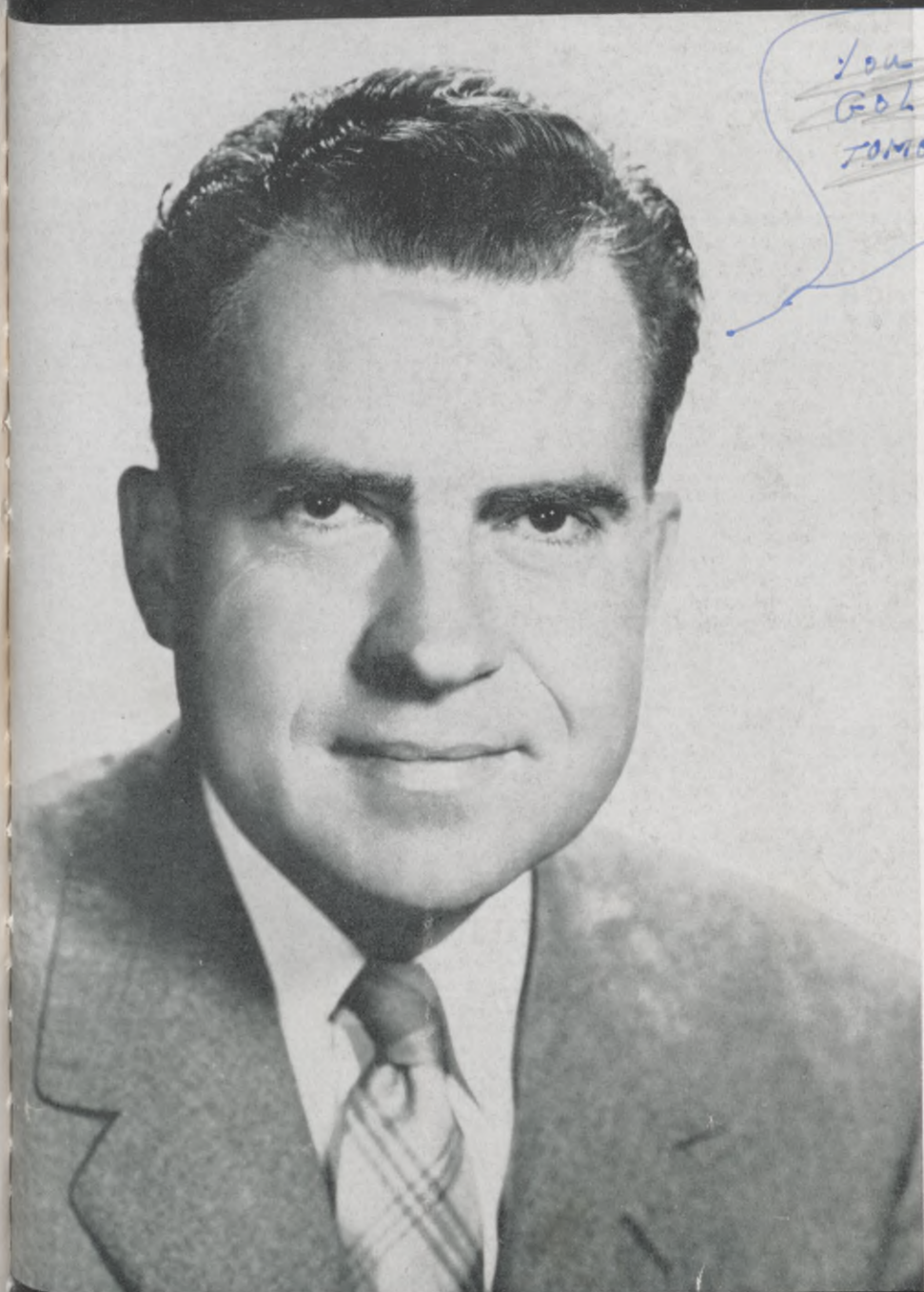


FACTS FORUM



Makes the Public Interest of Interest to the Public



*You have
Golf that two o'clock
tomorrow*

Raising Votes Down on the Farm

NIXON

•
STEVENSON

•
KEFAUVER

IT'S YOUR BUSINESS -- Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi

FABULOUS FROZEN FRONTIER

INTERVIEW OF ADMIRAL BYRD

Labor's December Wedding

Readers Report . . .

Our "Committees of Correspondence"

Mrs. Letha E. Painter, P. O. Box 753, Victorville, California, writes regarding the mental health bills, "Surely, Facts Forum must know that they are vicious in the extreme. You must also know that their passage means the end of free speech. These bills are on a national scale, and our President is urging their passage. I doubt he even knows what is in them.

"Also," she writes, "Bill H. R. 5418 would 'prohibit the transmission through the mails of communications intended to incite hostilities among individuals and classes . . . on account of differences of race, color, religion or national origin, etc. . . . This carries with it the penalty of \$5,000.00 fine or imprisonment or both. Such letters, pamphlets, books, circulars, etc. (like the above, which intend to incite hostilities, etc.) are to be considered as non-mailable. Personal letters, if 'suspect,' may be opened by authorities to note their contents. This is another bill which I think all patriotic publications should expose, yet I know of none who are doing so. Are these organizations afraid to publicize them?"

According to *Free Enterprise*, the newspaper associated with the "We, The People" movement, postage canceling machines from Oklahoma post offices are pouring out envelopes and cards by the thousands stamped "Support Mental Health." The article states: "Mental Healthers haven't as yet given us a single definition. They do tell us of some of the 'symptoms' of those suffering from wrong mental health, such as 'tendencies which reflect unhealthy thinking toward the United Nations, and adherence to a system of 'labeling' which include the 'boogy of communism. . . .'"

CIO Political Lobby

The CIO California Industrial Union Council has devised a means of creating a pressure group for labor by setting up a "Legislative Secretarial Service," which will send to laborers or their families individually typed letters addressed to their congressmen, senators (U. S. or state) or assemblymen concerning issues which are "important, timely and controversial." All the recipient need do is sign and place the letter in the already stamped and addressed envelope which the Legislative Service will enclose with it. Also enclosed will be a carbon for the workers' files.

According to the CIO form letter announcing this service, "the point of view expressed will be based on liberal-labor attitudes which most liberals generally hold." Issues referred to are "minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, housing, child care centers, and the like." The letter concludes, "Professional lobbyists have this kind of service. So do many business executives. We just thought it would be a good idea to provide the same kind of service to those of you who would like to be amateur lobbyists more often."

Will This Be Smart?

We learn also from John Crippen's column, "Grass Roots," in *Free Enterprise*, that Columbia pictures has engaged Mrs. Gary Merrill [Bette Davis] to star in a movie called "The

Of, by, and for Facts Forum News readers

Librarian," financed in part by The Fund for the Republic.

"It will be filmed," the article states, "according to local news-hawks, near the home of Anne Smart . . . who, in case you've forgotten, starred in real-life drama opposing smutty, obscene, and subversive textbooks which were defended by a certain commentator, formerly of the ALCOA show."

(Any similarity will, of course, be purely coincidental?)

American Legion Reply to the Ray Murphy Report on UNESCO

The Americanism Committee of the American Legion, 8th District, 2320 Danville St., Houston 6, Texas, has published an informative analysis of the Ray Murphy report on UNESCO. Copies may be obtained for \$1 each.

James Monroe Memorial Foundation

The James Monroe Memorial Foundation, a tax-free educational institution, was incorporated in 1947 at Fredericksburg, Virginia. Its purposes are to maintain and preserve the James Monroe Law Office in Fredericksburg, in which James Monroe, fifth President of the United States and author of the Monroe Doctrine, began his law practice in the 1780's, to raise funds with which to add a new wing to the law office to house original correspondence of James Monroe with prominent men of his day and a complete reference library on James Monroe and his times, including a number of his original books, to re-educate the public in the Monroe Doctrine and the ideals which prompted its enunciation, to promote the friendship and understanding among the American republics which Monroe espoused, and to cooperate with the Monroe Birthplace Monument Association in creating a memorial park to James Monroe in Westmoreland County, Virginia.

Inquiries concerning the history and background of the Monroe Doctrine, as well as

inquiries regarding the foundation itself, may be addressed to the James Monroe Memorial Foundation, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

A reproduction of the Monroe Doctrine on parchment-type paper is also available at twenty-five cents each.

The Golden West Sees Red

Charles E. Plant, Past President of Federal Post 315, American Legion, has sent us photographs, one of which is shown below, of some of the twenty-nine murals which were painted on the walls of the Rincon Annex Post Office, a government building in San Francisco, eight years ago by Anton Refregier, who has been on the FBI and House Un-American Activities Committee lists since 1930 for his association with all the Communist publications in the United States. These murals, approved by the Roosevelt administration, although not completed until 1948, were intended to depict the glory and romance of California history.

Californians have fought unceasingly to have the murals removed during these eight years. The American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Native Sons of the Golden West, Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Society of Western Artists, all have deplored the distortion of California's history represented by these murals.

On June 10, 1953, the California State Senate passed the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The mural paintings are not only historically inaccurate, but also, by magnifying class struggle, racial hatred and discrimination, labor strife, violence and corruption far out of proportion to their true importance in the history of California, cast an unfavorable light on the character of the indomitable and courageous pioneers, who, with their hands and hearts, tamed a wilderness; . . . be it

"RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, That the Senate of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States of America to effect the immediate removal of the mural paintings from the lobby of the Rincon Post Office Building, San Francisco, California. . . ."

"The State Senate of California," writes Mr. Plant, "find themselves in the same position as the American Legion. The only way that these can be properly removed is by order from Washington." This has not been forthcoming.

Should someone repeat to Mr. Plant the old "saw" that it won't do any good to send letters to Washington any more—for Washington is dead?

One of Anton Refregier's twenty-nine murals on the walls of the Rincon Annex Post Office, San Francisco, in which the United States flag is shown immediately below the British flag, sandwiched between the British flag and a flag bearing the hammer and sickle of communism. Note the large iron claw, the figure of Justice, gagged, in the background, and in the foreground a swastika and burning books.



DECEMBER, 1955

Official publication of Facts Forum, Inc., 1710 Jackson Street, Dallas 1, Texas. Published monthly in the interests of Facts Forum participants and others concerned with dispelling public apathy. Any article originating in FACTS FORUM NEWS may be freely reproduced. Second-class mailing privileges authorized at Dallas, Texas. Printed in U.S.A.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES in the U.S. and U.S. possessions, \$2 per year, \$5 for three years. All other countries, \$3 per year. To subscribe, see page 61.

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Photo Credit: Page 41, Sir John Cockcroft, Wide World Photo

COVER: The farm problem promises to be one of the hottest political issues in the 1956 presidential election. Vice President Richard Nixon, widely considered as a leading contender for the Republican nomination should the President decline to run, is a strong supporter of the present Administration's farm policy.

Provocative Prose

Be not deceived by strange voices heard across the land, decrying this old and proven concept of patriotism. From the very beginning it has been the main bulwark of our national strength and integrity.

—General Douglas MacArthur

The future of the Republic depends upon the character of its citizenship. We are not building permanently unless the youth of our land are made fully acquainted with the meaning of American citizenship. We must give patriotism a vitality which will find expression in service.

—Thomas R. Marshall

In my own private concern with mankind, I have observed that to kick a little when under imposition has a good effect. A little sturdiness when superiors are much in the wrong sometimes occasions consideration. And there is truth in the old saying that if you make yourself a sheep, the wolves will eat you.

—Benjamin Franklin

Let us by all wise and constitutional measures promote intelligence among the people as the best means of preserving our liberties.

—James Monroe

If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that, too.

—W. Somerset Maugham

We cannot forget the saying of Lenin to the effect that a great deal depends . . . in delaying war with the capitalist countries, which is inevitable, but which may be delayed either until proletarian revolution ripens in Europe or until the colonial revolution comes fully to a head, or finally until the capitalists fight amongst themselves . . . therefore the maintenance of peaceful relations with capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us. The basis of our relations with capitalist countries consists in admitting the coexistence of two opposed systems. —Stalin (1927)

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Be sure to list the authors and sources of all quotations.

With the farm problem promising to be a major issue in the presidential election next year, public interest in the plans of the political parties to win farm votes in 1956 has been growing.

Statements on this all-important subject by three political leaders who have been consistently mentioned as possible presidential candidates are given here. Republican Vice President Richard Nixon defends the administration's farm program, while Adlai E. Stevenson, 1952 Democratic presidential candidate, and Senator Estes Kefauver (Democrat of Tennessee) allege that the present program has been inadequate, and that farmers must look for the answer to their problems in returning a Democratic administration to power.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Vice President Richard Nixon and Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson

Raising/

“National prosperity is based on a sound and prosperous agricultural economy,”

declared **NIXON**

in a recent address before the National Plowing Contest at Wabash, Ind. The complete text of his speech, with minor deletions, is here presented:

IT IS time to talk sense on the farm issue and to stop the demagoguery. There has been too much of a tendency in recent months to make a political football out of this issue.

On the one extreme, the farmer is being told that he is in a depression as bad as that of the 1930's.

On the other extreme, there are those who say the farmer is doing as well as he is entitled to expect.

And there are some who suggest that while the farmer may not be as well off as he might be, nothing can be done about his plight, and all he can do is to grin and bear it.

At the outset I want to state bluntly, without beating around the bush, what I understand to be the position of the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the other leaders of this administration.



Senator Estes Kefauver

WIDE WORLD PHOTO



Adlai E. Stevenson and Sam Rayburn (D., Tex.), long-time Speaker of the House of Representatives

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

g/votes Down on the Farm

We believe that you can't have a sound national prosperity unless it is based on a sound and prosperous agricultural economy.

We do not believe that America's farmers are getting their fair share of America's unprecedented prosperity.

We shall continue to explore every possible program which will remedy the inequity that exists.

Now let us see what the problems are and what is being done under present programs to solve them.

ECONOMY BASICALLY SOUND

First, what is the financial condition of America's farmers today?

There are several standards which can be applied.

There is the parity ratio. Parity reached its high point during the Korean War in 1951 at 113. When the Eisenhower administration came to Washington in January, 1953, it had dropped to 94. Today it stands at 84.

That parity is not a true indication of the financial well-being of the farmer is illustrated by the fact that in 1937 the parity ratio was 93, and certainly no one would contend that the farmer was better off in 1937 than he is now.

A truer measure of the farmer's financial condition is his per capita net income. Parity indicates the prices the farmer is receiving for his products. Per capita income is determined by multiplying prices times volume of sales and subtracting costs.

In 1951, per capita income was \$970. In 1953, it was \$904. In 1954, it was \$907.

When we consider the fact that per capita income was \$244 in 1939, it is somewhat ridiculous to claim that the farmer is as bad off now as he was before World War II.

A third measure of the farmer's financial well-being is the value of his assets.

The value of land and equipment owned by farmers in 1955 was 163.5 billion dollars. This was 2 per cent higher than 1954, and only a very little less than the all-time-high record reached in 1952 during the Korean War.

The average equity of a farm family in America—their assets less their liabilities—is \$22,000. This is \$5,000 more than the average net worth of non-farm families.

UNDENIABLE SQUEEZE

But there is another figure which must be taken into account in drawing a true picture of the economic condition of the nation's farmers. Prices received by farmers for their products have gone down 13 per cent since January, 1953. The prices paid by farmers for their supplies went down only 2 per cent in that same period.

What do these various statistics add up to? These conclusions seem reasonable:

There is no farm depression in the United States.

Our agriculture economy is basically sound.

But farmers are undeniably caught in a squeeze. The

prices of the things they sell have gone down faster than the prices of the things they buy.

What is the objective of this administration?

There has been some debate recently as to what the President said in speaking to this same gathering in Kasson, Minnesota, during 1952. It has even been claimed by some that the President broke his word to the farmer when he supported the farm legislation passed during the 83rd Congress.

I just want to make one thing clear right here and now. We have a man as President of the United States who has never been known to break a solemnly-given promise during his 40 years of distinguished service to his country. And the farmers of America can be sure that he is not going to begin by breaking his word to them.

Here is what he said at Kasson: "I stand behind the amendment to the basic farm act which continues through 1954 the price support on basic commodities at 90 per cent of parity."

That promise has been kept.

He also said: "I firmly believe that agriculture is entitled to a fair, full share of the national income and it must be a policy of government to help agriculture achieve this goal in ways that minimize government control and protect farmers' independence. All I know of farmers convinces me that they would rather earn their fair share than to have it as a government handout. And a fair share is not merely 90 per cent of parity but full parity."

That was the position of the President in 1952. It is his position now. And the farmers of America can be sure that he and everybody in his administration are working unceasingly toward the goal of carrying out the President's commitment that the farmer should receive full parity in the market place.

MARKET RESPONSIBLE FOR PRICE DROP

What can be done to achieve this goal?

The answer to this question can be found only if we find the answer to the question as to why farm prices have gone down.

Let's lay one mistaken theory to rest right away. The new flexible parity law cannot by any stretch of imagination be held responsible for the drop in prices.

Almost two thirds of the drop took place before the Eisenhower administration took over in 1953.

The new law did not go into effect until this year.

The five basic crops supported by parity constitute only one fifth of total farm production in the United States.

And the new parity formula has been applied to only one of these commodities, this year's wheat crop.

The cause of the drop in prices is not the law but the market. Eight and one-half billion dollars worth of surplus farm commodities hang over the market. The price has inevitably been forced down. Where did this surplus come from? There are two basic causes:

The abnormal production caused by the war.

The rigid parity formula percentages of the previous law which guaranteed the producer a price even if there was no sale for his products.

Therefore, if we want to get at the cause of lower prices we must find a way to reduce the surplus.

The problem is twofold. One of the causes is too much production. The other is too little consumption. Our program therefore attacks the problem on these two fronts:

On the production front, a new flexible parity formula has been adopted so that farmers will not be encouraged to grow crops already in surplus.

On the consumption front, we are finding new markets for farm products.

Let's face it—for years those who had the responsibility for dealing with the farm problem buried their heads in the sand. They refused to face up to the issue. They said in effect, "Let the government buy the products. Someone else can worry about the surplus."

We decided that it was essential to develop an effective program to increase consumption of farm products as well as to reduce the production of crops in surplus.

Under the plentiful food program of the Department of Agriculture, we have increased consumption at home. Today the American people are eating more beef, eggs, chicken and turkey than ever before in history.

And we have begun to do something that should have been done long ago—to find new markets for America's farm products abroad.

SALE OF FARM PRODUCTS MOUNTING

The success of our efforts in this direction is indicated by the fact that under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act passed in the 83rd Eisenhower Congress one-half billion dollars worth of farm products has been sold abroad that would not have been sold otherwise. And in two years, we expect this figure to go over one billion dollars.

Our exports for the first ten months of fiscal year 1955 are 9 per cent over a similar period last year. . . .

What else can we do to assure that the farmer gets his fair share of America's increased prosperity?

We believe research should be expanded, working toward these objectives:

Lower costs of production.

More efficient distribution.

More uses for farm products.

Here again we found that the previous programs had not been adequate. From 1951 to 1953 there was no increase whatever in funds for research. In 1954 we increased the

BENSON CHANGES PLANS

In order to concentrate on the farm problem, which has become a boiling political issue, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson abandoned his plans for a European trip on which he was to have boosted the sale of American farm exports and addressed the UN Food and Agriculture Organization meeting in Rome.

Benson stated that he cancelled his tour so that he might remain in Washington "to direct the continuing preparation of recommendations to Congress designed to strengthen, improve and refine the present agriculture program." There has been some speculation that Vice President Richard Nixon may have had a hand in Benson's sudden change of plans, since Benson had previously declared he had no intention of cancelling the trip, and that although he was "concerned" about sagging farm prices, he did not find "anything in the picture to cause panic." However, to counteract the continuing decline in prices (hog prices are about 30 per cent lower than a year ago) the government has recently inaugurated a plan to spend about 85 million dollars on the purchase of pork and lard to encourage consumption and assist farmers in adjusting their production to market demands.

DOWN ON THE FARM

amounts for agricultural research by 2.6 million dollars. The 1955 figure was 12.3 million dollars over the 1954 figure, and the 1956 figure will be 8 million dollars over 1955.

Two examples will indicate the tremendous unexplored possibilities of expanded agricultural research.

Hybrid corn has probably added more dollars to agricultural income than any agricultural development of the century.

Today we are producing 80 times the volume of soy beans we were 30 years ago. It is a billion-dollar industry.

Why? Because research opened broad new markets not only for human and animal foods, but for paint and plastics.

When we consider that the average farmer in the United States produces five times as much as does the average farmer in the Soviet Union, we see a vivid picture of what more effective production methods can do.

LONG-RANGE PROGRAM

Here then is this administration's long-range program for agriculture:

A flexible parity system aimed at keeping surpluses under control.

A bold, imaginative program aimed at developing new markets at home and abroad.

Increased research to reduce costs of production and distribution and increased uses of farm products.

Continued soil conservation, REA, and other programs designed to protect the value of the farmer's investment and improve his living conditions.

A program of rural development, to aid the marginal farmer.

This program has as its aim:

Full parity in the market place for farm products.

Maximum freedom for the farmer from government controls.

An ever-increasing standard of living for farmers and the American people.

We think this program is basically sound.

We think it will work.

We believe in it.

But we also realize that because of our huge inherited surpluses the achievement of our goals will in some instances take time.

Farmers justifiably ask the question—what about the hardships which develop during the transition period?

I can assure the farmers of America that this administration will never stand idly by when disaster threatens our farmers or any other segment of American society.

You have only to recall the fast and effective action of the government in providing relief to areas affected by drought.

The record with regard to beef cattle is also pertinent on this score.

In 1953 when we came to Washington we found that prices were controlled, grading of beef was compulsory, and prices were going down.

We first removed government restrictions. Then in the fall we ordered a vast purchase program of boneless and carcass beef to help stop the decline in prices.

The result was that the market was stabilized.

I have heard concern expressed over the effect the extraordinarily heavy hog production may have on pork prices. We, of course, are not sure yet just what will happen to the market. But I can tell you that the machinery is ready in the Department of Agriculture to go into action promptly in the event it becomes necessary to avoid a price drop which would bring real hardship to hog producers. [See

reference to the new government purchasing program in the box appearing on the opposite page.]

May I also say that while we believe that our over-all program is sound in the long-run, we have no false pride of authorship. If anyone can offer a better program, we want to hear about it.

I can tell you that several proposals which would supplement our basic program are under consideration today in the Department of Agriculture. Of those who criticize the administration's program, I ask—what is their alternative?

Do they want to go back to the rigid parity program that helped create the surplus which is one of the major causes of the drop in prices?

Do they want us to kill little pigs, plow under every three rows of cotton and paint potatoes blue?

Do they advocate the Brannan Farm Plan which would tell the farmer what to grow, how much, and the people what to eat?

Do they advocate the dumping of farm products abroad which would have a disastrous effect on our allies, as well as on our foreign markets?

We welcome criticism of this program or any other administration program. But I say the critics have a responsibility to the farmer and to the nation not just to say what is wrong but to offer a constructive plan which they think is better than the one which is in effect.

MUCH TO BE THANKFUL FOR

May I say finally that as we consider our difficulties in finding a solution to this problem, let us never forget that we have much to be thankful for on this day.

Mrs. Nixon and I have had the privilege of visiting 30 countries during the past two and one-half years. We have seen great sights and met fine people, but you have only to travel abroad and then through America to realize what a great and good land this is.

We can be thankful that our farmers, as well as the rest of the American people, enjoy the highest standard of living in the world.

We can be thankful that our problem is surpluses rather than deficits. In Japan I saw farmers with a family of six subsisting on a farm no larger than a tennis court. In India per capita income is approximately 1/20th that of the farm families of the United States.

We can be thankful that in no land in the world today is the freedom to speak, to travel, to worship, to work, to invest, to save greater than it is in America.

We can be thankful that we are at peace.

May I say that I have found no group in America which believes more deeply than our farmers that war is too high a price to pay for prosperity.

I can assure you that we in this administration believe that in the long run the prosperity we can achieve and enjoy in peace will be infinitely greater than any we ever had in war, and our every effort will be dedicated toward that end.

We can be thankful that we have as president a man who is a symbol of the cause of peace to the whole world; a man whom every American can proudly hold up to his children as one who has faith in God, faith in America, and who has brought dignity and respect to the highest office in this land.

I pledge to you the dedicated support of the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, and every man and woman in this administration of programs to provide for the American farmer, without whose magnificent efforts our great prosperity would not be possible, his fair and full share of that prosperity in a world at peace.

SEE NEXT PAGE

"The Democratic party has a long record of doing for the farmer what needs to be done,"

says **STEVENSON**

in a message sent to the Mid-West Democratic Farm Conference at Des Moines, Iowa. His statement follows:

A CONSTRUCTIVE farm program has become the nation's number one need; and it becomes more apparent with every passing day that this need will be met only through the leadership of the Democratic party.

I join with [the Mid-West Democratic Farm Conference in its purpose] to make clear our united resolve to take the steps necessary to insure a healthy farm economy. For farming is much more than an essential industry; it is a way of life that must be preserved and encouraged. In much of the free world, land reform and tenure by the many instead of the few is a major goal. Let us not go in the opposite direction in the United States and plow under the family farmer.

Our objective for agriculture is equality with the other parts of our economy.

Our yardstick for measuring this equality is parity—a formula for fairness based on relating what a farmer gets for what he sells to what he must pay for what he buys. And 90 per cent of what is fair is certainly not unfair or too high. Support by government loans at 90 per cent of parity for basic commodities is all the more necessary at the present time when the farmer's income is falling, and we are moving further away from the goal of equality.

But such price supports do not by themselves constitute a complete farm program. The debate should not be limited

to the issue, important as it is, of flexible against firm price supports. We must face the realities of surpluses and unbalanced production. There is much more to be done to accomplish a farm program which is fair to everyone.

For some commodities, especially perishables, direct production payments, for example, may avoid surplus accumulation and work better than loan and storage arrangements.

And a constructive farm policy must include incentives for the transfer of unneeded grain acreage into conservation uses. It means encouraging a shift to greater livestock and less cereal production, and building up our soil resources for tomorrow's 200 million Americans.

It means using our abundance as an instrument of our foreign policy abroad and a weapon against hunger at home.

It means creating larger markets and more purchasing power for farm products.

It means a new look at the farmers' credit needs.

And it means recognizing our abundance as a passing problem in this growing country, and as a blessing, not a curse. For the problems of abundance are part of the price of America's strength—a strength which it is our obligation to use, to conserve, to improve.

[The Democratic party has a long record] . . . in building that strength, and in doing for the American farmer what needs to be done.

"The Eisenhower administration is putting a deliberate squeeze on the small farmers,"

charges **KEFAUVER**

at the Democratic Dinner in Erie, Pa. Excerpts of his speech follow:

THE issues of the 1956 election will be plentiful. . . .

One of these issues already has the Republicans numb with worry. It is the farm issue and it worries the Republicans most because it cuts deepest in states where Republicans have been accustomed to win. . . .

I do not deny that Ezra Taft Benson is a high-minded man. But he has been a failure as a Secretary of Agriculture. In the past year under Secretary Benson the cost of subsidies to agriculture amounted to 800 million dollars—by far the highest amount in our history. Yet farm prices continued to decline throughout the year, just as they have declined consistently since the Republicans came into office.

Surpluses remain mountain high and even the slick mer-

chandisers have been unable to move them in a world full of hungry and ill-clothed people.

Time and time again Secretary Benson has declared that farm prices were being stabilized. And they continued to decline. If farm prices are stabilized at the present level it will mean that the team has stabilized a depression on countless of America's small farms.

SMALL FARMER SQUEEZED

The Republicans have had three years to work on the farm problems of this nation and each year they have become worse and worse. Millions of small farmers have had

DOWN ON THE FARM

to give up farming entirely—and I for one do not think that is good for America.

The trouble with the Republican approach to farm problems is twofold. A big part of the problem is a social problem and Republicans are not accustomed to think in terms of the social needs of either the individual or the nation. On the other hand their policies have worked in the manner that Republican policies always seem to work out in the end. They favor the rich and the well-to-do over the people who are less favored economically.

There is apparently a deliberate effort to drive out of farming all the small and submarginal farmers. The Eisenhower administration is putting a deliberate squeeze on these farmers. It grinds them between the upper millstone of low prices for what they produce and lower millstone high prices for what they must buy. When their small capital is gone there is nothing left for them to do but leave the farms. This may be good for General Motors, but I doubt it.

The Republican administration is doing this on the ground that this is the way to cut farm production. But the truth is that these small farmers are not responsible for the increasing production of American agriculture. The large farms, the corporate farms, are responsible. Out of the huge proportion of the government's subsidies which they receive, they can pile on the fertilizer and farm intensively and produce more on fewer acres than ever before.

SLIDING SCALE SEEN AS SOLUTION

We are going to solve over-production on our farms in only one just and effective way, it seems to me. We are going to have to apply a sliding scale of subsidies sooner or later. The higher parity rates will begin at the bottom and decrease, to some degree, with the increase of production by farms. This is the traditional system of our country. This is the way our income tax works and the inheritance tax. This country has a social as well as an economic problem here. We must help protect the small farmers with less capital for social as well as economic reasons.

The team says that it is coming up with some new proposals to solve the farm problem in the next session of Congress. Without having seen them I think it can be predicted that they will be aimed at benefiting the big farm operator over the small. I think that it can be predicted that they will demonstrate that this business-minded administration doesn't understand farm problems at all. People who look at farming as a business only are apt to forget that farming is a way of life as well.

The team used to excuse itself for its failures and its omissions on the ground that it had had too little time to get organized. It has been organized for three years now and I expect that come a year from now the team will be going around the country begging for just four more years in which to do the things they should have done already.

NO AID TO SCHOOLS

One thing this administration is good at. It talks a lot. It has been talking about the great problem faced by schools in every community of this nation. It has talked for three solid years and hasn't aided the building of so much as a little red schoolhouse.

Classes have been enlarged beyond all concepts of good teaching. Many schools run on morning and afternoon shifts. But the Republicans still talk.

The one proposal which the administration sent to Congress apparently was dreamed up by the mortgage bankers. It would have forced school districts to borrow money for

schools at higher rates than most of them have to pay now in the open market.

There is a touching tenderness on the part of the administration for the mortgage bankers. The team may not think much of school children or farmers, but it spends a lot of time thinking about the welfare of mortgage bankers. The team brought forth a road program this year. It amounted to more than 100 billion dollars over ten years. And the financing was not to be done in the ordinary way the government does its financing. Bonds were not to be issued by the government at all. They were to be sold by the mortgage bankers.

POWER POLICY CONDEMNED

The mortgage bankers get taken into the innermost sanctuaries of the government. When the Dixon-Yates project was being planned, representatives of the mortgage bankers were taken right into the Bureau of the Budget, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the White House to do the planning. The administration made the whole business more scandalous than ever by trying to conceal their presence, both from Congress and the American people. In the Dixon-Yates matter the administration was caught in the act. It was caught red-handed. And I tell you now that the team hasn't heard the last of Dixon-Yates yet.

Some of the secret plotting which was behind Dixon-Yates has been uncovered. But the team hasn't been willing to learn its lesson. Ever since the team came into power it has fought the federal power program tooth and nail—directly and by indirection wherever it could. It has made not a single start on a new power-producing project. It has sought to curb and reduce TVA. It has sought to curb and reduce the REA cooperatives, which were one of the greatest benefits democratic government ever brought to the American people.

What particularly annoys the team is something called the preference clause. This is part of the law passed by Congress and it says that public consumers of and distributors of power should be given a preference in the sale of power produced by federal power plants. It seemed natural and right to Congress that the people would principally benefit from power produced from plants built with their own money.

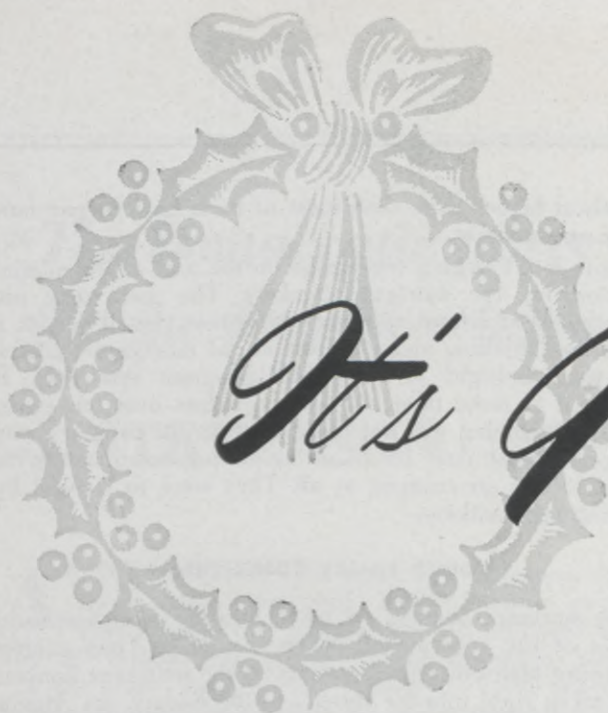
Now it has been revealed that the Department of the Interior has been attempting to force five REA cooperatives in Georgia to enter a contract to take power from a private power company rather than directly from the government-owned Clark Hill project. For three months the Department of the Interior kept secret an opinion from the attorney general saying that this contract was illegal. This demonstrates the appalling lack of candor in this administration. It demonstrates clearly the willingness of the team to ignore the letter and spirit of a law which gets in the way of its give-away philosophy.

The team has decided that peace and prosperity is to be its election theme next year. It is time to examine them both. What kind of peace and what kind of prosperity do we have?

FIERCE STRUGGLE AHEAD

It is true that national production is at an all-time high. It is true that corporate profits will probably break all records. But this is not due to any magic on the part of the team. The economy of this country is being underwritten by a military expenditure of nearly 35 billion dollars a year.

(Continued on Page 40)



It's Your Business

By NICHOLAS NYARADI

A FEW months ago, while I was on one of my lecture tours through the United States, my car developed engine trouble on the winding highways of southern Indiana. It was late at night, the rain was pouring and I was helpless and hopeless. Not that I did not know what was wrong with my car, but there wasn't a single thing that I could have done about it. Car manufacturers here in America must be so confident about the quality of their make that they fail to include even so much as a screw driver in their equipment.

So I stood there on the edge of the road in despair and suddenly one of those huge interstate trucks drove up, stopped, and the driver, one of those kind, always smiling American truck drivers, readily climbed out of his seat to give me a helping hand in my trouble. While the trucker was working on my engine we started a conversation; and I still don't know how it happened, but, believe me, it didn't take him more than about twenty-five seconds to discover that I was not talking with a Mid-Western accent.

He suddenly looked at me and then asked me a question. "By the way, Buddy, what are you doing here in the United States of America?" And I said to him: "Well, Buddy, that is very difficult to answer; because I am traveling all across this great and beautiful land to tell you happy, smug, comfortable American people how terrible life is behind the Iron Curtain. Then, I am also writing articles for such publications as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Fortune* magazine, and the *Scripps-Howard* newspapers; the fourth printing of my book is just off the press and I'm also a college professor and Chairman of the Department of Economics at Bradley University in Peoria, Illinois." Hearing this, "Buddy" looked at me and said, in obvious disgust, "Ah, isn't that too bad; I thought you were at least a traveling salesman."

Now, the more I think about my conversation with "Buddy," the more I feel that, after all, he was right. I suppose you might call me a traveling salesman, although the merchandise I am trying to sell you people is very difficult to sell . . . because it hurts . . . because it is bitter . . . because it is cruel . . . because it interferes with your com-

As we in America at Merry Christmastime gather 'round our Christmas trees, with our loved ones sharing in the joyous festivities, let us pause and open our hearts with thanks and humility because we are a member of another family, the greatest family in the world, America.

Let us not forsake our forefathers; rather let us do all in our power to strengthen our great country, be ever mindful of the freedom endowed to us and

fortable, easy-going, wonderful American way of life. Because I am the traveling salesman of truth; of this horrible, deadly and cruel truth, as I learned it during the four dangerous and difficult years of postwar history, while, as the Secretary of the Treasury for the Republic of Hungary, I fought my desperate and losing battle against the encroachment of Russian-sponsored communism over my native land. And I am the traveling salesman of truth as I saw it in Moscow, in the Kremlin, where I sat for seven months, day after day, night after night, across the conference table from Molotov, Mikoyan, Marshall, Voroshilov and the rest of the Politburo henchmen, trying desperately to whittle down an outrageous Russian claim of two hundred million dollars, a claim which was based on the stipulations of the unfortunate Potsdam agreement, and a claim which threatened Hungary with immediate economic collapse.

After the seven months of bickering, I finally succeeded in reducing this claim to less than one-fourth of its original amount, to forty-five million dollars. I am sorry to tell you that this didn't do too much good; because a few months later when the Russians took over my country and I had to flee for my life, Stalin took back the \$155,000,000; and what is even more tragic, together with the whole of my native land. But, even so, my friends, I feel that my mission to Moscow was not all frustration, because, sitting there in the Kremlin and looking and listening to the Soviet big-wigs, and studying their goals, their aims, their strategies and tactics, I was able to put together piece-meal, like a jig-saw puzzle, a master plan.

A master plan which if I relate it to you, will not take me very long. Because, according to what I have seen in the Kremlin, all of you here, who are enjoying the fellowship of your great organization; and all of your family members, your children, relatives, and your friends and fellow citizens in this great country . . . as well as this great country itself, with its magnificent traditions and ideals, are all doomed.

Address given before Republicans Unlimited in Redondo Beach, California, and other civic groups throughout the country.

a Free, Strong, and Happy America

preserve it as the greatest gift on earth that we can give to our children.

"It's Your Business" may seem an odd title for a Christmas message, but Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, Chairman, Department of Economics, Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois, and former Minister of Finance of Hungary, gives it a great deal of meaning through warning that it is our business to protect our precious traditions of freedom.

You are doomed to death, murder, starvation; to concentration camps and to slave labor, exactly as those unfortunate nine hundred million people who live today behind the Iron Curtain and under the iron rule of the Kremlin.

Whether or not this horrible death sentence against you, your families and this great country shall be carried out will depend entirely and exclusively upon you—what you, as American citizens, as free human beings can do about it and are willing to do about it. Because you are all doomed, at least in the minds of the men in the Kremlin, whom I have seen working day and night relentlessly on your total and complete destruction as a great country, as a free nation, as free human individuals.

Of course, I can almost see the question in your eyes . . . "How is it possible for this man to tell us these terrible things, when, after the Geneva Conference the whole free world is breathing a little easier, and everybody seems to be relaxing in the hope that the danger of World War III has been definitely removed from the scene of international politics; and that also, perhaps, the Cold War will draw to an end?"

