not be confused with the system of constituting a legislative body or similar group on the basis of proportional representation.¹⁰

Senator Ferguson pointed out that, though sponsors of the resolution make much of the disfranchisement of voters under the present system with losers' votes being added to those of the winner, a plurality winner may have only 40 per cent of the electoral votes. "What of the defeated majority, with 60 per cent of the votes?" he asks. "Are their votes not lost, too, or considered as counted for the minority winner? As a matter of fact, I cannot become excited over the argument of lost votes. It seems to me to be only an appeal for popular support for the resolution, an appeal without real substance in reason and logic.

"In every election where there can be but a single winner, all votes cast for the losing candidates can be said to be lost," continues Ambassador Ferguson. "Sponsors of the resolution would merely transfer the lost votes so-called from the state to the national level. In truth, no votes are lost when validly cast in an election. They are counted toward whatever the final decision is, whether it be the unit of an electoral majority or the plurality of electoral votes, and if found insufficient to win, they have simply exhausted their power as votes."¹¹

The final argument against the Daniel-Kefauver amendment, formerly known as the Lodge-Gossett plan, is that this system would be a weakening of states' independence, even though it wouldn't completely obliterate state lines in a national election. Many of the advocates of this plan admit they would favor a direct popular vote, eliminating the electoral vote altogether, except that they know there is very little chance of acceptance of such a plan by enough states to make the amendment valid. Those who uphold states' rights believe that even the Daniel-Kefauver proportional vote plan would be one step in the direction of losing state sovereignty in elections.

⁹Ibid., p. 114.

¹¹Ibid., p. 111.

Mundt-Coudert Amendment

This "district vote" plan contains the following provisions:

(1) A single elector is assigned to each congressional district within the state. The total number of district electors corresponds to the number of representatives each state has in Congress.

(2) Each state is assigned two electors at large, corresponding with the number of senators each state has in Congress.

(3) These electors are elected from each district and state in the same manner as representatives and senators.

(4) An absolute majority of all of the electoral votes cast in all congressional districts and states is necessary to win the national election.

(5) If no one candidate has such an absolute majority, the election goes over to Congress, with the Senate and House of Representatives voting as one body, each member casting one vote. There is no requirement that the winning candidate have an absolute majority in Congress.

Arguments in Favor of the Mundt-Coudert Amendment

According to the advocates of this plan, the district electoral vote would have great advantages over both the present system and the proportional vote system. It will, they claim, achieve a desirable symmetry with the procedure for the election of Congress. Since both the executive and legislative branches of the government will be elected on the same basis, conflict between the branches will be eliminated. This would also preserve the small state-large state balance embodied in the allotment of electoral votes according to size of a congressional delegation.

The proponents claim further that this amendment will substantially reduce the risk of electing a minority President, i.e., one who receives fewer popular votes than his leading opponent.

In order to win an electoral vote under the district system, a third (or fourth, or fifth) party would almost have to carry at least one congressional district; the only alternative would be to win enough popular votes in the state as a whole to capture one of the electoral votes allotted for the electors at large. This would discourage the "splintering" of political parties.

This amendment would diminish

⁹Ibid., pp. 107 & 109.

the excessive political importance of large, doubtful states, encouraging the major parties to choose candidates and seek votes elsewhere throughout the country. It would also provide a check on the use of excessive political power by large cities, and especially by minority groups within those cities. Under the district system, voters in city districts could control at most their own electoral votes and the few electoral votes cast at large.

Choice of presidential electors by the district system would limit the political effects of local frauds, bad weather, intense local issues, and other such factors. Much was made in the Senate debates over the importance of developing a system by which bad weather or catastrophe would not keep the electors from fulfilling their office on a certain day. Under the unit rule method, outcome of an entire state's electoral vote could be changed if one elector were prevented by forces of nature or some other accident from casting his vote from the state capitol. The Mundt-Coudert advocates point out that such forces would be more localized in the districts, and the absence of one district electoral vote could not possibly have such far-reaching effects.

They claim this amendment would foster the growth of the second party in states usually dominated by one party, and would reduce the present difference in weight between popular

votes cast in large states and similar votes cast in small states. In the opinion of the backers of this plan, it would end the distortion created by giving all of a state's electoral votes to the candidate receiving a plurality of the popular votes in that state.

This plan would maintain the federal principle, with no precedent that would introduce into the election machinery the principle of proportional representation, and would not threaten the control of the states over voting requirements. In fact, the district system would accomplish these reforms with a minimum of constitutional change. Under the present constitutional provisions, state legislatures may decide voluntarily to choose presidential electors on the district system. It would be a return to the late 1700's and early 1800's for it was normal then for the states to cast electoral votes by congressional districts.

Views of Opponents of the Mundt-Coudert Amendment

In reply, opponents of the Mundt-Coudert district electoral vote plan say that the proposal would not accomplish its purpose of making the electoral vote correspond more nearly to the popular vote. All it does, they say, is to reduce the size of the electoral units for electors from the states, as they are at the present time, to congressional districts.

These districts, too, are not now of

equal size. For instance, in Indiana there is a district with 551,777 people, and another with only 258,441 people. Many other states have similar inconsistencies. The basing of presidential elections upon congressional districts would surely increase existing temptations toward gerrymandering, a term applied to the dividing of a district in an unnatural way to give one political party or pressure group an unfair advantage.

This plan would arbitrarily balance one district against another, despite great differences in population, and therefore balance one electoral vote against another, although one vote may represent four times the popular vote of the other.

Opponents contend that since it is in general the rural districts which have the smaller population per district, the effect of the Mundt-Coudert amendment is substantially to increase the influence of the rural population in selection of the President and Vice President.

While it has been suggested that the problem of gerrymandering could be controlled by federal regulation, opponents of this plan argue that such intervention of the federal government into the election machinery would be undesirable.

Another objection raised is that the symmetry which it would seek to obtain between the methods of selecting members of Congress and members of the executive branch is in fact unwise. It is suggested that the different methods which are used in this country for the selection of the different branches of government help provide the checks and balances which are part of the strength of our system of government.¹²

The Mundt-Coudert amendment is also criticized by some because it does not provide for abolition of the office of elector.

Contrary to the thought that this plan would foster the growth of two parties in present one-party states, opponents say it would encourage one-party voting in the South by increasing that section's influence in national elections. Likewise, it would diminish the influence of states where there is a balance of political sentiment by dividing their electoral votes.

There are six states that are undistricted; they select their congressmen at large. The Mundt-Coudert plan would permit such states to continue



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Huddles on the convention floor are part of the accepted pattern of party politics. Most of the suggestions for electoral reform include methods to minimize undue influence of pressure groups.

¹²American Enterprise Report No. 616, March 13, 1956, p. 13.

the unit rule, all-or-nothing system, while the other states would be changed to a district system.

Another objection is that it would offer minority parties a chance to obtain electoral vote recognition, an inducement to their growth.

Congressman Coudert has claimed the district plan would minimize the influence of splinter parties. He has cited the 1948 election in New York, where Henry Wallace's Progressive party took enough popular votes from Truman to enable Governor Dewey to gain a plurality and all the state's electoral votes.

However, under the unit rule system, the record shows that splinter parties do not gain a permanent foothold, their real threat. The same Progressive party received 500,000 votes in New York, alone, in 1948; yet in 1952 it received fewer than 135,000 votes in the entire nation.

The Mundt-Coudert plan offers a minority or splinter party a chance for electoral vote stature, virtually impossible under the present system. By concentrating in a district or districts, the Progressives, Socialists, or even the Communists might obtain district electoral votes.¹³

The Daniel-Mundt Compromise Amendment

Before the presentation of S. J. Res. 31 as originally formulated, and as reported favorably out of committee last year, a compromise was reached between the sponsors of the Daniel-Kefauver and the Mundt-Coudert amendments. As a result, fifty-four senators cosponsored a substitute amendment, still known as S. J. Res. 31, which became known as the Daniel-Mundt amendment. Other senators prominent in its sponsorship were Senators Estes Kefauver and Strom Thurmond.

These are the major recommendations of the Daniel-Mundt amendment:

(1) Each state would adopt the proportional vote system as outlined previously in the Daniel-Kefauver plan, unless a state legislature chose the district plan. To provide the electoral vote, the popular vote of the state would be divided mathematically among the three candidates for President or Vice President having the highest vote.

(2) The state legislatures would have the choice of using the district electoral vote system, as outlined in the Mundt-Coudert plan. Under this system each congressional district would vote as a unit to select one elector, thereby providing the same num-



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

An amendment proposing the district electoral method was introduced in the Senate this spring by Senator Karl Mundt (R-S.D.), and this was later incorporated in the compromise Daniel-Mundt amendment.

ber of electors as representatives in Congress, plus two electors chosen at large, corresponding with the number of senators from each state.

(3) Any candidate for elector who before the election has pledged his vote for President or Vice President to a specific person shall, if elected, cast his vote for such a person.

(4) A majority vote is necessary for election.

(5) If a majority vote is not secured for President or Vice President, then Congress, sitting in joint session, shall choose such officer from among the persons having the three highest numbers of electoral votes, with a majority vote being necessary for election.

Arguments for the Daniel-Mundt Compromise

Since this compromise provides for the adoption of the proportional system, except when a state legislature specifically chooses the district system, the arguments in favor of both proposals as stated previously were given again and expounded upon:

Both systems are supposedly designed to give an electoral vote which would more accurately portray the will of the greatest number of people, and still maintain the federal principle. They both claim encouragement to the two-party system and to small states.

Under the present system big cities, big states, and pressure groups have the advantage, according to the sponsors of this compromise plan. They

claim that when all the votes of a state go to the candidate carrying even a bare plurality, the rest of the voters are disfranchised.

Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey raised the question of whether the present system has actually led voters to become unduly influenced and subservient to pressure groups, or whether this is a vague fear which has no basis in fact. In reply, Senator Mundt explained the working of big-city boss-run political machines.

... One of the really serious challenges to democracy in this country has been the development of the boss-led political machine of the big city, which is pressure-groupism at its worst; which provides the opportunity for a few selfish people in politics to seek self rather than to render public service, and to exert influence in the great metropolitan areas of the nation to the extent that they can control the entire electoral college vote of a big state. By throwing it en masse and en bloc, through one modification or another, one way or another they can then determine the selection of the President and thereby determine the destiny of America.¹⁴

With the importance of large cities, large states, and pressure groups lessened, campaigns would not center in those areas, to the neglect of other sections of the country, and candidates could be selected from any area, depending on merit rather than upon vote-getting power.

In addition to these arguments and others, described in more detail earlier, the combination of the two systems would have the advantage of giving the states a choice of either of the two systems that it feels may best meet the needs of its people. Although proponents of the Daniel-Kefauver proportional plan believe that system the best, and proponents of the Mundt-Coudert district plan believe primarily in the merits of their plan, those that offer the compromise plan believe that either is preferable over the present system.

Arguments Against the Compromise

The same strong arguments were offered against the Daniel-Mundt compromise amendment as were offered against the individual resolutions that became parts of the compromise. One important objection, for instance, is that any proportional electoral vote system would encourage third or splinter parties, and may eventually pave the way for proportional election in Congress.

Another major point made against

¹³"Should the 'District' Electoral Method Be Adopted?" *Congressional Digest*, April, 1956, pp. 127-128.

¹⁴*Congressional Record*, March 23, 1956, p. 4829.

the proposal is that a district-unit vote would still disfranchise many voters. Some maintain that only a direct popular vote would enable every vote to have an equal count.

The question of gerrymandering was again discussed, some senators pointing out that state legislatures would be unreasonably tempted to rearrange their districts in order to include just the votes they desire those districts to contain. Mr. Daniel replied by saying, "I understand the Senator from Illinois [Paul H. Douglas, Chicago] is worried about some states which might gerrymander their districts, and may not set up their congressional districts as they should. In some states which adopt as an alternative the Mundt-Coudert plan it might give the Senator some concern.

"But Section 4 of Article I of the Constitution provides as follows:

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

"So, it would seem to me that if any of the states misuse this power in electing electors by congressional districts, that is, by gerrymandering their congressional districts, Congress would have the right to do something about it."¹⁵

Senator Douglas spoke at length, producing many tables and charts, illustrating his belief that big cities are actually underrepresented in the House of Representatives and state legislatures. Therefore, not only would the large cities and districts be unable to enact such legislation to correct gerrymandering, but the entire compromise would take away the only slight advantage the big states and big cities have in the election of a President and Vice President.

The objection to the 40 per cent plurality vote in the Daniel-Mundt amendment was met first by a change back to provision for a majority electoral vote in the compromise plan. But information made available to the Senate indicated that if a majority vote were necessary, eight and possibly nine of the last nineteen elections would have been decided in Congress. Knowing that a congressional decision would be so easily possible, third parties would be more powerful, and would hold the balance of power in many elections.

Later a modification offered by Sen-

ator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina was accepted by the sponsors of the compromise to the effect that a 45 per cent vote would be necessary for election, and this provision is included in the present form of the Daniel-Mundt amendment.

Another major objection to the compromise is that under the dual system the combinations which are possible are almost limitless — in fact, two raised to the forty-eighth power, or over 281 trillion! Senator Douglas demonstrated various outcomes of the last election if certain combinations of the two systems had been used.

Thus, in almost any election, except a huge popular landslide, with the same number of votes in exactly the same states, districts, counties, wards, and precincts, a range of results stretching from a Republican landslide, to stalemate, to a Democratic landslide could happen, depending on which alternative the individual states selected.¹⁶

Perhaps the most vital objection to S. J. Res. 31, in its compromise form, is that, although some of the main evils of the present system are solved by it, several other problems would arise, and several factors would remain unknown. In the opinion of Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, "The world situation does not permit us to take the risk of experimenting with the constitutional system that is fundamental to our strength and leadership, particularly without full knowledge of the effects of such changes."

He reiterated the best points of the present system, including the fact it is a federal, two-party system; one which has, except in one actually valid instance — discounting outright corruption — elected a President by a plurality of the popular vote; and one which gives both large states and small states certain advantages and disadvantages that offset each other. "Why should we in Congress be in such a hurry to adopt a drastic constitutional amendment which most of the voters do not know we are considering, and which they have certainly not demanded?"¹⁷

Along with this statement was presented the idea that if neither of the separate proposals was good enough to carry a two-thirds vote of the Senate, then a combination of the two was still not good enough to gain the confidence of the Senate. As Senator Kennedy put it, "In short, the Congress of the United States is to say to the

states, 'We cannot agree on any single system for electoral reform, and in fact we do not approve of either one of them; therefore, we are giving you your choice.'"¹⁸

The Humphrey Amendments

From time to time over a period of years Senator Humphrey has sponsored an amendment for electoral reform incorporating the direct vote method of election. Before the final debates on the Daniel-Mundt compromise, Senator Humphrey again placed before the Senate this amendment, which he intends to propose at a later date. He claims it is the most democratic procedure possible. Since this amendment was not on the calendar of unfinished business, it has not been debated, but will be discussed when it is formally proposed.

The main points of this direct election method include:

(1) Abolition of the electoral college.

(2) Provision of a direct vote of the people for President and Vice President in a general election held in each state.

(3) A plurality of at least 40 per cent would be necessary for election.

(4) If no candidate for President receives 40 per cent of the popular vote, or if two candidates have 40 per cent or more but tie, the selection would be made by the House of Representatives.

(5) In a similar case involving the Vice President, the Senate would make the selection.

Immediately after placing this plan before the Senate, Senator Humphrey offered another amendment involving the direct vote, cosponsored by Senators Lehman, James E. Murray of Montana, and Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon.

Provisions for this second Humphrey amendment would:

(1) Eliminate the electoral college and the electors as such.

(2) Retain the numerical strength of both houses of Congress, 531, as the numerical basis for determining the election of Presidents and Vice Presidents.

(3) Assign two electoral votes to the candidate winning the plurality of popular votes in each state.

(4) Divide the remaining block of 435 votes according to the proportion of popular votes received by each candidate on a nationwide basis.

¹⁶Congressional Record, March 26, 1956, p. 4976.

¹⁷Congressional Record, March 20, 1956, pp. 4577-8.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁵Congressional Record, March 20, 1956, p. 4576.

(5) A simple plurality would be necessary for election.

(6) In case of a tie for highest place, the President would be elected by the House of Representatives, with each member casting one vote; the Vice President would be selected by the Senate.

Arguments for the Humphrey Amendment

The same reasons for abolition of the electoral college were given as have been presented elsewhere, mainly that it is a practice made obsolete with the development of political parties.

The first Humphrey amendment would completely obliterate state lines in regard to the election of the President and Vice President; the substitute amendment, however, endeavors to combine the principle of direct representation with that of federal representation, by providing for a direct vote, but awarding two extra state votes to the candidate gaining a majority in each particular state.

The sponsors of the direct vote method contend that the President and Vice President are our only nationally elected officers, and therefore their election should be based upon a national constituency, without regard to congressional districts and state boundaries.

The two extra votes awarded the candidates who carry a state by popular vote give recognition to the federal principle — a prize not so large as to alter out of proportion the popular will of the people, yet significant enough to warrant considerable effort on the part of both major parties. Third parties would be discouraged simply as a matter of the natural laws of competition.

If this system of electoral counting had been operative in three recent presidential elections — 1944, 1948, and 1952 — most of the states would have been carried by narrow enough margins by one or the other party to make the two-vote prize important.¹⁹

Most important, according to the author of this proposal, the Humphrey plan would encourage popular participation in presidential elections, because it would penalize states with a low turnout and reward those with a high turnout. In many states, particularly one-party states, voters representing the minority party have little inclination to go to the polls, for the unit system would capture the entire

state electoral vote with little effort.

Another advantage of this system, according to Senator Humphrey, is that it would lead to a strengthening of the national organizations of our political parties. Such strengthening would be necessary because a nationally coordinated campaign would be essential if either party were to obtain as large a part of the 435-vote block as



The direct vote for presidential elections was endorsed by Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and others in the Senate debates on electoral reform.

possible. Increasing facilities of radio, television, and press are helping to make each candidate a national candidate, and would lend this advantage to the establishment of a more evenly distributed campaign.

Disadvantages of the Humphrey Amendment

The most common objection to the Humphrey amendment, as well as to any other plan for a direct vote, is that it has very little chance of enactment, at least in the immediate future. Even the proponents of the popular vote recognize the improbability of its adoption any time soon, but continue to present it from time to time in order to keep the idea alive and before the public.

The reason for their doubts as to the acceptance of such a plan — but not the merits — is that the entire concept

of a federal republic would be eliminated from presidential elections, and far from the thirty-two states necessary for ratification of such an amendment are in favor of and ready for such a drastic change.

The Humphrey amendment, however, endeavors to incorporate some vestiges of the federal principle by providing for two votes to be awarded a candidate who carries a state by plurality popular vote.

Under the present system, and under district or proportional vote plans, the states administer their own elections and determine their own voting qualifications. With a nationally coordinated election involving the direct vote, either the federal government would have to regulate the elections, or the states would continue to vary widely in such requirements as the minimum voting age. Federal intervention in a state function is widely considered undesirable.

The second Humphrey amendment was thoroughly discussed as a serious compromise of various proposals previously made and as a substitute for S. J. Res. 31. It was, however, rejected.

The Langer Amendment

Following the disposal of the Humphrey amendment, Senator Langer offered another plan calling for a direct election. In substance this method would include:

(1) The official candidates for President and Vice President would be nominated at a primary election by direct vote.

(2) No person would be a candidate for nomination except in the primary of the party of his affiliation.

(3) A political party would not be recognized as such unless it had registered members representing at least 5 per cent of the total registered voters in the United States for four years prior to a national election.

(4) The electoral college would be abolished.

(5) The President and Vice President would be elected by direct popular vote, with a simple plurality necessary for election.

(6) In case of a tie, the House of Representatives would select the President, or the Senate would select the Vice President, with a majority vote being necessary.

(7) The states would prescribe their own election requirements, but Congress could by law alter such regulations.

¹⁹Congressional Record, March 22, 1956, p. 4769.

Views of Proponents of The Langer Amendment

This is the only recent major proposal for election change which makes provision for a national primary. The sponsor of this amendment explains his views by saying, in reference to the Daniel-Mundt compromise amendment:

... The proposed amendments are entirely unsatisfactory because they do not abolish the convention method of selecting candidates for President and Vice President. In other words, the old system of the politicians meeting in smoke-filled rooms and hand-picking these candidates will continue unless my substitute is adopted.

Frankly, there is no reason why the people should not have the right in primary election to select their candidates on the Republican and Democratic tickets, just as they now vote in primary elections for United States senators, congressmen, governors, and other state officials.

Most of the listeners in 1952 on television saw how in both Republican and Democratic conventions the politicians selected the candidates, and the universal feeling of disgust that emanated from actually seeing these conventions in operation has mounted during the last three years.²⁰

A direct election with a direct primary, says Senator Langer, would be a terrific incentive for all eligible voters to vote, for they would feel that each vote would count — not only in the final election, but in the choice of candidates.

When asked if he thought provision for a run-off should be included in case a candidate did not receive a majority vote, the sponsor of this plan explained that such a step would not be necessary. The proposal provides that in order to be recognized a political party must have a petition signed by 5 per cent of the voters. It would be possible for a third party to enter a candidate, but it would be extremely difficult, and more difficult still for this candidate to receive enough votes to split appreciably the strength of the two major parties.

This procedure would also certainly dispose of the troublesome possibility of election of a minority President, it was pointed out.

Arguments Against the Langer Amendment

The primary argument, again, against the Langer amendment is that a direct election would completely erase state lines, even more so than would the previously discussed Humphrey plan. The senators were reminded, again, that this nation is still a fed-



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
The amendment offered by Senator William Langer (R-N.D.) using the direct vote method also provided for a national presidential primary.

eration of states, a republic, and that the states should maintain their identities, even in a national election.

