

ANUARY 1956

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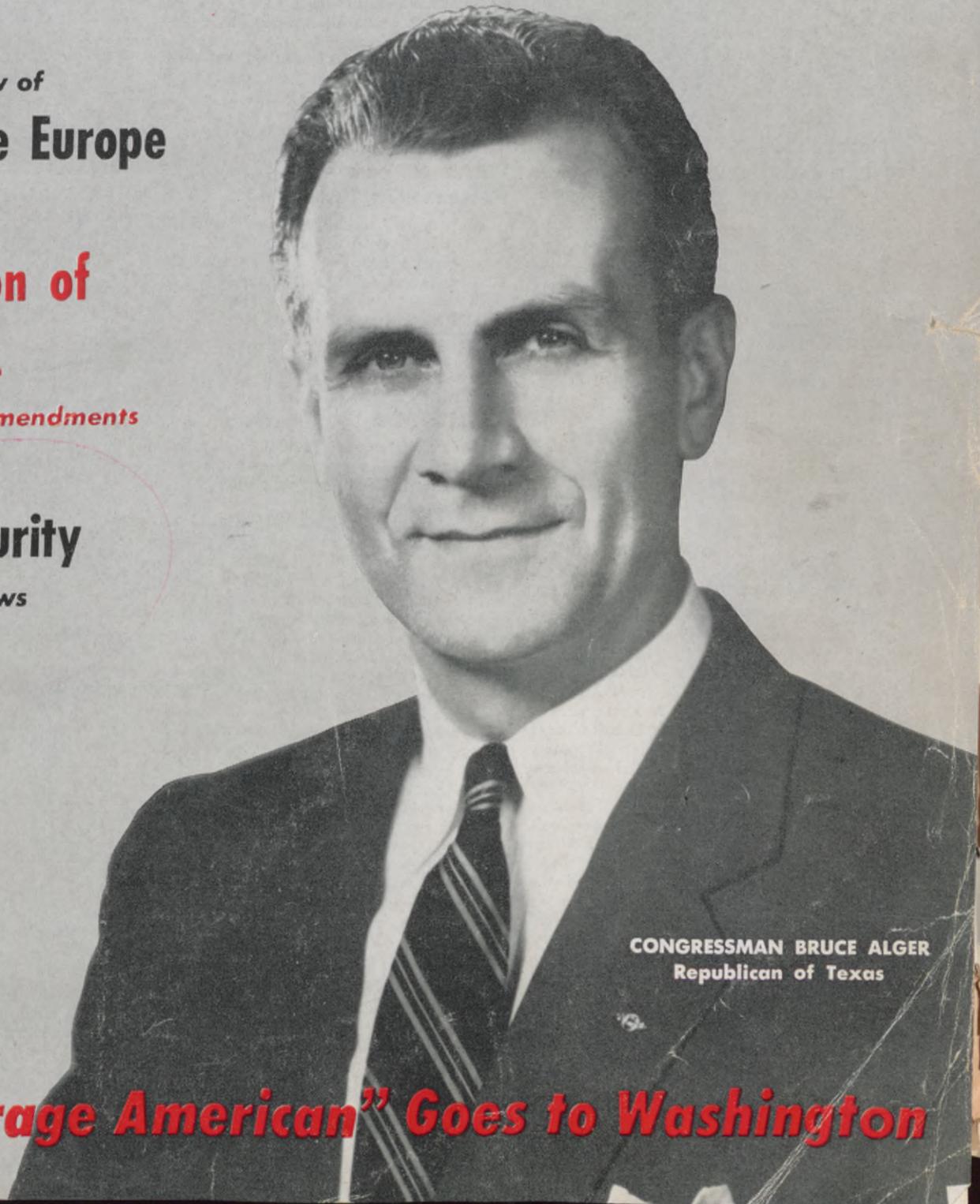


Makes the Public Interest of Interest to the Public

A Close-Up View of
Radio Free Europe

**Constitution of
the U.S.A.**
and Proposed Amendments

Social Security
Pro and Con Views



CONGRESSMAN BRUCE ALGER
Republican of Texas

"Mr. Average American" Goes to Washington

Readers Report . . .

Of, by, and for
Facts Forum News readers

Can You Top This?

In a Los Angeles newspaper sent to us by a reader, Miss Louise M. Richardson, of Coronado, California, was this story, under a Lone Pine dateline:

"The United Nations flag now flies from the highest mountain in the United States, Mt. Whitney, 14,496 ft. high.

"The flag was placed there by the UN Committee of San Diego, under the command of Capt. Earl E. Grate, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter in San Francisco."

Should we try to top this? — or stop it!

Mock Political Convention

Richard G. Page and Lee B. Roth, students of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, and members of the college newspaper and yearbook staffs, write us regarding their quadrennial Mock Political Convention, which is the greatest all-college extracurricular activity on their campus. Last October the student body voted 885 to 670 in favor of having a Democratic Mock Convention this year.

Messrs. Page and Roth inform us that student leaders and student participants will carry out both functions of national political conventions: (1) the selection of a presidential nominee and his running-mate; (2) the formation of a platform for the party. The convention is scheduled for May 3, 4, and 5.

This seems truly an object lesson in citizenship which other schools might well wish to duplicate.

As the Twig Is Bent

Mr. Montrose Newman of the Constitution of the United States Foundation, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois, six years ago gave up a material security job and undertook a crusade to make the Children's American Heritage Program a reality. This program, emphasizing the teaching of the Constitution of the United States in the upper elementary grades of our public and parochial school systems, is now in effect in more than five hundred schools throughout the United States.

Two plaques have been furnished schools through the Children's American Heritage Program, one showing the Declaration of Independence and Independence Hall, and the other showing the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. *You and the Constitution of the United States*, a booklet by Paul Witte, which is now on the approved elementary instruction material lists of Boards of Education throughout the United States, has also been widely distributed.

The 36th National Annual Convention of The American Legion approved of this program, as well as The American Legion, Departments of Illinois and Wisconsin, at their respective state conventions. Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, gave an honor medal to the

Department of Wisconsin of The American Legion for having made the Children's American Heritage Program effective in Wisconsin schools.

In process is a workbook for 8th grade pupils covering an entire semester's study of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Title, *Operation. U.S.A.* This will be published in February, 1956.

Mr. Newman writes that the booklet, *You and the Constitution of the United States*, can be supplied in quantities of not less than forty at 50 cents each. The plaque showing the Declaration of Independence and Independence Hall is \$4.95, and that showing the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag is \$3.95.

We Aim to Please —

Please Patriots, That Is!

Not long ago Mr. Charles J. Pericone of 488 Mill Road, Hempstead, L. I., New York, wrote recommending that *Facts Forum News* print the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

We are happy to comply, Mr. Pericone, on page 32 of this issue.

Attention, Defenders of Civil Liberties!

Marie Callahan, 105 E. 31st St., Brooklyn 26, New York, has forwarded to us some clippings from the *Brooklyn Tablet* which have a strange story to tell:

John Shaughnessy, 1580 E. 15th St., Brooklyn, was a civilian employee of the Army Chemical Corps at 180 Varick St., Manhattan, who in 1953 received a certificate of achievement and a \$275 cash award from the government for his suggestion to mark all material shipped overseas "Made in the United States of America." He is also credited with originating a simplified packaging plan which has saved 17,000,000 feet of lumber and \$3,000,000.

Late in 1953 he asserts that his commanding officer told him that his activities were "embarrassing" to someone unnamed and that he would have to stop his efforts or "seek employment elsewhere." Mr. Shaughnessy, the father of eleven children, received official notice of his discharge fifteen days after Congress last adjourned, purportedly as an "economy measure" although the amount he is credited with saving the government would pay his salary for five hundred years.

According to the *Brooklyn Tablet*, "Congress was so impressed [with Mr. Shaughnessy's suggestion to mark overseas shipments "Made in the United States of America"] that it planned to pass a bill requiring such markings; but the Department of Commerce spearheaded the opposition by the Executive Department generally and suggested a concurrent resolution, which, it assured, would accomplish the same results. The resolution was passed unanimously by both Houses and is being ignored unanimously by the Executive Department, which instead

has adopted a pair of clasped hands — symbol of the East German Communist Party — red, white and blue shield.

"And," continues the *Brooklyn Tablet* editorial, "foreign Communists are cashing in on the blunder and receiving credit for American products."

Americanism

This column in September offered place to several newspapers for their printing of *Primer for Americans*. This booklet is in the principles of freedom which built our country, and each of our readers may wish to obtain a copy or copies for their own personal use. These may be obtained at ten cents each from Young & Rubicam, Inc., 285 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Lloyd and Leila Whitney's booklet, *If You Can Keep It*, is also highly recommended to all patriotic Americans, and may be obtained by writing The Whitneys, 827 Wilson Avenue, Chicago 40, Illinois, enclosing ten cents to cover mailing costs.

There Was a P.T.A. In Our Town

Denial of freedom of speech in the The Jefferson School P.T.A., Morristown, New Jersey, was seen by Betsy-Jane Bramhall in action of the P.T.A. president in summer removing her from her position as president chairman without a prior hearing.

Mrs. Bramhall had protested the use of school children, including her daughter, to perform on a UNESCO play for UN Day, October 24, pointing out to the Board of Education that not only did this play contain false propaganda slogans about "God" and "Liberty" in the title but also that rehearsal time for the play was at the expense of regular lessons and without parents' permission.

These same people also objected because Mrs. Bramhall refused to censor in advance her remarks of the November 15 speaker, Theodore Jones, of Woodcliff, New Jersey, who spoke on "A Mother Looks at Progressive Education." Mrs. Bramhall said, "In the course of her 35-minute talk, she spent about five minutes pointing out that the UNESCO program is part and parcel of the Progressive Education, Life Adjustment movement, a fact which anyone can verify by reading John Snow's excellent book, *The Turning of the Tides*, Merrill Root's *Collectivism on the Campus*, and Mortimer Smith's *The Diminished Mind*."

"If the UN and UNESCO are indeed sacrosanct that we dare not criticize them, we must resort to prior censorship of the remarks of speakers at P.T.A. meetings, then all we have lost one of our God-given rights that international organization," Mrs. Bramhall concluded.

Information, Please!

Mrs. G. C. Mayon, 1529 Market Street, San Francisco, California, wonders if any of our readers have the words of a song, "My Own Little America," which was sung in school when she was young. She writes that her husband and members when that song was first sung in San Francisco theater, and that it brought down the house.

"Revival of patriotism is a great objective. Let's work for it," she urges.

JANUARY, 1956

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Provocative Prose

A citizen has a complex duty. He ought to learn to express his opinions and to make up his own mind on the principal public issues. He ought never to miss the ballot box. And when he casts his vote for somebody, he should weigh that somebody in the scale of morals - which includes intellectual integrity.

- HERBERT HOOVER

Facts are to the mind what food is to the body. On the due digestion of the former depend the strength and wisdom of the one, just as vigor and health depend on the other. The wisest in council, the ablest in debate, and the most agreeable companion in the commerce of human life, is that man who has assimilated to his understanding the greatest number of facts.

- BURKE

The earth is a generous mother. She will provide in plentiful abundance, food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace.

- WINSTON CHURCHILL

The time to guard against corruption and tyranny is before they shall have gotten hold of us. It is better to keep the wolf out of the fold than to trust to drawing his teeth and claws after he shall have entered.

- THOMAS JEFFERSON

My own deliberate opinion is that the more of pure moral principle is carried into the policy and conduct of a government, the wiser and more profound will that policy be.

- JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

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PHOTO CREDITS: Page 5, Paul M. Butler, Wide World Photo
Page 7, House of Representatives in session, Wide World Photo
Page 25, Herbert Hoover, Wide World Photo
Page 32, Metropolitan Herald, Atlanta, Georgia. The children shown in the Marc Miller photo are Buddy and Mary, ages 9 and 3, whose parents are Mr. and Mrs. Harold Grumann of Atlanta.
Page 45, Sen. Clinton P. Anderson, Wide World Photo
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Page 48, Sen. Albert Gore, Wide World Photo

"Mr. Average American"

WANTED
Young men and women of courage and high purpose willing to relocate in Washington, D. C. Temporary employment, two years. Reappointment for aggressive and efficient service. We have an earn-while-you-train program. This is not a get-rich-quick deal but requires close application and hard work. National product. Finest of its kind.
Apply JOHN Q. PUBLIC, party hq., Box USA-48.

← This challenge of service was accepted by Congressman Bruce Alger of Texas, as it is accepted each election year by young men and women throughout the United States. A newcomer to the Washington scene two years ago, Mr. Alger relates his experiences in "learning the ropes."

Put yourself in Bruce Alger's shoes as you read of his initiation into the intricacies of our federal government. If you are an average American of courage and high purpose, your application may be needed!

IS ALL this really happening to me? I often speculate on that in a "pinch-myself-to-prove-I'm-awake" routine. One day you're living a normal though busy life as a businessman, and the next you're a congressman representing the people back home in the highest legislative body in our country. These things just can't happen, particularly when your election is and was an "impossibility," as you're sometimes told by unbelieving fellow citizens.

Why should a businessman run for office? Of course, this will always be a personal decision. Many factors may go into it. I may never be sure, in my case, so many coincidental events occurred. Anyway, I was approached by people whom I respect who said, "You can render a service and you are able to do it." I reminded them, "I'm not an attorney"; but they replied, "That is not necessary."

True, I believed in the need for a two-party society instead of the one-party political system traditional in the South. I thought of my disapproval of the staggering growth of government with the huge national debt for our kids to inherit. I realized that everyone should be willing to serve, just as we expect our young men to do military service. I thought of my age and the fact that I could serve several years and still have time afterwards to build a business. Then, too, I thought of the valiant struggle of President Eisenhower and his administration to slow down the runaway train of bureaucratic big government.

Whether it was the challenge of the long odds, the real concern that government was encroaching too much on all our lives, or the culmination of years of working in "service" capacities in business and civic life — I do not know. But somewhere along the line I said "yes" and was plunged into a new and different life.

That decision left unanswered many common sense questions, for example: What about the family — here or in

Washington? Where will we live? How about school, Jill? What will you do with the business? What is the cost of living in Washington? And a host of other rather pertinent questions — some of which my wife sensibly asked, but I had not yet considered.

I had given little thought to public appearances and speech-making. This was foreign to me, but surely the least of my unsolved problems. Critics might have suggested, "You cannot win, so no matter"; but I was undaunted. Having been in athletic and other competitive activity all my life, I suppose it was automatic not to worry about the outcome, but rather to optimistically assume victory and plan accordingly.

There followed weeks of self-imposed study on political issues and a re-examination of what I believed to be the proper function of government. Thus grew a fund of information later used in many extemporaneous talks throughout the campaign.

MOTIVATING FACTORS

My philosophy is a simple one, and the convictions stem from it, uncomplicated. They are shared, I am sure, by millions of Americans. They include a rather strict interpretation of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. They coincide with the views of our forefathers who embodied their strong religious beliefs in the foundation of our form of government — the conviction that the rights come from God, not government — that government should be our servant, not our master. From this philosophy springs the long-held American belief that in individual responsibility, initiative, and hustle lies our collective greatness.

The campaign was on a high plane. My pledge represented the majority of the people, regardless of the pressure applied by minority groups, to the end of

...Goes to Washington

Congressman Alger,
his secretary, Mary Hornbeck,
and executive assistant,
Frank Crowley.



...ishing what is best for the Nation,
...choolate, and District. I tried to demon-
...the rate by my own efforts my belief in
...r personal initiative. I determined to
...work as though everything depended
...me, pray as though everything
...nd depended on the Almighty." The cam-
...east of sign itself was vigorous with many
...d, "Yunch supporters working hard. I
...aving ent through each office building meet-
...ife, I g people and carried my story to the people via television.
...tcome any fine citizens encouraged me and their moral support
...ccordis a great incentive.

...on cu. My political theme was "I'll back Ike — but be no rubber
...to bump." My legislative "yardsticks" on each bill in Congress
...nformould be: (1) Is this a function of federal government?
...ghout) Can we afford it? I pointed out, in an attempt to main-
...n perspective, that the three greatest dangers confronting
...were: (1) Atomic annihilation; (2) Communism;
...) Socialism; that to solve these critical problems we
...ould join in intelligently trying to find the best solutions,
... "play at politics."

...That very sketchily brings us to the election victory which
...strict turn brought on a host of problems. Believing that a repre-
...d the forentative's job is a full time one, I liquidated my real estate,
...the foilding, and land-developing business in short order, get-
...that big rid of lots, houses, and even my office key in six
...governex's time!

...philosAhead of the family, I went to Washington and took a
...individually furnished apartment. This solved the moving problem
...only our clothes would be taken. Thus my boys began a
...e without bicycles, toys, yard, or playground. My wife, Lynn,
...edge warned to live again (shades of service life!) in a 4x6
...of parthen, and Jill began to get acquainted in a new school.
...d of stook some adjusting by all of us to our new environment.

Office routine? Mountains of mail and "case" work (prob-
lems of constituents) were piling up already. I needed assist-
ants both schooled in the ways of Washington and familiar
with my Dallas district. A most fortunate arrangement resulted
when Frank Crowley, a fellow Dallasite agreed to go to Wash-
ington with me as Executive Assistant and I was then able to
secure one of Washington's ablest congressional secretaries,
Mary Hornbeck. Through Frank and Mary our other asso-
ciates were chosen, and we were on our way!

It was at this time that I first encountered what later be-
came painfully apparent — that my office load was to be
greater than that of many other congressmen. Representing
one of the country's largest districts — close to 800,000 people
— I would have no additional help. The "average" Texas
district contains about half that many people — some, fewer
still.

A warm welcome was given me in Washington. The victory
against odds, American sympathy for the underdog, bred a
friendliness in others toward me which added to my enjoy-
ment and probably increased my effectiveness. The President,
the Vice President and Cabinet officers were warmly cordial.
Congressmen on both sides of the aisle were courteous, con-
siderate, and friendly.

If my welcome was less than warm from my Texas col-
leagues, and of this I'm not sure, it should be remembered

they were not accustomed to having a maverick among them. It might be observed that they neither claim me nor disown me; and this relationship I understand. No one wants insincere friendship. I recognize and understand how men of differing ideological beliefs can maintain a respectful relationship — and that the area of disagreement is often greater within a party than between parties. There's the real dilemma. Among my Texas colleagues I soon recognized many kindred beliefs and that I was closer to some, ideologically, than they were to each other. I was learning daily.

Anyway, I was far from overlooked. In addition to the Texas Delegation, the 84th Club (freshmen Republican congressmen) elected me their vice-president — the Texas State Society provided the camaraderie of the many Texans in Washington — the athletes of Congress, in the paddle ball group, welcomed the newcomer — the S.O.S. group of Young Republicans in Congress extended membership. Very important to me became the Prayer Group — congressmen and women who met each Thursday for breakfast and to share spiritual beliefs and encouragement.

ORIENTATION

Of course, I got lost in the Capitol! Particularly embarrassing was the time I nonchalantly acknowledged a guard's greeting, and confidently strode past him down what he must have known to be a dead-end corridor!

Parliamentary procedure was bewildering at first — "The gentleman from Texas," "I thank the gentleman" being customary expressions. One must be "recognized" before being privileged to speak — being recognized sometimes appeared to require adroit maneuvering, sometimes just plain shouting the loudest! The most gracious accolade of one member for another is generally the prelude to attack. A congressman might say, for example, "The gentleman from New York, my longtime colleague and esteemed friend, for whom I have the utmost regard and affection, and whose integrity is unquestioned," and then cut him to ribbons with big words and questionable logic.

The decorum, or lack of it, on the House floor was surprising. As debate goes on, members walk about, confer with each other, read, write, (even sleep in the cloakroom), but the man who has the floor goes on undisturbed, until someone protests, "Mr. Speaker, the House is not in order." Often I sensed the spectators in the gallery were puzzled, even disappointed, to see the milling around, lack of order, or even on occasion the reduced number of representatives present. When some member objects on the grounds of a quorum not being present, the Speaker counts

noses and if less than half the 435 are present, the assembly bells are rung and the congressmen reassemble to answer the roll call. I decided to be present on the floor as much as possible in order to learn the system more quickly — even though I realized all too well the many reasons for being elsewhere, mainly in my office to answer mail, attend to "case" work, the problems of people back home needing federal help, and to meet visitors.

Indeed I was puzzled by the simultaneous meeting of the committees (and all members belong to at least one committee) and the House itself. No man can be in two places at once.

How was I to know the facts on the issues being debated if not present on the House floor? The answer is, the Member of Congress learns to be responsible for accomplishing two things at once. It takes some tall hustling for a freshman to become adjusted to this feature — where he must know what is going on simultaneously in two places. Many is the time we'd hurry from the committee hearing to the floor to cast a vote and then return to committee meeting. Alphabetically as an "A," I'm among the first to vote — this only increases the rush. Nevertheless, I was determined that my attendance record would be a good one.

MASTERING THE SYSTEM

I also learned that the importance of each Member of Congress is maintained sometimes in odd ways. For example, in parliamentary procedure "unanimous consent" is often required before floor action can proceed, so it is possible for one member to block normal operation. Thus, each member must respect the others whose cooperation will be needed as Congress deliberates. The Members of Congress get prompt attention by the various government bureaus, and I found that the courteous efforts of my staff and me, insistent only when necessary, resulted in our getting information when needed from various agencies of government.

In brief, whereas at first the system of government seemed almost crazy, I soon regained respect for the operation — it even permits individuals to "let off steam" at each other without upsetting the boat. I learned there were reasons for the odd and unexpected formalities of procedure. It is apparent that first an M.C. must master the system and then make it work for him, even as he works to do his job. One senior congressman is kidded about always carrying a "preferential motion" in his pocket. This is just a legitimate way in which to get five minutes' time to talk when other means have failed. As in every other business there are "tricks to the trade."

Other first impressions include the apparent conspiracy against lunch —

the House meets at noon and the mittees meet in the morning, at until noon. In the House, a me can't eat without leaving the floor. The nearest solution is to have a quick wick in the cloakroom, just off the of the House.

Then, there's the Washington whirl, and congressmen receive en invitations to "whirl" at will. Well I an exhibit? Was I to "represent district at these, too? Soon this pro resolved itself as I realized I could burn the candle at both ends. Even were my only time to study and with my family. We went out only constituents were a part of the gatheld

"VOTING ONE'S CONVICTION"

Soon my baptism in national local interest came in the debate vote on reciprocal trade. In broad principle I agreed with the President's on reciprocal trade. However, I the concern of my District over the heavy import of foreign oil and I an amendment to restrict such But the Rules Committee proposed "closed rule" on this bill, which permit no amendments to the This so-called gagging of congressmen from speaking out in open debate approved.

However, I realized that hundreds other industries wanted to amend bill, hence the reason for the rule. I tainly I did not want to vote for without learning the facts concerning the effect lower tariffs would have on American industries. Neither did I po to kill the trade bill by adding much of crippling amendments, realizing our allies' economies and our deWa efforts were tied in with it, as part of continuing program not quickly set aside. Yet I felt that the "peril and "escape clause" provisions be strengthened, to protect those can industries genuinely threatened was the first dilemma where I face the conflict of national and local interest and I learned the meaning of "one's convictions."

So it was, too, that I learned that lative issues are seldom clear-cut. is a bill all good or all bad — black white. More often it's a shade of somewhere between either extremes ways it seems complicated and the becomes muddied quickly when pensive arguments on both sides are sent. Somehow, you must get to the heart of the matter.

Then I realized the truth of what eral members had told me, "We have time to study the issues." To seemed inconceivable that the met of the nation's highest legislative would vote without knowing the Yet true it is, for many. I studied nights and weekends, desperate to Later in retrospect, I thought about

100 bills presented in this session — hundreds were passed — and votes were taken by some, I am sure, who couldn't take time to study the hearings committee reports.

Realized that federal government has become so big that many people with real fancied federal needs are keeping congressmen busy doing various things and the main event, the legislation itself, is not getting the necessary attention of the congressmen.