There is no question about it that there was one great success at the Geneva Conference. This was the personal success of President Eisenhower with his very dramatic proposal for mutual aerial inspection in order to achieve a fair and just status of armaments. We shouldn't, however, be mistaken. This great personal success of the President was actually not scored against Russia, but mostly towards our own allies: England, France, Italy, Japan, and the others. The Russian leaders knew very well that we, the United States of America, would never start a war and would engage in war only in self-defense. But unfortunately, our own allies were willing to regard us as a trigger-happy, atom bomb-rattling nation, which would be ready at any moment to unleash the horrors of an atomic war upon the world. The President's proposal pulled out the rug from under the phony Russian peace propaganda and has shown the world what we have known for a long time: that the President is a

man of honor and that we have good intentions and that we do not want to start any war.

Now, of course, after this, the great question remains: what was then the real result of the Geneva Conference? And here two questions have to be answered. This is the first question. Is it possible that those men, who are at the helm in Russia today and who all were the hand-picked members of Stalin's own cabinet, have changed overnight and whether these men have forgotten the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin and if they are today the repentant sinners whom we should like them to be? Or, are these men simply following Lenin's strategy, which means that you should change your methods overnight, but not your final goals?

The question is also whether these men really want just the most important commodity for them—time. Time to catch up with our atomic superiority, time to catch up with the tremendous efficiency of our economic system; and then, of course, deal the deadly strike to the free world.

If we try to answer the question, I personally believe that, after having known many of the men who are today in command in the Kremlin, there is not even one of them who ever intimated that there would ever be any change in the final goal of Soviet foreign policy; namely, world domination. Thirty-seven years ago, Lenin wrote a sentence which was, is, and will remain the basic principle of Russian foreign policy. Lenin said in 1917 that there was going to be a series of conflicts in the world before it comes to a final showdown between the forces of communism and capitalism and I now quote to you Lenin, *verbatim* . . .

. . . and after this final showdown the funeral dirge will be sung either over the tomb of communism or over the tomb of capitalism.

There are also some of the less known members of the Soviet hierarchy who have told even more clearly what the world can expect from this changed Soviet strategy; and this is actually what Dimitri Manuilski (at that time Commissar of the Ukraine) said at the Lenin School of Political Warfare. This was, I remind you, in 1930.

War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in twenty or thirty years. To win, we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. [We saw, of course, the smiles at the Geneva Conference . . . we have not seen the concessions.] The Capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction; they will leap at the chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist.

Now, of course, in the light of the Marxian doctrine and of its Leninian and Stalinian interpretation, it is very difficult to expect that the Soviet leaders have completely changed. Of course, this doesn't mean that we should not

try in every possible way to sit down and negotiate to avoid a war; but for Heaven's sake, don't let our guard down!

The American public, when it listened very carefully to the report of the President on the Big Four Conference, heard only one thing in this report, and this was that a spark of peace was ignited at Geneva. But what the American people seemingly didn't hear, or overlooked completely, was that the President warned so very strongly that this is just a beginning and that the acid test of Soviet intentions still lies ahead.

DANGER SIGNS

Of course, this is exactly what the Russians want; that we should let down our guard. Because, if we once let down our psychological guard, if we let down our armaments, if we let down our economic strength, if we are willing to relax in the completely false assumption of a non-existent security . . . this is exactly the time when they will cut our throats.

Now, let's make it finally clear. There is absolutely no evidence that the Soviet leaders have changed their final goals; and looking back to the record of the Soviet government, the record is extremely poor. Since the Soviet government came into existence in Russia one thousand international agreements have been signed by this government and only two of the thousand were actually honored. The only reason the Russians sat down at Geneva was because they wanted time. They wanted time because we are strong. We finally recognized, after what happened in Europe, Korea, and Indochina, what the Russian goal is and America decided to do something about it; we decided to start the largest peacetime military armament program in the history of this country. The reason behind this was that if we keep militarily stronger than Russia we have not only the opportunity to beat back any Communist aggression on the battlefield, but what is even better, we shall have the possibility to prevent the outbreak of World War III altogether.

There is a lot of good reasoning behind this decision. I, who actually have known more Politburo members and perhaps have known them better than practically any diplomat or statesman in the West, can tell you that I came to know these Russian leaders as being extremely realistic. *They hate to take risks.* So the idea is that if we remain stronger than Russia we shall have the best possibility to avoid war, because the Kremlin will never start a war if they have the feeling that they would lose it.

Of course, this armament program of ours has brought against America the slanders and accusations of the worldwide Communist propaganda machine. They still call us the imperialist warmongers and the bloodthirsty Capital-

ists of Wall Street. Well, I know that this doesn't influence you too much and it shouldn't; because you know just as well as I do that Americans are the most peace-loving people in the world. The reason why we are in this armament business today is not because America wants to dominate the world, but is simply because it wants to live in peace, decency, and security.

Letting down our guard would be of catastrophic consequences. The administration knows very well that our military strength must be kept at high level, and also that our economic strength must be maintained if we are to avoid war. Never before in the history of the world was the old Roman saying, "Si vis pacem para bellum" (If you want peace, be prepared for war) so true as it is today.

There is also a psychological consideration. No matter how strong we are militarily, no matter how much stronger our economy is than the economy of the Communist world; if the will and the determination of the American people should vanish, that will pull out the rug from under our whole defense system.

OVERALLS—NOT THE TRUE GARB

And here we cannot be but disturbed and chagrined to see certain things which happened in connection with the recent visit of the so-called "Russian farm delegation" to this country. Now, I do not want to tell you that to invite the Russians was a mistake. I personally believe that the more the Russians can see right here in America of our own strength the less inclined they will be to start a war. Actually, how the whole thing turned out was a little bit different. As a matter of fact, the members of this Russian delegation were no more Russian farmers than you or I. They were, without exception, high-ranking Russian government officials and their leader is the Deputy Minister of Agriculture of Russia and actually the Acting Minister of Agriculture in the Soviet Cabinet.

Naturally, nothing could be said against treating politely and very courteously this visiting delegation, which is always done in America when foreign dignitaries come here. But to go out of our way to greet these people with flag-bedecked streets, to wine them, to dine them, to take them to Marilyn Monroe movies and to treat them to "Idiot's Delight" ice cream in ice cream parlors . . . this was a very, very tragic picture. This man, Comrade Matshevich, the leader of the Russian farm delegation, is a member of the Russian Cabinet. All members of the delegation were high-ranking members of the Soviet administration. Now, these people are either members of the dreaded Soviet MVD, the Secret Police, or are fully approved by this most horrible organization in the history of mankind. No man can get an exit permit from Russia unless he is



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Vladimir Matskevich, Acting Minister of Agriculture of the USSR, making a broadcast to Russia over the U.S. government's Voice of America program, when in the U.S. last summer on tour as Chief of the Russian farm delegation.

either a member of the MVD, or is fully approved by the MVD.

I cannot blame the American people for not remembering that some sixteen million people are still languishing in Communist slave labor camps, while we have dined and wine the man who, as a member of the Soviet Cabinet, is directly responsible for their suffering. I can't blame the American people for not remembering those 80 million civilized Christian, democratic Czechoslovaks, East Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, and others who are still suffering today under the most despotic and terrible form of Asiatic oppression by the Soviet Union; on the orders of the Cabinet, of which the leader of the visiting Soviet delegation is a member.

But that the hospitable, good-willing, wonderful American people have forgotten, so quickly, the many American airplanes which were shot down on the orders of this government; that they have forgotten so quickly the tortures, the injuries, the humiliations to which American prisoners of war were subjected, not to mention the twenty-five thousand dead heroes in Korea, I am at a loss to understand.

This is a real tragedy, because the American people are the most Christian-minded people in the world. They are not only Christian-minded, they are friendly, they are good-willing and they are willing to forget and forgive. But, before forgiving and before forgetting, let's be sure that these men are really the repentant sinners that we hope them to be; and let's please wait with the "Idiot's Delight" and with the wine and with the dinners, with the flag-bedecked streets, until we get some more com-

pletely convincing evidence of their good will than just empty smiles and absolutely meaningless courtesies. Perhaps it is well to remember an historical parallel. Rudyard Kipling, the famous British novelist and poet, wrote a poem in 1898, at a time when the Czarist bear had smiled and made exactly the same friendly overtures which, today, his Communist grandson, the Soviet bear, is doing. And at that time, when Russia was making friendly overtures, Rudyard Kipling wrote his famous poem, "The Truce of the Bear," exactly fifty-seven years ago, in which he said,

*When he shows as seeking quarter
With paws like hands in prayer
That is the time of peril
The time of the truce of the bear*

There is no question about it, that today there are some changes in the world situation. The most important change, of course, is that the immediate peril of World War III seems to be farther away today than it was in the past few years, but this definitely doesn't mean that the peril is over. Because actually, in the strategy of Lenin, as he speaks about the inevitable conflict between communism and capitalism, there is not one single word mentioned that this inevitable conflict must deliberately come on the battlefields of World War III. Of course, the Russians in a way are very much prepared for it. But they would be very happy if they should not have to actually risk a shooting war with America.

What the Soviet leaders fanatically believe in is that America will finally collapse under what they call its own internal contradictions and difficulties. What they strongly believe in is that the American economy will collapse. Sometimes the Russian leaders are extremely ridiculous in their expectations.

"THERE IS A REVOLT!"

I remember one night when I had a long conference in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade, between two sessions I leaned back in my chair at the conference table and I pulled out from my briefcase a few foreign newspapers and began to read them. In Moscow you cannot buy foreign newspapers and I got them daily by diplomatic courier from various world capitals. There was an American newspaper in my reading material and in the Russian delegation there was a fellow who spoke English rather well, but who had never been outside Russia. I still remember his name, as it was a quite memorable one; he was called Nicolai Nicolaievich Nicolaiev. This man Nicolaiev suddenly grabbed my American newspaper and started avidly reading it. Never in my life did I see such a change on a man's face. First he blushed, then he turned all pale. Then his lips began to tremble. Then his eyes began to twinkle. Then

finally he walked up to the chairman of the Russian delegation and told him in a very excited voice, "Comrade Minister, there is wonderful news for us here in this newspaper. The Americans are having great troubles, great difficulties! There is a revolt! There is a rebellion going on in Washington! This is wonderful for us!" Well, honestly speaking, I didn't know what the fellow was talking about. I had read this paper very carefully a few minutes before and there weren't any news there about any revolt or rebellion in Washington. So I glanced at the headline which made Nicolaiev so excited. This was how the headline read: "Indians Whip Senators."

Of course, the Soviet leaders are not always so ridiculous in their expectations; because actually, if Bulganin would pray today in the Kremlin, (which I am sure that he doesn't), then he would pray day and night that this unparalleled American system of free enterprise should collapse. I can report to you, with full responsibility, that the only reason we are not in a shooting war with Russia today, the only reason why the Russian leaders found it necessary to sit down at the conference table at the Geneva Conference, is not because of our superiority in A-bombs or H-bombs; and not because of the somewhat reluctant support we are getting from our free world allies; but it is simply because the Soviet leaders know very well that in case of a shooting war the Soviet economy would never be able to match the unparalleled superiority of American industry and the unprecedented productivity of American agriculture.

Therefore, we can say that the continued healthy operation, expansion and prosperity of this American free enterprise system is the basic guarantee for 165 million Americans that their sons and grandsons will not have to die in the trenches and foxholes of World War III. As long as our free enterprise system can be maintained in its present shape and can be expanded we have the strongest guarantee in our hands against the outbreak of World War III.

FREE ENTERPRISE OR DISASTER

Therefore, the problem can be shaped very simply, this way: *Free Enterprise or Disaster.*

If we see, under such circumstances, the tremendous importance of our American economic system, we can't be but chagrined and disturbed to see that this American economic system today has become the target of irresponsible demagoguery and of politicking. We should discuss the American economy with objectivity and with knowledge; its status, its health, its future; but we should not approach this tremendously important problem from the platform of politics. Because, believe me, that when I actually saw some of the plans

for the destruction of America in the Kremlin, there wasn't any difference in those plans between Republican-Americans or Democrat-Americans. They want to slash the throats of all of us, with no regard whatsoever to which political party we do or do not belong.

The American economy, therefore, cannot be the target of irresponsible talk, of loose statements, of gloomy predictions, of irresponsible actions; because this American economy is the greatest treasure of 165 million Americans. Of course, I am not telling you that such kind of loose talk and gloomy predictions could actually cause a depression. But what it definitely can do is to create an atmosphere of fear, and uncertainty. Because, after all, you can frighten the American businessman away from expansion, the American farmer from buying farm implements, the American housewife from buying household appliances, by telling them that there are hard times ahead. And real damage can be done by such kind of loose talk and demagoguery because we have to admit that the great majority of the American people neither knows the working nor appreciates the blessings of this unparalleled American economic system.

Most of the American people take it simply for granted that we, who are 6 per cent of the population, can have 75 per cent of all the automobiles in the world; that we can have 57 per cent of all the telephones in the world, and that a town like Kalamazoo, Michigan, today can have more refrigerators, washing machines and dishwashers than Paris, London, Berlin, and Moscow all put together. It is high time that the American people know about, and appreciate a little bit more their American economic system. This is especially important today, when you hear a mounting clamor for more concentration, for more coordination, for more guaranteed annual wages, and what not. Why do the American people not look sometimes beyond their own borders? Behind the Iron Curtain, for instance, where the Kremlin has actually achieved such stability among 900 million people . . . the stability of misery. And where there is coordination and quiet and equilibrium, the coordination and quiet and equilibrium of a cemetery.

You know, the American economic system has its ups and downs, as all of us have in our lives; but our American people are apt to lose their heads when one time it is a little bit down and not always up.

The most important thing for us to remember is that to prevent war we must remain strong. We have to remain strong militarily, we have to remain strong economically; but where we need the most strength is in the moral, in the spiritual, in the human sector; and I am

somewhat worried to say that this is perhaps where our greatest weakness can be found today. I should like to report to you that the Kremlin has today in its hands weapons which are actually more dangerous for the destruction of America than all the A-bombs, the H-bombs and the guided missiles they have accumulated in the arsenals of Russia. These most dangerous weapons against America are the indifference, the complacency, the apathy and the taking-for-granted attitude of millions and millions of otherwise honest, straightforward, patriotic and good-willing Americans.

NO COMPARISON IN VALUE RECEIVED

Only three years ago, during the last presidential elections, I was highly elated to read in the papers that an unheard-of number of Americans went to the polls. I said to myself, "Thanks be to God, this greatest nation of them all has finally recognized the danger and has decided to take its own future in its own hands." But then two days later my enthusiasm decreased considerably. This was when I read that although sixty million Americans had gone to the polls, actually a hundred million had the right to do so. Which, of course, meant that forty out of every hundred Americans didn't find it necessary to repay with this small gesture, of giving fifteen minutes of their valuable time to their country, for those privileges which made Americans the best fed, the best dressed, and the most efficient people in the history of the human race.

Forty out of every hundred Americans didn't bother to vote because it was too cold, or it was too hot, or it was raining, or they simply had something else to do. I apologize, but I had to think about my own Hungarian people. What did my Hungarian people get from their country, I am asking you? What did the Hungarian people get from Hungary besides war, frustration, hunger, misery? But when, after the war and

actually under Russian military occupation, we asked these people to go out and to vote, to show the world that they did not want to live under Communist domination, they went. They went, with their pale, hungry faces; they went with their torn clothes, they went, actually risking their lives; because they had to face the Russian flame throwers, the tommy-guns and the tanks around the polling places . . . and they voted. Ninety-five per cent of them . . . and 83 per cent of these voted against communism. And you, the happiest, wealthiest people in the world, you have an unprecedented freedom in this country; you, who have even a get-out-the-vote drive by the Jaycees, you, who were offered even free automobile rides to the polls . . . forty out of every hundred of you didn't go because you didn't care.

Now, something has to be done about this; because no matter how strong our armed forces are, no matter how our assembly lines are humming, if we are not able to increase the appreciation, the love and the understanding of the American people towards their own country, then all the A-bombs and the H-bombs will not save us, no matter whether the Russian leaders smile or frown.

MORE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER TEACHING NEEDED

This cannot be done by the government. Fortunately, we do not have propaganda ministries in this country, so it has to be done by every single American citizen. The duty first and before and above all would be in education and I, as an American college professor today, am sorry to admit that often we are doing a poor job in our schools in teaching freedom. I do not say that this is because we have Communists among our teaching staffs; but, seemingly the great majority of our instructors simply do not understand that, whether we like it or not, the central problem of 165 million Americans for

years and decades to come will be the problem of Soviet Communist aggression. Whether a Bulganin or Krushchev or whoever it might be will sneeze in the Kremlin, this bad sneeze will affect the next day 165 million Americans. It will affect the businessman in the way of business opportunities, it will affect the farmer in the way of farm prices, the taxpayer in the way of taxes, and of course, our youth in the way of the draft. And how do we expect our young people to become good citizens and taxpayers and, what God should forbid, courageous soldiers, if they just don't know anything of what it's all about.

I, in my own limited capacity, am trying to do something about it. I have submitted recently to the Board of Trustees of Bradley University a plan to teach a new course on American economics. The Board of Trustees has unanimously accepted this plan, which has been introduced in our curriculum and we are presenting it now on the sophomore level. We hope that sooner or later all of the thirty-five hundred students of Bradley University will take it.

The name of this new course is *The American Economic Heritage* and the emphasis will be not merely on "economics" but rather on "American economics." This is the way I described this new course in our forthcoming catalogue: "This course will familiarize the student with the basic principles which led to the development of the American economic system of free enterprise. Special emphasis is given to the common origin of both political and economic freedom in the United States and also to how the American economic structure has helped to create and maintain the religious and social freedom in this country. Efforts will be made to invite outstanding leaders from the community—from professional, employer and employee groups—to participate in this course with lectures, which will illustrate the effects of private initiative, competition, and individual responsibility in creating prosperity, security, and high standards of living in America."

THE GOSPEL OF AMERICA

I am almost certain that sooner or later I shall be attacked for this course, for being a "propagandist." It is amazing to see that if anywhere some wild-eyed young instructor tries to cram down the throats of our innocent students the most confused ideas ranging from Fabianism to outright socialism, then we all bow our heads and say, "Yes and Amen," because this is, of course, "freedom of education." But, I am asking you, isn't education for freedom just as important? When some of us stand up in our classes and try to explain to our students that the only



The battle for Budapest in 1945. Inside the city each block of buildings was the object of a pitched battle. Soviet troops surged forward under covering fire from their comrades.

solution to our present problems is to return to those honest-to-goodness American economic, political, and religious traditions which made this country the greatest nation in the history of mankind—then we are called propagandists. My answer to this is: if the pastor of the great church to which I have the honor and privilege to belong is being permitted to preach the gospel of Christ in our church on Sundays, without being called a propagandist, then I should like to ask for myself the privilege to be permitted to preach in my classes the gospel of America without being called a propagandist either.

In education we are not yet doing the job which we should do in increasing the love and appreciation of our young people towards our country. I think it is the duty of every single man and woman here in America, as it looks that we have to fight out this final conflict between communism and freedom here in America's own back yard. And this is where every single citizen can do a tremendous job. *It is your business* and therefore do not miss one single opportunity to go to every single group and individual in your community, your county, your state; go to the students, the teachers, the parent-teachers associations, to the labor unions, to the farmers, to the church groups and service clubs. Tell them about America . . . and tell them what America means to them and to their children. And especially do not miss one single opportunity in calling the attention of our people to those tremendous privileges which we can enjoy today in this country of ours.

When I refer to our privileges I am not referring to our automobiles, our dishwashers, our washing machines. They are all unheard-of miracles to a great majority of people in the world today. I do not even mention to you our super-markets, the abundance of food in them, and the waste, of course, which could feed an entire city for a month in Asia. But when I cite our privileges, I cite the privilege no one single American friend of mine has ever even thought about. This is the privilege that tonight you will go to bed, and tomorrow you will wake up in the same bed. Behind the Iron Curtain, among 900 million people, those hours between midnight and four a.m. are the hours of terror, of anxiety, of frustration; because these are the hours when, over there, the secret police goes out for its raids . . . in spite of the Geneva Conference.

These are the hours when they surround houses, blocks, streets, cities, and entire towns and take the people to the concentration camps, to the jails, and to the gallows . . . in spite of the Geneva Conference. And in these hours of the night over there, if a fist knocks on your door, you sit up in your bed and



Mrs. Nicholas Nyaradi and their two children, Eva Mary, fifteen months, Johnny, five and a half, and Dr. Nyaradi, Chairman, Department of Economics, Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois.



your heart beats up in your throat; because you don't know whether it is you who has to kiss goodbye for the last time your beloved ones, or this time it is only your neighbor they are taking away.

You, my happy American fellow citizens, certainly do not know this feeling. Let us suppose that your doorbell will ring at four o'clock tomorrow morning. You certainly would not imagine that it is the secret police coming to nab you. What would you think? Who could it be? Your first thought would be that it was the milk man; then you would imagine that it was the Western Union boy . . . unless he is on strike, of course.

But, my friends, if you don't know and understand our privileges, how are you going to stand up for these privileges? How are you going to defend them? You see, I don't even blame you for not knowing what we have in this country, because I, myself, did not know what I had as long as my native Hungary was free and happy and prosperous. We had there a beautiful big city, Budapest, the Queen of the Danube; where one million happy men, women, and children lived and worked and played, and they all thought—exactly as you do over here—that such a terrible thing, after all, could not happen to us . . . And then it happened to us, when Hell broke loose.

First the Nazis marched in and then the Russians came; those two evil giants fought their deadly battle for two months in our city. For two months one million civilians lived down in the air-raid shelters, in the cellars, without food, without water, without medical supplies. During those two months six thousand of our babies starved to death. We didn't have a drop of milk to feed them and their mothers were starving, too. For

two months, if we wanted to drink we had to melt the dirty, filthy snow in our palms, because the water mains were blown up and we didn't have even fuel to melt the snow. **For two months, if** we wanted to eat, we waited until nightfall, when the bombing had stopped for an hour, then we crept out to the ruined streets and there, in the ghostly light of burning houses, we hacked off big chunks of flesh from the carcasses of dead army horses and we ate this meat raw, because we didn't even have fuel to cook it.

If I still think of the horrible taste of that raw horse meat on my tongue, how can I tell you to go down on your knees in a daily prayer and thank God for the incredible blessings He has bestowed upon this country of ours.

If someone can tell you, I can, that this country of ours is God's own country. But I am also sorry to tell you that I haven't seen yet the written guarantee of the Lord in which He has promised to keep up, to maintain and to defend our privileges even if we are unable or unwilling to appreciate and to recognize them.

And if you ask me how it is that I, who am a newcomer here, am telling you how better to appreciate our own country . . . well, my friends, I have a vested interest in America.

AMERICA—GREATEST FAMILY IN THE WORLD

When my wife and I fled Hungary we had lost everything that a man and woman can possess in this world. The Communists had confiscated all of our wealth and belongings. I lost my job; they took away our Hungarian citizenship; we were blown across the highways of the world, like two autumn

(Continued on Page 61)

FABULOUS FROZEN



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd smokes his 12-year-old pipe with tobacco of the same age as he sits by his favorite stove in an inland weather station in Little America. The pipe, tobacco, and stove were left behind by Byrd on a previous expedition. Age had not spoiled them.

● Could the new United States Antarctic expedition—"Operation Deepfreeze"—be of great importance to America's economic and political future?

● Why is Russia planning an immediate scientific expedition for two years of exploration in the Antarctic?

● Is the Antarctic region, which drops its temperatures to 125 degrees below zero, destined to become an all-important place for civilization such as Greenland and Alaska?

MADIGAN: *Admiral, will the results of this expedition be destined solely for scientific tracts and school books, or will we as work-a-day living people have any ultimate use from it?*

We will all receive a great deal of use from it.

MADIGAN: *What will the results be, Admiral? Will they be economical, political?*

They will be economical and strategical. The Antarctic, as the world shrinks with an ever-increasing acceleration, is becoming more and more important where world strategy is concerned.

MADIGAN: *You mean strategy of the international, political sense?*

Yes.

MADIGAN: *In the cold war?*

No, we want to keep out of the cold war, and we are doing all we can to keep out of it.

MADIGAN: *Concerning the strategic sense: would you expand on that a little bit?*

Take this point, for example. If anything happened to the Panama Canal, we'd

have to go around Cape Horn. There is a part of Antarctica that extends up near Cape Horn, so we would have to have control of that area.

MADIGAN: *Do we have claim of that land now?*

No. You are getting on a delicate point when you talk about claims, because there are so many nations that are passionate about the Antarctic, because those nations are down there. This nation has made no claims and recognizes no claims. Also, that is in the field of diplomacy. We've got to keep peace, and I have promised to do all I can to have no trouble over the Antarctic.

MADIGAN: *Has the Soviet Union made claim to that area?*

They claim a good deal.

MYLER: *Admiral, I understand some ten nations will have expeditions down there. Do you expect to run into any of the other parties, or is Antarctica big enough to house you all?*

It's an enormous area. There are nearly six million square miles of land, but we will run into each other because we are

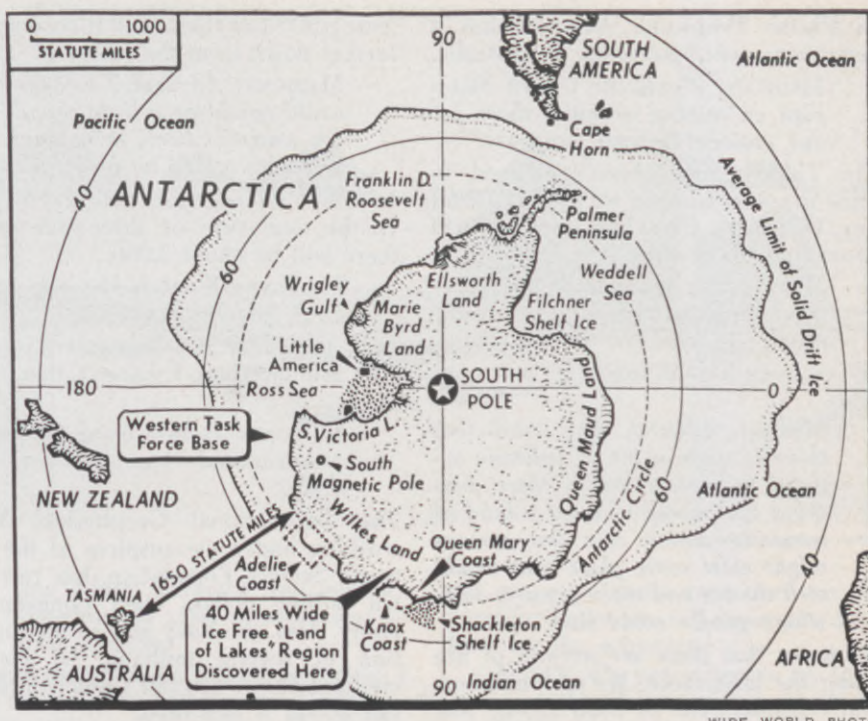
collaborating and cooperating with the other nations that are going down. All of them will be connected with this International Geophysical Year with scientific work, which will mean so much to the future of the world, I think. We've crawled around on this earth for a long time and there is a lot that we don't know yet, things that are important to know.

MYLER: *I understand one of the mysteries is Antarctica's role in making the world's weather. It's got some of the wickedest weather of its own, and we don't quite know what it does to the rest of us. Will you find that out?*

That's right. I think it has an effect upon the whole world, because Antarctica, that vast area down there, averages 50 degrees colder than the area around the North Pole. I think very few people realize that. Also, it is by far the windiest area in the world, because a great deal of it is a high plateau in the clutches of an ice-age. The wind rushes down from its wake, down the glaciers, and this has a tremendous effect upon the rest of the world. You

FRONTIER

These and other vital questions which concern most Americans are answered by the world-famous polar explorer, Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, U. S. Navy, who appeared as the guest on a recent Facts Forum REPORTERS' ROUNDUP shortly prior to his current expedition. America's greatest polar explorer is questioned by well-known newsmen—Mr. Joseph L. Myler, Science Writer of United Press; and Mr. John Madigan, of the Washington Bureau of Newsweek magazine. The moderator is Mr. Robert F. Hurleigh.



there? What will they do? Mine, produce? What will be their culture? What will be their mode of living?

For scientific reasons, it's the most fertile field for science left in the world. Also, it's an untouched reservoir in natural resources, of that I am sure. This will be of great benefit to the future if we continue to expend recklessly our own resources, making it necessary for people to have to live there. We have learned a great deal from the Eskimos, but we've gone beyond them, I think. The Eskimos don't like it down there; it's too cold for them.

MADIGAN: Can we stand such frigid

temperatures better than the Eskimos?

No, no, but now we know more about how to dress. I started out using Eskimo clothes, and they were pretty good. Now, we've gone a little beyond that by using scientific research and development.

MADIGAN: When you speak of mining there, Admiral, is there any evidence that uranium is to be found in Antarctica?

There is evidence, as reported by Sir Douglas Marson of Australia.

MADIGAN: Do Great Britain or Australia have permanent bases there?

Great Britain has a semi-permanent base

remember I occupied that station there in order to get the inland weather of an ice-age.

MYLER: Is it true that during this American expedition a party will spend an entire winter near the South Pole for the first time in history?

Yes, that's true.

MYLER: They will run into some pretty tough weather down there.

It's 10,000 feet up. I've seen it four times and I know we can land there in a plane with skis. It is very important in this scientific business to have a base there, for certain scientific reasons. So, we are going to put one there. The temperature will get as low as a hundred below, possibly a hundred and ten.

MADIGAN: Will permanent habitation ever be feasible there?

It will be.

MADIGAN: What will it be dependent upon? Do we have scientific knowledge today that will let people live there? Do we have the research that will let people live

A new expedition to the Antarctic under the command of America's greatest polar explorer—Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd—is now under way. The daring U. S. expedition—called "Operation Deepfreeze"—is prepared for several years of exploration and intensive scientific research at the bottom of the world. The Navy Task Force accompanying Admiral Byrd is under the command of Rear Admiral George Dufek, a veteran of four polar expeditions. Admiral Byrd, who lives in Boston, has led four previous Antarctic expeditions and was the first American to use aircraft in the polar regions. In thirty-one years of exploring, Admiral Byrd has served American interest in the polar regions to this country's economic and political advantage.

The new Antarctic expedition supports the Antarctic phase of scientific projects in which the United States will participate with some thirty-eight other nations during the International Geophysical Year—1957-58. IGY is a world-wide program of coordinated observations in the earth sciences, organized by the International Council of Scientific Unions and under the auspices of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Science Foundation.

Admiral Byrd, recalled to active duty for this expedition, until recently served as Special Assistant for Cold Weather Operations in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations. He was the first man to fly over the North Pole and the South Pole, and his expeditions are credited by authorities for discovering, exploring, and observing more of the Antarctic than any other man in the world. His last Navy Antarctic expedition was in 1946-47.

in Parma Peninsula. Australia has a semi-permanent base south of Australia.

MADIGAN: *Would the United States plan on mining uranium there for our national defense program?*

The United States hasn't planned to mine uranium because we haven't found any. Of course, if we find some, we will probably plan to mine it.

MADIGAN: *Is that one of the points of interest on this coming expedition—to hunt for uranium?*

We're going to hunt for all sorts of minerals.

MYLER: *Admiral, I've read that there is quite a bit of volcanic activity in Antarctica. Is there anything that would warrant a kind of romantic notion that hot springs might exist some place that would melt the ice and make a warm oasis where people could live?*

We know that there are streams of fire under the land there. We've found several volcanos—one of them 15,000 feet high with smoke coming out of it! Some scientists think that we will find thermal areas, but if we do we don't know what in the world we'll find in them. All that ice and snow forms a pretty thick covering now, and it would be melted. New Zealand has a lot of thermal areas, however, so I wouldn't be surprised to find some in the area that is unexplored, an area as big as this nation which no human being has ever seen.

MYLER: *I am curious about the ice cap. I believe you reported that in places it's 10,000 feet thick. How do you go about measuring it and finding out what is under it?*

I have never said it was 10,000 feet thick. We have found it 2,300 feet thick, but the ice plateau, or the snow plateau at the Pole, is 10,000 feet high. The last time we flew beyond the Pole and found some areas over towards Africa—you can't say "direction" because all directions are north from the Pole—there was an area at least 11,000 feet high or more. Now, the snow there may be at

least 5,000 feet thick, and it becomes ice farther down from the pressure.

MADIGAN: *Admiral, I wonder if we could reach for a little round number statistics here. How many men will be involved in this expedition?*

In round numbers, this year about 1,400. In the total two- or three-year period there will be about 3,000.

MADIGAN: *What is the cost to the U. S. government?*

Now, you've got me. This expedition will cost millions, but I haven't that exact figure.

MADIGAN: *Is this being footed by congressional appropriations entirely?*

The International Geophysical Year, working under the auspices of the National Science Foundation, has received ten million dollars from Congress already. Also, the Navy gets an appropriation of several millions. Of course, civilians offer a lot, but I don't think we can accept it this time.

MADIGAN: *Is there any indication that Russia at any time is going to do more than the U. S. in this field?*

They are tremendously interested, tremendously interested. I want to repeat that.

MADIGAN: *Is our stepped-up interest motivated by their tremendous interest?*

No, theirs is motivated by ours. I've been working all these years trying to get Uncle Sam interested, because I had to pay for the first three or four expeditions myself.

MADIGAN: *Have we been a little negligent up until now?*

It took awhile, but now there is a very deep interest on the part of the government and the people.

MADIGAN: *Why was Uncle Sam so slow to get interested?*

Well, it was more or less natural. Here was a no-man's land 'way down at the bottom of the world, and when I first talked about the importance of it to the

nation and to the generations to come, they didn't see it. But as the world, as I said before, shrinks with an ever-increasing acceleration, these far-flung places get close to us. Greenland did, and now it is the most important strategic area in the world. Once we let it go when we could have had it. So it is with the south polar area. Every day it becomes more important strategically as we shrink the world—it gets closer to us.

MADIGAN: *The spirit of Geneva is constantly in the news these days. Is there any evidence that this expedition could further general peace in the world?*

That is a very good point, and there is good evidence to that effect. With 35 nations collaborating in this scientific effort in the world there is a good chance to get together with the scientists of the other nations, as well as with the Task Force or operations people. We have meetings—we had one in Rome, another in Brussels, and we'll have a big one here. I feel that there is a great chance to get international good-will from this expedition.

MADIGAN: *This is a time, then, that we can trust Russia?*

Yes.

MYLER: *Admiral, I believe you have suggested in the past that we might use Antarctica as a sort of a deepfreeze for the world, as a permanent cold storage for perishable foods and surpluses.*

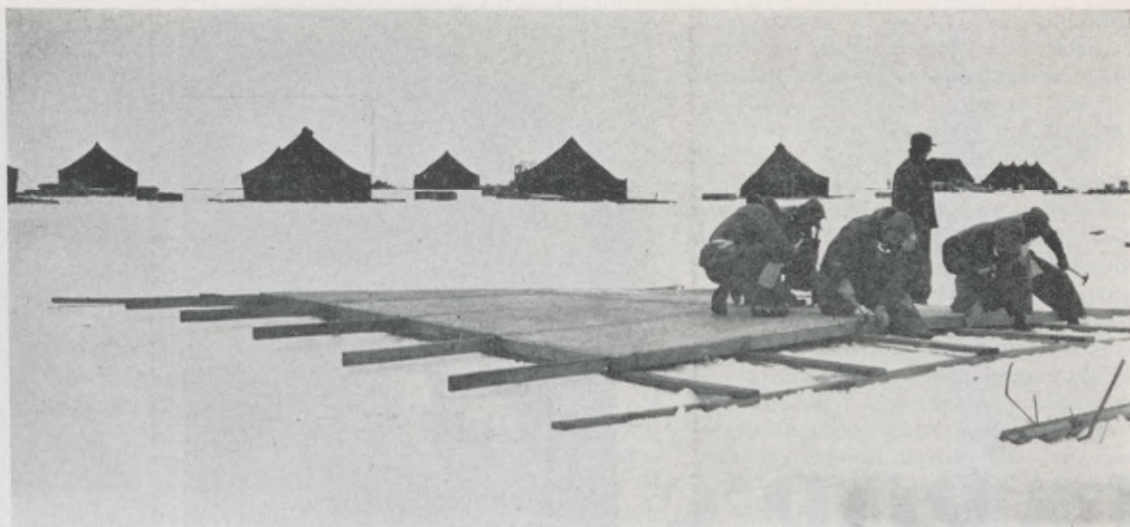
That's an interesting point, too. When I got back in '49, I spoke of that. I feel that we should put food under the snow down there for a lean year, or put whatever other things there that we want to preserve. On our second expedition I went down through tunnels into the first Little America, four years after we had left it. There was a table all set with food on it, and we finished the meal. Nothing deteriorates there. Then twenty-some years later there was still some of the food there, and all the rest of the stuff was still good, not in-



Drums of fuel for the planes of the U. S. Navy's 1947 Antarctic expedition are nearly covered by snow at the base camp in Little America. "Operation Deepfreeze," the fifth polar expedition to the South Pole directed by Admiral Byrd, is currently underway.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Construction Battalion personnel (Seabees) lay the floor of a living quarters tent at Highjump base, Little America IV. At right in background is mess tent and galley.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

jured. There are no microbes or things like that.

MYLER: *Did you feel any qualms about eating it?*

No, it was very evidently good. Therefore, if in a lean year we had food stored down there—bread, meat, or what have you—we could give it to the nations that were starving. We could keep it there many, many years.

MADIGAN: *Admiral, today farm surpluses present one of the greatest economical and political problems of our country. Falling farm prices and government subsidy programs as you know have loaded us with millions of dollars of surplus foods. Have you ever proposed to Secretary of Agriculture Benson or to President Eisenhower that we could as of now begin some plan of deepfreezing food stuffs there?*

I have mentioned it, but not to begin as of now. They seemed to think it is a feasible idea, and it might be done some day.

MADIGAN: *No program of research headed towards such a goal is underway?*

Not now, but I'm going to start in right away.

MADIGAN: *Do you intend to propose it officially to the President?*

I'll propose it to the National Security Council.

HURLEIGH: *On that question, Admiral, we have surplus ships loaded with surplus wheat, and we have wheat stored all over the country. Is it feasible to store wheat in the polar regions, do you believe?*

Well, it's perfectly feasible. Wheat could remain in good condition. What the cost of it would be I can't say.