Another main point of disagreement is whether or not small states would be giving up, or would want to give up, the advantage they have today in the present division of electoral votes. Senator Daniel of Texas, the largest state, was certain that an amendment of this nature would never be approved by a sufficient number of legislatures throughout the country to be adopted as part of the Constitution. There are 30 or 31 states which have an electoral vote on the basis of their two senators, plus their representatives in Congress, giving them a little more than the proportional amount of votes they would have in a nationwide election.

Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, the smallest state in the Union, says the people in small states do not necessarily want to retain the unit vote method. He said:

I believe in popular elections. I believe the President represents all the people, that he is not the President of the states, but is the President of the people of the United States. I have never heard anyone in a small state lament the fact that, if we had popular elections, they would lose power. I do not think it is a question of power; it is a question of democratic principle.²¹

The question of who would pay the expenses of the national primary was raised, and Senator Langer answered

that each candidate, together with his friends, would bear campaign costs, and the state governments would pay other necessary expenses. Others thought that Congress should bear election expense. These provisions are not specifically made in the amendment, and this omission was criticized, even though the sponsor felt that such measures could be added by the House of Representatives, after passage by the Senate, or added in conference.

The requirement for each voter to register with a political party also met with criticism, since several small states do not have that requirement at present, and apparently do not want to adopt it.

The Langer amendment was rejected.

Conclusion

After several days of debate in the Senate and after the various proposals had been thoroughly aired, the consensus seemed to be that though no amendment had passed, progress had still been made. Senator William Knowland summed it up in this statement:

I think the discussion which has taken place has been beneficial to the Senate and has brought the issue before the country. While it may be that there is no single amendment which has as yet been proposed that could secure the necessary two-thirds vote, I think the debate and the discussion on both sides of the aisle have indicated that there are far more than two-thirds of the total membership of the Senate who believe there should be some change in the present outmoded system of electing, through the electoral college, the President of the United States.²²

Is the electoral college obsolete? Do big-city minority groups receive substantial concessions in election campaigns? If you favor a direct vote, would you also favor a direct national primary? Does *your* vote really count?

Vital questions raised need to be thoroughly digested and carefully weighed before the issue of electoral reform comes up again. Keep informed; then let your congressman know your views.

²²Ibid., p. 5047.

Have you voted in the Facts Forum Poll on page 64? Results of this monthly poll are mailed to congressmen, newspapers, and radio stations all over the nation.

²⁰Congressional Record, March 27, 1956, p. 5025.

²¹Ibid., p. 5032.

SPEAKING OF LABOR....

and in view of union participation in political activity, much is being discussed regarding labor today . . . the following questions were asked on recent Facts Forum radio programs, here presented for your evaluation:

Should unions contribute to federal election funds?

Should unions be exempt from anti-monopoly laws?



NEUBERGER



HIESTAND



CELLER

Rep. Edgar Hiestand (R-Cal.), who participated in the discussion of each of the above questions, is the author of two recent bills, one which would make labor unions subject to anti-monopoly laws, and another making it unlawful for any corporation or labor organization to contribute to a federal election fund.

Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) is the sponsor of a bill which would have the government finance political campaigns, freeing public officials from private obligations for campaign benefactions.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) maintains that if anti-trust laws were made applicable to labor unions, unions would be destroyed and the American system would suffer.

Political Union Spending

SENATOR NEUBERGER: Whether or not great wealth shall dominate our elections is an issue of great importance to America's political life, and, of course, to the future of our democratic form of government. The question is whether labor organizations should be permitted to make campaign contributions. As we know, and very unfortunately, I might add, modern political campaigns cost hundreds of thousands and even millions of dollars because of the great expense of billboards, radio and TV, and similar outlets. Today, many working men

make voluntary contributions to such organizations as the political action committees and the political education committees of the American Federation of Labor and the CIO.

The charge is made that some of these men are Republicans and that most of the money is given to Democratic candidates. I should like to point out that the Republican party is the beneficiary of millions of dollars in contributions by the executives, the directors, and the stockholders and owners of great corporations. Yet many of the employees, probably most of the employees, most of the customers (because this is a democratic country, meaning the Democratic

party is generally in the majority and a great many of the stockholders of these corporations are Democrats) have nothing to say so far as I know about the contributions which are made by the owners and directors and the operators of these corporations to Republicans.

Now it's generally admitted, and I don't deny it, that Democratic candidates, because they are usually more interested in the welfare of the working men and women of the country, the Democratic candidates receive more contributions from these political education funds of the labor unions than do the Republican candidates. But it also is significant that when the

election campaign is held that the Republican candidates far outspend their Democratic opponents.

For example, there was only very fragmentary reporting of what was spent in the 1952 presidential election between General Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson, but the Republicans outspent the Democrats nearly two to one. Only a few weeks ago the Republican party raised over \$5 million in one night, which is more than the Democrats spent in the entire 1952 campaign.

Spending Ability Unfair

Now if we were to throttle trade union political education committees, our elections would be even more one-sided. The Republicans instead of outspending the Democrats two to one or three to one would outspend them ten to one or twenty to one. Is that what our Republicans want? When I see them attacking the trade union contributions and remaining silent about the contributions from the men who control the great multi-billion-dollar corporations of the country, I think that is exactly what they want.

Now I will make a challenge to these people who are criticizing labor organizations in politics. I have introduced a bill to provide for government financing of campaign expenses of all or both of our major political parties. This suggestion does not originate with me. It originated in 1907 with the great progressive Republican President of the United States, Teddy Roosevelt. In a special message to Congress in 1907, Teddy Roosevelt proposed that the federal treasury finance our political parties to free all men and women in politics of domination from huge campaign contributions. I have introduced a bill with the support of seven or eight other senators, to accomplish just this.

It is significant that the men who complain so much about union spending are not for eliminating all big donations completely and backing the bill which I call the Teddy Roosevelt bill. I really think that these men realize that union spending is just the one-sixth of the financial iceberg that appears above the surface. The five-sixths of the iceberg below the surface is that of political spending by men who control the great corporations. These opponents of union spending want that other spending to continue.

Let me say this by way of challenge and by way of conclusion: In the interest of free government, let's cut out

all these huge private contributions to men and women in office. Why should we hypocritically indict a petty bureaucrat because he takes a gift of a baked ham or a deep freeze and let Presidents and governors and senators accept hundreds of thousands and even millions of dollars for their campaigns? That to me is the real issue. I note that the men who are so unctuously concerned about union spending never say very much about spending by the men who dominate the great corporations of America.

So I repeat my challenge. I have sponsored a bill and am sponsoring a bill in the United States Senate to put into effect the great suggestion made by President Teddy Roosevelt, to have the government finance political campaigns and to free everybody in public office from private obligations for huge campaign benefactions. If the people who are so concerned about union spending will get behind my bill we can eliminate this problem. In that way we can test their good faith. If my bill passes we will eliminate spending by unions and also by the men who dominate the great corporations of America. That is a goal to be imminently desired.

* * *

REPRESENTATIVE HIESTAND: This matter of union political activity is a serious business. How many of you people in the United States remember that CIO goon squads, organized with clock-like precision, made a carefully coordinated raid on the Wayne County, Michigan, congressional district conventions on the evening of September 19, 1950? How many of you know that they seized absolute control carrying pistols and clubs and set up phony accrediting committees who permitted entry into the conventions only to those persons whom they approved?

This was a twenty-four-hour sensation in Detroit, but then, like so many other sensations, it was crowded out of the headlines after a few days and the people lost sight of what had really happened. They actually forgot that the men who engineered these raids remained in full possession of the organization they had seized. They gained full control in this way of the whole Democrat state organization.

In the 1954 election they spent millions of dollars to defeat several congressmen and Senator Homer Ferguson, electing to the United States Senate Pat McNamara, an officer of the

CIO, by contributing vast sums in payroll and postage and over \$19,000 cash, according to his own admission in a sworn statement now on file in the House of Representatives.

In the same place there is on file the sworn statement of Senator Neuberger of Oregon that he received \$23,250 union money financing the campaign which enabled him to defeat Senator Guy Cordon. Senator Douglas of Illinois admits \$35,500 campaign receipts from union sources. All of these elections were very close. So were the two in Montana and Wyoming, where Senators Murray and O'Mahoney were elected by approximately 3,000 votes or less. The union funds contributed to Senator Murray were \$32,450 and to Senator O'Mahoney, \$14,500, according to their statements.

Corporations Forbidden By Law to Contribute

There were many others, but that's enough to assure control of the Senate of the United States. In the trial held last fall in Detroit the unions freely admitted these tremendous contributions to the campaign, but federal Judge Picard threw the case out of court stating that the law, as written, did not deny unions this privilege. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act specifically forbids corporations from contributing to federal campaign funds. There are heavy penalties, fines and imprisonment for the officers of those responsible.

I consider this entirely fair and proper but the merged CIO-AFL union dues amount to something like \$500 million a year. This money comes from all types of workers in all sections of the country. Each is an individual entitled under the Constitution to his own political beliefs, to his right to vote as he wishes or not to vote as he chooses.

I want to emphasize that this is not a partisan issue. The question whether a union member is a Republican or a Democrat is not the matter for consideration. We know that in important regions in this country, the Republican party rarely if ever elects a candidate. In these regions there is a situation equally dangerous to political freedom. In these areas, the money collected from union members is being used to support certain candidates at the Democrat primaries in spite of the fact that union members as individuals may be opposing those very candidates at the polls. This

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United States Information Agency
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Reporters' Roundup Guest
EUGENE CASTLE Discusses

PRESS, PROMOTION, and PROPAGANDA

IN THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

"We have already spent \$700 million for worthless propaganda. Yet we're no better off now than the day we spent the first dollar," charges Mr. Castle.

The basis for his criticism is closely questioned during this half-hour discussion.

APPEARING in May, as a taxpayer, before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, Mr. Eugene Castle, well-known author and U. S. information specialist during two wars, leveled sharp criticism at the expenditures and overseas operations of the U. S. Information Agency.

Penetrating questions were directed at Mr. Castle when he appeared as a guest on a recent Reporters' Roundup radio program. Questioners were Mr. L. Edgar Prina, Senate correspondent of the *Washington Evening Star*, and Mr. Donald O'Connor, Washington correspondent of the *Detroit Times*. Although the areas in which their opinions were at variance were not stressed, the impression was given that these seasoned newsmen did not subscribe in toto to Mr. Castle's analyses.

According to Mr. Castle, a more efficient propaganda campaign could be conducted if the informational activities now dealt with by the USIA were returned to the State Department, which has in the past been responsible for the dissemination of all news regarding United States government policy.

Robert F. Hurlough, Mutual commentator and director of Washington operations, who moderated the discussion, stated, "American policy-makers admit reluctantly that the Communists are making substantial progress in their propaganda campaign to win and influence people all over the world. And they admit privately that they wish they could say the same thing about the United States. Some

advisers warn that the Soviet Union has succeeded in taking the lead in promoting communism in the court of world opinion and urge a complete reappraisal of the administration's United States Information Agency."

Mr. O'Connor pointed out that serious criticism of the United States is often heard abroad, which has led to such charges as Mr. Castle's that our propaganda activities are having, if anything, an adverse effect.

"Can you tell me, Mr. Castle," he asked, "how it could be that our propaganda abroad is having an adverse effect when we are spending millions and millions of dollars yearly to publicize the good things about this democracy?"

"First of all, we have the greatest news services in the world," replied Mr. Castle. "They not only serve the papers in the United States, but also the papers of the leading cities of the world. And this propaganda, which we have been increasing by millions year after year, is not helping us — but is hurting."

Asked whether he favored abolishing propaganda altogether, or would merely change it into "sort of a government news service," Mr. Castle emphasized that a good press agent never reveals his hand as a press agent.

"Why, I have in my office in New York," he related, "a file containing three or four hundred handouts that USIA has fed to the press services and to the world. And in the opening paragraph of each is the pronouncement that 'the United States Information

Agency and Director Theodore Streibert suggest' — or 'say' — and so on. This should be done anonymously, if at all, through our ambassadors. We should have able press representatives in every ministry and embassy throughout the world, disseminating legitimate news. If we put a feeling of legitimacy into this, people in foreign countries will believe us. You must realize that Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin have propagandized people to death under a government label — and now Khrushchev and Bulganin are doing it. It's beneath the dignity of the United States. After all, it is the duty of every U. S. ambassador to interpret the policies of the United States. Let them do it, so that Mr. Dulles can stay home and run his State Department."

Mr. Prina pointed out that if ambassadors were to carry this job of countering Soviet propaganda and distortions of the truth, in addition to painting a picture of life in the United States and all we stand for — it would be only a shoe-string program, based upon the amount of time ambassadors could spend in this manner.

"How did we become the greatest nation in the world before there was a USIA?" countered Mr. Castle, pointing out that our ambassadors had done a fine job for us in the past.

"We're overdoing this thing now," he continued, "and in doing it we are making people suspicious. We are being called warmongers. And to support it we are going to spend \$140 million a year on foreign propaganda.

Now that we have failed with our propaganda operations in Europe, we are going to transfer to the Orient, where there is the highest degree of illiteracy in the world."

"We've already spent \$700 million for worthless propaganda," he charged. "Yet we're no better off now than the day we spent the first dollar."

A Better Job for \$85 Billion Less

Mr. Castle outlined six ideas which he felt would save the taxpayers of this country \$85 billion dollars, and at the same time do a better job for us abroad. "First," he said, "the USIA should be abolished. Its essential functions should be placed in the Department of State where they were originally. We should have a Voice of America, of course, but it could be adequately maintained, as the British maintain a similar program, for about \$15 million a year rather than requiring a \$100-million superstructure to justify it.

"Second, we should stop government-inspired crusades to make the world over in our image. They have failed us completely, and they will continue to fail us.

"Third, make the educational film project self-supporting. There are no film giveaways with Britain — there should be none with us. The government already has enough educational films to last for ten years. An educational director from one of our visual instruction departments should be put in charge as the British have done with their program, and we will get some value out of it, instead of annoying people with little movie trucks running all over the world.

"Fourth, we should stop making robots out of our ambassadors. It is their sworn duty to answer any lies told about us; and if that is done properly at the local level we can get local value out of it which we are not getting.

"Fifth, the Commerce Department's effective participation in foreign trade fairs should be encouraged. And the USIA propagandists should be kept away from this legitimate effort.

"And finally, the State Department should include a four-page leaflet with every passport issued. More than half a million were issued last year to traveling Americans, urging them to tell foreigners the truth about our country and our peaceful motives. There is no better way to disseminate the truth, gentlemen, than to get it from people to people."

Mr. Castle was asked by Mr. O'Con-

nor why, if he disapproves of the USIA because he felt its officials did not have the proper news background, does he think the program would be in better hands in the State Department.

"For one thing," replied Mr. Castle, "I think the problem today with the USIA is that it is trying to do too many things in too many ways to too many people. It could be improved if you put this thing in the State Department and select a new crew. Make no mistake about that — you'd need selected men with news ability, preferably men who have had training with the wire services and who know the impact of news upon foreign people. Those men should be put in charge of a good Voice of America modeled, if you please, after the British program. Do you know that today Moscow is not jamming the British (the BBC) program, but they are jamming us?"

Straight News Gets Through

"It seems to me," interjected Moderator Hurleigh, "that if they are jamming our programs, we must — in the minds of Moscow — be more effective, or they wouldn't bother to kill it."

Mr. Castle pointed out that our program has been labeled propaganda by the British, by the Russians, and by others, whereas the broadcasts of BBC are recognized as news programs.

"You can call it by a nicer word, if you wish, but it's propaganda, nevertheless," insisted Mr. Hurleigh. "We want to put our best foot forward. Although you think our broadcasts aren't good and that changes should be made, yet the Soviets are jamming them. Why do you feel that we should copy the British, who must not be doing too good a job in the eyes of Moscow, since they are letting their stuff come through?"

"Mr. Hurleigh, it is a known fact," replied Mr. Castle, "that before the war, during the war, and since, the BBC has been the most informative news broadcast to foreigners."

Mr. Prina brought up the point that a question of "selling" was involved here, and that does not always come under the category of news.

"All right," insisted Mr. Castle. "If you are going to do a selling job, then you'd better start to get some ambassadors who can do the job. When we had Jesse Isadore Strauss, when we had Kennedy in London — there was no question in the minds of the people in the countries to which we sent those men as to who we were."

"Hasn't the problem become a much greater one," asked Mr. Prina, "in view of recent Soviet penetrations? For example — aren't they pulling all stops in the Middle East with their propaganda?"

"Well, let's look at it this way," Mr. Castle replied. "There are all sorts of approaches to the thing; but in the final analysis — and there is no mistake about this — our dear allies and the so-called neutralists have left the cold war to the United States and the Soviet Union. It has become a shouting war between us.

"Now, I think," he continued, "that President Eisenhower had a wonderful opportunity when Bulganin offered him that phony peace proposition for 20 years to have said, 'Let's stop all propaganda.' In that way he could have 'put the bee' of stopping propaganda on the Soviets. This shouting is not going to win."

Mr. Castle mentioned that Kent Cooper, who was the head of the Associated Press for 25 years, has solemnly warned in his recent book, *The Right to Know*, that government-inspired and government-circulated propaganda has pushed the United States into two world wars, and that unless curbed it would drag us perhaps prematurely and unnecessarily into a third world war.

"We are overdoing this propaganda thing," reiterated Mr. Castle. "There is no country in the world that has better press services. No country in the world has more magazine distribution. The *Reader's Digest* alone is printed in twelve different languages."

Mr. Prina asked, "Do you think that the more we put into this propaganda effort, the more we lose in influence and friendship in the world?"

Must Earn, Not Buy, Friends

Mr. Castle stated that the answer to that was obvious. "You can use simple arithmetic. When we spent \$20 million a year — and that was only a decade ago — we enjoyed greater prestige, and we had more friends throughout the world than we do today. Now we are going to spend \$140 million for a job that we did better for \$20 million. It is not a question of money. It is a question of brains, experience, ability — and of restraint.

"Mr. Castle, you recommend abolishing USIA," interjected Mr. O'Connor, "and you made the statement earlier that this country should stop trying to make over the world. Aren't you afraid that if we stop, the Soviets

might succeed in doing it? Isn't that the purpose of this whole program?"

"I have great faith in the American people," replied Mr. Castle. "I don't think the average American has this fear complex that we seem to be showing all the time. Our 'slips are showing' constantly in this propaganda thing. Take for example this USIA booklet which we each have before us. It shows the highlights of a half-year of accomplishment. Is this what we are asked to pay \$135 million for?"

"They have only three of these 'highlights,'" he said, referring to the booklet. "One is 'give the world a clear look at U. S. policy on major issues of the Summit Conference.'"

A Job for Newsmen

Mr. Castle pointed out that the USIA is not needed for that job, since we have 1500 of the ablest reporters, newsreel, and TV men in the world who are legitimate reporters.

"Another item shown in this booklet," he continued, "is 'launching a major program to dramatize President Eisenhower's proposal for exchange of military blueprints with the Soviet Union.' That is not a matter for press agents. We know from Khrushchev's statements while he was in London that they don't even want us to 'look into their back garden.' That's the way he put it. So that's a job for diplomats. You can spend \$400 million, and never accomplish it.

"And here," he went on, "is the last of the three 'highlights': 'publicizing intensively the United Nations Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva.' Now, gentlemen, the President of the United States has expressed satisfaction with the fact that that is becoming a world organization. Are we going to spend American taxpayers' dollars to promote the Soviet Union in a joint atomic energy proposition? That's what we are headed for!

"Those are the highlights," he summarized. "I think that is a pretty poor bill of particulars for \$140 million."

"Now further back in the book," Mr. O'Connor pointed out, "they break down into specific details what that program has done; they claim to have reached an awful lot of people around the world with the sales talk about our great democracy, and I think rather than resulting from a fear we feel, one hypothesis is that this propaganda results from the benefits of advertising we have seen in this country."

"You cannot sell America to foreign-

ers!" declared Mr. Castle emphatically. "You can't do it in the same way that we sell a can of beans and a package of corn flakes in this country. One of the greatest weaknesses of this USIA is the very fact that we are trying to promote ourselves to foreigners as we sell goods to Americans in the United States. The taxpayers shouldn't be inflicted with that kind of proposition."

Mr. Castle pointed out that advertising men are guiding the USIA.

"In other words, Mr. Castle," asked Mr. Prina, "you believe that people who know how to sell a bill of goods to Americans cannot necessarily, in your words, 'sell foreigners'?"

"I think there is as much difference," insisted Mr. Castle, "as between the

Read "the other side" of the question in next month's issue. FACTS FORUM NEWS will publish the Reporters' Roundup interview of Theodore C. Streibert, Director of the United States Information Agency, in which Newsmen O'Connor and Prina base many of their questions on Eugene Castle's charges in "Press, Promotion, and Propaganda."

advertising department of an American newspaper and the editorial department. You gentlemen both work in the editorial department. No one comes up from advertising and tells you how to do an editorial job. You'd throw them downstairs!"

"And by the same token," pointed out Moderator Hurleigh, reversing the hypothesis, "the sales staff of a newspaper, magazine, or radio station would not want the editorial side to tell them how to do their sales pitch."

"If USIA confined itself to the true dissemination of news of our government policy," Mr. Castle said, "spent \$20 million or \$50 million a year, it might do more good. But the trouble is that they have too much money to work with. As a result they go into movies and kiddie cars — they are going into TV now.

"And, incidentally," he remarked, "we are now being accused of buying the British Broadcasting Service by sneaking in our propaganda films. That came over the INS wire from London. That doesn't do us any good."

Mr. Castle related that our movie trucks had assembled people in out-of-the-way places all over the world, and that after the movies were through, in many cases, Communist or local agitators had inflamed the

people against us by telling them that "the Yankees are trying to buy you blood with movies!"

"We create situations," he charged. "We did the same thing in the election in Italy. We loaned some political faction there one of our propaganda trucks. The Commies immediately picked them up on it. . . ."