BASIC HONESTY APPLIES

Another surprise awaited me when I learned that some men would not or could not, for reasons best known to them, vote their convictions. This I do not fully understand and in any event do not subscribe to. On the other hand, I am warned to my satisfaction that a man should be honest, contrary to all the accusations, innuendos, and outright distortions which I had read in the past about government corruption. I am convinced that a man is what he is, regardless of whether he is in government or business and certainly he should, can, and must be honest.

There are those who say, and believe, that a congressman cannot vote his convictions and be re-elected to Congress. Some well-intentioned members have said this to me. I contest as wrong in fact, but after I'm a newcomer and, as some say, an "unfortunate interlude," — a "vote for me." It remains to be seen whether we can discover the answer to the "vote our convictions and be re-elected" proposition which is the only basis on which I care to be a congressman.

Having sold my business before going to Washington, I found that most others in part-time businesses or partnerships, and why living costs in Washington are high, I soon learned that the necessity for maintaining two homes added to the difficulty of making both ends meet. With a lucky flash of intuition, I had told Dallasites that when they visited me in Washington it would be "Dutch." A most satisfactory arrangement.

My abiding belief has been substantiated by this first term — that "the best politics is no politics" in the conduct of a job, or, to say it another way, the best politics is to be the very best congressman possible. This is in contrast to the "politically expedient" advice traditionally given to some, that Party comes first, "that in order to get along, you've got to go along." I saw a measure of petty political bickering, sometimes obscuring the intelligent solution to the problem facing us. At this period in our history, if we engage our time and effort purely in political bickering we may be lent to men who argue who gets to play what part in the show, while the theatre is burning down.

This thought recalls the expression

I've heard jestingly used to explain one's vote against his own convictions: "Well, sometimes a man must rise above principle." It occurs to me in retrospect that there is a lack of "self-discipline" in Congress — that to win re-election, politically expedient "yesses" are given sometimes to pressure groups by men lacking the courage to say "no." In monetary matters, the lack of self-discipline is most evident in Congress. Perhaps a good example is our failure to curtail appropriations in line with federal income. Why is there deficit financing? It just isn't necessary.

"PURE" POLITICS

Pure politics appeared on the scene frequently, no doubt more than a newcomer readily recognized — but some I saw. Frequently, digs were taken at each other by old-timers with treasured grievances and pet peeves — and valuable debate time was lost in charge and coun-



FORTHRIGHT OR TACTLESS?
Paul M. Butler, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, guest speaker at a luncheon where Congressman Alger was the only Republican present.

tercharge. Perhaps even this serves a purpose.

Well do I recall the day I was the target. It was the weekly Texas Delegation luncheon where, as usual, I was the only Republican — a fact which my colleagues assured me would never interfere with my joining them. I wanted to attend each week, and did so except when House action made it wiser for me to remain on the floor. At this particular luncheon the Democratic National Committee Chairman was to speak to us. Attempting to be thoughtful, both several days before and at the meeting, I suggested staying away, but my colleagues wouldn't hear of it. So Mr. Butler spoke to us and used me as his punching bag, pointing out that, well financed and determined, the Democratic party "will see that you do not return."

For some thirty minutes this continued, although Gov. Shivers and others were also attacked. There was no rebut-

tal on my part. I might have reminded him that we Texans do not scare easily or of many other things, but his denunciations were left hanging in the air. My colleagues — several of them — apologized, though I never was sure what for. Because I was there? Because he spoke politically? Because I heard what he would have said if I weren't there? Was he just forthright or tactless? I do not know for sure — but I'm wondering if he'll continue to underestimate me and other citizens of Dallas.

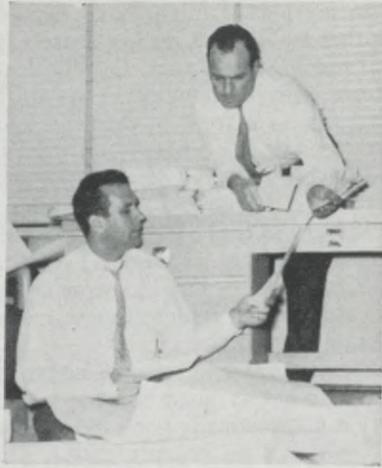
From several congressmen I heard the thesis, "What is good for me and my party is automatically good for my country," which I so heartily detest. Many congressmen sincerely believe that the greatest good for their country is their own re-election. They may say it jokingly; but I'm afraid some believe it to be true.

"Political" legislation came along, too. The twenty-dollar tax cut became a symbol to me of how some men would buy votes. They knew that many unthinking citizens would be attracted by such a tax cut — and conversely it would lose votes for those congressmen who had the courage to say "no" to such a measure. The bill was a surprise move, strictly along political lines in the committee, proposed before the year's appropriation bills were considered so that it was irresponsibly cutting over two billion dollars off government income, even before government expense for the year had been considered — in the face of a heavy national debt, and a deficit in the budget, and the threat of inflation. It struck me as strictly a political move without the careful financial consideration which those holding the purse strings should exercise.

POLITICS ON THE FARM ISSUE

Then I heard other congressmen condemn the government's flexible crop support program which had been voted into law the previous session. Yet this program had not even taken effect, because it concerned the 1955 crops. Here I learned that speeches made on the floor can be sent back home to win votes. It's highly unethical, it seems to me, to blame the crop situation on flexible supports when they were not yet in effect. In fact, it proves that rigid supports encourage overproduction — so that just the opposite view should be held. In any event, some congressmen misrepresent the facts — apparently thinking it good politics. To me, this is not the honest difference of opinion which we Americans respect.

One quickly learns seniority is important in Congress, since the important committee assignments are awarded according to length of service. I was forcibly reminded that some of the key congressional leaders are the same "New Deal" representatives of the '30's and



"Many heads are better than one." Congressman Alger, with his assistant, Frank Crowley, tabulates replies to a questionnaire sent to all poll tax holders in his district.

'40's. The legislation coming through them and their committees is still of that philosophy. I was under the impression that Congress had a newer look.

Through many experiences in Congress, some surprising, even irregular, I practiced my belief that an "informed electorate" makes for better government. To that end I sent a weekly newsletter to the newspapers and to a select mailing list of those constituents requesting it. Then I sent a questionnaire to all poll tax holders to accomplish several objectives. I wanted to learn more about my constituents' views — encourage their taking part in government and give them a further understanding of the many and complicated issues facing us today, and of their congressman who must vote yes or no — not "yes, but" or "no, but." The answers to the questionnaire and the accompanying letters gave me an interesting knowledge of views from home and proved again that — "many heads are better than one." A weekly radio broadcast and occasional television shorts were sent home, too. Incoming mail expressed home-towners' appreciation in being further informed.

WHO'S FOR THE "LITTLE MAN"?

In witnessing legislative debate and studying the bills, I was reminded again of the ideological battle going on in the world and in our country between economic freedom, known as Free Enterprise, and socialism in its varying degrees, and sometimes known by other names, such as planned economy. This reminds me of some definitions of various forms of government:

Under Free Enterprise, the government steadies the ladder while you endeavor to climb as far as you're able —

Under Socialism, the government offers you a ladder without rungs —

Under Communism, you are permitted to climb, then the ladder is jerked out

from under you, broken up, and you are beaten with the pieces.

I heard much about solicitude for the "little man," from a few impassioned speakers but they never explained what they'd done to the "little man" over the years of "tax, tax, spend, spend, elect, elect." They didn't mention how they'd decreased income tax exemption from \$2,500 in 1933 to \$1,000 in 1948 per couple, so that the lowest tax rate went from 4 per cent to 22 per cent in their "broadened base" operation. They never dwelt on the billions spent beyond income during that period which watered the "little man's" buying power through inflation. So I wondered if they knew how ridiculous were their protestations of concern for the "little man." I even heard these interesting facts which should bear investigation — that in 41 years of income tax history there have been 13 tax increases under Democrats, only two under Republicans — there has been one tax reduction under Democrats and 10 tax reductions under Republicans. So, who's for the "little man"? As I sat there I remembered the 80th Congress, with a Republican majority, which balanced the budget, reduced the national debt, and cut taxes, proving it could be done. I dreamt that we might do it again and knew I'd strive mightily to accomplish it.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

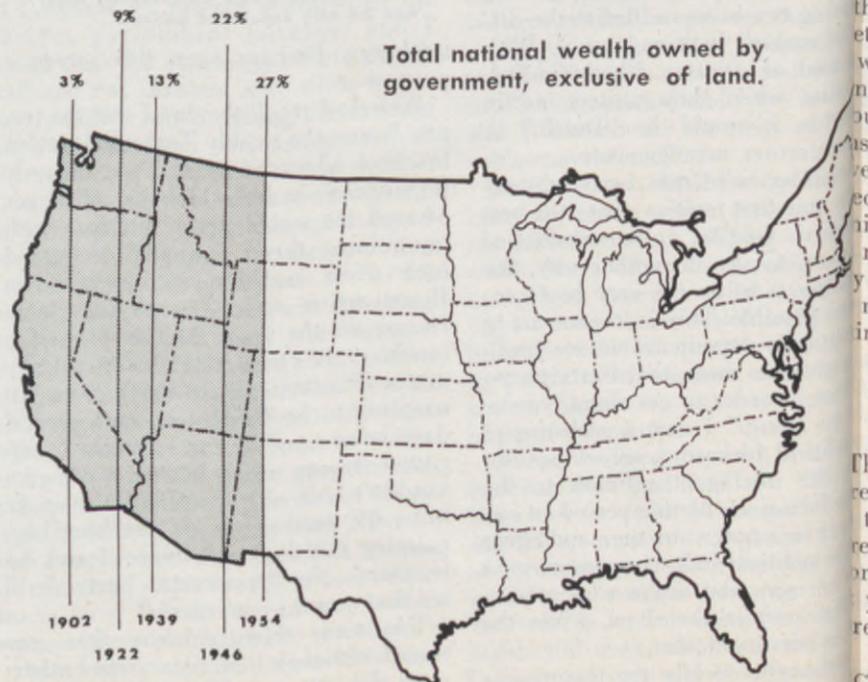
Then came a bill to dispose of twenty-five government-owned rubber plants. It startled me to learn that the government was in business to such a large extent. I learned the government is in over twenty-five hundred different businesses in competition with private industry. Is business operation on taxpayers' money

the function of government? Any voted to sell the plants for 279 million at an increase of ten million over what the government had in and to get them off the taxpayers' making them pay taxes like all business. To my consternation hue and cry about "give-away" those who think government should in business. I do not comprehend reasoning in our society.

Then in another bill the TVA more money to build a steam plant generate electricity for the TVA hundred miles from the Tennessee ley, at a cost of 6.5 million dollars. Uncle Sam should be generating tricity I don't know, particularly cents on the dollar, the other half paid for by taxpayers. For that why should the TVA manufacture tilizer? Is this a function of government?

Later I studied the Hoover Commission report, putting in some 17 to implement the findings — I was indeed to learn that the federal government owns one-fourth of all U. S. erty, including 2.5 billion square office space, equivalent to 1,250 State Buildings — with no central tory management or control. To terested in real estate and now ernment operation, this hurts.

Then came the new minimum proposal and a two-day debate. B ing the simple questions of a new I learned that some members westate sure why we were considering such a lation. Finally an elder statesmanly was in the committee showed in put hearings in which it was determined e. S the interstate commerce provision sta the Constitution was the reason for mer consideration. When asked to del inqu I le





Members of the House of Representatives take the oath of office January 5, 1955, from Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex), right, standing, hand on desk.

state commerce (pages 102-4 of the hearings) the chairman admitted the difficulty but promised a definition would be put in the record. This was never done. So we passed a law, circumventing state legislatures, without ever establishing the prerogative of federal government.

Inquisitively trying to get the facts I learn, I never did hear questions asked about what this bill would do to the local economies of our nation, or whether we were by-passing the states, what is best for labor. Does federal mandate weaken or strengthen labor? Could labor be in politics? What happens to collective bargaining when the government steps in? Is this economic freedom for the working man? Does a minimum wage suggest government has a right to set a maximum wage — and why not? I assume a congressman has a right to ask these questions and keep asking, even though he gets no answer.

DANGER SIGNALS ON FOREIGN AID

Then came the Mutual Security Act — Foreign Aid. Again I listened and studied the committee material. Big figures were used — I learned that some money appropriated in the last Congress was yet spent. In the new appropriation there was money to be given Yugoslavia

— is Tito friend or foe? I remembered how we had gotten our scrap iron back from Japan. There was money for India — and Nehru is preaching socialism. Should we finance him in this? Further, our goods may not even get to the people. I thought of "trade, not aid," and of our generous gifts not buying friendship, only weakening us economically as we pile on debt. Well did I realize my ignorance in international matters and that our own economy, foreign affairs, world-wide economics, and military defense are interwoven and cannot be considered separately. I recalled Mr. Dulles' Golden Rule in foreign affairs, "to do for others what, if positions were reversed, we'd want them to do for us." Then I thought how our idealism has blurred our vision in practical world affairs in times past — so I voted against it. This was a tough vote!

The congressional system is best learned by active participation and that's how I learned in my committee — the Committee on Public Works. Here I saw firsthand how it was that each legislative bill before coming to a vote on the floor must be studied and developed in the committee which can expedite, change, or shelve it.

The majority party in Congress has a majority of members on each committee, so the legislation is controlled by the majority party. Here then is the sharpest

conflict between those who stress party teamwork and those who vote their convictions. Frequently, members of either party find themselves in disagreement with their party thinking and plans. They then either "wear the brass collar" following party orders, or they vote as they think best personally. There are many good arguments for either course — some hold that the individual member must place his personal conviction second to party teamwork — others will not do so; in the latter group I found myself. To me there was no choice — the course was clear; I voted as I thought best, even if and when in disagreement with my party.

The highway program, studied by the Subcommittee on Roads of which I was a member, became a controversial piece of legislation. We knew we needed the highways which had fallen far behind our nation's growth in vehicular travel. How to pay for the roads was the difficult and touchy question. Should it be financed on the installment plan over many years by bonds — "pay as we use" — or by raising the money needed now to "pay as we go" in building them? Months of thought convinced me the latter course was the better choice. True, our hearings were incomplete, particularly on the tax aspects of the bill, and ours was not a tax committee. Of the two bills finally advanced, I thought the

Democrat bill was the better plan, and more sound financially. So I left my party both in committee and on the floor of the House to vote for it and against the Republican plan. True, an even better bill may be developed. It was frustrating to see partisan politics sway so many congressmen who voted on the basis of which party sponsored the bill — rather than voting for the best solution to the problem. Would my colleagues say this is just a newcomer's greenness?

SOUTH UNITED ON NATURAL GAS BILL

The Natural Gas Bill found all Texas congressmen solidly united — probably prejudiced some might say, because oil and gas mean much to the Southwest. Prejudiced? I would like to think that our concern with this problem caused us to give it greater study. Here to my satisfaction I saw once again the fight of free enterprise vs. the controlled economy. Free enterprise won by only six votes. The controversy raged over whether the price at the well of natural gas would be controlled by federal government or by market supply and demand factors under government scrutiny. Actually, the latter would not be completely free enterprise, but certainly more free than complete government control.

Many people in gas-consuming states, and their congressmen, erroneously believe that prices will soar without government control. Experience, however, proves just the reverse. Without control, gas costs the same today as it did during the 1935-39 period, while other fuel costs have soared to 191-225 per cent above the 1935-39 average. Interstate transmission and local distribution of gas have been under "controls" for some time, and these services have steadily risen in price. Only the freely competitive and uncontrolled price at the well-head has declined. Yet there are congressmen who doggedly maintain that they must "protect the consumer" through further imposition of federal controls! Others, once more, just didn't have time to study the facts before voting.

Another legislative disappointment was the new Social Security law the House passed. No hearings were held by the committee which handled the bill; although I diligently dug for facts, no information from hearings was available for the congressmen to study and gain information upon which to base their vote. Yet the bill committed our country to the year 2020, with future costs more than double the present cost. I was told, "... it will collapse anyway, and then the people will know the program was bad."

With this background of doubt and lack of information, and having ob-

served some downright lack of political courage, I of course voted against the bill.

I still believe the best "political sense" is to do what is right. Surely the people should have the truth, and would approve rather than condemn the representative who honestly so strives and votes. I for one do not intend to underestimate the good sense of the "people back home."

Possibly an equally great surprise, saved until the closing days, was the Housing Act of '55. Here again I saw outright socialism take hold, dishonest legislative procedure, and "politics for politics' sake."

The House voted down the public housing provisions of the Housing bill decisively as it had many times before in other Congresses. Several days later, however, when the House-Senate conference bill came back to us for a vote, we were startled to see all the socialistic public housing features still there. The President had requested a program closely related to slum clearance, with priority in public housing reserved for those displaced in such urban renewal work. None of that here! Rather we saw the distasteful pure public housing we had thrown out returned to us with the threat that if we didn't approve it we'd stay longer in session or return for a special session.

Most M.C.'s had bags packed and tickets and reservations secured (some had even left) and so a number of men changed their vote under this pressure. Further, it was tied to FHA renewal so that a vote against public housing was a vote against FHA. This is a dishonest legislative maneuver, even if considered a slick trick by some. Probably I should not have been surprised, since the old New Deal M.C.'s of the 1930's were pushing it through. Yet I felt that the people back home would heartily condemn such legislation.

As I studied this bill and heard the oratory for "home consumption" — I learned again the meaning of "demagoguery," the technique of appealing for votes and support by political misrepresentation and speech-making. I heard the phrase, "Americans have a right to decent housing at prices they can afford." What kind of talk is this? Of course we all want, and we want all to have, nice homes — but is it the function of federal government to provide them with taxpayers' money? If so, why not extend the thought to providing food, clothes, transportation — in fact, all our needs? Of course, this is socialism, the opposite of freedom. On the evidence already in, are we unaware that a "little bit" of socialism has been aptly likened to a little bit of pregnancy? It tends to grow!

According to my computation the real cost of a so-called ten thousand dollar public housing unit is nearer twenty-five

thousand dollars. Would you be shocked to learn that public housing tenants are rarely those most in need of housing? In Dayton, families earning up to eight hundred dollars yearly can qualify for public housing. Even the grandmowers for them. Are they destitute?

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

How far have we strayed from the Faith of our Fathers — their belief that government was to protect our given rights, and to be our servant rather than our master? "The history of liberty is the history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it," as Woodrow Wilson said. In what sense is the "limited government" outlined in the Constitution limited today?

In our commendable zeal to fill the needs for everyone, we have permitted the transfer of tax money and property from the locality and state to the federal level. Today, the federal government takes 75 cents of each tax dollar, leaving only 25 cents to the states and municipalities. That ratio is a direct reversal of the tax distribution of some years past.

Has this transfer of money and property to "big government" expressed the intention of us all, or did it get away from us, sliding through our fingers bit by bit as we weakened our grasp? Is this our government "of, by, and for the people," or a staggering bureaucracy that did not intend and which we must tolerate as we can? Have we followed the letter of the Constitution or have we circumvented it without making the constitutional amendments that an abridgment of the law requires? There are questions which sooner or later must be answered, or we shall lose by default something that no outside power has been able to take away from us — the liberty, our freedom.

We would do well to remember, "The government is best which is closest to the people." Probably of all the amendments to the Constitution the Tenth Amendment has been most often misinterpreted or ignored. That amendment simply states, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

In Congress I recognized very clearly the continuing battle being waged between those believing in free enterprise and those believing in the government-controlled economy. Many times I am sure that some of those champions of federal controls somehow believe we can retain all the blessings of free enterprise, plus the added help of government through regulation. This is like breathing more freely while being strangled, and I cannot grasp the position held. At other times I am sure that some of my colleagues, who doubt some of their constituents, do not realize the significance of socialism.

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QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

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lanned economy exponents over
he years have offered tempting
wards for the further imposi
on of government controls. A
hip cannot move faster by add
ng barnacles to it, can it? It can
e sunk by overloading.

I admire the courage of Presi
ent Eisenhower and the admini
stration who, in the face of dire
threats and rising prices, elimi
ated government controls in
1952, thereby halting the rise in
prices and stopping inflation,
adequate proof that free enter
ch can beat the controlled
society. But some don't learn or
re too stubborn to give up their
ntrenched positions or admit
they're wrong. Whatever the rea
on, we have witnessed the gov
nment performing one service
fter another until we have
massed a national debt that is a
national disgrace — just as bad
as the family that lives beyond
its means and then is foreclosed
pon — losing home, possessions,
community standing, perhaps
even self-respect and freedom. As
a matter of fact, is it possible to be
"free" when heavily indebted? Does the
building of this debt represent fine bene
ficial social gains?

What kind of future are we passing
on to our children when we pass them
the recognized debt of 281 billion dol
lars, additional government commit
ments of 242 billion dollars not shown
in the debt figure, and whatever deficit
we have by this time in the Social Security pro
gram? At what point is freedom lost? In
business I was not free when borrowing
large sums, in one sense. I had to pay
back, and I governed my actions ac
cordingly. Now we talk about tax cuts,
which we all want, but who will cham
pion the paying down of our national
debt, and the reduction of federal ex
penditures? The way has been shown by
the Hoover Commission. Who will cham
pion a constitutional amendment to limit
the power of the government to tax,
spend and borrow, confining ourselves
to living within our income? These ques
tions are constantly in my mind in Con
gress. We can greatly reduce our ex
penditures just by reducing the size of fed
eral government wherever there is dupli
cation and by eliminating those func
tions not properly within the area of
federal operation, but rather of state and
locality. These things we can do.

For my part, I do not believe that

house-building and other social services
are proper functions of federal govern
ment even if we could afford them, which
we can't in view of the national debt.
These are perilous times for squander
ing money.

What is it we're doing to ourselves?
Maybe we're just letting the federal gov
ernment run away with us, and we sim
ply must cut back. Or is there a new
"intent" afoot? I don't believe that most
of us feel that we've outgrown the De
claration of Independence and the Con
stitution, any more than we feel the need
to "trade in" old-fashioned virtues like
hustle, initiative, honesty, integrity, for
newer concepts. Basic principles are un
changing. So I shall continue my search
for the right course and put the finger
on the sore spots.

Could it be that we should beware
zealous men, who would make over our
society? They many times are wealthy;
many times they've prospered under free
enterprise, but they want to make a dif
ferent and better society. Sometimes they
start by saying, "I don't want my child
to go through what I went through."
They visualize sparing their child and
helping others through the trials and
tribulations of life by protecting all
under the paternal and protective cloak
of government.

On the contrary, some, including my

self, believe in training children
in the basic concepts of living a
good life, of being morally sound,
personally aggressive, and accept
ing the challenge of personal
responsibility, of moral and spir
itual living. In this pattern there
is no room for socialism or com
munism or the paternal big gov
ernment. Rather, there is only the
expectation and desire for oppor
tunity — which comes from free
dom, economic freedom.

So what can we do?

AMERICAN WAYS AND MEANS

First, let's stop increasing the
size and functions of federal govern
ment! Let's continue the admini
stration's valiant effort to
halt the runaway locomotive. The
Hoover Commission can help to
point the way.

Second, let's eliminate those
functions of government in which
the government has no business.

Third, let's decentralize the
government, moving it back as
far as possible to the state and
local level where the Tenth
Amendment says it should be.

Fourth, let's rededicate our
selves to recognizing and keeping
our faith in what comes from the
Almighty — our basic rights and
freedom. Let's keep government
our servant, not our master.

Let's keep our government in
its proper confines with free enterprise
the motive power. How tragic if social
ism, or big government as we know it,
should cause our downfall. Our destiny,
rather, is to lead the world to a realiza
tion of the truth and value of our
"American Way" of living, in contrast to
the decadent, godless repudiation of individ
ual worth found in socialistic and com
munist societies.

A PLEA AND A PLEDGE

James Madison said, "We have staked
the whole future of America not on the
power of government, far from it, but on
the capacity of mankind for self-govern
ment."