MYLER: *I have another weather question. I think I read some place that in places down there the ice is retreating about three miles a year. Do you believe studies will indicate whether the world's climate is get-*

ting a little warmer? And possibly someday will some of those seas be open to ships?

I think the ice down there is receding. I don't know of any place where it's receding three miles a year. But in the southern part of South America it's also receding.

MYLER: *Possibly in another thousand years do you think our oceans will have risen to the point where they will engulf cities like New York?*

No, not a thousand; it'll be much more than that. Fifty thousand, sixty, seventy—if it does at all. I can't predict that.

MADIGAN: *Your proposals concerning this area have been in the hands of our defense department for many, many years, haven't they?*

Well, you know it used to be the Army, Navy, and the Air Force. We have added the Department of Defense, as you know, only since the war. I presented a good deal of this as soon as the Department of Defense was organized. That resulted in the tremendous expedition of 1946-47 of 4,200 men, 11 ships, a submarine, aircraft carrier, 18 planes, so I've been calling it to their attention, all right! And of course all this progress is due partly to my tremendous desire to get the nation deeply interested, as it is now.

MADIGAN: *Some of your information contained warnings, did it not, that if we didn't do it, Russia would?*

My warning was that if we didn't do it the other nations of the world would.

MYLER: *Admiral Byrd, this is your fifth trip down there. How long do you personally expect to stay this time?*

I don't know exactly, but this whole thing is going to last until '59. That's because of the scientific interests, and bases, and it takes awhile to get these bases down. I'll probably stay down six or seven months and do some flying—quite a bit of flying—then come back

and get some more personnel for the scientific bases we will have put down there for the scientists.

MYLER: *Do you expect to try to fly over the Pole again yourself this time?*

I've been over it four times, so I have no interest in flying over the Pole, but I have an interest in flying beyond the Pole.

MADIGAN: *What is the kick-off time, Admiral? When do you leave?*

We start the first part of November, although it is possible some unit might leave the latter part of October. By the end of November, they will all have left and will reach New Zealand about December the first.

HURLEIGH: *Our board of judges has selected three prize-winning questions submitted by our listeners on the subject, "Operation Deepfreeze." Here is the first: Admiral Byrd, do you think, due to so much interest shown in the Antarctic, the United Nations will have to create a trusteeship over it?*

Eventually, the United Nations will have to take part in it.

HURLEIGH: *Admiral, what new equipment will be taken on this trip—new in relation to that previously used—and how will your food supply differ from that taken last time?*

We have very much improved tractors this time. Also improved planes, improved clothes for the cold weather, and improved methods.

HURLEIGH: *As a matter of fact, one could say that progress in technology and all else that we have had in this country will be used by you.*

Yes, just think of it! On the first expedition we took an old wooden bark-rigged ship down there and got through that ice, and now we have 10,000 horsepower ice-breakers. That old ship had about 150 horsepower. You can see how great the advances have been. END

LABOR'S



George Meany, President, AFL



Walter Reuther, President, CIO

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

DECEMBER WEDDING

.... Will marriage tame the shrew? CIO-UAW workers have been on strike from Kohler Company, second largest U. S. manufacturer of plumbing fixtures, at Sheboygan, and at Kohler, Wisconsin, since April, 1954, where the main issue has been the right to work without joining a union, a right which Reuther of the CIO denies. Will the merger of AFL-CIO help to eliminate such instances of violence as have occurred at Kohler Company?

.... A minister looks at those right-to-work laws. Reverend Norman S. Ream, pastor of Neenah, Wisconsin, First Methodist Church, discusses the viewpoint that if all labor legislation were repealed, and if laws forbidding the initiation of force and fraud were enforced, comparative industrial peace would return.

.... "Big Labor Is the Next Target for Red Infiltrators," according to an editorial from the *Saturday Evening Post*, which states, "The CIO is less resistant to the Kremlin than the AFL is." How will this affect the over-all position of the combined AFL-CIO?

.... "The men who lead American unions are for the most part men of vision, intelligence and capacity—men who would have attained substantial success in any field of endeavor they may have chosen," states Philip Ray Rodgers, acting chairman of the National Labor Relations Board. Mr. Rodgers predicts success for the labor merger.

.... Unification of the American trade union movement will bring into being a more effective instrument to meet the great challenge of our time by working for peace, for progress and for human freedom, in the opinion of George Meany, AFL president, who is slated for leadership of the combined AFL-CIO.

The CIO Strikes at Kohler, Wisconsin*

FOMENTED by Walter Reuther from his CIO-UAW Detroit headquarters, the most costly and vicious strike in current labor annals has been seething for the past sixteen months at the Kohler Company's plant in Kohler Village, Wisconsin.

Right from its very start, on April 5, 1954, the purpose of this strike has been to promote and bolster Walter Reuther's position in labor circles by deliberately attacking the one company with the best wages and working conditions of any city in Wisconsin. The principle issue is the right to work without joining a union. Reuther denies that right. By now, it is clear that, after squandering over \$5 million of the international union's funds to make Kohler Company give in to that proposition, he has been decisively defeated.

As soon as the strike was called, Reuther sent Robert Burkhart, one of his aides, to direct a reign of terror imposed by union goons in the village of Kohler and Sheboygan. In addition to the \$5 million already lost to the CIO-UAW, \$400 thousand more each month has been committed to subsidize more than twenty-two hundred who are still out.

The plant now operates at 85 per cent of

*From statement by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., as published in *Congressional Record*, August 2, 1955.

capacity. Many more new employees have been hired. Among ninety union leaders fired for violence and other misconduct have been Allan J. Graskamp, president of the local, all members of the executive committee, and all shop stewards.

All new employees hired during the strike will not be replaced by the strikers when and if they decide to return to work. Whatever the National Labor Relations Board may say about this, Kohler is fortified by the Supreme Court's opinion in *N.L.R.B. v. MacKay Radio and Telegraph Co.* (304 U.S. 333) which determined that an employer "is not bound to discharge those hired to fill the places of strikers, upon the election of the latter to resume their employment, in order to create places for them."

Reuther's abject failure to humble the Kohler Company has brought him great loss of face. His recent attempts to impose a guaranteed annual wage plan upon the automobile companies and his settlement for a "fake guaranteed annual wage," which in reality is but a nickel an hour pay boost, has further contributed to the shakiness of his position. Finally, evincing actions of a man in desperation, he has launched what is in effect an illegal secondary boycott with the aim of depriving the Kohler Company of its vital porcelain clay supplies, in an attempt to force the plant's shutdown when the prolonged strike failed to do so. This action—ignored or condoned or even abetted by various Wisconsin elective officials—has made a travesty of the law, just as, in the past sixteen months, actions during the strike flouted the law at every turn.

EMPLOYEES HAVE BENEFITED

The Kohler Company is located in a village of the same name three miles from the city of Sheboygan. It was started here, grew here, and finally became the second largest United States plumbing fixture maker and producer of electric power units, gasoline engines, shells for the Army, and jet engine parts for the Air Force.

The company has not laid off a single employee in seventeen years, even though the plumbing fixture industry depends largely upon seasonally fluctuating residential building demand. Employees consistently have benefited from Kohler's policies. A generation before the steel industry had changed from the twelve-hour to the eight-hour day on continuous operations, Kohler was on an eight-hour day. Wisconsin was the second state to enact a workmen's compensation law. Kohler not only worked for that law, but of its own accord put a similar compensation plan into effect nearly two years before the legislation was adopted.

The Kohler Company has reduced the accident rate to about half that for the



Herbert V. Kohler

WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Governor Walter Kohler

plumbing industry in general. Group life insurance at company expense was put into effect in 1917; group hospital and surgical insurance has been in effect since 1950; and these plans have been revised and improved to meet changing conditions.

Kohler has one of the finest pension plans in American industry. It is fully funded and was established voluntarily by the company in 1948, before the CIO-UAW had negotiated pension arrangements in the automobile industry or in any other industry.

The village of Kohler has enjoyed worldwide fame as an outstanding example of a planned industrial garden community. Practically all families in Kohler own their own homes, and, contrary to CIO-UAW propaganda, they own in fee simple the land on which their homes are built.

Average weekly earnings of Kohler Company employees have been much higher than the average for the entire plumbing industry, the State of Wisconsin, or any city in Wisconsin. In March of 1954, just before the strike was called, Kohler employees earned an average of \$87.45 a week, against \$65.52 for the nearby city of Sheboygan, \$76.04 for the nation's plumbing suppliers, \$77.72 for Kenosha, and \$77.88 for Racine County—the latter two being big CIO-UAW Wisconsin strongholds.

CIO DISRUPTS COMMUNITY

To this quiet little Wisconsin community of workers with better homes, better working conditions, and superior earning power, the CIO turned its attention. Compulsory unionism was the major issue at the Kohler Company. The union at first demanded a union shop, then a modified shop, and finally a maintenance of membership clause.

But President Herbert V. Kohler rejected these demands. The union, as Kohler sees it, wants to preempt the functions of management. It wants to dictate hiring and firing, seniority rules, promotions and merit increases, and to substitute its own standard insurance and pension plan for those now in effect.

"In my conception," he says, "collective bargaining means just what the law defines it to be—attempts to arrive at

an agreement on wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment. It does not mean joint management of the company. Nor does it mean that the union can say: 'These are our standard provisions. You must meet them.'"

So the CIO-UAW called its strike against the Kohler Company on Monday, April 5, 1954, and 2,500 pickets were massed in front of the plant gates. Union goons, imported from Detroit, were ring-leaders in outbreaks of picket-line militancy. For fifty-four days, the plant had to close because of illegal mass picketing. The mob lawlessness, inflamed by Reuther's union goon squads, led to a ruthless reign of terror. The four-man Kohler Village police force, augmented by deputies, could not cope with the rioters. And the Sheboygan County sheriff, Theodore Mosch, showed no desire to enforce the law. He has since been reelected with CIO support. Mayor Rudolph Ploetz, of Sheboygan, has two brothers who are striking Kohler employees.

With the green light for lawlessness, the hoodlums' holiday lasted for months. Rioting and violence were the order of the day on picket lines. Despite their requests that the sheriff's deputies give them safe conduct through picket mobs, nonstriking employees attempting to go to work were repulsed, assaulted, and beaten. On the third day of the strike, Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO-UAW, second only to Walter Reuther in the union hierarchy, appeared on the picket lines, and employees were mauled, kicked, kneed, gouged, and punched when they tried to report for work.

Reuther's lieutenant, Robert Burkhart, of Detroit, drummed up the mobs to fever pitch, one of his first statements being: "Let's do everything we can to keep them away from the plant before they get to the picket line." This meant not only goon attacks upon nonstriking workers at the company's gates, but also undercover coercion and violence against loyal workers and their families in the streets and even in their homes at the village of Kohler and at Sheboygan.

As Allen J. Graskamp, president of local 833 at Kohler, said on May 9, 1954: "We have tried to discourage people from going into that plant by peaceful means, but from now on the gloves are off."

REUTHER EULOGIZES SHERIFF

Reuther's personal prestige was at stake, so heavily committed, in fact, that he has made two trips to Sheboygan to encourage the strikers.

Wisconsin has a criminal statute which authorizes a fine and imprisonment for preventing any person from engaging in lawful work. Sheriff Theodore Mosch became a hero to the union by his stalwart refusal to arrest goons

LABOR'S DECEMBER WEDDING (Continued)

who violated this law. "Thank God there is a sheriff here who will put Kohler in his place," Reuther told the strikers.

Another statute authorizes the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board to issue restraining orders against interference with the pursuit of lawful employment. After a hearing on May 24, 1954, the WERB issued an order permitting only peaceful picketing and forbidding coercion at the plant or in non-strikers' homes.

Not only this order, but an injunction commanding compliance with it, issued last September 1 by Circuit Court Judge Arnold Murphy, has been persistently violated by the terrorists. Also, Circuit Judge Gerald J. Boileau took under advisement on last March 23 a civil contempt case against the international and local unions and nineteen of their leaders, including Burkhart and Graskamp, who were charged with violating the court's injunction.

For three days, oral and motion-picture evidence of intimidation and coercion of nonstrikers at the plant and in their homes was presented to Judge Boileau, but he deferred his decision pending a ruling of the state's supreme court on the question of jurisdiction. The union had challenged the jurisdiction of the WERB and of the circuit court, insisting that the NLRB had exclusive jurisdiction in the case. The state supreme court upheld the jurisdiction of the WERB and of the circuit court on May 3, but Judge Boileau appeared to be in no hurry to enter his judgment.

Meanwhile, the union has shown no disposition to comply. It has committed

more than five hundred acts of violence and vandalism against nonstrikers.

SHIPS KEPT FROM UNLOADING CLAY

Reuther has at last resorted to a new device.

On July 5, 1955, the Norwegian freighter *Fossum*, carrying a cargo of porcelain clay for the Kohler Company, attempted to unload but could not because operations were completely blocked by union mob violence. On "black Tuesday," as this day has become known, Mayor Rudolph Ploetz, of Sheboygan, did nothing to stem the continuous riot and use of force by terrorists, and finally he ordered the police to prevent unloading the freighter.

After allowing the crowds to run amuck, and after forbidding the vessel's unloading, the mayor was severely criticized but still insisted he did a good job of maintaining law and order on "black Tuesday." "I feel that law and order was maintained, as shown by the fact that we had no casualties in the dock area," Ploetz declared.

But the *Chicago Tribune* reported that Roman Grunewald, 36, a worker at Kohler Company and father of four children, was severely beaten by goons. He was recognized in the street and brutally attacked, suffering broken bones and other severe injuries.

Repulsed at Sheboygan, the *Fossum* sought to discharge at Milwaukee. Fifty thousand CIO-AFL workers threatened a city-wide strike. Frank Zeidler, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, and the harbor commission refused to permit the

Fossum to unload at the docks which are municipally owned. The attorney for the chartering company, Paper Makers Importing Company, of Easton, Pennsylvania, announced he had instructions to seek to recover damages arising from delays in discharging cargo from the *Fossum* and other clay ships. Demurrage and other items had reached a large sum when Mayor Zeidler wrote to President Eisenhower suggesting intervention and after talking to CIO and AFL leaders, announced they had withdrawn opposition to unloading the *Divina*, another clay ship, upon arrival at Milwaukee.

At Reuther's direction, AFL unions barred ships from Duluth, Minnesota, and Ashland and Superior, Wisconsin, and, through Canadian affiliates, from Fort William and Port Arthur, Canada. Then both the *Fossum* and the *Divina* sailed to Montreal, where the CIO-UAW with cooperation of Canadian Congress of Labor unions established a picket line which AFL longshoremen refused to cross. Not until the Montreal harbor police expelled the pickets from the docks could the ships unload. At heavy expense, the cargoes were transhipped in sixty-four railway cars. Attempts to learn shipping schedules were circumvented, and the clay reached Kohler Village without further attack.

GOVERNOR FAILS TO ACT

Walter J. Kohler, Jr., governor of Wisconsin, had made no effort to enforce the state right-to-work laws. He is a nephew of Herbert V. Kohler, presi-



Union serves coffee and lunch to sheriff's deputies during the UAW-CIO strike at Kohler Company. The big pay-off for the sheriff—all-out union political drive and reelection.

dent of the Kohler Company, but has no financial or other interest in the company. When Sheboygan businessmen protested against the breakdown of law and order, Governor Kohler agreed to send National Guard units should new violence break out. He suggested arbitration but has abstained from enforcing existing law. He is vigorously supported by union labor.

The Kohler strike has been so revealing of union policies that businessmen could, we believe, study it with profit to gauge its implications for the future. The rising tide of irresponsible lawlessness of labor unions, coupled with pronounced lack of will on the part of

many elective officials to do their duty is now apparent.

It was only the large per capita outlay for strikers' subsidies that made Reuther formidable to a medium-sized albeit sound company like Kohler. Reuther's aim was to show he could level any well-entrenched industrial company; to make Kohler an example; and then to hold the all-out money-plus-goon tactics threat to make company after company fall into line. If he has stumbled miserably over just one medium-sized company in Wisconsin, think of how little chance he will have if determined American business leaders will fight back determinedly and forcefully.



We Respectfully Desire Our Rights

By **NORMAN S. REAM***

A minister looks at
right-to-work laws

SHOULD every individual in our country be compelled to join a church? Let me argue in favor of this for a moment. It would benefit the work of the churches: they would get more income; they could do more good. When church leaders spoke out on social problems, they could speak with more authority—if all people were church members. If the church helps all persons in the community, then all persons in the community should be forced to help the church. The church wants no "free riders."

In spite of these persuasive arguments most thoughtful men will reject compulsory church membership. They will say that goodness cannot be forced. They feel that compulsory membership would weaken the church, not strengthen it. The experience of established churches in Europe shows them how compulsory membership actually lowers attendance.

Many who reject compulsory church membership favor compulsory membership in labor unions. To combat compulsory union membership, seventeen states have passed "right-to-work" laws. These laws seek to guarantee a workingman's right to join or not join a union as he pleases—just as he has the right to join or not join a church as he

pleases. A great cry has been raised against these "right-to-work" laws in certain circles. Let us look into them, and see what can be said for them, as well as what can be said against them.

Let's start by agreeing that all men ought to be free. We will not argue the point, but assume that most Americans accept the religious idea in the Declaration of Independence holding that every man has the right to liberty. We value this right as the most precious which man possesses—for life is of little value without liberty. Man was meant to be free within the limits of God's orderly universe. The only limitation on man's freedom is self-imposed. He can grant a measure of his freedom to the government in order that it may protect each man in the enjoyment of liberty and thus restrain predation and plunder.

Labor union policy should not attempt to repeal this tradition of liberty. No man ought to be forced to do work against his will. This is slavery. No man ought to be forced to hire and pay another against his will. This is robbery. Each man has the right to work at the job of his own choosing, providing he can find that kind of job.

HIRE ME, OR ELSE!

Each man should have the right to hire whom he pleases to do the kind of work he wants done—providing he can find a man who wants to work for him on his terms. In short, every man, by virtue of his freedom, has the right to

seek the kind of work he wants; and to hire others (when the terms are mutually agreeable) to do the kind of work they want.

This does not mean, however, that anyone has the right to a job. If a man does have the right to a job then some other man has the duty to provide him with a job. Would any thoughtful person argue that employers should be forced to provide jobs?

If government can force a man to hire someone he does not want, it is then consistent for the government to force the same man to hire employees even though no jobs are open.

Does an employer have the right to hire whom he pleases, providing the agreement is arrived at voluntarily on both sides? Our answer is, yes.

Does a prospective workingman have a right to take (or reject) any job offered him? Yes, again. If he fulfills the employer's requirements, and if taking this job does not interfere with anybody else's rights, then a man's right to work at the job of his own choosing is established.

"YOU HAVE NO RIGHT NOT TO JOIN"

Now let us discuss how the "right-to-work" laws fit this picture. What are they intended to do? Who opposes them? What's good about them? Should libertarians object to any phase of them?

The "right-to-work" laws are meant to secure the freedom we have been discussing. They are meant to guarantee a workingman's freedom to work at the job of his own choosing. "Right-to-work" laws do not guarantee anyone a job. They do not deny the right of an employer to fire an employee. They do not deny the right of an employee to join a union. What they try to do is guarantee to each man the right to take any job offered to him which is mutually agreeable to him and to his employer—without being required to enter a union against his will.

Two different kinds of objections have been made to "right-to-work" laws. The most obvious objection is made by union leaders. A less obvious, harder to understand objection is made by libertarians. First, let's look at the opposition of the union leaders.

"Right-to-work" laws are opposed by union leaders because they give the workingman the right not to join a union. The union leaders do not argue against a right to join a union, but they argue vociferously against a man's right not to join.

But doesn't the right to join imply free choice, and if man is to have free

*Reprinted by special permission of *Faith and Freedom* magazine, published monthly by Spiritual Mobilization, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 17, California. Norman S. Ream is pastor of Neenah, Wisconsin, First Methodist Church.

LABOR'S DECEMBER WEDDING (Continued)

choice shouldn't he be free not to join a union? Can a man be said to have a right if he is not free to exercise it both affirmatively and negatively?

A prominent religious leader has written: "The right-to-work laws are a virtual conspiracy of the crafty, the ignorant, or the misguided to subvert industrial peace, exploit men's need to work, and deluge the community with industrial irresponsibility. Right-to-work laws do not create jobs; they only victimize the worker and make his organization ineffective."

These are harsh words. They are no doubt designed to appeal to the emotions. If one examines the words one will have difficulty establishing their logic. To do so, let's look again at the possibility of compulsory church membership.

FREE RIDING CAN STOP

One could with equal logic argue that the right not to join a church would "subvert religious peace, exploit man's need to worship, and deluge the community with religious irresponsibility. 'Right-not-to-join-a-church' laws do not make Christians; they only victimize the individual worshipper and make his organization ineffective."

When applied to the church this is obvious nonsense. Is it less nonsensical when applied to unions?

The churches have proved that they are healthier when membership is not compulsory. Are unions afraid to try to prove their health? A return to vol-

untary methods of collecting members would prove the union's true worth; it would show how much unions are desired by workingmen who give their approval voluntarily. Are union leaders afraid that they offer too few advantages to attract voluntary support?

Here union leaders may point out that they are now required by law to represent both union and nonunion men. Thus, if a pay raise is granted through the efforts of the union, the nonunion members are accused of being "free riders." The solution here would be to repeal this law. Then the union would bargain only for its own members, and the succeeding benefits would be given only to union members, and the "free rider" argument would become meaningless.

The issue here is not whether unions are good, bad or indifferent. The issue is whether or not a working man should be forced to join a union in order to hold a job for which he is otherwise qualified. Though the labor leaders, and ministers who defend them, decry the use of violence, there is no question that force and violence are common methods of soliciting members. "Right-to-work" laws aim to discourage the force unions now use in recruiting members.

WHY DOES ANYBODY MIND?

Then what can be the objection to "right-to-work" laws from libertarians? Some of them reason:

The intention behind "right-to-work" laws is good, for it aims to insure that

a man does not have to join a union in order to hold down a job. Since unions habitually gather their members by force, this law would appear to be aimed against the initiation of force—and therefore a proper law.

But suppose, just for the sake of the argument, you had a union which did not use force or violence to collect its members. We know of no such union. But suppose one existed, like the old Renaissance craft guilds which made high standard of craftsmanship the test of admission. A poor craftsman could not buy his way in. Suppose (for the discussion) that we had a union like that today. Suppose we had an employer who wanted to deal with that union. Suppose the employer said to the prospective workingman: "In order to work here you must meet this condition of employment which I lay down. You must join my company's union. Nobody will force you to join this union. But if you do not join it I will not hire you."

A LIBERTARIAN SOLUTION

Strict libertarians would say that the employer should have the right to lay down the terms for employment on his property, no matter how harsh, and that the prospective workingman should have the right to accept or reject those terms.

It may be that such an employer would be making a stupid mistake in requiring a workingman to join a union as a condition of employment, but strict libertarians say that nobody should interfere with the employer's right to set terms. In such a situation, the "right-to-work" laws would interfere with the employer's right to set his terms, for they would force him not to permit a closed shop, even though he wanted one. It is hard to imagine that he would want one. But, these libertarians say, his right to set terms of employment should be respected so long as he does not initiate force or fraud against anyone.

What should be done, in their view? Repeal all labor legislation, beginning with the Wagner Act, which started the trouble by giving the unions legal monopolies. Then enforce local laws which forbid the initiation of force or fraud for any purpose, including violent recruiting of union members. Unions did not become a national problem until after the passage of the Wagner Act. If labor legislation were repealed, and if laws forbidding the initiation of force and fraud were enforced, comparative industrial peace would return. The "right-to-work" laws would then not be considered necessary by anybody.

THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

THE CIO, an industrial labor organization, was established at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in November, 1938. Its forerunner was the Committee for Industrial Organization. The latter was founded after the craft-union policy of the American Federation of Labor dominated the AFL convention in 1935. When the CIO defied an AFL order (1936) to dissolve and cease its promotion of dual unionism, the CIO became independent and was formally organized in 1938 to carry out its aim of unionizing mass-production workers. By 1947 the CIO claimed more than six million workers as members. Its chief strength lies in the steel, textile, and auto industries. Its first president was John L. Lewis, who was succeeded by Philip Murray.

Walter Philip Reuther was born at Wheeling, West Virginia, September 1,

1907. Son of a union organizer and one-time Socialist candidate for Congress, he became at an early age an apprentice tool and die worker, but presently was discharged for his agitation against Sunday work. He was a foreman with the Ford Motor Company (1931-32), but experiencing trouble again as a result of his union activities, he spent three years in Europe (1932-35) observing labor conditions and working for sixteen months in a Russian automotive factory. Returning to Detroit, he led the first major strike in that city's automotive industry. In World War II he was a member of the labor-management committee of the War Production Board and also represented labor in the Office of Production Management. He was elected president of the CIO in 1952 after the death of Philip Murray.



Big Labor is the Next Target

for Red Infiltrators*

ONE of the most important struggles now going on is the one between the Communist party and the top leaders of the American Federation of Labor over the question whether the trade unions of this country shall become appeasers of Moscow. President George Meany, of the AFL, is determined that they shall not. But the Communists have hopes of eventual victory. They hope that general public sentiment will go so soft and mushy on the Communist question that the average union member will fail to back up Meany.

Ever since Lenin's Bolsheviks seized control of Russia in 1917, the AFL has refused to have any truck with them. It stood firm in the 1920's, even though many intellectuals and liberal political leaders, including some United States senators and Franklin D. Roosevelt sympathized with what they naively considered "the Russian experiment." The AFL gave accurate warning of Red infiltration of the government in the early 1930's, but was laughed at. It opposed United States recognition of Stalin's dictatorship in 1933.

Now, for months, the Communist party has been waging a tireless attack on the AFL, and especially on Meany, for resisting the Kremlin's "new look" and new smile. Here is a typical Red denunciation: "George Meany has disgraced the working class of America before the world! Holding the title of president of the AFL, and slated to be the head of the merged labor movement of fifteen million American unionists, he stood up before the congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Vienna and disgracefully raved against big-power negotiations and peaceful coexistence. He called on the West German trade-unions to drop their opposition to rearmament."

Meany did more than that. He told the European and Asian union leaders that neutralism is evil and that mere noncommunism is not enough. Labor, he said, must be anti-Communist. "We didn't compromise with Nazism," he reminded them. "We weren't non-Nazi; we were openly anti-Nazi. The free labor movement wasn't non-Fascist, it was openly and militantly anti-Fascist. Today . . . we mustn't make the mistake

of being just non-Communist, because we can't afford the luxury of being non-Communist."

Returning to the United States, Meany spoke similarly at the convention of the Retail Clerks International Association.

Soon the Reds issued an open letter to Meany and President Walter Reuther of the CIO pointing out that "delegations" of various kinds were going to Communist countries, and "why not a visit by American trade-unionists to the Soviet Union, China and the other Eastern lands?" Reuther remained silent on this question, but when Meany was asked about the Communists' open letter, he answered: "As representative of ten million free trade-unionists, I would be willing to give consideration to a trip to Moscow as soon as it is possible to have free trade-unions in Moscow."

Smoothly the Reds argue that "the

Meany line is making enemies for labor here at home." How? Well, the bulk of the people now want to trust and love the Kremlin. They'll get so mad at the AFL that they won't support its legislative program, nor will they vote for the candidates it endorses in next year's election, according to the Communist party.

If anybody thinks that this slick Communist sales talk won't impress some union leaders, he is greatly mistaken. The CIO is less resistant to the Kremlin than the AFL is. It tends to go along with the preponderant "liberal" sentiment, especially as expressed by Americans for Democratic Action. Moreover, some AFL unions are much less resistant than Meany, David Dubinsky, and other anti-Communists in the AFL leadership.

The Reds hope to fool rank-and-file union members with bogus "peace" propaganda and thus develop a pressure that will carry up through many unions and at last win a majority vote in the Executive Council of the combined AFL and CIO, despite Meany. If this happens, it will be one of the greatest victories in the Kremlin's campaign to paralyze our country.

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Labor Merger -- A Most Significant Development

By PHILIP RAY RODGERS, acting chairman of the National Labor Relations Board*

THE AFL-CIO merger is without doubt one of the most significant developments which has ever taken place in the field of labor-management relations—and certainly the most significant since the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Law.

Since this development has been the subject of much analysis, speculation, and observation by both qualified and unqualified observers, I trust it will not be considered amiss for me to make a few comments on the subject.

In the first place, I do not join with those who see in this development either economic collapse or political chaos. Neither do I join with those who predict only failure for this undertaking. It is my sincere belief that this merger will achieve a notable success.

I say that because there is inherent in this venture all the elements which beget success. In the first place this merger is the inevitable dictate of time and circumstance. The wonder is not that it has occurred, but that it occurred so late. For too long a time—and any impartial study of NLRB cases will establish this—unions have been expending too great a proportion of their time and substance vying with each other to change the affiliation of workers already organized.

This condition was not beneficial to the unions, nor beneficial to the country. For, in the over-all, there resulted no substantial gain in union strength, and in most instances the organizational activity required for those periodic elections cost the unions more in the expenditure of time and money than they were worth. And the incidental unrest these elections must inevitably create among employees was certainly no source of profit to the companies involved.

In such circumstances it was inevitable that responsible union leaders would see the need for putting an end to this type of internal conflict and competition and of devoting their combined energies to organizing the unor-



Philip Ray Rodgers

ganized. This decision is both sound and reasonable and one which comports completely with the law of the land.

In the second place, there is a strong and ever-increasing demand for the type of product or service which this merged organization has to sell. Notwithstanding the tremendous growth of American unions over the past twenty years, the fact remains that the number of unorganized American workers far exceeds the number of organized workers. Add to that situation the undisputed fact that the organized worker has progressed much more rapidly and attained a status much more enviable than has his unorganized brother, and you have the ingredients of a boom market in the product which this organization is equipped to offer—the benefit and protection of union membership.

NO REASON FOR ALARM

Now this prospect of increased unionization of American workers seems to evoke great apprehension if not alarm in certain quarters. The reason for such reactions is not entirely clear to me. Certainly no one can claim that unionization has had an adverse effect upon either the standard of living or upon the soundness of the general

economy. Indeed the contrary seems to have been established beyond dispute.

No one will seriously contend, for example, that wage rates should be depressed, that work hours should be lengthened, or that welfare and pension plans should be abandoned in these areas where they have been established through collective bargaining. Nor will anyone seriously contend that the attainment of these goals has adversely affected either the particular industries involved or the economy generally. How then can the extension of these benefits to the millions of workers yet unorganized have any but a beneficial effect upon the economy in both a specific as well as a general sense? It is an almost certain event that this new organization will find millions of ready buyers for its product and services, with the result that both unionization and collective bargaining will come to encompass an ever-broadening part of our economy. The results of such a development, measured against experience, would seem to promise both general and specific economic advantages.

One wonders at those who see in this merger of unions all that is evil. These same people have for the most part come to accept mergers in business as an almost routine device in the achievement of efficiency and the overcoming of handicaps. But the device of merger is not a patented device reserved for the exclusive use of only one group in our economy. In this modern age may not unions seek after efficiency; may not unions strive to overcome handicaps? Must unions forever dissipate their energies and substance in strident conflict with each other; must unions be forever foreclosed from achieving an efficient, cooperative unity which is the insurance of their future? The answer, it seems to me, has already been given.

In the third place, I look to this merger to succeed because of the type of leadership which has brought it to fruition. The men who lead American unions are for the most part men of vision, intelligence and capacity—men who would have attained substantial success in any field of endeavor they may have chosen. In addition, they are men of wide experience, adept at getting along with people, skilled in the art of resolving issues. They have for the most part experienced both stunning defeat and glowing victory. They have demonstrated marked capacity to meet and surmount problems of great proportion and substantial difficulty.

Now in addition to possessing the above qualities, the men who are leading this merged organization are imbued with that indefinable something which,

*Reprinted by special permission from an address made on October 19, 1955, before the Commonwealth Club of California.

for want of a better name, a noted football coach has termed "desire." By that I mean these men are sincere in their desire to make this organization work. They are sincere in their desire to extend the benefits of unionization and collective bargaining to the working men and working women of America. They did not embark upon this project with failure as their objective. They are men impatient with failure. I do not believe failure will be their lot.

Now there are those who say that by their very nature these men of prominence and ambition must inevitably fall into bickering and dissension, with the result that this whole project will collapse. That is a type of wishful thinking that has been effectively answered by the fact that the same men who are supposedly bent on consuming each other have already agreed to and implemented this very merger. If they have agreed on that first difficult and monumental step, what reason is there to predict that they will founder on the later and less difficult steps that will follow upon it?

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MERGER

There is one other aspect of this merger that seems to have evoked great consternation in some circles, and that is the effect it may have in matters political. Prudence might indicate that this is an area in which I should not tread, but at the risk of being imprudent I venture to say that political activity is one of the prerogatives, if not one of the obligations, of citizenship. It seems to me that once we accept the philosophy of universal manhood suffrage, we cannot view with alarm the broadest possible political activity on the part of all citizens.

There are those who say that such an observation is all right in theory, but that in fact the leaders of labor generally are primarily committed to one political party, and that they are not objective in their appraisal of political questions. Be that as it may, it seems to me that a goal of political activity is action, not neutrality. A citizenry of neutrals is a paralyzed citizenry. A paralyzed citizenry means a paralyzed government. And a paralyzed government means the end of self-government.

Those who would accept for themselves the political rights of free citizens cannot attempt to abridge or deny the same rights in full measure to all other citizens. They must be willing to abide by the results of free elections; they must abide by the will of the majority. No other course is consistent with the heritage of America.

It has been said by some that labor

would err greatly were it to abandon the historic advice of Samuel Gompers and plunge into politics on a purely partisan basis. Whether this prediction is right or wrong is of little moment, for the decision both as to the extent and manner of labor's political activity will, in the final analysis, be made by labor, and not by the admonishers of labor.

Those who foresee only calamity in this prospective increase in political activity on the part of labor are, apparently without sensing it, admitting serious misgivings as to the validity of the institutions and principles of self-government. In my opinion they would do well to abandon these broadcasts of worried



What Does Labor Unity Mean to America?

By **GEORGE MEANY**, President,
American Federation of Labor*

A MERICAN workers are determined to take the initiative toward unifying our country, restoring its economic and political progress and attaining the peace and security for which the whole free world hungers.

In the true American spirit, the trade union movement is not waiting for others to do the job, but proceeding voluntarily to carry out its responsibilities. This is enterprise—free enterprise.

The United States of America was founded on the concept that "in union there is strength." That same idea, of course, is the bedrock of the labor movement. Individual workers, helpless on their own to promote their well-being in a materialistic world, have found that in union there is strength. Yet for twenty years the trade union movement itself has been handicapped by the inherent weakness of division.

Now we stand on the threshold of a fundamental change. Three months from today the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are scheduled, if all goes well, to meet in joint convention in New York City. Thus a single, united labor federation will be established.

What does this mean to America?

How will the merger affect the economic status of the nation's workers?

In what way will it touch upon the

warnings and unsought counsel that they are beaming in labor's direction. They would do well to make certain that they are doing their utmost, consistent with law, to organize and promote the political activities of all citizens to the greatest possible extent. They would do well to renew their faith in the intelligence of the individual voter and in the integrity of the ballot box, for in the final analysis, it is at the ballot box that all basic issues in a free society must be resolved. If all Americans will remember that, and live by it, then the institutions which freedom built for us, and indeed that very freedom itself, will be strengthened and hold firm forever.

interests of businessmen and the farmers?

Will it exert any appreciable influence on political trends and governmental policy?

And finally—will the cause of freedom and world peace be advanced as a result?

These are the questions that are most frequently raised in connection with the labor merger. I will try to answer them frankly and directly.

Labor unity will, at the outset, bring together into a single organization more than fifteen million working men and women. With their families, this represents by conservative estimate more than fifty million people, or about a third of the total population of our country. In a very real sense, this brings added security to America. For the combined American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will be dedicated to preserving the free American way of life. One of the basic articles of its proposed constitution bars from membership any union dominated by Communist, Fascist or other totalitarian influences. There will thus be established in our country a mighty working force, immune to subversion and vigilant in its loyalty. No other free union in the world enjoys such built-in protection for democracy.

Another vital bulwark to our national defense is the high standard of living which the trade union movement has helped to create for the American

*Labor Day address, September 5, 1955, delivered over the Columbia Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C.

LABOR'S DECEMBER WEDDING (Continued)

people. It is no secret that the enemies of freedom have long anticipated, in vain, the collapse of our national economy. They counted on such a collapse to dissipate the assistance we have given to other free nations and to crumble our own resistance. But their calculations went wrong. They went wrong because mass purchasing power, built up in our country through years of union pressure and collective bargaining, kept factory and farm production going at high levels even when the nation faced the threat of a postwar recession.

To remain healthy, our national economy must continue to grow and expand. It must provide millions of additional jobs each year as our population grows. It must do this even during a period when the introduction of automatic, labor-saving machinery tends to reduce the number of jobs normally available. Increased production is the only answer. Yet increased production can itself become a terrifying problem unless the American people enjoy sufficient purchasing power to buy and consume what they need.

This is the area where the activities of a united labor movement can most effectively serve the nation and its workers. As a result of the projected merger, labor will be in a far better position to meet the economic challenge of the future. It will possess more power at the bargaining table. It will be able to organize millions of unorganized workers and raise their income. Thus the purchasing power and the living standards of the great masses of our people stand to get a much-needed lift at a time when industry and agriculture will require broader markets for increased production.

Yet a few irreconcilable enemies of the trade union movement are busily at work spreading rumors and propaganda among businessmen and farmers to the effect that the merger will create a labor "monopoly" which should be curbed by further federal and state legislation.

Nothing can be further from the truth. At the outset, the united labor federation will represent only about one-fourth of the employed workers in this country. That is a far cry from monopoly. Furthermore the term "monopoly" implies a combination by a few to enrich themselves at the expense of the many. Yet the basic purpose of the united labor movement will be to provide all workers, organized and unorganized, with the opportunity of improving their conditions. Instead of monopolizing the benefits of a better life, it is our mission to spread them far and wide. Surely this is in keeping with the basic concepts of American democracy.

To indicate that the united labor movement will attempt to horsewhip the rest of the country is a complete distortion of the facts. It is dedicated, not to predatory objectives, but to serve as a force for good in the progress of our country.

NO "LABOR PARTY" PLANNED

There are also rumors current to the effect that the merger will result in the formation of a Labor party here in America. I do not know of a single, responsible trade union leader who favors such a step.

We have made no secret of the fact that expansion of the political activities of labor is slated when the merger takes effect in December. The public is entitled to know why.