"And it didn't do them any good Mr. Castle," interjected Mr. Prina. "The election went overwhelmingly anti-Red."

"But what if it had gone the other way?" Mr. Castle countered. "We have no right to do such things. We have to look at these things in terms of how we would take it if some of those people did the same to us.

"I say to you, unequivocally," he stated, "— and I have traveled through twenty-three foreign countries and consider myself a fair reporter, although not a great one — what I have seen convinces me absolutely that we are giving the guy who wants one steak a day three steaks a day, and he doesn't like it!"

Mr. Prina asked if Mr. Castle knew how we could get news in newspapers behind the Iron Curtain.

Need Straight Reports of America

"I think the only way you are going to be able to do it is through the legitimate press services. That's the only way you are going to plant it."

"Can't you get news behind the Iron Curtain by radio, like we are doing with the Voice of America?" asked Mr. Prina, "or with Radio Free Europe?"

"The voice they really like to hear is the one that they listen to that really carries weight," said Mr. Castle, "the Army Radio — even though broadcast in English — because non-propaganda. It is real news and reflects us as we are."

Asked if he thought we should invite Bulganin and Khrushchev come to Washington, Mr. Castle replied emphatically, "I certainly not."

"Well, what would you think, if I asked Mr. Hurleigh, 'of the current thought of possibly having our Chief of Staff or others go to Moscow?'"

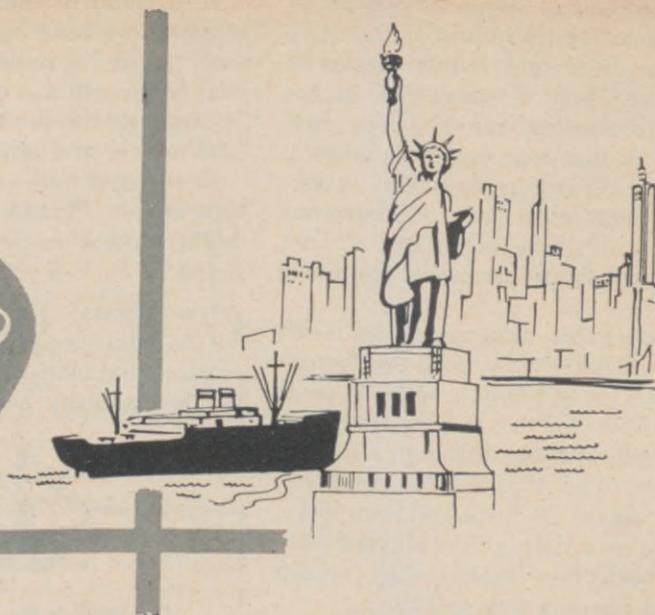
"That, of course, borders on the territory," said Mr. Castle. "But my thinking on it would be that we should let the boys stay home. If they go, they will be photographed, and the satellite countries will have the pictures promoted by way of

(Continued on page 37)

TARIFFS

OR

Free Trade?



Henry Clay once said, "The call for free trade is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child for the moon. It never has existed; it never will exist."

Thomas Jefferson, although one of the strongest proponents of free trade in American history, tempered this ideal with protection for American industry when he said, "I have come to a resolution myself, as I hope every good citizen will, never again to purchase any article of foreign manufacture which can be had of American make, be the difference of price what it may."

Today the call for free trade is gaining an ever louder and more insistent voice.

Senator William E. Jenner (R-Ind.), on a recent Facts Forum radio program, said in effect that without tariffs to protect American-made articles from the competition of articles produced abroad in countries where the cost of living is less, American industries would suffer.

Congressman Richard E. Lankford (D-Md.) contends that the United States, in order to fulfill its role in the world, must act with more consistency — that we cannot combine political internationalism with economic isolationism.

Which philosophy meets with your approval? The remarks of these able legislators may be of assistance to you in reaching your own informed opinion. . . .

SENATOR JENNER: We have heard a lot of arguments in recent years against tariffs. While you hear some of the talking, one might believe that tariffs are some evil device invented by Republican senators to stifle international trade. Nothing is further from the truth.

Tariffs were invented centuries ago and have been used effectively by every commercial nation in the world. Our own tariff system was started with the first United States Congress. Its purpose, as pointed out by Alexander Hamilton, was to give American industry a chance to get started in the face of British competition. The British government tried to keep the colonies from building industry as a part of its exploitation program. When the colonies won independence they knew that industry was necessary to raise the national living standard and for defense. In fact, one of the reasons we almost lost the War of 1812 was that

United States industry could not produce enough weapons. As American industry grew, and with it its wage scale, tariffs were needed to protect American living standards against cheap foreign labor, because nowhere in the world had wages gone so high as in the United States.

Thus, the tariff became a "cost of living" tax on goods produced by cheap foreign labor. The tariff system now works like this. Suppose it costs three dollars to make a shirt in Massachusetts: two dollars for labor and one dollar for material. The same shirt in another country where wages were half as high would only cost two dollars: one dollar for labor and one dollar for material. If these foreign shirts could be freely imported into the United States, they would drive American shirts from the market, throw thousands of textile workers out of jobs, and the dollar saved would be lost many times over in unemployment

benefits and lost wages.

All of this would happen, not because our shirts are inferior, but because American workers have a high living standard. Actually, conditions would be much worse than in this example, because there are very few countries in which workers get anything close to half the American wage. In some areas of the world, a good wage amounts to no more than a few cents a day. That is where tariffs come in. Tariff laws put a tax on foreign-produced material which takes care of the difference in wage rates, thus giving American-made goods an equal chance with foreign-made products. In the case of our shirt, the tariff ought to be one dollar. Naturally, this is a simplified example since many other factors enter into production costs, such as mechanization, relative efficiency, and better management. A reciprocal trade program is a system of mutual tariff-cutting between two

or more nations, supposedly as an inducement to international trade. Obviously, such a tariff reduction can be reciprocal only if conditions in the two participating countries are nearly identical: that is to say, there must be equality of living standards, wages, taxes, commercial laws, and currency stability. If these conditions do not exist there simply cannot be reciprocal trade.

Suppose that we agree to cut tariffs in half. That would make the foreign shirt sell for two dollars and fifty cents in the United States and the American shirts sell for three dollars in a foreign country. The three-dollar American shirts would be displaced over here, but our own shirts still would not compete with the foreign shirt selling abroad for only two dollars.

That is not all. Foreign countries have all kinds of laws and regulations that hinder American trade. Among these is a restriction on currency convertibility. An American manufacturer might be able to sell abroad for foreign currency, but he would not be permitted to change it into dollars. He would have to give his stuff away, whereas we do allow dollars to be exchanged for foreign currency.

One gimmick is the quota system. Another country might reduce tariffs on American-made goods but place so small a limit on the amount imported that it would mean nothing to American industry.

A third device is to place discriminatory taxes on profits made by American firms in foreign commerce. These are just a few examples of the methods used by other countries to get around reciprocal trade concessions. The reciprocal trade system includes the so-called most-favored-nation clause under which all nations get tariff concessions we make to any nation. We might grant a tariff reduction on cloth to Nicaragua, which produces very little, but that would open the door to such textile-manufacturing countries as Great Britain. A reduction on watch tariffs to India would open the floodgates to Swiss watches and so on.

While we are on the subject of watches, let's just remember the fact that our own watch industry was recently going bankrupt because of low tariffs and we were forced to increase rates on Swiss watches to save a vital industry. Loss of our watchmaking plants would be disastrous because these factories make precision instruments such as bombsights, in the case of national emergency.

As a result of the reciprocal trade program, we have bankrupted or seriously injured a number of industries vital to the national defense including . . . mining, the production of certain vital metals, and others.

So the next time you hear that neat little slogan, "Trade — Not Aid," you might answer back, "Tariffs — Not Relief." ★ ★

CONGRESSMAN LANKFORD: Those of us who recognize the essentiality of expanded international trade to our national security and economic well-



The tariff is the Gulf Stream of politics. It flows through both parties and each is trying to catch the other in bathing and steal his clothes.

— PATRICK FRANCIS MURPHY

Free trade is one of the greatest blessings which a government can confer on a people.

— MACAULEY, Essay:

Milford's History of Greece.

Our interest will be to throw open the doors of commerce, and to knock off all its shackles, giving perfect freedom to all persons for the vent of whatever they may choose to bring into our ports, and asking the same in theirs.

— THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings.*

being were heartened when President Eisenhower said in 1954, "For our own economic growth we must have continually expanding world markets. For our security we require that our allies become economically strong. Expanding trade is the only adequate solution. If we fail in our trade policy we may fail in all."

However, since then we have been disappointed and alarmed by the protectionist action on the part of the Administration which has made it harder and harder for other countries to get dollars with which to buy American products. This choking-off of trade with the U. S. is having grave cold war consequences. For many of our allies trade is not merely a matter of convenience, it is a matter of survival. Nearly all of them would prefer to trade with the Western bloc, but if they cannot do so they will be forced, out of sheer necessity, to trade with the Soviet orbit.

Switzerland, for example, is a good case in point. For 104 years America

and Switzerland have enjoyed friendly economic relationship. During the past nine years Switzerland has bought more than one billion, five hundred million dollars worth of American products, while our purchases of Swiss products amounted to a billion dollars, thus giving our businessmen, farmers and workers a trade balance profit of five hundred million dollars.

Among those who benefit from the Swiss trade are the tobacco farmers of southern Maryland, which I have the honor to represent in Congress. In fact, the Swiss are the largest and the very best cash customers for our Maryland tobacco. Now where do the Swiss get the dollars with which they buy our Maryland tobacco and the other sixty-eight million dollars worth of American products they purchase each year? A great deal of it comes from the sale of Swiss watches and watch movements in the United States. That's why many people were concerned when the Administration increased tariffs on Swiss watch imports by 50 per cent in July, 1955. They felt this was a backward step in the avowed foreign trade policy of the Administration. These fears have been realized. In the last nine months of 1955, Maryland tobacco exports were 21 per cent below the exports of the corresponding period of 1954. To Maryland tobacco farmers thus has been tangible and real proof that international trade is a two-way street.

There are, of course, many other adverse effects of these high tariff actions which have seriously endangered the interchange of goods and good will between this country and Switzerland which are too obvious to recount in detail. The decision on Swiss watch imports is a body-blow to our prestige and position of leadership in the free world. To the free world, particularly Western Europe, this action became a symbol of our foreign economic policy against which our future policy statements are to be weighed.

Another corollary effect of the action has come in the arena of the East-West struggle. The stepped-up trade offensive by the Soviets with the trade blandishments that are being offered our allies has proved alarmingly successful, for a considerable number of trade agreements have been signed between the East and countries of Western Europe. It is noteworthy that the Communist propaganda machine at the Swiss

watch industry. This propaganda has taken the line that the United States market is unreliable and has offered attractive inducements for trading with the Soviet bloc. The fact that the Soviet Union does not have an horological industry emphasizes the strategic implications of the Russian trade offensive. If the United States is successfully to carry out its role in the world, we must act with more consistency. We must realize that we cannot combine political internationalism with economic isolationism. **END**

Defenses

(Continued from page 17)

development of a 1,500-mile missile are true, it would not materially affect the balance of arms power.

6. Retaliatory bombing power is a nation's best defense.

Without mentioning critics by name, Mr. Quarles told the House Subcommittee:

I regard as highly misleading, and highly damaging to our whole position here, the whole line of publicity that says, "This is an ultimate weapon"; that we have no defense against it; that the first fellow that gets it is going to be on top and the rest might as well throw up their hands.

Earlier Mr. Quarles had told the Air Force Association, "We have good reason to expect that the air power that we now have will continue to be an effective deterrent to keep an enemy from starting a war." At the same time Mr. Quarles expressed confidence in the superior striking-power of our Air Force.

President Eisenhower had much the same reaction to sources available to

the two Democrats when he answered to a reporter (and I am referring to Senators Symington and Jackson), said the President, "Well, I'm always astonished at the amount of information that others get that I don't." He concluded the discussion of guided missiles and misguided Senators, and I repeat that again, he concluded the discussion of guided missiles and misguided Senators by saying, "I think over-all we have no reason to believe that we are not doing everything that human science and brains and resources can do to keep our position in a proper posture."

As long as we have men of the caliber of President Eisenhower, of George Humphrey, Charles Wilson and all the others that surround the President, running the show, our country need not be at all apprehensive of our defenses, irrespective of what some Democratic politicians have to say to the contrary. **END**

Mail Basket

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

which creates interest but leaves the reader confused. There is little reward, during these times, for profundity and substantial effort for the security of our form of government, but . . . much for perversion and inroads upon our security.

W. C. VERNON
Route 2, Box 227
Perris, California

It seems to me that Rene d'Harnoncourt protests too much Miss Pels' accusations against communism's perversion of art with respect to painting. He has completely lost sight of the over-all principle of shrewd variables in the various assaults of communism, depending upon the type of country concerned.

In their assault against intelligent, cul-

tured nations such as ours they have added to their hoary cliches several new and dangerous principles. The steps are as follows:

1. Infiltration of publicity sources and critic groups, as well as institutions concerned with all manner of culture (not just painting alone).

2. Ridicule and defamation of character of the individuals concerned with, and the works of, the old masters of painting, sculpture, music, literature, and all forms of true culture, including architecture.

3. Substitution of a "contemporary form" in any style whatever, so long as it is utterly and crudely opposed to the accepted standards of earlier forms of culture.

4. Constant press agency dwelling on the merits of the "newer" and more "realistic" contemporary form.

5. The last step before conquering and control, arrival of utter confusion among the uninformed as to what actually constitutes true culture in any of the older arts.

In other words, discredit, destroy, substitute, create confusion. Our people are now in a state of confusion as to acceptable culture in music, painting, sculpture, poetry, architecture, and literature of all forms.

A. R. SILVESTER
Box 54
Princeton, New Jersey

What our so-called society has to fear is not the artist or his production. It is the criticism, conjecture, and opinions voiced by people who are trying to use his product to suit their own purposes. Ballyhoo!

I would like to suggest that we look for good and not ill in all people's efforts. Criticize not motive always, but lack of workmanship and laziness. Let us find good in the beauty and design of pictures . . . appreciate the expertness of good draftsmanship. I'll take modern, cubist, impressionist, or academic art and find something good in each field. And I'd start tomorrow to work toward trying to excel in any of these if I thought there were a practical possibility of developing in it so I could make more money, and so make everything nicer and easier for myself and all around me.

JOHN CAREY
10218 Collet Avenue
Granada Hills, California

My suggestion for correction of the present effort favoring modern art is that community-sponsored art shows divide the gallery—one wall for art based on natural rules, the other wall for art of unnatural, inventive rules, with awards in each of these two categories. This is fairness of an American kind. And it would encourage artists to paint, again, pictures favorable to the American way of life.

DALE NICHOLS
3311 West Beach
Biloxi, Mississippi

[ED.'s NOTE: Mr. Nichols is a former art editor of *Encyclopedia Britannica*.]

FACTS FORUM NEWS REPRINTS

To encourage the distribution of the thought-provoking articles appearing in this magazine they are being made available as reprints whenever there is sufficient demand. Prices are as follows:

Number of pages in article	Single copies or tear sheets	100 or more	500 or more
2 pages or less	10c	\$4.00	\$18.00
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The following reprints are available for immediate delivery:

- "The Communist Party of the U.S.A." (64 pages) \$1.00 each; 5-9 copies, 75c each; 10-99 copies, 55c each.
- "The Constitution of the U.S.A." (12 pages) 15c each, \$14.50 per 100.
- Article: "Art for Whose Sake?" } 10c per set, \$9.00 per 100.
- Rebuttal: "Modern Art and Freedom" }
- "Of Bread and Circuses" (8 pages) 10c each, \$9.00 per 100.

Facts Forum News receives more letters from readers than it can print. It regrets that it cannot print them all. The shorter the letter the better its chances of publication. The publisher reserves the right to print excerpts unless request to the contrary is made by the writer.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Senator John W. Bricker (R-Ohio), left, and Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.), below, joint sponsors of the Bricker-Dirksen amendment, revised version of the Bricker amendment. In its original form, this amendment failed by one vote to receive support of the 83rd Congress which would have made it a part of our Constitution.



JON'S STUDIO

Should the President's constitutional treaty-making powers be limited by adding

THREE LITTLE WORDS

TO OUR CONSTITUTION

★ **THE BRICKER-DIRKSEN AMENDMENT** would add the words "any provision of," to require that "A provision of a treaty which conflicts with *any provision of this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.*"

Many who formerly supported the Bricker amendment now support the revised amendment, some deeming it an improvement over its forerunner — others having become convinced of the futility of efforts to incorporate the amendment in the Constitution in its original form.

The opposing views of Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) and Senator Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) on a recent Facts Forum radio program are presented on the following pages.

A third area of opinion, which holds that only the original Bricker amendment will provide the necessary protection against possible misuse of constitutional treaty-making power, is represented by statement of the Vigilant Women for the Bricker Amendment.

YOU are your government — What is your decision?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: In talking to you about the Bricker amendment it is pertinent to stress something of the Republican aspect of the matter. In the course of the convention proceedings of the Republican party in Chicago in July, 1952, the chairman recognized Senator Millikin of Colorado, chairman of the so-called Platform Committee. He announced that he was prepared to read to the convention the Republican platform. It took quite a little time. First, of course, came the preamble and then a statement on foreign policy — some observations on affairs in the Middle East and Yalta and United Nations — and then, I think, rather unexpectedly, he came upon a very interesting recital, because this was the language used in the platform. He said, "We shall see to it that no treaty or agreement with other countries deprives our citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the federal Constitution."

That's pretty simple language: "We shall see to it that no treaty or agreement with other countries deprives our citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the federal Constitution." Well, the platform was adopted, candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency were nominated, and then we went to the country with our pledges.

When the nation voiced its approval of these pledges, it became our duty to carry out a covenant with the people. Party platforms are often regarded as campaign oratory, and just something to stand on or to run on, but in my judgment you cannot make solemn pledges to the people without having in your heart the determination, and in your mind the conviction, that you're going to try to carry out those pledges.

It was in pursuance of that — in pursuance of a problem that has been arising steadily in the country since World War II and since the inception of the United Nations — that Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio introduced his resolution for a constitutional amendment. This is commonly referred to as the Bricker amendment, but actually it is a proposal for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It was first introduced in the 83rd Congress. We had two and a half months of testimony and then with some modification it came to the floor of the Senate. There it was well-debated and finally it lost by a single vote. You see, under the Constitution a two-thirds vote of the members pres-

SUPPORTING OPINIONS*

SENATOR BRICKER stresses . . .

"The revised language approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee . . . will absolutely prevent any form of world government; will prevent ratification of the dangerous human rights treaties; will prevent the socialistic treaties of the ILO from ever becoming domestic law; will prevent American citizens from being tried before an international criminal court; will prevent the President from going to war without a declaration by the Congress; will prevent the President from making domestic law by executive agreement; and will prevent congressionally-approved executive agreements from taking away powers reserved to the states. . . ."

"So long as treaties are confined to matters of genuine international concern (and I am convinced that the words "any provision of" do this) the repeal of *Missouri vs. Holland* is not a matter of any great importance. . . ."

FRANK E. HOLMAN, former President of the American Bar Association, states . . .

"The first section of the new text is in the identical language of the first provision of the original American Bar Association text, approved by the House of Delegates in Febru-

ary, 1952. It is, in my opinion, a stronger text than the wording of Section I of Senator Bricker's resolution of August 5, 1954, which required that a provision of a treaty or other international agreement should not conflict with the Constitution generally and must be made in pursuance thereof.

"If a provision of a treaty or other international agreement, when questioned in the courts, is to be tested by whether it conflicts with the Constitution as a whole, it would leave a Court free to speculate, and hold the treaty provision valid on some overall theory of constitutional law. Whereas, if a provision of a treaty is violative of any particular section of the Constitution, then a court is barred from indulging in general constitutional theories and must measure the provision of the treaty against the specific language or prohibitions of a particular section of the Constitution. For example, if there is a provision in a treaty like a proposed Covenant on Human Rights, dealing with the matter of freedom of speech or of press, it can be of no force and effect, under the new text of amendments, if it conflicts with the first provision of our Bill of Rights, standing alone. . . ."

*California U.S.A., June, 1956, published by Californians for the Bricker Amendment.

ent is required in order to carry. We would have needed sixty-one votes that day; and we got only sixty.

And so the resolution failed. That session of Congress adjourned and that was the end of it, but it was introduced in the present, or 84th, Congress. Distinguished lawyers have worked over the language. We have had much more testimony from international lawyers — great lawyers who have served as Presidents of the American Bar Association — and at long last we have come up with a very simple version, which it was my privilege to submit to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. It was approved by a vote of eleven to two. That version is presently before the Senate of the United States. When all the reports and all the individual views have been filed, then comes the problem of securing clearance so that we can enact it. It will then be sent to the House of Representatives for further consideration.

Outside of the requirement that treaties be passed by a yea and nay vote — a recorded vote — this is the substance of the revised Bricker

amendment, and I want to give you the language. It says simply, "A provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with any provision of this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect." The controversy centers around just three words; these three words are "any provision of." Heretofore the Senate has approved language to the effect that a provision of a treaty or international agreement that conflicts with the Constitution is of no force or effect. But those previous amendments and resolutions did not carry the words, "any provision of." Under this proposed amendment a treaty or international agreement which might be negotiated must be in harmony with the guarantees and the provisions of the Constitution and any provision of the Constitution if it is to be effective.

In your judgment, is that too much to ask? It seems to me it is the only effective way that this great document that has meant so much to the fulfillment of American destiny will, in time of fever and ferment of the world, be kept intact and those rights safeguarded and secured.

SENATOR HENNINGS: There have been several proposals in the past to place additional limitation on the President's treaty-making powers under the Constitution, and all have failed. The most recent attempt is an amendment offered by Senator



Dirksen of Illinois. While seemingly harmless, it could have disastrous effects on the conduct of our foreign relations by any President.