We have that capacity; it's our gov
ernment and our future. In this govern
ment of, by, and for the people, we are
the people.

We can blaze the trail for the world
— our way. Congressmen should always
be in the vanguard to protect American
rights and the American way of living.
Let's rededicate ourselves to the fight
that's never finished. Let's secure for
ourselves and our children and other
generations to come the continuing re
wards for the type of society that pre
serves opportunity and freedom. To this
end I dedicate my efforts.

END



A delegation of "visitors from home" is here shown with Congressman Alger.

A CLOSE-UP VIEW O

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JIRI (GEORGE) BRADA, author of the following article on Radio Free Europe, was born in Brno, Czechoslovakia, on March 8, 1923. He is a student of psychology and sociology, and well versed in several languages. His references include a famous American general, present and former members of Congress, and members of the Bavarian parliament (*Landtag*).

During the years of Nazi occupation, Jiri Brada worked in a factory and also managed to do some studying at the English Institute in Brno and the University of Rostock. Unlike many other Czechoslovaks of his age, he never joined the Nazi party nor any of the organizations which, upon the defeat of Nazi Germany, were declared to be fascist either by the Allies or the postwar government of Czechoslovakia.

Following World War II, Jiri Brada studied history, philosophy and law at the University of Brno. After the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, in February, 1948, the Communist Action Committee expelled him from the University and declared him ineligible for study at any other academic institution behind the Iron Curtain. When he refused to become an informer for the Communist government and consequently was threatened with immediate arrest, he illegally crossed the Czech-Austrian border, on October 2, 1948.

Since January, 1949, Brada has been active in a variety of refugee organizations in Germany. From May, 1951, till July, 1951, he was employed by Radio Free Europe, as a reference assistant and librarian. He is now a journalist in Germany.

A vigorous opponent of socialism as well as communism, Jiri Brada, in his testimony for the Committee on Communist Aggression, U. S. House



of Representatives (Hon. Charles J. Kersten, chairman), of June 28, 1954, made a number of statements which warrant the attention of thoughtful and alert Americans. As an example, Mr. Brada has made the serious accusation that "the American Intelligence Service (CIC and CIA) is not interested in investigating anything about the Communist system."

"The American authorities," Brada has testified, "take as source of information not the opinions of the anti-Communist refugees but the Communist radio and press in the East . . . they swallow every Communist swindle and show to the East clearly that they also are either unintelligent enough to be misled or are Communist-dominated . . ."

"The center of the Communist world conspiracy," Brada has stated in the conclusions of his sworn testimony for the Kersten Committee, "seems thus to be situated now in the West, in all these radio stations, as the Voice of America (and) Radio Free Europe, the American Intelligence Service, the CIA and the CIC, in the western crypto-Communist press and radio, in the Crusade for Freedom, and Free Europe, Inc."

RADIO FREE EUROPE

INSTALLMENT I

By JIRI BRADA

actually, Julius Wittmer

RADIO Free Europe, a network of stations which has been set up in western Europe for the purpose of sending anti-Communist broadcasts to the peoples on the other side of the Iron Curtain, is a division of Free Europe Committee, Inc. The latter, a private organization, was founded in 1949 by a group of American citizens, among whom the Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, U. S. Senator from New York, played a prominent role.

In 1950, the Free Europe Committee started its annual fund-raising drive under the name of Crusade for Freedom. Most of us, at one time or another, have been exposed to the propaganda of this powerful organization, via newspapers, radio, television, freedom cars, and freedom trains, and most of us have read and heard about FEC's much-publicized freedom balloons.

The Free Europe Committee claims that millions of its funds have been contributed by more than twenty-five million American citizens. Many more millions of dollars, though, have been donated by corporations, including some of the large foundations.

Henry Ford II, whose Ford Foundation through the years has been a heavy contributor, is national chairman of the Crusade for Freedom. As such he is the successor of General Lucius D. Clay. Other prominent sponsors of the project include David Sarnoff, Edward R. Murrow, Harold E. Stassen, Walter S. Gifford, Samuel Unger, George Barasch, C. B. Tibbets, and Joseph J. Fliesser. Headquarters of the Crusade is 29 West 57th Street, New York City.

C. D. Jackson, in crucial years one of President Eisenhower's "palace guard," headed the Free Europe Committee for a considerable length of time. Whitney

The second of three installments of "A Close-up View of Radio Free Europe" will appear in next month's issue of *Facts Forum News*.

In keeping with our policy of presenting "both sides" of each issue, *Facts Forum News* will also present in forthcoming issues material furnished us by the Free Europe Committee telling of the accomplishments of Radio Free Europe.

We regret that this material was received too late to accompany Mr. Brada's first installment.

H. Shepardson is its current president.

Joseph C. Grew, former U. S. Ambassador to Japan, is Chairman of the Board of the Free Europe Committee. Arthur W. Page is Chairman of the Executive Committee. Vice presidents include W. J. C. Eagan, Levering Tyson, Samuel S. Walker, Jr., and Bernard Yarrow. John C. Traphagen serves as treasurer, Theodore C. Augustine as secretary and assistant treasurer, and J. Clayton Miller as assistant secretary. On March 15, 1955, Herbert H. Lang was replaced as Director of Radio Free Europe by W. J. C. Eagan.

The Board of Directors, besides several of the above-named, is composed of A. A. Berle, David K. E. Bruce, Jr.,

Frederic R. Dolbeare, Julius Fleischmann, H. B. Miller, Irving S. Olds, George N. Shuster, Charles M. Spofford, and H. Gregory Thomas.

Among additional sponsors of the Free Europe Committee we find such nationally known figures as Clarence L. Adcock, Raymond Pace Alexander, Laird Bell, Francis Biddle, Robert Woods Bliss, Robert F. Bradford, Harry A. Bullis, William L. Clayton, Clark M. Clifford, Cecile B. De Mille, Frank R. Denton, William J. Donovan, Mark F. Ethridge, James A. Farley, Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Charles R. Hook, Palmer Hoyt, Paul Kesten, Henry R. Luce, Joseph V. McKee, Web Maddox, H. B. Miller, Samuel E. Morison, Frederick Osborn, John W. Sibley, Spyros Skouras, Charles P. Taft, DeWitt Wallace, W. W. Waymack, Walter H. Wheeler, Jr., Charles E. Wilson, Mrs. Quincy Wright, and Darryl Zanuck. The 1952 list of national sponsors also featured James B. Carey, Allen W. Dulles, William Green, and Matthew Woll. Besides a sprinkling of men who uphold America's traditions of limited government and the free market economy, there is the usual contingent of ancient and ubiquitous New Dealers.

Headquarters of the Free Europe Committee is a few stone's throws from that of the Crusade for Freedom, at 110 West 57th Street, New York City.

The political and ideological influence of the Free Europe Committee spans continents. No organization in the world exerts more power over the refugees from eastern Europe. It practically maintains a monopoly on placing refugee students in American colleges. It controls the University College at Strassbourg, France.

Besides the periodical, *News from*

Behind the Iron Curtain, the Free Europe Committee has published numerous booklets and pamphlets on communism in eastern Europe.

Radio Free Europe, which is located at the Committee's headquarters, 110 West 57th Street, is thus but one, though no doubt the most important, department of the Free Europe Committee.

While officially a division of a private organization, Radio Free Europe does of course not devise any arbitrary policy of its own. It has been conceived as a private arm of the American government's foreign policy and as such reflects the respective competence or confusion of Washington.

The principal editorial offices of Radio Free Europe, while taking their cues from New York and Washington, are located in Europe, especially in western Germany. European headquarters is at English Gardens (*Englischer Garten*) 1, Munich 23, Germany. Richard J. Condon is European director. The largest broadcasting stations of Radio Free Europe are located outside of Munich and Frankfurt on the Main. Their principal programs are broadcast in the various languages of Communist-dominated peoples, such as Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Roumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Polish.

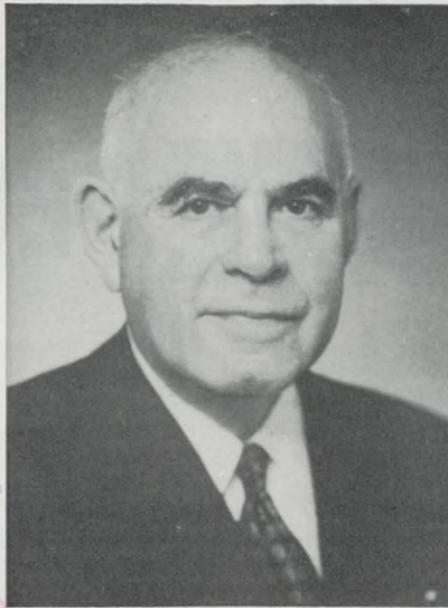
INFLUENCE OF SOVIET POSTWAR POLICY

In order to grasp the policy of these programs, it is well worth recalling the Soviet postwar policy in the satellite nations of eastern Europe. For the sake of appearance and expediency, no outright Communist governments were set up by the USSR immediately upon the end of World War II. Instead, there arose the so-called governments of "national fronts" or "people's fronts" or "popular fronts."

Moscow's commissars saw to it that no parties of the real center nor, of course, any of the right wing movements were admitted to these fronts; but even the non-Communist left wing parties, such as those of the Socialists or Social Democrats, were from the outset largely led by puppets of the Soviet Union, many of whom had up to then lived in comparative obscurity.

Within the course of a few months or years respectively, these non-Communist leftist parties were forged into total tools of the global Communist conspiracy. Freedom of election, assembly and press were abolished; trade and industry were nationalized; non-conformists, by means of the "people's courts," were crushed, and "national committees," *viz.* soviets, soon dictated and strangled all branches of public and private life.

Thoughtful readers may wonder why so many of the Socialist-minded collaborators were in due time permitted by the Communist authorities to leave their



Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, who was one of the founders of Free Europe Committee, Inc., of which Radio Free Europe is a division.

countries. They cannot help being amazed to learn that it is mainly these collectivistic refugees from the satellite nations whom Radio Free Europe has entrusted with program-controlling positions. These Marxians and statists were ballyhooed as "victims" of Soviet persecution, while practically all those who had escaped from the Communists when the Russian armies swept over their countries, i.e., those who at all times had steadfastly opposed the Communist menace, were systematically excluded from Radio Free Europe.

Is it possible that a good many of these Socialist twin brothers of the Communists were not prevented from reaching our side of the Iron Curtain because on the basis of their Marxist past they were likely to confuse and adulterate the crusade of the free world? Is it possible that some of them even promised merely to pose as foes of communism, and therefore in reality continued their collaboration with the Communists in the guise of foes? At any rate, quite a few of these recent allies of the Communists are now earning considerable fees from the funds of the Crusade for Freedom, in payment of their ineffectual and phony psychological warfare.

FORMER RED CONFEDERATES IN TOP JOBS

The real champions of political and economic freedom, the real opponents of state intervention, the real adversaries of materialism, atheism and tyranny were either rejected or fired by Radio Free Europe, and are now sitting on the side lines. The men of the Kremlin should indeed be pleased with this curious policy of Radio Free Europe.

To be sure, RFE's bosses offer us a ready-made excuse for employing so many former Soviet collaborators in top

positions. No one, they aver, is more thoroughly aware of Communist duplicity than are those who have experienced Communist tactics in practice. However — and this is the crux of the matter — not one of these former confederates of the Communists has come forth with any protest against his former collaboration, and none of the former Communists on Radio Free Europe come forth with any protest against former communism. They shun the role of the repentant sinner. They all suddenly pose as experts of the democratic way, as pioneers of individual, personal freedom. The Whittaker Chambers is excluded.

By no means have all of these former Communists merely posed as anti-Communists. In ever so many instances they could help going soft on the Communist. A great many, being Socialists, have been so blind with regard to limited government and the free market economy, and still are such loyal believers in the benefits of Socialist intervention, planning and control, that they consistently devise policies which play into the hands of the Communists by appeasing them. The Polish, Czechoslovak and Hungarian broadcasting stations of Radio Free Europe, which equal the power of the German station in Munich, Radio 50,000 watts, run programs for 20 hours a day. Numerous short wave stations send broadcasts in the various languages of eastern Europe three or four hours a day. It is claimed that 29 RFE stations are now functioning.

The Czechoslovak station near Prague is as strong as that of Munich or the American Forces network, in fact. In operation since May 1, 1950, it covers political commentaries; economic commentaries; the international situation (transmitted from the New York offices); programs for workers, students, women, young people, and children; economics; history; music; entertainment, etc., and news every hour of the hour.

SOURCE MATERIAL FAR LEFT OF CENTER

The over-all ideology of these programs is largely determined by the members of the Czechoslovak National Front, i.e., one-time Communist collaborators. From time to time, these men receive written instructions on subjects from the New York office where left-wingers set the tone, Dr. Martin Kvetko and Dr. Julius Firt, and prominent former pro-Communist editors instruct all editors at regular meetings.

Carefully selected books on communism, clippings from such American publications as *The New York Times*, *The New York Herald Tribune*, *Life*, etc., items from the press of American labor unions, material from Communist papers on both sides of



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Henry Ford II (center, standing), national chairman of the Crusade for Freedom, and his brothers, Benson Ford (left) and William Ford (right). Portraits of their father, Edsel, and grandfather, Henry, hang on wall. The Ford Foundation has been a heavy contributor to Crusade for Freedom.

...ertain, and monitored texts of the Czechoslovak Communist radio representing that the source material from which the script writers draw. There are also special "intelligence" reports. Straight conservative papers and magazines are taboo. Radio Free Europe.

Script writers know how to toe the line. They know that they might as well look for another job if they dare use material or ideas from the *Chicago Tribune* or such of our magazines as *American Mercury*, *American Legion Magazine*, *Christian Economics*, *Human Events*, *National Review* and *National Public*.

To summarize — RFE programs are shaped according to the directives of (a) the American bosses and (b) the New Leftist National Frontiers from east and west Europe. The rank and file Socialist and otherwise leftist editors are either unintelligent or servile or both, and grind their chores in accordance with their orders.

Actually, RFE policies vary only in degrees, but not in substance, from other psychological warfare stations of the world. These include Radio Free Europe, station RIAS in Berlin, Radio Liberty — a private American station which broadcasts to peoples inside the USSR — and of course the Voice of America. None of them takes a consistent stand against the philosophy of government intervention and government control, none of them — except for occasional and half-hearted lip service to champions freedom of enterprise. No wonder that so far our psychological warfare has failed.

In order to document for American readers what sort of ideas are being transmitted to the Iron Curtain world through their expensively staffed freedom stations, I have for some years gathered

from RFE Czechoslovak programs a substantial collection of radio scripts and tape recordings, from which I shall quote in the following. If any slogan may be offered to characterize the general tenor of all too many programs, let us quote what a well-known American apologist for the Soviet causes has said in the process of the Far Eastern debacle: "Let them fall, but do not let it appear that we pushed them."

PROPAGATION OF SOCIALISM

May 1, 1953, 3:15 p.m.: "The Socialist youth of the whole world sends its greetings to the youth of Czechoslovakia. We assure you that we shall reach the aim . . . the day, when we will be able to join you in democracy in the fight for socialism, social justice and freedom." At the end of the program the *International* was played. [The *International* is the rallying song of world communism.]

May 3, 1953, 12:15 p.m.: Ferdinand Peroutka, chief of RFE's Czechoslovak desk in New York, a well-known Socialist and one-time prominent member of the pro-Communist National Front, in his "Sunday Comments of Ferdinand Peroutka": "Eisenhower's program, on the other hand, even though America's factories have not been nationalized, stands for the concept of world socialism. There is no better way to describe it. This is socialism . . . The aim of the program outlined by the President of the United States is to socialize life."

May 1, 1954, 2:50 p.m.: "Today, on May 1st, we convey our greetings to all those who are dedicated to the faith in democratic socialism." [To Communist-dominated countries May 1st is synonymous with America's July 4th, and the

term "Democratic Socialism" is a Communist term used in May Day speeches to describe Communist ideology.]

May 4, 1954, 2:10 p.m. "Program for Workers": "Léon Jouhaux — a great man, descended from a family in which revolutionism has been a tradition. His father participated in the revolt of the Paris Commune . . . a born revolutionary . . ."

May 5, 1954, 2:10 p.m.: "Léon Jouhaux — a great revolutionary, a great reformer . . ."

March 23, 1955, 12:40 p.m. Program, "We Call the Communist Party": "The present order (in eastern Europe) merely serves to continue the dictatorship . . . this jungle which falsely is labeled as legitimate socialism."

March 23, 1955, 2:20 p.m. Dr. Jan Hajek, on program, "Living Science — Discussions with Young People," said: "Socialism has become adult. Socialist thinkers are no longer irresponsible radicals. The fundamental problem of modern socialism is man's relation to the state.

"The modern socialist rejects both extremes — *laissez faire* and state control. He is aware of his duties as well as his rights.

"The citizens of the Socialist society must be conscious of their heritage, and proud of it."

Along this line, the Czechoslovak editors and broadcasters carefully avoid repudiating the measures of socialization and communization which their own National Front had instituted in the postwar years, and often go so far as to approve of similar Communist measures in satellite Europe. Thus, on October 28, 1952, at 11:50 a.m., the broadcaster of "We Call the Communist



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

High altitude balloons being released in coordination with RFE broadcasts near the Czechoslovak territory bear leaflets in Czech and Slovak languages. Fence surrounds a 50,000-watt medium-wave transmitter of Radio Free Europe.

Party," exclaimed: "Seven years ago, the decrees of the President of the Republic brought forth the nationalization of industry. In this way Czechoslovakia set out on her way of democratic independence."

SOCIALIST POLICIES DEFENDED

These psychological warriors of the RFE thus still don't realize that it was a crime to cooperate with the Communists, or if they do, they don't admit it. There is never any hint that the Socialist policies of the National Front as such have led to disaster, no inkling that socialism, because it infringes upon the rights of the individual, leads to communism. Therefore, these so-called freedom broadcasters never point out that the misery of the people in eastern Europe largely derives from Socialist meddling with the affairs of the people; they blame it all on Soviet exploitation, armaments, emphasis on heavy industry, and that sort of thing.

Yes, they have mentioned the "forced Communist economy." What they mean by it may be seen from "International Commentary from New York," in its broadcast of April 18, 1953, at 6:05 p.m. The broadcaster explained that "this means in Czechoslovakia the return to the former export policy, the return to the production of quality articles. To put an end to this over-emphasis on heavy industry must be the goal of our new democratic way."

That is all. No reference to liberation from the Socialist bureaucracy, from Socialist oppression. Just a shift from armaments to quality products. Nothing more.

Ferdinand Peroutka, in his broadcast of Sunday, April 27, 1952, at 12:15 p.m., declared: "The Communists lie when they tell you that we want to restore capitalism, that we intend to return to the proprietors the property which has been taken from them some time ago . . . I repeat: the program of the Czechoslovak exiles is not capitalism and the return to 1938. Nor do we wish to hand back the mines and foundries to their former owners. All we care for is that the Communist government, which means dependence on Russia, disappears."

It might be argued that an occasional program of this sort might have its place in the over-all setup because, after all, there still are old Socialists in Czechoslovakia who have no use for the Communists. Yet isn't it strange that while there are programs for workers, peasants and Communists, there are none for businessmen?

Sometimes they talk about free competition, but often it is but the competition of collectively owned factories amongst themselves. The terminology of their broadcasts is of the Socialist variety, including the trite ranting



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Harold Stassen, U. S. Secretary of Peace, one of the sponsors of the Crusade for Freedom.

against "Capitalists" and "reactionaries."

I now shall proceed to offer documentary evidence to show that Radio Free Europe also aids, and sometimes even propagates, Titoism and communism, and frequently extols Communist leaders.

Milos Vanek, one-time big wheel in the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, and now chief of the economics department of RFE's Czechoslovak desk, said on November 21, 1952, at 11:30 a.m.: "Marx, Engels, Trotsky — for them Marxism was the substitute for the Western revolution of human rights."

The commentator of "Weekly Survey of the American Press," on April 12, 1953, at 8:30 a.m., said: "The *New York Herald Tribune* is of the opinion that the trial of Mindszenty, the Hungarian cardinal, as well as the trial of Slansky and similar crimes in other Communist countries, ought to be remembered . . ."

Possibly, if not probably, it was one of the numerous left-wingers on the staff of the *Tribune* who planted this corrupting little seed of associating the fearless anti-Communist cardinal with that old Marxian wheelhorse and Kremlin errand boy, Slansky-Salzmann, who stood as solidly for the Leninist-Stalinist program as any Communist who happened to get purged in some intra-party feud. Sure enough, if the *Tribune* man did not give a ring to his pal at the Czechoslovak desk in New York's RFE headquarters, the latter did not fail to pick up that choice tidbit.

After all, any "opinion" of the staid and presumably conservative *New York Herald Tribune* is safe quoting. Who is there brazen enough to accuse the old *Tribune* of being subversive? And thus, by association with a primate and martyr of the Roman Catholic Church, a Communist lickspittle is being groomed for respectability. And this in the name

of fighting the totalitarian enemy, used organization which is financed by American donations, and which is sponsored by well-known Americans.

Again and again, RFE's psychological warriors do not attack Marxism-communism as such but what, with tears and regret, they condemn as its "degeneracy." Consequently, the listener — or he be quite alert — is induced to own that communism, with which so many of the RFE bigwigs once cooperated, would not be so bad if only it had not "degenerated."

RFE ATTACKS RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM BUT NOT COMMUNISM

Fiddling that tune, RFE's "Crusade for Freedom without the Iron Curtain," on March 19, 1952, at 3:45 p.m., complained of the "degeneration of the old Communist ideals."

Commenting on the arrest of several Kremlin-serving bosses Sling, Cleverly and Slansky, RFE's "Commentary on Events of the Day," on February 1, 1952, at 7:30 p.m., waxed somewhat melancholic: "They consciously dimmed their eyes, dreaming about the Communist security of the future . . . what was to remain of the dream once the dream had come to an end? . . . A cynical disdain for idealism . . ."

Karol Belak-Berger, the left-talking Socialist, in RFE's "Round Table Discussion," on April 12, 1953, at 10:00 p.m., nostalgically referred to the "lions of idealists and men of good will" who had believed in communism and merely deplored the "methods" which "failed." Regrettably he mused that the whole appeal of communism has "lapsed . . ."

The policy of collaboration with the Communists was quite distinct and expressed by the old Socialist leader Ferdinand Peroutka, in his "Public Comments" of April 27, 1952, at 10:00 p.m., when he answered the attack on the Communist daily, *Rude Právo*, by exiles such as he. "It accuses us of hounding for the restoration of capitalism along with the return of the 'Western powers,'" stated Peroutka.

"All we wish to say in reply to our accusations is this:

"There has been a Socialist government in England for six years and the government would hardly have accepted capitalism. Today we have a Conservative government in England. Yet it has not abolished any of the Labor government's Socialist measures and it would not do anything of the kind in Czechoslovakia."

"As to America — she supports Tito even though Tito accepts American bountiful assistance with open arms. He demanded the de-nationalization of the United States government . . ."

le Yugoslav factory. Yes, Tito never
my, sed to be a Communist. America
by s: 'Let everyone do as he pleases.'
spowerica says: 'Go ahead and be a Com-
nist if that's what you want. All we
cholar is that you stop supporting Russian
m-colonialism.' America has no intention
h to force anyone, including Czechoslo-
"degia, to return to capitalism."

er—Dr. Miloslav Kohak, another widely
d to own one-time Communist collabora-
a so of the National Front who saved his
wou in the nick of time and landed a fat
ot "d as chief (until his replacement re-
tly) of RFE's Czechoslovak desk in
nich, in "Political Comments on the
PERI atation at Home," on November 25,
ISM 2, at 10:45 a.m., had this to say
ut Arthur London:

s "From beginning to end, the indict-
ment against London is preposterous. It
ined be whole International Brigade of the
Commil War in Spain which is being at-
ked in his person — another proof of
est of reactionary attitude now prevailing
e, Cle the Soviet Union. She no longer wants
nment support of men who believe in
brutals, but only of those who believe in
sonnetts."

usly On May 8, 1954, at 5:45 p.m., in
he Coories Written by Life," a young Com-
nist inmate of a slave labor camp
main's quoted as follows: "Your Christian
comecept comes close to the original Len-
n forst ideology . . . We must work to-
her, faithful to the ideas which Lenin
left taught us."