There are today on the books of eighteen states laws which under the hypocritical guise of assuring the "right-to-work," actually prohibit any form of union security clause in labor-management contracts, regardless of the wishes of the workers and the employers. These laws are a threat to the continued existence of unions.

There still remains in the federal law the Taft-Hartley Act. Despite campaign pledges from leaders of both major parties to correct its manifold injustices, the Taft-Hartley Act is just as unfair to labor today as when it was enacted in 1947.

These conditions alone would serve as sufficient incentive to labor to seek relief through the only legal and democratic method available in a free country—the exercise of the right to vote. But there are other aspects of the political and legislative trends in this country that are equally disturbing.

We feel very strongly that our gov-

ernment has disgracefully neglected the children of this country by failing to enact a thorough program of federal aid to education.

Slum conditions in the cities and even in some farm areas cry out for correction, yet Congress has repeatedly refused to go ahead with an effective public-housing program that would assure decent homes to all Americans.

Tax relief for big corporations and wealthy families was rushed through Congress at the first opportunity after the war ended, but low-income families are still carrying a disproportionately heavy share of the tax burden.

Social Security benefits are far too low; the health needs of the American people are still being overlooked; but the government continues to give away natural resources and even atomic power development to private interests.

WILL ENDORSE POLITICAL CANDIDATE

These are but a few of the conditions we hope to ameliorate through political action. Such action will be conducted on a strictly nonpartisan basis. The united labor movement will not subjugate itself to any one political party. It will endorse liberal and progressive candidates from both parties. It will make known to the workers of this country the records of all candidates. It will urge all citizens to register and to vote. Labor has full confidence that when the citizens of this country understand the issues and cast a full vote they will elect strong liberal majorities to Congress.

In the final analysis, all our efforts to build a more secure and rewarding life for the people of our country depend upon the maintenance of world peace and the preservation of freedom.

Free labor looks at war as the great

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

THE AFL was formed at Columbus, Ohio, in 1886, composed of self-governing craft unions. Its forerunner was the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America, founded at Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1881. The traditional policy of the AFL has been oriented towards a firm support of the craft-union principle. Organizationally, the AFL is a loose federation of more than one hundred national and international unions with a total of some 39 thousand locals. Its first president, Samuel Gompers, who headed the AFL from 1886 to 1924 (with the exception of 1895), was succeeded by William Green. The contest within the AFL between advocates of craft unionism and

supporters of industrial unionism was climaxed by the expulsion of several unions and the formation (1938) of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). In 1947 the AFL claimed a membership of some 7,400,000 workers.

George Meany, who became, in 1952, upon the death of William Green, the third president in the history of AFL, was born at New York August 16, 1894. A plumber, he served (1922-34) as business agent of his union and became (1934) president of the New York State Federation of Labor. In 1939 he was elected secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and during World War II (1942, et seq.) was a member of the National War Labor Board.

destroyer of mankind. Without peace, without freedom, there can be no hope for human progress. We therefore would welcome a real lessening of international tensions.

These tensions stem from one source. Soviet Russia has threatened and still threatens the peace of the world and the freedom of the human race. The aggressive forces of communism have always cherished and never surrendered the ambition of dominating the entire world, even by force of arms.

We must face these harsh realities. We dare not be misled by the sudden change in attitude of Soviet leaders, the substitution of the smiling-face technique for the menacing scowl.

Is there any sincerity behind those smiles? Has the Kremlin lifted the Iron Curtain? Has it freed the satellite nations under its tyrannical oppression? Has it stopped the oppression of millions of men and women, chained in slave labor? Has it agreed to any definite steps for disarmament, for the unification of Germany or for settling all problems in Europe and Asia by peaceful means?

To ask these questions is to answer them. The Communists have not budged an inch from their aggressive position. Their smiles, therefore, may be more dangerous than their threats, if we allow ourselves to be deluded by this new technique.

FREE LABOR IS ANTI-COMMUNIST

Free labor has a deep distrust of communism and all other forms of totalitarianism because they trample upon

human rights. A united labor movement in America will be able to play a more effective role in support of the free trade unions of other nations which the Communists are still actively trying to subvert to their own revolutionary ends. We can and we will halt the spread of communism among workers in the free world.

Thus, the forthcoming unification of the American trade union movement will bring into being a more effective instrument to meet the great challenge of our time by working for peace, for progress and for human freedom.

On this Labor Day, the free workers of America wish to extend fraternal greetings to their fellow workers throughout the free world, with whom we are pledged to collaborate for peace and democracy.

In our own country, we believe the opportunities for further advancement are limitless. New frontiers for vast economic and social progress lie ahead. The atomic age can be of tremendous benefit to mankind, if we can summon the wisdom and foresight to take advantage of its constructive promise and prevent its use as a destructive weapon.

The members of the American Federation of Labor look to the year ahead with confidence. We expect to gain further ground in improving the standards of the working men and women in this country. We look forward also to a new tide of social and political progress. Labor is not and never will be satisfied with the status quo. Only by working for and achieving a better day in the future can we fulfill our destiny. END

CAPITALIZING ON LABOR

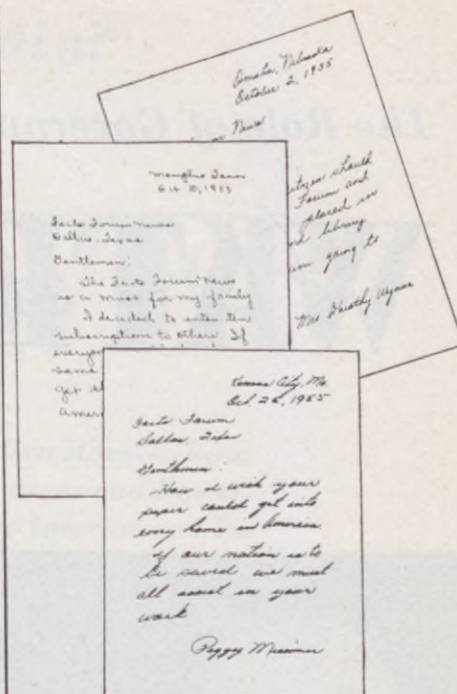
ESSENTIAL to a successful labor party is a well-developed class consciousness, a unity of purpose among the laborers. Now if it is possible—or what is more important, if the laborer himself thinks it is—to climb to a higher economic level, he will not want to unite with the members of his present class to wage political warfare against the other classes. The American laborer is quite apt to find no fault with the capitalist as such for the very good reason that he dreams of becoming a capitalist himself sometime. It is only when he has resigned himself to permanent membership in his own class that he is able to feel class consciousness.

"The Labor Problem in the United States"
—CUMMINS AND DE VYVER

THREE years ago, during a discussion of the price of a steelworker's time, such as is natural in connection with any price on any free market, President Fairless of U. S. Steel reminded that company's production men that a system existed whereby, at no greater cost than that of a medium-priced automobile, they could among them buy the company out and control it for themselves. That system, he pointed out, is capitalism.

"The Essence of Capitalism"
—HART BUCK

—Reprinted from *Ideas on Liberty*, September, 1955, published by The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.



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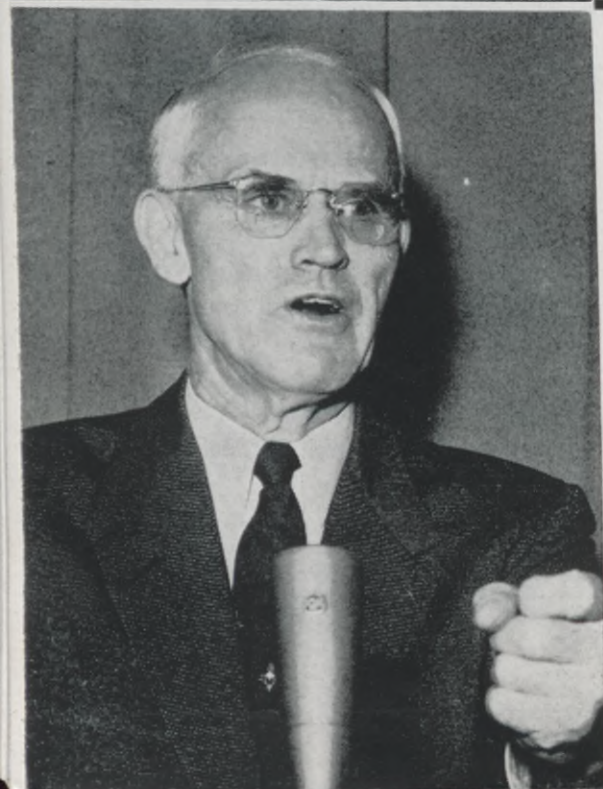
WATER RESOURCES



ADMIRAL MOREELL
states that the "low rates" of public power enterprises are a falsification, since they are financed by American tax money, and are themselves exempt from the taxes which private power companies must pay.

THE twenty-six members of our Task Force were recruited from twenty different states of the union, representing all parts of the country. None of the members was actively associated with either public or private power or any other interested parties. Only men prominent in their communities, of unassailable integrity, and in the top ranks of their professions were selected. No inquiry was made as to their political affiliations.

The Task Force began its labors early in November, 1953, and continued until its report was handed in on March 31, 1955. During those seventeen months, public hearings were held in five cities, 186 witnesses were heard, 78 written statements from governors were received, 200 federal reclamation and



SENATOR WATKINS
denies that the public power projects represent a huge hidden subsidy which heaps an unwarranted burden upon the taxpayers, and feels that water is the first and primary consideration . . . power and all other incidental matters come second.

INTERVIEWED on a recent Reporters' Roundup program, Senator Arthur V. Watkins (R) of Utah was questioned by John Madigan of the Washington bureau of *Newsweek* magazine, Darwin Olofson of the *Omaha World Herald*, and Moderator Robert F. Hurleigh regarding the developing controversy over natural resource and water development.

"The President of the United States has endorsed the Upper Colorado Storage Project which in the long run will contain nine big dams," stated Senator Watkins, commenting on the Democratic charge that in the past couple of years the Republican administration has opposed public power and done much to break it down in behalf of private power. "These nine dams," he continued,

Is Public Power a Bargain?

FACTS AND POWER

Differing opinions are held on this subject by Admiral Ben Moreell, head of the Hoover Task Force Commission on Water Resources and Power, and Senator Arthur V. Watkins, member of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Opposing views of Congressman Bruce Alger (R) of Texas and Senator John Sparkman (D) of Alabama are also presented here as expressed on a recent Facts Forum program.

power systems were studied in detail, 81 meetings of the Task Force or its subgroups were held. The completely documented report consists of 1,783 printed pages of text, supported by tables, maps and charts.

It is impossible, in the space available, to give more than a bird's-eye view of the mass of data we collected, the conclusions reached, and our recommendations.

I believe our most important conclusion is that the activities of the federal government in this vital and costly field have grown like Topsy, with no central supervision except a "once-over-lightly" by the Bureau of the Budget. Huge sums have been spent without benefit of any clear-cut, unified body of federal policy. Instead, each agency

established its own policies and, within each agency, there are different policies for different types of development. The current federal policies, taken together, are a hodgepodge of contradictions which generate conflicts among agencies, overlapping of functions, competition for position, and wasteful expenditures.

I will mention very briefly some of our other conclusions:

First, with respect to Public Power: this is the king-size hot potato. It is important for two reasons; first, because the left-wing groups have found that this issue has a strong popular appeal which can be used as a powerful political vehicle; secondly, because socialized power can easily lead to socialized industry.

There is no logical reason for the popular appeal of the public power issue. Actually, the cost of electric power to the average householder is about 1 per cent of his family budget. *A reduction of only 3 per cent in his tax bill would pay for all of his power.* But the demagogue conveniently forgets to mention taxes.

As for industry, except for the electrochemical and electro-metallurgical industries, the cost of power averages about 1 per cent of the total manufacturing cost. For the two industries mentioned it runs between 10 and 15 per cent. The importance of public power to the average small industry lies principally in the fact that a local market of uncertain stability is artificially created by the generous expenditure of

"are multiple-purpose — irrigation and power, flood control, fish and wildlife support. Out of it all we will get a large production of electricity as well as the vitally essential water supply for the desert states of Utah, Colorado, Wyoming and New Mexico."

Senator Watkins reported that this Bill, No. S. 500, has been passed by the Senate by a vote of more than two and a half to one and is being acted upon by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. The project as authorized in the Senate Bill will take between ten and thirty-five years to complete, and represent a total cost of 1,900,000,000 dollars.

"There are those, Senator," remarked John Madigan, "who claim that the project represents a huge hidden subsidy

which will heap an unwarranted burden upon the taxpayers. Is there anything to that at all?"

"There isn't any truth in it," replied Senator Watkins. "The economists, the engineers and other people in the Bureau of Reclamation have made a 15 to 25 year study of this project, and we have spent, through money from the Hoover Commission and through the appropriations by the states, some ten millions of dollars in one of the most careful and accurate studies ever made of a reclamation project in this great country."

Senator Watkins declared that this long-range program was worth ten times more than its cost.

In connection with the forthcoming report of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, which is expected

to deal with what cost the federal government should pay and what cost local groups should pay of such public works projects as flood control and reclamation, Darwin Olofson asked the Senator if it would not have been wiser to have waited for the Commission to come up with its study before acting on the Upper Colorado project.

"I would think," replied Senator Watkins, "that the study given by the Bureau of Reclamation and by the states themselves would be far more intense, cover a wider field and do a much better job in view of the many years spent in its preparation than any Commission which is made up of men who only spend part time and hold a few scattered hearings, probably deliberate on it for a short time, and come out with a report."

(Continued on next page)

MOREELL...

public funds in a particular area; in the case of the electro-metallurgical and electro-chemical industries, they are able to obtain a cost advantage over their competitors who must use private power.

Public power has already become a potent political issue; it is growing in importance every day.

In 1933, the installed capacity of federal power projects was less than 1 per cent of all electric utilities in the country. By 1953, the federal government had become the largest single manufacturer of power, producing 13.1 per cent of the kilowatt hours generated. Federal projects now under construction and authorized will, by 1960, more than double the 1953 capacity and, when all are completed, will triple it, reaching a total of 35 million kilowatts at a total

cost of \$10 billion. If subsidizing public power continues, the situation will be worsened by the development of atomic power. Competent authority has estimated that by 1975, atomic power alone will have an installed capacity of between 40 and 60 million kilowatts, and will be increasing rapidly. Our present total capacity of all kinds of power is slightly over 100 million kilowatts.

Technically and financially, there is no present nor prospective need for federal power activities. There is no lack of ability on the part of private power to finance and install needed generating, transmission and distribution facilities. Since the end of World War II, investor-owned electric companies have spent approximately \$18.5 billion for such facilities, as against an approximate *total expenditure by the federal government from the very beginning of \$2.5 billion.*

All federal power is subsidized, more or less. The subsidy takes one or more of the following forms in the establishment of rates:

1. Interest rates which are lower than the actual cost for long-term money.

2. No federal income taxes or comparable contribution to the cost of the federal government.

3. No state and local taxes (with two exceptions).

4. Charging large parts of the initial capital costs to wholly subsidized federal activities, such as flood control, navigation, fish and wildlife, etc.

5. Charging administration costs, insurance and pensions to other government accounts.

6. No charge for interest during construction.

Our Task Force concluded that if all federal power rates had been based on power values computed in accordance

WATKINS...

He recalled the water report of the Truman Commission a few years ago which contained about 1500 pages. "They are all alike," he stated. "They just meet and hold a few hearings of interested people, then they move on to the next town and they do that over again. They call in some engineers who haven't any specific ideas about it, talk in generalities, and usually come up with something that we have known for years. I have seen nothing new in any of the reports."

"In other words," said Mr. Olofson, "we have been having too many reports and not enough action?"

"Yes," replied Senator Watkins. "Not only that, but the President of the United States has recommended this project, and the Secretary of the Interior, who is Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Water Resources, and who will have to review the Hoover Task Force Report, has endorsed the project for a long time, and there has been debate in the Congress. I think we know more about it than the Commission does."

"Is there any political aspect in these debates?" Madigan asked. "Are Democrats on one side, Republicans on the other, or does it break down into a geographical area, that you people in the Northwest are for it and, say, people in the industrial East would be opposed to it?"

"Oh, in Congress it sometimes breaks down into a political debate," replied Watkins, "but as a rule when we come in with a reclamation project Republicans and Democrats alike back the program. There isn't anything the West is more united on than the need for water and the program for getting it, because we are in a desert and water is the first and primary consideration. Power and all other incidental matters come second in our consideration."

Asked if these expenditures did not involve considerable interest-free money, Senator Watkins replied that the only money involved is allocated to irrigation cost, of which cost construction is a part. "That part of the construction cost allocated to irrigation is interest-free," he explained. "Now that follows a 50-year program, a policy adopted in the days of Theodore Roosevelt, in a bipartisan way at that time, and supported unanimously by the Western people ever since. The only time you get any variation from that type of program is in the passage of flood control bills. Now they neither pay back the principal, nor pay interest. It's an outright grant from the federal government on all rivers in areas where they have heavy rainfalls and floods, without cost to the people, although it has immense private benefits."

"Why is it," inquired Madigan, "that the leader of your party in the Senate, Senator Knowland, is opposed to the project? He is, is he not?"

"He voted against it, but he didn't

make speeches against it, as I remember," replied Senator Watkins. "Senator Knowland is for reclamation, but they have several million people down in the southern end of his state of California who would be delighted if the Colorado Basin people couldn't get their water out of the river. The only way they can get it out is through a reclamation project, just as Southern California got its water. Senator Knowland is responding to pressure from Southern California. The water runs down hill, and if they can stop this project it will keep on running down. It will turn the generators at the Hoover Dam. They will get a lot of power that they have been paying a little over a mill for. It's supposed to be emergency power—made from water allotted to the Upper Colorado Basin States in a solemn agreement entered into by California and all the other states in that area and approved by Congress. They have been getting it free. They know if we begin to take our share of the water, they won't have as much power practically free down there."

"Well, Senator," remarked Darwin Olofson, "on repayment in connection with reclamation projects, irrigation especially, you have a situation where you have X number of acres of land, where the people that own this land are receiving certain benefits on a flood control project, such as a dam high on a big river—the benefits from that dam might go to seven or eight or ten states downstream. Wouldn't it be difficult to assess the cost or divide the cost up among

with Federal Power Commission methods (so applied to private producers), the rates would be increased by 30 to 50 per cent and the government would have received \$130 million more in power income in 1953 alone. If present federal rates are continued for power projects now programmed, this revenue loss—which, in its effect, is a subsidy—could amount to \$400 million a year.

This may seem a modest sum in these days of super-colossal federal government budgets. But there is another important effect of such subsidies which should be weighed. It is that they set the pattern for greedy scrambles for federal largesse in all other segments of our economy. We never get something for nothing. We pay for these handouts with our votes, which means ultimately with our freedoms. . . .

There is much more that I could say about public power, as, for example:

1. That the only areas in the United States which face a current or prospective power shortage are those now served predominantly by public power.

2. That federal agencies have fre-

quently described projects as flood control, reclamation or navigation measures (all of which are heavily subsidized) when their real and obvious purpose is to produce electric power.

3. That private companies, by their tax payments, are forced to subsidize competing public power.

4. That 80 per cent of our people who obtain their power from private companies subsidize, in large measure, the 20 per cent who are served by public power.

5. That private power cannot compete with subsidized public power for obvious reasons, which means that as long as the general taxpayer is willing to foot the bill for the subsidy, the areas served by public power will expand at the expense of areas served by private power. There is the equivalent of Gresham's Law on money here—bad power chases out the good!

The Task Force concluded that no additional federal projects which are exclusively for power should be built and that an early start should be made on selling federal power projects or the

power portions of multi-purpose projects to private industry, or, if this is not feasible, to the state and local governments.

Another important conclusion is that, in many instances, politically motivated development of our water resources has resulted in permanently committing precious water to uses which are uneconomic and wasteful.

The much-discussed Upper Colorado River Storage Project is a prime example. Here is a political boondoggle of purest ray serene, which would develop power at localities far from where it is needed, and would commit the water to irrigating lands useful, for the most part, only for the uneconomic growing of forage crops. Once water is committed to such uses, even though they be wasteful, it would be political suicide to try to take it away.

There are vast deposits of oil and oil shales, coal, uranium, titanium and other minerals in this area, as well as other industrial potentials, all of which will need much water for their development. It has been estimated that a thousand gal-

states or local groups on flood control—a great deal more so than on irrigation?"

"I doubt that very much," replied Senator Watkins, "because the Upper Colorado Storage covers four states, and they are able to divide the cost. When they build a power dam, for instance, on the Missouri River, or on the Mississippi River in the upper reaches, they know they are going to benefit practically every landowner along the line where they have had floods, and each of those communities, each of those private owners should be required to pay an assessment. Out our way everybody gets a lot of benefit out of these reclamation projects, and even the fellows that don't get any of the water are willing to be taxed. We organized our conservation districts in which the state, the counties, the municipalities—all the public entities—enter into it and they are willing to levy a tax. The general taxpayers pay an ad valorem tax to help out with that project because of the general benefit that comes to the community, although the farmers may use the water, and power people may get the power that comes out of it."

Asked if he felt as strongly about the Hell's Canyon project as he did about the Upper Colorado project, Senator Watkins remarked that of course one feels more strongly about those things that are nearer home, but that he had voted against Hell's Canyon.

"And you don't see any conflict," inquired Madigan, "against Hell's Can-

yon, which would be a federal project of one dam, rather than three put up by the Idaho Power Company?"

"That was not the real issue as far as I am concerned," replied Senator Watkins. "They were trying to go downstream below all the irrigable areas in Idaho in the Snake River Valley and build a project for 350,000,000 dollars which would require an annual supply of about four million acre feet of water. Those four million acre feet of water should stay up in the area for consumptive use, for industry, and for irrigation to produce food and fiber."

"You favor the private development of three small dams there, do you not?" inquired Madigan.

"That I didn't pass on at all," replied Watkins. "One of them, the high government dam, would take four million acre feet of water, and the Idaho Power Company three dams would only take a million acre feet of water. It's a difference in degree. I voted against it largely because the people of Washington and Oregon and the other states would not enter into a compact to preserve the rights of Idaho people for the use of that water, which largely falls in their area, for consumptive use. Now if they were to go upstream and build some dams where they can get the power out of it for consumptive uses, I would be for it, but not when they go downstream, tie in the river, and freeze it so that it has to serve the use which would be prior to the future development of Idaho."

Calling Senator Watkins' attention to the trouble the country has been having with certain farm products, wheat, cotton, and others, Darwin Olofson requested his opinion on the argument that, since we are not now in need of more production, at least of those certain crops, this is the wrong time to get involved in large expenditures of money for reclamation projects either to boost the production of lands already in cultivation or to bring new lands into cultivation.

"We have surpluses in some, but not in all, of the basic crops," replied Senator Watkins. "With our increase in population today we would be very unwise not to build for the future now. The Colorado reclamation project will not be ready for production for over ten years, and in fifteen to twenty years we will have over two hundred million people in this country. We will not have any surplus then, but will be looking for additional acres."

"A lot of this surplus," he continued, "has been produced by artificial stimulation, but we don't grow the same type of crops in this area. We don't grow cotton, peanuts or tobacco. We grow a few grains largely for the use of cattle." He pointed out that a lot of cattle and sheep were produced in that area, and that there was no surplus there.

"When prices come down, people will eat more beef. We must take care of the increase in population which is undoubtedly coming."

(Continued on Page 33)

MOREELL...

lons of water will grow ten cents worth of crops here, but would permit the production of five dollars worth of industrial products. The first increment of this project, now being actively processed through Congress, is estimated to cost \$1.7 billion, more or less, and the ultimate cost of the complete project, \$4 to \$6 billion.

We found, too, that there is great

reluctance on the part of government to make people pay for the benefits they receive. I have indicated the subsidies for power. With respect to irrigation, the general range of payment required from beneficiaries has been between one-quarter and one-third of the capital costs, and a few are as low as 10 per cent. In no case have they been required to pay interest. Some projects have a payout period of as much as four hundred years.

The Task Force concluded that the

federal government has planned, constructed and paid for projects which are economically unsound and, hence, waste the national wealth; that project costs are frequently underestimated; that estimated direct benefits are often exaggerated; and that unsupported and unsupportable claims are made for so-called "indirect benefits," such as, for example, tax revenues resulting from increased business activity, increases in the population, and many other credits claimed as resulting from the project.

Congressman Bruce Alger, (R) of Texas, on a recent Facts Forum program, refers to



Bruce Alger

... "The Ridiculous, Extravagant Boondoggle That Is Public Power"

THE people of Dallas County, my Congressional District, have now had given away millions of their tax money by the federal government in development of public power. Dallas residents were neither expressly asked nor gave their consent, yet their share of the estimated six billion dollars of tax money thus far put into public power projects is over twenty million dollars. And there's even more expenditure ahead. For example, the projected Hell's Canyon project would cost my people another eight million dollars of the prorated expense. Certainly, therefore, this warrants our attention.

Nowhere can I find in any interpretation of our Constitution the right given the federal government to produce electric power. It is conceivable that a federal government representing forty-eight states might legitimately participate in specific instances of flood control, navigation and land reclamation.

The development of power, however, is not the function of federal government. Our forefathers believed in freedom—that includes economic freedom. Economic freedom or the right of free enterprise is a basic right which our forefathers held came from God, not government.

Or to quote the Declaration of Independence upon which our Constitution is founded, "We hold these truths to be

self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

GOVERNMENT OUR SERVANT

Government, therefore, is to protect our rights and freedoms, not compete with them. Our servant, not our master. Private enterprise absolutely is unable to compete with government nor was it ever so intended by our forefathers. Freedom is our greatest blessing and the loss of economic freedom would mean the loss of all freedom. TVA public power development, interest-free and tax-free, is undermining this heritage of freedom. The TVA manufacture of fertilizer, and the steam-generated power plants (comprising 70 per cent of the entire TVA project) are not the original objectives—it started as a flood control measure. Eight times the original estimated cost of 300 million dollars has been spent. It continues to mushroom. Further, there are 1,115 authorized projects totaling nine billion dollars now "backlogged" in Congress.

There is no such thing as a TVA or public power "yardstick" of power rate,

serving to show how low a cost of production and sale is possible, as has been claimed. The low sale price has resulted from the federal government pouring out our tax money to pay the deficit resulting from the 49 cent sale price on the dollar cost. This is a 20-inch yardstick, truly a distortion of the facts.

Private enterprise to survive must be "self-supporting" and "self-liquidating." Public power is not. TVA paid 29.5 million dollars in lieu of taxes which was 4.3 per cent of gross income, whereas comparable private industry paid 148 million dollars or 21 per cent. The loss to the government in that period alone was 118 million dollars which other taxpayers paid. Further, there is a loss of interest to the government on the money invested.

FREE ENTERPRISE CAN DO IT BETTER

Meanwhile, free enterprise is ready, willing, and able to do the job. The Dixon-Yates contract would have provided power as cheaply as it is possible to produce without subsidization, and would have paid taxes to the government without government underwriting the cost or possible loss. The Dixon-Yates contract was cancelled when the City of Memphis decided to build its own plant. The hue and cry now heard

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WATKINS...

"Wouldn't it be better," inquired Madigan, "with a limited water supply in the West, to make sure that the supply goes to the greatest number of people rather than through sparsely populated areas?"

"You couldn't make our water supply from Colorado go to any other place in California, and we have already agreed on the division," stated Senator Watkins. Stressing the importance of cattle-raising in his area, as well as minerals and chemicals in the bed of the Old Salt Lake and Lake Bonneville, he remarked that with some power and water they could double the population of their state.

"There's no reason," he continued, "why we should send all of our children elsewhere. Our only problem is development. Under our own steam and our own power we have built 85 per cent of the reclamation and irrigation projects in the West and in Utah. We started the

program here in the United States, but we have gone as far as we can. It is an expensive proposition, but we are willing to pay the high cost."

"Is there a chance for abandoning the principle of public expenditure for public benefit in this project?" inquired John Madigan.

"Well, no," replied Watkins. "This is a combination. The utilities use it and will buy all this power from these projects that the preference customers—cities, towns, REA's and so on—don't take. They are all together on this project—public power, private power, those who are strictly for private initiative, and those who are for some public socialism."

Senator Watkins suggested that it would be wonderful to stockpile electricity in some reserve places. "Although the rest of the United States might suffer from droughts, we could have irrigation where the crops never fail. It is a very versatile area. We can turn it to many crops that are produced elsewhere that we wouldn't ordinarily attempt to

produce because of the high cost of water for irrigation."

"The Colorado River Storage Project," he continued, "will aid national defense by putting the electricity and water where it would be of most value in the case of an attack on the United States. It will place both the power and the water in the area where we produce many of the metals—lead, zinc, and copper, all used in defense, just as is uranium."

"We need a lot of water," he said, "to refine the uranium and get it around to the point where it can be shipped to final processing plants."

Asked how much opportunity for work the project would offer, Senator Watkins expressed the opinion that it would employ many thousands of people during its construction, and over the years following its completion would develop to the point where it could double present employment in Utah, and almost equal that in Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico.

Senator John Sparkman, (D) of Alabama, tells us



John Sparkman

"Some Public Power Makes for Low Cost Power"

FIRST let me emphasize the important fact that although we debate the question of private power versus public power, both are necessary and both contribute tremendously to our national well-being and security. Electric power needs are so great that it is foolish and shortsighted to cripple or destroy either public or private power programs.

The Democratic party has long had policies and programs designed to realize full power development within the sphere where the public interest clearly is paramount as defined by the Constitution and the laws of the land. It is a policy based on the principle of a fruitful partnership of all our interests both public and private. The Republicans say that they, too, will have a partnership policy. Then, what is the point of the argument? The answer is

that there is a great controversy because of the disagreement as to what constitutes a true partnership policy.

We believe that our government is not following a partnership policy when federal power development is brought to a halt for three straight years as has happened under the Eisenhower administration. We feel that there is not a partnership policy when a New York investment banker writes the administration's program for a government-subsidized private power plant in the region of TVA, as occurred in the Dixon-Yates deal.

A partnership policy is not at work when the Department of the Interior drops a great public power project for a much smaller private utility program in the same area, as is happening in the Hell's Canyon case. This substitution involves higher costs to consumers and a

wasting of nearly a third of the water power of Hell's Canyon.

Neither is a partnership program in operation when the Department of Interior, the government agency responsible for setting electric power policy, adopts word for word as it recently did the recommendations proposed by a lobby of big private utilities.

These are but a few examples of the restraints which have been placed on low cost power development by the present administration. Not only has the administration cancelled new public power projects, it has actually stopped construction on projects which were under way when Mr. Eisenhower took office. Not only has the administration taken measures which seriously cripple the program of river development, which has brought prosperity to many regions

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Will our free schools remain free with

Federal Aid for

THE PRESENT SITUATION

By DR. JOHN K. NORTON*

IN presenting this topic, five questions will be dealt with.

1. *Are there serious unmet educational needs in the United States today?*

One meets two types of responses to this question. There are those who urge that we have done and are doing quite well enough by the schools. They argue that a larger percentage of children go to school and college longer than in any other nation, and that anyone with ability and energy can get a high school and even a college education.

The rank and file of our people have shown a great appreciation of the value of education, and have supported it generously.

Our 48 state and 50,000 local school systems have provided a situation friendly to educational experimentation and adaptation.

Our free schools have contributed to the building of a government accountable to the will of the people, and to the achieving of a standard of living unequalled in any other nation.

Our educational system has been a solvent of the rigid class lines which in most nations are the roots of human injustice and social stagnation.

Such are the arguments of those who claim that there are no serious unmet educational needs in the United States today, and that federal aid is unnecessary.

There is a degree of validity in most of the foregoing claims. They are all right as far as they go. However, let us look at the whole picture.

It is true that our forebears fashioned a system of universal public education, which in many respects has yielded handsome dividends. But does the educational program of the nineteenth meet the demands of the twentieth century?

In World War I something like 30 per cent of our draftees were rejected for educational, physical, and other

types of deficiencies. The same thing occurred in World War II. Of 17 million men examined in the draft, five million were sent back home as unqualified.

We know that many of those rejected were casualties of our educational slums. Most of them came from our educational slums. A study launched by President Eisenhower when he was head of this institution, recently published under the shocking title *The Uneducated*,¹ shows that the great majority of the millions of illiterate youths who reach our army camps can be taught to read and write, and can qualify as acceptable soldiers when they are offered a chance to get some schooling.

In short, millions of American youth are today being denied even elementary education.

Another study, entitled *America's Resources of Specialized Talent*,² reveals that there is a chronic shortage of technically and professionally trained personnel in the United States. This is not a necessary shortage, however, since under present educational conditions half of our potential talent prematurely withdraws from school.

A prime reason why half of our qualified youths do not continue in school and college is that they cannot afford to do so. This is not only injustice; it is colossal folly in the dangerous world in which we live.

I omit from detailed consideration that the chronic shortage of teachers at the elementary school level is now moving up into the high school, and is already being predicted for the colleges and universities. Guidance and similar services of modern education are almost wholly lacking in thousands of schools. The shortage of school buildings is too well known to require documentation. It continues in spite of outrageous increases in size of classes in many communities, double sessions, and renting of makeshift fire-traps. Mounting school enrollments and continued high birth-rates will prevent alleviation of these conditions in the absence of decisive action.

I conclude that the weight of evidence testifies that there are shocking unmet educational needs in the United States today. Some are long-standing; others are of recent origin. Taken together they violate the ideal of equal opportunity and endanger national security.

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*Director of the Division of Administration and Guidance, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Speech delivered at a Forum on Critical Areas in Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, July 13, 1955.

Interest in the White House Conference on Education points up several vital facets of the much-discussed issue of federal help for the public schools of America. Last month *Facts Forum News* presented the views of two congressmen. Here we continue the discussion with ideas given by a distinguished educator, a religious leader, and members of the Indiana PTA Study Group.

Public Education?

OUR EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE

By JAMES FRANCIS CARDINAL McINTYRE*

*Our Father's God to Thee
Author of liberty
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light
Protect us by Thy might
Great God our King.*

THIS verse, the first line of which is "My Country 'Tis of Thee," is from the immortal national hymn, truly named "America." Perhaps I should say that this hymn *was* well known, for in other days, patriotism and the recognition of God, the creator, were more emphasized in our system of education. I fear that the promotion of the hymn "America" these days in some quarters would be considered union of church and state, and be construed as against the comments found in the McCollum decision. In fact, the educational modernists of today deliberately strive to separate God from patriotism—to separate God from country—and this notwithstanding the fact that our buildings are dedicated to God and to country. They would eliminate God entirely.

I recall vividly how this verse of the hymn we have quoted inspired our hearts as boys. Frequently we were thrilled as we sang in unison the patriotic hymns of our land, all of which, like the authentic and traditional documents of the founding fathers, were based upon the recognition of God's existence, upon the acknowledgment of His providence, and the realization that in Him and His teachings are founded the origin of human rights and of freedom.

The spirit of America, all that it represented and all that we hope it still represents, was respectfully and reverently recalled as the observance of Independence Day rekindled in our hearts the traditions of the nobility of sacrifice in the cause of freedom—freedom under God. For years that famous painting, "The Spirit of '76," depicting the color guard of the Continental Army bear-

ing the Stars and Stripes to the summit of victory and liberty, was found on the walls of American homes. An old-time insurance company made the painting famous by distributing a copy well done in color, and for generations it was preserved.

These and many other manifestations of patriotism would stimulate our hearts and revive the memory of the reverence that was natural and religious in our esteem for liberty and freedom under God. Freedom and true human rights were sacred.

NEED FOR STATE AND FEDERAL BALANCE

As our colonies merged into the union of the United States and as our states developed in their concord *a united nation under God* it was natural that complexities of law would arise and sometimes conflict because of commerce involving the passage of persons and things from the jurisdiction of one state to another.

But the spirit of liberty prevailed and predominated, and the effort of state and federal courts was to preserve the franchise of liberty to all and to restrict interstate communication from domination by federal law. This interpretation maintained a proper balance between state and federal jurisdictions. Thus the structure of our United States—a federation of states balanced between administrative, judicial, and legislative branches—today remains a remarkable accomplishment without counterpart of equivalent success. We are always conscious of states' rights and always conscious of the danger of over-concentrated federal control. This is America's great accomplishment. May this balance ever prevail peacefully and effectively.

It is the practice of our courts to consider and to maintain not only the letter but also the spirit of our Constitution and fundamental laws. We observe what is perhaps an exaggeration of this with regard to the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This has received application far beyond the literal text, which reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."
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*Archbishop of California. Address given at the Twentieth Annual Convention of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae, August 27, 1955.

The Present Situation

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2. Can the educational needs of the United States be met without federal aid?

Those who answer "yes" to this question argue as follows:

Public education, with state and local support, has done very well in the past. The pauper schools of our early history gave way to free elementary and later to free high schools. College and university education grows apace.

All that is needed, it is argued, is to arouse more citizens—organize local citizen committees, sponsor White House Conferences, and blanket the air with appeals to come to the aid of the schools (always strictly by state and local action, to be sure!) and everything will be all right—at least in time.

Furthermore, it is asked, what is it that can be done for education by the federal government which cannot be done by the states and localities? They have full power to act. Under our Constitution, it is the states which should eliminate illiteracy, capitalize our resources of talented youth, supply teachers, and construct school buildings.

Nothing is gained by bringing the federal government into the picture. The same people pay the taxes in any case. Therefore, our educational shortages can and should be met by state and local action. Thus runs one side of the argument.

SCHOOL SYSTEM FAR FROM ADEQUATE

Now let us look at the other side.

Since 1917, some 38 years ago, when as a young man I first came into contact with the shocking shortages of American education in an army cantonment, I have repeatedly heard the arguments that the states and localities can and will eliminate the slums of American education and the social liabilities which they spawn, and without federal aid.

The fact is, however, that this has not happened. The American system of education today, in spite of some superficial signs of progress, is less adequate to meet the needs of our people than before World War I.

The mounting complexities of domestic and world affairs, and the key and central position which the United States occupies perforce in the current epic struggle between tyranny and freedom, shout for an educational system which would totally abolish illiteracy except among the mentally deficient, which

would guide and aid every able and willing American youth to obtain a complete and first-rate education. Both social justice and national survival plead for such action, but it has not come. Rather the key word of American education today is shortage: shortage of teachers, shortage of buildings, shortage of money, and, most alarming, shortage of an educational program appropriate to the demands of our times.

The ills of American education have persisted and deepened because they cannot be dealt with solely through state and local leadership and financing, even by the rich and powerful states.