Previous versions of the amendment have read, and I quote, "A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect." The new version has added the three little words, and I again quote, "any provision of," so that the new test of constitutionality is not whether there is a conflict with our Constitution, but whether there is conflict with any provision of our Constitution.

Now what would the added words accomplish? I submit that if they are interpreted to be harmless, they are, of course, unnecessary. And if they are interpreted to have an effect, they are indeed very dangerous.

First, let's consider their necessity. The wording of the Dirksen amendment clearly implies that at present a treaty or any other international agreement may override the Constitution. And I know this misconception has been widely circulated. Fears have been aroused that our individual liberties, guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, could be destroyed under the guise of a treaty. Of course, there is no truth whatever in this statement. The Supreme Court on many occasions has stated that the Constitution is supreme over all laws and treaties. Furthermore, even if a particular treaty is valid under the Constitution, Congress may nullify its effect as domestic law if the Congress so desires.

Again, it is said that this amendment would insure that treaties can cover only subjects that properly pertain to foreign relations. This, too, of course, is unnecessary. This concept is already firmly established as proved in the Judiciary Committee Report which advocates the adoption of this amendment.

If, in the future, some treaty were

made covering a subject which did not properly pertain to foreign relations, it would fail under the Constitution as a fraud on the treaty power.

And now I'd like to come to the dangers of this amendment, this so-called Dirksen amendment. We face a new rule of interpretation. Our Constitution, instead of standing as an organic whole, might be interpreted piece by piece contrary to centuries of legal practice. A carefully constructed system of checks and balances would be overturned and the President demoted as leader in foreign affairs.

Particularly under attack is the little-understood area of international agreements which the President is authorized to make on his own under his power as President to conduct the foreign relations of this country. If the Dirksen amendment were adopted, Article 1 of the Constitution giving legislative power to Congress to regulate foreign commerce, might, for example, be taken out of context.

Now the founding fathers of course intended that it be read together with Article 2 giving the President the power to conduct our foreign relations. The Dirksen amendment would thusly operate as a power-play to shift

the prime responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs from the President to the Congress. Such a redistribution of our constitutional power would create more problems than it would solve. It is simply impossible to provide a constitutional restriction which will prevent agreements we may not like without also eliminating Executive powers we know our government must have, especially in these very desperate days.

The new rule of construing the Constitution might invalidate parts of our existing treaties of friendship and commerce, road conventions, narcotic drug control treaties, alien property agreements, and many other treaties that are necessary to protect the rights of American citizens abroad. Congress would not normally legislate in many of these areas.

The necessity of associating with other nations, however, requires the United States to act as a unit in foreign affairs and to make treaties on these subjects. We would virtually be forced to return to the chaos of the Articles of Confederation in effect before the Constitution was adopted which taught the framers of the Constitution that the present system was a necessity.



"Vigilant Women Oppose New Text"

Excerpted from April, 1956, Newsletter of Vigilant Women for the Bricker Amendment.

WHEN the new Dirksen version of the Bricker Resolution was announced, we withheld comment. . . . We have listened with understanding if not with sympathy to the argument that "This is the best that can be gotten at this time." We have discovered, however, that those who talk about this being "the best . . . at this time" really mean that this is all they hope to ever get. . . .

We have concluded that it is better to continue our fight for an effective amendment. . . .

Needless to say, we are sorry that our leaders felt they must compromise this vital issue. . . . As Dean Manion has ably said, "When public demand for protection against treaties is increasing by leaps and bounds every hour, why should we accept anything but unequivocal protection in lan-

guage that no court will dare to misconstrue?"

Our position has been set forth in detail in a letter to Senator Bricker, a copy of which follows . . .

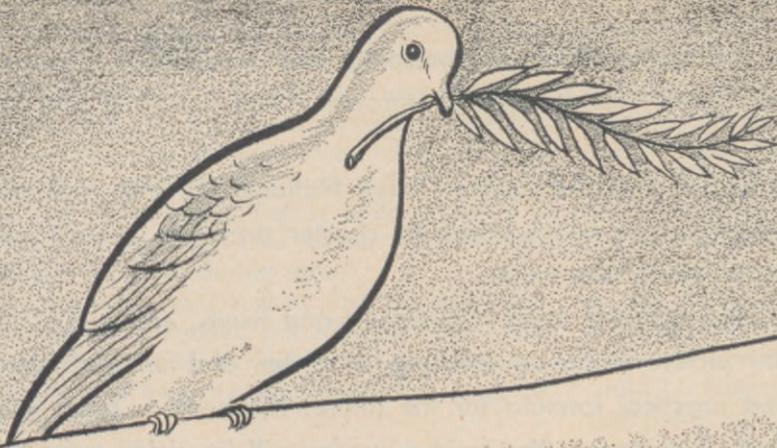
April 20, 1956

DEAR SENATOR BRICKER:

It is our understanding that you have accepted the new Dirksen version of a proposed constitutional amendment as incorporated in the Bricker Resolution and which was favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee. . . .

We actively solicited support for the original Bricker Resolution. We would not have done so, however, if we had not believed and been assured that the original spelled out effective limitations on those men in our federal government whose claims to power would impair our national independence and subordinate us to an international body dominated by men with anti-American concepts of government and

(Continued on page 52)



A Facts Forum News Condensation of

WORLD PEACE BY COVENANT

By FRANKLIN L. MAIER

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INTRODUCTION

We are warned that the civilization which we presently enjoy might be dissolved before our very eyes, unless man's lust for power through revolution and war be promptly curbed.

Since we have taken the lead in establishing the United Nations, with the rank and file of the world's citizenry desiring the peace which its charter professes, we do well to consider the basic documentation of that union.

The author, a prominent Ohio attorney, surveys problems and issues, and out of the often complex, confusing UN picture brings a measure of order and understanding, together with a workable and practical formula for the future. His book is fully documented and replete with scholarly material. The serious reader will be richly rewarded by studying the book as a whole.

WORLD PEACE BY COVENANT

A CONDENSATION

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE dream of world peace based upon an international order of *government and law* is a concept that belongs to the modern world. There have been other epochs in history in which periods of *international order* have appeared, but none in which there has been a conscious effort to build a world order upon *established principles common to all people*. The Roman Empire is the best example; it was an international order accomplished by conquest and subjugation of the known world. Such procedure is, we hope, not possible in the modern world. Certainly, from the American point of view, it is not desirable.

The Pax Romana is of more than passing historical interest, because it contains theories that are today of great practical importance. Having gained the world by force, the Roman found it expedient to rule by law. He compiled a body of law, drawing heavily on the local rules of conduct of his conquered peoples. This law, the "law of nations," later formulated into the Code Justinian, was done perfectly enough to furnish one of the enduring and significant patterns contributing to civilization.

Only within the last thirty years has any real attempt been made to convert into reality the dream of world peace along democratic lines. William Howard Taft advocated a League to Enforce Peace. Woodrow Wilson designed the League of Nations, allegedly to make the world safe for democracy — a league which lasted but nineteen years, and into which the United States refused to be drawn.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, in collaboration with Winston Churchill, promulgated the Four Freedoms — freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and

freedom from fear — expressed in the Atlantic Charter. Harry S. Truman spurred into being Roosevelt's effort for a United Nations.

From history, and from the best thought of the Western world, we learn that *international order must be predicated either on force or on law*. There are no alternatives. The choice is ours, and the wisdom of our choice and of the materials we use will be determined much later by our posterity from the manner in which our edifice, the United Nations, weathers the storms of present and future years.

For nearly a century and a half before this country's participation in global warfare Americans had indulged an isolationist policy, predicated upon the admonition of George Washington *to avoid foreign entanglements distinguished from foreign relations*, which latter are inescapable between nations.

True, our nation during the interim had relaxed its aloofness to include our hemispherical neighbors within its protectorate. That relationship developed under the Monroe Doctrine had already become bedrocked into our national thinking long before 1914 — a doctrine continued by the recent Act of Chapultepec. Without borderline defense, we had become accustomed to live at peace with Canada.

It was our participation in the first World War which cracked the shell of isolationism. It was the second World War which made us indeed extrovert in our political thinking. On July 28, 1945, we went all-out to eliminate war, when ex-President Truman and the Senate supported the United Nations Charter, adopted at San Francisco by the delegates of fifty nations, representing some 1,700,000,000 people. Sixty nations are now admitted to

its membership, and Communist China, an aspirant distasteful to us, is rapping at the door.

Communist China's hands are unclean. During 1949 and 1950 she liquidated an estimated 15,000,000 of her own people. She is reported as busily spawning narcotics, employing the illicit funds therefrom accruing to support totalitarian objectives. She has been twice condemned in the United Nations — once when found guilty of aggression in Korea, and again when illegally holding eleven of our airmen, while defying the free world. She therefore hardly qualifies as a "peace-loving state."

World diplomats envisioned that at long last aggressive war, genocide, and enslavement not only had been outlawed (as was the considered purpose of the Kellogg-Briand Pact), but had been banished from this earth by the stroke of the pen.

Implementing that dream, aggressors were ferreted out, charged as war criminals, and punished in Nuremberg and Tokyo, in accordance with new criminal procedure, post-factually tooled for the occasion. Defendants were accorded far more consideration than would have been given them by the ancient Assyrian Hammurabi, the Carthaginian Hannibal, Genghis Khan, Caesar, Ivan the Terrible, or what we reasonably might have expected had Hitler prevailed. There was reflected in those trials something of the graciousness engendered by principles of the Anglo-American system, which operated to water down the Soviet approach. The United States Supreme Court denied appeals on the ground of lack of jurisdiction in the premises. The proceedings were prodigious military trials, unique in history.

America, the granary nation, went on an enormous spending program to rehabilitate that portion of the world which had been devastated by war. Eight years later we Americans were being castigated as "imperialists" by some of the very nations which had so recently been "liberated."

Many outstanding men of international stature helped to frame the United Nations Charter. Alger Hiss, however, as secretary, helped organize the United Nations. Harry Dexter White represented the Treasury Department. Virginius Frank Coe served as technical secretary-general of the founding committee and later became secretary of that fund. Harold Glasser and David Weintraub [officiated].

Within the workshop of the UN organization, aside from dreams of false hopes, are many distinguished men and women, laboring in the cause of world peace, now fully conscious of the limitations imposed by the charter under which they serve.

The world's "grand jury" of public opinion returned a true bill of the indictment charging Russia with thwarting the cause of peace. Her shift in action from promise during the decade is now manifest. Accordingly, one hesitates to be too critical of the original design which failed to anticipate one of the five partners' deserting the international firm formed to stabilize world security and casting reflection upon its good will. Had we generally known of Soviet design, the charter probably would not have been signed.

An adequately functioning United Nations would have prevented the Korean debacle. A military truce in Korea should not be accepted in our thinking as an ultimate substitute or solution for the riddance of the communistic tactics of underground infiltration there, here, or else-

where, postponing until some more convenient season a renewal of open hostility. Russia seems willing to *bide her time*, employing captured satellites as buffers while slowly but steadily moving forward to a master plan of world conquest, choosing at will the weak spots as they ripen into easy prizes.

A decade ago America held the initiative in atomic secrets by which, through a convincing manifestation to use them, if need be, she might have solved almost overnight such questions as a divided Germany, the air lift, the Korean war, and other aggressive acts of communism during what we have glibly called "a cold war." That vantage passed, while we toyed with socialistic treaties, wondered to what peaceful enterprises the hideous monster could be harnessed, and permitted the Soviet to develop that power for purposes of world conquest.

II. SCOPE OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

The aspirations of the free nations are found in the charter's preamble, which at the very outset adopts expediency as a substitute for law, in an effort: (1) To obtain and preserve international peace and security; (2) To achieve the economic and social well-being of the peoples of the world.

The following basic principles govern the charter: (1) All member states are sovereign and equal. (2) All are pledged to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed under this charter. (3) In its international relations no member shall use or threaten force against the territory and political independence of any state or behave in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN. (4) All are pledged to give every assistance to the UN when, in accordance with the charter, it takes any action, and to refrain from assisting any state against which the UN is taking action to preserve or restore peace. (5) So far as is necessary to peace and security, the organization attempts to insure that non-member countries shall also act in accordance with the principles of the charter. (6) It prohibits UN intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state except when acting to enforce the peace.

The principal organs of the UN are: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

The General Assembly, in which each of the sixty member states of the UN has one vote (though it may send as many as five representatives), is the main deliberative organ of the organization, and the nearest (yet remote) approach to a Parliament of Man. It receives and considers annual and special reports from all other organs, initiates studies, may discuss and, save where the Security Council is dealing with a dispute or situation, may recommend to member states and other organs on all matters within the charter's scope, including their powers and functions, as well as the means for promoting international cooperation in political, social, economic, cultural, educational, and health situations.

Decisions are made on ordinary matters upon majority vote of those present and voting; on important matters, by a two-thirds majority.

It elects the six non-permanent members of the Security Council, all eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council, and a varying number of members to the Trusteeship Council.

Voting independently, it and the Security Council elect the judges of the International Court of Justice. Upon recommendation of the Security Council, it admits new member states and appoints the Secretary-General, who supervises the Secretariat. It considers and approves the budget and apportions expenses among member states, who contribute the entire financial support.

The Security Council is composed of eleven members, five of whom — designated the Great Powers (Nationalist China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and the United States) — are permanent. Six are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms and are not eligible for immediate re-election.

Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Decisions are made by at least seven of all eleven members; but on substantive matters *these seven must include the concurring votes of all the five permanent members*, this being what is popularly referred to as the "veto" power. Article 27 (3), thus providing, becomes a storm center of the charter, and has been credited with much of the league's impotency in security matters.

Contained in the charter is a statement of purposes: (1) To maintain international peace and security by peaceful means, and in conformity with principles of justice and international law. (2) To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. (3) To achieve international cooperation in solving problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character. (4) To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Of special significance are certain other provisions, as, for example:

Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

Membership in the UN is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present charter and which, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations. The admission of any state to membership in the UN will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the UN, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

Nothing in the present charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the UN.

No enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state. The term "enemy state" applies to any state which during the second World War was an enemy of any signatory of the present charter.

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Amendments to the present charter shall come into force for all members of the UN when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified by two-thirds of the members of the UN, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

III. SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT ABOUT CHARTER REVISION

It is thought, in the light of experience, that this country committed two colossal blunders during and following World War II: (1) It was unnecessarily ambuscaded politically through an improvident executive agreement at Yalta. This subsequently resulted in a coalition between Russia and an impoverished Oriental horde, rich in manpower. It has divided once-friendly China into two warring factions, productive of revolution and world insecurity worse, if possible, than the Axis power which that was wrecked. (2) This country was induced to over-emphasize social cooperation while permitting to languish the major effort of common defense for the free world.

Instead of inducing world harmony, as was hoped, we reaped the harvest of a world divided into two camps, the peculiar ideologies of which are at antipodes from each other — democracy and religious idealism on the one hand and atheistic communism on the other. One of these is destined eventually to survive.

Many students of contemporary history therefore contend that the UN organization is not only anemic but sick, that it evinces definite signs of dying altogether, unless drastic restorative measures be administered.

The United Nations is at present a huge international mirror in which are candidly reflected before the floodlights of public opinion the foibles, shortcomings, deceptions and sinister objectives, as well as the altruistic efforts, of the nations of this world. In these reflections communism is beginning to stand revealed for what it really is. The Soviet voice is steadily becoming theatrical and hollow. Its ministers are turning from suave diplomats into the cunning jesters they are. "Firmly based on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine known as 'revolutionary parliamentarism' are the usual Soviet tactics of obstructionism, procrastination, and endless debate, and the resort to semantic skulduggery. This pattern of procedure was fully described by the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, replete with directives for using a legal-parliamentary framework for illegal acts; the *talkathology* technique has been employed by Soviet spokesmen and agents ever since" (Robert S. Byfield).

We are discovering that while this international show is in progress in the UN forum, a greater threat to our liberties is cropping up at the grass-roots of our republic — the weeds stealthily sown in our own backyard through infiltration, collaboration, and deceit, while our attention has been fixed on the main performance.

A number of independent schools of thought have therefore arisen respecting the UN as an agency to secure world peace and our relation to it, with wide divergence of opinion.

1. The Indifferent Group

The indifferent group would permit the UN experiment to run its course, much as if it afforded a stage upon which "experts" in governmental philosophies enact their roles.

as mere actors in some kind of colossal theatrical pageant. They believe that in the end this organization will probably wither as did the League of Nations, or else bring some mysterious advantage — it matters little which, so long as one escapes the trouble of serious and laborious thinking, and while bread and shelter remain presently available. This bloc indulges the philosophy, if any, of enjoying peace with lassitude. On the contrary, peace will be the achievement of indefatigable effort. This group customarily fails to exercise the franchise, normally lives near the margin of its resources, and gives little thought to the latent perils of given situations. When agitated by designing false prophets, it can readily be attracted to establish a majority thwarting constructive effort. The Romans of the Empire's decadence fully recognized a similar group in the periodic passage of the undermining "corn laws."^o

The growing complexities of the world pattern must be brought home to this group of the indifferent, whose help, through a thoroughly aroused sense of our imminent danger, is direly needed.

2. The Secessionists

The secessionists would scrap the UN as a bit of worthless machinery. Anti-UN sentiment is fomenting all over the nation, even in Congress, from citizens who feel that they were trapped in a Communist-spawned United Nations through a fervent desire for peace.

Just how withdrawal might be accomplished without risking loss of essential allies, or provoking war, is not clear. The charter contains no express withdrawal provision. The intent of its architects was to give it permanency.

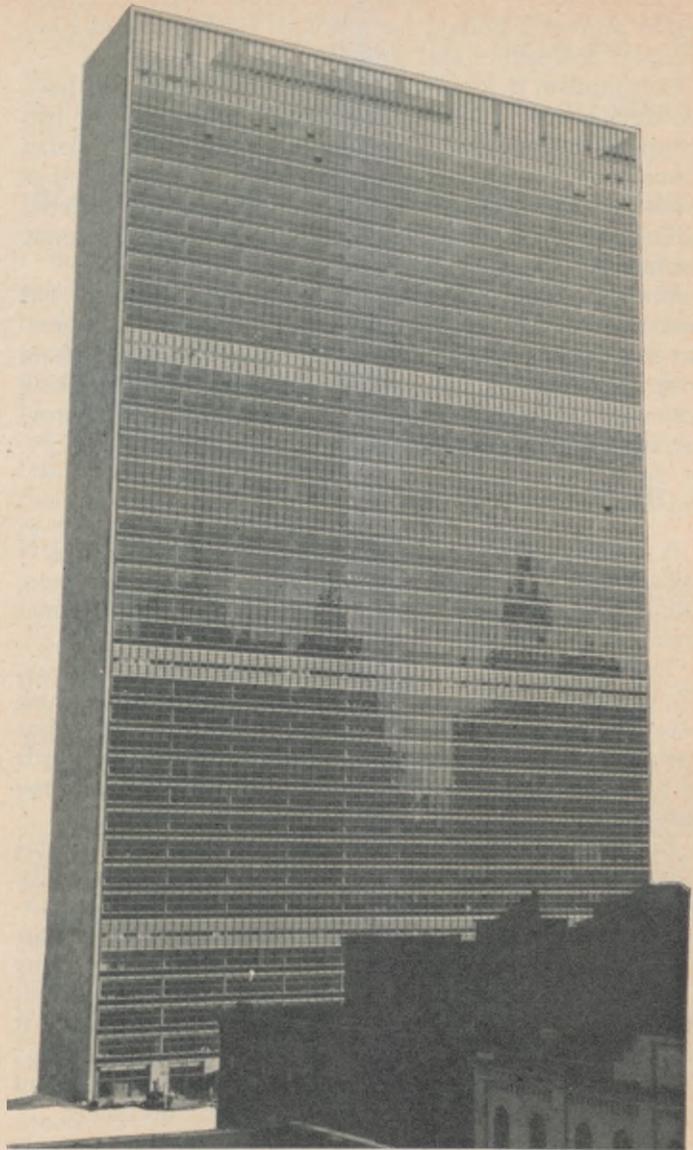
So adroitly was the charter drafted that there is not now full accord among experts in law and government even as to what the charter of the UN really is — whether it be a *treaty*, or a *world constitution*. Most legal experts regard the charter as a treaty.

What a monstrous situation — the possibility of this nation's being committed by action of a President and the Senate in 1945 to a legal instrument "overriding our Constitution," without the consent of the governed — the American people! If such a construction should be endorsed, then the entire charter is a nullity as far as this nation is concerned, being *ultra vires* — transcending the authority — lodged in the President and Senate. We, the people, retain the residual powers beyond those granted. Our elected officials, who obviously cannot amend the federal Constitution without ratification by three-fourths of the states, could hardly abrogate it in favor of an international charter.

The UN Charter is an international treaty, indeterminate as to time, among sixty sovereign nations. A treaty is primarily a *contract*, not a legislative act.

The UN Charter contains no express escape or withdrawal provision, as does, for example, the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, commonly known as the Rio Pact, subscribed by nineteen American republics, setting up the western hemispheric regional arrangement.

The United Nations does not presently constitute a world government. We, as a nation, may have the "power" to withdraw, because of our national strength. But do we enjoy the "right" to secede, through abrogation of our international contract? Russia would probably rejoice in seeing us do so. It would render the Soviet task of assum-



Underwood & Underwood Photo

United Nations Building, New York City

ing control much easier.

Were Congress to withhold required appropriations to support our share in the UN, that organization would probably collapse, with precisely the same unfavorable results as an out-and-out abrogation of the charter. The grave danger arises through the militant desire of international communism to conquer the world — us included; and our withdrawal would leave the freedom-loving nationals weakened and further exposed to Soviet infiltration. This nation would thereby suffer in its foreign relations. It would lose its role of world leadership together with its allies.