TabDr. Jaroslav Stransky, Socialist and
33, a old Communist collaborator of the
to theional Front, said in "Talk with
of goodme," on March 1, 1952, at 9:30 p.m.:
nunistnunciation should not play any part
ds" the politics . . . Any honest Communist
ed the join the rest of us in condemning
a has nunciation."

Probably the old collaborator still be-
on wies that it is possible for Communists
stind be honest. Consequently he had no
stouble in slipping that one in. The
is "Suble with Radio Free Europe, though,
52, alquite another matter. Squandering
e attillions of American dollars for the
e Praged purpose of fighting communism,
s us o hires old Communist collaborators
capo rant about "honest" Communists.
the "We Call the Communist Party," of
bruary 22, 1952, at 11:45 a.m., went
out in praise of Communist cultural
ievements. "Czech Communist liter-
alst ire has brought forth works of out-
yearnding value." RFE's psychological
have rior declared. "We enjoy reading
k peomunist authors as much as any
we lers."

in EA curious way of inducing an anti-
any munist attitude, to say the least.
ist me the Socialist Franta Klatil, in "Politi-
ng of Comments on the Situation at
me," on April 21, 1953, at 11:45
upport, mused that "Tito has more char-
ots After than his one-time allies in Prague
open . He secured his independence, and
nent te thoroughly at that."

It is quite a common procedure for
Radio Free Europe to quote Tito and
Red Yugoslavia's press as authorities in
both moral and political matters. Holi-
day trips to Tito's Yugoslavia have be-
come a cherished habit of RFE's editors.

PROGRAMS GLORIFY REVOLU- TIONARY WORKERS

Another variety of the collectivist ide-
ology which prevails among RFE editors
is the frequent praise of those enemies
of the Kremlin who have not been able
to toe the party line but have otherwise
been valuable fighters in the class strug-
gle against the so-called exploiters.
Thus, the RFE script, "We Call the
Communist Party," which was broadcast
to Czechoslovakia on March 29, 1955, at
12:40 p.m., in its glorification of the
revolutionary workers of Kronstadt
sounds as if it had been written by the
old Lithuanian-American anarchist Alex-
ander Berkman. "The workers of Kron-
stadt," it says in that script, "fought so
that the soviets may be elected freely
and democratically, that their just de-
mands be fulfilled — demands which
were entirely in the spirit of the Octo-
ber Revolution. They fought for demo-
cratic soviets . . ."

True enough, this broadcast was ad-
dressed to Communists, and it might
seem reasonable to some to appeal to
Communists in the spirit of genuine
communism; but is it likely that hard-
ened trans-Curtain Communists of 1955
believe in appeals in behalf of commu-
nism when they are uttered by those
who are hired by Americans? Yet, in-
credible though it may appear, that is



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Edward R. Murrow, one of the sponsors of the
Crusade for Freedom, receives one of ten 1954
Russwurm Awards of the National Newspaper
Publishers Association from Dowdal H. Davis
(right), chairman of National Negro Newspaper
Week, as an "undeviating champion of those
high principles of citizenship and of true democ-
racy that have made the United States great,"
and "for keeping men constantly reminded of
their duty to decency and destiny."

the line which RFE commentators
adopted as late as 1955.

Let us choose another example of this
folly by quoting Dr. Jaroslav Stransky,
former minister of the National Front,
in his "Commentary on the Political
Situation" of April 2, 1955, 9:50 a.m.
In this gem of an "anti-Communist"
broadcast, the Communist collaborator
of but a few years ago sang the praises
of the "Spartacus Bund," the militant
group which, following World War I,
broke away from Germany's left wing
Socialists in order to usher in the Com-
munist revolution. Stransky really
waxed lyrical over Karl Liebknecht and
Rosa Luxemburg, the two most promi-
nent and violent leaders of early Ger-
man communism.

"The modern Spartacus movement,"
pontificated Stransky in behalf of RFE's
version of freedom, "Karl Liebknecht
and Rosa Luxemburg . . . they were
pacifists, the foes of imperialism and
militarism . . . they were beaten to death
by the mob . . . their articles, their
speeches, their letters were inspired by
a vision of order and beauty for the
modern world . . . in every sentence
which that undersized, ungainly Jewess,
Luxemburg, wrote, there was humane-
ness and poesy . . ."

We are here not arguing about the
lofty intentions of these two world
famous pioneers of the Communist
revolution, misguided and unbalanced
though they were. We are here question-
ing the wisdom of Americans who, in the
name of the freedom for which Wash-
ington and Lincoln lived and died, hire
a notorious one-time Communist collab-
orator who still offers hymns to the
cause of the Communist revolution. That
Stransky should express such revolu-
tionary feelings is obvious; that well-
meaning Americans should sponsor such
projects does provide food for thought.

NATIONAL FRONTS VAUNTED

In line with this farcically suicidal
policy these RFE psychological warriors
naturally still vaunt the very National
Front which paved the way for the total
subjugation of the Czech and Slovak
people by the Communists. These
strange refugee policy-makers, script-
writers and editors still live in that
dreary world in which their fatal short-
sightedness delivered their people into
the hands of the Kremlin.

Thus, on October 28, 1952, at 10:05
a.m., these so-called heralds of freedom
told the home folks behind the Curtain:
"There will once more be a time when
Benes will arise . . ." On October 27,
1953, at 4:35 p.m., they appealed to
"those who remember the pre-Febru-
ary [i.e., 1945-48] democracy . . ." On
January 11, 1953, at 11:30 a.m., the
leftist Socialist Belak-Berger, in "Com-
ments on the Events of the Day," ex-
claimed: "The real National Front [i.e.,

FROM THE CRADLE TO . . .

SECURITY

for a GRAVE SITUATION

Is Social Security socialism?

Is this an honest trust fund?

Are we enslaving future generations?

"Legislated security is bondage," said Samuel Gompers, who was the first president of the American Federation of Labor. His opinion finds agreement in the following compendium of views on this subject from Representative Bruce Alger (R) of Texas and Paul L. Poirot, staff member of the Foundation for Economic Education, while "Mr. Social Security," as Representative Robert W. Kean (R) of New Jersey is called, and Representative W. R. Poage (D) of Texas favor a universal Social Security system.

Samuel Gompers, the "grand old man" of labor—president of the AFL, 1886-1924—warned his union members to look behind the humanitarian slogans used by the advocates of government-guaranteed security.*

WHERE has never yet come down from any government any substantial improvement in the conditions of the masses of the people, unless it be the result of their own initiative in the mind, the heart, and the courage of the people. Initiative must come from the people of our country the source of initiative and the opportunity to aspire and to struggle in order that that aspiration may become a reality, and though you couch your action in the most sympathetic terms, it will fail of its purpose and be the undoing of the vital forces that go to make up a virile people. Look over all the world where you will, and see those governments where the features of compulsory benevolence have been established, and you will find the initiative taken from the hearts of the people.

Social insurance cannot even undertake to remove or prevent poverty. It is not fundamental and does not get at the causes of social injustice.

The first step in establishing compulsory social insurance is to divide people into groups, those eligible for benefits and those considered capable of caring for themselves. The division is based

upon earning capacity. This governmental regulation must tend to fix the citizens of the country into classes, and a long-established insurance system would tend to make those classes rigid.

Governmental power grows upon that on which it feeds. Give an agency power, and it at once tries to reach out after more. Its effectiveness depends upon increasing power.

Recently a gentleman of the highest

standing stated to me that during the time he was in Germany, and in a position to know, German workmen came to him seeking aid to get out of that country to the United States. They told him that by reason of the taxes which they were compelled to pay into compulsory social insurance schemes, they had no money left except for absolute necessities of life, and were unable to secure sufficient funds to come to the United States even in the steerage. He said to me further that in Germany, where compulsory social insurance has been more extensively worked out than in any other country, the workmen of that country, by reason of their property interests in compulsory social insurance, have been compelled to remain in Germany and work under circumstances, wages, hours, and conditions of employment which forced them to endure conditions below standards of a living wage.

Is it not discernible that the payments required of workmen for this compulsory social insurance interfere very materially with mobility of labor, and constitute a very effectual barrier to the workers determining their whole lives?

Industrial freedom exists only when and where wage earners have complete control over their labor power. To delegate control over their labor power to an outside agency takes away from the economic power of those wage earners and creates another agency for power. Whoever has control of this new agency acquires some degree of control over



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Samuel Gompers, president of the AFL, with Mrs. Gompers in 1924 on the Atlantic City boardwalk.

*Excerpts from an address, December 5, 1916, reprinted from "Ideas on Liberty," September, 1955, the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.

SOCIAL SECURITY (Continued)

the worker. There is nothing to guarantee control over that agency to employees. It may also be controlled by employers. In other words, giving the government control over industrial relations creates a fulcrum which means great power for an unknown user.

The introduction of compulsory social insurance in cases of sickness, or compulsory social insurance in cases of unemployment, means that the workers must be subject to examinations, investigations, regulations, and limitations. Their activities must be regulated in accordance with the standards set by governmental agencies. To that we shall not stand idly by and give our assent.

Men and women, I trust I may not be sounding my warnings upon the empty

air. I hope that they may find a lodgment in the minds and the hearts of my countrymen. I bid you have a care in all these attempts to regulate the personal relations and the normal personal activities of the citizenship of our country ere it be too late.

There is in the minds of many an absence of understanding of the fundamental essentials of freedom. They talk freedom, and yet would have bound upon their wrists the gyves that would tie them to everlasting bondage. And no matter how sympathetic or humanitarian is the gloss over the plan and the scheme, I again bid you beware. We know not when or how this great struggle going on in Europe will terminate, or what it shall mean for the future of

those countries; but at least let the people of the United States hold their liberties in their own hands, for it is come to pass that our American Republic, whose institutions and whose principles we so much revere, may be the only nation to hold the beacon light of freedom aloft, and thus aid in relighting the torch, rekindling the heart flame of the world's liberty.

For a mess of pottage, under the guise of compulsory social insurance, let us not voluntarily surrender the fundamental principles of liberty and freedom, the hope of the Republic of the United States, the leader and teacher of the world of the significance of the great anthem chorus of human liberty!

Congressmen W. R. Poage (D) and Bruce Alger (R), both of Texas, expressed their views regarding Social Security on a recent Facts Forum program. Congressman Poage, who feels that Social Security is "safe and sound," speaks first:

I'VE BEEN requested to outline briefly my views on our Social Security system. I look on Social Security as one of the great forward steps of our generation. It is not perfect. It is not complete. It has defects. Some of these are defects of organization and administration. These can and should be corrected. It is admittedly subject to some fundamental objections. Here the question is: Can you offer any better system to cure even more fundamental evils of our economic system? We must balance the good against the bad. I think the balance weighs heavily in favor of Social Security.

Well, what is this Social Security system? It is our entire blended program of self-help, employer assistance and government aid directed to the objective of minimizing economic dependence of the aged, the crippled and the helpless. It is basically insurance instead of charity. Insurance is just as American as ham and eggs. It is the invention of capitalism. Insurance is neither foreign nor socialistic. On the contrary, as I see it, our best hope against communism is the creation of a firm economy based on the savings of the people during their productive years with the assurance that when that productivity is lost, through no fault of their own, that they can still hope to enjoy a reasonable buying power.

Basically, that is exactly what Social Security provides. How does it do it? For those who are already too old to

build up a retirement fund out of earnings, it provides old age assistance based on need. That this phase is inadequate and that it is oftentimes inaptly administered, is freely admitted. But it is far better than the complete dependence on the charitably inclined individuals and organizations of a generation ago. Nor is old age assistance planned as a permanent part of the Social Security program. For those who, due to special circumstances like blindness, widowhood, infancy, and for crippled children, there are special grants—again inadequate but of tremendous help.

As I see it the real function of Social Security rests on the Old Age and Survivors Insurance. Gradually each person in the United States will be required to deposit a fixed per cent of his earnings with the system as premium payments on a policy of insurance which will provide payments to him during his old age or to his survivors. His employer will be required to make a contribution to the same fund. The rates must of course be actuarially sound, just as they must be for a private insurance company. These rates must in like manner be so adjusted as to cover adequately the risks involved.

There is one substantial risk which I feel should be more adequately covered—that is the risk of loss of earning power due to disability. I think these rates should be high enough to cover every case of total disability at whatever age incurred. The only reason for

paying benefits at age 65 is the fact that the experience of mankind has indicated that most people are somewhat disabled when they reach that age. I think that the young man who loses his arms or suffers some other incapacity at age 25 or 35 should receive the same type of aid. Surely he needs it even more desperately than the old man, as he will more often have family obligations.

The House of Representatives recently passed legislation extending coverage if the insured party is 50 or older. I would put no age limit. Surely such a program would require many people to pick and to pay for their own doctor, who are now forced to depend on the socialized program of organized charity. It will be a strong argument against socialized medicine and demands for other types of social service.

And what of the coverage of Social Security? There are those who object because they say it does not go far enough. Congress has always moved slowly because we wanted the system to be sound. But it does not involve a "thirty-dollar-every-Thursdays" plan. On the other hand there are those who complain that the system should be entirely voluntary. That would be true except that the very people who would not pay, generally speaking, would have no payments and would still be dependent on charity or of direct government aid.



The system must be nearly universal if it is to work without unduly burdensome costs. And what of the safety of the funds? They are invested in United States government bonds. Where would you invest them? Would those who criticize the present investment put them in commercial bonds or loans? If we did so, would we not actually take a

tremendous step towards socialism by making the government the mortgage holder over most business and at the same time, would we not reduce the security of our funds?

As I see it, Social Security is safe. It is sound. It offers the only practical method for most people to provide for their own security. I am for it.

Congressman Alger, who feels that this program could bring inflation which might bankrupt the nation, presented his views on the same Facts Forum program:



No greater shock faced me as a freshman congressman than getting the inside information on "Social Security" or Old Age Survivors Insurance—ASI as it is named). I thought we had a sound program—that we'd get our money back.

I saw the members of the House of Representatives "steamroller through" a new Social Security bill without hearings, without debate, and without any sense of responsibility—"because," I was told, "it's a sure way to seek and win votes, just as it's political suicide to vote against it. Also, the Senate will hold hearings and thus can bear the brunt of public criticism. I saw the Social Security program become a political football with a straight party line vote over whether to hold public hearings or not—Republicans for hearings, Democrats against. So I investigated and studied as time would permit, my suspicions being aroused.

I learned that some congressmen openly admitted that rather than oppose a politically popular bill by telling the people the truth, they'd rather wait and let it collapse of its own weaknesses and responsibilities—then everyone would automatically know it was not sound without the individual congressman sacrificing himself politically to oppose it. Is this statesmanship?

I learned that the program was known to be actuarially unsound—that estimates of its deficit were somewhere between 60 and 225 billion dollars—"but no matter because the burden is being shifted to following generations." Instead of the 20 billion dollars on hand it has been asserted that there should be somewhere in the neighborhood of 250 billion dollars to support present federal commitments. Even the 20 billion dollars is not on hand because the government has spent it to pay other expenses, leaving I.O.U.'s in the till. This is the heritage we leave our children in the name of "Social Security." Where

now are our watchwords of "liberty" and "freedom"? Is anyone, our children included, free when saddled with debt? Is this "social security" for them, or "social failure"? Is it rather a mass rejection of our religious belief in personal responsibility, in exchange for a fanciful government guarantee with compounded bureaucratic mistakes?

The future cost will be in excess of 20 billion dollars per year by 1975 in addition to income tax. You may not know this either, but under the increasing costs many will be paying more tax in Social Security than income tax—it's going up. For comparison it is safe to say that this adding on increasing cost is equivalent to increasing your present income tax by 50 per cent—just to break even on Social Security income against benefits. Actually, no one knows how badly off we are—yet the benefits are blandly increased by Congress. Some instances are reported where 126 dollars can buy 30 thousand dollars benefits. Who wouldn't be interested? In other instances, taxes are collected well beyond the amount due, but are never refunded. In still others, millions of our people will not receive benefits because of bureaucratic rulings handed down and because of red tape. Yet they are forced to pay in. Is this liberty and freedom?

QUESTIONS AVOIDED

Many, many questions have been asked—I pose some now—which haven't been answered, but avoided by congressional leaders who refused to hold hearings, playing politics instead. Of course, it is an easier course as a congressman to climb aboard a popular cause, in this case the offer of security and something for nothing, than it is to oppose it—but the fiscal foolishness is now too obvious to permit such a course without sacrificing ethics and conscience.

The people should be told—and I, for

one, am not afraid to expend the effort, to raise the questions, many of which are those asked of the committee which then refused to hold hearings to get the facts. Yet they brought forth a bill and pushed it through.

Here are only a few questions. What are the facts on age qualification in wives, working men and widows (in view of age reduction for some from 65 to 62 in this bill)? What are the facts on lengthening life expectancies? How far in debt is the program at this time? What payment schedule is necessary to make the program sound actuarially? What protections against destroying incentive are there in the cash disability program? How does the disability program tie in with the expanding federal-state vocational rehabilitation? These and many other questions require answers.

In the disability program it appears that if we wanted to kill initiative and create the best environment for "gold-bricks" possible, we've done it in the present bill. The temptation is there—why should a man rehabilitate himself and be taken off a federal pension? Further, will there be shopping around to find a doctor to support the claim for a federal pension? Why should 50 years be the designated age?

Any foolish fiscal program endangers our nation economically—particularly such a comprehensive program as this. Inflation is always the danger to the value of money. This program could bring on inflation, inflation could in turn kill the program by watering the money, and bankrupt the nation.

But the crowning delusion is the built-in boomerang that will hurt most those now deluding themselves most in their trust in the Social Security program. It was voted in—it can be voted out any time. Congress is so empowered. The very children we are saddling with the debt and future payment of this program can refuse to pay simply by so instructing their congressman. Then, no Social Security program at all!

Isn't it better, therefore, to study the program now, putting it on a sound basis, if possible, or taking such action as is apparently necessary, than to have it forced on us later at the expense of a great hoax on millions of trusting older citizens? After all, we're playing the joke on ourselves. Who is kidding who?

Also, do you feel it is political suicide for a congressman to call your attention to this mess—or do you, too, believe it is a congressman's duty to call it as he sees it? I have only touched some of the present problems. Congressmen await your decision. Let them know. It's your future.

Social Security — A Current Analysis

By Representative Robert W. Kean (R) of New Jersey*

Representative Kean has been called "Mr. Social Security" due to his incessant efforts to broaden Social Security coverage on a sound basis. His plans for the future as a legislator include Social Security for all, with benefits based on ten years of earnings, and with extra benefits for people who work past the age of sixty-five.

WHEN I first made a careful study of our Social Security system it had been in existence for nearly ten years. It was no longer an experimental innovation, but had become an integral part of our economy; however I found that the system was full of inequities.

No changes had been made since 1939. Only about half our workers were in covered employment, and benefits were based on the pre-war value of the dollar, giving no consideration to the inflation which had taken place.

My study convinced me of the worth of the program. Since then I have tried to guide improvements in the system in the direction which would maintain its value to its beneficiaries, but would at the same time maintain sound principles and a sound financial structure.

There is dynamite in the program, for voting increased benefits has a strong political appeal—especially in an election year; and the fight to keep the system sound, both financially and socially, will be unending.

In the past ten years strong attacks which might have wrecked the system have been made both from conservative and radical elements, and in trying to steer a straight path I found myself both at times at odds and at times hand in hand with groups from both the left and the right.

PRESENT AND PROJECTED BENEFITS

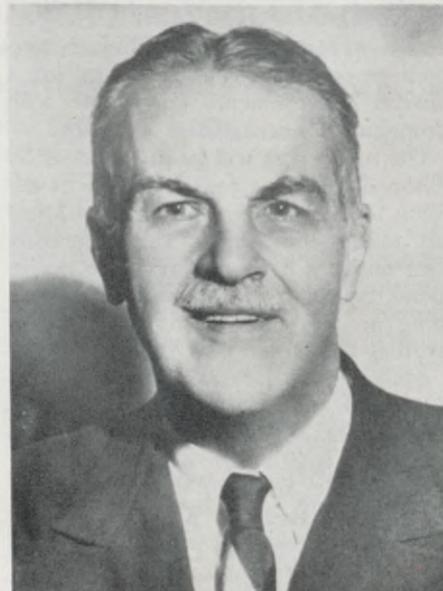
Let us look at the system as it exists today. About nine out of ten people who work for a living can look forward to retirement benefits under the Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance program. Furthermore, nine out of ten mothers and children are assured of monthly benefits in case of the death of the family breadwinner.

Benefits for an individual may be as high as \$108.50 a month; for a married couple, \$162.75 a month; for a widow, \$80 a month; and for a widow with minor children as much as \$200 a month.

*This address was given September 8, 1955, during the annual meeting of the Council of State Chambers of Commerce in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

At the beginning of 1955 over seventy million people were insured under the law, and approximately thirty million were permanently insured, that is, they will ultimately receive benefits even if they do no more work.

In August, benefits were being paid to over seven and a half million people.



Representative Robert W. Kean (R), of New Jersey, known as "Mr. Social Security."

These payments will total almost five billion dollars in 1955. The fund will receive more than five and a half billion dollars from Social Security taxes and nearly five hundred million dollars in interest from its investments in the trust fund.

It is estimated that by 1975—twenty years from now—there will be more than twenty million Americans age 65 or over and that some sixteen and a half million people will then be receiving monthly Social Security benefits.

The trust fund now consists of twenty-one billion dollars invested in government bonds. You can see how vast is the program.

Even minor changes in the law can have a profound and far-reaching effect on American life. To millions of our

people the system represents the foundation of their own retirement security, as well as the survivorship protection of their dependents.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

Our contributory Social Security system is founded on certain basic principles. I believe that they are sound. Are these basic principles?

First, benefits are paid as a matter of right without a "means test." Workers and their employers have paid the tax and the former are entitled to benefits whatever their financial situation may be.

Second, the program is financed by the contributions from both employer and employee on a percentage of payroll. This insures that management, labor, and the general public will take a responsible interest in the program.

Third, benefits are related to earnings. This principle is in accord with the American system of free enterprise and incentive. The worker who earns more gets more.

Fourth, benefits are paid only to those who have virtually retired. The system by which benefits are paid is based on retirement, not a system to pay benefits at a certain age.

Fifth, the program should be maintained on as sound a financial basis as is possible in any program where there are so many unknown quantities, such as how many aged people there will be fifty years from now, what will be the wage scale, what will be the value of a dollar then, and so forth.

I would like to discuss this fifth principle first, for there have been many attacks on the financial set-up.

Some have said that the program cannot carry out sound insurance because if the system were abolished today there is not enough money in the trust fund to pay benefits to all those who have contributed.

However, the conception of actuarial soundness as it applies to our Old Age and Survivors Insurance system is not very different from the conception of actuarial soundness as it is applicable to private insurance.

The most important difference is due to the fact that a social insurance program can be assumed to be perpetual in nature with a continuous flow of entrants as a result of its compulsory provisions.

Accordingly, it may be said that the Old Age and Survivors Insurance program is actuarially sound, if it is in actuarial balance by reason of the fact that future income from contribu-

and interest earnings on the accumulated trust fund will, over the long run, support the disbursements for benefits and administrative expenses.

FALSE CHARGES

It has also been argued that the trust fund is a phony; that the government is spending the money for current expenditures which it is receiving from the Social Security taxes.

A common charge against the present system is that the taxpayer will have to pay twice for Social Security: once when he pays his Social Security contribution, and again when he pays his general taxes to redeem the government bond now held by the insurance fund.

This charge has been repeatedly made. It is false. The reason for the misunderstanding is that while the taxpayer has to pay twice, he doesn't pay twice for his Social Security. He pays twice because he pays for two separate things.