Consider New York State, the largest in population, the richest in wealth, and the most powerful of all. If you will go a half mile from where we now meet, in almost any direction, you will find striking evidence that there are educational problems of the most alarming character with which New York State alone cannot deal. First, you will find terrible city slums, populated by people who are the products of our educational slums, not those of New York State but of states over which New York State has no control.

SLUMS CAUSE HIGHER TAXES

We increase our police force by the thousands. We employ social service workers. We develop housing projects. We struggle not only with juvenile but parental delinquency. And what does this cost? Far more than it would cost to deal with it at its sources, most of which are outside New York State, in the educational slums of our poorer states and Puerto Rico.

There are no immigration bars nor quotas within the United States and its territories. It is too late after the migrants arrive to take anything but palliative measures. At best a citizen with little education, no special vocational competency, suddenly transferred from a relatively simple environment to that of a great city with all of its pitfalls, presents a very difficult problem. It is no wonder that juvenile delinquency occurs. The wonder is that there is so little of it.

And why don't the good people in the poorer states and territories eliminate their educational slums? They don't for a variety of reasons. In some localities many of the citizens are the products of educational neglect for generations. They are woefully ignorant; they are terribly poor; they have little appreciation of the value of education. A vicious cycle goes on—ignorance and poverty produce educational slums, and

educational slums produce ignorance and poverty.

Does anybody in his right mind, or even slightly in touch with the social realities of the situation, believe that the poorer states of the union are going to tax themselves at a rate three times as high as New York State, and then proceed vigorously to stamp out every educational slum? Nothing less will be required if the pressing educational needs of the United States are to be met solely through state action.

Furthermore, so far as education is concerned, the policies of the federal government seriously complicate the situation.

The federal government has not hesitated to provide funds in other areas of essential public service. The military budget is 32 billion dollars. Billions are appropriated for other areas of public action—building of roads, public works of all kinds, the buttressing of farm prices, social security. Are such functions more important to national well-being than an adequate system of public schools?

SCHOOLS SUFFER FINANCIAL MALNUTRITION

The policy of the federal government of taking most of the available revenue and of using it to finance everything from preparedness to potatoes, except education, is a primary cause of the financial malnutrition from which the schools have suffered for a score of years.

If there was any real prospect of a return to anything like prewar federal budgets, there would be some justification for the argument—reduce federal expenditures and thus make taxable capacity available for the states. There is no such prospect for the simple but powerful reason that the bulk of federal expenditure is essential under present circumstances.

The federal government will continue to skim the cream off the economic bucket, whether Eisenhower, Stevenson, or somebody else lives in the White House. If, in addition, it continues to discriminate against education in the expenditure of the revenue collected, education will continue to suffer from malnutrition, and the nation from the ills which follow upon this condition.

In short, the serious education needs of our country have not been met and will not be met solely through state and local action.

3. Does federal aid mean federal control of education?

The claim is frequently made that federal aid will mean federal control of education. The argument runs something as follows: that it is a truism of life that he who pays the piper calls the tune; that the financial mechanism is a handy one with which to exercise control; and that Congress or bureaucrats in Washington would undoubtedly use it for that purpose if it existed.

Further, it is argued that it would be unwise for Congress to appropriate funds for the schools without seeing that these funds are properly spent—namely, in the ways specified in Washington, which would be federal control.

At first glance these arguments appear valid. They are given credence by those who accept slogans based neither upon experience nor fact.

FEDERAL AID DOESN'T MEAN FEDERAL CONTROL

History shows that federal control of education does not follow federal aid. In a very real sense our state school systems were founded with the help of federal aid which came from the early land grants. Funds from this source still aid in the support of education. This federal aid did not destroy local initiative and support, nor has it resulted in federal control.

Again, President Lincoln signed a federal bill in 1862 which established colleges of agricultural and mechanical arts in all the states and provided for their partial support. Later, by federal legislation and financial aid, agricultural experiment stations were established, and still later, programs of extension education.

For nearly a century federal aid has provided partial support of these institutions and programs. Some 50 million dollars a year is appropriated annually. Has federal aid resulted in federal control in this instance? Just when does the inevitability of control following upon aid begin to operate?

4. What forces oppose and support federal aid for education?

The groups which have played an active role in the battles for federal aid for education offer an interesting example of the interaction of social forces.

Following the dramatization of this issue by the revelations of World War I, the representatives of the Catholic hierarchy at first opposed such aid on the basis of principle. Later they took the position that if aid is given to public schools it must be provided, at least in part, to parochial schools. This question being a highly controversial one, it has

provided an effective means for blocking action. More recently the desegregation issue has been similarly used by the opponents of federal aid.

Organizations such as the National Manufacturers Association and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce have consistently opposed federal aid for education. This opposition represents that segment of industry which is nearly always against any public expenditure which does not immediately redound to the benefit of industry. I say segment of industry because there has always been a minority of business men who have had the vision to see that it is cheaper to meet the costs of good education than to meet those which result from poor education. Men such as Newton Baker and Owen D. Young in an earlier period, and Beardsley Ruml in his recent addresses, have taken forthright positions in favor of federal aid. It is a striking fact that the overwhelming majority of commissions and committees, both voluntary and governmental, which have taken the trouble to bring facts and deliberation to bear upon this problem, have concluded that federal aid is essential if the public schools are to be adequately financed.

NEA FAVORS SOME FEDERAL AID

The public school people themselves, through the NEA and other national organizations, have supported one form or another of federal aid. This support, however, has fallen short of what it should be. Although decentralization in education has many merits, one of its weaknesses is that it results in provincial thinking and action in education. It is difficult for school board members, superintendents of schools, and teachers to generate much steam about educational conditions outside of their own locality or state. So long as they can maintain tolerable schools in their own territory, they are ready to tolerate intolerable ones elsewhere. Thus whatever the merit of local control and support, it results in a condition whereby in hundreds of school districts children are chronically denied their educational birthrights. Poverty and ignorance breed poverty and ignorance, and out of this vicious cycle comes human material which populates our decadent rural areas, our city slums, and the rejectees of our military camps.

Those in education vaguely recognize this situation and pass resolutions about it—but never as a group demanded action in a way which has convinced both houses of Congress.

Then, there is the public in general. Every poll which has been taken has

shown a substantial majority favoring federal aid. Their support, however, has not been sufficiently strong in quality as opposed to quantity to bring about action.

STRONG MINORITIES BLOCK ACTION

In short, we have in the federal aid issue an interesting example of how vital action of large importance to general well-being can be blocked by minorities through the use of clever tactics.

Another delaying tactic which has been used several times in the past as well as in the present, is to appoint commissions or conferences to study this matter—a subject which has already had abundant study and guides to action.

5. Is federal aid consistent with American tradition in education?

It is sometimes claimed that federal aid is contrary to the American tradition in education. Does this square with history? The fact is, as has been pointed out, that the federal government throughout its existence has played a major role both in establishing and in providing financial support for public education at all levels.

The ordinances of 1787 set the policy which has been followed throughout our history. Many of our state school systems were originated by the federal government in the territories. Federal aid was a vital factor in financing the schools during the first half of the nineteenth century when the great battles to establish a system of public education were fought.

The land grant colleges which have grown into universities and remarkable agencies of adult education were established by the federal government and still receive 50 million dollars a year of federal support. They constitute one of the major reasons why, except in a few educationally neglected areas, a peasant class has not developed in the United States, and why our food problem, contrary to the situation in most parts of the world, is one of surpluses rather than of shortages.

Our programs of vocational education at the secondary level are far from adequate, but they are better than they would have been if it had not been for the federal aid provided under the Smith-Hughes and George-Dean Acts.

EARLY STATESMEN REALIZED NEEDS

Thus the federal government, under the great founders of the republic, and during the administrations of Abraham

Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, recognized and acted upon the policy that there was a role which the federal government should play in maintaining education appropriate to the maintenance of a society of free men.

Would that we had such statesmanship today. Or have we? Many of us have read the recent speech of Adlai Stevenson at the Chicago meeting of the NEA with keen interest.

Whether one accepts this proposal in detail is not important. It does represent an approach which is comparable in insight to that of earlier statesmen. At least it is something better than an opportunistic proposal concocted by investment bankers in the interest of money lenders which characterizes the present administration's bill for school building aid.

We may sum up the situation by saying that repeatedly throughout our history statesmen have identified educational needs of critical importance to the nation as a whole, and have taken decisive action to meet these needs. By such action they have neither blunted local initiative nor local support of public education; rather they have stimulated both of these. Present circumstances call for similar statesmanship. While education is and ought to be primarily a state and local responsibility, the lack of it is a matter of the gravest national concern.

¹*The Uneducated*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1953.

²*America's Resources of Specialized Talent*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1954.

Our Educational Heritage

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Under the slogan, "Separation of church and state," enemies of religion have extended the implications of that amendment to almost unbelievable lengths, to lengths that infringe on our religious liberty and limit our freedom to recognize and honor God as did our founding fathers.

We would suggest that we be equally sensitive to the protection of religious liberty as we are to guarding our freedom in business and commercial enterprises. Our national feelings in this respect are well illustrated by the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890.

The so-called Sherman laws and subsequent anti-trust laws were directed against combinations of persons, corporations, or business operations that might constitute monopolies—monopolies of trade, or combinations and agreements that would create power which

would be an undue restraint of free trade or free enterprise, or agreements that would prevent the free operations of supply and demand—as these would be reflected in prices and in the availability of commodities or services to the general public. Such monopoly was interpreted as contrary to the spirit of freedom which is typical of American thinking. Combination that restrains the liberty of free enterprise is contrary to the American concept of true justice. . . .

I would bring to your attention a situation which involves the spirit of the anti-trust laws and which contains elements that were not anticipated when the anti-trust laws were enacted. But the analogy is striking and the spirit it exemplifies is marked. I refer to a present trend—and it is a very definite trend. It is a positively declared policy to eliminate private education in our land and to substitute compulsory education in state and federal schools. This constitutes a machination which is opposed to American freedom.

EDUCATION—A STATE MONOPOLY?

Such a procedure and such a promotion would seem to be obviously opposed to the spirit and the example of the Sherman laws. Why? Because the realization of this trend would bring about a monopoly of state-controlled education that would constitute a restraint of liberty and freedom upon the student and upon the parents of the student. This policy, if it becomes a practice, would take from the pupil and the parents the rights of liberty as provided in our Constitution and as declared by the law of the land in the famous Oregon School Decision of 1925. Control of education and control of curriculum would be surrendered to bureaucratic government with all the attending dangers and evils that we have witnessed in the totalitarian states of Europe.

The usual well-known and successful operation of the American schools through the direct influence of the local community, with the watchfulness of parents and the vigilance of the community, together with the control of the ballot, would be abandoned. These forces would be surrendered to the unknown bureaucrat. The unfortunate teacher would be buffeted between the influence of pressure from national headquarters on one side, and local considerations on the other. National headquarters would influence, if not dictate, the teacher's status and appointment, and the local community could only express its displeasure with the system or its dissatisfaction with the individual teacher. It would have no power. . . .

EVIDENCES OF TREND

Where do we find the evidence of this trend in education that is comparable to the violation of the spirit of the Sherman anti-trust laws?

In the first place the vast and extravagant expenditure of money for superlatively elegant and extremely expensive school buildings and facilities throughout the country has created a marked contrast to privately supported schools. . . .

In education it is the intellectual and cultural development of the young mind and character that is of primary concern. The elegance of the buildings and the magnitude of the library are helpful accompaniments, but in themselves they are accidentals, though necessary in proper degree and proportion.

To contrast the school facilities of the days of our founding fathers, the days of Lincoln and of our other great statesmen, with the school facilities of our day, and then to compare the type and qualities of statesmanship prevalent, then and now, forces the conclusion that the extravagance of educational buildings is not the solution for our educational ills.

Thus when state accrediting groups require non-tax-supported schools to conform to the standards of state schools in material facilities, when other elements of education are amply supplied, it can be directly charged that state-controlled education exercises at times a power that can be described as a combination in restraint of free enterprise.

A second evidence of this trend to compulsory education is apparent. Recently the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association published another of its now famous series of unusual treatises on education and allied subjects. A few years ago they published a book called *Moral and Spiritual Values in Public Education*. The thesis of this book was to direct teachers how to cultivate morality in students without invoking God or the Ten Commandments. Such an unrealizable ambition soon met deserved criticism and substantial rejection.

COURT UPHOLDS FREEDOM OF CHOICE

The latest product of this same Educational Policies Commission is entitled *The Public School and the Future of America*. It is equally daring in defying traditional thought, and has as its thesis "Compulsory Education of All Children in State Schools." This phraseology is not the wording of their thesis. They expressed it more compactly and more de-

PUBLIC EDUCATION

ceivingly in the euphonious title, "Universal Common Education." This is a more elegant and misleading title, but the meaning is the same.

In this thesis the writers venture to make animadversions on the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the famous Oregon School case. You will recall that the Oregon School Law provided that all children should be obliged to attend state schools.

After due consideration and in an opinion that is commonly quoted as clearly indicating the true American doctrine, the Court declared the law unconstitutional. The decision was unanimous. The displeasure of the National Education Association with this decision is not based on a mere phrase or an "obiter dictum" of the decision, but on the very definite issue involved, namely, the constitutionality of a law that involved freedom in education. You will recall the decision upheld the rights of the parent to select the school of the child. . . .

The National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools has made an exhaustive analysis of the supposed needs of education in this country. Its reported figures were fantastic in their extravagances, yet they considered the contribution made by non-tax-supported schools in educating 10 to 15 per cent of the pupils of the country as not even worthy of mention. The trend to compulsory education of all children in state schools is a positive and declared intention of the National Education Association and its affiliates. These constitute a very powerful pressure group that wields a vast influence upon teachers, upon legislators, and upon administrative government.

Our comments are in no way intended to reflect upon the teaching body of our country. For them all praise and glory, and to them should be extended great sympathy and support in an effort to make their work, their zeal, and their integrity answerable to local school board authority and not to distant and unknown bureaucratic dominion.

The National Education Association is an adviser of the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education and operates in close harmony with the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. This latter organization is supported to a great extent by the larger foundations. Is it an exaggeration to say that the principles and practices of such groups are contrary to the spirit of the Sherman anti-trust laws? That spirit is against combinations in restraint of liberty. These groups seek to restrict liberty in the vital field of education.

FEDERAL AID BILL

To go a further step, we find presently pending before the national Congress a bill providing for federal aid to education by way of grants to the states for the construction of new classrooms and for assistance to the states in financing their additional and improved school buildings.

This aid would be from the federal government and taken from the tax income—the taxes you pay. The appropriation would be to the states on the basis of the number of children living within the confines of the state, including those attending private schools, but the apportionment would be restricted solely to the public, state-supported schools. None of the benefit would go to private non-profit schools. They were entirely excluded. Should this legislation pass, it would be a distinct discrimination against the class of Americans who choose to select private education rather than be compelled to send their children to state schools. This discrimination, which is seemingly contrary to the provisions of the Constitution as well as to the principles of the natural law, is entirely out of accord with the spirit behind the Sherman anti-trust laws.

Exclusion from these benefits makes more difficult the road of private education, and could, as it seems clearly intended that it should, curtail and eventually stifle private initiative in education, leaving the field free for an educational monopoly of the public schools, with all the dangers inherent in a totalitarian system of education.

A NOBLE PARTNERSHIP

There is no provision in our Constitution or Bill of Rights or traditions that gives a monopoly of education to government or that penalizes the citizens'

interest and concern with the importance of private education. Indeed, the whole concept of education in colonial days and up to little more than a hundred years ago was exactly the opposite—private education was the time-honored ideal of the American people. The public school emerged only where private initiative was unequal to the task, and the public school grew in stature only when the religious denominations surrendered, through lack of means, their prescriptive interest in the schools. To herald the public school as *exclusively* contributing to the American dream is to utter a pretension that is soon exploded in a knowledge of our traditions as a free people and in an understanding of the experience of our times.

Public schools make certain the benefits of education for all the children of the land. Private schools make sure the blessing of freedom of educational enterprise in a land of liberty. Both systems make a profound and an indispensable contribution to the American scene, and it is the way of wisdom to acknowledge in both systems a noble partnership in education which will insure to a new generation the heritage and blessings that are ours. . . .

We must be forever vigilant against any widening of injustice and discrimination in the field of education. We must hearken to our heritage of freedom in education and be sensitive to subtle attacks that suggest the road of regimentation and educational compulsion. There are false prophets abroad who would beguile and deceive us with programs for the schools which, upon closer examination, are palpably un-American. Education is the most important means for the transmission of the American dream to generations yet unborn. It is our high duty demanding faith and courage that this vision forever remain the vision of "This Nation Under God."

Can the Goal Sought Be Reached?*

THE advocates of federal aid assert their goal to be equality of educational opportunity for every boy and girl in the United States. At first thought this seems an attractive and attainable objective.

But the problem is represented by more than 150,000 schools in some 67,000 school districts spread throughout the 48 states and the District.

The only measuring stick proposed and, indeed, the only measuring stick

available is that of money spent. But you can't equate education to dollars any more than you can determine the number of people who will go to Heaven from each state by taking a census tabulation of religious expenditures.

In 1954 New York spent \$365 per pupil in average daily attendance, while for Ohio the figure was \$215. Does any one seriously believe that the children of the Empire State are receiving a 50 per cent better education than their Buckeye counterparts?

If the percentage of male teachers

*Findings of the Indiana PTA Members Study Group on Federal Aid to Education, October, 1955.

offers any index of the financial attractiveness of teacher salary levels, it is interesting to note that in this respect Mississippi outranks Michigan; Arkansas surpasses California and Connecticut; and West Virginia easily outdistances New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

An interesting measure of educational effectiveness is presented by the U. S. Office of Education in figures showing the percentage of population of high school age actually enrolled in school. The figures are for 1950. Delaware, number one in per capita income, was only 29th in high school holding power. Nevada, number two in per capita income, was only 28th.

Public Law 815, concerned with construction of school facilities in federally affected areas, has required the U. S. Commissioner of Education to determine the "average per pupil cost" of constructing school buildings in each state as a basis for grants. The figures determined for 1953 show, for example, a cost for Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi of \$900. For Michigan the figure is \$1,200; for Illinois, \$1,300; for New Jersey, \$1,400; and for New York, \$1,600.

Thus we have the findings of the Office of Education itself that suitable school facilities are 77 per cent higher in one state than in another. Yet when state expenditures quite naturally reflect such differences, federal aid zealots contrive the conclusion that in the one instance boys and girls have a 77 per cent better educational opportunity!

We are compelled, then, to conclude

that neither per capita income nor per pupil expenditure offers a measure of educational accomplishment, and that any attempt to equalize education by equalizing expenditure is doomed to failure before it is begun.

The Governor of New York has stated that his state needs federal "aid," yet according to a report by the Public Expenditure Survey, Inc., of New York: "Under the Kelley Bill, \$1.6 billion would be paid to the states over a four-year period in proportion to the school-age population (ages 5 through 17) in each state. New York State has 8.27 per cent of the nation's school-age population. Accordingly, New York would receive 8.27 per cent of the aid under this bill, or \$132 million.

"But the people of New York State pay at least 12.44 per cent of all federal taxes. Therefore, they would pay 12.44 per cent or \$199 million of the \$1.6 billion federal tax take to finance the proposed federal school aid program. That is \$67 million more than they would get back in federal aid.

"If the federal school aid bill is enacted, New York State would get \$132 million worth of school buildings for \$199 million worth of federal taxes. They would have \$67 million more for school construction and operation if the \$199 million were raised by state and local taxes for schools.

"That \$67 million would pay for construction of over 2,000 classrooms in this state providing space for 50,000 or more pupils." And this would be the result in a state that "needs federal aid"! END

Our President, recognizing these dangers and the tremendous scope of the federal projects, has outlined a partnership policy. His plan requires that that which can be accomplished by private initiative should be so done, and that which requires collective action should be done at the lowest government level practicable. Federal government should aid local government and the states in the conservation and control of waters, and itself engage in such activities only when the collective action of the whole nation is necessary for accomplishment of the objectives. The less money and participation by federal government required, the better.

A democracy such as ours can correct its errors, if it be the will of the people. Inform yourselves. Don't be silent. Tell your congressman you, too, believe that government should not produce electricity but "govern" within the limitations of our Constitution. Let's root out these seeds of economic destruction now threatening our great country—and get government out of business! END

Raising Votes—Kefauver

(Continued from Page 7)

It is necessary but at the same time it is abnormal. Thirty-five billion dollars is more than the cost of all the relief programs, all the public works programs, all the housing programs of the whole period of Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency.

Yet with all this expenditure in back of the economy, many of our farms are in peril. . . .

The election of a Democratic Congress in 1954 showed that the people were turning to us once again. The Democratic majority in the Congress has acted with a degree of responsibility and moderation of which every member of the party can be proud. We have made the administration look better than it otherwise would have by now. We have prevented some of the most outrageous plundering that would have otherwise gone on. We have given full support to the administration's foreign policy wherever it was right. And I might say that it has been right when it was in the tradition of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

But let no man think that the team is going to give up its power without a struggle. It seems certain that it will be one of the fiercest struggles in American political history. We must all be prepared and we must begin to prepare now. END

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PUBLIC POWER—Alger

(Continued from Page 32)

is bait to attract our attention away from the ridiculous, extravagant boondoggle that is public power, and the continued demand for its expansion. Some want Uncle Sam to be Santa Claus all year round. Should residents of the Tennessee Valley complain about luxuriously heating their houses with electricity at half price? But we taxpayers do!

The inequities of TVA and other public power projects only show in sharper contrast that the basic American belief in free enterprise is right and good.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that under socialism, next to control of credit, the most important economic weapon is development of resources including electric power. Through TVA and other public power developments—no matter how idealistic the protestation of our misguided fellow citizens—this country is well on the way

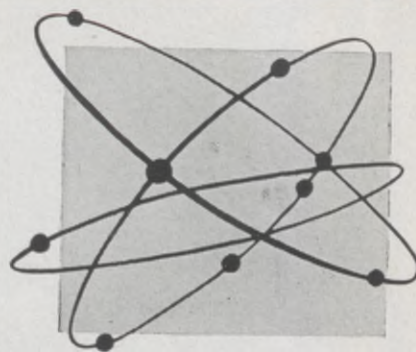
to embracing this basic principle of socialism. If socialism is bad for us in the United States, then a little bit is bad—just as any degree of a disease is as bad as the disease itself.

NO COEXISTENCE POSSIBLE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREE ENTERPRISE

Let us not therefore nurse socialistic power in our midst when free enterprise and the profit system, which have made this country great, are so dangerously challenged by the misguided and misinformed as they are now.

Free enterprise cannot survive governmental competition—we cannot have both. One must go, either public power or free enterprise. Let the Socialists stand up clearly for what they believe by its rightful name. Let those who believe in free enterprise so state—the battle thus joined can produce an honest answer.

The FUTURE USE of ATOMIC ENERGY



Of major importance in both the world of science and the field of international cooperation was the Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held August 8-20 at Geneva. One of the outstanding lectures was the following summary given by Sir John Cockcroft, head of the British delegation, Nobel prize-winner in physics, and Director of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell, England.



Cockcroft

TO MANY of us this Conference has been a celebration of a very great achievement of the scientific world—the harnessing of the energy of atomic nuclei to serve the future needs of man. This is the culmination of scientific work of men of genius in many nations. It is fitting, therefore, that representatives of the great majority of countries should have come together to present their contributions to this work and to discuss how this new source of power can help the future development of their countries and the whole human race.

We have had described to us the first experimental atomic power stations and have heard that they are working well. We have also heard of the rapid progress of construction of the first full-scale nuclear power stations. Within two years they will be delivering very substantial amounts of electricity to industry and we will begin to gain experience in their operation and economics. These early stations will be closely followed by successors of different and generally improved designs, so that within five years we are likely to have at least ten nuclear power stations generating up to 200 megawatts in a single unit.

RAPID DEVELOPMENT PREDICTED

These will all be pioneering or demonstration stations built to test the technology on which all depend and to compare the relative advantages of the ten

most promising types, both from the point of view of economics and also of reliability and safety in operation. So most of the next decade will be occupied in laying a sound basis from which nuclear power can expand rapidly to become in the end the major power source of the world.

The speed of development will be rapid and the nuclear power stations of 1970 will look as different from those of 1957 as the modern motor car differs from the Model T Ford.

NEW SOURCE OF ENERGY RELIEVES FUEL SHORTAGES

The papers presented to the Conference have shown that we must not expect the cost of nuclear power to be cheaper in the next decade than power from coal. The consensus of opinion is that capital costs will be appreciably higher—50 to 100 per cent higher—than the capital costs of coal stations, but that fuel costs will be less than half that for coal. So on balance there should be little difference in the cost of power, with nuclear power slightly more expensive than conventional power.

But to many countries this is not the important point. The important point is to obtain an *additional* source of energy to our conventional energy resources where they are becoming overstrained.

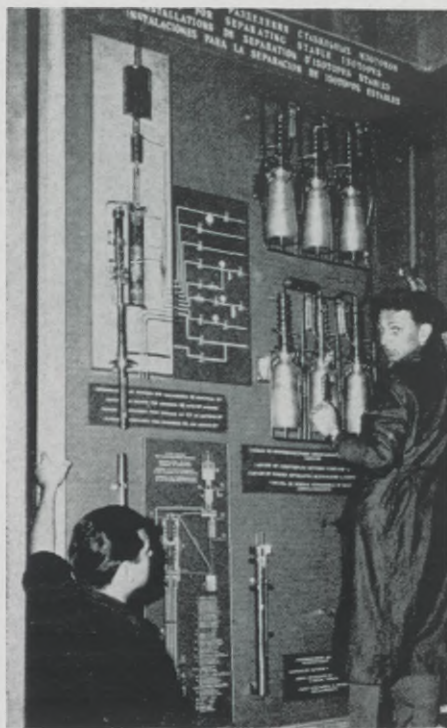
Nevertheless the whole history of engineering development shows how rapidly capital costs fall in the early stages of important new developments, and there is good reason to believe that in the second decade the cost of nuclear

power will fall below that of power from coal and oil.

Another major objective is progressively to increase the amount of energy we can extract from each ton of uranium and thorium. We believe, although we have not yet proved the point, that in the early stations we can extract from one ton of uranium the heat equivalent of about 10,000 tons of coal in a single fuel cycle; but we have also heard of the promise of recycling the fuel in thermal reactors several times so that the energy extraction can be increased five- or tenfold. We have also heard of the more ambitious *final* goal of achieving the nuclear physicist's dream of making use of the breeding principle, and so extracting a great part of the fission energy of the whole uranium. In this way we expect to make one ton of uranium do the work of at least a million tons of coal. The engineer has still to convert the physicist's dream into large-scale practical power stations, but we have heard of the building of large-scale experimental breeder reactors both of the homogeneous and fast reactor types.

OUR INCREASING ENERGY NEEDS

Our economists and statisticians have looked ahead to the years 1975 and 2000 and they have predicted that by these years our energy requirements will increase by at least one and a half times in 1975 and by three times in the year 2000. So by the end of the century the world is likely to require the energy equivalent of seven or eight billion tons of coal a year as compared with our



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Russian engineers and workmen install units for separating stable isotopes—part of the Soviet exhibition at the atoms-for-peace conference, Geneva.

present rate of 1.7 billion tons a year. Almost one half of this energy will be required for generating electricity. Hydroelectricity should by then be fully developed, but even so it will only do the work of one billion tons of coal a year. It will be a great help to the human race if by the year 2000 nuclear energy can generate the remainder of the electricity and so do the work of two to three billion tons of coal a year.

We have heard the forecast of uranium supplies—how it occurs throughout the world, not only in concentrated deposits but in abundant gold ores, shales, phosphate rocks. In seven countries alone there is reported to be available at least one million tons of uranium, while costs of uranium toward the end of the next decade have been predicted to be as low as ten dollars a pound. So the evidence presented to this Conference suggests that in the 1960's there will be more than enough uranium for the nuclear power development of that decade. If we look further ahead and combine the forecast of nuclear energy produced in the year 2000 with the forecast of the achievement of breeding, we can see at once that only a few thousand tons of uranium or thorium a year would be required for this task. So there would appear to be ample uranium and thorium available to accept the economists' predicted task and if necessary to do even more than this, carrying a still greater share of the world's energy needs until we achieve our final goal and produce by fusion reactions in the light elements an inexhaustible power source.

If we look into the middle distance—the 1970's—the use of nuclear power is likely to vary greatly from nation to nation. Some countries such as Norway, blessed by abundant and cheap hydroelectric power, will still be developing these resources as their primary source of energy. Many other nations such as France, Italy, Portugal, and Sweden, with important hydroelectric developments still to come, will by then have completed this development and turn to nuclear power.

Great Britain is an example of a highly industrialized country with small hydroelectric resources, with poor prospects of any substantial increase in coal production, and with a rapidly increasing demand for electricity and other forms of energy. So *early* nuclear power development is essential for Britain—it comes only just in time for us—and we believe that by 1975 almost half our electricity will be developed from nuclear energy.

The United States presents a *different* picture of a great industrial country with very great reserves of easily worked coal and also oil and natural gas. Their speakers have said that the use of nuclear energy in *their* country will depend mainly on its cost relative to power from coal. So they think that by 1975 the production of power generated from nuclear energy will be between 1 per cent and 15 per cent of their total power, depending on whether costs are nine mills a unit or six mills a unit. The Canadian position seems to be very similar.

The situation in the so-called "underdeveloped" countries is different again. India is a typical example of an "underdeveloped country," since its real in-

come per head is only one tenth of that of Britain. It seems also that India's energy consumption per head is in the same proportion, that is, one tenth of that of Britain. Dr. Bhabha's paper points out that 80 per cent of this comes from the burning of dung, which would no doubt be better used for increasing the productivity of agriculture. [Dr. Bhabha, Chairman of the Indian Atomic Commission, was president of the Geneva Conference on Atomic Power.] The production of electricity per head in India is at present 80 times less than in Britain but is now planned to increase sevenfold by 1975. So, therefore, electrical capacity will have to increase from 31½ million kilowatts to 25 million kilowatts installed by that time. The potential hydroelectric capacity is about 35 million kilowatts, so that this would be exhausted in the succeeding decade.

AID TO POWER-POOR COUNTRIES

Dr. Bhabha has said that since the capital cost of hydroelectric development is likely to be less than that of nuclear power development, the most important part of the electrification will initially be carried by hydroelectricity. On the other hand, nuclear energy will have a specific role to play in areas where hydroelectric development is likely to be slow because of being combined with irrigation plans which require very large capital expenditure. There are also special areas in India where the construction of thermal stations is at present justified, and this part of the load may in the future be taken by nuclear power stations, particularly where the cost of transport of coal is very high.

The development of such countries



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Peasants in the Godavri Delta area of Madras State in India tread back and forth along the hollow palmyra log to see-saw water through it from the ditch at right for irrigation of a rice paddy. They balance themselves with their long poles and spend hours at each waterpoint, pitting perseverance against the fierce sun. Atomic energy may power irrigation systems in the future.

depends a good deal on the availability of capital resources. Nevertheless, we must recognize that nuclear energy by itself is not a magic key to prosperity for underdeveloped countries. The main requirement is the provision of capital and the development of the technology and agriculture of such countries.

DEVELOPMENT OF ARID ZONES

Besides these general aids to development, nuclear energy may have a special part to play in some regions. One of these may be in the development of arid zones. We have heard for example that one third of the power used in Israel today is devoted to irrigation—for pumping water—and that Israel is planning a fourfold increase in irrigated areas.

Dr. Schonland has suggested that in southern Africa the semi-arid Karoo could become a well-watered region if the waters of the swamps of Northern Bechuanaland could be pumped to the Karoo. Nuclear power may be able to help.

Professor Oliphant has suggested that the tropical parts of Australia, particularly the central and western areas, could support much higher populations if life there could be made more attractive and work be made more efficient by a widespread adoption of air conditioning. This has already been shown to have a marked effect in other tropical countries. These areas in Australia are remote from sources of fossil fuels and are short of water. Here, then, is a role for the so-called "packaged reactor" driving gas turbines, since gas turbines do not require large amounts

of cooling water. In particular, reactors producing power in blocks of about ten megawatts seem likely to have important applications in remote areas and underdeveloped areas.

It seems also that recent developments in the demineralization of sea water offer prospects that nuclear power may one day be used to produce large quantities of fresh water from the sea at a reasonable cost for waterless areas near the sea.

NUCLEAR POWER COULD AID REMOTE MINES

Nuclear energy will have another special role to play in providing power for industrial and mining areas remote from coal mines and hydroelectric supplies. For example, in South Africa coal from the Transvaal and Natal has to be transported to the Cape by an already overloaded railway system over a distance of 100 miles, so that the cost of power is twice that at the source of coal and is about 0.8 pence per unit. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, coal is transported from Wankie 400 to 500 miles over an overloaded railway system to the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. By 1962 the Rhodesias will need four million tons of coal a year for power generation alone and this is the whole predicted output of the mines at that date. Some help will indeed come from the big hydroelectric development of the Kariba Gorge, but this is 250 miles or so from the mines, and transmission costs are likely to be abnormally high and will double the cost of power. So it has been suggested that by the 1970's nuclear power stations of



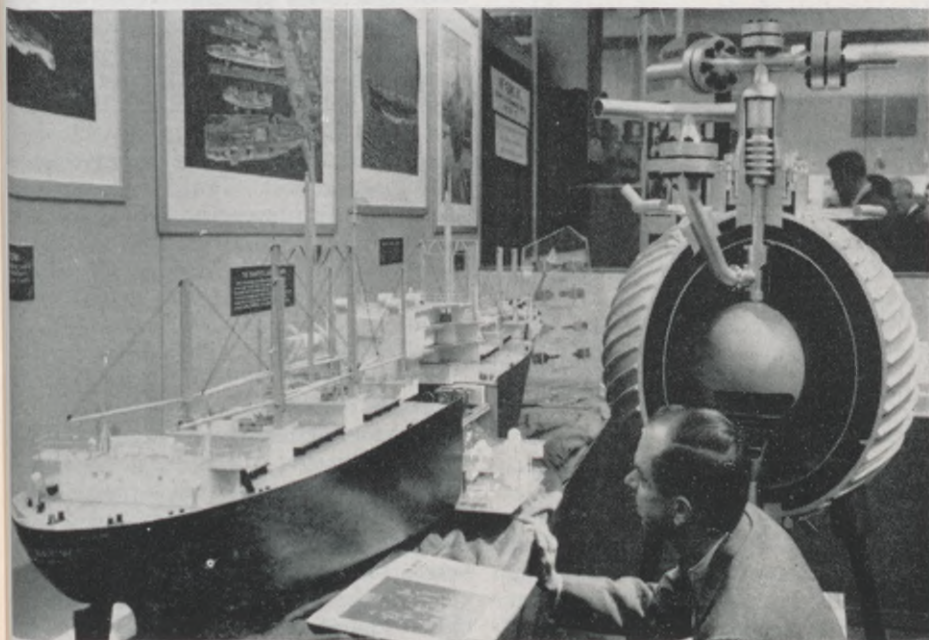
WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Workmen move into position a section of concrete pipe during the construction of a 65-mile pipeline linking the subterranean springs of the Yarkon River near Tel-Aviv, Israel, to the Negev. Sufficient irrigation of the barren area would make the desert bloom.

considerable size—perhaps up to 1,000 megawatts—could be contemplated in the copper belt itself.

There are many other regions in the world where mines are remote from fuel sources. Thus in Canada the present cost of diesel-generated power at Port Radium and Beaver Lodge is four times the normal cost. Similar cost levels prevail in mining areas of Australia such as Broken Hill. The local application of nuclear power should encourage the production at the mine itself of highly refined metals by electrolytic and electro-thermal processes. In this case capital investment might be diverted from the building of railway systems carrying coal to mining areas and ores and crude metal products back to industrial areas, and instead the capital might be used for nuclear power units. Nuclear power units for some of these areas would have to be built in a transportable form and would probably have to use enriched fuel with provision for some regeneration of fuel. It has been said that such units could probably be built within five years to produce power at about twice the cost of power from full-scale stations. In such areas, however, these costs would be acceptable.

Industries such as aluminum could absorb the output of the largest scale nuclear power plants now contemplated. These plants may produce power at costs well below that for coal stations in the second decade, though they are unlikely to compete with the lowest cost hydro power. Nevertheless, in the long run their use may lead to large-scale shifts in the location of metallurgical industries.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

A curious spectator examines a model of a mariner class merchant vessel showing the potential utilization of atomic power for propulsion, at an atomic fair in Washington, D. C. According to the author, obstacles such as tremendously high costs and potential hazards due to leaks of radioactivity will have to be hurdled before commercial use of nuclear energy for propulsion will be feasible.

NUCLEAR PROPULSION HAZARDOUS

We have not discussed in the Conference the possible application of atomic energy to transport, which today consumes about 8 per cent of the energy of the world. The United States has already shown that the nuclear propulsion of ships is technically feasible, but only a limited amount of information on the economics of nuclear propulsion is available. A fairly recent discussion in the United States Congressional Committee suggested that present nuclear propulsion systems would lead to costs about ten times normal commercial costs. On quite general grounds it would appear that commercial nuclear propulsion of ships is not likely to develop until the cost of heat energy from fairly pure fissile material is appreciably less than that of fuel oil at, say, £6 per ton. This obviously requires that plutonium or U-233 should become available as a by-product of reactor operations at a cost of appreciably less than £6 per gram. Regeneration of fuel and high burn-up in fuel elements will help. Thus if plutonium becomes available at £3 a gram, and 50 per cent burn-up and 33 per cent thermal efficiency could be achieved, this would lead to fuel costs of 0.3d per kw-hour, which would be commercially interesting.

It seems quite possible that these conditions will be reached by the time large-scale breeding is achieved. But many other technical considerations have to be taken into account in determining the desirability of commercial nuclear ship propulsion. The engineers responsible must, in particular, be specially concerned with potential hazards due to leaks of radioactivity in such confined quarters. For such reasons I do not myself predict a rapid development of commercial nuclear propulsion.

USES FOR WASTE PRODUCTS PROBED

In the present state of nuclear technology, chemical and metallurgical operations play a major part and their role is likely to become more important as we progress toward the development of breeding, for by then nuclear fuel costs will be due almost entirely to chemical processing costs. Some of the homogeneous nuclear power plants of the future may indeed be chemical plants of highly specialized nature. Even with solid fuel reactors there are considerable possibilities for reducing costs by simpler processes in which some of the important radioactive waste products which poison the chain reaction are removed without dissolving the fuel elements in acids or solvents. Since the spent fuel elements will be highly radioactive, remotely controlled operations will be necessary—here is a good application for the so-called automatic factory.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
A Swiss contribution to the atomic display at the Palace of Nations was this scale model of the Babcock and Wilcox "Nuclear Steam Generator." Consolidated Edison Company, of New York, plans to set up this type of generator for their 250,000 K.W. nuclear steam plant at Indian Point, N. Y.