Confronted with this situation, secessionists would exclude Russia from the UN. But how? The charter's text affords no answer. From a practical point of view it seems advantageous that the Soviet remain — if for no better reason than to afford some slight information as to what goes on behind the iron curtain, and to supply samples of its activity among us.

3. The Laissez-Faire Group

The *laissez-faire* [or hands-off] group favors a continuation of the *status quo* of the UN as now implemented, with intelligent support by the strong nations. Such action

^oED.'S NOTE: See *Of Bread and Circuses*, article by Admiral Ben Moreell, *Facts Forum News*, February, 1956.

would succeed in prolonging international frustration, and would present a hotbed for insidious socialistic and communistic infiltration and growth.

Communism is socialism gone to seed. We do not have the united nations anticipated under the charter but two groups of nations that are widely separated. The Russian concept of security has split the world into halves. It is quite possible that the human race has not yet suffered sufficiently to visualize the disaster likely to follow atomic warfare.

Since it is apparent that Russia's consistent "veto" has been predicated on a violation of the pledge of the member states to give every assistance to the UN, and to refrain from assisting any state against which the UN is taking action, it is imperative that a *laissez-faire* attitude approving the *status quo* may no longer be tolerated.

4. The Better-Implementationists

A fourth school of thought favors bolstering the UN organization. It would provide greater force of men, munitions, and foreign aid; or would supply additional power — or all.

There seems to be little sense in giving ourselves away. We permit urgently-needed domestic programs to languish because of professed lack of funds. At the same time, our spending has been such as to produce annually upwards of \$12 billion for interest on past deficits, without amortization, while still going deeper into debt.

Economic prodigality has thus far characterized this country's support of the crumbling world situation. The recent report of the President's Materials Policy Commission revealed the United States is possessed of an *exhaustible residue of resources*, rendering a possible crisis by 1975, at the present rate of dissipation. This very possibility was envisioned by Stalin and his associates; it appears to be a definite part of the Soviet over-all strategy. Americans in growing numbers believe that a *permanent* give-away policy will not solve this nation's problems.

There are those in this school of thought who advocate withdrawal of the "veto" power. This would certainly be a gross long-range mistake. Until an escape valve be set up in UN machinery, allowing withdrawal and ejection from that organization, the veto privilege continues to provide national insurance against loss of sovereignty.

It is inconceivable that Russia, as one of the great powers, would consent to removal of the veto power. In no way can it be removed other than through amendment, with Great Power unanimity.

Still others contend that the UN can be made workable to secure world peace through thoroughgoing amendments. Russia, however, will not consent to any amendatory procedure which does not, in her opinion, bolster communistic objectives.

Russia has vetoed almost everything proposed by the free world through the agency of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN. We may anticipate her favoring amendment, provided she perceives opportunity to seize world control through an emphasis which selection of delegates on the basis of population might yield. Senator Knowland said in May, 1955: "Our survival and that of the entire free world may depend on how alert we remain to the fundamental strategy of world communism."

We face, then, the strange and preposterous dilemma in foreign relations that we have already been committed through the charter to a treaty from which we may not

with impunity withdraw, out of which we may not eject a recalcitrant Great Power member state, and one which we cannot alter without that member's consent, even though fifty-eight other member states should join us in seeking the change and even adopt a resolution to that effect in the UN General Assembly.

5. The World Federalists

This fifth school of thought militantly advocates the expediency of creating a huge world federal state, either within or without UN framework.

The UN Charter was carefully drafted to avoid surrender of sovereignty by any nation. But every Russian would like to see a world communist government.

Ours is a philosophy of individual efficiency, calling for personal responsibility and achievement, fashioned upon personal worth rather than managed economy, which latter truly ignores the forgotten man. Corollary to this idea of profitable service for the advantage of all is the right of self-determination of others — the *sine qua non* of any lasting peace. The failure of our generation to capture and implement these ideals has catapulted the world into two enormous conflicts, has brought on the conflagration along the perimeter of Eurasia, and has obscured our faith in ourselves, our institutions, our government, and our destiny.

Under a plan accredited to the "one-world" internationalists, it is claimed that the adoption of only a few "apparently innocuous changes in the UN Charter" are sought. From there on, the UN will form the one-world government.

On August 5, 1954, Senator Bricker said: "In hearings before the Wiley subcommittee on UN Charter revision many world-government enthusiasts have made it clear that they seek to transform the United Nations from an organization of sovereign states into a superstate, either by treaty or by executive agreement or, if that is not feasible, by informal charter amendment."

[For a more detailed discussion of one-world government, already proposed, please see the Appendix on p. 51.]

6. The Regionalists

A sixth school of thought, while not satisfied with the present UN organization, would move forward through *regional arrangements*, permissible under Article 52 of the Charter. They would employ the UN as a diplomatic instrumentality until something better might be achieved.

It would appear that Russia, while employing the UN as a sounding board for Soviet propaganda and an entrance for communism, is at the same time attempting frustration of the West through diplomacy, and creating a protective belt of satellite states outside her vulnerable frontiers. This sixth school of thought would offset Soviet effort by regional arrangements. The application of this "common-sense policy," if confined to the objective of security, seems to be the best vehicle presently available within the UN framework.

But even regional arrangements have drawbacks; they involve some calculated risks. For example, it is obvious that they carry the possibility of conscripting our youth for military service on foreign soil. The Status of Forces Treaty among the fourteen* countries in the North Atlantic

*ED's. NOTE: Now fifteen, since the addition of West Germany

Treaty Organization (one of regional import), which permits United States soldiers abroad to be tried in foreign civil courts of the NATO nations for nonmilitary offenses, was characterized from the floor of the Senate as "a brazen challenge to the constitutional authority of Congress." What purpose could it possibly serve if we were to be committed to obnoxious, socialistic, regional treaty obligations just to avoid involvement in the same sort of situation under one super-treaty? Will regional arrangements prove to be more than treaties perpetuating and streamlining power politics?

The need for such pacts reveals the impotency of the present UN organization. A student facing the situation with intellectual honesty cannot but abhor the tremendous and unfortunate waste of economic substance occasioned by all the effort required to block, if possible, the predatory designs of those who would enslave the free world. A number of nations are endeavoring through power politics and diplomacy to solve the international threat to peace and security.

Therefore, a strong defense area, acting within the UN framework, can successfully defend itself against aggression, supplementing the force which is lacking in the UN itself.

7. The United Churches

Religious idealism is embraced by an estimated 95 million of our people, over one-half of the entire population, not to mention nonmember constituents. The voice of the church must therefore be heard.

Glancing at the eight religious systems represented by member states, the UN records reveal a total of 1,847,000,000; the Christian ideology represents 40 per cent of the whole. The National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States has membership representing more than 35,000,000 persons, with an annual budget of about \$10 million.

The World Council of Churches is now allegedly endeavoring to invent ways and means of advancing an ecumenical thrust in religious effort for the purpose of influencing international affairs and the United Nations. One of its avowed objectives at Evanston, Illinois, in August, 1954, was its pledged support in the struggle for a religious world community. No one could seriously challenge the idealistic nature of an objective predicated on the tenet of personal regeneration. The arrival of the "kingdom of God" in the hearts of men world-wide (including those in Russia and the Far East) would promptly end wars.

In the light of Christian theology, it is doubtful if any humanly planned league will ever achieve the divinely promised reign of peace. Certainly peace can never be purchased with American dollars. There can be no peaceful coexistence between the "kingdom of God" and communism.

The church must not be intrigued by wishful thinking into a program of roseate peace by man-made, Soviet-influenced covenant. Peace at any price — even to the surrender of inalienable rights — is a monstrous idea. Slavery, not peace, should follow in the wake of surrender. These portentous times call for deliberate study, not *ex cathedra* pronouncements.

This country is the only one in which the *rights of man*, including freedom to worship, are inalienable and in the spiritual realm. The amendment of Article VI of the federal Constitution would keep them there, beyond the

power of temporal government. The proposed amendment would not induce isolationism, or be a step in that direction, but rather the prevention of the filching of our rights as citizens, which rights internationalists seem willing to fritter away.

IV. THE UNITED NATIONS' ACCOMPLISHMENT

In the UN are member states believing in free enterprise, whose chief concern is world security. But they have been hamstrung by Russia. What is needed is the concentration of UN energy in the field of international peace and security — that simple, firm agreement, backed by deeds, not rhetoric. If this be promptly done, the organization may yet be salvaged. If not, it is doomed to failure; Americans will refuse to surrender any more of their sovereignty without the attainment of international peace and security from aggression.

We do not need Soviet-inspired social, political, and economic treaties. Rather, we require unanimity to prevent aggression already overwhelmingly found by the General Assembly of UN to exist. To this must be added the evolution of a codified international law, implementing one of the avowed purposes of the charter. The difficulty of the task must not deter the effort.

We would not wish to detract from whatever good the UN may have done. In passing, it must be noted that credit for accomplishment must be shared, since many political, economic, and other factors conditioned whatever success was obtained.

From the San Francisco decennial meeting in June, 1955, five great issues emerge: (1) Unification of Germany, (2) The problem of the Eastern satellites of Russia, (3) Communist China's use of force and threats of force in Korea, Indochina, and Formosa, (4) Efforts of "international communism" to overthrow government by conspiracy, and (5) Disarmament. To those subjects the American citizen must add the issues of UN Charter revision, and the amendment of Article VI of our federal Constitution.

In this connection it may appear rather prosaic to mention the American taxpayer, who is customarily ignored in summaries of UN activities. The taxpayer is entitled to an accounting — comprehensive, widely publicized, with nothing hidden. It is one thing to consider the insignificant eight cents per capita annual contribution toward UN maintenance as an organization; quite another, the burden of \$400 per capita for defense outlays. This nation should not at its expense provide the police force for the free world. Those "captured" satellites should be induced to fight for their own freedoms.

V. FALLACIES INHERENT IN UN CHARTER

The UN was conceived on bases bedrocked in that charter which are believed by many legal scholars to be false — except as to aspirations.

Fallacy No. 1 is that expediency, in an effort to obtain peace and security, may be successfully substituted for underlying law and the administration of justice thereunder, contrary to the experience of history. This fallacy would substitute a government of men for that of law — a fallacy thought to have been buried in Magna Carta. In place of expediency there must be a comprehensive code of international law, predicated on justice, consistent with

Anglo-American jurisprudence. It must be sufficient to insure against aggressive warfare. An agency must be created to enforce it.

Fallacy No. 2 is that reliance for collective security can be safely predicated upon assumed permanency of allies. Fallacious, indeed, has been our thinking in our foreign relations that would assign permanency to allies in perpetuity.

Fallacy No. 3 is that peaceful coexistence through appeasement can be established with a predatory nation motivated by rebellious intention to attain world supremacy. Under certain conditions of appeasement the free world and Russia could be induced perhaps to respect each other's interest sufficiently to give a semblance of peace. Meanwhile, she could stealthily develop her power, while biding her time. "Just coexistence" can be induced and perpetuated only by law, with facilities to command respect for and observance of it.

Fallacy No. 4 is that peace may be achieved if economic, social, humanitarian, educational, cultural, and health conditions are put on an equality throughout the world. World wars did not primarily start because of such inequalities. The so-called advanced, and not the backward nations are disturbers of international peace.

Fallacy No. 5 is that the votes of small, impoverished countries, ignorant of democracy, untrained in international affairs, and with illiteracy rates as high as 90 per cent or more, should be accorded equal value with the votes of great, powerful, civilized, and educated nations. One-half of the world cannot read and write!

Fallacy No. 6 (a fallacy which exists in the popular mind) is that the charter sets up a form of government which consists of two legislative chambers, as, for example, our Congress or the English Parliament. This is not true. The UN is not now a government. It is an intricate bit of international legal machinery, set up and designed for the use of member states, of which, as sovereign entities, they may or may not, as they choose, avail themselves.

The present hassel over amendment of the UN Charter is to achieve for the United Nations the legal status of a government. Public opinion is mounting which feels that the present United Nations offers about as much world government as the world can presently stand.

At the same time, while encouraging our allies of today, and realizing that they may not be such tomorrow, we must recognize that security depends in large measure on our national strength. We should seek through the channels of the United Nations and other agencies the acquisition of as many friends in the world neighborhood as we can garner.

No contract is better than the financial and moral integrity of the contracting parties. Chief among these factors will be found spiritual self-discipline and the development of our inner moral worthiness. We must not accept the status of a welfare state as a matter of permanency under guise of emergency. From such acceptance, mark you, we would enter the portals of outright socialism and the edifice constructed by the one-world philosophy.

It is to be hoped therefore that the Crusade for Freedom will not waste itself in the desert sands of political internationalism. Let us make it a real crusade to recover the holy land of American independence and the principles of free enterprise. While holding at tremendous expense,

as we have for ten years, the "beachhead" established through UN landings in 1945, and still exploring the possibilities of achieving international security, let us hold fast to our national traditions and governmental freedom.

VI. SOCIALISTIC REVOLUTION THROUGH A CONSTITUTIONAL LOOPHOLE*

There is still another grave danger confronting the United States because of the peculiar provision of our Constitution governing treaties. The presence in the federal Constitution of a loophole presents a most sinister threat to basic freedoms, guaranteed by our Bill of Rights in view of recent interpretations of the charter and the Constitution.

"The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. . . . He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. . . ." — Art. II, Sec. 2. "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." — Art. VI, par. 2 (from the Constitution of the United States)

It is obvious from a consideration of the foregoing constitutional provisions that, notwithstanding that forty-nine senators, being a majority, constitute a quorum in the Senate, theoretically at least, thirty-three out of a total of ninety-six could ratify a treaty negotiated by a President carrying socialistic features, without the American people or the House of Representatives having a personal voice in the matter.

The danger which this loophole offers is considerable quite aside from present commitments under the multi-partite treaty charter of the UN, or experiences such as the Korean war presented. This danger supersedes all contributions to economic aid and military support of "police action" ordered by the United States. Experiences flowing from the Korean incident illuminate our vulnerability under the security measure of the UN charter. Likewise the proposed Human Rights Covenant, which has been stopped cold by the present administration, reveals the socialistic tendency and threat to our established freedoms.

A warsick world faces the danger of accrediting to the United Nations an efficacy not altogether merited. Communism seeks world domination, regardless of the means employed. It would entrap an optimistic and gullible America. In view of our past display of stupidity in compromising the peace, the Soviet has every reason to anticipate further apathy.

What of this constitutional loophole? Intelligent discussion is most intricate. The question is bi-partisan and should not be made a political football. The trend, now consummated but well on its way, is to subordinate our federal Constitution to the United Nations Charter where the two conflict.

This constitutional loophole was not reasonably foreseeable in 1787. It was created after the invention of novel theories in international law, which could hardly have

*ED.'s NOTE: Opposing arguments regarding the proposed Bricker Amendment may be found in the September, 1955, issue of *Facts Forum News*.

been anticipated. Once it had been discovered, those who sought to take advantage of this loophole moved with alacrity. Opportunities are centered, for the most part, in the UN and its specialized agencies. They appear inspired by ambition to define and to enforce by treaty the economic and political rights and duties of every human being in the world, including citizens of the United States.

This loss of vital sovereignty is not a mere legal scarecrow, as the Americans for Democratic Action, the United World Federalists, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Association for the United Nations, and a few others would have us believe.

Amendment of Article VI of the federal Constitution will limit the treaty-making and executive-agreement powers to their orthodox channels, prevailing between 1787 and 1945, where they rightly belong.

The proposal for a constitutional amendment was endorsed by the American Bar Association, numerous state bar associations and state legislatures, and the National Association of Attorneys-General, representing chiefs of the legal departments in forty-eight states; also by the Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, The American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Kiwanis International, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the American Medical Association, the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, the American Council of Christian Churches, General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Committee for Constitutional Government, and many others.

The movement for an amendment transcends party lines. The threat of a world federal state through UN Charter amendment makes imperative the prompt passage of a federal constitutional amendment such as that proposed and now before Congress. No time or effort should be lost in recognizing and effectuating this growing, urgent public demand.

Humbly we point out that *this must ever remain a government of law and not of men, if we are to preserve our traditional heritage as a free and independent people.* It is the opinion of many that there should be no opposition on the part of the Executive Department to write into organic law that which has been long implied.

It is sincerely thought here in the hinterland that the prompt passage of a constitutional amendment will afford an efficient roadblock against the forays of the "new school of internationalists," pounding at the doors of the United Nations, and thus aid the preservation of our national sovereignty. Americans have developed the habit of abiding by their contracts, which are never regarded as mere scraps of paper in the field of diplomacy.

If the country is to abandon the American way of life for communism (which God forbid), let it be done through exercise of the franchise, rather than having the transition foisted upon us by any treaty-making machinery!

VII. THE AMERICAN WAY

In this beloved country of ours is a challenge to every American from the humblest to the most influential. He may help crystallize public opinion in his own community.

Meanwhile, he can help materially in devoting wholehearted support toward insuring preservation of our domestic laws, and through democratic processes of an even better way of American life, being careful not to sell his birthright for a pot of porridge, as many misguided individuals seem prone to do.

One traitor left in a vital government position, if sufficiently important, might wreck our country. One Communist is precisely one too many.

It is far better to be a blundering, over-zealous patriot than to have a sneaking Communist, fellow-traveler, or Soviet front. Whether the future of this country lies beneath the black cloud of dictatorship, or under the bright sun of freedom and truth, depends entirely upon individuals. If, through apathy, irresolution, and inertia, we permit our liberty to be stolen from us by those bent on filching from us more and more power, that responsibility is ours.

There arises a great beacon in this ocean of political and economic turmoil and upheaval, like a rock of ages — the unique constitutional guaranties by which a liberty-loving democracy, claiming certain inalienable rights which its compatriots assert as the gift of the Divine, established under law, not left to the whims of dictators — which points unerringly to a better way of life: *The American Way.*

Our forefathers fought in Revolutionary days to obtain these various freedoms. We must labor worthily to retain them. We dare never lose that light.

VIII. APPENDIX

The Proposed Republic of the World

Orthodox World Federalists do not envision United Nations Charter revision as a means of merely improving a federation of sovereign states for security purposes. The more radical of them militantly advocate a complete federal republic of the world, employing charter revision as a convenient vehicle to achieve that end.

Because of its priority in advent following the Federal Union Research Institute's report under Lord Beveridge* of Oxford in 1940, the "Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution," which appeared in October, 1947, becomes an important study. It was proposed by eleven college professors, chiefly from America, six of them from the University of Chicago. It proposes a "federal republic of the world."^o

It recognizes four elements of life — *earth, water, air, and energy* — as the common property of the human race. The management and use of these elements it would subordinate "in each and all cases to the common good."

Through a Planning Agency, the social usefulness of plans for improvement of the world's physical facilities, both public and private, and for the productive exploitation of resources and inventions, are to be determined. A federal convention would be convened triennially in May, consisting of delegates selected "by the people of all states and nations," one delegate for each million "of any extant state, recognized as sovereign in 1950." These triennial conventions would: (1) Elect a president of the world republic. (2) Choose ninety-nine councilmen constituting the World Council, which would enact legislation for the Republic of the World. (3) Elect an official, strange to our governmental procedure, a Tribune of the People, whose function would be that of "spokesman for the minorities."

*ED.'s NOTE: Lord Beveridge will be recalled as the compiler of specifications for nationalized medicine in Great Britain, as mentioned in *Facts Forum News* book condensation, June, 1956.

^oThe source material discussed and quoted here is from the book, *Foundations of the World Republic*, by Giuseppe Antonio Borgese, University of Chicago Press, 1953.

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(4) Amend the constitution upon a two-thirds approval of the convention.

Each federal convention is to be divided into nine electoral colleges, according to the nine societies of kindred nations and cultures, or regions, wherefrom its members are declared to derive their powers, such regions being: Europa, Atlantis (including the United States of America), Eurasia, Africa, Afrasia, India, Asia Major, Austrasia, and Columbia.

The legal machinery provides for the election of a president serving a single, fixed term of six years. Councilmen are to be elected, with the United Nations Assembly as the nominating organization.

The world republic is to choose a site for a federal capital, adopt one language, a federal unit of currency, a federal system of measures, and a federal calendar. The underlying "rights of man" are enumerated, the right of private property being omitted from this category.

The executive power, together with initiating power in federal legislation, is to be vested in the World President. He is also to serve as World Chief Justice of the Grand Tribunal. He is to serve as chairman of the Chamber of Guardians, having control and use of the armed forces of the federal republic. He is to make a triennial budget of the world government.

The Federal Republic of the World would be "indivisible and one," and vested with the organization and disposal of federal armed forces; the limitation and control of weapons and of domestic police forces; the levying and collecting of federal taxes; the administration of banks, issuance of money, control of credit; control of immigration and emigration and the movements of peoples; the

final decisions of forming new states and the alteration of boundaries; the maintenance of peace; the intervention in violations of law; the establishment of agencies conducive to development of the world's resources and the advancement of physical and intellectual standards; regulation of commerce, transportation, and communication; legislation for pensions, insurance, education, science, and culture.

Under the proposed constitution, what is to become of the three outstanding world legal systems extant — the Anglican, Romanesque, and Mohammedan; or the Japanese, Chinese, and Hindu, which last three govern important sectors in the Far East? These dissident systems cannot be welded into one. Neither can they be ignored, with any hope of lasting world peace. A world system of government, to succeed, must be predicated on practical principles of law or force.

Here, then, in a single legal package, we have submitted a world government, calling for surrender of national sovereignty, inauguration of socialism or communism, entailing the loss of control of foreign relations, the removal of the "veto" power reserved under the UN Charter, the imposition of the obnoxious features of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention, the removal of tariff and immigration barriers, the establishment of a new monetary system, free trade, governmental control of public utilities and resources, the imposition of a foreign judiciary, the abnegation of the American system of law, the loss of private property, the rape of national resources and the infliction of burdensome taxation to promote socialistic doctrines — a program whereby, if adopted, the United States, Constitution and all, would be absorbed in the maw of internationalism.