It has been alleged often that the government spends the money in the Social Security trust fund for its current expenses, but the reason that the government spends the proceeds from any of its bond sales — including those which it has sold to the trust fund — is because the Congress has authorized certain sums to be spent.

This money would be spent anyway whether or not such a trust fund was in existence. And if the Treasury did not sell its bonds to the trust fund it would have to raise the money in some other way—either by selling bonds to individuals, banks, insurance companies, and so forth, or Congress would have to raise additional taxes to find the money which it had instructed the executive department to spend.

Bonds sold to the trust fund are as much a part of the national debt as are any other obligations of the government. It is true, of course, that when these bonds mature all taxpayers will have to contribute to paying them off. But the fact that these sums were invested in the trust fund does not add a nickel to the amount which the taxpayers will have had to pay anyway in redeeming these bonds when due. So I cannot see how it can be claimed that those contributing to Social Security are in any extent paying for their insurance perpetually over.

It seems to me that the test as to whether this is or is not an honest trust fund is the question whether when this money is needed by the Social Security system, it can call upon the trust fund if it has the money without in any way increasing the government debt. It can.

Certainly if you or I put some money aside as a reserve for some contingency and when this contingency arises we are able to spend this money without increasing our debts, we would have had a real reserve. This is the case with the trust fund.

PAY-AS-YOU-GO

Another suggestion repeated often by many businessmen is that the system should be put on pay-as-you-go basis. Now pay-as-you-go is an attractive slogan. It is certainly justified in budgets—both governmental and private—but when you apply this philosophy to our Social Security system it means that this generation should only pay the benefits due to the comparatively few who are now entitled to Social Security benefits and that we should let future generations worry about how to pay for all the promises which we are making as to how much we will pay to the workers who retire in the future and their survivors.

Such a program would mean even lower Social Security taxes than are now in effect for the present generation, but much heavier—very much heavier—taxes on future generations.

This matter was fought out a year ago when the automatic increase from 1½ to 2 per cent under the law took place. It is an interesting fact that representatives of our labor organizations, the AF of L and the CIO, those whose members were most affected, were in favor of the increased tax; and that those against it were representatives of industry.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States at first favored freezing the tax at 1½ per cent, but then modified their program by recommending that there would always be a reserve fund amounting to 20 per cent of payroll. Under the present payroll of workers in the United States this would require a trust fund of thirty-four billion dollars, considerably larger than the present fund. Thus one of the chief advocates of so-called pay-as-you-go seems to be weakening.

ACTUARIAL SOUNDNESS NECESSARY

It must be noted that the building up of the trust fund by taxes on the present generation will lower the tax burden on future generations, for it is estimated that when the system matures approximately 20 per cent of the benefits will be paid out of amounts received as interest on the trust fund's holdings.

We are today making promises as to how much to pay those who retire in

the distant future. To make no provision to raise the money to pay our promises, to say to our children and grandchildren, "We made the promises, it is up to you to fulfill them," seems to me to be cowardly.

It is of utmost importance that the system be maintained as actuarially sound as is possible. Every year we have innumerable requests for changes in the system and for more benefits. Many of these requests seem reasonable. They certainly have political appeal.

If we could not reply to those advocating these changes that to make them would impair the soundness of the system, many increased benefits would be difficult to resist, and the enactment of these proposals would place an intolerable burden on future generations—even endanger the solvency of our federal treasury.

Another suggestion made by some businessmen a couple of years ago was that all over the age of 65, whether they had contributed to the Social Security system or not, be paid a minimum sum. It was planned that this sum be paid from the trust fund, that fund which is made up of current and past contributions made by employees and employers for the employees' protection, and not from the general revenue. This, of course, would have the appeal that the payment would not have to be included in the budget.

I found it especially difficult to justify diverting this money which was paid in for the protection of these workers and their dependents to other purposes. We would be breaking faith with the employees and self-employed persons of this country who had paid Social Security taxes if we were to use part of their contributions to pay benefits to persons who had not contributed a single cent to the system.

TEN MILLION MORE WORKERS INCLUDED

Now let us look at the present situation. Last year, as you know, on the recommendation of President Eisenhower, the most sweeping and broadening improvements in the OASI system since its inception were enacted into law. Ten million more workers were included in the system. Increased benefits were provided for all present and future retired workers and their dependents.

The situation of those who through illness or unemployment or other misfortune had years when they had low earnings or none was alleviated by allowing a worker to drop as many as five years of low or no earnings when his wage record was calculated for bene-

fit purposes.

The rights of totally disabled workers to benefits earned while they were well were protected. The retirement test was modified. In brief, the amendments passed last year put the system in pretty good shape, though there are still inevitably some minor inequities which should be corrected over the years.

However, these improvements seemed to make the Democrats unhappy. Credit for them belonged rightfully to the Republican administration and the Republican Congress. So last June in a conference held by Speaker Rayburn and the Democratic majority of the Ways and Means Committee, they decided to do something.

A sudden announcement was made that the Democratic Congress would pass three important changes in the system:

1. Immediate payment of the same monthly benefits that they would receive if they were 65 to all those who became permanently and totally disabled;
2. Lowering of the retirement age of all women to 62;
3. Continuation of monthly benefits for children who become permanently and totally disabled before age 18.

LACK OF CONSIDERATION EVIDENT

They announced that there would be no public hearings, but that they expected to report out the bill after three days of executive sessions of the Ways and Means Committee. The lack of consideration which they had given these proposals was evident by the fact that at a later date they were shocked to hear from the actuaries of the system that the plan as announced would cost the trust fund at least three billion dollars annually over the years.

Republican members of the Committee protested this unseemly haste, and demanded public hearings. When this was turned down by a strict party vote, I made a motion that insurance actuaries be called before the Committee to give their judgment as to the cost of the disability program, a matter with which insurance companies had some unfortunate experiences.

When this was again defeated by a party vote, I then moved that representatives of doctors' organizations be called before the Committee to explain how they could determine what is permanent and total disability. This again was turned down by a unanimous vote of the Democrat members.

The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in a letter to Chairman Cooper of the Committee, also protested the closed hear-

ings and the hasty consideration that was planned.

When the Committee met, even though the Democrats were in full control, they were not able to carry out their plan for reporting the bill in three days. They seemed somewhat uncertain as to the wisdom of some of the proposals announced; in fact, they made suggestions for modifications, voted them into the bill, and then later back-tracked and voted them out. In their public statement they had made no mention of taxes to pay the additional cost, but they accepted a motion to increase the tax by 1 per cent next year. They also accepted a Republican motion to extend coverage to certain self-employed professional groups, such as lawyers and dentists. But after over six days of executive sessions, the bill was reported to the House and it passed overwhelmingly. Few in the House dared vote against anything which would increase Social Security benefits for so many voters!

The bill went over to the Senate. There Senator Byrd, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, announced that he would not consider it without careful study and hearings. The Senate is planning to hold these hearings next January [this month].

BILL COULD WRECK OASI SYSTEM

Now many of the objectives of this bill are worthy. We all know of many individuals whose cases are appealing who will benefit by its provisions. But no individual can afford to insure himself against all the hazards of human existence, nor can the federal government do so either by taxing him for this protection.

Under the bill passed by the House, the tax rate twenty years from now will rise to 4½ per cent on employer and 4½ per cent on employee. Under the bill, the Social Security tax rate on self-employed will then be 6¾ per cent, or \$283.50 for the individual who is earning \$4200 a year. This will be more than he will pay in federal income tax under present law, if he is the average citizen with a wife and two children.

The bill troubles me greatly. It seems that we have casually passed legislation which may in future wreck the whole contributory OASI system. The tax rate I mentioned is so high that passage of these increased benefits may well prevent any other improvements in the system in future.

Are these three items the most essential changes which should be made? Extending the survivorship payments to disabled children over eighteen has

much in its favor and is comparatively inexpensive. However, two items in the bill are very costly. The most expensive proposal as the bill is written is that which reduces the retirement age for women to 62. Is this the most important change that should be made in the system? Should this have priority over everything else? Reducing the age at which widows receive benefits — Those whose husbands died after their wives had reached a mature age, cannot get a job at 60. And to reduce the age when they will receive benefits would be an improvement I have advocated.

But with the growth of the life expectancy and the improvement in the health of our population, is it wise to discourage those women who wish to work at the age of 62? If this age is established for Social Security purposes, will the same pattern be adopted by the insurance industry? You will remember that President Eisenhower just last week announced business to employ more older citizens.

The other expensive proposition in the proposal to grant Social Security benefits to those who become totally disabled. The original estimate of the cost of this proposal by the actuaries of the Social Security system was cut in half to about a billion dollars a year by the action of the Committee in modifying the originally announced Democratic proposal which was to pay benefits to all permanently and totally disabled persons, limiting it to those who were 50 or older.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

But this proposition, if advisedly adopted, one we should enter into only after very serious consideration. It is a completely new field. The money contributed by employer and employee was put in the trust fund to pay benefits for retirement, or to survivors upon death. Insurance companies have had some experiences in attempting this type of insurance. It is the opinion of many of their actuaries that the estimate made by the Social Security Administration as to the cost of this plan is far too low.

The Administration, and I believe I concur in their program, has been stressing rehabilitation. Nearly every individual, whatever his handicap, should be able to contribute to the national welfare. If a man is to receive a substantial cash payment when he becomes disabled, is not this going to interfere with his incentive for rehabilitation? Determination of who is disabled is one which doctors fear to administer most difficult.

determination as to who should receive Social Security benefits would thus have a smaller burden of state relief payments to their permanently disabled. Thus heavy pressure would be on them to declare their citizens eligible for Social Security benefits, relieve the burden on the state treasury, and place the burden on Uncle Sam.

From this short discussion of the bill now before the Senate, you can see that it has many grave social and economic implications.

I regret to say that I feel my Committee, the Ways and Means Committee, abdicated its responsibility by refusing to have public hearings and by its hasty consideration of the legislation.

Duffy Hancock of Kentucky, Chairman of the Medical Advisory Committee, Social Security Administration, strongly opposed adding this provision to the law.

Under the proposed bill this determination would ultimately be made by various state authorities. Of course, those states which are liberal in their

Economic Aspects of Social Security

By PAUL L. POIROT*

MUCH of the popularity of the Social Security program, as it has been operating in the United States, rests upon the false premise that Social Security is a form of old-age insurance with death benefits for survivors—just like annuities or life insurance policies sold by private insurance companies. Many employees who pay Social Security taxes apparently believe that they are putting away a savings fund and that any promised retirement benefits will simply be a part of their own savings coming back to them. They seem to believe that the promise of a pension under the Social Security program is quite as secure and has as much value as the prospect of future income from personally owned and controlled private property. And the experience of some of the early beneficiaries of the Social Security program leaves the impression that here is a far less costly thing than private insurance coverage—most like something for nothing.

Thus, if he had earned the maximum taxable income in each of the seventeen years, he might have paid a total of \$564 in Social Security taxes. His employer would have matched that amount, bringing their combined total to \$1128.

If that person had retired on January 1, 1954, having reached the age of 65, and if his wife had also passed her 65th birthday, they would be eligible for retirement benefits of \$127.50 a month. Thus, within nine months, that man and his wife would receive more in Social Security benefits than both he and his employer could possibly have paid as Social Security taxes for his account over the seventeen years since the program was initiated. But the life expectancy at age 65 is more than nine months—more than nine years, in fact. By what twist of logic or of morality does any person expect to get from ten to fifteen or even more times the benefits for which he has paid? At whose expense, and why?

line tax, income tax, property tax, sales tax, luxury tax, poll tax, or any other kind of tax. The payment of Social Security taxes cannot endow the payers of that tax with special rights and privileges without denying the rights of other citizens to their income and property.

POLITICALLY DEPENDENT

Unlike private insurance, the protection afforded by the Social Security program rests upon the willingness and ability of government officials to authorize future appropriations from future tax revenue. The so-called Social Security fund has not been invested in productive property. In place of the money which was collected to go into the fund, there are receipts saying in effect that the government used that money to meet current operating expenses of one kind or another. The government bonds which are said to constitute a Social Security fund can only be redeemed in valuable goods or services as any other government bonds are redeemed—by future levies against the private property and productive efforts of individuals. Who can say now what the real value of a government bond will be to the next generation of taxpayers who may be asked to redeem it in goods and services?

The foregoing figures are based on the maximum taxes any one could have paid through the first seventeen years of the program. Many of the three million persons already receiving Social Security old-age benefits established their legal eligibility with far less than the maximum tax payments of \$1128. Is it any wonder that some persons look upon Social Security as a great insurance bargain?

The truth, however, is that Social Security is not insurance at all in the economic sense of the word. The value of private old-age or life insurance protection stems from the insured person's ownership equity in productive property. But the payment of one's Social Security tax entitles him to no more ownership equity in property than does the payment of a liquor tax, tobacco tax, gaso-

A bond is a form of indebtedness or a liability on the part of the person who issues it. It is deemed to be the asset of the person who holds it for redemption. The distinction between an asset and a liability is important. The government bonds held in the Social Security fund may look exactly like the government bonds held by individuals or by private insurance companies. The difference between such holdings has to do with the

TAXES PAID AND BENEFITS RECEIVED

Some persons, having paid Social Security taxes since they were first levied in 1937, therefore feel that they have earned the right to any benefits allowed under the program.

The maximum tax any person could have paid was \$30 a year—1 per cent of the first \$3000 of his yearly wages—for each of the fourteen years from 1937 through 1950. In 1951 he might have paid 1 per cent of \$3600, and in 1952 and 1953, 1½ per cent of \$3600.

*This article is excerpted from the booklet *Social Security*, published by THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC., Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. Dr. Paul L. Poirot, author of *The Pension Idea, Property Rights and Human Rights, Bargaining, Public Housing*, and other articles, is a Foundation staff member.

SOCIAL SECURITY (Continued)

question of who owes what to whom.

If a private insurance company holds a government bond, that is an asset. It would be absurd for the company to issue and hold bonds of its own, claiming them as an asset, for they would also be a liability. The solvency of the Social Security fund is not affected, one way or the other, by its holding of bonds as evidence that the government is indebted to itself.

A governmental promise is a promise, whether backed by a bond, or by a Social Security account, or by a whole pyramid of promises, one upon another. To cancel or destroy the bonds held in the Social Security fund would not change anyone's equity in anything. The promise of a Social Security pension has value only because the government holds the power of taxation—not because it issues bonds or makes promises. The validity of Social Security claims against future taxpayers would not be changed if there were a thousand times as many bonds in the Social Security fund as at present—or if there were no bonds in the fund at all.

THE INFLATION TAX

Inasmuch as the redemption values of all government bonds, Social Security benefits, and other governmental promises of future delivery are contingent upon the future collection of taxes, it must be seen that each added bond or promise tends to weaken the financial position of the government. There is a limit to the tax burden which future generations will be willing and able to bear.

Actually the mushrooming of governmental promises of future delivery is a form of current taxation—a method of dipping into private savings, which is commonly known as inflation. When the government sells one of its bonds, or collects the Social Security tax, it obtains a given amount of real purchasing power from individuals. The dollars with which the government eventually redeems its promises lose purchasing power in proportion to the volume of such outstanding promises. Meanwhile, all other promises which are payable in dollars, including the dollar obligations contracted by individuals, also lose their purchasing power. This encourages private spending and discourages saving and private capital formation. Inflation is a subtle and destructive method of taxation. And the Social Security program is a part of that destruction of private enterprise in America.

The Social Security tax was initiated in 1937 at the comparatively low level of 2 per cent of an employee's wages,

the employer and the employee each to bear half of the amount. By January 1, 1954, the total tax had risen to 4 per cent, which is still low in contrast with some of the prevailing corporate and personal income tax rates. It may be recalled, however, that the early advocates of income taxes also scoffed at the idea that such taxes could ever amount to as much as 10 per cent of a person's income. The ironic truth is that federal income tax rates have "progressed" upward to take as much as 92 per cent of personal income in some instances.

ULTIMATE COSTS

A further truth is that a tax of 4 per cent of current payrolls barely begins to cover the potential claims which are accumulating under the Social Security program. Present plans call for successive future increases until the Social Security tax rate reaches an ultimate of 6.5 per cent by 1970. It is likely that by 1970 there will be at least one person over 65 years of age for every five of those younger persons who are supposed to be productively employed. Is 6.5 per cent of the wages of five persons—a total of 32.5 per cent of an average wage—going to be enough to keep one person comfortably in retirement? Or is this simply another of the wondrous examples of the higher mathematics of socialism?

Amateurs who cannot follow all of the political turns in the 6.5 per cent path to security may find comfort in the knowledge that some of the professionals haven't solved the magic formula either.

For instance, the compulsory Social Security program which Frenchmen have been trying to perfect for a good many years calls for a tax amounting to 16 per cent of payrolls. No doubt they also had hoped at one time that the tax need be no higher than 6.5 per cent.

The Social Security features of the United States railroad retirement system were initiated in 1937 with a payroll tax of 5.5 per cent, but by 1952 that rate had climbed to 12.5 per cent.

The anthracite fund pensions had to be cut from \$100 to \$50 a month, even though the tax-like contributions to the fund were said to be equivalent to more than 15 per cent of the wage bill of the industry.

Such experiences tend to arouse suspicion of either the motives or the basic intelligence of those who promise that by 1970 retirement security can be achieved at a cost of no more than 6.5 per cent of payrolls. If it cannot be achieved by small groups within a na-

tion, and if it cannot be accomplished by other nations, then why should anyone believe that it can be done on a nationwide basis in the United States—in 1970 or at any other time?

COMPULSORY SECURITY

Its proponents "hope eventually have all people who work for a living covered by Social Security." This is for a national program compelling individuals to do what they could not do otherwise. There is a certain plausibility in the rationale that persons most likely to be dependent in their old age should be obliged to help foot the bill during the productive years of their lives. Such reasoning, of course, presumes it to be the responsibility of the government to relieve the consequences of poverty. From such plausibilities, individuals are drawing the conclusion that they have a right to retire at age 65, without further personal responsibilities for earning a living. When one attempts to follow through the various ramifications of those notions, he is bound eventually to question the original premise: Is it right that the alleviation of poverty be considered a social rather than a personal responsibility? If this is accepted as a general principle, then how do we as a society stop itself short of complete socialization?

Compulsory Social Security forces every person to invest a portion of his earnings in a "business" which already has a debt of more than a quarter of a billion dollars and which seems determined to operate at a deficit—the United States government. Little wonder that participation is compulsory!

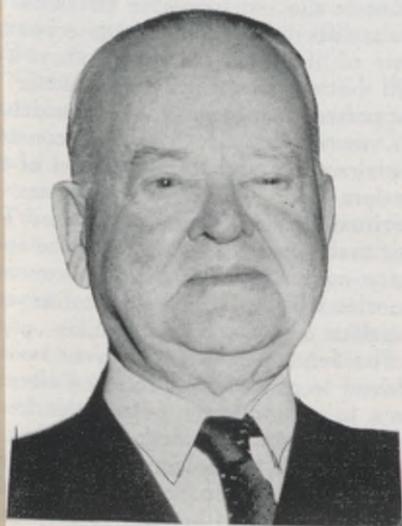
SECURITY IS AN ATTITUDE

A feeling of personal security depends upon something more than the guarantee of a handout in time of need. Security is an attitude not necessarily satisfied by an "equal share" or even an abundance of material goods and services. To be truly secure is to be without cause for anxiety, and that sense of security stems from the mind of an individual who knows that he has done his very best with what was provided for his own. Such security is fed by respect for the rights of others to life and property, a respect upon which is based one's own claim to those rights.

Though older persons may not do well in the armed forces, or in dangerous plants, or in the various other activities incidental to the support of big government, that need not preclude their

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Reorganizing the Government as



Sees It

By
HERBERT HOOVER

The article below is reprinted, by permission, from the November *Democratic Digest*, which had this statement to make regarding it: "The September issue of the *Digest* contained a critical article on the operations of the second Hoover Commission. When Mr. Hoover questioned the conclusions of the *Digest* analysis, he was invited to sum up his own views on the workings of the Commission. He accepted the offer, and the *Digest* is pleased to publish his personal views."

THE Second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government was created by unanimous action of the Congress in 1953. Its members were appointed by the Speaker for the House, by the Vice President for the Senate, and by the President for the Administration. They included members of both political parties.

It was the expressed determination of the Commission from the first day of its existence that "party politics" should not enter into its conclusions. The Commission never divided on political grounds. I never even heard mentioned a reference to political party effect of any conclusion. A precedent for that had been set by the First Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government of 1947-49, over which I also presided.

Every member of this Second Commission had long public experience. There were naturally divided opinions on the best methods of accomplishing our purpose. But every recommendation was voted by a majority — and usually by more — of the members of the Commission. And all of them were voted for by members of both political parties.

No inquiry into party affiliations of task force members was ever made; however, they did embrace members of both parties. There was a Republican complaint that there were three former Democratic cabinet members and six former assistant secretaries on the task forces. The fact was that the Republicans had been out of office for twenty years and had no reserve of such officials. There were a number of federal and state Supreme Court judges among the task force members — and the number was about even between the two parties. On the Task Force on Federal Medical Services, which dealt with questions concerning veterans, there were 80 per cent veterans, and I presume from their geographic spread it contained members of both parties. However, all task force members were selected for their experience and ability. Something over 100 of them had been in federal service at one time or another, mostly in Democratic administrations.

Out of the 314 recommendations designed to obtain greater efficiency and economy in the executive branch, there were some 16 per cent of them that were bound to provide controversy, especially from pressure groups, and 84 per cent that are winning general acceptance. Of the total recommendations some 145 were "administrative" — that is, they can be put into effect by the departments without legislation. More than 50 have already been adopted, and under President Eisenhower's direction special machinery has been set up in the Bureau of the Budget and the Department of Defense to effectuate more of them. A single one of the administrative recommendations already adopted is saving the taxpayers the total cost of the Commission at the rate of five times every year.

Some 141 of the recommendations require legislation. Already more than 200 bills have been introduced into the Congress for this purpose. They came too late at the busy end of the last session for action although an important one passed the Senate. It required five years to complete some 72 per cent of the recommendations which were adopted from the First Commission of 1947-49.

There was criticism from pressure groups at that time — just as there is now. Much of the criticism is based upon lack of knowledge by the critics of the workings of the government, and too often it arises from misunderstanding or misconstruction of the recommendations themselves, and of course criticism comes from special interests affected.

For instance, I have seen it stated that the Commission would deprive the farmers of their loans from the government on their commodities pending their sale. No such recommendation was made. The Intermediate Credit Banks were supported by the Commission. Nowhere were the obligations of the Commodity Credit Corporation to support such loans opposed. A method of simplification and economy was recommended which was approved by officials of that corporation.

Another instance is the hospitalization of destitute veterans with non-serv-

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Christianity and the Economic Crisis



CARL F. H. HENRY

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THE WHOLE REALM of economic life and activity has undergone staggering changes in modern times, until it has pulsated with explosive tensions. That the world is plagued by economic crisis is admitted today on all sides. But if we ask this generation what constitutes the crisis in the economic world, the answers are many, and they are not equally profound. Many a pious business man wonders only how best to reconcile self-interest and profits with the law of formal honesty under modern competitive conditions. Those who see larger issues debate the pro's and con's of private monopolies or semi-monopolies, of the present distribution of materials and wealth, the question of private property or the profit motive, the present predicament of management and labor, or the issue of government in business.

However important these concerns are, they are nevertheless only secondary phases of the crisis. . . . The real crisis in the realm of business and labor is the fact that the economic framework, taken alone and in isolation, is so widely regarded today as the ultimate area of decision for the recovery of man and the world. The disengagement of economic problems from the spiritual realm, the determination to find economic solutions while the religious problem is ignored or held in suspense, constitutes the prime crisis. . . .