The development of nuclear energy will inevitably lead to the production of large quantities of radioactive fission products. At present they are looked upon as a nuisance and a problem for the future since they have to be stored for long periods of time. However it seems that the radiation from these waste products will find important uses. The gamma radiation from spent fuel elements can be used in the first few months after their withdrawal from the reactor, and we have heard of several such applications. Our discussions on waste disposal have shown that the long-lived useful products radiocaesium and radiostrontium will be separated from the rest of the fission products and concentrated into radioactive sources. The remaining fission products will be concentrated and stored until the activity decays to low enough levels for discharge to the sea or fixation on clays. The cost of this storage has been estimated to be less than 2 per cent of the cost of nuclear power and this will probably be offset by revenue from the sale of the useful radiocaesium and strontium. These will become available in source strength varying from kilocurie sources of radiocaesium for use in radiotherapy to megacurie sources for industrial applications.

INSECT CONTROL BY RADIATION

Work on the application of nuclear radiation needs to be pursued on a much wider front before its possibilities can be properly evaluated. It already seems certain that sterilization of pharmaceuticals and some medical supplies can be carried out with safety as soon as processed fission products are made available in quantity. The sterilization of food has already been strikingly demon-

strated, but the processes require much further study and trial before it can be certain that it is acceptable and safe for general use.

A most promising field of application of radiation is in insect control. Successful large-scale experiments have been reported from the U.S.A. on the eradication of the screw worm by liberating large numbers of males rendered infertile by suitable doses of gamma radiation. In this Conference we have also heard of the control of the parasitic disease trichinosis which is transmitted by larvae in pork. Irradiation of hog carcasses sterilizes the female and breaks the disease cycle. In Great Britain, joint studies by the Forest Products Research Laboratory and the Atomic Energy Authority have shown that the life of insects infesting wood can be markedly shortened and their ability to lay fertile eggs prevented, by doses much smaller than those needed to kill the beetles and larvae. The preservation of historic timber and valuable furniture is an exciting possibility. Entomologists ought to look for other applications in this field.

FURTHER APPLICATIONS CITED

Chemical synthesis is an application that could use large quantities of fission products. It is accepted that chain reactions offer the best hope of economical utilization. The fields of modification of polymers and of polymerization have been studied actively. Very high conversion rates have been observed in some emulsion polymerizations. Halogenation and oxidation have been neglected relatively. It is not, however, to be expected that industry will set aside well-established processes unless the use of radiation offers some well-marked advantage.

Too much current effort is devoted to existing fields of production. However, in Great Britain, industry is studying such fields with a view to improvements and new products. The Atomic Energy Authority is sponsoring basic research in radiation chemistry and less profound studies in the organic chemistry field. The irradiation of concentrated solutions, nonaqueous solvents, new approaches to chlorination and molecular rearrangements are being studied. Clear selective reactions of decomposition and oxidation have been found and high yields suggestive of chain processes have been observed in unexpected places. New pathways in sugar synthesis and degradation have been found, but it is too early to say that economic application is proven. The systematic study of organic radiation chemistry is still in its infancy, but seems to offer the best hope of progress. Radiation may even be applied in the future to the fixation of nitrogen if it becomes really plentiful and cheap.

RADIATION IN HEALTH CONTROL

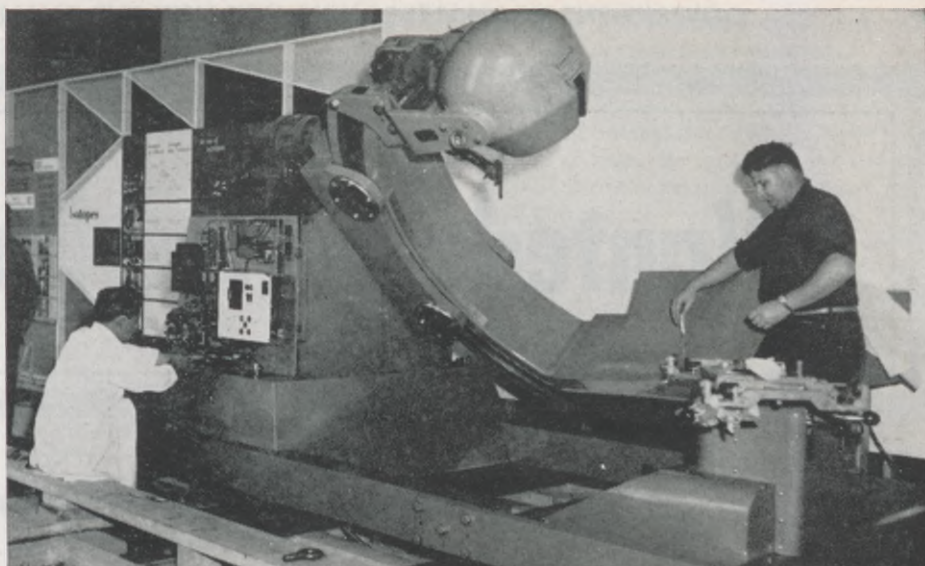
Professor Hevesy has spoken of the important part radioactive tracers are playing in the development of our knowledge of living organisms. So I do not need to speak about this myself except to say that I believe this will be a major contribution to the development of our understanding of the biological world, and this in turn will inevitably contribute to human health and well-being.

We have been fortunate so far in having been able from the beginning to lay what we believe to be a sound scientific basis for health protection by the devoted labors of our biologists and health physicists. I do not think that any other new industry has had the advantages of such preparation. The immediate effect of radiation on living organisms has been studied by very large numbers of experiments on animals and as a result of this the International Commission on Radiological Protection has prepared a list of safe levels of radiation and of the amounts of radioactive materials which can be safely ingested. These recommendations have been incorporated into the working practice of all well-run atomic energy organizations and should form the basis of world-wide codes of practice to be promulgated perhaps by the World Health Organization.

NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL CODES OF PRACTICE

We have also a responsibility to the general public in our own countries in seeing to it that possible accidents to reactors cannot produce an appreciable hazard to surrounding populations. Here again codes of practice are being drawn up by experts who really know the hazards and the problems of control. The next step is to compare experiences as we have been doing in this Conference and to compare ideas of different countries and to agree on international codes of practice. While we are accumulating experience of reactor operation, much can be done to reduce these risks by adopting a policy of enclosing new type reactors in buildings which are so constructed that they could contain any large-scale leakages of radioactivity resulting from a reactor accident.

The still larger problem of the long-term effects of raising the world-wide level of radiation by the dispersal of fission products has been discussed in our chemical and biological sessions. Our knowledge of the genetic effects of radiation on human beings is at present much less than our knowledge of the effects on animals, and so we should press on with genetic research and in the meantime adopt a cautious policy. We have some yardsticks to guide us in the general background level of radiation due to cosmic rays, potassium in our



Great strides have already been made in the use of radioactivity for cancer control. Here Canadian technicians demonstrate a therapeutic apparatus for the treatment of tumors with cobalt-60. This process is one of the most effective yet developed for the destruction of cancerous cells.

blood, and radium in the walls of our houses and in the ground. This gives us all a radiation dose during our reproductive period varying from about three roentgens to six roentgens, depending on the locality. Investigations are proceeding in Britain and the United States by Committees of the Medical Research Council and National Academy of Sciences which should help us to decide by how much the general background level of radioactivity may be allowed to increase without appreciable harm. These investigations may well be followed by international discussion of this problem and we may then hope to prepare international codes of practice which will determine the amounts of radioactive gases which may be safely discharged to the atmosphere and of radioactive liquids and solids which may be discharged to the ocean.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION VITAL

We have still to discuss in our closing session the important question of how international cooperation can help in speeding up this vital new development. Atomic energy by its world-wide effects in the field of public health can for this reason alone benefit by international cooperation.

We must also not lose sight of the fact that its products—the fissile elements—are potentially very dangerous materials, not only to public health but because of their explosive possibilities. And so international control of such hazards will also be important.

In western Europe we have made a beginning in a modest way in the European Atomic Energy Society in discussing our common scientific and technical problems, and this has already proved to be valuable.

The United Nations Organization is

in process of giving birth to a much more ambitious offspring—the International Atomic Energy Agency. We must all hope that its birth will not be too painful or too long delayed. The agency, wisely guided, could do a great deal to help international collaboration and to insure that the inherent dangers in our development are prevented.

EXCITING FUTURE FOR NUCLEAR POWER

Having looked into the cloudy crystal ball with my imperfect eyes, I feel quite sure that the real picture 25 years hence will be very different. For scientific and technological progress is today so rapid that our predictions must be subject to great uncertainties. Rutherford in 1937 could not predict fission and did not believe that nuclear power was likely. Now power from fission reactions is assured. I would like to be able to predict when the exciting prospect of power from fusion reactions would be achieved. But although we are working seriously on this problem in Britain, my vision is not good enough for that. I am not as bold as Dr. Bhabha, our president. I am sure that he would not mind my saying that the experimental physicist must inevitably have a greater appreciation of the problems and difficulties than the theoretical physicist. However, my faith in the creative ability of the scientist is so great that I am sure that this will be achieved long before it is essential for man's needs.

We must all hope that the statesmen who control our destinies and whose vision has made this Conference possible will continue to liberate the creative ability of the scientific world and so enable it to produce these benefits which I have so imperfectly attempted to predict.

Wanted: Better Politicians

By Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Philadelphia

Reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly*

JUDGED by the standards of baseball, how many politicians have we in the country who could play left field for the Giants? How many have we who could even get into the 3-I League? I think we have too much mediocrity in the business of running the government of the country, and it troubles me that this should be so at a time of such complexity and crisis.

Why should this be so in politics when it is not so in business and the professions? Why are there ten qualified candidates for medical school for every one accepted, when thousands of elective public office and party posts go by default to mediocre contestants? Why are there five candidates for admission to the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration for every vacancy? Why do so many students who major in government gravitate to teaching and to the civil service instead of into politics? Is it because the qualifications for entry into politics are neither many nor exacting, and there is no need to pass an examination to prove one's competence?

HOW MEN ENTER POLITICS

Men become politicians in one of three ways:

First, they may start at the bottom as precinct committeemen, work for the party organization in the primary and general elections, become ward leaders, township or county chairmen, and be nominated for office as a reward for faithful service to the party. Sometimes, of course, they may skip one or two rungs of the ladder. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Joe Martin, and Leverett Saltonstall followed this general course. These four became skilled in the art and science of government through long tenure in elective office before they reached the summit of their careers. They knew "practical" politics from the ground up.

Mayor Clark's premise concerning the need for better politicians is certainly incontestable. Although a reader's political views may differ from those of the Mayor, all must agree that this is a subject which deserves the study and attention of thinking Americans.

A second way is to ignore the party organization and to plunge into politics as a maverick, mounting the hustings in support of one's own claim to office and obtaining nomination and election without the support, and frequently despite the opposition, of the old regulars. This has been done by men of integrity as well as by mountebanks. Former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, Mayor deLesseps Morrison of New Orleans, and Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver can attribute their success to this method; but so could Huey Long and Joe McCarthy. All of these individuals knew very little about politics when first elected to important public office.

The third way is to be drafted by a political organization to save it from defeat when none of the old regulars is thought to have much chance of winning. Dwight Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson are outstanding examples of this route to public office and a political career. Neither of them was versed in the art of politics when first pressed into service.

HAPHAZARD RECRUITMENT

Chairmen of party organizations all over the country would sell their shirts every year for committeemen and ward leaders with integrity, administrative ability, a gregarious nature, and the willingness to work the long, hard hours which are a necessary part of a political campaign and of public office. Every

year they wring their hands over the lack of candidates with public appeal, with an understanding of government, and with the ability to speak clearly and tersely in public.

It takes much energy and self-discipline to speak constantly, intelligently, and persuasively on street corners, before captive audiences, over radio, and on television. Almost every year the political leaders have to look around for some citizen willing to be drafted who has not come up through the normal political channels. They have to take what they can get, and too often it is pretty bad.

Business and the professions, in their programs of recruitment and training, have kept pace with the times; politics, still operating on the elemental level of chance, is getting the leftovers.

THE OLD VERSUS THE NEW

My father, who is still alive, cast his first vote for Grover Cleveland in 1884. In that happy and relatively uncomplicated era, there were no telephones, typewriters, electric lights, subways, automobiles, airplanes, radio, radar, television, proximity fuses, or hydrogen bombs. Women did not work, and children quit school whenever their parents wanted them to. Hardly anyone went to college; most children did not finish high school. Labor unions existed in only a few industries. Nobody thought government had any responsibility in the field of social justice. Municipalities paid scant attention to health, welfare, recreation, or housing. Airports did not exist. Volunteer fire companies put out fires if they could. Air and water pollution, traffic regulation, and superhighways were headaches of the future. There was no income tax. The federal government operated on a surplus from customs receipts. The real-estate tax was low and ample to support the cost of local government. Laissez faire was a

popular slogan in both politics and economics. Men still quoted with approval Jefferson's dictum that government is best when governing least.

We could afford incompetence in politics in those days. We did not require much ability or experience of our mayors, congressmen, governors, or even at times of our presidents.

Today, government is both an art and a science; and the matters it deals with affect our safety, our welfare, and even our souls. We have only to compare the national platforms of the two political parties in 1884 and in 1952 to see how far we have come in our political thinking within the lifetime of one voter. We need only total up the federal budget, or read an annual report of the Atomic Energy Commission, or spend an hour on duty with a policeman or municipal traffic engineer to appreciate the vastness and intricacy of modern government, and the absolute necessity of ensuring a competent corps of politicians as well as administrators to support it.

But do you know your mayor, your city councilman, your state legislator, your governor, your congressman, your senator? What qualifications do they have for the offices they hold? Are they as good men in their field as your doctor, the teachers in your local school, or the officers of your bank? Each of these elected officials has powers, alone or in conjunction with others, which affect your daily life at least as much as your doctor, schoolteacher, or banker.

FOUNDING FATHERS NOT AMATEURS

This nation was fortunate at its birth. After 175 years the founding fathers still look good; and it is no coincidence that almost all of them were experienced politicians. In the succeeding years, whenever a serious national crisis has arisen, some great statesman has turned up to help pull our chestnuts out of the fire, to bring imagination and political skill to the solution of difficult problems. In my book there are five of them: Jackson, Lincoln, the two Roosevelts, and Wilson. Four of them had wide political experience before assuming the presidency. The fifth was the country's leading authority on American government, and had just completed a term of office as governor of New Jersey. There was not a political amateur—and no touch of mediocrity—in the lot.

These men were few, they were recruited by chance, and they exceeded—thank God—the expectations we normally are content with as requirements for public office—which are little more, I am afraid, than a genial personality, boundless energy, and a loud voice. (Since the invention of the microphone, one doesn't even need a loud voice.)

We need more skilled politicians if our democratic government is to con-

tinue to be a success. We haven't enough of them, and we haven't bothered as yet to learn why, let alone do anything about recruiting them.

Former Governor Bradford of Massachusetts once put it this way: "To live long in politics you must possess the hide of a rhinoceros, the memory of an elephant, the persistence of a beaver, the native friendliness of a mongrel pup. You need the heart of a lion and the stomach of an ostrich. And it helps to have the humor and ubiquity of the crow. But all of these combined are not enough unless when it comes to matters of principle you also have the ornery stubbornness of the army mule."

It may be conceded that these qualities can be developed without much experience in politics. Of course they can. One can also admit the validity of David Lilienthal's contention that young and middle-aged men of ability in industry, in labor, and in the professions should regard it as part of the obligation of their career to serve a tour of duty in Washington or City Hall when called upon.

SOAPBOX IDEA INADEQUATE

But all of this should not blind us to the basic fact that politics is a profession which can seldom be mastered by an act of will or by sudden and short exposure. If the career of a Winston Churchill, or of a Robert Taft, or of a George Norris proves anything, it is that training is as important to a mastery of the art of politics as it is to medicine, engineering, or the law.

Why then do we not produce more and better politicians in America? The reasons, I think, are these: first, our national attitude toward the profession; second, its economics; and third, our lack of competent personnel planning. The average American has a picture in his mind of the successful surgeon, "the man in white," conducting a delicate operation to save a human life. He sees the successful lawyer arguing eloquently before the Supreme Court of the United States. He sees the engineer constructing the Hoover Dam. But the politician he sees as a heel on a soapbox making a fool of himself.

This attitude is reflected in the poll taken a decade or so ago which showed that seven out of ten American fathers did not want their sons to go into politics. I suspect the ratio has changed little if any. This attitude is reinforced by occasional contemporary outcroppings of corruption and smear tactics in public life. They create a climate of opinion which denies to politics the respect in which it is held in other successful democracies. In England, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, politics is an honorable profession. Until it becomes such in the United States, we are not

going to get as many good and well-trained politicians as we need.

The second cause of our shortage of skilled politicians is economic. The governor of Maryland gets a salary of \$4500 a year, the governor of Indiana \$8000. No governor receives more than \$25,000 a year—not even in New York, where the annual budget is a billion dollars. A position of comparable responsibility in private industry would pay at least \$50,000 a year and probably more. A state legislator in Tennessee gets \$4 a day; in Kansas, North Dakota, and Rhode Island, \$5 a day. In Connecticut he gets \$600 for a term of two years. The average legislative salary is \$1000 a year, and the maximum—in Illinois and New York—\$5000 a year. Considering the time which must be devoted to the job, my guess is that the rate of pay for most state legislators in America violates national minimum wage standards, being considerably less than 75 cents an hour.

This is the pay if one is successful in getting elected. The defeated candidate or the ardent political worker in a campaign which turns out to be unsuccessful gets nothing.

LADY LUCK UNRELIABLE

Finally, we have no peacetime method in America for channeling ability into those places in our government where it is most needed. We educate our young people more thoroughly and better than most other nations. We design and operate complicated machinery with great skill. We are pre-eminent in our supply and logistical activities. Our technicians are the envy of the rest of the world. But in the field of personnel planning, a necessary function in a civilized society, we rely on luck. We believe that the law of supply and demand will eventually take care of shortage and surplus. But it won't; and while we relax we may well go the way of other democracies which died for lack of leadership, notably Athens after the death of Pericles.

What can we do to change the system? When I was a boy, Negroes were "niggers," Jews were "kikes," and Italians "dagoes." I blush now as I write the words; I would be ashamed to use them in public—and if I did, I would be justly pilloried by all who heard me. This change of attitude has come from a campaign of tolerance and education in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. It is the result of a nation's education which began in the schools.

It may be difficult to persuade our newspaper columnists and our radio and television commentators that politicians are entitled to the same respect as doc-

tors and schoolteachers. We have to begin by recognizing the danger facing the democratic form of government if we continue to hold elected officials up to scorn. The schools, of course, are the place to start.

In a sense, we have to break up a vicious circle. Politicians will be held up to scorn as long as they act from ignoble motives or prove incompetent as public servants. So until we get better politicians the profession will continue to get a bad press; and as long as it gets a bad press it will be hard to persuade people of competence to make it a career. Hard but not impossible.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING THE SITUATION

There is enough glamour, enough challenge, enough opportunity for a life of service in politics to attract a fair share of ability if the economic and social liabilities I have listed can be even partially overcome. Here are a few tentative suggestions:

1. The compensation of elected public officials must be increased until the financial reward is comparable with the return in other professions requiring comparable talent for success.

2. Pension and retirement system should be substantially improved. Sixteen states make no pension or retirement provisions for elected officials. Hardly any state's system is adequate. The federal government, on the other hand, has a first-class pension system available for congressional as well as for executive service.

3. Business, labor, and the professions should encourage young men and women in their employ to take up politics as an avocation. The tendency at present is all the other way. Political activity on the part of the young lawyer in a successful law firm, for example, is definitely discouraged in most big cities. A young banker or businessman would be likely to have his advancement slowed down, if not ended, were it known he was active in local politics (particularly if he happened to be a Democrat). Young men and women should be encouraged to go into politics, congratulated if elected to public office, given leave of absence during campaign time, and allowed to return to their jobs without loss of status and with a friendly pat on the back if they get licked. They will be more useful to their employers for the experience.

4. Women should be encouraged to participate more actively, especially where their husbands are also interested. By and large, women tend to raise the level of integrity and imagination in politics.

5. Political organizations must be persuaded to welcome intelligent recruitment to their ranks and must be more willing to reward men and women of

high caliber and integrity who, in turn, are willing to do the often dull jobs which effective political activity requires. The best way of doing this is to break up political machines based on patronage and on alliances with racketeers and grafters. This, of course, is a long, hard process in which inevitably there will be many setbacks. I believe, however, that the trend since World War II has been toward a far higher standard of morality in political organizations than formerly.

6. Departments of Government and Public Administration at our universities should be encouraged to institute in-service training programs for elected public officials. Such courses might well be connected with the summer school programs. During World War II special ten-week courses were run by the Army's Command and General Staff School at Leavenworth, Kansas, to indoctrinate staff officers and division commanders in the duties they were about to undertake. They made a real contribution toward the winning of the war. Similar arrangements for candidates for public office should substantially improve the caliber of public service.

7. We might well consider the British system of equipping the local organizations of both parties with paid staff trained at national party expense and recruited on a career basis. This might be a partial answer to the current dilemma of how to adjust the need for paid party workers to the passing of the patronage system.

8. We must stop deriding politicians as men with lower standards than their contemporaries. A politician must have a thick skin. He will want to dish it out and he must therefore learn to take it, but he is entitled to a presumption of integrity to the same extent as the doctor, the schoolteacher, or the banker. And his private life is no more subject for public comment than that of members of other professions. Fear of smear is a deterrent to the entry into politics of many good citizens.

WHAT IS NEEDED

I have reserved to the last my definition of what we should look for in the skilled politician. He can be described, I think, in terms of the things he must be able to do. The good politician must be able to comprehend the problems of modern government in their range and in their detail; to link his actions and his thought with both the past and the future; to dissect problems of government, cut quickly to their core, and formulate alternative courses of action; to understand, support, and control intelligently the vast technocracy which now constitutes our career civil service; to exercise both compassion and restraint; to find a common denominator which will reconcile competing interests

without diminishing the public good; to distinguish practical questions from moral issues; to know when to fight and when to yield, and above all, when and how to compromise; to withstand criticism without becoming insensitive to it; to know what to conserve and what to reform; and to keep his sense of humor.

In the belief that all men are created equal and with equal rights under the law, Americans regard the consent of the governed as a preliminary to effective action. Fearful of tyranny, we have divided responsibility among the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of our government without placing ultimate control anywhere. Jealous of civil liberties, we are prepared to lose a good deal of prompt efficiency in order to protect the individual against unscrupulous governmental action. Conscious of the fact that the greatest enemy of mankind is man, we impose wise restraints on elected officials—which, however, often keep necessary things from being done quickly.

Our federal Constitution reserves residual power to the several states and to the people. Our system of local, state, and national government creates three layers of authority, often with overlapping duties and obligations.

Such a complicated system, designed to preserve liberty and yet encourage progress, can work in the modern world only if staffed with men and women of sound judgment and high intelligence. Government by amateurs, semi-pros, and minor-leaguers will not meet the challenge of our times. We must change our attitude toward the profession, increase its material and spiritual rewards, and offer the same minimum security to its practitioners as is present in competing occupations.

Above all, we must realize that it takes great competence to run a country which, in spite of itself, has succeeded to world leadership in a time of deadly peril.

PAINFUL PROGRESS

In 1868, the *New York World* printed the following news item on its front page:

A man about 43 years of age, giving the name of Joshua Copper-smith, has been arrested for attempting to extort funds from ignorant and superstitious people by exhibiting a device which he says will convey the human voice over metallic wires. He calls the instrument a "telephone." . . . Well-informed people know that it is impossible to transmit the human voice over wires as may be done with signals of the Morse code. The authorities who apprehended this criminal are to be congratulated and it is hoped that his punishment will be prompt and for a long prison duration.

Public Power—Sparkman

(Continued from Page 33)

of our land, it has also set up new conditions which discourage the growth of rural electrification administration co-ops, and cloud the future of municipal utilities which are dependent on federally produced power.

In instance after instance we are faced with the fact that the Eisenhower administration has no real partnership policy in the resources development field. The Republican partnership label is mostly camouflaged. We see the truth of this when the President alternately pledges support to TVA and then condemns it as "creeping socialism"—when his budget bureau denies TVA the funds necessary for its development and promotes a plan to set up a private utility combine in the TVA territory.

From all this we are compelled to conclude that the President either doesn't control his own administration's actual policy or someone has engaged in deliberate deception.

LOW COST POWER PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE

The volume of public power is a relatively small amount, only a fraction, of the total power generated in this nation. It should remain so, but enough public power is needed to show that low cost power is practically impossible.

Some public power makes for low cost power and this is one of its greatest contributions to the welfare of the nation. The nearer one lives to TVA, for example, the lower are his electric power rates even though he is served with private power, because public power projects help to force private power combines to charge their customers reasonable electric rates. This is precisely the reason these combines so strongly oppose such projects as TVA, REA, the Bonneville Dam and Hell's Canyon proposal.

Opponents of low cost power know that these programs are self-liquidating. They know that such projects as TVA and Bonneville pay taxes or make payments in lieu of taxes. They know that there is not the slightest danger of a public power monopoly.

"SOCIALISTIC" CHARGE IS SMOKE SCREEN

Private utility corporations have expanded and prospered enormously during the period when public power was having its greatest development. The private interests have no valid grounds for complaint that public power has stunted their growth. Their charge that public power is socialistic is a smoke screen designed to blind the public to the real reasons for their attack. The

Communism Is a False Religion

By J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director of the Federal Bureau
of Investigation

I CAN'T understand how anyone could confuse communism with Christianity. Karl Marx coined the phrase, "Religion is the opiate of the people." He also wrote, "Communism abolishes eternal truths; it abolishes all religion and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis . . ."

But some Americans have been fooled into thinking that communism is just another form of Christianity. Non-Communist writers who should know better often parrot the Red line that communism and the teachings of Christ have much in common. Some years ago in one of our leading magazines a writer said, "Pure communism, indeed, might be a Christ-like doctrine were it not for its political implications." This man couldn't have known much of the real aims and doctrines of communism.

At a Communist meeting recently a speaker gave the true Communist position on religion. "No true Marxist can believe in any religion," he said. "The Church is the enemy of the working class and must be shown for what it is—an enemy of the people." In this he did not differentiate. Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, it makes no difference. The Communists are dedicated to destroy belief in God.

The real menace of communism is that it becomes a religion in itself—a religion utterly opposed to Christianity.

whole issue grows out of their determination to have a complete monopoly.

The full implications of the administration's misnamed partnership policy have been exposed in the Dixon-Yates deal, which the administration has hastily abandoned under the searchlight of a Senate subcommittee investigation.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

J. EDGAR HOOVER

It has no place for man's soul, for God, for heaven or hell.

Our struggle with communism is more than that of differing political systems. The struggle is essentially religious. Communism attacks all forms of religion that base themselves on belief in God.

Part of the Communist plan is confusion. They hope to divide our people and stir up strife between Catholic and Protestant.

Another tactic is deception. Time and again they inject their slogans and propaganda into religious groups on the themes of "peace," "democracy," "aid to the poor," and "civil liberties." They will even use things like the Sermon on the Mount and the Christmas story to further their own aims.

Religious people must realize that communism is their great enemy. The zeal of the early Christians overcame paganism in Rome, and civilized the savage gods of the northern barbarians. That same zeal could convert godless Communists. It is up to American Christians to recapture that indomitable spirit and to free the world from this menace.

Paulist Feature Service, Washington, D. C.

The Dixon-Yates contract was conceived in secret, negotiated without hearings and awarded without competitive bidding. It involved 140 million dollars extra cost to the taxpayers and was bad from the beginning. No wonder the President finally, at long last, decided to abandon it.

END

Little is actually known by the Western world of the rigors and turmoil that was every day fare of the Russian peasantry in their struggle to maintain private ownership of land under the Communist regime • *Facts Forum News* digresses a bit from its usual procedure to bring you one such story, written by one who should know • Because his family is still behind the Iron Curtain, the author prefers to write here under a pseudonym • He is a high-ranking diplomat and general from one of the countries of Eastern Europe now under Soviet domination, and spent several years within Soviet Russia on special missions • Share with him the shocking reality of Russian village life under the new order as you read of •

NATALKA

By
R. W. BURTON

IN 1928-30 there was a struggle going on in Soviet Russia between the Communist party, headed by Stalin, and the Russian peasantry. The Communists wanted to organize the collective farms, or "Kolkhoz," and ordered independent farmer-peasants to join the common farms directed by the party men.

Every peasant was forced to enter the collective farm immediately with his land and all his goods and stock—cows, pigs, horses, everything—giving all that to the community without compensation. From this very moment a farmer, previously free, became a slave-worker for the boss of the collective farm. Deprived of everything, he was now fully dependent on that party man.

Many pseudo-scientific books and articles were written and false propaganda was spread to show how "nice and prosperous" the life would be in a country after "true socialistic" reform was instituted.

But peasants would not believe. They understood clearly that the only real Communist aim was to take full control over the peasantry, as they already had taken it over the city population. Without universal control the communistic minority could not govern.

The peasantry saw their enormous tragedy. They struggled actively, and also exerted passive resistance.

Thus the struggle went on for several years, the opposition of the peasants being broken more and more frequently with extreme cruelty. Millions of them, especially the more prosperous "kulaks," were sent to the remote labor camps and mines. Families were broken; children, abandoned, became beggars and a plague on society. Much property was destroyed and ruined.

Immediately after that so-called reform the agricultural productivity went sharply down; hunger was widespread, and again many millions perished from starvation. Since that time food production has been very low in Russia, and most of the people live in a state of semi-starvation.

It was at that time that the Communists won full control over the peasantry.

The following true story is a picture of the tragedy of one Ukrainian family who resisted the confiscation of their land. Similar tragedies are legion. . . .

Who would ever think, on meeting young Natalka in Toronto—charming, radiating health—that once she was found in the village dump! It might even be said that the garbage pit was her second cradle, because there life began for her anew, almost as by a miracle.

Her story is charged with uncertainty, as is everything that pertains to human destinies in Bolshevik Russia, whence Natalka came.

She was born in a small village near Poltava, in a region once rich and fertile. Docenko, her father, was a hard and thrifty peasant, the most prosperous farmer in the village. He owned a mill, a four-room house, three horses, two cows, and many pigs and chickens. He lived comfortably; in fact, according to local standards, he was even considered wealthy. And that was the very cause of his ruin. He worked ceaselessly, from dawn till nightfall, gave employment to others, and never haggled—for which everyone liked him.

When in 1930 the Bolshevik government declared a formal war against the "kulaks," the prosperous peasants who would not agree to the ruinous collective economy, hundreds of thousands of them were driven to Siberia and to the forced labor camps. Docenko did not wait for that to happen to him. One night he disappeared from the village so completely that even his wife did not know where he had gone. It was supposed that he escaped to the Caucasus. He left his wife, his farm, and four small children. Natalka, the oldest, was only nine.

The village was in an uproar. The peasants were drinking heavily from utter despair. They slaughtered their cattle so as not to turn them over to the Kolkhoz. Rumors flew to the village from neighboring villages, terrifying news. This

one was burned alive when his house was set afire; that one, wounded, was driven out with his whole family; there were confiscations, murders. . .

Since the beginning of the Revolution, this was the most terrible year of all in Russia, for condemned to slaughter were some of her most industrious and valuable citizens, who loved their land and had cultivated it for centuries.

One winter evening a truck drove up in front of Ignace Docenko's home. His wife was just mixing a batch of bread dough when the band of NKVD soldiers burst into the house. The officer approached the terror-stricken woman.

"Where is your husband? Talk fast!"

"I don't know, as I love God!" Convulsively she covered her mouth, frightened by this admission of her Christian faith. "T-ten days ago he left, and from that time I have not seen him."

"You're lying! I place you under arrest! You will go with us for a cross-examination. You, his wife, must know where your husband is. You are hiding him. You will go to prison!"

She burst into tears.

"It doesn't matter—kill me! But my children, my little children—look! How can I leave them? With whom? The village is almost deserted. It is a hard winter—they will freeze—alone in this house. Help! Have pity on them!"

"Don't be afraid," the commandant said, smiling. "We'll take the children, too."

Surrounded by her little ones, she turned to leave, taking nothing with her. From the threshold she looked back and whispered, with infinite sadness, "The bread . . ."

Immediately outside the village was a huge pit, where for many years the peasants had dumped their garbage. Here the superior officer commanded the driver of the truck to stop. One by one, methodically, like so many bags of trash, he flung all four children into the pit. Frantically their mother struggled to hold them back, snatching at them, sobbing . . . They bound her and threw her into the rear of the truck.

"Let them die," the officer smiled again. "After all, they are children of a profiteer."

Motra, a neighbor, had silently observed the soldiers taking away Docenko's loved ones. The blood froze in her veins. Appearance of the truck in their village always meant danger; and she knew that when a husband disappeared, his wife could not save herself.

The widow Motra was a good woman and brave. She lived in a tiny hut at the edge of the village and earned her living by healing the sick. Due to the complete lack of doctors in Russian villages, her career was an enviable one, all the more so because she did not own a single foot of land. She acted as midwife, prescribed healing herbs, cast "spells" for the ulcers that plagued the inhabitants of starving villages. She indeed had a "lucky hand."

She liked to express herself roughly: "I have no cow, no pig. I have only Stalin's picture on the wall." Although she smiled slyly, those words apparently sufficed to prove her poverty and her trustworthiness. Not owning any land, she feared no one in these terrible times, and she could do a great deal of good.

Motra stood a long while before the empty house of her neighbors. Late that evening, led by foreboding, she followed the tracks of the truck wheels out to the garbage pit. There she found the four children, already half frozen. She gathered them to herself, dressed them and fed them.

"Why didn't you try to pull yourselves out of that dung right away? You might have died there. It's terrible even to think of it!"

Natalka kept repeating: "We were sinking . . . every time we tried to get out, we sank deeper—" The eyes of the little girl were crazed with horror.

That night the youngest, the two-year-old son of Docenko—bruised, bleeding and, for some unknown reason, paralyzed when Motra pulled him out of the pit—died quietly. . .

When the Germans came to the Ukraine during the war, Natalka, still living with the good Motra, was twenty-one. They took her at once and transported her in a cattle train to Germany for labor. She did not worry. "It's hard to imagine," she said, "that it could be worse anywhere than under the Bolsheviks."

She was sent to a farm in central Germany, where she was made to work very hard. The farmer and his wife treated her as one of the domestic animals. The work was heavy, but she was used to farm labor. Although she received enough food, she had to eat in the barn, for she never sat at the same table with the farmer's family. The food was incomparably better, however, than what she had in Russia. She slept on straw in the barn. They did not treat her badly, nor did she live in constant fear, as she used to in her own village, where on the way to her work in the fields she always had to pass the garbage pit into which she had once been thrown.

She lived to see the defeat of Germany. From the farm she found her way to the American DP camp in Regensburg.

At the demand of the Bolshevik authorities, Soviet citizens began to be transferred back to Russia. Panic and terror reigned in the camp. No one wanted to return, but the order was strict. Natalka found a way to be registered as a Polish citizen, although she was not even sure where that country was located. Thousands of Russian citizens suddenly claimed to have been born in some other country. Some fled at night in unknown directions, preferring the most tedious labor to a more comfortable existence in the DP camp, under the constant threat of deportation to Russia.

Now, before Natalka's eyes there stood the memories of her childhood: The "pogrom" of her family; the eyes of her mother as she struggled to follow her children thrown with ruthless fury into the refuse pit; the extreme poverty, hunger and cold, suffered throughout all her youthful years. She decided to accept any kind of work, if only she would not have to return.

One need not wonder, therefore, that she was capable of great courage. One day, although warned what it meant if discovered by the NKVD, she mingled with a crowd gathered before the American headquarters in Regensburg. More than six thousand people knelt there for more than two hours. Natalka was in the very front ranks, her face covered with tears, her arms outstretched. Everything she had patiently suffered throughout her tormented life suddenly seemed unbearable. She gazed through tear-glazed eyes at the banner of the United States, proudly flapping in the spring breeze. She gazed upon this symbol of a nation that had chosen—stars . . . She trembled, praying for the first time in her life—she, the wild creature who knew nothing about God.


The crowd repeated in slow, solemn tempo: "*We beg you not to send us back!*"

That was May 18, 1947.

The next few years brought complicated adventures, during which Natalka fought for her freedom with the same tenacity as one fights for life. Finally she secured permission to go to Canada as a domestic servant. After fulfilling a one-year contract in that capacity, she is now working in a Toronto hospital, and earns more than she needs for her support. She is happy in a free country.

But sometimes at night she still sees the thick ropes with which the ruffians bound her mother on the truck, and remembers with pain the stark, incredulous horror in her mother's eyes. The agonizing experience is again a reality.

When morning comes, she arises pale and trembling. "Mother," she whispers to herself, "Mother . . ."



Can Capitalism and Communism . . . coexist in the same world?

Communism is its own greatest enemy. In time its cancerous nature will eat away at its vitals. Even in Soviet Russia the Communists are discovering that too many Russians go to church and are stepping up their program to combat this movement which is a threat to their atheistic philosophy.

By **GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW***

MANY people today are concerned about the welfare of our country and the preservation of our way of life. Millions are asking, "Can capitalism and communism coexist in the same world?"

This question has been on my mind for a long time and although I am not an expert or an oracle on capitalism or communism, I believe the answer is obvious.

The nature of communism has stumped many an expert. "I cannot forecast the action of Soviet Russia," said Winston Churchill in 1939. "It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma," concluded the great British statesman.

I will not undertake to do what Churchill couldn't do—predict Communist Russia's actions—but I will state without fear of contradiction, that one of the two major systems that now divide the world will survive the other. That is not a very astute analysis, as no system of government has ever achieved immortality. In fact, no political, economic, or social system in written history, or even pre-history, has ever survived unchanged.

Human systems of organization, like every other living thing on this small planet, are the subject of inevitable change either by orderly evolution or by revolution.

Neither communism nor capitalism will be an exception.

*George E. Stringfellow is Senior Vice-President of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and a long-time business associate of the late Thomas Alva Edison. This address was given before the Temple Emanu-El, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

The Communists recognize this basic concept of changing life and, convinced that capitalism has passed its peak and is ready to decline, hope to achieve their dream of world domination by hurrying the process. If they can't attain that goal by peaceful process such as the "cold war," they are doubtless prepared to grab by means of revolution what they can't win peacefully.

COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM DEFINED

Before we go further, let us make sure we agree on our definitions. By "communism" I refer to the communistic system of government now in control in Soviet Russia and her satellites and in Red China. Under their regimes, man is regarded as a soulless, animated machine to be enslaved, used and consumed by the state for its own glorification.

By "capitalism" I mean the economic-political system that now prevails in the United States. I distinguish our capitalism from the imperialistic capitalist systems, now in dissolution, under which Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Holland and even little Portugal have for a few centuries profited economically. They became rich on the basis of their colonies and although they introduced certain material blessings and even encouraged spiritual growth by supporting missionaries, nevertheless, in every colony the deep, fundamental relationship between the imperialist and the subject race was one of power—raw, physical power based essentially on gunboats and machine guns.

In my discussion of communism versus capitalism, I define capitalism as the political-economic system which protects freedom of enterprise as well as freedom of thought, worship, speech and assembly, and other civil rights for its own citizens as individuals, limited only by reasonable restraints. I speak of the system which has encouraged free enterprise to attain a per capita productivity beyond the wildest imaginings of a few decades ago; the system which brought about such wide and equitable distribution of its material benefits, as to have almost abolished poverty and insecurity.

COMMUNISM SELF-DESTRUCTIVE

If communism and capitalism, whose antagonistic goals are apparent in their definitions, are to coexist for a substantial period of time, it must necessarily be a "peaceful coexistence." In an atomic war, the extinction of one or the other systems would be virtually inevitable, if, indeed, either could survive the holocaust.

With both systems armed with atomic weapons to the point where the only alternatives open to both are war that could easily destroy both, or peaceful coexistence, we are up against our original question. Stalin gave an answer to this question in his book, *Problems of Leninism*, when he said, "It is inconceivable to me that communism and capitalism can live in the same world. Sooner or later one or the other must conquer."

I could agree with Stalin in this instance, although we arrived at our

answers in different ways. Let us examine the reasons for reaching this conclusion: I am convinced that the communistic system contains the seeds of its own destruction. The saber-toothed tiger was a formidable fellow. However, his extinction was the result of his own terrible weapon, which became his handicap and his impediment when the supply of his large prey became exhausted.

All forms of tyranny and despotism eventually destroy themselves. Though temporarily successful, they breed the desire to resist faster than the tyrant can generate power to overcome the resistance. Political structures without the cement of mutual trust and love of fellowmen eventually fall apart. Those who cannot be safely enslaved must be liquidated. That is why one purge must of necessity follow another.

Capitalism is a threat to communism. Knowledge of the blessings of the competitive system must be kept from the victims of communism lest that knowledge give hope and courage to resist tyranny.

General William H. Wilbur, in his recent book, "Guideposts to the Future," tells how the Communist leaders fear the "Voice of America," and of the subtle and cruel Soviet program to shut it out. For example, a class of Polish school children were asked by their teacher to identify a number of melodies. The little hands went up in recognition of well-known Polish songs. Then another tune was played and several children raised their hands, not realizing that it is one frequently played on the "Voice of America" program. When those children returned home a few hours later, their parents had all gone to parts unknown, never to be heard of again.

The abominable use of fear and terror is a frightful and immediately effective weapon, but it will destroy the user, just as the awful fangs of the now extinct tiger destroyed him.

BELIEF IN GOD THREATENS COMMUNISM

The Communists recognize belief in God as a further threat to their philosophy. They boldly assert that belief in God is an "opiate of the people" and "must be destroyed everywhere before communism can be safe anywhere." No greater indictment could be drawn of any movement than to say it cannot exist in a religious atmosphere. We in America practice brotherly love and we recognize God as the Great Architect of the Universe.

With two ideologies so diametrically opposed as to make peaceful coexistence untenable, and with the realization that an atomic war could bring about total destruction of one or both adversaries, what hopeful options are open to the world?

It is clear that we cannot sit idly by and let the Communists skillfully maneuver ideas and events to their advantage. We, too, must guide the natural course of things so as to derive the maximum benefit from them.

PARTNERSHIP WITH GOD NEEDED

This reminds me of the story of "John the Gardener," which the Hon. Albert W. Hawkes, former United States Senator from New Jersey, tells with such force and effectiveness.

In a small, attractive community, the owner of a large lot in the center of town allowed the property to become an unsightly dump heap, and couldn't be persuaded to clean it up. However, he was not averse to having the town do it. The City Council, with a plan to make the ugly lot into a beautiful flower garden, borrowed "John the Gardener" from one of the wealthy citizens of the town who owned a magnificent estate with beautiful gardens.

In about a year's time, "John the Gardener" had cleaned up the place and

converted it into a thing of beauty. Everybody complimented him and told him that no one else would have done such a wonderful job. John's head began to swell and he really began to believe that he was a "superman."

A minister of the gospel heard of John's growing conceit and decided to help John straighten out his thinking. The minister said to John, "John, this is a wonderful piece of work you have done. But I hope you remember you couldn't have done it without God's help. It was God who put the ingredients in the soil, and the characteristics in the seeds and sent the rain and the sun."

John readily agreed that without God there could have been no garden at all. "But," he reminded the minister, "don't forget what a terrible mess this whole property was when we left it to God alone!"

And so I would remind you that if we leave it to God or to "John the Gardener" alone to destroy communism, this godless form of government may make such a mess of our world that capitalism cannot live in it. **END**



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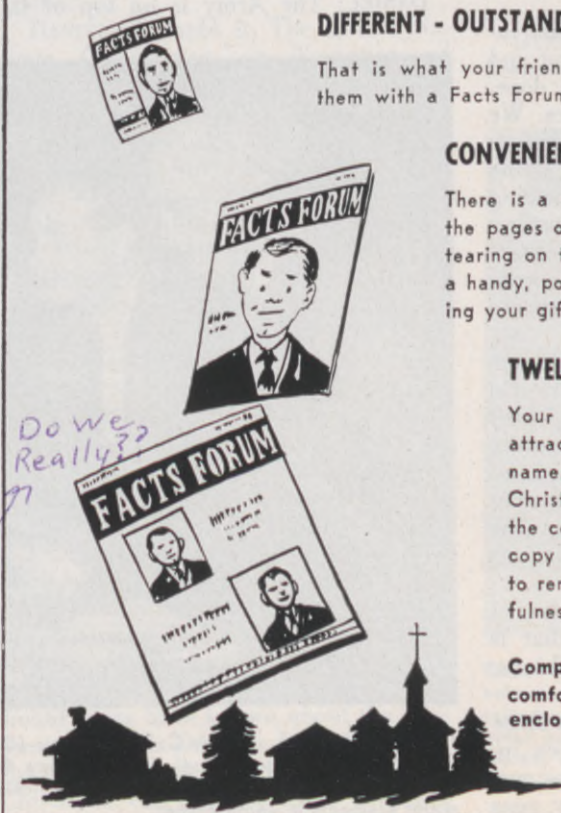
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The Narcotic Network...

Its Traffic and Trade

Millions of dollars and millions of lives are involved in the illicit worldwide peddling of dope. Proof of this was given in testimony before Senator Price Daniel (D-Texas), Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee investigating the narcotic traffic.

SENATOR DANIEL answers on Facts Forum Reporters' Roundup program the volley of questions fired at him by panelists Richard Wilson, chief of the Washington Bureau of *Look* magazine; Douglas Larsen, Washington correspondent of the Newspaper Enterprise Association, and Moderator Robert F. Hurleigh.

HURLEIGH: Let's have the first question for Senator Daniel directed to him by Douglas Larsen.

LARSEN: Can you give us some examples of the evidence you have turned up that the dope traffic into this country is a specific Chinese Communist government plot?

DANIEL: Much of it is. Our chief investigator spent ten years in China and Japan investigating the traffic in dope. He was one of our best witnesses. We also had witnesses from Japan before our committee who testified that China is not only manufacturing but is selling this heroin, opium and other derivatives of opium into Japan and to the free nations of the world. They have proof of this—the bags with the Chinese marks on them.

LARSEN: But is it a plot of the Chinese government itself? It's not underworld characters in China who are doing this?

DANIEL: Well, the evidence before our committee showed that officials of the Red Chinese government themselves have been engaged in furthering the exportation of drugs to other nations of the world.

LARSEN: Do you have any idea of the amount of U. S. currency that is falling into the hands of the Chinese Communists as a result of this?

DANIEL: No, there is no way to know exactly the total amount of money involved in this exportation. Of course, throughout the world this money runs

into billions of dollars. And, let me say this: Before the Red Chinese ever took over China they were pushing dope to get money to fight against the Nationalists in China.

LARSEN: Senator, what about the pushing of dope on U. S. troops in the Far East and other parts of the world; have you developed any evidence with regard to that?

DANIEL: Yes, we've had a complete hearing on that subject, and we found that there were several hundred of our men overseas in the Far East who have fallen to the dope addiction.

LARSEN: Is the Army controlling this thing?

DANIEL: The Army is on top of it,

doing quite a good job according to the evidence that was produced before our committee.

WILSON: Senator Daniel, what would you say was the principal conclusion reached as a result of the investigations conducted in this dope inquiry?

DANIEL: Thus far in our hearings, which have been held for several weeks in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, I would say that there are so many conclusions, so many features that stand out in our minds, I do not know how to pick out one.

WILSON: Name three of the outstanding ones.

DANIEL: Well, it was quite a surprise to know that our country has more dope



Left to right: Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.); Sen. Price Daniel (D-Tex.); C. Aubrey Gasque, Committee Counsel, and Attorney General Javits, who told a Senate subcommittee investigating narcotics that narcotic addiction cases are at a record high and one of the major elements in youth crimes.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Averell Harriman, Governor of New York, stated before a Senate Subcommittee on Narcotics that an attempt at establishing free clinics for the treatment of narcotic addicts in N. Y. State has proved a disastrous failure.

addicts than any other country in the Western Hemisphere, according to the figures now available to our committee. We have at least 60,000 dope addicts in this country.

Another thing that was very surprising to me was the fact that from 30 per cent to 50 per cent of all the crime in our country is attributed to dope addiction, and to the dope traffic which was attested to by law enforcement officers who have appeared before our committee. A third standout which amazed me was the fact that we do not have stronger federal laws to govern this corruption.

WILSON: On the basis of your investigations so far, I would like to go back to the question which was originally posed: Should the United States approve federal legislation carrying the death penalty for dope peddlers and smugglers?

DANIEL: Our committee has not had an opportunity to consider that issue, but personally, as a member of the committee, I would recommend to Congress that the death penalty be permissible in smuggling cases—for those offenders who would smuggle narcotics across our borders into the United States and thereby murder, on the installment plan as it were, the people of our country.

WILSON: What would you do about the peddlers in this country?

DANIEL: I do not know whether or not we should raise the penalty there, but there are some peddlers who certainly deserve the highest penalty that can be given. So far, I have made my conclusion only as to the smugglers. I do say that there are many peddlers in our country who are just as bad as the smugglers.

WILSON: Your conclusion then, would be that we should tighten up the laws rather than relax them or change them in order to give narcotic addicts free narcotics at clinics.

DANIEL: There is no doubt about it. If we started this system that has been proposed, and, which was heard very thoroughly by our committee with as much of an open mind as we could keep, as to organizing free drug clinics where addicts could acquire dope free or at little cost, I believe the drug addiction in this country would increase and the black market also would increase.

WILSON: How would you put into effect an increased, tightened-up program on dope addiction and peddling in this country? Is there any way to handle it so that we would have some sort of national direction and the states could agree on some uniform system which would aid the federal government in enforcing these narcotic laws?

DANIEL: Now you are asking me for a report that our committee will make, and which will probably be a very long report, after we finish our work. I can say to you now that we need increased efforts on the international scene, where much has already been done in the way of treaties, or cooperation between the various countries of the world. We need more employees in our Bureau of Narcotics, the states need more men on this job, and better laws, too.

LARSEN: Senator Daniel, how does this problem bear on the admission of Red China into the United Nations? Would you say that admitting them to the United Nations might give us a better means of controlling this dope traffic?

DANIEL: I doubt it. The United Nations Commission on Narcotics, of course, is a very strong agency of the United Nations. I'd say it's accomplishing as much as any other agency and it has brought forth the conclusion that Red China is engaged in dope traffic. I doubt that taking Red China into the UN would help matters. As far as I am concerned, this traffic in dope is one reason why Red China should not be admitted to the United Nations. There are others, too!

LARSEN: What can we do to the Chinese for this offense? We can't go to war with them, or can we? What do you recommend? Has our State Department protested against this disregard of our laws?

DANIEL: Absolutely, and the United Nations Commission on Narcotics has published many of these facts. They have held the spotlight on Red China—that's why we know so much about it. I, and other members of Congress, probably would never have known about the seriousness of this situation had it not been for the UN putting the spotlight on Red China. We can continue to do that, and

sometime maybe we might be able to get Red China to stop this traffic, as we've been able to get her to release some of our prisoners.

HURLEIGH: What about Great Britain? Is there any addiction of consequence in Britain?

DANIEL: Mr. Hurleigh, that's an embarrassing question. I talked with the Chief of their Narcotics Bureau at Scotland Yard and it's an embarrassing thing for me to say that, according to their figures, they have only about 400 addicts in all of Great Britain—compared with 60,000 addicts in our country.

WILSON: Along this general line of questioning Mr. Larsen has opened: How about Italy? What is the rate of drug addiction in Italy, and what part is it playing in the international smuggling and distribution of drugs?

DANIEL: Italy has always played an important part, as some of their citizens violate their own laws which plays an important part in the international drug traffic. However, in recent months, the Italian government and its officials have done a whole lot in trying to shut up some of their illicit factories and to cooperate with our Bureau of Narcotics. We have a man stationed in Rome, Italy, and while there I visited with him a couple of days and looked into that question. It does seem that the Italian officials are now cooperating quite well, although there is still much improvement to be desired in Italy.

WILSON: Is this a gangster operation in Italy? Is it connected with . . .

DANIEL: The Mafia?

WILSON: Yes, is it connected with any gangs in this country?

DANIEL: In past years, there have been connections—I do not know how



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Cuban police examined part of the cocaine valued at \$200,000 to \$250,000 which they seized at an isolated cottage about fifteen miles outside Havana. The cottage was completely equipped as a lab for purifying the drug, reported being prepared for sale in the U. S.

many of them are left, but that is true. At times the Mafia has had direct connection with the narcotics traffic.

LARSEN: Well, to get back to England again, Senator. Have you come to any conclusions as to why the rate of addiction in England is so much lower than it is in this country?

DANIEL: England seems never to have had the problem with drug addiction that we have had in the United States. It seems to have started in our country back in the early days when doctors gave morphine for a lot of pain. They did not realize what it would cause. This is according to testimony from doctors before our committee, and it appears that this was not done in England. Now back before the Harrison Narcotics Act, there were many more addicts in our country than we have today. Most of them were medical addicts, but England never encountered this situation. It has been proven that addicts spread the addiction to others with whom they come in contact, and it seems that we now have a holdover from the early days when morphine was so plentiful—you could buy it without a prescription over the drug counter.

HURLEIGH: I have heard, Mr. Wilson, just to elaborate on that one point, that much of this dope addiction began when individuals who were suffering from pains—arthritic or otherwise—would be able to get these narcotics and would make the suggestion to others, just as today you would suggest a certain anti-histamine or something like that for a cold, to nullify the pain that a friend might be having, and in this way it was spread with no intent on the part of the original user.

DANIEL: In the early days that was true. Of course, most of the spread today though, is for profit . . .

HURLEIGH: That is right.

DANIEL: And because they want their associates to get "high" as they call it, and to suffer either the misery or the lack of pain that they happen to suffer.

HURLEIGH: Is this criminal intent?

DANIEL: There is the criminal intent to get money from selling the dope.

WILSON: Senator Daniel, is the narcotics addiction increasing out of proportion to the increase in population of the country?

DANIEL: I doubt if it is. I'm happy to say that the increase in addiction in recent years in our country has not kept up with the increase in population. Some good is being done. The point is, though, that not enough is being done, because if we do not get rid of the 60,000 addicts that we have loose on the streets of the country today, they are going to spread the addiction to others with whom they come in contact.

WILSON: Has addiction increased in some spots and decreased in others?

DANIEL: That is true, and I'm glad

you asked that to clear up that point. Now in most places in the United States the testimony before our committee shows that there has been a decrease. But, in New York, Los Angeles and Washington, the District of Columbia, the evidence shows there has been an increase during the past year in narcotic addiction and in narcotics traffic.

WILSON: Is this uniform among classes of people, or does it seem to be more pronounced in low-income groups, high-income groups, or where?

DANIEL: Well, you can spot your trouble in the big cities, and then within the big cities you can spot the trouble usually within certain areas where low-income groups are located.

WILSON: Would it do any good to improve economic conditions in those areas?

DANIEL: No doubt social and economic conditions in those areas are contributing a whole lot to this situation.

WILSON: Would your program call for any additional federal appropriations to increase the surveillance of narcotic pushers, addicts and peddlers?

DANIEL: I could not predict what our committee—there are five members—will do, but I would say that as far as one member—this member—is concerned—I would be for increasing the force of Commissioner Harry Anslinger of the Narcotics Bureau, both in this country and abroad. We need more men at this job.

LARSEN: Senator Daniel, to get back to the role of the Chinese government dope traffic: What in your opinion is their prime motive? Do they want American dollars or do they want to corrupt the American society and civilization?

DANIEL: Well, they want dollars. The Communists in China seem to be interested in dollars—originally to fight their battles and to get equipment with which to fight their battles against the Nationalists. And they still want dollars, it would appear from evidence that has been brought before our committee and before the Internal Security Committee of which I am a member. They also, though, seem to know pretty well that enough heroin will corrupt the morals and the minds of the people in countries where they might have the desire to demoralize those countries. For instance, they've sent heroin into Japan since World War II in big lots, and I think that according to the evidence before our committee the experts on it feel that they are interested in trying to demoralize the Japanese people—as many of them as possible.

WILSON: Let me just touch on one point here that Mr. Larsen, I think, has not brought up yet and I will yield to him in a moment. Is there any evidence that any domestic Communists or Communist organizers in this country have

used the narcotics addiction as a weapon in the organizing of Communist activities here?

DANIEL: Only circumstantial or indirect evidence. We did have one Chinaman before our committee in New York, who has now been convicted and who had much Communist propaganda in his place of business and who was also in the drug traffic.

HURLEIGH: Would it not follow, Senator, that the leaders of the Communist party in the United States would not feel that they could trust a dope addict, even if they kept him hopped up all the time? There might come a moment when he would break down through not having the dope, or for some other reason and could just simply not be trusted?

DANIEL: Oh, I doubt that they would want to trust a dope addict with any secrets, but the thing is they would like to see as many dope addicts in this country as is possible because they know that would increase crime, it would increase unrest, and it would make a serious social and criminal problem in our own country.

WILSON: And increase their dope business here, too.

DANIEL: That's right. They'd get more dollars to fight us with.

LARSEN: Senator, I wonder if you can tell us a little about the actual machinery of how this stuff gets out of China—through what channels. Does it come out through Hong Kong? Or how does it get into the hands of peddlers in this country?

DANIEL: It comes from Hong Kong, Bangkok, Singapore, and various other cities and into this country through circuitous routes—sometimes by ships into the West Coast. We're going to California for a hearing and we expect to adduce some evidence there as to shipments coming into the California coast. We find some of it coming around through Lebanon and Turkey, and right now those are trouble spots in the heroin traffic.

LARSEN: When it comes into a port, does the person who brings it in have a contact to make—does he meet someone in a dark corner and pass over the drugs? Is that the way it works? How about the communications? How do they know it's coming in?

DANIEL: Well, there are various ways that we find these communications made: Let's take, for instance, a two and a half million dollar shipment of cocaine that was brought in by two Cubans from Mexico into Houston, Texas, in a false-bottom suitcase. By telephone their New York contact was told where to meet them. They changed planes in Houston, flew to New York, and their New York contact was at the location to which these two Cubans

(Continued on Page 61)

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ALABAMA				
Albertville	WAVU*	630	Sun	4:00 p
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Anniston	WSPC*	1390	Wed	7:30 a
Atmore	WATM*	1580	Tues	9:15 a
Auburn	WAUD*	1230	Sun	12:30 p
Birmingham	WBRC-TV**	6		
Brewton	WEBJ*	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Carrollton	WRAC*	590		
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Cullman	WFMH*	1300	Thurs	7:15 a
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WMSL*	1490	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL-TV**	23	Sat	7:00 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Sun	2:15 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun	5:00 p
Enterprise	WIRR*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB*	1230		
Eufaula	WULA*	1240	To be announced	
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:30 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240		
	WJOI*	1340		
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
	WGWD*	570		
	WGWD*	570		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Hamilton	WEHR*	970	Fri	7:30 a
Huntsville	WBHP*	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Jackson	WPBR*	1290	Mon	4:30 p
Jasper	WWWB*	1360		
	WWWB*	1360		
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Mobile	WABB*	1480	Wed	7:00 p
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	5:30 p
	WMFC*	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600		
	WSFA-TV**	12	Sat	2:30 p
	WJJJ*	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Wed	6:00 p
Oneonta	WCRL*	1570		
	WCRL*	1570		
Opp	WAMI*	860	Sun	1:00 p
Ozark	WOZK*	900	Sun	5:00 p
Phenix City	WPNX*	1460	Sun	7:15 p
	WPNX*	1460	To be announced	
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR*	1360		
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
Selma	WHBB*	1490		
	WHBB*	1490		
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230		
Troy	WTBF*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
	WTBF*	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WJRD*	1150		
	WTBC*	1230		
ALASKA				
Anchorage	KFIA-TV**	2	Thurs	6:30 p
Fairbanks	KTVF-TV**	11	Sat	6:00 p
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Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Flagstaff	KGPH*	690		
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sun	1:00 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p
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Arkadelphia	KVRC†	1240	Mon	10:30 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	To be announced	
Camden	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Fayetteville	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Forrest City	KXJK*	950	To be announced	
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
	KFSH-TV**	22	Sun	1:00 p
Hope	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Hot Springs	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	9:15 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
Magnolia	KSSC*	550	To be announced	
	KVMA*	630	Sun	3:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Mountain Home	KILO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Paragould	KDRS*	1490		
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Russellville	KXJR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Stuttgart	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV**	6	Sat	8:30 p
CALIFORNIA				
Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	1:00 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC*	1230	Mon	9:00 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV**	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KHJ†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun	7:30 p
	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	
Oroville	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I enjoy your [Facts Forum Panel] program every Sunday.

Mrs. JOHN McANEAR
Blountsville, Alabama

. . . I am greatly concerned over what has happened to the great American press, and the effect of its general policy of distortion and misrepresentation upon the American public.

Since you have prompted your readers to write letters to the editors of their papers, I had the idea that it might be possible for you in some way to encourage them to cancel subscriptions to papers and periodicals which they feel are giving them slanted news. If we could only have a national protest of readers throughout the country against this socialistic trend, we might be able to return to honest reporting in at least a few papers.

This idea may not be possible for you to promote, but I thought I would write you about it anyway. Housewives several years ago went on "strike" against the high cost of butter with success, but I realize, of course, that the high cost of butter means more to the majority of people than misrepresentation of their news, so it probably is futile.

Mrs. OSCAR W. CLEAL, JR.
575 Olive Street
Menlo Park, California

"The Fuss About Price Supports," [by] Earl Beall, [Facts Forum News, September, 1955, issue] is the most accurate and unbiased discussion of the farm price supports subject that I have yet read.

DAVID HAAG
1513 E. Bijou Street
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Facts Forum News is one publication which I read from cover to cover. It is educational and stimulating. Every American should read it regularly to know the truth.

WILLIAM E. SPICER
3601 Connecticut Avenue
Washington 8, D. C.

I want to congratulate you on the outstanding services you are rendering the nation by your [Facts Forum Panel] program.

TERRENCE A. CARSON
Attorney at Law
125 West Monroe Street
Phoenix, Arizona

I enjoy Facts Forum [News] very much. We like so many of your articles for our programs in our patriotic organization—the Daughters of the Civil War, 1861-1865.

MISS MINNIE L. DUNCAN
210 W. Van Buren Street
Clinton, Illinois

CALIFORNIA (Continued)				
Petaluma	KAFP**	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV**	10		
San Diego	KFMB-TV**	8	Sat	1:00 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sat	10:30 a
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	9:30 a
San Luis Obispo	KVEC-TV**	6	Thurs	8:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSCO**	1080	Thurs	7:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSNB**	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	To be announced	

COLORADO				
Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
Cortez	KVFC*	740	Sun	12:00 n
Delta	KDTA*	1400	To be announced	
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:15 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	10:00 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
	KBNZ**	1400	Sun	5:30 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1230	Sun	12:45 p

CONNECTICUT				
New Haven	WYB**	1640		
Putnam	WPCT*	1350	Sun	1:00 p
Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Fri	6:30 p

DELAWARE				
Dover	WDOV**	1410	Sun	4:00 p
Wilmington	WPFH-TV**	12	Fri	9:00 p

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA				
Washington	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
	WINX*	1600		
	WOOK*	1340		

FLORIDA				
Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sun	12:00 n
	WKKO**	860	Sun	4:30 p
Daytona Beach	WMFJ*	1450	Sun	8:15 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon	9:30 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon	9:30 p
Kissimmee	WRWB**	1220	Sun	3:00 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	WNER**	1450	Fri	7:30 p
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Miami	WGBS-TV**	23	Wed	9:30 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
	WITV-TV**	17	Fri	7:30 p
Naples	WNOG*	1270	Fri	5:45 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV**	5	Mon	10:00 p
Panama City	WPCF*	1400	Sat	5:45 p
	WPCF†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WDLF*	590	Sun	2:00 p
Pensacola	WPFA-TV**	15	Sat	4:30 p
			Sun	6:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Sat	5:00 p
Sanford	WTRR*	1400		

GEORGIA				
Atlanta	WSB*	750	Thurs	6:45 p
Columbus	WDAK-TV**	28	Sat	7:30 p
Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
	WGFS**	1430	To be announced	
Dalton	WBLJ†	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Gainesville	WGGT†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Jesup	WBGH*	1370	Sun	1:00 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Macon	WIBB*	1280		
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
Statesboro	WVNS*	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT*	800	Sun	5:15 p
Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 p

HAWAII				
Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun	8:45 p
Waikuku, Mau	KMVI*	550		

IDAHO				
Blackfoot	KBLI*	1490	Sun	9:00 a
Boise	KIDO-TV**	7	Sun	11:00 p
Moscow	KRPL*	1400	To be announced	
Twin Falls	KLIX-TV**	11		
Weiser	KWEI*	1240	Sun	5:30 p

ILLINOIS				
Belleville	WIBV*	1260		
	WIBV**	1260		
Bloomington	WJBC*	1230		
	WJBC*	1230		
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WKRO*			
	WKRO**			
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	
	WBYS**	1560		
Carbondale	WCIL*			
	WCIL**			
Carmi	WROY†	1460		
	WROY*	1460		
Champaign	WDWS*	1400		
	WDWS*	1400		
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ**	670		
	WNAQ-TV**			
	WHFC*	1450		
Cicero	WDAN*	1490		
Danville	WDAN*	1490		
	WDAN-TV**	24		
DeKalb	WLBK*	1360		
	WLBK**	1360		

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Decatur	WDZ*	1050		
	WDZ**	1050		
Dixon	WTVP-TV**	17	Sat	9:00 p
Du Quoin	WSDR*	1240		
	WDQN*	1580		
East Peoria	WDQN**	1580		
	WEEK-TV**	43		
	WEEK*	1350		
Elgin	WEEK**	1350		
	WRMN*	1410		
	WRMN**	1410		
Evanston	WNMP*	1590		
	WEAW*	1330		
Fairfield	WFIW*	1390		
Freeport	WFRL*	1570		
	WFRL**	1570		
Galesburg	WGIL*	1400		
	WGIL**	1400		
Harrisburg	WEBQ**	99.9	Wed	8:00 p
	WEBQ*			
Herrin	WSIL-TV**			
	WJPF*			
	WJPF**			
Jacksonville	WJDS*	1180		
Joilet	WJOL*	1340		
	WJOL**	1340		
Kankakee	WKAN*	1320		
	WKAN**	1320		
Kewanee	WKEI*	1450	Sun	12:15 p
	WKEI**	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC**	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Litchfield	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
	WSMI**	1540		
Macomb	WKAI*	1510		
	WKAI**	1510		
Marion	WGCH*	1150		
	WGCH**	1150		
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*	1360		
	WVMC**			
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
	WMIX**	940		
Olney	WVLN*	740		
	WVLN**	740		
Ottawa	WCMY*	1430		
	WCMY**	1430		
Pekin	WSIV*	1140		
	WSIV**	1140		
Pittsfield	WBBA*	1580		
	WBBA**	1580		
Quincy	WGEM*	1440		
	WGEM**	1440		
	WGEM-TV**	10		
Rock Island	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
	WHBF**	1270	Tues	9:30 p
	WHBF-TV**	4	Sun	3:00 p
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Sun	2:30 p
Sparta	WHCO*	1230		
	WHCO**	1230		
Springfield	WTAX*	1240		
	WTAX**	1240		
Sterling	WSDR*	1240		
Streator	WIZZ*	1250		
	WIZZ**	1250		
Waukegan	WKRS*	1220	Sun	1:15 p
	WKRS**	1220		

INDIANA

Anderson	WCBC*	1470		
	WCBC**	1470		
Bedford	WBIW*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
	WBIW**	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Bloomington	WTTS*	1370		
	WTTS**	1370		
Connersville	WCNB*	1580		
	WCNB**	1580		
Elkhart	WSJV-TV**	52		
Evansville	WEHT-TV**	50	Sun	11:00 a
	WEOA*	1400		
	WEOA**	1400	Sun	9:30 p
Ft. Wayne	WANE*	1450		
	WOWO*	1190		
	WOWO**	1190		
	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Frankfort	WILQ*	1570		
Gary	WGRY*	1370		
	WGRY**	1370		
Goshen	WKAM*	1460		
	WKAM**	1460		
Indianapolis	WISH-TV**	8	Sun	12:00 n
	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990		
	WITZ**	990	Sun	1:00 p
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WFAM-TV**	59	Mon	9:00 p
Linton	WBTO*	1600		
	WBTO**	1600		
Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Thurs	9:30 p
	WSAL**	1230	Sun	12:15 p
Marion	WMRI*	860	Sun	11:00 a
Madison	WORX*	1440		
	WORX**	1440		
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420		
	WIMS**	1420		
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590	Sat	1:00 a
	WPCO**	1590		
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WMUN**	104.1		
	WLBC-TV**	49		
	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:15 p
New Castle	WCTW*	102.5		
North Vernon	WOCH*	1460		
	WOCH**	1460		
Peru	WARU*	1600		
	WARU**	1600		
Portland	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW**	1440		

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I enjoy your programs [Facts Forum Panel] very much. I hope they continue.

Mrs. R. D. WHITTAKER
710 Jefferson Street
Rockport, Indiana

. . . Your magazine gives not only unbiased world news, but presents it on principles laid down by our founding fathers . . . [as originally set forth] in the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.

J. KENNETH HUTCHERSON, M.D.
Suite 814 Francis Building
Louisville, Kentucky

. . . Read the last installment of "The Untold Oppenheimer Story," by Paul Crouch. This article should reach millions. There is so much about the Oppenheimer case which millions of Americans are not remotely aware of. [Facts Forum News, August, 1955, issue.]

JULIAN E. WILLIAMS
10003 Edward Avenue
Bethesda 14, Maryland

I am sending my answers to this month's [Facts Forum] Poll on a separate sheet as my copy of Facts Forum News is passed on to several others and they like to see the questions. This month's article by Judge Medina, [Facts Forum News, October, 1955, issue] should wake up some people to the fact that communism is a real and dangerous conspiracy in our midst.

Mrs. E. BLANCHE BYAM
P. O. Box 204
Osterville, Massachusetts

The article "I Speak for Democracy" [Facts Forum News, September, 1955, issue] . . . should be in the grade and high school books all over this land of ours.

Mrs. I. T. A. ROSS
Cordova Hotel
826 W. Eighth Street
Los Angeles 17, California

I enjoy your program [Facts Forum Panel] immensely and think it certainly worth while.

Mrs. LENORA MILLER
423 South 13th
Terre Haute, Indiana

I am writing to thank you for your wonderful shows that have long entertained me. Since I am not afforded much time to look at television, I must choose discriminately and therefore have found yours to be one of the finest.

ROBERT J. EGAN
20-03 23rd Street
Long Island City 5, New York

. . . my congratulations for the fine job that you are carrying on in an effort to inform the American public about the one thing it knows least about—itsself.

DON M. WILLIAMS
813 East Court Street
Seguin, Texas

INDIANA (Continued)

Salem	WSLM*	1220		
Seymour	WJL-D*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD**	1390	Sun.	5:00 p
South Bend	WSBT*	960		
	WST-T*	960		
	WSBT-TV**	34		
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WTHI-TV*	10	Mon	4:00 p
Vincennes	WAOV*	1450		
	WAOV**	1450		
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW**	1580	Sun	10:30 a

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
	KCRG**	9	Thurs	9:30 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	9:15 p
Fort Dodge	KQTV-TV**	21	Sun	5:00 p
	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:00 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*	860		
Newton	KCOB†	1280		
	KCOB**	1280		
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL**	950	Sun	7:30 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	Sat	6:30 p

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB**	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Hutchinson	KWHK*	1260	Sun	
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Lawrence	KLWN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
McPherson	KNEX*	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sat	6:00 p
	KSEK**	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Pratt	KWSK*	1570		
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL*	1290	Sun	6:00 p
	WCBL**	1290	Sun	9:30 p
Campbellsville	WTCL*	1150	To be announced	
Cumberland	WCPM†	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	WGRC†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW*	730	Sun	1:30 p
	WFMW**	730		
Mayfield	WKTU*			
	WKTU**			
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Sun	2:00 p
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS**	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS*	1420		
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	
Vancleve	WMTG*	730		
Winchester	WWKY*	1380		

LOUISIANA

Crowley	FSIG*	1450	To be announced	
	KSIG*	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 p
Mansfield	KDBC*	1360	Sun	4:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	1:30 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV**	8	Sun	12:00 n
Natchitoches	KWCJ*	1450		
New Orleans	WJMR-TV**	20	Sun	4:00 p
	WJMR*		Retelecast	Tues 7:00 p
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:15 p
	KSLO**	1230	Tues	8:00 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
Tallulah	KTLN*	1360	Sun	9:30 a

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV**	2		
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Cambridge	WCEN*	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WHOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
	WTAO-TV**	56	Thurs	9:30 p
New Bedford	WBSM*	1230		
Pittsfield	WMGT-TV**	74	Fri	7:30 p
West Yarmouth	WOCR*	1240	Fri	9:30 p
Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Wed	8:00 p

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	8:00 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240		
Coldwater	WTVB*	1590		
Detroit	WJBK*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Escanaba	WBBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
Flint	WBBC*	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Grand Rapids	WFUR*	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR**	1570	Mon	5:30 p

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters' Roundup

MICHIGAN (Continued)					
Hillsdale	WBSE*	1340			
Iron River	WIKB*	1230	Mon	8:30 p	
Ironwood	WJMS*	630	Mon	8:30 p	
Lansing	WILS-TV**	54	Mon	8:30 p	
Midland	WMDN*	1490	Sun	3:45 p	
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150			
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p	
Saginaw	WKNX-TV*	57	Mon	3:00 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	9:30 p	
Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p	
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	To be announced		
Grand Rapids	KBZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p	
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	10:15 p	
Red Wing	KAAA*	1250			

MISSISSIPPI					
Aberdeen	WMPA*	1240	Sun	5:30 p	
	WMPA*	1240	To be announced		
Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p	
	WVMI*	570	To be announced		
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	
Clarksdale	WROX*	1450			
	WROX*	1450			
Columbus	WCBI*	1050			
	WCBI*	1050			
	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p	
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	6:30 p	
Greenwood	WGRM*	1240			
Hattiesburg	WFOR*	1400	Tues	7:15 p	
Indianola	WMLA*	1400			
	WMLA*	1400			
Jackson	WJTV-TV**	12	Mon	8:30 p	
	WJTV-TV**	12	Tues	6:00 p	
	WLBT-TV**	3			
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p	
	WAPF*	1010	To be announced		
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:45 p	
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p	
	WSSO*	1230	Fri	6:30 p	
Tupelo	WELO*	1490			
	WELO*	1490			
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:00 p	
	WROB*	1450	Thurs	7:00 p	
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p	

MISSOURI					
Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p	
	KFVS-TV**				
	KGMO*				
	KGMO*				
Caruthersville	KCRV*				
	KCRV*				
Charleston	KCHR*	1350	To be announced		
	KCHR*	1350			
Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p	
Festus	KJCF*				
	KJCF*				
Hannibal	KHMO*	1070	Mon	8:30 p	
Jefferson City	KLIK*	950	Sun	1:45 p	
	KRCG-TV**				
Joplin	KWOS†	1240	Mon	8:30 p	
	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p	
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p	
	WMBH*				
Lebanon	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues		
Malden	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p	
	KTCB*				
	KTCB*				
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p	
	KNIM*	1580	Fri	3:45 p	
Moberly	KNMC*	1230	Sun	1:30 p	
Mountain Grove	KLRS*				
Nevada	KNEM*	1240	Sun	1:05 p	
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:30 p	
	KWOC*				
Portageville	American				
Christian Broadens. Co.					
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV**	2	Sun	1:00 p	
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p	
	KWK*				
	KWK*				
Ste. Genevieve	KFUO*	850	Thurs	3:45 p	
	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p	
	KSGM*	980			
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p	
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced		
	KSIS*	1050			
Sikeston	KSIM*				
	KSIM*				
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p	
	KICK*				
	KICK*				
Thayer	KTTS-TV**				
	KALM*				
	KALM*				
Trenton	KTTN*	1600	Sun	5:30 p	

MONTANA					
Anaconda	KANA*	1230	To be announced		
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p	
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1230	Sat	9:00 p	
	KXLQ*	1230	Sat		
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:00 p	
	KXLF*	1370	To be announced		
	KXLF-TV**	6	Sun	9:45 p	
Glasgow	KLTZ*	1240	Tues	7:30 p	
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p	

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I have a question that I would like answered on your TV program, Facts Forum Panel, which I see on TV Station WKWX, Saginaw, and enjoy tremendously. I hope you will continue this for many years to come.

MRS. BLANCHE R. YOUNG
Rural Route 1
Munger, Michigan

Freda Utley's article, "Can We Be Sure of Germany," [Facts Forum News, October, 1955, issue] is a masterpiece of diplomacy. What she says cannot be ignored by our State Department. The closer we get to Russia in coexistence the more skeptical West Germany will get about union with East Germany. . .