Moreover, the proponents of this novel plan boldly assert, "World government shall come — this is practically the consensus of this generation — whether within five years or fifty, whether without a conflagration or after it. The plan quickens, to an unpredictable extent, the historical process of which it is a forerunner."

It is worthy of careful consideration that all the plans for one-world government curtail voluntary withdrawal by a given state or nation. They would grant world citizenship to all individuals. Control of armaments and nuclear power is cached in the world agency. The national judiciary is tampered with, shearing the jurisdiction of our tribunals and system of jurisprudence. The scales of our peculiar governmental scheme, through checks and balances, are thrown out of equilibrium. All the plans seek to commandeer law.

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Three Little Words

(Continued from page 42)

who seek to destroy the principle of individual rights.

We also were assured and believed that the original wording of this proposed amendment would provide a warning against further federal encroachment on the powers reserved to the states and the people, respectively, which reservations have been our chief — though sometimes breached — defenses against the dictator-

ship of a centralized bureaucracy. . . .

We remember that a resolution acceptable to the President was adopted by the Senate two years ago. We also remember that we were then told that the wording of that resolution was inadequate. The wording involved was: "A provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

Now, we are asked to give our support to a resolution that, except for "three little words," is the same resolution we were told was inadequate two years ago.

Because of our long association we have

tried to find in this new wording the protection for America that you and the Judiciary Committee say it contains. We have not found any wording which persuades us that this amendment would accomplish the objective at which we aim. We seriously doubt that any higher court called upon to decide a case involving a treaty, would find its members inhibited by an amendment such as is proposed.

It seems obvious that any matter coming before the courts involving constitutional questions must invariably be judged in terms of whether the action taken or contemplated is in violation of "any provision



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of" the Constitution. Any justice who fails to measure an action against any and all provisions of the Constitution is not carrying out the duties of his position and is violating his oath of office. Therefore, the "three little words" would seem to be superfluous language. In our lay opinion, the same may be said of the entire proposed amendment, with or without the three little words, because it does not require the application of any new criteria.

We are persuaded to this conclusion by the simple logic of the situation. The Supreme Court has already asserted its belief that a treaty can be used to make legal what the Constitution forbids (in *Missouri vs. Holland*) and must have made its decision after judging whether the subject treaty violated "any provision of" the Constitution. Since the Court could and did hold the Migratory Bird Treaty — a treaty deliberately and notoriously entered into for the purpose of violating the Constitution — to conform to all provisions of the Constitution, a more internationalist-minded court certainly would not be restrained by an amendment that at best is an admonition to the courts to judge a treaty in terms of whether it violates "any provision of" the Constitution. In fact, since the original resolution was first proposed, we have seen the Supreme Court usurp the function of the Congress and literally enact legislation.

If the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is, and you and your colleagues hold this to be true, then there is nothing in the proposed amendment that prevents the Supreme Court from ruling that it is not a violation of the Constitution to do all the things that have been done and/or do all the things we are fearful may be done.

We not only find no protection for America in this latest, or Dirksen proposal, but we find that it contains a provision that could give constitutional authority for executive acts that are now illegal. It requires no unusual exercise of the imagination to foresee that this proposed amendment, if submitted to and approved by the states, would promptly be held to give the President power to make international agreements having the force and validity of treaties, without consulting the Senate. Thus we could, with logic, anticipate that the future of our foreign relations would follow the pattern established by the notoriously disastrous and secret, yet still unannounced, Yalta Agreement. . .

Finally, it is our belief that this revised proposal would appear to have originated in partisan and personal political concerns, rather than concern for our country.

It is our recommendation that you renounce this proposed amendment; and let the resolution die at the close of the session. In any event, we cannot support it.

Respectfully yours,

RUTH MURRAY
WINIFRED BARKER
National Coordinators,
Vigilant Women for the
Bricker Amendment

Liberty is always dangerous, but it is the safest thing we have.

— HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

The Three-Dimensional Man

By A. M. Sullivan, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 12 Barclay St., New York 8, N. Y., 1956, 297 pp., \$4.00.

Ideally developed, the human being is three-dimensional, possessed of "a personal integrity, a community responsibility, and a spiritual awareness." Thus avers Mr. Sullivan, himself multi-dimensional, having won recognition as poet, business executive, magazine editor, film and radio writer. To his titles must be added that of gifted aphorist.

This book is not for quick reading and laying aside, but rather for treasured ownership and reference. Mature in outlook, it should nevertheless appeal to the youth whose thoughts "are long, long thoughts," bestowing upon him a wealth of ideas of which he will say, later: "I'm glad I learned that while I was young."

A handful of quotations may serve to buttress the foregoing comment.

Of Education: "The show-off wears his culture on his sleeve." "The act of learning is a selfish enterprise unless we can find a way to share our knowledge with others and test its quality." "The search for learning is a quiet venture for the person who looks beyond emotional vehemence and violence for the essential fact."

Of Government: "Periodically men are tempted to hand over their total liberties for any semblance of comfort and security. It is always a bad bargain."

And again: "The cry of 'one world' has attracted the attention of political moralists who fail to realize that internationalism is not the antonym of nationalism, but is the absorbing sponge that obliterates political identity, economic independence, and cultural personality. World government is a trap. . ."

In philosophic vein: "Despite the long history of human perfidy, inequality, and folly, virtue has maintained a slim managerial control."

"The tragedy of spectacle recreation is that it limits or forbids the participation of the individual. It is infinitely better to be a marcher in a parade than a spectator, even though there is

a vicarious thrill in looking on and beating time."

Touching American history, some interesting side roads, commonly bypassed, are explored with zest by this author, who obviously delights in presenting the unfamiliar.

If there be a flaw, it would be in the style, which so abounds in parallel construction and in lyrically-cadenced prose, that it could bear the occasional introduction of a sharp *sforzando*, a meandering *rubato*, or a dissonance half-resolved. On the whole, however, it is a satisfying collection of polished essays.

Face of a Victim

By Elizabeth Lermolo, Harper & Bros., 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y., 1955, 311 pp., \$3.75.

The 1934 assassination of Sergei M. Kirov, then secretary of the Leningrad Communist Party and ranking second only to Stalin, resulted in a wide netting of suspects. One of these, Elizabeth Lermolo, was brought to Stalin for his personal questioning at NKVD headquarters.

Her connection with the crime rested upon two pieces of "evidence": (1) She was the pretty wife, about 30, of an exiled officer of the White Russian army; (2) Her name and address were found in the notebook of Leonid Nikolayev, slayer of Kirov.

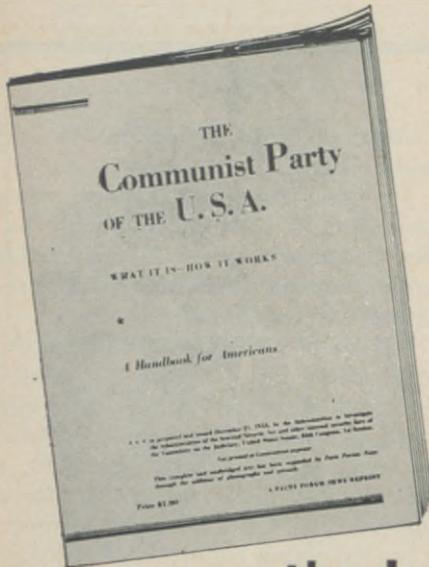
Elizabeth had by chance talked with Nikolayev when, during the previous summer, he had visited his aunt in the provincial village where Elizabeth was living in exile. Under Soviet law, the circumstances established her guilt as co-conspirator, and as "confirmed foe of the working class."

Condemned without a trial, she was for eight years shunted about from one to another of eight different "isolators," or special prisons for political prisoners. In them was no forced labor, as in the concentration camps.

Miraculously, she survived the indignities, the bitterness, the misery; finally escaped and was reunited with her husband. After long hardship as refugees from Russia, they eventually found sanctuary in America.

Elizabeth attributes her life, her

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sanity, her retentive memory, and her abiding religious faith to "psychological self-defense," as built up by various prisoners through the grim years, and mercifully transmitted to her. This was done by means of an ingenious wall-tapping code (explained in detail), which enabled the prisoners (many of them highly intellectual) to communicate from cell to cell in unbroken circuit, as long as each took the trouble to learn the code, orally. Writing materials were seldom permitted. In some places the chief diversion was speculation as to "who would be liquidated next."

She had no contact with the outside world save while being transferred to another prison by train and Black Maria. Pathetically, she found stimulation in those brief breaks, from having glimpses of people not under guard.

Sometimes Elizabeth had a cellmate. One was Rita Vassilyeva, a Zinoviev partisan, also accused of complicity in the Kirov killing; she believed that the NKVD had had Kirov murdered.

From Volkov, a fellow-prisoner in an isolator where solitary confinement was not continuous, Elizabeth learned that he was sure Lenin had been poisoned, presumably by order of Stalin.

Sofia Nikitina told of Zoya, her adopted daughter, an attractive young girl who obtained entree to the Kremlin; she had orders from her own father, a White Russian in exile, to shoot Stalin, and almost succeeded; but she was not quite shrewd enough, hence was detected a few minutes in advance of the act. Zoya and all her

associates were slain or imprisoned.

Natalia Trushina, servant of Nadezhda Allilueva, who became Stalin's official wife, related how she had been sole witness to Stalin's choking Nadezhda to death within the Kremlin, after he had tired of her. "There are only two exits from the Kremlin," Natalia said. "To the political isolator, or to the next world."

Yenukidze, former secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, told Elizabeth that Stalin himself had given the order which finally brought about Kirov's assassination. Elizabeth objected: "Nikolayev killed Kirov to settle a personal grudge." Yenukidze insisted that Stalin had fanned that grudge. Back of all was the fact that Kirov had received a larger vote than Stalin in the secret ballot for membership in the Central Committee. From that moment, Kirov was a doomed man.

Another woman prisoner, formerly of the Kremlin, said, "Kirov's death was urgently required by the Kremlin." At another time she remarked that Roza, wife of Stalin between 1933 and 1938, was a breath-taking beauty but far from happy. Stalin had four wives, variously; none was in an enviable position.

After release, Elizabeth Lermolo held the "face of a victim" in a mirror. She was shocked. She did not recognize herself. During eight years she had never once seen her own reflection. But she succeeded in recreating her image in words, most vividly. This record of her experiences is an impressive contribution to Soviet criminalology.

U. S. Immigration Policy

(Continued from page 15)

semidarkness behind the Iron Curtain, look to the United States for the help that will not be forthcoming — under the present law.

A number of bills introduced in Congress propose changes in parts of the Walter-McCarran Act. A bill sponsored by Senator Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.) and a number of other congressmen asks that the entire national-origins system be done away with, subsequently establishing a worldwide quota of 250,000 persons annually. Senator Lehman's bill, S. 1206, provides for the creation of an Immigration and Naturalization Commission. Incorporated within this Com-

mission would be the present naturalization and immigration responsibilities of the Departments of Justice and State.

A complaint heard frequently is that the present immigration work of consular officers is merely a part-time occupation, and, usually, a kind of apprenticeship duty for embryo foreign service officers. But at the same time such consular officers wield tremendous power in regard to alien applying for admission into the United States.

(Continued next page)

¹⁰"Should Basic Changes Be Made in U. S. Immigration Policy?" *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 22.

Senator Lehman has stated that the country is in need of a controlled stream of fresh immigration. He made it known that he did not propose unlimited immigration; rather, he proposed what he considered a conservative level. He proposes to abolish the national-origins quota system and substitute a unified-quota system. Briefly, this system would make possible the reunification of families, would bring into this country those with technical and scientific abilities, would provide a larger quota for the downtrodden peoples of the world, and would promote the interests of the country in regard to foreign policy.

Senator John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.), in a statement to the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, said that the United States has always taken pride in the fact that it is the world's melting pot. He stated that the country's progress and growth have been due in no little part to the diverse races and backgrounds of its people, and that the country could reap future rewards from mixed citizenry, as it has in the past. He alleged that the national-origins system conflicts with both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and violates the traditional American principles of decency and justice.¹⁰

Representative Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-N.J.), testifying before the same Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, stated that there are countless numbers of

escapees from behind the Iron Curtain. These people have listened to the Voice of America, which urged them to flee from communism.¹¹ In view of all this, is the United States to extend a helping hand to this suffering humanity, or is it to spurn the pleas for sanctuary?

Those who favor liberalization of immigration quote the words of George Washington:

The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation in all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment.

We also hear quoted by the opponents of our present immigration law the immortal words of Emma Lazarus, which are inscribed on the pedestal of that "lady of the harbor," the Statue of Liberty:

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to
breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teem-
ing shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-
tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden
door!*

Opponents of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act ask why should it not be forever thus in these United States of America? END

We Still Have Some Choice

EVERY time you make a decision you sacrifice an alternative. Certain occupations automatically rule out others. For example, a career woman cannot be a full-time homemaker; an archaeologist cannot be a concert pianist; a world explorer cannot be a season-to-season gardener; an air hostess cannot simultaneously teach in a day-school. It is likewise impossible for a Communist Party member or sympathizer to be a loyal citizen of the United States. The two things are mutually exclusive.

Our government leans over backward to protect from embarrassment or persecution the sincere proponents of virtually all causes and beliefs. Ironically, those Communists within our hospitable borders will never repay in kind. In exchange for our care and protection, they offer us nothing save wholesale liquidation of our

laws, customs, government, together with all our people who dare to be non-Communists. Our bitter Day of Judgment is merely postponed until such action on their part can be safe and final.

We know that this is true. We have been told it over and over again in Communist literature; and we have seen it happen to millions of people unable to defend themselves. We have abundant proof that world conquest by communism is no empty threat. When we pause for serious thought, we realize how lucky we are, to be living under the Stars and Stripes, and not within the enclosure of the Steel Stockade.

But let's remember that infiltration tends to become saturation. Let's not stretch our luck and our hospitality too far!

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	WHOS*	800	Sun	3:00 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL-TV†	23	Sun	2:30 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Wed	6:15 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun	5:00 p
Enterprise	WIRB*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB*	1230	Sat	6:30 p
Eufaula	WULA*	1240	Mon	8:05 p
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWF*	990	Sun	6:00 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240	Sun	6:05 p
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGWG**	570		
Greenville	WGYB*	1400		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Huntsville	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon	5:00 p
Jasper	WWWB*	1360		
	WWWB*	1360		
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	3:45 p
	WMFC*	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600		
	WJHJ†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV†	20	Wed	6:00 p
Oneonta	WCRL*	1570		
	WCRL*	1570	Sun	1:30 p
Opp	WAMI*	860	Sun	1:00 p
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR*	1360	Sun	3:30 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WJRD*	1150		
	WTBC*	1230		

ALASKA

Fairbanks	KTVF-TV†	11	Sat	6:00 p
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ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Douglas	KAWT**	1450		
Holbrook	KDJ†	1270	Sat	2:00 p
Kingman	KGAN*			
Phoenix	KOOL-TV†	10	Sat	10:45 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p

ARKANSAS

Arkadelphia	KVRC*	1240		
	KVRC*	1240		
	KVRC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Batesville	KBTA*	1340	Sat	9:15 a
	KBTA*	1340	Sun	10:00 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	Sun	12:15 p
Camden	KAMD*	1450	Sun	8:45 p
	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Conway	KCON*	1230		
	KCON*	1230		
El Dorado	KRBB-TV†	10	Sat	6:30 p
	KDMS*	1290		
	KDMS*	1290	Sun	5:45 p
Fayetteville	KGRH*	1450		
	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Forrest City	KXJK*	950		
	KXJK*	950	Sun	1:00 p
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Mon	4:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
Harrison	KHOZ*	1240		
	KHOZ*	1240		
Hope	KXAR*	1490		
	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Hot Springs	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
Jonesboro	KBTM*	1230		
	KBTM*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	10:15 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
McGehee	KVSA*	1220		
Malvern	KBOK*	1420	Sun	10:05 a
	KBOK*	1420	Sun	1:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Monticello	KHBM*	1430	Sun	1:45 p
	KHBM*	1430	Sun	8:00 a
Morrilton	KVOM*	800	Sun	2:00 p
Mountain Home	KTLO*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
	KTLO*	1490	Sun	9:00 p
	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Newport	KNBY*	1280		
	KNBY*	1280		
	KDRS*	1490		
Paragould	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pine Bluff	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	2:00 p
Rogers	KAMO*	1390	Sun	12:45 p

*Facts Forum

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

"I'm George . . . I'm the Guy You Let Do It" — that hits the nail on the head. We should think, study, and work for moral and intelligent people to represent us.

C. E. HUTCHASON
3494 Rowena Ave.
Los Angeles 27, California

*June issue, Facts Forum News.

I would like to commend you on the way you handle your [FACTS FORUM RADIO] program. It is a real pleasure and enlightening to hear a debate instead of a hassle, on your type of program.

I was beginning to think that the great American art of debating had deteriorated into the childish practices of interruptions, loud talking, and other useless activities.

FRANK EMERSON FOGG, JR.
1375 High Street
Denver, Colorado

I am pleased to enclose herewith payment for renewal of my subscription to your magazine, as I regard it the most potent and enlightening on great public questions so vital to all public-spirited citizens throughout our nation.

R. N. McCONNELL
13126 Valleyheart Drive
North Hollywood, Calif.

. . . My husband and I have recently discovered your magazine and thoroughly enjoy reading it.

MRS. TERESA HUTCHINSON
4811 Fourth St., N.W.
Washington 11, D. C.

Your June number received and gives me "thought-provoking" reading indeed.

I note the beautiful Flag Day and the Pledge of Allegiance, which Daughters of the American Revolution use at every meeting. I do not attend now — my life that of the retired.

I have now to close . . . with my sincere appreciation of *Facts Forum News* and may you live long and prosper.

MARY J. MITCHELL
8320 N.E. Third Ave.
Miami 38, Fla.

Each month since December of 1954, I have received my issue of *Facts Forum [News]* and enjoy it more than any other publication.

Let me compliment you on a wonderful and enlightening publication and hope that FFN will continue to grow and increase its subscriptions as it has done in the past.

C. JEFFERY JACOBS
P. O. Box 7216, Station C
Atlanta, Georgia

ARKANSAS — (Continued)

Russellville	KXRJ*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
	KXRJ**	1490		
	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Siloam Springs	KUOA*	1290	Sat	12:45 p
	KUOA*	1290		
Springdale	KBRS*	1340	Mon	7:00 p
Stuttgart	KWAK*	1240		
	KWAK*	1240	Sun	7:30 p
	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Warren	KWRF*	860		
	KWRF*	860		

CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC**	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Hollywood	KCOF-TV†	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KHJ†	930	Mon	8:00 p
	KPOF**		Sun	12:15 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	4:45 p
Oroville	KMOR*	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV†	10	Sun	12:00 p
San Diego	KFMB-TV†	8	Sat	1:00 p
San Francisco	KGO-TV†	7	Sat	10:30 p
San Luis				
Obispo	KVEC-TV†	6	Sun	6:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSCO**	1080	Thurs	8:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE*	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	Sat	12:30 p
Ventura	KUDU**			

COLORADO

Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
Cortez	KVFC*	740	Sun	12:00 p
Delta	KDTA*	1400	Sun	3:30 p
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:30 p
	KTVR-TV†	2		
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KREX-TV†	5	Sun	10:30 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
	KBNZ**	1400	Sun	10:00 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1230	Sun	12:45 p

CONNECTICUT

Waterbury	WATR-TV†	53	Thurs	6:00 p
West Hartford	WKBN**			

DELAWARE

Wilmington	WPFH-TV†	12	Sun	10:30 p
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WEAM**	1390	Wed	10:00 p
	WFAN*	100.3		
	WOOK*	1340		

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sat	12:00 p
	WKKO*	860	Sun	4:30 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon	9:30 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon	9:30 p
Kissimmee	WRWB**	1220	Sun	12:00 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1390	Mon	5:45 p
	WNER*	1390		
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Miami	WCBS-TV†	23	Mon	1:00 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
	WTVV-TV†	17	Fri	9:30 p
Naples	WNOG*	1270	Sat	5:30 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV†	5	Mon	10:00 p
Panama City	WPCF†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WDLP**	590	Mon	2:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Wed	11:45 p
Sanford	WTRR*	1400	Sat	9:15 p

GEORGIA

Atlanta	WERD**		Sun	
Augusta	WGAC**			
	WJBF-TV†	6	Sun	3:00 p
	WJBF-TV†	28	Sat	7:30 p
Columbus	WDAK-TV†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Cordele	WMJM†	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Covington	WGFS*	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Dalton	WBLJ*	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Gainesville	WCGA†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	1:00 p
Jesup	WBGR*	1370	Sun	9:30 p
La Grande	WLGA†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Macon	WIBB*	1280	Sun	11:00 a
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Monroe	WMRE**	1490	Sun	3:00 p
Savannah	WTOC-TV†		Sun	9:30 p
Statesboro	WVNS†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT**	800	Sun	1:30 p
Teocoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 p

HAWAII

Honolulu	KONA-TV†	2		
Hilo	KILA*	850	Sat	8:45 p
Wailuku, Mau	KMVI*	850	Sun	10:15 p

IDAHO

Boise	KIDO-TV†	7	Sun	11:15 p
Moscow	KRPL*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
Twin Falls	KLIX-TV†	11		
Weiser	KWEI*	1240	Sun	3:00 p
	KWEI**	1240	Sun	5:30 p

ILLINOIS

Bellefonte	WIBV*	1260	Sun	5:00 p
Bloomington	WBLN-TV			
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	4:00 p
	WBYS**	1560	Sat	4:00 p
Carbondale	WCIL*	1020		
	WCIL**	1020	Sun	1:00 p
Carmi	WROY*	1460		
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ**	670		
Cicero	WHFC*	1450	Tues	10:30 p
Danville	WDAN-TV			
Decatur	WDZ*	1050		
	WDZ**	1050	Sun	12:30 p
	WTVP-TV			
De Kalb	WLBK**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
Du Quoin	WDON*	1580		
	WDON**	1580		
East Peoria	WEEK**	1350		
East St. Louis	WTMV*	1490		
	WTMV**	1490		
Elgin	WRMN**	1410		
Fairfield	WFIW*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
Freeport	WFRL*	1570	Sun	1:00 p
Galesburg	WFRL*	1570	Sat	11:45 p
Harrisburg	WGIL*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
	WEBO**	1240	Sat	2:30 p
	WEBO**	1240	Sat	9:15 a
Herrin	WSIL-TV†	22	Wed	2:00 p
	WJPF*	1340		
Jacksonville	WLDK*	1180	Sun	12:45 p
Joliet	WJOL*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
	WJOL**	1340	Mon	6:30 p
Kankakee	WKAN*	1320		
	WKAN**	1320		
Kewanee	WKEL*	1450	Fri	5:45 p
	WKEL**	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC**	1370	Sun	4:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
	WSMI**	1540		
Marion	WGGH*	1150	Sun	5:00 p
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*	1360		
	WVMC**	1360		
Mt. Vernon	WMIX**	940	Sun	1:00 p
Olney	WVLN*	740		
	WVLN**	740	Sun	12:00 n
Sparta	WHCO*	1230	Fri	2:00 p
	WHCO**	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Sterling	WSDR**	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Waukegan	WKRS**	1220		

INDIANA

Bloomington	WTTS*	1370	Sun	3:15 p
Connersville	WCNB*	1580	Wed	12:30 p
Elkhart	WSJV-TV†	52	Sun	3:00 p
Evansville	WEHT-TV**	50	Sun	10:30 a
	WEOA*	1400		
Ft. Wayne	WEOA**	1400	Sun	9:30 p
	WANE*	1450		
	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Frankfort	WILO*	1570	Sun	12:30 p
Goshen	WKAM*	1460		
Indianapolis	WISH-TV†	6	Sun	12:00 n
	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
	WITZ*	990	Sun	4:45 p
	WITZ**	990	Sun	11:00 a
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WFAM-TV†	59	Fri	8:00 p
Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WSAL**	1230	Thurs	8:30 p
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420	Sun	6:00 p
	WIMS**	1420	Sun	7:30 p
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590		
	WPCO**	1590	Sun	4:00 p
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WLBC-TV†	49	Sat	7:00 p
New Castle	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:15 p
Peru	WCTW*	102.5	Sun	12:15 p
Portland	WARU*	1600		
	WPGW*	1440		
Salem	WPGW**	1440	Sun	3:00 p
	WSLM*	1220	Wed	11:00 a
	WSLM**	1220	Fri	11:00 a
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD**	1390	Sun	4:30 p
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WTHI-TV†	10	Tues	9:30 p
Vincennes	WAOV*	1450		
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW**	1580	Sun	11:30 a

*Facts Forum

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

. . . Your magazine is excellent. It is just what America needs — a magazine which presents all sides of issues.