All schemes of economic recovery which isolate economic thought and be-

havior from the spiritual and moral world cannot secure human well-being, because economic activity which is not in the service of God gravitates to the service of the demonic. It makes no ultimate difference what economic scheme of recovery men put forward, nor what the practical differences may be for a generation or two—if it proposes only economic changes to remedy the economic disorders of our day, it perpetuates the worst of all disorders, the modern detachment of economic problems from the eternal spiritual and moral world. . . .

ANALYSIS REQUIRED

It is more than a matter of poor judgment to discuss the conflict between communism and capitalism solely on the economic level. It gives comfort to the Communist dogma that the primary decisions of human life are economic. It was Marx who referred the tides of life to economic determinism. . . .

What communism says about God, man, and the world is the fundamentum from which its economic theory is forged. Only because communism rejects supernatural providence can it champion economic determinism. Only because it denies the reality of God can it repose absolute property rights in the state. . . .

The primary decision which communism demands even in the economic zone does not have to do with private property nor the profit motive, but rather is whether the inflexible law which controls human destiny is economic or spiritual, mechanical or moral, impersonal or personal. Choose one alternative, and you must rewrite Communist economics; choose the other, and you must get ready to apply the naturalistic view to every area of life—not only to economics, but to sex and marriage, to the state and culture, and to the whole range of space-time realities.

The only effective way to handle the

dogma that religion is the working opiate is to show that Christian doctrine alone is the indispensable guarantee of the well-being of man, in the economic zone of life as well as every other. There will be no trustworthy interpretation of the present economic crisis if you do not weigh the merits or demerits of economic theories on the silent assumption of their irrelevance or marginal relevance to the spiritual and moral ultimates. The primary spiritual-moral dimension is the primary one, and by it all the economic theories will be judged—capitalism, socialism and communism alike. . . .

The fundamental question to be addressed to any of the professed alternatives to communism, before the differences are evaluated, is whether the approach to the economic dilemma there is a genuine recognition of the objective reality of justice and the law, and of the priority of spiritual claims upon life. The basic question is not that of human dignity and individual rights, but the reality of characterive moral norms and the will of God. A theory which gives an ambiguous interpretation at this point has a right to be rejected in advance the favor of Christianity. . . .

CHRISTIANITY AND THE COMMUNIST OPTION

Communism champions a scheme of economic solutions built on the rejection of a supernatural God and divine commandments, and upon the rejection of man's dignity as a spiritual creature with ultimate moral obligations. Christianity therefore repudiates such an economic vision. . . . Whoever understands that communism intends every calculated collision with the objective morality and truth will not look for "elements of communism's economics compatible with Christianity." The question of "what values communism aims to preserve" is an inadequate one for anybody who grasps

Soviet philosophy that no eternal values are to be tolerated.

The primary complaint is not that communism destroys private property and free enterprise and the profit motive. The Christian will have to confess that, even in a collective order, whatever its dangers, its undesirabilities, its unpredictabilities, he may still be able to maintain an existence as a believer. But the disruption of the sacred, the rejection of the lordship of Christ, the denial that the economic sphere involves an obligation to moral and spiritual ultimates—that is the rock-bottom objection to communism. This enthronement of the economic zone as the decisive value-level of human existence serves as the mold for paganism in its Communist form. . . .

SPIRITUAL FAITH INDISPENSABLE

Christianity has its objections not only to such a naturalistic basis for economic, but to the particular developments which rest on that naturalistic base.

Christianity will not recognize a mere rearrangement of property holdings as you the guarantee of economic justice. To curtail economic disorder and to achieve economic order it knows a way superior to the mere obliteration of property distinctions. Property distribution will leave the problem of sin in the economic world, and even in a collectivistic order men will need God, as rich and poor alike have found spiritual faith indispensable in the pre-Communist world.

Christianity will not recognize a millennial utopia as a potentiality latent in sinful human nature, and it knows a better means of securing social regeneration than by a regard for the movements of history as a mere reflex of economic determinism and by a reliance on violence and revolution.

The idea that social utopia may be derived simply through the redistribution of wealth is naive from the Biblical viewpoint. It disregards the spiritual predicament of man which requires more than a mere rearrangement of external factors for its solution. Man's

basic problem is one of internal defilement by sin, not merely one of external possessions. Man is a sinner, and the problem of a collectivistic order will remain one involving collectivistic sinners instead of capitalistic sinners.

Just as communism ignores the tragic and sinful side of human life, so it ignores man's created dignity and assigns him an inferior status. Since it excludes God and the supernatural, from whom the writers of the Bible derive the concepts of man's dignity, freedom and rights, communism suspends all of man's economic dignity and rights upon the tolerance of the state.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are not the only centuries in which

economic criticism has been appropriate and necessary. One can find an abundance of such criticism in the Bible, whether one turns to Moses or Isaiah and the great prophets, or to Jesus and James in the New Testament. The only reason many of these Biblical passages have a Socialist ring in our day is that the collectivists so long held a monopoly in the field of economic criticism. Yet modern criticism was shallow, alongside that of the Scriptures. The Biblical critique of the economic order proceeds from the standpoint of the living God and His holy commandments. The concern for economic justice did not have its birth in the Communist party, and if it is to be effective it cannot be separated from the larger problem of the reality of objective justice and supernatural values. Neither Marx, Lenin, nor Stalin wrote passages of greater moral indignation and concern for economic justice than the Biblical writers, who set the pursuit of righteousness in the world of labor in ultimate dimensions. . . .

The depersonalization of man, the deterioration of human dignity, and the curtailment of human rights is to be lamented and resisted wherever it occurs, but no confident basis exists for a rectification of such tendencies in a relativistic and materialistic society. Those who look for a half-way house between communism and capitalism do not know that which they ask.

The depersonalization of the modern laborer is not to be attributed exclusively to assembly-line production. Even if it were, collectivistic economics have no basis for self-glory. Heavy industry in a technical age, which the Soviet sphere more and more prizes, has its assembly-line production also. And it adds to this grievance the terror of the slave labor camps and of brutal state compulsion over the masses. In fact every collectivistic system, since it exalts the system, and subordinates all else to the larger social whole, is built on the devaluation of the individual person.

HUMAN WORTH NOT DEPENDENT ON CAPITALISM

Free enterprise does not set out with this liability. But, if it allows more scope for the worth and dignity of man, it does not guarantee it, and may even jeopardize it.

The worth and dignity of human personality is not something which may be adequately distilled from every expression of capitalism. Human worth rests upon the prior foundation of man's spiritual dignity, hence on the fact of his unique creation in the image of God and of his possibility of redemption from sin. The depersonalization of the economic man, while it does not follow necessarily in a capitalistic order, inevitably results in any order which loses its hold on the great spiritual verities.

Only the familiarity of the Christian West with the tri-personal God accounts for the fact that the personality of man has emerged as a central consideration. The loss of fellowship with the Creator-Redeemer of the Hebrew-Christian revelation will mean the loss of the Hebrew-Christian evaluation of man. Any economic outlook, neglectful of this spiritual heritage, capitalism included, will discount the personal worth and spiritual dignity of man.

CHRISTIANITY, NOT CAPITALISM, IS GUARDIAN

Free enterprise is often championed today as the guardian of the value of the individual and of human rights, or those features which collectivism imperils. But Christian social ethics knows full well that the dignity and value of the human person does not exist in a spiritual and moral vacuum. To defend the dignity and worth and liberty of the economic man in abstraction from the whole anthropological and spiritual question is a well-nigh impossible task. Christian revelation pictures the whole man standing at every level, economic as well as every other, in responsibility to God and his fellow-man. It comprehends man as a creature balanced at once between economic duties and economic privileges.

Only this spiritual and moral orientation of human dignity and rights can guard the economic life from gravitating either to proud arrogance or to irresponsible privilege. The doctrine of man's dignity and liberty is as capable of a demonic form—which would remove man from a responsibility under God—as is the denial of that doctrine. It is not capitalism, therefore, which is the guardian of Christianity, but Christianity which alone can safeguard free enterprise from perversion.

This emphasis on man's duties or obligations underlies the Christian discussion of economic theory as a whole. It bears not only the Christian defense of human worth and dignity and rights, over against the collectivistic threat, but equally on the way in which Christianity vindicates private property and the profit motive. No Capitalist can invoke the support of Hebrew-Christian religion for these cherished privileges without at the same time placing himself under indebtedness to a concept of man as a creature with changeless moral obligations, economic as well as others, to God and his fellow-men alike.

Consider the question of private property. Assuredly it is implied by the Mosaic Law, presupposed and defended in the Old Testament, not repudiated but rather assumed by Jesus Christ. Nowhere in the New Testament is there a hint that property distinctions are sinful, and that a Christian believer is one

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Behind the Soviet Peace Offensive

"The current confusion in the world situation can be clarified only by an honest appraisal of the fundamental issues. This is not an easy nor a pleasant task. But it must be done—or the free world is likely to sell its birthright for 'a mess of pottage.'

"The West is weary, ready to buy the delusion of present peace at the price of the future. One-third of the world has already been enslaved by this ruse. It can happen here." So says V. N. Rudin, Co-Director of the Political Research Project.*

Following is a portion of Mr. Rudin's report on global strategy. This report is based on information gained in recent months from exclusive interviews, informed observers on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and persons active in countering the intensified communistic underground warfare, with the desire that it will help to reveal the Communist pattern now operating on a world-wide scale.

THE basic pattern of Communist strategy—introduced by Marx, blueprinted by Lenin, implemented by Stalin—remains the same, whether the target is a club, a labor union, a political party, a nation, or the world. It can be summed up in three words:

NEUTRALIZE—INFILTRATE—ENGULF.

The "new atmosphere of cordiality" shrewdly developed by the Kremlin in recent months can be understood only in terms of that strategy. It is merely a new *tactic*, used repeatedly in the past. Now as then, the Communist *strategy* is unchanged. Threatened on two fronts—by its enslaved subjects and by the free world—the Soviet regime is trying desperately to "neutralize" the increasingly effective *political counter-offensive of the West*, in order to concentrate on the growing internal opposition.

The most serious threat to world communism today is the rising resistance of the Russian and other enslaved peoples. By dramatizing friendly relations with American and other Western statesmen, the Kremlin is in effect telling its oppressed peoples: "Abandon all hope of support from the free world in your struggle for self-liberation. Their

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talk of friendship for you is just hypocrisy—they are friends, always ready to forget and betray you."

One may negotiate with hangmen *on behalf* of the victims but not *at the expense* of the victims. When free men are bread with executioners and pat them on the back, they sacrifice the confidence and violate the faith of the oppressed.

Western statesmen who do this are deceived, as much by wishful thinking as by Communist tactics. Despite the superior strength of the free world, despite the fact that hundreds of millions of people within the Soviet empire are actually or potentially its allies, *the West is surrendering its moral position in return for an illusion*—the illusion that the Kremlin dictators have changed their spots.

By clever use of Western publicity methods, Soviet *gandists are spreading this illusion as "news"* through the free world. Communist promotion of the bogus "cordiality" is succeeding, at least temporarily, in demoralizing anti-Communist public opinion in the non-Soviet world. By these devices, the Communists are gaining time to consolidate and deploy their forces in Europe and Asia, and the Americas, while weakening the morale of their eternal enemies.

It is therefore necessary to evaluate every Communist move in the light of Communist global strategy. They operate on 3 levels: diplomatic, propaganda, underground. All three are interrelated and directed toward the same ultimate goal—world dominion.

The simile of the iceberg applies. Only the tip, the diplomatic level, shows completely on the surface. The free world is beginning to discern the outlines of the next level—the propaganda level. So far, the propaganda level is beginning to show. But the great bulk of the iceberg, which can wreck our world, is far below the surface. This is the *thematic underground warfare* being conducted, relentlessly, by Communists in all countries.

Because "cold war fatigue" has begun in the West, the free world tends to accept the beguiling surface appearance and to ignore its attempts to penetrate deeper. Lenin counted on this tendency in plotting his original blueprint for world domination.

On August 6, 1955, for example, Western diplomats in Moscow were receiving the gold-bordered invitations to the Soviet Premier Bulganin's lavish affair at his country estate, the former estate of Russian Count Orloff. On that same day in West Berlin, two of Bulganin's MVD agents, Major Sylvester Marau, who had defected from the German Communist Police and fled to West Berlin, and another, Bulganin show "in the Geneva spirit" rated display graphs and hundreds of column-inches in the Western press, plus ample radio and TV coverage. But the kidnapping

Soviet agents of a man who sought freedom in the West was buried in a few inches on inside pages of a very few papers. Another recent Soviet kidnapping—that of the prominent anti-Communist German journalist, Kurt W. Ickes, on April 1, 1955, in West Berlin—received no notice outside of West Berlin.

(NOTE: On August 22, 1955, the Committee to Combat Soviet Kidnappings presented these two cases to the United Nations, with the result that short news stories have been carried in the press.)

THE OVER-ALL PATTERN

The global strategy of world communism today undeviatingly follows Lenin's blueprint. In brief: Attack where the enemy is weakest—which is now in the West. Retreat in order to advance later where the enemy is strongest—which is now in the West. Tactics must be adapted to changing conditions to advance the world Communist revolution. Wherever possible, victories must be gained by infiltration, subterfuge and deceit, reinforced by blackmail and coercion, rather than by open physical conflict.

The basic battle is for the mind of man. *The basic technique is a sort of psychological jujitsu, by which the victor is induced to use the force of his own thinking to defeat himself.* For example, this principle is currently being applied as follows:

The desire of all peoples to avoid a world war is being used by the Communists to promote their "peaceful coexistence" offensive.

The "friendly atmosphere" between Communist and Western leaders is advancing Communist cause by undermining the faith of the enslaved peoples in Western sincerity and decency; by debasing anti-Communist public opinion in the free world; and by gaining badly needed time respite for the Soviet rulers.

The wishful thinking of Western leaders that communism can be dealt with piecemeal on a nationality basis—i.e., Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Red China, North Vietnam, etc.—is being used to divert attention from the global strategy of world communism to focus it locally, exacting concessions and compromises.

In Asia, the ingrained hatred of colonialism and the dynamic forces of nationalism are being harnessed for further expansion of Red control.

The fear of certain countries to take action is being fostered by the Communists, who are thus enabled to operate safely within these "neutral" countries and finally engulf them.

The Communist owes allegiance to no country, no nationality, no God—only to world communism. All means are not permitted but required to liquidate

free institutions and advance the Communist goal of world domination. There is no essential difference between a Russian Communist, a Chinese Communist, an American Communist, etc. Lenin set the pattern some forty years ago when he said, "I spit on Russia and the Russian people." He chose his native country as the initial base of operations merely because it was "ripe" for Communist exploitation, as is Asia today. "The road to Paris," he wrote, "lies through Peking and Calcutta."

Lenin's basic precept that "peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries is impossible for any length of time" remains unaltered and unalterable. The coexistence theme is used only when expedient, as now, to lull the alarms of free countries and gain time to consolidate in preparation for the next advance.

BEHIND THE CURRENT SOVIET PEACE DRIVE

The West has failed to grasp the significant fundamental reasons for Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" campaign. Western military and economic resources act as strong deterrents to Communist aggression, but these are by no means the primary reasons for the growing panic in the Kremlin. *An increasingly explosive situation is developing within the Soviet Union, the chief causes of which are internal and psychological.* These include:

INSTABILITY AND WEAKNESS OF THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP

Although the West is vaguely aware of this condition, the inside situation is not fully understood.

A continuous struggle for power is going on. The totalitarian pyramid built up for 25 years by Stalin concentrated power in one man so firmly that when he died there remained only an unwieldy system based on terror, near the top of which sat a group of "yes-men" trained in deceit and betrayal. For self-preservation, Stalin's closest collaborators established a "collective leadership" (officially called Council of Ministers, but actually the Central Committee of the Communist party and its presidium). The immediate struggle for power began with the alliance of Khrushchev and Malenkov against Beria who constituted a threat because of his MVD (Soviet Secret Police) apparatus.

As soon as Beria was liquidated, Khrushchev, a veteran Communist organizer, started building his own power apparatus within the Communist party and the security system. He established the KGB (Committee for State Security), headed by the extremely able and ruthless General Ivan Serov. With a rank equivalent to that of Minister, Serov was made responsible to the "col-

lective leadership"—which actually meant that Serov was *responsible directly to Khrushchev*, who, as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party, controlled both the party and the government (i.e., the "collective leadership"). The MVD was thus made subordinate to the KGB. As a final step, Khrushchev succeeded in placing representatives of the KGB as ranking members of the local governments of the Soviet Republics—thus consolidating his control of the country through the party and the security system. After this, the elimination of Malenkov, in his dramatic abdication, was simple.

Khrushchev, however, does not have the experience, the authority, nor the power of Stalin. There is a long and treacherous road ahead for him or anyone who attempts to build up a strong personal dictatorship. The holding of any position today depends to a great extent on the other top members of the Communist party.

The "collective leadership" not only exists de facto, but has a tendency to enlarge itself continuously, as each member tries to bring his own supporters into the circle. At the second session of the Central Committee, July 4-12, 1955, for example, a hot argument developed among the "top brass," with the result that two new members were added to the presidium for no apparently logical reason. This session was also responsible for the inclusion of Khrushchev and Zhukov in the Soviet delegation to the Big Four "Summit" Conference in Geneva, where Khrushchev made it crudely obvious that he wanted to be considered "Number One."

SOVIET AGREEMENTS ARE TEMPORARY

In view of this continuing struggle for power, it becomes apparent that *no agreements nor negotiations with the present Soviet leadership*, even if it could be trusted, *could be either binding or permanent.*

The present leaders are playing for time. They fear the emergence of a single dictator, and they are equally afraid of the results of the "collective leadership's" weakening grip on the country.

Today Communist control is weaker in Russia than in any other section of the Communist world. The Soviet "collective leadership" continues to demonstrate that it cannot cope with the Soviet system. The situation in agriculture is disastrous. The state plan is failing in industry. Even the "terror machine" of the MVD has lost its former efficiency and authority.

The men in the Kremlin are floundering, because they are the *products of a system which they have neither the ability nor the training to manage.*

Lenin and Stalin were dynamic leaders, who had the vision and force to build a complete tyranny. In order to consolidate and keep control, Stalin eliminated from authority and influence all persons who showed any individual initiative or creative ability.

For example, at the 19th Communist Party Congress in 1952, a special "Ideological Commission" was created with Stalin as chairman, to prepare recommendations for long overdue revisions of the Communist party program, which had not been changed since 1919. It was announced that this would be the main item on the agenda for the 20th Congress, which is now scheduled for February 14, 1956. But the new Soviet leadership considered itself so incompetent to handle this important matter, that at the meeting of the Central Committee in July, 1955, it was decided to drop this item from the agenda to the next Congress, and continue to build a bureaucracy on the same program that has been followed for the last 36 years.

It is futile to hope that the Soviet regime will liquidate itself, or that any sort of democratic government could "develop" or "evolve" from the present leadership. *These men are so thoroughly indoctrinated with communism that they cannot change.* Nor do they have the ability to create new ideas. They can do nothing but try to solve their problems by applying the precepts of Lenin and Stalin, whose plan of world domination is the absolute law of the Communist world. But lacking the vision, skill, experience, and authority of their dynamic predecessors, *the present Soviet leaders are extremely vulnerable.*

These facts are realized by the men in the Kremlin and by the Russian people. But not by the West. Perhaps the most *dangerous fallacy in the Western attitude* toward the Soviet Union results from the reports of self-styled experts and even sincere observers, who fail to grasp the fact that no Russian inside the USSR will risk arrest by exposing his true sentiments against the regime to a foreigner.

RUSSIAN PEOPLE OPPOSE REGIME

There exists today a concealed but steadily mounting civil war between the people of Russia and the Communist regime. This explosive situation has developed as follows:

Stalin's death activated latent resistance. From the beginning of Communist rule, the massive Soviet terror machine was necessary to hold in check the basic opposition of the great mass of the Russian people to communism (200,000,000 people vs. 6,000,000 Communists today). Even under Stalin, this passive resistance frequently broke out into sporadic unorganized rebellions. When the death of Stalin removed the greatest symbol of terror, this resistance

began to come into the open. It gained momentum after the spectacular fall of Beria and the purge of the MVD.

The large scale revolts at *Vorkuta* and other major slave labor camps in *Siberia* in August, 1953, initiated the new trend toward *active organized resistance*, which has been steadily growing throughout the Soviet Union. The demands of the prisoners confirmed the fact that this resistance is based less on economic causes than on the *desire for individual freedom* and respect for personal dignity. This essential need of the human spirit has not been stifled by a generation of Communist indoctrination—instead, it has had a rebirth under Communist oppression.

RUSSIAN YOUTH SEEK DEMOCRACY

Communism is failing in Russia where it most hoped to succeed—with the new generation. Young people in the Soviet Union have learned by experience the contrast between Communist promises and performance. Young Russians today are turning away from communism, which they consider reactionary, and are seeking real democratic freedom. Evidence of this is found in *student organizations for liberation* (including the Universities of *Moscow* and *Kazan*), and in the fact that the majority of the 15,000,000 inmates of *slave labor camps* are between the ages of 19 and 25.

The young sailors from the Soviet tanker, *Tuapse*, captured by the Free Chinese in July, 1954, exemplify the attitude of Russian youth. After a year of pressure from the Soviet government, twenty of these—all young men—held firmly to their choice of freedom on Formosa. The majority of the twenty-eight who finally accepted repatriation did so only because of the reprisals against their families inside the USSR.

Resentment against the regime prevails throughout the Soviet armed forces. Seventy per cent of these are peasants, who are the most abused element in the Soviet Union, and form the unrelenting hard core of resistance to the Communist dictatorship.

Widespread resistance in the armed services became evident at the beginning of *World War II*, when more than 3,000,000 troops surrendered to the Germans, whom they then believed to be liberators. Subsequently some 800,000 *POW's* volunteered for the ill-fated "*Russian Army of Liberation*" under *General Andrei Vlasov*, whose plan of revolution was thwarted by both Hitler and the Western Allies.

The continuing resistance of the armed forces to the regime was dramatically demonstrated by the refusal of Soviet soldiers to fire on rioting Germans in the *June, 1953, East German Revolt*. It is constantly being confirmed by the testimony of men and officers who seek refuge in the West.

During recent years Soviet Army and Air Force capees have come over singly. Best to July 25, 1955, a group of seven, from the a sergeant, attempted to read tribu American Zone of *Austria* from bound viet Army Camp near Galneys. W Tracked down and ambushed by MVD troops, they fought desperately. Realizing the hopelessness of the tion, the sergeant killed himself, a West other six were captured. Wievir

The significance of this incident is lost on the West—but it was realized by the Soviet government. *Soviet Alarmed at the prospect of growing Western influences from Soviet occupation of Austria, the Kremlin immediately ordered a drastic step-up in scheduled withdrawal of troops.* This is of propagandized as a "generous gesture," confirming the new "peaceful and friendly intentions," but is actually a Soviet move to prevent prospective factors from having sufficient genuine complete preparations to "go West."

The contact of Soviet officers with the West in Germany and Austria has also influenced their friends within the Soviet Union. Since the end of World War II, hundreds of thousands of these troops have been rotated. These men bring first-hand reports that give the Soviet anti-Western propaganda a fuse of sports and other delegations. Many of them also serve as emissaries for the Russian Liberation Movement on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Underground within the Soviet Union certain emigre organizations operate openly as its outposts in the free world.

EAGERNESS FOR WESTERN

Through such channels as the *bonafide reports of the true attitude of the Russian people.* There is a resurgence of religious feeling throughout Russia. It permeates all classes of Russian youth included. There is a keenness for news of the free world, especially of fellow-Russians who live as emigres and who have experienced the workings of democracy. They seek moral support and practical aid for achieving self-liberation from Communist rulers.

The Russian is intensely loyal to his country. But he is convinced by experience that the Communist traitors of that country. He is ready to give the strength and support of his allegiance to the Russian Liberation Movement.

Such matters are discussed between trusted fellow-Russians. When approached by a foreigner, the Russian in the USSR will not repeat words of the official line as a precaution for self-preservation. But

rdly turns a skeptical ear and eye
ward Soviet propaganda. Many risk
ly. Best to listen to shortwave broadcasts
ven. from the free world, and to read and
reach. distribute liberation leaflets and under-
om. bound newspapers.