EUGENE GRAF
504 W. Cleveland
Bozeman, Montana

I see and hear your program [Facts Forum Panel] each Sunday afternoon over KSWB-TV, Roswell, and enjoy it very much. I find your topics interesting and your discussion most informative.

MRS. JOE WILCOX
Box 186
Kenna, New Mexico

I do so love Facts Forum News . . . I wish I had the money to send it to everybody in the U. S.

MISS MARY HELEN MAYER
240 S. Vermont Avenue
Sedalia, Missouri

I am with you in your endeavor to get the truth printed, Facts Forum [News]. This magazine, I am glad to say, does not pull its punches. It dares to tell the truth and the whole truth.

MATTHEW EPSTEIN
Clark Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

Your program [Facts Forum Panel] is really education working for all of us who need it in our everyday lives.

MRS. EARL LA FOREST
1119 W. 4th
Anaconda, Montana

Bought the first copy of your magazine today and enjoyed what I have read of it. Have also formed a very favorable opinion of your radio and TV [programs]. Keep up the good work. You are contributing a very vital service to our country.

GEORGE F. FORTIN
3171 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

I enjoy your magazine and look forward to receiving it each month. It most certainly [stimulates] great interest in . . . foreign and domestic affairs. I am interesting my friends as I know they would benefit by subscribing to it.

MRS. MARY McMAHON
4315 Sullivan Avenue
St. Bernard, Ohio

MONTANA (Continued)					
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p	
	KXLK*	1400	To be announced		
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p	
Helena	KXLL*	1240	Sat	9:00 p	
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p	
	KXLL*	1240	To be announced		
Lewiston	KXLO*	1230			
Livingston	KPRK†	1340	Mon	7:30 p	
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon	7:30 p	
	KATL*	1340	Sun	7:00 p	
	KATL*	1340			
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p	
	KXLL*	1450	To be announced		
	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p	
Shelby	KIYI†	1230	Mon	7:30 p	
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p	

NEBRASKA					
Chadron	KCSR*	1450	To be announced		
	KCSR*	1450	Sun	4:00 p	
Columbus	KJSK*	900			
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p	
McCook	KBRL†	1450	Mon	8:30 p	
Norfolk	WJAG*	780	Sat	10:15 a	
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p	

NEVADA					
Ely	KELY*	1230			
Reno	KZTV-TV**	8	Sun	3:00 p	

NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9	To be announced		

NEW JERSEY					
Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490			
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p	
Millville	WMLV**	1440	Sun		
Pleasantville	WOND*	1400			
	WOND*	1400			
South Orange	WSOU*				
	WSOU*				

NEW MEXICO					
Albuquerque	KHFM*		Tues	7:15 p	
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p	
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490	Mon	7:30 p	
Las Vegas	KFUN†	1230	Mon	7:30 p	
	KFUN†	1230	Fri	9:15 p	
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p	
	KENM*	1450	Fri	6:30 p	
Roswell	KWSB-TV**	8	Sun	2:30 p	
Tucumcari	KTNM*	1400			

NEW YORK					
Albany	WPTR†	1540	Sun	9:30 p	
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490			
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon	9:30 p	
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p	
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Fri	7:45 p	
Ruffalo	WXXA*	1080	Sun	9:30 a	
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410			
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p	
Hornell	WWHG*	1320		1:00 p	
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:30 p	
Kingston	WKNY-TV**	66	Fri	10:00 p	
Little Falls	WLFI*	1230			
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p	
	WICY*	1490	Mon	7:15 p	
	WICY*	1490	Tues	7:15 p	
	WICY*	1490	Mon	9:30 p	
New York	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p	
	WPXI-TV**		Mon	9:30 p	
N'th Albany	WROW-TV**	41	Fri	9:00 p	
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p	
Port Jervis	WDLG*	1490	Wed	7:00 p	
Saratoga Springs	WSPN*	900	Sun	12:15 p	
Ticonderoga	WIPS*				
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p	

NORTH CAROLINA					
Asheville	WWNC*	570	Sat	6:30 p	
	WLOS-TV**	13	Sun	3:30 p	
Belmont	WCBC*	1270			
Brevard	WPNF*	1240			
	WPNF*	1240			
Burlington	WBBB*	920	Sun	1:00 p	
Concord	WEGO*	1410			
	WEGO*	1410	Wed	10:00 a	
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p	
Forrest City	WBBO*	780	Mon	7:15 p	
	WBBO*	780	Sun	5:30 p	
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470	Sun	12:30 p	
Henderson	WHNC†	890	Mon	9:30 p	
Hickory	WIRC*	630			
High Point	WNOS*	1590	Sun	3:00 p	
	WNOS*	1590	Sun		
Jacksonville	WJNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p	
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220			
	WKMT*	1220			
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p	
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p	
Lexington	WBUY*	1450	Thurs	7:30 p	
	WBUY*	1450			
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p	
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p	
Raleigh	WNAO-TV**	28	Mon	9:30 p	
	WPTF*	680	Sun	1:15 p	
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	9:30 p	
Roxboro	WRXO*	1490			
Salisbury	WSAT*	1280	Wed	8:00 p	
	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p	
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p	
Tyron	WTVN*	1580			
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p	
Washington	WHED*	1340	Wed	9:30 p	
	WHED*	1340			
Wilmington	WGNI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p	
	WMFD-TV**	6	Tues	10:30 p	
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV**	26	Sun	5:30 p	

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters' Roundup

NORTH DAKOTA				
Devils Lake	KDLR*	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230		
	KDIX*	1230		
Fargo	WDAY-TV**		Sun	4:00 p
			alternating Sun	4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Valley City	KOVCF	1490	Mon	8:30 p

OHIO				
Ashtabula	WICA**	970	Sat	8:00 p
	WICA-TV**	15	Wed	8:00 p
Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	12:15 p
Cincinnati	WLW*	700	Sun	12:30 p
Cleveland	WHK*	1420	Mon	9:30 p
	WDOF*	1260		
Coshocton	WTNS*	1560		
Delaware	WSLN**			
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	9:45 a
	WEOL**	930	Wed	7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJEH**	990		
Lima	WIMA-TV**	73	Sun	1:30 p
Hamilton	WMOH**	1450	Sun	12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA*	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Middletown	WPFB*	910	Mon	7:45 p
Newark	WCLT**	1430	Sun	6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260	Mon	8:15 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
Warren				
Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
Youngstown	WFMJ*	1390	Sat	6:45 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	18	Sat	3:30 p

OKLAHOMA				
Altus	KHWH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Wed	10:30 a
Cushing	KWHP*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	10:15 p
Miami	KGLC*	910		
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520	Sat	5:45 p
	KTVQ-TV**	25	Sun	9:30 p
Okmulgee	KHBG†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Ponca City	WBBZ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Poteau	KLCO*	1280		
	KLCO*	1280		
Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Tulsa	KTUL*	1430	Tues	9:45 p
	KVOO*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIW*	1450		

OREGON				
Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM**	1260	Wed	8:45 p

PENNSYLVANIA				
Barnesboro	WNCC*	950	Fri	9:15 p
Bradford	WESR†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	950	Fri	9:15 p
	WBUT**	1050	Sun	4:30 p
Carbondale	WCDL*	1230	Thurs	6:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 a
Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat	5:30 p
	WFRM**	600	Sun	1:30 p
Easton	WGLV-TV**	57	Sun	9:00 p
	WEST*	1400	Tues	10:15 p
Gettysburg	WGET*	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV**	56	Tues	10:30 p
Lock Haven	WRPZ†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
Nanticoke	WHWL*	730		
New Castle	WKST*	1280	Mon	9:30 p
	WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
Oil City	WKRR†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Philadelphia	KYW*	1060	Sun	6:15 p
Pittsburgh	KDKA*	1020	Sun	10:15 p
Pittston	WPTS*	1540		
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WPAM*	1450		
St. Marys	WKRI*	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKRI†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WKBI*	1400		
Seranton	WARM-TV**	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Tyrone	WTRN*	1580	Sat	5:30 p
	WTRN**	1580		
Wellsboro	WNRT*	1570	To be announced	
	WNBT*	1570		
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	1:00 p
	WLYC*	1050	Sun	5:00 p
York	WNOW*	1250	Sun	5:30 p
	WNOW*	1250	Sun	3:30 p
	WNOW-TV**	49	Sun	8:00 p
	WSBA*	910		

PHILIPPINES				
Manila	DZAQ-TV**	3	Mon	9:00 p

PUERTO RICO				
Mayaguez	WTIL**	1300		
San Juan	WFOA*	1400	Tues	8:00 p

SOUTH CAROLINA				
Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	2:00 p
Bishopville	WAGS*	1380		
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	2:00 p
Charleston	WHAN*	1340		
Cheraw	WCRE*	1420	Sat	12:30 p
	WCRE*	1420		
Chester	WGCD*	1490		
	WGCD**	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Columbia	WCOS-TV**	25	Sun	2:30 p
Conway	WLAT*	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Florence	WJMX**	970	Thurs	8:30 p
	WOLS*	1230	Sun	9:15 p
Georgetown	WGTC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	10:15 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

. . . Facts Forum [News] is the finest magazine of its kind on the market. This is the first time I have seen Senator McCarthy's speech on the Senate floor in print [Facts Forum News, October, 1955, issue]. I knew he gave a speech, but not one newspaper or magazine that I have read has ever printed it. They sure have tried to destroy him, in the press and air, by not letting the American people read or hear about his activities.

MRS. LAURA A. MILNE
Marblehead, Ohio

FACTS FORUM has been such a friend to us [Patriotic Booth, Memphis State Fair] and we deeply appreciate your interest and kindness.

MRS. L. L. MINOR
Route 9, Box 206
Memphis 9, Tennessee

Your fine magazine supplies questions and answers to so many current problems that it should supplement all other reading.

MRS. MARTHA PARKER WATERMAN
6210 N. E. Glisan Street
Portland, Oregon

I enjoy watching your program [Facts Forum Panel] very much—think there should be more like it on the air.

LOUIS DE MAYO
1422 Porter Street
Philadelphia 45, Pa.

I deeply appreciate your inspiring publication, dedicated to uplifting patriotism for our great nation, now penetrated the most serious in all its existence with forces of treason. Long may your magazine continue in its noble efforts.

MRS. R. F. McDERMOTT
Route 1
Decatur, Texas

You are doing wonderful work. I only wish we could get Facts Forum [News] into the hands of more people. I get renewed courage when I read your great paper.

MRS. REBECCA R. WYNCOOP
1550 White Avenue
Grand Junction, Colorado

Your program, I feel, has a most important function in America today, for it has been giving viewpoints in keeping with the great traditions of our country and the principles on which our way of life is based. These viewpoints are difficult to get in other broadcasts.

MARGARET SCATTERGOOD
Box 152, RFD 1
McLean, Virginia

I listened to your discussion today on whether the United States should join the Atlantic Union [Facts Forum Panel] and enjoyed the informative talks very much indeed.

MRS. A. D. JOHNSON
518 Washington Street
Walla Walla, Washington

SOUTH CAROLINA (Continued)				
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY**	1280		
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	7:00 p
Rock Hill	WTYC*	1150	Sat	6:00 p
Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p
Spartanburg	WSPA*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p

SOUTH DAKOTA				
Brookings	KBRK*	1430		
Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	2:00 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE				
Athens	WLAR**	1450		
Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WMFS*	1260		
Clarksville	WDXX*	540		
Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cookeville	WHUB*	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	6:45 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Etowah	WCPH*	1220	Sun	2:15 p
Harriman	WDEH*	800		
	WDEH**	800		
	WHBT*	1230		
	WHBT**	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS**	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	6:00 p
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
	WKXV**	900		
	WTSK-TV*	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*	900		
	WCOR**	900		
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	8:30 p
Maryville	WGAP*	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNB*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
Newport	WLK*	1270		
	WLK**	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	12:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
Pulaski	WKSR*	1420	Mon	7:15 p
Sevierville	WSEV*	930		
South Pittsburgh	WEPG*	910	To be announced	
	WEPG**	910	To be announced	
Sparta	WSMT*	1050	Sun	1:15 p
Springfield	WDBL*	1430	Sun	2:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

TEXAS				
Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV**	31	Mon	7:00 p
	KFDM*	560	Mon	9:15 p
Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL**	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Bonham	KFFN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFFN**	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	12:45 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	7:00 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	KCAR*	1350	Sun	4:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Fri	8:45 a
Colorado City	KVMC*	1320	Sun	12:30 p
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV**	22	Sat	1:30 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY**	1290	Tues	1:00 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV**	4	Sat	2:45 p

(*following Major League Baseball and Sports) (Continued)				
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA**	570	Mon	10:30 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	8:15 p
	KEPO**	690		
Freeport	KBRZ*	1460	Sun	1:00 p
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Jacksonville	KEBE*	1400		
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kilgore	KOCA*	1240		
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Levelland	KLVF*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW*	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KTVE-TV**	32	Sun	6:30 p
Lufkin	KTRE*	1420	Sat	6:15 p
	KTRE†	1420	Mon	8:30 p
	KTRE-TV**	9	Fri	10:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:00 n
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960		
Nacogdoches	KSPA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Pampa	KPAT*	1230		

(Continued on Page 64)

It's Your Business

(Continued from Page 13)

leaves, without money, without friends . . . without anything. But the worst thing which happened to us was that the Communists over there arrested almost every member of our family. In many cases, we do not know what happened to them; whether they are still alive, or dead.

And then we came to America. Here, since, not only have my wife and I become American citizens, but, also our two children have been born. The older one is a little boy. His name is Johnny, and he's five and a half years of age. Our second little tax exemption is a little girl. Her name is Eva Mary and she is fifteen months old now. Both of our kids are American citizens by birth. You know, when I look at these American-born kids, I always remember the old saying that America is like a melting pot of races and nationalities. In our case I would think it is rather a pressure cooker.

Of course, Eva Mary doesn't know yet the wonders of this miraculous world into which she was born, but Johnny—well, he is a full-fledged American guy. He doesn't speak another word than English. He even uses such expressions as "yup" and "nope," which he most certainly did not learn from us.

He plays all day long in the back yard with his little friends and neighbors, and he is mostly Davy Crockett; but when he decides to play cowboy with me, then he is mostly Roy Rogers and I—among other things—am Trigger. But recently one day Johnny came running home and said to his mother, "Mummy, Danny told me that his grandparents are coming to visit them from Portland, Oregon. Why doesn't my grandma and grandpa come and visit us?"

Now, my friends, what do you want me to tell my American children? Should I tell them that they will never get a kiss from their grandmother, like Danny, because their grandmother is dying in a concentration camp in Hungary?

Should I tell them that their uncle died as a consequence of the tortures he suffered in a slave labor camp? Should I tell them that their three old aunts were evicted in the middle of the night from their small house and left there on the highway on a cold December night? Should I tell them that their two little cousins, a boy and a girl, were taken away from their parents and are today being brought up in Communist military schools where they are being taught to hate, and perhaps to fight my children's country, America?

Shall I tell them that when my wife and I pass away, they will be about alone? Alone . . . except in one way . . .

because as American citizens they will be members of the greatest family in the world. There isn't anything I could give our American kids except the greatest gift on earth, American citizenship.

But this will be of value to them only if all of you will see to it that this American citizenship for our young generations will mean the same thing that it means to you, and as it was founded by *your* forefathers and handed over to you by *your* ancestors. Your responsibility is tremendous, but your work is the best guarantee that our Johnny and Eva Mary, and your Johnnys and Marys, and the millions and millions of Johnnys and Marys in this great country will grow up and live in a free, strong, and happy America.

The Narcotics Network

(Continued from Page 56)

were to take this cocaine. They went there—fortunately, though, the officers were able to make a raid and take over all of it.

Now, that was in by air, the contact was made by telephone. We find the dope traffic using telephones almost exclusively as their means of communications and that's why many officers feel in narcotics cases they should be allowed to tap telephones so they can keep up with the modern means being used by the dope traffic.

WILSON: How do you feel about wire-tapping in this case?

DANIEL: Well, most of the states permit it, and they can use the evidence. And I believe that we would be able to catch hardly any of the big-time dope traffickers and convict them except for states and state courts in which wire-tapping evidence can be used.

LARSEN: Senator, you mentioned some of the dope coming in through Mexico. Did you imply that it originated there, or this was part of the route from China? Does 100 per cent of it come through from China?

DANIEL: No sir, not by any means. There are other sources for much of the opium and heroin coming into this country, and one of those sources is Mexico.

HURLEIGH: Senator Daniel, is it legal to purchase barbiturates without a prescription?

DANIEL: It is not legal anywhere that I know of to purchase barbiturates without prescription.

HURLEIGH: Is the history of the remedial curing efforts in the field of narcotic addiction littered with failure?

DANIEL: Yes, that is correct. There have been some exceptions. There have been some people cured and much work is being done in that regard. But, the majority of drug addicts have not been cured from their disease.

END

HELP THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

- Call or write friends to listen in on Facts Forum air shows. Type or write a list of stations on which they can hear and see FF programs and mail the list to them.
- If you cannot hear or see FF radio and TV programs in your area, ask your station to carry them.
- Commend TV and radio stations for presenting FF. Your letters will help offset the ones they receive from critics of the FF idea of giving both sides.
- Ask newsstands for the *Facts Forum News* and if they do not carry it, ask them to do so.
- Get your club or discussion group to raise FF poll questions in their meetings.
- Write editors, columnists and commentators your informed opinions on problems facing the American people. Enter the published clippings of letters containing 150 or less words in the FF letter contest. Read rules of the FF contest on page 62 of this magazine.
- Write Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas, for material which will assist you in getting business friends interested in ADDING PATRIOTISM TO THEIR ADS.
- Submit three questions to enter in the January Poll Question Contest (72 spaces or less). Vote the December poll on page 65 of this issue.
- Pass your copy of *Facts Forum News* around to friends so they may judge if they wish to subscribe.
- Send your friends a subscription to *Facts Forum News*. Where else could you find so much of value for so little cost? 1-year subscription, \$2, 3 years for \$5.

Enter My ☐ New
☐ Renewal

Subscription Now!

☐ I ENCLOSE \$2
☐ FOR 1 YEAR.

☐ I ENCLOSE \$5
☐ FOR 3 YEARS.

FACTS FORUM NEWS

Makes the Public Interest
of Interest to the Public

NAME _____
Please Print

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

CONTEST RULES

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, \$25 cash plus 75 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 50 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, 30 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; with a token award of five six-month subscriptions for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes.

SECOND HALF OF 1955 CONTEST:

The letters submitted by you for the monthly contest will be held in competition for the half-year contest ending December 31, 1955. A judging committee different from the monthly contest and not used heretofore will be selected for this contest. First award, \$200; second, \$100; third, \$50.

SLOGAN:

An award of \$10 will be given for the best slogan adopted for use the following month. Closing date is four days prior to the closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

POLL QUESTIONS:

Do you have questions regarding subjects of national interest which you feel would be suitable for use in our monthly Poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$10.00 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces, so as not to exceed one line on the Poll. **EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEST.** Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered Yes or No.

SUBJECT FOR PROGRAM:

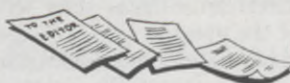
Send questions to be discussed on the FACTS FORUM PANEL programs to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those who send questions which become the subject of a broadcast will receive a set of Collier's Encyclopedia, and the runner-up will receive a set of Wedgewood china. Additional awards of lesser value will be sent to the persons whose sub-questions are used on the program.

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to REPORTERS' ROUNDUP, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The best three questions submitted will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons sending in excerpts printed in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication of entries, the one with the earliest postmark will be used.



Award Winners



LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award

NO CRUTCH NEEDED

To the *Indianapolis Star*:

Federal aid and controls for the farmer take away the basic unit of American life—the right to meet his problems in his own way. Being a farmer, I am against them one hundred per cent. To substantiate my reason I would quote from Thomas Jefferson: "Were we directed from Washington when to sow and reap, we should soon want bread."

When we farmers go in for government controls, we surrender our liberty, we transfer responsibility and power away from free enterprise and initiative to march forward.

The increasing population will require 750 thousand cattle each year. Give the American people buying power and there will be under-production, not over-production.

In my estimation, government control lowers the farmers' standards, and encourages mistaken enterprise with accompanying dissatisfaction, frustrations, and destroys initiative. The farmer is a rugged individual who is able to stand on both feet without the aid of a GOVERNMENT CRUTCH.

GAYLORD H. ALLSPAUGH
R. R. No. 3, Spencer, Indiana

* * *

2nd Award

A CONSERVATIVE VOICE

To the *New York Herald Tribune*:

For twenty years conservatives have had no voice in government because the liberals who dominate both major parties were in complete accord on policies. Voters who disagreed were disfranchised. Thus our two-party system, the best that man has yet devised for passing on his freedom to his sons, has been endangered.

Have we now lost the right to choose between cutting expenditures—and uncontrollable inflation? between protective tariffs—and opening our markets to competitors abroad whose plants we subsidize with foreign aid? between integrity in international affairs—and perfidy to our few anti-Communist allies at the insistence of United Nations?

Unless we reassert our right to choose between opposing policies we will destroy the system that protects our freedom. Allow the liberals to name both presidential candidates in 1956 and, in

our lifetime, we will see America stripped of defense against dictatorship and tyranny.

MILDRED WILLIS HARRIS
400 East 59th St., New York 22, N. Y.

* * *

3rd Award

HAPLESS MALE

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

I want to thank you for publishing the important and timely column, "Some Reflections on Peace by Terror," by Holmes Alexander.

In the "love-that-peace" ecstasy of our present honeymoon with the Communists the American people should not forget the words of the Communist spokesman who some thirty years ago unfolded the Communist plan for conquest.

He spoke of the "unheard of concessions" they would make, and their "peace overtures" at which we would grasp so eagerly, only to be crushed by their "clenched fist" when our guard was down.

How like the voracious female spider are the Communists and how like the witless, hapless male are we—certain to be devoured as soon as the honeymoon is over.

More columns like this one by Mr. Alexander might, just might, alert us in time.

FRANCES BECK
516 E. Mayberry Ave.,
Hemet, California

* * *

BOOM LOWERED

To the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*:

Concerning the guaranteed wage, Walter Reuther is taking bows for something he didn't get. What he got is a company-supplied supplement to state unemployment compensation to run twenty-six weeks. Even so, this raises a point which deserves the most sober scrutiny.

Some auto plants affected by the agreements are located in states such as Ohio where any wage supplement tied to unemployment compensation is in violation of the law.

Does this mean that state legislatures will be forced to amend the law in order to legalize a labor-management agreement entered into in violation of the law as it now stands? If so, isn't that a stride toward corporate-labor fascism?

As this writer sees it, the danger is

not that our government will be overthrown by violence. The danger is that we will go to bed one night in a free country and the next morning wake up in a Fascist or Communist state without noticing it was happening.

MABEL G. BLISS
Alcazar Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio

* * *

'MacARTHUR FORMULA'

To the *Manchester Union Leader*:

Because diplomats attending the current "Peace Talks" have consistently made the mistake of dignifying the weird concoctions which the Reds substitute for reason, by trying to apply civilized rules of debate, it seems timely to recommend trying General MacArthur's formula.

When Stalin concocted a "psycho-bomb" against the occupation of Okinawa, MacArthur replied, "I cannot accept the integrity of intent of your letter. It can only be regarded as a provocative impertinence."

Again, when the Reds protested his firing of Japanese "liberals" from strategic jobs, the general kicked the Red booby-trap right back to Moscow with, "I have received your note and have carefully considered its context in vain search of some semblance of merit and validity. Rarely, indeed, have I perused such a conglomeration of misstatement, misrepresentation and prevarication of fact."

MRS. ADELAIDE HERING
10 West 33 St., New York 1, N. Y.

* * *

PROXIMITY IRRELEVANT

To the *Dallas News*:

Different sections of the United States have integration in the schools now and have had for many years. Having attended said schools and churches, and being positive of my ancestral background, I can definitely say that I am not a mulatto. I also believe that the majority of the population in the north is white.

Certain writers to *The News* should look up the laws governing sex. They would find that the mere sitting beside a colored person in school or church would not produce mulatto offspring.

JIM LARSEN
6522 Thackery
Dallas, Texas

* * *

WHOM SHALL WE SERVE

To the *Indianapolis Star*:

Judge John S. Gonas of South Bend, Indiana, upon returning from the United Nations conference on juvenile delin-

quency at Geneva, reports: "I was dismayed to find religion omitted from the conference. No blessing was invoked at the start of the conference because of some United Nations members."

Let us stop kidding ourselves about the United Nations setup! At its formation and at practically every meeting since, prayer has been omitted for fear Communist Russia might be offended.

The United Nations is willing to offend God but they are very fearful of offending godless Communist Russia.

"In God We Trust!" is a national declaration, yet we yield weakly to offending God by leaving prayer out of the United Nations gatherings lest we offend the godless Communists. We need an American Elijah to rise up and challenge the United States to decide whom we will serve, God or the Communist-controlled United Nations.

LESLIE E. DUNKIN
P. O. Box 117, South Bend 24, Indiana

* * *

FORGOTTEN SOLDIERS

To the *Wall Street Journal*:

You say, referring to the code for prisoners of war, "it lays upon every American soldier . . . a refusal to betray his fellows. It charges him with the duty to resist the blandishments and the brain-washing of an enemy 'to the utmost of my ability.'"

Now the prisoners of war should draw up a code for the present administration and charge it with the obvious duty of not betraying prisoners of war by leaving them to languish in Communist dungeons in violation of agreements made, while politicians seek ways of appeasing their captors.

Why do you think a soldier forgotten by his government should suffer torture from an enemy while the leaders of his country fraternize with the very people responsible for his suffering?

If the head of the government can "relax the tensions" by eating, drinking and making merry with the enemy, why not the common soldier?

LEO R. O'BRIEN
Scudders Lane
Glenwood Landing, New York

* * *

SAVINGS STUDY

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

I wish to commend you for your leading editorial of Oct. 1 recommending study on the part of citizens of the second Hoover Commission report and those of the various task forces.

I have been studying these items for some weeks. Some of the copies were obtained through the courtesy of U. S. Senator Kuchel, whose office has been

helpful; others were purchased from the Government Printing Office. Of the latter, I have surely gotten my money's worth.

The savings recommended are almost unbelievable, and if made will be incredibly wholesome; the efficiency planned for is intrinsically valuable.

It seems to me that there is now no other subject in domestic affairs which transcends the importance of implementing these recommendations.

DAVID O. M. RODERICK
830 W. Sixth St., Los Angeles 17, Calif.

* * *

NEW DIPLOMACY

To the *Dallas News*:

For more than a hundred years our old American foreign policy was friendship for all nations and entangling alliances with none. Today it is enmity for about half the world and entangling alliances with the other half. Our old "dollar diplomacy" was to bring money in. Today it is to hand money out.

CHARLES J. FOX
604 Bonair St., La Jolla, California

* * *

A LULL IN THE STORM

To the *Hartford Courant*:

No situation, international, national or individual, but is either improving or deteriorating.

In a situation which lulls a person or a people into indifference to need of improvement, there is constant danger of deterioration. That grave danger exists in the international situation today. In the relaxation from tension since Geneva, some would seek rest. But to the enemies of liberty it is but a breather in which to gather forces for a fresh attack on the liberty that, stoutly defended, is an insuperable barrier to their domination over all men and nations.

If free persons and peoples mistake love of comfort for love of peace, they will discover, possibly too late, that it is but a lull in the storm, against which ease and comfort are no protection.

Awareness that only in unceasing effort to improve is there security from deterioration into a comfortless, hopeless situation, provides the only protection.

FRANK D. SLOCUM
2239 Grand Ave.,
New York City 53, New York

* * *

BOILS DOWN ISSUE ON BRICKER BILL

To the *Houston Chronicle*:

The discussion as to whether the Bricker amendment should be submitted

to the states for action boils down to this: Do the voters of the United States want the supreme power of government to continue to reside in the people or do they want a dictatorship in our republic?

RALPH ARMSTRONG
P. O. Box 2942, Houston, Texas

* * *

LEANING ON GOVERNMENT PERILS FREEDOM

To the *Omaha World Herald*:

We have started leaning on the government for every kind of assistance. We have minimized freedom in favor of big government.

Freedom is a God-given right, not a state-granted privilege. Down through the years we have been free to work, explore, and invent. We have been free to take ventures—if we failed, free to try again.

We have been free to save our money or spend it. We have been free to rise to higher positions. This kind of freedom made us a great country.

A great congressman stands on the floor of the House and warns: "Unless America soon awakens, this band of determined Marxists will have completed a bloodless revolution without parallel. Unless the Trojan-horse methods of this group be exposed and understood, America will soon find that her liberty and her independence is gone forever."

Left-wingers, masquerading as liberals, can destroy us.

C. A. NOLAN
Rt. 2, Seymour, Indiana

* * *

NO MORE COMMIES!

To the *Boston Post*:

Let us be thankful, at the present, there's one deterrent to an influx of Russian visitors to our shores—that's fingerprinting.

The only people allowed out of Russia are the full-fledged Communists, indoctrinated and seeped in communism for years. No citizens otherwise imbued would be allowed to leave the communistic heaven.

We do not want these travelers in our land. We have enough of our own similarly indoctrinated to contend with without bringing in hordes of these undesirables—even one is too many.

Winnipeg, Canada, gave a good demonstration and a criterion for the treatment of these creatures. Was there a peep out of the Canadian government that the treatment was too rough? No! They understood their citizens had every reason to act as they did—atrocities were not forgotten.

If we are so desirous of visitors, let us encourage those from the lands that aren't tagged with the Communist label.

MRS. ELEANOR G. PRICE
Route 2, Dover, New Hampshire

MORE SCHOOLING?

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

President Eisenhower favors the extension of high school and college terms to five years instead of four, on the ground that the "complexities" of our times demand that much more instruction.

Ike learned to read, as kids did in those preprogressive days, in his earliest primary grades; today's youngsters often can't read when they finish high school, and "remedial" courses in high schools and colleges are the order of the day.

If this fact doesn't add to the complexities, it assuredly adds to the perplexities of our times.

It would be more to the point for the President to advocate basic improvements in methods of instruction of youth. Then they could learn, in four years, what under present handicaps they literally couldn't learn in a lifetime of "schooling."

What we need is not more time but better teaching; except perhaps in technical and scientific subjects.

JOHN C. ROBB
321 Calle Miramar
Redondo Beach, California

* * *

PATRIOTISM WILL FURNISH CODE

To the *Greenwood Index-Journal*:

President Eisenhower has commanded that specific training be started at once on a new Code of Conduct for our fighting men.

He must be prepared: to give his life for his country; to refuse to surrender on his own initiative; to continue resistance to pressure after capture; to keep faith with his fellow-men.

What is new in this? To do these things, a man must have faith in his government, confidence in his officers, love and fellowship for his comrades. He must know that when he is called to fight he will be allowed to win, and if captured that every resource of his government will be used for his liberation.

If he has these things, his patriotism will furnish the code.

J. D. THOMPSON
Ninety Six, South Carolina

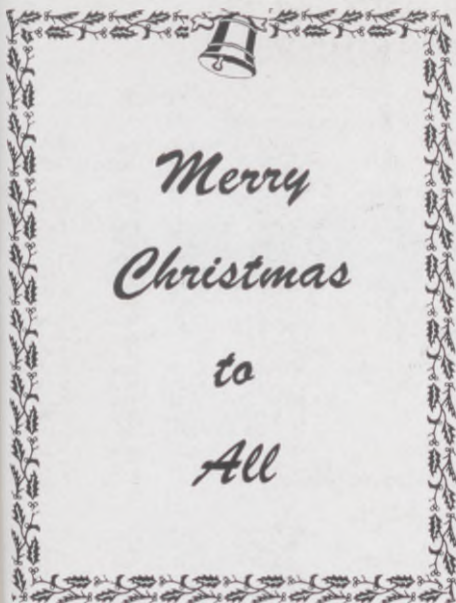
CORRECTION

On page 57 of the October issue of *Facts Forum News* one of the Facts Forum panelists told of a statement made by Michael DiSalle to the Chamber of Commerce when he was Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio. A reader wrote us that this was in error, and Mr. DiSalle has confirmed that he was Mayor of Toledo instead of Cleveland, and that the statement referred to was made in jest before a United States Conference of Mayors meeting.

RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

(Continued from Page 60)

TEXAS (Continued)				
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Tues	7:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p
Post	KRWS*	1370		
San Angelo	KTXL-TV**	8	Sun	6:30 p
San Antonio	WOAI*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	WOAT-TV**	4	Sun	1:00 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV*	910	Sun	7:30 p
Snyder	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	12:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSS†	1230	Sun	6:45 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KTFE*	1400	To be announced	
Tyler	KLTV-TV**	7	Wed	10:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Waco	KANG-TV**	34	Sat	3:30 p
	KYBS*	630	Mon	8:30 p
	KYBS*	630	Fri	9:30 p
Weslaco	KRGV-TV**	1290	Wed	9:45 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV**	6	Fri	8:30 p
			Tues	9:30 p
UTAH				
Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	2:15 p
	KWHO*			
Vernal	KJAM*	1340	Mon	6:00 p
	KJAM**	1340	Sun	3:00 p
VERMONT				
Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN**	1340	Sun	8:30 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
Bedford	WBTL†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Charlottesville	WCHV*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
	WCHV**	1240	Thurs	9:00 p
Clifton Forge	WCFV*			
Crewe	WSVS*	800		
Fairfax	WFCR**			
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340	To be announced	
	WHAP**	1340	To be announced	
Lexington	WREL*	1450	Sat	7:15 p
	WREL**	1450	Sun	6:30 p
Newport News	WACH**	1270	To be announced	
Norfolk				
Hampton	WVEC-TV*	15	Sat	5:00 p
Richmond	WMBG*	1380		
Roanoke	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	3:00 p
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun	12:00 n
Suffolk	WLPN*	1450		
	WLPN**	1450		
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced	
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p
WASHINGTON				
Colfax	KCLX*	1450		
Grand Coulee	KFDR**	1400	Sun	3:30 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	KSEM**	1450	Sat	8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE**	1150	Sun	2:00 p
Seattle	KOMO*	1000	Mon	6:30 p
Spokane	KHQ-TV**	6	Sun	4:30 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p
Yakima	KYAK*	1390		
WEST VIRGINIA				
Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri	10:00 a
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV**	4	Sun	5:00 p
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400		
	WRON**	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun	10:15 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	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 p
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
La Crosse	WLCX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	8:00 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
Rienland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	
WYOMING				
Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS*	1490	Tues	7:30 p



December Poll Question Winners

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

- 1st: **W. A. BRITTLE**
500 Spring Street
Richmond, Virginia
- 2nd: **JOHN AKANA**
P. O. Box 788
Brooklyn, New York
- 3rd: **DON C. BENTLEY**
5942 Doulton Drive
Houston 21, Texas
- 4th: **JACK BALDWIN**
102 North Grand
Searcy, Arkansas
- 5th: **LOUIS CATANESE**
6615 Ovington Court
Brooklyn 4, New York
- 6th: **MRS. A. H. ALEXANDER**
895 West Main
Decatur, Illinois
- 7th: **SAM H. COLLINS**
1201 West North Ave.
Pittsburgh 33, Pennsylvania
- 8th: **MISS SUSIE A. BESSOR**
420 South Second Street
Chambersburg, Pennsylvania
- 9th: **MRS. A. DANCA**
7231 East End Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
- 10th: **JAMES D. PEEPLES**
313 Lampkin Street
Starkville, Mississippi
- 11th: **DONALD W. HAMMANG**
2823 Leeward Avenue
Los Angeles 5, California
- 12th: **GERALD R. HIBBS**
Robertson Hall
Norman, Oklahoma
- 13th: **HARRY SCHREINER**
1032 Gates Avenue
Brooklyn 21, New York
- 14th: **WILLIAM E. SPICER**
3601 Connecticut Avenue
Washington 8, D. C.

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes December 10

Yes No

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should the U. S. continue aid to Tito's government? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Do you favor more restraint on foreign aid? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should secret recordings of jury deliberations be outlawed? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Is organized labor becoming too big? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should the cabinet decide upon the inability of a president to work? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Do you believe that wire tapping should be made legal? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should our public schools be kept free from federal aid? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | While indebtedness is high or budget unbalanced, should taxes be lowered? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should narcotic smugglers and peddlers be subject to the death penalty? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Is Negro justice in the South harmed by NAACP interference? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should the U. S. A. sell arms to the Arabs? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Do you think rigid farm price supports should be restored? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should the electoral college be abolished in favor of a popular vote? |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | Should unlimited power of the federal government to tax be restricted? |

Remarks _____

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NAME (PLEASE PRINT) NO. AND ST. CITY AND STATE

• PLEASE NOTE: Voters are requested to write in your votes by listing your answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which you have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Your votes shown in this manner, or indicated on the above form, represent your ballot in the Facts Forum Poll.

☐ I enclose \$2.00 for 1 yr. subscription to Facts Forum News.

LAST MONTH'S POLL RESULTS

% Yes

- | | |
|----|---|
| 11 | Should U. S. have power development priority over private enterprise? |
| 27 | Is there now any difference between Republican and Democratic parties? |
| 87 | Has Washington taken over jobs that ought to be left to the states? |
| 9 | Should Red China be seated in the United Nations? |
| 84 | Should more businessmen be in our national government? |
| 13 | Should we let Russia study our agricultural and industrial methods? |
| 15 | Should we allow planes from other countries to fly over USA? |
| 11 | Would you agree to the exchange of blueprints with Russia? |
| 37 | Should personal income taxes be cut even if the budget is not balanced? |
| 15 | Is 90 per cent of parity the answer to the farmer's problem? |
| 91 | Should we release surplus food for U. S. victims in disaster areas? |
| 27 | Would you favor emergency national lotteries for disaster relief funds? |
| 70 | Should the United States withdraw from the United Nations? |
| 18 | Should labor unions contribute funds for political purposes? |

Slogan for December, 1955

Inform Yourself - It's Later Than You Think

Submitted by

MISS MARILYN B. HOLLISTER
P. O. Box No. 1441, Ft. Benning, Georgia

Hear... See...

FACTS FORUM PROGRAMS

FACTS FORUM—RADIO
FACTS FORUM PANEL—RADIO
FACTS FORUM PANEL—TV
REPORTERS' ROUNDUP—RADIO



From Maine to California, Alaska to the Philippines*

REFER TO RADIO AND TV
SCHEDULES IN THIS ISSUE

1440
211

703

MA 17-200
POT 4-197 2nd 154
Vd - 26/03/54/62*