The article in the June issue, "Food for Fighting," by Carl H. Jacob, is one of the most sensible articles I have read in a long, long time. What better way could there be to take a long step toward solving these two important national problems of farm surpluses and civil defense?

WESTON CRAM
Box 113
Popejoy, Iowa

Those articles on "Crusade For Freedom — Radio Free Europe" were magnificent.

WILLIAM DWYER
7317 S. Union Ave.
Chicago 21, Illinois

Your issue of June, 1956, was most interesting and informative. . . .

Thanks for your very stimulating publication; even though I can't agree with many of your contentions, at least it's nice to see what others think, and sometimes revise my own views accordingly.

CHARLES EDWARD GONTERMAN
422 West Chestnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Only recently, to my regret, did I learn of your publication, a much needed weapon in the fight all Americans must wage to protect their freedom from socialism and socialistic attempts to hide the facts.

DANIEL RITTER
1005 E. 60th Street
Room 525
Chicago 37, Illinois

I'm Dept. Chaplain for VFW in Louisiana, and I don't know what I would do if I should ever be without *Facts Forum News*. Your news and write-ups are completely satisfactory. Very interesting always.

BERNARD G. BOUDREAU
V. A. Hospital
Alexandria, Louisiana

We wish to thank you for permitting us to print the results of the [FFN] poll questions in "The Assembly." Our readers appreciate it. Keep up the good work.

CHARLES J. WEBER, Editor
THE ASSEMBLY
P. O. Box 411
Detroit 31, Michigan

Your *Facts Forum [News]* is terrific. I found your series, "The Communist Party, U.S.A.," highly interesting. All your articles are very informative.

DALE GUHL
407 Fifth Street
New Cumberland, Penn.

*March to June, 1956, issues inclusive.

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
Clinton	KROS†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Decorah	KDEC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KDEC*	1240	Sat	5:30 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:30 p
Fort Dodge	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:15 p
	KQTV-TV†	21	Thurs	6:30 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KGLO-TV†	3	Sun	5:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*	860		
Oelwein	KOEL*	950		
	KOEL**	950	Sun	7:00 p
Ottumwa	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Spencer	KICD†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV†	7	Sun	11:30 a

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB**	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	7:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Great Bend	KCKT-TV†	2	Thurs	5:00 p
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
McPherson	KNEX**	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sun	5:30 p
	KSEK**	1340	Sun	5:30 p

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL*	1290	Mon	5:45 a
Cumberland	WCMP†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WGRG†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW**	730		
	WFMW*	730	Sun	5:30 p
Mayfield	WTKM*	1050		
	WTKM**	1050		
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Tues	8:30 a
	WFLW**	1570	Thurs	8:30 a
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS**	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS**	1420		
Paducah	WPAD*	1450	Mon	9:05 p
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT**	960	To be announced	
Princeton	WPKY*	1580		
	WPKY**	1580		
Vanceleve	WMTC*	730		

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge	re-broadcast WJBO**	1150	Fri	9:45 p
	WJBO**	1150	Sun	8:15 a
Lafayette	KLFY-TV†	10	Fri	1:30 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV†	25	Thurs	9:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	12:00 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV†	8		
Natchitoches	KNOC*	1450	Sun	6:45 p
New Orleans	WJMR-TV†	20	Sun	7:30 p
	Retelcast WJMR**	990	Tues	7:00 p
	WJMR**	990	Sun	12:15 p
	WJMR**	990	Sun	3:00 p
Opelousas	KSLO*	990	Sun	8:15 p
	KSLO**	1230	Sun	7:00 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KTBS-TV†	3	Sun	1:00 p

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV†	2	Mon	10:30 p
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
New Bedford	WBSM*	1230	Sat	1:45 p

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV†	20	Mon	8:30 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WWTV-TV†	13	Sun	6:00 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240	Fri	12:45 p
Coldwater	WTVB*	1500	Sun	2:00 p
Detroit	WJBK*	1500	Sun	8:30 p
	WJBK-TV†	2	Sun	8:30 p
Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
Flint	WBBC†	1330	Mon	9:30 p

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

MICHIGAN — (Continued)

Grand Rapids	WFUR**	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR*	1570	Mon	5:30 p
Hillsdale	WBSE*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Iron River	WKBB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
Lansing	WTOM-TV†	54	Thurs	6:30 p
Midland	WMDN*	1490	Sun	3:45 p
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150	Sun	11:00 a
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKNX-TV*	57	Wed	2:30 p
	Retelecast		Sun	5:00 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR**	1230	Sun	
	WSTR*	1230		

MINNESOTA

Austin	KAUS†	1480	Mon	8:30 p
	KMMT-TV†	6	Sun	3:30 p
Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW†	1450	Sun	10:15 a
Grand Rapids	KOZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	9:45 p
	KEYD-TV†	9	Sun	2:00 p

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi	WVMI**	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI*	570	Sun	12:00 n
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Canton	WDOB*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOB**	1370	Sun	3:00 p
Cleveland	WCLD*	1490		
Columbus	WCBI*	550	Sun	3:15 p
	WCBI**	550		
	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
Greenwood	WGMR**	1240		
Gulfport	WGCM*	1240	Sun	10:15 a
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPF**	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	5:30 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO**	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Tupelo	WELO*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:15 p
	WROB**	1450		
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS-TV†	12	Sun	11:00 a
	KGMO**	1220		
Caruthersville	KCRV*	1570	Sun	4:15 p
Charleston	KCHR*	1350	To be announced	
	KCHR**	1350	Sun	3:30 p
Clinton	KDKD**	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Dexter	KDEX*	1590	Tues	10:15 p
	re-broadcast	12:15 p		
	KDEX**	1590	Sun	2:30 p
Festus	KJCF*	1010		
Flat River	KFMO*	1240		
	KFMO**	1240		
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLIK**	950	Sun	2:30 p
	KWVS†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WMBH**	1450	Sun	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV†	12		
Kansas City	KMBC-TV†	9	Sun	11:00 a
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Malden	KTCB*	1470	Sun	12:00 n
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM**	1230	Sun	2:00 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:00 p
	KWOC**	930	Wed	5:45 p
Rolla	KTRR*	1490	Mon	6:30 p
	KTRR**	1490		
St. Joseph	KEEQ-TV†	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
	KTVI-TV†	36	Mon	7:00 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSCM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSCM**	980	Sun	4:00 p
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Sikeston	KSIM*	1400	Mon	6:45 p
	KSIM**	1400		
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KICK**	1340	Sat	6:30 p
Thayer	KALM*	1290		
	KALM**	1290		

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	Wed	8:15 p
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLQ**	1450	Sat	
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:15 p
	KXLF**	1370	To be announced	
	KXLF-TV†	6	Sun	9:45 p
Glasgow	KLTZ*	1240	Wed	7:15 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLK**	1400	To be announced	
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:15 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ**	1240	To be announced	
Lewistown	KXLO**	1230		

*Facts Forum

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

A word of appreciation for the [book condensation in the June issue] on the "British Socialist Ill-Fare State." It is the most concise and understandable treatise on the subject I have ever seen. Should be read by every American citizen.

R. C. ELLIS
Collins, Mo.

Your magazine is in my opinion one of the best in the U.S.A. on current affairs.

L. J. ZYGMANSKI
2020 Seventh Ave., E.
Hibbing, Minnesota

May I at this time wish *Facts Forum [News]* all the success in the world. FFN certainly comes at a time when people are looking for the truth. A good many people have forgotten that they have a mind of their own, and should with that mind be able to arrive at the truth. A magazine such as *Facts Forum News* will give them that chance. The radio and television programs are also to be complimented for their presentations.

ALLEN C. BRADLEY
THE ADVOCATE
31 Clinton Street
Newark 2, N. J.

Facts Forum News is well named. Not only is it a forum for the exchange of ideas but it gives us the facts. The article on congressional committees* was most illuminating and helpful. It gave me the name of the very committeeman I so needed to write to on an important matter.

MATTHEW EPSTEIN
Hotel St. George
Clark Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

*"Your Miniature Congressional Directory," May, 1956, issue.

I am a sixteen-year-old high school student and I have gained much valuable knowledge of government workings through your magazine. I hope it goes on and on forever.

NORMAN KEYES
P. O. Box 154
Oaks, Penn.

My sincere congratulations to *Facts Forum [News]* for performing a fine public service in publishing in your magazine, "The Communist Party of the U.S.A."

PAUL W. KING
1365 Granger Ave.
Lakewood 7, Ohio

You might be interested in knowing that a teacher of history in our high school was so impressed with your magazine that he has had it placed in our library.

MRS. MARION CRAFT
14 Davis Street
East Rockaway, New York

MONTANA — (Continued)

Livingston	KPRK†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KATL*	1340	Sun	7:00 p
	KATL**	1340	Sat	7:00 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV†	13	Mon	9:00 p
Shelby	KIYH†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**	1450	Sun	4:00 p
	KCSR*	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Columbus	KJSK*	900	Tues	1:45 p
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Kerney	KHOL-TV†	13	Sat	6:00 p
Hays Center	KHPL-TV†	6	Sat	6:00 p
McCook	KBRL*	1300	Mon	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAC**	780	Sat	10:15 p
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p

NEVADA

Ely	KELY*	1230	Sun	2:30 p
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NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Pleasantville	WOND**	1400	Sun	5:30 p
South Orange	WSOU*		Mon	2:15 p
	WSOU**		Sat	5:00 p

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque	KHFH*	96.3	Tues	7:15 p
Carlsbad	KAVE*	1240	Tues	8:15 p
	KAVE**	1240	Wed	8:30 p
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
	KLMX**	1450	Sun	2:00 p
Clovis	KCLV*	1240	Sun	1:30 p
	KCLV**	1240		
Hobbs	KWEW†	1480	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN*	1230	Sun	1:45 p
Portales	KENM**	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KSWS-TV†	8	Mon	4:15 p
Truth or Consequences	KCHS**	1400	Sun	12:15 p
Tucumcari	KTNM*	1400		

NEW YORK

Albany	WPTR†	1540	Sun	9:30 p
Albany-Troy	WCDA-TV†	41	Fri	9:00 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490	Sun	10:30 p
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Fri	7:45 p
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410	Mon	7:15 p
Hornell	WWHG*	1320		1:00 p
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:15 p
Jamestown	WJTN**		Sun	2:30 p
Little Falls	WLFF*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
New York	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WOR-TV†	9	Sat	11:30 p
Niagara Falls	WJHL**		Sun	7:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLG**	1490	Sun	7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Brevard	WPNF*	1240	Mon	6:15 p
	WPNF**	1240	Sun	8:00 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410	Thurs	10:15 p
	WEGO**	1410	Sun	9:30 p
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Forest City	WBBO*	780	Mon	7:00 p
	WBBO**	780	Sun	5:30 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Henderson	WHNC*	890	Mon	10:00 p
Hickory	WIRC*	630	Sun	10:00 p
High Point	WNOS*	1590	Sun	9:30 p
Jacksonville	WJNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRH†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Lexington	WBUY*	1440	Sun	7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV†	28	Sat	5:00 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	1:15 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1430		
Salisbury	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	5:00 p
Washington	WHED**	1340	Sun	
	WHED*	1340		
Wilmington	WGNI*	1340	Mon	10:30 p
	WMFD-TV†	6	Sun	5:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV†	26	Sun	5:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Bismarck	KFYR-TV†	5	Tues	8:30 p
Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230	Sun	1:30 p
	KDIX*	1230	Thurs	8:15 p
Fargo	WDAY-TV†	6	Sat	4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	8:30 p
Valley City	KOVCF	1490	Mon	

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

OHIO

7:30 p	Ashtabula	WICA**	970	Sat	8:00 p
7:30 p	Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	5:30 p
7:00 p	Cleveland	WHK†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
7:00 p		WDOK*	1260	Sun	4:00 p
9:00 p	Columbus	WCOL**		Mon	9:30 p
9:00 p	Coshocton	WTNS*	1560	Sun	12:15 p
9:00 p	Dayton	WHIO*	1290		
7:30 p	Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	11:45 a
7:30 p		WEOL**	930	Sun	7:30 p
	Gallipolis	WJEH*	990	Sun	10:00 a
	Lima	WIMA-TV†	35	Sat	6:00 p
	Hamilton	WMOH*	1450	Sun	1:00 p
4:00 p	Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
4:00 p	Middletown	WFPB*	910	Mon	7:45 p
1:45 p	Newark	WPCL**	1430	Sun	6:30 p
8:30 p	Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
6:00 p		WSPD**	1370	Thurs	9:30 p
6:00 p	Warren-				
8:30 p	Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
10:15 p	Zanesville	WHIZ-TV†	18	Sun	1:00 p

OKLAHOMA

	Ada	KTEN-TV†	10	Sun	6:00 p
	Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
2:30 p	Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Thurs	10:15 a
	Cushing	KUSH*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
	Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
	Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
4:30 p	Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	8:00 p
5:30 p	Miami	KGLC*	910	Sun	5:00 p
2:15 p	Okmulgee	KHBB†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
5:00 p	Ponca City	WBBZ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	Poteau	KLCO**	1280		
	Pryor	KOLS*	1570	Thurs	10:15 a
		KOLS**	1570	Fri	10:15 a
7:15 p	Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
8:15 p	Tulsa	KVOO*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
8:30 p	Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
6:30 p		KSIW*	1450	Wed	7:45 p

OREGON

	Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
7:30 p	McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
1:45 p		KMCM**	1260	Wed	8:45 p
6:30 p	Oceanlake	KBCH*	1400		
4:15 p	Pendleton	KUMA*	1370		
	Portland	KXL*	750		
		KLOR-TV†	12		

PENNSYLVANIA

	Barnesboro	WNCC*	950	Fri	9:15 p
	Beaver Falls	WBUP**	1230	Sun	9:30 p
9:30 p	Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
9:00 p	Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun	4:30 p
10:30 p	Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 a
9:30 p	Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat	4:30 p
9:30 p		WFRM**	600	Sun	1:30 p
7:45 p	Easton	WGLV-TV†	57	Sun	9:00 p
1:15 p		WEST*	1400		
7:00 p	Gettysburg	WGET**	1450	Sun	8:00 p
7:15 p	Harrisburg	WCMB-TV†	27	Wed	7:30 p
2:30 p	Johnstown	WARD-TV†	56	Fri	10:00 p
1:30 p	Lock Haven	WBPZ†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	New Castle	WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	Oil City	WKRZ†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
11:30 p	Philadelphia	WJMJ*		Sun	12:30 p
7:00 p	Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	St. Marys	WKBI*	1400	Sun	12:45 p
7:00 p	Pittsburgh	WENS-TV†	16	Thurs	10:30 p
9:30 p	Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	Tyrone	WTRN*	1290	Sun	1:00 p
		WTRN**	1290	Sun	12:30 p
6:15 p	Wellsboro	WNB†	1490	Sat	9:00 p
8:00 p		WNB**	1490	Sun	9:00 p
10:15 p	Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	7:00 p
9:30 p		WLYC**	1050	Mon	7:15 p
9:30 p	York	WNOW*	1250	Sun	6:30 p
5:30 p		WNOW**	1250	Sun	3:30 p
12:30 p		WNOW-TV†	49	Sun	8:00 p

PHILIPPINES

	Manila	DZAQ-TV†	3	Mon	9:00 p
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PUERTO RICO

9:30 p	Mayaguez	WTLI**	1300		
9:30 p	San Juan	WHOA**	1400	Tues	7:00 p

RHODE ISLAND

	Providence	WICE**		Sun	5:30 p
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SOUTH CAROLINA

	Beaufort	WBUE*	960	Sun	2:00 p
	Bishopville	WAGS*	1380	Sat	4:15 p
9:30 p	Charleston	WCSC-TV†	5	Sun	4:00 p
9:30 p	Cheraw	WCRE*	1420	Tues	10:45 a
9:30 p	Chester	WGCD*	1490	Sat	7:30 p
5:00 p		WGCD**	1490	Sat	6:30 p
	Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	Florence	WJMX**	970	Thurs	10:30 p
10:30 p	Georgetown	WOLS*	1230	Mon	9:15 p
5:30 p	Greenwood	WGTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	Mullins	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
		WJAY*	1280	Sun	5:15 p
		WJAY**	1280	Sun	5:30 p
8:30 p	Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	5:15 p
8:30 p	Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p
1:30 p	Sumter	WFIG†	1290	Mon	9:30 p

SOUTH DAKOTA

	Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
8:15 p	Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
4:30 p		KRSD*	1340	Sun	5:45 p
8:30 p	Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

*Facts Forum

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I was able to send an old copy of your wonderful magazine (January, 1956) to some English reading officers who are at present enlisted in the Free Chinese Army (garrisoned on the Matsu Islands facing the mainland of China).

This is what they wrote to me in Chinese: "After being stationed out here for ten months, we very rarely can get hold of English magazines from America. . . . the few we can get are either about Hollywood or life in New York City. . . . this *Facts Forum News* (although I have never heard about it before) surpasses any magazine or periodical I have read that is printed in postwar America. . . . It is indeed a true warrior. . . . I was able through my limited knowledge of the English language to translate some of the articles in our own language (Chinese) and had them posted on the army bulletin board. We like that article, 'A Long Look Behind the Soviet Peace Offensive,' especially . . . it is indeed written with a pen of truth. . . ."

GEORGE TSENG
919 Speight St.
Waco, Texas

FACTS FORUM represents people with a purpose and a forum with a focus. I sincerely believe if *Facts Forum [News]* found its way into every home in America - America would soon rid itself of communism. FACTS FORUM has "an ax to grind" so let's all sharpen it to chop out the undesirable in our American way of life.

MRS. CATHERINE ROBINSON
Forest Hills
Kingsport, Tennessee

FFN is the best magazine on the market. And I hope you can make the American people realize what is happening to the country. You certainly are trying.

Thank you so much for the June number. I have enjoyed it. . . . God bless you, and give you strength and courage to carry on.

VALERIA MOORE
Shenandoah Junction, W. Va.

One of the most unique and inspiring features of *Facts Forum News* is the monthly poll in which we the people are allowed the opportunity of casting our vote, thus giving us a feeling of kinship and freedom of choice in the affairs of government, which is, after all, the AMERICAN way.

Our thanks to *Facts Forum News* for this great privilege in which we should all participate.

ELIZABETH HAMM
535 South Gramercy Place
Los Angeles 5, Calif.

May God bless you for the encouraging, heartlifting, heartwarming, patriotic campaign. Don't give up.