WESTERN SUCCESS IN THE COLD WAR

Western political warfare has been
ieving increasing success, especially
sidering the past two years, not only in
was. satellite countries, but also within
over. Soviet Union. *This is largely due to*
grow. *West's growing awareness of the cor-*
tion. *rect psychological approach to the en-*
mm. *meved peoples.* The free world is in the
ched. process of understanding the important
s is. e of postwar emigres in the cold
us gr. and realizing the power of the in-
ace. f. enous liberation movements.
actu. This is leading toward a situation
spect. *ich the Communists fear above all—*
ent. *genuine moral and technical alliance*
We. *ween the free world and the liberating*
oc. *ces behind the Iron Curtain.* For
erma. *mmunist success, such an alliance*
heir. *ist be prevented at all costs. There-*
viet. *is the primary objective of their*
ar. *peaceful coexistence" campaign is to*
troop. *up the Western political offensive. In-*
bring. *igent political warfare by the West,*
e. *pecially the United States, could be*
anda. *fuse which would set off indigenous*
ne. *erating forces. Only these forces can*
ation. *stroy communism in its own strong-*
the. *d—eliminating the possibility of an*
as. *omic war. . . .*

COMMUNIST ATTACK IN ASIA

n Asia, Communist strategy is bolder
d more virulent than anywhere else.
e emergence from centuries of colon-
ism, inevitably associated with the
ite man, has produced the dynamic
ce of nationalism, which communism
seized as its own.
The inconsistencies of the West, and
pecially its indecisiveness, have given
ditional impetus to communism in the
ot. *Here is the free world's weakest*
—*ideologically, militarily, economic-*
and *morally.* Western policies seem
elessly muddled. In India, the British
eign Office supports the neutralist
icy of Nehru, in order to retain Eng-
d's monopoly on Indian trade. Hong
ng, overcrowded with refugees from
mmunist terror on the mainland, re-
ns a free port chiefly because Red
na needs it for the Communist gov-
ment's "official" illicit opium trade.
United States, after forcing Chiang
-shek to the wall in Formosa, now
ports him, but at the same time nego-
es with Chou En-lai.
Communist Chou En-lai has restored
pe" to the East. Even the proud white
n is being forced to recognize his
er. This is his great appeal, and the
eal of communism, of which he has

become the major symbol. In Chou En-
lai's own words:

"Now Chou En-lai speaks in English
to the foreigners. But in fifty to a hun-
dred years, another Chou En-lai will
speak in Chinese to the foreign people,
because all foreign people will speak and
think in Chinese."

Here is the true disciple of Lenin,
enflaming his countrymen's nationalist
emotions to advance the cause of world
communism. There is nothing different
nor indigenous about Asiatic commu-
nism. It was manufactured in Moscow.

For the past twenty to thirty years,
the men in the Kremlin have been se-
lecting, training, and financing Asiatic
Communist leaders, of whom the most
outstanding today are Mao Tse-tung,
Chou En-lai, and Ho Chi Minh.

The Kremlin continues to finance
them heavily for psychological warfare
—but never gives them quite enough for
their industrial needs, in order to keep
them in line. Moscow is the brains and
the boss, the director of global strategy.

Communism in Asia follows the same
basic blueprint as elsewhere. Because
conditions are so ripe for exploitation,
it moves faster. In *Red China*, the base
of Asiatic operations, the political cli-
mate today is similar to that in the
Soviet Union in 1934-36. People of
thirty years and over are generally dis-
illusioned. But to the younger genera-
tion, communism is still the dynamic
force of the future. Already it has made
their country a power to be reckoned
with internationally—therefore all means
are worthy to achieve the glorious to-
morrow. These means follow the ruth-
less Communist pattern:

TERROR.

To young Chinese in their teens, the
exaggerated importance accorded them
usually overcomes any inner conflict.
The mayor of one Red Chinese city, for
example, is only twenty years old. But
not all young Chinese take to commu-
nism. From childhood the Chinese are so
deeply ingrained with tradition, family
loyalty and filial respect, that the wrench
from this ancient culture to the Com-
munist code of disrespect, deceit and be-
trayal is so great that some young people
are driven to suicide or insanity. These
are considered expendable by the Com-
munist leaders, who are reaching into
the earlier years to begin the hardening
process—forcing kindergartners to wit-
ness bloody executions, etc.

WAR AGAINST PEASANTRY

In addition to their frantic efforts to
win Chinese youth, the Communist party
is now engaged in a *relentless war*
against the peasantry. Terror tactics fol-
lowed the Communist process of insinu-
ating themselves into the life of the peo-
ple. Terror is now open and widespread
throughout the rural sections. The Red

Chinese use a simple method to solve
the land problem—they shoot all owners
of 25 or more acres. This land is osten-
sibly turned over to the peasants, who
soon learn, however, that it belongs to
the state. Collectivization—from the first
razing of individual plots into one large
communal acreage—outrages the Chi-
nese tradition of personally cherished
land. This brings protests that produce
swift reprisals. Such is often the case
in other violations of Chinese traditions.

In the cities, merchants and business
men are blackmailed of money and pos-
sessions, and then often killed. Anti-
Communist leaders are hunted relent-
lessly—murdered if necessary, publicly
executed whenever possible. Torture is
physical or psychological, or a combi-
nation, depending upon the victim and
the purpose. Army and internal security
forces are very large. . . .

ANTI-COMMUNIST RESISTANCE IN ASIA

The majority of neutral Asians tend
to consider communism the progressive
force. Anti-communism is associated
with the West, and therefore considered
reactionary. Only *recently* has *actual*
Asiatic experience with the totalitarian
methods of world communism begun to
strip away the mask of progressive na-
tionalism so cleverly assumed by the
Communists.

Interviews with *escapees and refugees*
from Communist-controlled countries re-
veal that, once the true nature of com-
munism is understood, *resistance* to it is
basic in the moral fibre of the Asian.
The hundreds of thousands of refugees
in South Vietnam, the thousands who
escape at great peril from Red China to
Hong Kong and Formosa, all bear this
out. From the educated former Red
Chinese diplomat to the illiterate, im-
poverished Vietnamese peasant, the
reason for resistance is stated simply:

"I am a human being—but under
communism, one cannot be a human
being."

This fact was first realized by the
Chinese, whose free government on *For-*
mosa is the rallying point for anti-Com-
munist resistance in Asia. Here the Chi-
nese Nationalist government is setting a
positive example, not only by intensified
political warfare against the Communist
mainland—but also by its energetic job
of "cleaning its own house." *Corruption*
in government is reported to be practi-
cally non-existent on Formosa. President
Chiang Kai-shek's enlightened land re-
forms have won the complete loyalty of
the peasants. This provides strong
propaganda material for the powerful
450,000-watt new *Radio Free China*,
which broadcasts 20 hours daily to the
mainland, and for liberation leaflets
dropped from airplanes over Red China.
It has also served to eliminate Commu-

(Continued on Page 41)

The Constitution of the United States of America

	<i>For Answer, See</i>
• What is the minimum age requirement for a Representative? How long must he have been a citizen of the United States?	Article I, Sec. 2
• Can the President's salary be raised during the term of office in which a salary increase may be granted?	Article II, Sec. 1
• Who shall declare the punishment for treason?	Article III, Sec. 3
• Can a person not eligible for the presidency qualify for Vice President?	Amendment XII
• Who shall determine the rules of proceedings for the House of Representatives? for the Senate?	Article I, Sec. 5
• How often are members of the House of Representatives chosen?	Article I, Sec. 2
• Does the Constitution provide for the establishment of post offices? of schools?	Article I, Sec. 8
• How may an amendment to the Constitution be repealed? How many amendments have been so repealed?	Amendment XXI
• Does the House require the approval of the Senate for a three-day adjournment? for a five-day adjournment?	Article I, Sec. 5
• May a Senator or Representative be questioned elsewhere about a speech made in either House?	Article I, Sec. 6

How do you rate on these questions? You are your government. In the belief that each American should be a student of freedom in order that he may accept no less than the genuine article, no weakened substitute, we here reprint this fundamental instrument of our free country, showing the changes which have been made, and the amendments which have been added. For this method of presentation of our Constitution, we are indebted to Bruce A. Findlay's excellent new book, "Guaranteed for Life."* Many Americans today feel that five additional amendments are needed to preserve our constitutional liberties. These five proposed amendments, which will be considered by the 84th Congress, are also included.

*Prentice-Hall, Inc., Publishers, 70 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y., \$1.50

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the General Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article 1

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, [which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years,] and excluding Indians not taxed, [three fifths of all other persons.]¹ The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, [chosen by the legislature thereof,]² for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; [and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.]³

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the

United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

[The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.]⁴

SECTION 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

¹See 14th Amendment.

²See 17th Amendment.

³*Ibid.*

⁴See 20th Amendment.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article 2

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.]⁵

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my

ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to them such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he shall adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President and all officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article 3

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies in which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more states; — [between a state and citizens of another state;]⁶ — between citizens of different states; — between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, [and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.]⁷

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall

⁵Superseded by the 12th Amendment.

⁶See the 11th Amendment.

⁷*Ibid.*

appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Article 4

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

[No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.]⁸

SECTION 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article 5

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; pro-

vided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article 6

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article 7

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

DONE in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth in witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

Go. Washington — Presidt.
and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire	John Langdon Nicholas Gilman
Massachusetts	Nathaniel Gorham Rufus King
Connecticut	Wm. Saml. Johnson Roger Sherman
New York	Alexander Hamilton
New Jersey	Wil: Livingston David Brearley. Wm. Paterson. Jona: Dayton
Pennsylvania	B Franklin Thomas Mifflin Robt Morris Geo. Clymer Thos. FitzSimons Jared Ingersoll James Wilson Gouv Morris
Delaware	Geo: Read Gunning Bedford jun John Dickinson Richard Bassett Jaco: Broom

⁸See 13th Amendment.

Maryland	James McHenry Dan of St. Thos. Jenifer Danl Carroll
Virginia	John Blair— James Madison, Jr.
North Carolina	Wm. Blount Richd. Dobbs Spaight. Hu Williamson
South Carolina	J. Rutledge Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Charles Pinckney Pierce Butler
Georgia	William Few Abr Baldwin

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF,
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED
BY THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH
ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

AMENDMENT I

[Ratification of the first ten amendments was completed
December 15, 1791.]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

AMENDMENT II

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

AMENDMENT III

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

AMENDMENT V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witness against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

AMENDMENT VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

AMENDMENT IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

AMENDMENT XI

[January 8, 1798]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

AMENDMENT XII

[September 25, 1804]

The electors shall meet in their respective states and by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having

vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, [before the fourth day of March next following,]⁹ then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

AMENDMENT XIII

[December 18, 1865]

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XIV

[July 28, 1868]

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

⁹Altered by the 20th Amendment.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

AMENDMENT XV

[March 30, 1870]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XVI

[February 25, 1913]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

AMENDMENT XVII

[May 31, 1913]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of such state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

AMENDMENT XVIII¹⁰

[January 29, 1919]

[SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.]

[SECTION 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.]

[SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.]

¹⁰Repealed by the 21st Amendment.

AMENDMENT XIX

[August 26, 1920]

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XX

[February 6, 1933]

SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

SECTION 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.



THE MUNDT-COUDERT AMENDMENT would not change the procedure of giving each state a number of electors equal to its delegation in Congress. Those electors, however, would be chosen in the same manner as the Senators and Representatives are now elected.

Two electors to correspond to the two U. S. Senators would be given to the presidential nominees who get state-wide pluralities. In each congressional district in which the nominees poll a plurality, they would also get an elector. This would be a return to the system which was used from 1789 until the administration of Andrew Jackson.

SECTION 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15 day of October following the ratification of this article.

SECTION 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission.

AMENDMENT XXI

[December 5, 1933]

SECTION 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SECTION 2. The transportation or importation into any state, territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

AMENDMENT XXII

[February 27, 1951]

SECTION 1. No person shall be elected to the office of President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

SECTION 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission to the states by the Congress.

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

Five proposed amendments to our Constitution which will be much discussed during the months to come are: The Mundt-Coudert Amendment, The Reed-Dirksen Amendment, The Byrd-Bridges Amendment, The Bricker Amendment, and The Reed-Walter Amendment. These amendments, outlined below, would require ratification by the legislatures of thirty-six states.

The power of the Big City states in national elections would be greatly reduced under this method. The Constitution makes all states equal in the Senate, and gives them House membership in ratio to their population, and under this plan the electoral system would be brought into conformity.

THE REED-DIRKSEN AMENDMENT would provide for a 10 per cent maximum rate on income taxes. A higher rate could only be imposed when approved by three-fourths of each house of Congress. In that case, however, if the bottom rate exceeds 25 per cent, the top rate cannot

more than 15 percentage points higher than the bottom rate.

Out of more than \$60 billion collected in federal tax revenues at present, only \$2.4 billion comes from individual income taxes in excess of the 25 per cent rate.

The power to impose death and gift taxes would be removed from Congress by this amendment, which would allow the states to use these sources of revenue. Only 1 per cent of the total federal budget is derived from these taxes.

All amendments to the Constitution except the Sixteenth Amendment are designed to restrict and tie down the federal government rather than enlarge its powers. Our forefathers, in setting up the Constitution, placed a limitation on the taxing power of the federal government in order that the individual might remain free. Thomas Jefferson expressed their philosophy when he said: "Do not talk to me about the integrity of public officials. I say: chain the politicians to the limitations of the Constitution itself."

THE BYRD-BRIDGES AMENDMENT would require that federal taxes equivalent in amount to appropriations be imposed by Congress except in time of declared war,

or when the United States is engaged in open hostility against an external enemy.

This amendment would outlaw the unbalanced budget which is the cause of inflation, and make illegal the passing on to future generations of bills for present-day spending.

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT would prevent treaties or other international agreements which conflict with any provision of the Constitution from having any force or effect. Unless implemented by appropriate legislation, a treaty or other international agreement could not become a part of our internal law.

During the past few years "treaty law" has become more powerful due to changes in judicial interpretation and new concepts concerning international affairs. Many people feel that the continued supremacy of "treaty law" endangers the liberties of the American people and the constitutional form of government.

THE REED-WALTER AMENDMENT would permit three-fourths of the state legislatures, through proposal and ratification, to amend the Constitution entirely by their own actions.

If an informed public feels that these amendments are necessary for the preservation of our Constitution, it can help to create the demand for this action.

SEND COPIES TO YOUR FRIENDS — Booklet reprints of the Constitution are 15 cents each; \$14.50 per hundred; \$70.00 per five hundred; \$130.00 per thousand. Reprints of any article appearing in Facts Forum News may be obtained on request. Prices vary according to length of the article and quantities ordered.

Soviet Peace Offensive

(Continued from Page 31)

Communist infiltration of Formosa, because the Reds can no longer find collaborators.

Reports from refugees and defectors, who determinedly make their way to Formosa, indicate that there is no organized anti-Communist resistance on the mainland, but that strong anti-Communist guerilla bands exist, especially in North China. Constant rebellions are reported, and widespread dissatisfaction throughout Red China. It is confidently affirmed that the Chinese people will rally around Chiang Kai-shek. He has become the known and accepted symbol of freedom from communism. He represents the only organized force against the Reds, and has a long-established record of fighting them.

The second strongest point of anti-Communist resistance in Asia is South Korea, valiantly defiant of threatened Communist military aggression. Third is South Vietnam, where Premier Diem is desperately trying to consolidate his forces and prepare the Vietnamese for democratic government.

ASIATIC COUNTRIES COOPERATE

As firsthand reports from fellow-Asians spread the truth about communism, patriotic leaders throughout Southeast Asia are realizing their im-

minent peril and the urgency of uniting in a desperate effort to resist Communist encroachment. The governments of Ceylon, Thailand, and Pakistan are definitely anti-Communist. Even in Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia, courageous anti-Communist leaders are rising. Mohammed Natsir, leader of the Moslem party in Indonesia, is said to have the strongest anti-Communist organization in Southeast Asia. As a group, the Moslems constitute the most aggressive force against communism in both the Near and Far East. In India, the anti-Communist movement is small but very active. The Philippines, of course, remains the outpost of free democracy in Asia.

Delegates from nine Asiatic peoples—Turkey, Pakistan, Burma, Japan, the Philippines, South Vietnam, Hong Kong, and Okinawa—met in an informal five-week conference on Formosa, May 25 to June 30, 1955, for the purpose of expanding the organization of the Asiatic Peoples' Anti-Communist League, initiated by South Korea in May, 1954. Information and experiences were exchanged, and plans formulated for a coordinated campaign against communism.

Significantly, Dr. V. D. Poremnsky, president of NTS, and Andrei Svetlanin, NTS Far Eastern expert, were invited to attend the conference as representatives of the Russian people. Their reception in this capacity by the Free Chinese government constitutes the first official

act of this kind. Plans for coordination of the Liberation Movements in Europe and Asia were discussed, and active coordination initiated in the political warfare campaigns of Free China and the Russian Liberation Movement through NTS.

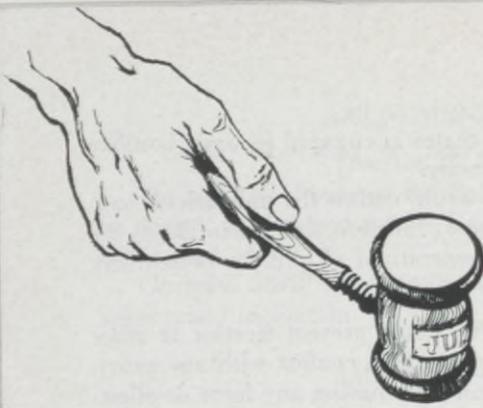
This latter action was the most hopeful note in the informal Formosa conference. In the formidable task facing anti-Communist Asiatic liberation leaders, the strong support of the West is desperately needed. It was made clear, however, that this support must be given on the basis of an equal alliance. There must be full recognition of the sovereign and independent status of the indigenous anti-Communist forces—whether these be the recognized government or (in Communist-dominated countries) its bonafide opposition.

The fallacies of Western policy were discussed as tragic facts, without rancor. Discouraging as the present prospect is, Asiatic anti-Communist leaders still have hope that the West, especially the United States, will take a firm stand in defense of human rights before it is too late.

END

ERRATA

We regret that credit was not given in our December issue to *The Freeman* for use of Admiral Ben Moree's article, "The Power Road to Power"; also to *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* for use of Sir John Cockcroft's speech, "The Future Uses of Atomic Energy."



Who Should Judge

"The moment an American draftee is transferred to duty in a foreign country, all (constitutional) protections are cut off as by a knife,"

says:

SENATOR JENNER

JENNER: Our country is faced with the necessity of drafting millions of young men. Our youth accept the difficulties of military service, because a barbarous dictatorship threatens the world and reserves its greatest hatred for the United States.

But our young men in the services are now subject to a new and cruel hazard. Our government has agreed by treaty that American service men on foreign soil, who are charged with a crime, shall be tried under the laws of the country where they are stationed, and not according to the laws of the United States.

Americans are in service in every part of the world: in England, France, Germany, in Japan, Free China, Korea, the Near East and parts of Africa. Our government has agreed that Americans who were born and brought up in Texas or Kansas or Georgia or Massachusetts may, if they are accused of a crime, be tried under the laws of Italy or Cambodia or Iraq, or wherever they may be stationed, though they may not even know what those laws forbid.

But the greatest trouble comes because Americans possess, in their law, a very precious jewel, enjoyed by few other nations. In our country, a man cannot be arrested without a warrant, duly signed by a magistrate. He cannot be kept in jail without a clear-cut charge. He must be allowed bail, and it cannot be excessive. If he is held in jail for any length of time, anyone, and that means any private citizen, may go into a court, and ask for a *habeas corpus* order. Those two Latin words, which we hear so often, mean that, in our country, officials may not hold a man in jail by their own decision. They must produce the accused in public court, and prove to the satisfaction of an independent judge that they have evidence enough to bring him to a speedy trial. Once the accused person is brought to trial, the court must assume he is innocent until he is proven guilty. If he is convicted, he is



protected against any "cruel and unusual punishments."

The problem that concerns our servicemen and you, his father or mother, or wife or brother, is this: The moment an American draftee is transferred to duty in a foreign country, all those protections are cut off as by a knife. I wish there were some dramatic mark to mark this change, as a man marks when he goes from sunlight to shadow, from heat to cold. I wish there were some flashing light or warning bell, whenever an American fighting man is moved by ship or plane beyond the jurisdiction of American law. Now let us ask what kind of judicial climate our youth find into when they leave the sun of American constitutional guarantees.

We have a great many men stationed in Japan. Japanese jails are not pleasant places. In Japan there is no law protecting an accused American will get a speedy trial, or let out on bail, or be protected against cruel and unusual punishments, though he may be innocent.

Americans today can hardly imagine what our forefathers meant when, in the Bill of Rights, they forbade "cruel and unusual punishments." But in Mohammedan countries, a man who steals a chicken may have both hands cut off.

In some countries punishments are of the sort I mentioned on a public broadcast.

The courts operate almost everywhere outside the English-speaking world on the principle that justice exists to protect the state. We are alone in asserting the proud principle that justice exists to protect the individual. We say the government, like the humblest citizen, is subject to the law.

In France the police are still expected to get a confession from the accused by force if they can. They have no Amendment, by which our forefathers decided there

(Continued on Page 43)

Our Boys?

The new Congress has a current "hot" issue in deciding whether or not to end the Status of Forces Treaty. Senators William Jenner (R-Ind.) and John Sparkman (D-Ala.) expressed opposing views on a recent Facts Forum program.

"Facts simply do not show any real reason for concern over the Status of Forces Treaty,"

says:

SENATOR SPARKMAN



SPARKMAN: Does the Status of Forces Treaty violate the rights of Americans?

First, let's make clear exactly what the Status of Forces Treaty is all about. Specifically, the treaty prescribes the civil and criminal status of members of the armed forces of North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries while they're stationed in a member country.

Prior to its enactment there was strong resentment towards American soldiers who committed crimes against citizens of the country in which they were stationed, but over which such country had no jurisdiction. By and large the great majority of American soldiers stationed in other lands are law-abiding. As is true, however, in any situation that involves large numbers of people, there are always a few who commit acts of lawlessness against citizens. These abuses can do and in some cases have done harm to the mutual self-defense and good will worked out between us and other nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

It was to solve such problems that member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization worked out the Status of Forces Treaty. This treaty was drawn up by the State Department during President Truman's administration, working closely with General Eisenhower when he was supreme commander of NATO. The treaty was ratified under the Eisenhower administration in 1953.

The provision of the Status of Forces Treaty that has brought about the most critical comments from some of our people is the provision which grants a NATO nation jurisdiction over soldiers of a member nation who commit crimes while off duty. Under the treaty, if an American soldier commits a crime against the citizen of the country in which he is serving, and that crime is committed while a soldier is off duty, he can be arrested and tried under the laws of the nation in which he commits the crime. If the American sol-

dier commits a crime while on duty, Armed Forces authorities and the government of the foreign country have equal jurisdiction, depending upon who arrests him first and on the circumstances of each individual case.