MRS. EDWIN WEISSENBERGER
1422 Yates Street
Toledo 8, Ohio

TENNESSEE

	Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	Clarksville	WDXN*	540	Sun	2:15 p
	Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	Dyersburg	WDSC*	1450	Thurs	5:30 p
		WDSC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	Etowah	WCPH*	1220	Sun	2:15 p
	Harriman	WHBT*	1230		
		WHBT**	1230		
	Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	9:15 p
		WTJS**	1390	Mon	9:30 p
		WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
	Johnson City	WJHL-TV†	11	Sun	2:00 p
	Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
		WTUK-TV†	26	Sun	9:30 p
	Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
	Lebanon	WCOR*	900	Sun	2:00 p
	Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
	Maryville	WGAP*	1400	Sun	9:00 p
	Memphis	WBHQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
	Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	Murfreesboro	WGN**	1450	Sat	11:30 a
	Newport	WLK**	1270		
	Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	2:30 p
		WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
	Sevierville	WSEV*	930	Sun	4:15 p
	South Pittsburgh	WEPG*	910	To be announced	
		WEPG**	910	To be announced	
	Springfield	WDBL*	1430	Sun	2:15 p
	Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
	Winchester	WCDF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

TEXAS

	Abilene	KWKX*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
	Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Fri	7:00 p
		KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
		KGNC-TV†	4		
	Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
	Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
		KIBL**	1490	Mon	7:00 p
	Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
		KBST-TV†	4	Wed	6:30 p
	Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
		KFYN**	1420	Sat	9:00 a
	Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	12:45 p
	Brenham	KWHI**	1280	Sun	1:30 p
	Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	7:00 p
	Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
	Carrizo Springs	KBEN**	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	Clarksville	KCAR*	1350	Sun	1:45 p
	Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
	Colorado City	KVMC*	1320	Sun	12:30 p
	Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Fri	7:00 p
		KVDO-TV†	22	Tues	6:00 p
	Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
		KIVY**	1290	Tues	1:00 p
	Dallas	KRLD-TV†	4	Sat	3:30 p
		WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
		WFAA**	570	Mon	10:30 p
		WRR†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
	Eastland	KERC**	1590	Sun	4:00 p
	El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	9:45 a
		KROD-TV†	4		
	Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	Galveston	KLUF*	1400	Sat	6:15 p
		KLUF**	1400	Sun	7:00 p
	Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
	Hillsboro	KHBR*	1500		
	Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
	Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	Jacksonville	KEBE*	1400	Sun	7:00 p
	Junction	KMBL*	1450	Mon	6:30 p
	Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
	Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	12:00 n
		KINE**	1330	Sat	5:30 p
	Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:05 p
	Laredo	KHAD-TV†	8	Thurs	7:30 p
	Levelland	KLVT**	1230	Sun	1:00 p
	Littlefield	KVOW**	1490	Sun	7:30 p
	Longview	KLTI*	1280	Sun	3:30 p
		KFRO*	1370	Sun	12:15 p
	Lubbock	KDUB-TV†	11	Sun	1:00 p
	Lufkin	KTRE-TV†	9	Tues	10:30 p
		KTRE**	1420	Sun	5:00 p
	Midland	KMID-TV†	2	Sun	
		KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
		KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:00 n
	Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960	Sun	12:30 p
	Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
	Pampa	KPAT*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
	Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p
	Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Sat	8:00 a
	Post	KRWS*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
	San Angelo	KTXL-TV†	8	Sun	3:30 p
		KTXL**	1340	Sun	1:00 p
	San Antonio	WOAT*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	Snyder	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	1:45 p
	Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
	Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
		KPAR-TV	12		
	Texarkana	KTFP*	1400	Sun	4:45 p
		KCMC-TV†	6	Sun	11:00 a
	Texas City	KTLW**	920	Sun	3:00 p

(Continued on Page 63)

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

Members of the giveaway party in Congress (composed of Republicans and Democrats) wholly fail to take heed of the ancient Persian proverb: "I never gave a friend a bow who did not in the end use me for a target."

CHARLES H. FORWARD
1220 San Diego Trust &
Savings Building
San Diego 1, California

ASKS CONGRESS' SUPPORT OF SECURITY SPENDING

To the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*:

President Eisenhower's \$4.5 billion security program is a liberal and equitable solution to halt Russia's economic drive to win over the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. Although it will receive much opposition on Capitol Hill, where it has been termed staggering and fantastic, it meets the realities of the world situation.

If we are to halt Russia's drive towards world domination, we must render every possible economic, military, and technical assistance. Only by such assistance can we bring underprivileged nations to the realization that freedom and the right to self-government are God-given privileges. This country, with its great wealth and resources, has the obligation to share these resources with less fortunate nations. Our mutual security program has reaped greater returns than we thought possible. We are enjoying a great era of prosperity by reason of that aid.

Our own security demands that Congress give the president's program its unanimous support.

MISS MARIE G. MORRISON
1605 West Allegheny Ave.
Philadelphia 32, Penna.

COMPARES U. S. AND CYPRUS

To the *Birmingham Post-Herald*:

In reference to your editorial on Cyprus:

When a handful of people in the 13 original colonies of these glorious United States of America decided to war with Great Britain for their independence, they did not stop to think who would gain what.

Let us not condemn our Greek friends for something we ourselves fought for at any cost — our freedom.

XANTHI HAHAMIS
5400 8th Ave., South
Birmingham, Alabama

STEERING WHEEL SENSE

To the *Nashville Banner*:

If the steering wheel of an automobile could think, its thoughts might run like this: "I'm just a steering wheel. I was made for pleasure and usefulness. You can make me take the children to school; you can turn me down the road to town;

you can make me rush the sick to the hospital; you can make me go places fast. Yet from carelessness, before a clock can strike, I can cause great disaster.

"I can twist a smile into tears. I can wreck and cripple and destroy. I can deal out death like the plague, and I'm no respecter of persons. I'm sensitive. I respond to the hands. Give me careful hands and I'm your friend. Give me reckless hands and I'm your enemy.

"I was made to move for pleasure and to be useful. Keep me this way. Your hands can guide me. It's up to you. I'm just a steering wheel. You are the boss."

MRS. J. H. CRUSE
Madison, Tennessee

COMMANDMENTS FOR JUVENILES

To the *Dallas News*:

Under date line Boston, Massachusetts, the following appeared in the *Atlanta Journal*:

The Boston School committee has adopted what it calls commandments for pupils in grades 7 through 12. The committee directed that the "Commandments" be read bi-weekly to all pupils of those grades and a copy be posted in each classroom.

The so-called commandments:

1. Don't let your parents down; they've brought you up.
2. Stop and think before you drink.
3. Be smart, obey. You'll give orders yourself some day.
4. Ditch dirty thoughts fast or they'll ditch you.
5. Show-off driving is juvenile; don't act your age.
6. Pick the right friends to be picked for a mate.
7. Choose a date fit for a mate.
8. Don't go steady unless you're ready.
9. Love God and neighbor.
10. Live carefully. The soul you save may be your own.

HULL S. VINING
4815 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas

POLITICAL CRUTCHES

To the *Christian Science Monitor*:

In your recent editorial, "To Tailor Farm Aid," specific instances of farm aid are cited, ranging from \$180,000 to \$1,292,000, on which is predicated the question, "Is it necessary to subsidize (national surpluses at \$2 per bushel) big (mechanized) farmers (some of whom produce wheat at \$1 per bushel) heavily, to help little ones slightly?"

The editorial answer implies it is not necessary.

Does not this problem arise from the propensity of careerist politicians to tinker with the nation's economy?

On the plausible pretext of wet-nursing "infant industries," the so-called protective tariff fathered monopolistic combinations of tariff beneficiaries.

Informed farmers know subsidies violate both morals and sound economics, but so long as America officially main-

RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

TEXAS — (Continued from page 59)

Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Waxahachie	KBEC*	1390		
Weslaco	KRGV*	1290	Wed.	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV†	5	Mon	10:15 p
Wichita Falls	KSVD-TV†	10	Sun	5:00 p

UTAH

Brigham City	KBUH*	800		
	KBUH**	800		
Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Ogden	KVOG*	1490	Sun	4:45 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Vernal	KUEL*	1340	Mon	5:15 p
	KUEL**	1340	Sun	8:00 p

VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN**	1340	Sun	6:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted,				
St. Croix	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Thomas	WSTA**	1340	To be announced	

VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
Alexandria	WPIK**		Sun	
Bedford	WBLT†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Clifton Forge	WCFV*	1230	Sun	12:45 p
Crewe	WSVS*	800	Sun	4:30 p
Galax	WBOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340		
	WHAP**	1340	Tues	7:00 p
Newport News	WACH**	1270	To be announced	
	WACH*	1270		

Norfolk-				
Hampton	WVEC-TV†	15	Sat	5:00 p
Richmond	WMBG*	1380	Fri	7:30 p
Roanoke	WSLS-TV†	10	Sun	2:00 p
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun	5:30 p
Suffolk	WLPM*	1450	Sun	7:45 p
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced	
Win-				
chester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p
	WRFL**	1400		

WASHINGTON

Chehalis-Centralia	KITI*	1420	Sun	12:30 p
Chehalis	KITI**	1420		
Colfax	KCLX*	1450		
Colville	KCVL*	1480	Sun	9:15 a
	KCVL**	1480	Sun	5:00 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	KSEM**	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE**	1150	Sun	1:30 p
Seattle	KTVW-TV†	13	Mon	9:30 p
Spokane	KXLY-TV†	4	Sun	11:00 p
Sunnyside	KREW*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p
	KMO**			
Walla Walla	KUJ*	1490		

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Clarksburg	KPDX**	750		
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1470	Mon	9:30 p
Martinsburg	WEPM**	1340	Sun	10:00 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
	WCLG*	1300		
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri	10:00 a
	WETZ**	1330		
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV†	4	Tues	10:00 p
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400		
	WRON**	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun	7:45 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 p

WISCONSIN

Appleton	WBHY†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Green Bay	WPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 p
	WMBV-TV	11		
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
La Crosse	WLCX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	12:15 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Portage	WPDR**	1350	Sun	4:00 p
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	Sat	7:30 p
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR*	910	Sun	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	
Wausaw	WSAU-TV	7		

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Sun	7:15 p
Lander	KOVE†	1330	Mon	7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Sun	11:30 a

*Facts Forum

**Topic of the Week

†Reporters' Roundup (Radio & TV)

tains the political-"crutch" principle, farmers, in self-defense, demand the crutch for themselves also.

ALBERT CORNELL
Middletown, Idaho

STEP TOO FAR

To the *Dallas Times Herald*:

According to a recent report, a lady of one of the southern states has been denied the privilege of registering as a voter because she answered "no" to a question as to whether she would bear arms for the United States. Her reason was, "By reason of religious beliefs, I am conscientiously opposed to combat services. I will

perform any non-combat service required of me."

I am not a conscientious objector, and I do not concur with their beliefs, but in view of the fact the Supreme Court has ruled that a person may defend the Constitution by means other than bearing arms, I believe denying right of suffrage is taking a step too far. So long as any sincere conscientious objector stands ready, willing, and able to perform any possible non-combatant service required, that person should never be deprived of any rights of citizenship.

G. R. HILL
Box 263
Seagoville, Texas

SPEAKING OF LABOR

Anti-Trust Laws (Continued from page 31)

who sought to gain added profits from a constant supply of cheap labor, to keep wages depressed, to hire and fire at whim, to eliminate the expense of good working conditions, to extend the working day as served their purpose.

There were those who maintained that the labor union actually was a combination in restraint of trade. The historic Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890 among other things declared illegal every contract combination in the form of trust or otherwise or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations. The cry arose that this provision applied with equal force to the labor unions. A series of cases in the courts disclosed the danger that unless Congress acted specifically, this interpretation would prevail and destroy forever the principle of free collective bargaining.

In 1914 the Congress did act specifically under the provisions of the Clayton Act, declaring:

The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor organizations or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof. Nor shall such organizations be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies and restrained trade under the anti-trust laws.

I direct your attention to the words in the Act, "the legitimate objectives." When the acts of the labor union, therefore, in conspiracy with management, result in price-fixing, or when labor unions enter into combines to re-

strict production, allocate areas, or fix prices, then the labor union is no more immune than any other combination acting to restrain competition. If labor unions conspire with employer groups toward monopolistic ends they are not immune to the anti-trust laws.

To bring labor unions within the purview of the anti-trust laws as such, would be to strike a blow against the collective strength of the workingman. There might appear to be a greater advantage to management in lower wages, fewer holidays, no fringe benefits, and so forth, but in the long run the economy of the country would suffer bitterly, which in turn would reflect management's problems.

The high standard of living brought about through the process of collective bargaining has resulted in increased consumer purchase, increased demands for goods, increased production, and the sum total of economic gain both for management and for labor.

I repeat the language of the Act, "The labor of the human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." More than that, finally, I say that the human being himself is not a commodity or an article of commerce.

★ ★

REPRESENTATIVE HIESTAND: Why do we Americans enjoy the highest standard of living the world has ever known? Why? It's no secret. It's because we've learned to work together. It's because the machinist, the miner, the small businessman, and the corporation executive all form an efficient

industrial team. Each depends upon the other for a raw material, a finished product, or a means of livelihood.

To protect this team we have passed laws. Some guarantee the rights of individuals to work under our free enterprise system. Others prevent people from creating monopolies that work against the best interests of all the people. These anti-monopoly laws are effective today in controlling mergers and the size of corporations, but they contain a loophole that makes them pitifully weak in protecting the average workingman. This loophole is the exemption given to labor organizations. I'm not tilting at windmills. This labor monopoly has already happened. Its cancer has already broken out in scores of instances which form a quickly discernible pattern.

Today in a growing number of cities, the price of your milk at home is set not by the store owner where you shop, but by the local union leader. The same is true in the dry cleaning and laundry field, and in others where unions have stopped competition by putting independent firms out of business. Small business especially has been victimized, in many cases liquidated. A number of newspapers have been forced to close. Farm truckers headed to New York City have been compelled to stop and pay an extra day's wages for not carrying an unneeded union helper.

During the 1954 Kohler strike, the CIO United Auto Workers imported 2,500 big city goons from Detroit and elsewhere. For fifty-four days these hoodlums terrorized the small Wisconsin village. The issue was compulsory unionism. The CIO had elected Kohler for a rich harvest of dues, whether the employees wanted to join or not. Walter Reuther, President of the U.A.W., and in my book the nation's number one Socialist, masterminded the Kohler violence. Today he ranks high in the gigantic AFL-CIO power bloc, a bloc which has as its goal the unionization of practically all workers in our country. Its power is immense. From its 70,000 locals and 200 national unions it extracts \$500 million a year in dues alone. It owns gorgeous buildings, it controls banks, it has great investments in Wall Street. Its welfare funds are colossal. Its combined treasuries and resources dwarf the nation's largest corporation. And all this is under the control of men whose disregard for law and order and whose goal of state socialism is well-known. There's no bargaining

you know, with state socialism.

Yet your government cannot act. It's powerless because of a highly questionable bit of reasoning in our statutes. A clause says that "The labor of a human being is not a commodity nor an article of commerce." This no one disputes, but from this premise the law reasons illogically that therefore a union cannot create a monopoly. Now things don't conspire to create monopolies — people do, whether they wear the company tag or the union label. People control what is sold and what is not sold. A conspiracy is a human thing, pure and simple. To say that a labor organization cannot create a monopoly is sheer nonsense, yet these union bosses ask us to believe this nonsense in order to drive a wedge between the worker and his employer. They would create a class struggle and just what Socialist Karl Marx wanted.

Recently I conducted a poll among thousands of voters in a district I represent. Eighty-six per cent of those answering voted in favor of applying anti-monopoly laws to labor unions. The poll included many good union workers who comprise a large segment of that district. This overwhelming sentiment convinced me of the need of a bill to remove the exemption of labor unions from anti-monopoly laws. My mail, most of it from union men, has been decisively in the bill's favor. My bill was introduced on behalf of the union worker. It would restore to him the protection of the federal courts, his rights under the Constitution. If unions are sincerely opposed to monopolies, if they're seriously interested in the welfare of the worker and of the nation, then they will give this bill their full support.

END

PRESS, PROMOTION, and PROPAGANDA

(Continued from page 36)

Moscow propaganda machine within the satellite countries. I am against it."

"As you see it then, sir," summarized Mr. Hurleigh, "either way we would lose propaganda-wise. If we sent our people over they would propagandize it to create the effect they wish, and if we by any chance should invite Bulganin and Khrushchev to come to this country, it would..."

"It would be the worst thing we could do," said Mr. Castle. END

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FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes August 1

Yes No

- Do politicians respect the judgment of the American people?
- Should NATO have a voice in disbursing our foreign aid?
- Can the efforts of an enlightened citizen combat communism?
- Should Bulganin and Khrushchev be invited to visit the U. S.?
- Should all Communists be expelled from the United States?
- Has television affected the nation's readers?
- Do you have confidence in the present Supreme Court?
- Should American servicemen be tried by foreign courts?
- Do we publicize our new weapons of war too much?
- Should federal control of railroad rates be terminated?
- Should television be installed in public schools?
- Would a southern walkout benefit the Democrats in the long run?
- Should government businessmen disclose their financial holdings?
- Should more consideration be given small businessmen?

Remarks _____

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) NO. AND ST. CITY AND STATE

• **PLEASE NOTE:** A voter may indicate his answers on the above form or may list them on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which he has no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mail them to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). His votes, shown in this manner, represent his ballot in the Facts Forum Poll.

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- I enclose \$5 for a two-year subscription.

% Yes

JUNE POLL RESULTS

- 93 Are Presidents picked by politicians rather than the people?
- 38 Should rural development program for low-income farm families be expanded?
- 90 Should we first feed our own Indians before giving to foreign aid?
- 91 Should voters be given a choice on foreign policy and foreign spending?
- 33 Do TV interviews of statesmen do more harm than good?
- 6 Should any agency be beyond investigation by Congress?
- 27 Should Soviet Russian tourists be permitted to visit U.S.A.?
- 98 Should voters write their congressmen about bills coming up for a vote?
- 90 Is excessive taxation destroying private enterprise?
- 84 Are our state laws too lenient regarding juvenile misdemeanors?
- 62 Should more languages be taught in our public schools?
- 83 Should mental tests be required of drivers having three serious accidents?
- 87 Do you oppose the regimentation of American agriculture?
- 87 Is the UN a modern-day Trojan horse in America?

SLOGAN FOR AUGUST, 1956

Have Your Say — This Is Your U. S. A.

Submitted by MRS. LOUIS BOECKMAN, 6802 Forbes, El Paso, Texas

Poll Question Winners For August, 1956

An award of \$10.00 has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

1st question: BAXTER B. AKERS
P. O. Box 23
Mt. Blanchard, Ohio

2nd question: MRS. VIRGINIA B. ALMORE
356 North Craig Street
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

3rd question: MRS. L. B. ANDERSON
P. O. Box 598
Butte, Montana

4th question: DONALD BURNS
204 South Main Street
Providence, Rhode Island

5th question: THOMAS JAMES CURRIE
1630 K Street
Lincoln, Nebraska

6th question: MICHAEL DERTZO
54 Crown Street
New Haven, Connecticut

7th question: JAMES D. EDWARDS
Hq. Sq. Section, 3800th AB Wing
Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama

8th question: JOHN M. HANLEY
800 University Avenue
Palo Alto, California

9th question: MRS. COLEMAN M. LAMP
805 Fifth Street
St. Marys, West Virginia

10th question: MRS. EVELYN B. MAIER
1925 Sharp Place
Houston 19, Texas

11th question: P. EVERETT SPERRY
Lawrence, Kansas

12th question: JAMES H. STRICKLAND
4309 Parkway
Fairfield, Alabama

13th question: G. WELCH
Room 1508-Ponya
111 Eighth Avenue
New York 11, New York

14th question: ELIZABETH WENTWORTH
67 Morton Street
New York 14, New York

Every state in the Union has a share in the comparatively young history and culture of America. A glimpse into yesteryear brings to mind the ancestry and the tradition that dwells in the historic archives of each of the forty-eight states.

A pictorial series, with descriptive background, is inaugurated on this page and the back cover, and will be continued in succeeding issues of Facts Forum News. Featured will be a shrine in commemoration of an honored person or site, or a place of historical significance depicting the contribution made to the heritage of our country.



Arkansas'

OLD STATE HOUSE IN LITTLE ROCK FAITHFULLY RESTORED TO ITS ORIGINAL BEAUTY

★ THE OLD STATE HOUSE, center of almost a century of Arkansas history, is acclaimed as one of the finest examples of antebellum architecture in the South.

The building, located on the site of an Indian burial ground, commands a view of the Arkansas River and the spacious, tree-shadowed grounds are bound by streets on every side. The central Greek Doric "temple" and flanking wings have been immortalized by artists in paintings, etchings, silhouettes, and seriographs.

Milestones of state history are recorded here — the inauguration of a first governor . . . meetings of legislatures from 1836 to 1910 . . . two secession conventions . . . four of the five constitutional conventions. Here a pioneer speaker of the House of Representatives once stabbed to death a fellow-legislator in argument over bounty on wolf scalps; here a fancy dress ball was held to honor Arkansas officers returned from the Mexican War; and here, for a wager, it is said that half a dozen men from the city's prominent families tried to ride horses up the inside spiral stairs.

From this building, state government fled when Little Rock was occupied by Union forces in September of 1863. On the grounds, Yankee soldiers were photographed on dress parade and within the walls carpetbag rule once held sway. Here occurred the first conflict of the Brooks-Baxter War, memorialized by the old cannon, "Lady Baxter," still standing guard on the front lawn.

The neo-classic simplicity of the Old State House was designed by a Kentuckian, Gideon Shryock. Plans were put into execution by George Weigart, Little Rock, supervising architect, and brought to completion by John Wassell. The building was finished in 1840, at a cost of \$123,379, financed through sale of land grants and by cash appropriations.

Changes came in 1885 brought about by normal growth and expansion of statehood. Arkansas counties increased from 34 to 75 and legislature outgrew original quarters. Open courts, linking the wings to the Doric center section, were converted into two-storied office space, with wrought iron balustrades at upper balconies. The central portion of the building was extended northward to increase the size of the back legislative hall above, and to provide office room below. With the expansion of the north chamber, the House and Senate exchanged meeting places.

Arkansas' Old State House has taken its place among the treasured shrines of a people rich in history and tradition. It stands as a monument in the long road from that September 13, 1836, when James Conway stood in the front legislative chamber and said, "Fellow citizens, the date of our existence as a free and independent state has commenced."

— Photo on back cover courtesy of Arkansas Publicity and Parks Commission



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