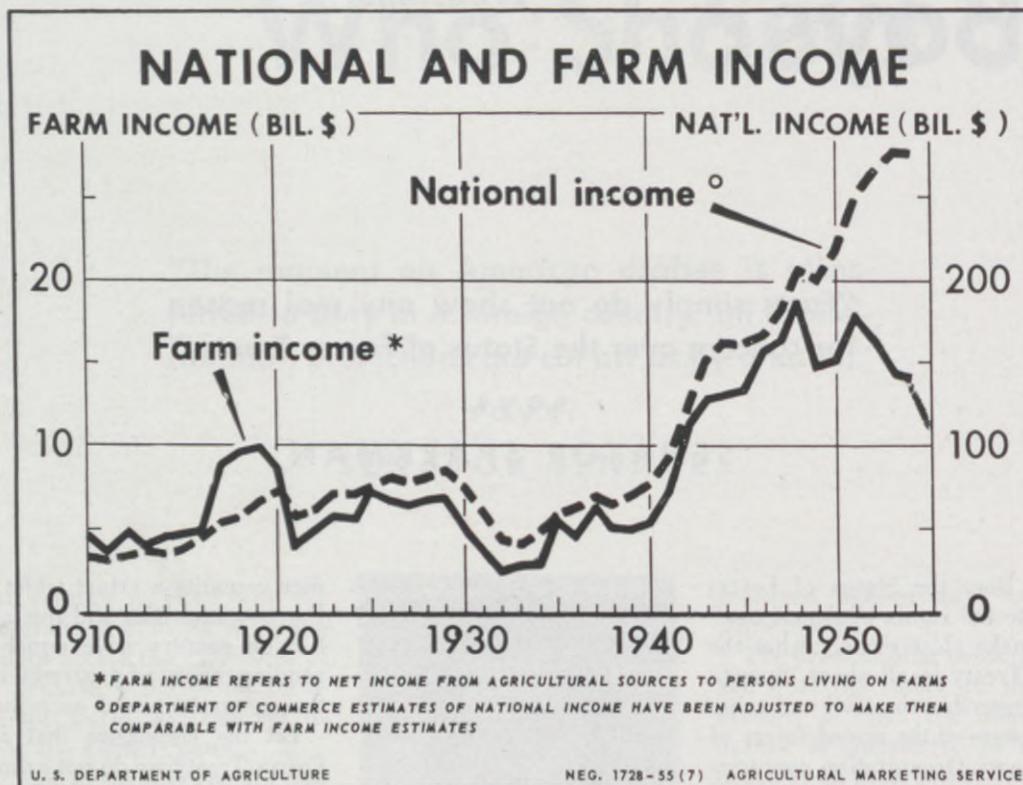
Let me emphasize that in the Status of Forces Treaty we do not grant any nation any privilege or any right that is not in turn granted to us. We acquire the same jurisdiction over any of their troops that may be stationed here as they have over our troops stationed there. One can see from this brief background that the Status of Forces Treaty simply typifies the fact that in cooperating with other countries for the mutual defense of all, it is necessary for such countries to take into consideration one another's points of view. We

can no more expect other nations to submit to whatever demands we may make or whatever preferences we may have, than we can be expected to submit to their demands and preferences. Programs of international cooperation have to be worked out in an atmosphere of equality and fairness.

While there are some exceptions, it is generally true that those who have objected most violently to the Status of Forces Treaty are members of the isolationist group, and in most respects the leading spokesmen for this wing of the Republican party. Careful safeguards were set up in the administration of this treaty. Appropriate United States officials are required to follow each arrest of an American soldier, and the State Department is required to report to Congress on the operation of this treaty. Actually, it has worked out that in many respects the treaty has improved legal status of our troops abroad. Also, recent testimony by the State Department before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, of which I am a member, shows that America's European defense partners have leaned over backwards to be fair to United States

(Continued on Page 61)

DO WE NEED



THE MINISTER rises in his pulpit and announces his text. He may travel far from it, but it is always there in case he wishes to return and avail himself of that anchor. I, too, have a text, and it is this chart [reproduced above] prepared by the Agricultural Marketing Service in the Department of Agriculture, following the form and pattern of a pencil sketch which I sent to the Service months ago for a reproduction in exact graphic proportions.

This chart attempts to trace the relationship between national income and farm income over the past 45 years. By it, we see that beginning in 1910, particularly through the five years 1910 through 1914 which became the parity base for our earliest endeavors toward equality for the farmer, farm income and national income rose and fell together. I do not refer to actual dollars and cents, because farm income is only a fraction of national income, usually about from one-twelfth to one-fifteenth; but, nonetheless, they travel in the same relative pattern.

Then came the period prior to our entrance into World War I when those European nations which had been drawn into the conflict required enormous quantities of American farm products. Wheat prices rose to unprecedented levels as the armies in Europe surged back and forth over the hundred battlefields, digging trenches, developing barbed wire entanglements, tearing up the soil.

This was the great American era for ripping up pastures

and plowing up the plains . . . Every available piece of was put into wheat or corn. The Iowa farmer could turn bumper corn crop into fat cattle which could be sold at record levels that the value of Iowa farm land jumped fifty or a hundred dollars an acre to \$400, \$500, and in Hawk County to \$600 or more. People bought and sold lands with the frenzy with which they now dabble in uranium

A SLUMP AFTER FIRST WORLD WAR

There came, of course, a day of reckoning. The armistice was signed to end World War I. The pipelines of wheat, meat and dairy products no longer needed to be filled. The wheat farmer had no guarantee that his market would be forever and no umbrella to protect him in the day when his product was no longer needed. Within a year after the end of the war, the boom was over and within two years the depression was on. There were six banks in my home town. Five of them closed. The sixth was kept open by brute strength, but the whole agricultural economy was shattered and torn. You can see that picture on the chart.

Then from 1921 for a period of 26 years farm income stayed relatively below but proportionately close to national income. It was never up to what we might call parity with equality except in the years 1924 and 1934, but it came close in the early 1940's and only dropped off in 1943, 1944 and 1945 when price controls worked more effectively against

A NEW APPROACH

to the FARM PROBLEM?

Presented here are excerpts from an address of Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D—N. M.) before the Texas Farm Bureau annual convention, November 8, 1955.

Senator Anderson, who is Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and was U. S. Secretary of Agriculture 1945-48, is eminently qualified to discuss agricultural problems and to offer — as he does here — a new approach to their solution.

Following his speech are excerpts from an address given before the same convention by Senator Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) who is in general agreement with Senator Anderson, but expresses a different view in regard to price supports.



Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D—N. Mexico)

farm production than against the output of other segments of our economy.

The Congress tried to recognize that situation. It passed the Steagall legislation promising the farmer that he would have high, rigid price supports as an incentive to production during the period of the war, and that in recognition and reward for his stimulated and expanded production under price controls during the war he would have two full years after the war during which the government of the United States would guarantee him adequate prices for his enlarged production. During these two years, of course, he was expected to adjust his production, to shrink it back to more normal levels and to prepare once again for the period when farm income and national income might move along together.

Now I am speaking of things that are within the orbit of my own acquaintance, because I came into the Department [as Secretary of Agriculture] midway between the ending of the European and Japanese phases of World War II.

SURPLUSES UNLOADED

You see next on the chart a rapid lift in the relationship of farm income to national income, because we moved as rapidly as we could to eliminate price controls from the farm commodities and to give them a chance to reach their more normal relationship to farm income, but there were some clouds overhanging the farm price horizon. We had on hand 7½ million

bales of rag tag cotton — cheap cotton that had moved under the government loan at standard prices but had been of such inferior quality that it had not been taken out of warehouses for manufacturing into textiles. We had enormous stockpiles of butter, wool, cheese, dried skim milk powder, and a host of other things. We had thousands of cases of canned vegetables, millions of pounds of canned meats.

The problem then (and perhaps the problem now) was to move those commodities into markets other than the normal market of the American farmer. It is unnecessary to detail those now; but the surplus cotton, for example, went to China, Japan, Austria and Germany in a fashion that did not interfere with the normal exports of American cotton to England, Belgium, Italy and other large buyers. In 1945, 1946 and 1947, the release of these enormous stocks of surplus commodities did not drive down domestic agricultural prices because there was a world demand for our goods and we could find places to put away our food and fiber without disturbance of the normal American channels of domestic and international agricultural trade.

The separation of farm income from national income began in the year 1948 as you can see from the chart. Agricultural prices began to drop because agricultural production held up even after markets began to disappear. The people of Europe and Asia began to reestablish their wheat fields and their rice paddies. The rehabilitation work of UNRRA and

other agencies had its effect. We moved from a period in which each year we had to scrape the bottom of the barrel for enough wheat for our needs at home and abroad to a time when we could remove all restrictions on the use of wheat and could be fairly generous with areas where shortage was the rule rather than the exception.

KOREAN WAR POSTPONED PRESENT SQUEEZE

It was at the end of 1943 when the adjustment of agricultural production and consumption in the United States needed to be accomplished, but the Congress kept going through 1949 high, rigid 90 per cent supports which had stimulated the production of agricultural commodities during and after World War II. The spread between national income and farm income continued downward to the end of 1949 and only lifted a little toward the end of 1950 because war started in Korea in the middle of 1950, and we could fill our military pipelines from our agricultural surpluses and thereby remove the strain from commodity purchasing.

There were those who had foreseen the possibility of a drastic reduction in farm income following the two-year period of the Steagall guaranties. The Department of Agriculture had had a study committee looking steadily at this problem during World War II. In 1946 there was an intensive drive to bring together the lessons of that long study and attempt to congeal into new legislation our best knowledge of what would safeguard American farmers and perpetuate the favorable relationship between farm and national income.

I am sure you know the results of that study. We, in the Department, recommended a program of flexible price supports giving the Secretary of Agriculture discretion to establish such price levels between about 75 per cent and 90 per cent as would permit him to guide farmers in their planting and help them toward the balance between production and consumption which brings about a healthy active market and a good price for agricultural commodities in the market place. We recommended that the Secretary have broad discretion as to the level at which prices were to be fixed. We advocated no sliding scale by which the level of price supports was to be measured against the supply of each commodity but we did feel that the flexibility which had been written into the Agricultural Act of 1938 was a proper power for a Secretary of Agriculture to possess, even though the level recommended was substantially above the 52 to 75 per cent adopted in the administration of President Roosevelt.

Now, if I may return to the chart, I must point out that Korea did great things for our agricultural situation. Had it not been for Korea, the farm problem in 1950, 1951 and 1952 would have been comparable to some of our problems today; but Korea required that this country stockpile enormous quantities of butter, meat and cereals. Whatever quantities the farmer was able to produce the government stood ready to buy.

There was a very substantial turndown in income during 1952. It has carried on through 1953, 1954, and 1955.

If you want to know what this loss in farm income has done, take two quick statistical references:

- 1) Farm assets have dropped three billion from their peak; and
- 2) Farm debt is up two billion from 1953.

What I wish to point out particularly is that during all the time from 1948 through 1954, farmers of this country had whatever protection there is in high, rigid 90 per cent price supports. This great gap which has opened up between national income and farm income opened and developed during the years when the price support program was pegged to a



Charles Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation which the Texas Farm Bureau is a part, in the organization's office in Chicago. The Federation claims a membership of 1,600,000. Mr. Shuman goes often to his 200-acre farm near Sullivan. He is the fourth generation to farm the place on which his grandfather settled in 1853.

rigid 90 per cent standard. No farmer should ever forget the time when we were relatively free from surpluses. When I left the Department of Agriculture in May, 1943, I believe all Commodity Credit loans totaled around 1 1/4 billion dollars and a great deal of that was current and quickly liquidated. Now our borrowing authority from Commodity Credit is 1 billion dollars and we are using the major portion of that amount with steadily increasing Commodity Credit stocks. It is fair to say that 90 per cent supports had their chance to work in a market relatively free from surpluses. If we were to be fair we should give flexible price supports a chance to work in a market not glutted with a billion extra bushels of wheat and 12 million extra bales of cotton and 20 million hundredweight of rice and so on down the roll call of surplus crops which today makes our whole farm problem difficult if not desperate.

On October 17, 1955, the *New York Times* said: "National Income Sets A New Peak. The national income attained a record annual rate of \$321 billion during the second quarter of this year, the government reported today." That is higher than the figures go on my chart, but the chart is prepared by statisticians and bears this footnote: "Department of Commerce estimates of national income have been adjusted to make them comparable with farm income estimates." I believe, however, that the 1955 national income mark will be up to the 1953 and 1954 level, but this I do know — the 1955 income of farmers will be down. The last estimate I saw was that farm net income now was running at the rate of 12.3 billions for 1955.

The point I am trying to make to you is that in 1953 national income was at the level of about 199 billions and that farm income was at the level of about 16 1/2 billions. During the next years, national income went up past 300 billions but farm income in 1954 at the end of the period when rigid 90 per cent price supports were in effect had dropped to 12.3 billions.*

* (Farm Income Situation, FIS 155, Department of Agriculture, October 31, 1955, p. 3)

If you will look at the chart and realize that if farm income had moved in normal relationship to national income as it mounted up to 300 billions of dollars, farm net income would now be at about 27 billion dollars — yet the latest government publication puts it at the rate of 10.6 billion dollars.

This is the farm problem. It is not important that we waste our energies in farm meetings debating whether we go back to the 90 per cent supports which carried us from high farm prosperity and comparable high net farm income to the low figure of the 12.3 billions for 1954, or whether we should try flexible price supports or two price systems or export subsidies. The question is: What do we do now and do quickly to put the farmer in a safe spot economically and in a proper financial relationship to the businessmen, the doctors, lawyers and engineers who live in the cities that our farm produce feeds?

. . . I am going to try to answer my own question as to what we do now. . . I could go [through all the] basic and non-basic commodities tracing the . . . pattern of accumulation [of surpluses] and price deterioration, but I have promised that I would try to make a suggestion of what might be done.

BIPARTISAN COOPERATION NEEDED

One of our national news magazines (*U. S. News & World Report*, September 30, 1954) had an article entitled "Wanted: Magic Formula for the Farm Problem. After 35 years of Search No Really New Ideas."

I agree with that heading. There is no device that we can hastily concoct to cure our ills, no magic wand that we can wave to make them disappear. There is, however, hard work to be done . . .

First, I think we need to quiet the fighting on several farm fronts. By that I mean that we must soon be able to bring all farm organizations to a common position in behalf of the farmer. We must try to find a program that can be acceptable to both political parties, Republican and Democratic, and that unifies the individuals within each party. . . .

We need to find a basis for prompt action that can halt the decline in farm income. That basis must be able to enlist the 90 percenters . . . as well as Senators who believe in flexible price supports . . . I don't care how few things we agree on at first or how simple the early areas of agreement are, we need to take the farm program out of perpetual political strife, and substitute the bipartisan approach to farm problems which characterized the years when prosperity was being restored on the American farm. . . .

MUST DISPOSE OF PRESENT SURPLUSES

Second, we must clean the shelves of the Commodity Credit Corporation. I mean we must dispose of our surpluses. No farm program — rigid 90 per cent supports, flexible price supports, soil fertility banks, production payments or two-price plans — will work with the surpluses we now have on hand. We should not fool the American farmer by pretending that we think they will.

We must clean our shelves if we expect to see the line representing farm net income turn upward and if we expect to see national income stay high. Economically, this nation would be in a far sounder position if we gave away about six billions dollars worth of food and fiber than it will be if we continue to keep these stocks hanging over every commodity market. At the end of World War II we dumped enormous quantities of food on islands around the Pacific, and while I do not advocate dumping commodity stocks now, I do advocate getting rid of them. . . .

When I took the oath of office as Secretary of Agriculture, I had to sign a receipt for 7½ million bales of cotton. It was

sorry cotton at that, but as long as it was hanging over the market there wasn't much trade in farm-produced cotton. We moved it all in a year or a year and a half and the day we decided to move it outside of normal American trade zones, the cotton market stiffened and cotton prices went up and stayed up until cotton got it in a surplus situation again. I tell you, we can still move cotton when we want to.

A program to move these commodities may involve putting great quantities in the hands of people in other lands who could not otherwise afford to buy them. What is wrong with that? Our slogan in World War II proclaimed that food would win the war and write the peace. Well, it won the war all right. Why not let it try to write the peace? These billions in food and fiber could implement our foreign policy far better than supplying arms to the Arabs or to the Israeli. Shooting irons placed in the hands of trigger-happy people lead to war but food and fiber can lead to peace.

Food and fiber can help carry the spirit of Geneva at a time when that spirit seems to be mighty weak and when the foreign ministers find little on which to agree. When food and fiber lie in bins and pile up the storage, the accumulation only breaks our farmers. If they are sent abroad and removed from our economy, farm income will spurt upward, national income will stay at high levels, and in a few years we will have forgotten the cost of such a disposal program just as we forgot the cost of letting thousands of tanks, planes and guns be captured by "General Rust" after World War II. *We* will have forgotten, but the heart of the world will not and it well might be that we would have created an atmosphere where the spirit of Geneva, the blessings of the atomic power and a host of other favoring circumstances might begin to work toward the achievement of peace.

MORE AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH NEEDED

Third, we must spend more on research and extension to build wider markets at home and abroad.

As I reflect on my years in the Department of Agriculture, I have many memories. Some relate to the problems of food rationing, shortages of essential supplies to farmers, reorganization of the Department to increase the emphasis on marketing; however, none is so satisfying as the fact that during this period the Research and Marketing Act of 1946 was enacted into law and a program for accentuating research in agriculture was set in motion.

For far too long we have been neglecting agricultural research and the task of bringing the results of research to farmers on the land. I regret that in the years immediately after 1946 we weren't able to get the program in "high gear" to the extent that should have been done. Therefore, it was gratifying to me that in the 1952 platforms of both political parties, there was a firm commitment to expand agricultural research.

The Democratic party platform pledged expanded research.

We are justly proud of the outstanding achievements of our agricultural research. We favor a greatly expanded research and education program for American agriculture in order that both production and distribution may more effectively serve consumers and producers alike, and thus meet the needs of the modern world. We favor especial emphasis on the development of new crops and varieties, on crop and livestock disease and pest control, and on agricultural statistics and marketing services.

The Republican platform made a like promise.

We recommend expanded agricultural research and education to promote new crops and uses, new markets, both foreign and domestic, more trustworthy crop and market estimates, a realistic trade program for agriculture aimed at restoring foreign markets and developing new outlets at home.

Progress has been made in getting more adequate funds

for this important work. However, with the cost-price squeeze on in agriculture, it is more necessary than ever before that we bring to farmers the very best information on ways and means of cutting costs. This means that 1956 is no time to stop the accelerated program now under way. I shall be interested in the budget recommendations of the Administration in this field. In the effort to balance the federal budget, I hope that important programs like adequate research and education will not be victim of election year political expediency.

To me nothing is more vital to a lasting solution of our farm problems than continued emphasis on research and extension. The route to newspaper headlines and publicity is to be for or against 90 per cent price supports. The route of

service to farmers is to be for increasing appropriations in our federal budgets for the expansion of research and education in American agriculture. . . .

The farm problem has been with us for most of this generation. The next generation will have to endure it only a little while until world population catches up. That's why I hope that those people who are sincerely the friends of the American farmer may quit fighting each other and join on a program that will clean the commodity shelves, that will bring to the American farmer an alert, active and aggressive market for his produce, and will at the same time give truth at last to our slogan that food may have a voice in the final pronouncement of peace.

Senator Gore Favors 90% Price Supports With Control

...THERE ARE THOSE who say that the present price-squeeze difficulty would straighten itself out if the government would merely step completely out of the picture and allow the law of "supply and demand" to operate freely. This sounds good as an economic theory, but even if it worked, which I doubt, the small family-size producer would be crushed to death in the process. The trend toward large corporate-type farming would be greatly accelerated.

The manufacturer of automobiles can adjust his production to the number of cars he will sell at a price which will give him a profit. If there are too many automobiles, he simply shuts down a part of his plant until the supply is "adjusted." On the other hand, a farmer cannot simply stop producing (unless, of course, he goes broke and is forced to go out of business). Then, too, the farmer, unaided, has no control over the price he receives. When a steer is fat he has to go to the market at whatever price the buyer is willing to pay. The farmer who rebels only compounds his losses if he continues to feed the steer, hoping for a better price.

There is a second major reason why the law of supply and demand does not always work for the farmer like it does for other folks. Generally speaking, if there is an over-supply of some product, the price will go down, bringing about increased consumption and, ultimately, increased demand. But, for some strange reason, this principle doesn't seem to work for the farmer. Though the price he receives declines, the price at the grocery store does not. For example, lower prices for wheat have not meant lower prices of bread. On the contrary, while wheat took a nosedive, bread made a vertical take-off. In 1947 wheat sold for \$2.35 per bushel and bread was 12½ cents per lb. During the first ten months of 1955 wheat has averaged \$2.04 per bushel while bread was sold for 17.7 cents per pound.

And, there is another statistical fact that worries me. In the three-year period 1947-49, the farmer received 19 per cent of the retail price of bread. That was a small share, indeed. But in July, August and September of 1955 he received only 14 per cent.

Let us take a look at beef. In the 1947-49 period the farmers' share of the consumers' beef dollar was 71 per cent. In the third quarter of 1955 his share was only 61 per cent. In the same periods, the farmers' share of the consumers' pork dollar dropped from 67 per cent to 52 per cent.

In 1946 the farmers' share of the food dollar was 56 cents. In 1953 it was 49 cents. At the present time, the farmers share is running at the rate of 40 cents. . . .

There are a great many people who regard our whole farm program as either unjustified subsidy or political pap. These



Sen. Albert Gore (D—Tenn.)

same people seem not at all disturbed about the subsidy of the industry from protective tariffs. They seem even less concerned with the economic supports and protection afforded business and industry by a plethora of governmental programs, policies and regulatory agencies. . . .

Now, if the power of the people's government can be used to regulate competition and fix profitable freight rates for roads, trucks, busses and airplanes — if it can be used to control, and sometimes prevent, competition of industry imports, if it can be used to limit competition, guarantee profits and make for sound and profitable banking operations — if the power of the people's government can be used to stabilize and support all other major segments of our economy, then I say the power of the same people's government can justifiably be used to support and stabilize agriculture, the most basic industry of all.

Despite the dissenters, I believe price support for commodities is now generally accepted as justifiable governmental policy. Here, however, the general agreement is. There are sharp disagreements as to the level of farm

(Continued on Page 49)



Book Reviews

Consult your bookstore for books reviewed here — or write to publishers listed.

New Frontiers for Freedom

By Erwin D. Canham, Longmans, Green and Co., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y., 1954, 116 pp., \$2.25.

Erwin D. Canham, Editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*, looks over the past few decades and finds the picture generally satisfying. His book views the present and the future with optimism. Mr. Canham acknowledges the fact that a profound change has taken place in the American economic system during this century. Indeed, *New Frontiers for Freedom* attempts an analysis of what this change has been and what it means for the future of our country. In this study the author is particularly intrigued with the great amount of voluntary organization that has grown up on the American scene. Although recognizing the abuses to which organizations sometimes lend themselves, he views this development as a rather good thing.

That America has developed a new sort of economic and social system that provides a full answer to nineteenth century Marxist criticisms is a central point advanced by the author.

"What we have achieved is the far preferable alternative to Marxist collectivism on the one hand or cartels on the other. It is a voluntary private system of cooperation, and it enters the lives and experience of every businessman, every professional man, every enterpriser, every scholar, every engineer, every natural scientist. . . .

"In short, American experience—like that of our most advanced friends—has at mid-century produced a kind of society that not only has solved all the problems against which Karl Marx inveighed a century ago, but most of the problems that faced us a half century ago, and many of the problems that existed a quarter century ago."

Mr. Canham is a staunch supporter of the United Nations. To this organization he would assign a most ambitious program of technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas of the world. He views this sort of endeavor, also, as being a continuing function of our government. He sees great opportunity for private work along these lines, but government seems to come first: "If therefore, we take steps to supplement whatever governmental leadership can do, with a wide range of private activity, we will open the channels down which life-giving ideas flow."

But, it seems, government must do the larger part. The theme is not the libertar-

ian one that freedom must come first—individual freedom without government planning and government intervention in the market place. The author urges free trade, and this is certainly requisite for the expanded free market which must be a condition of economic freedom for the individual on a world-wide scale. But tariffs are but one of the means of governmental intervention in the affairs of the individual and of the market place.

Aggression and fraud militate against the free market and against the individual's right of freedom. A monopoly of force is given to government to prevent these wrongs, but this is negative intervention on the part of government. It is characterized in our Declaration of Independence by the words, "to secure these rights." But when government moves over to the side of using its monopoly of force for the purpose of positive intervention in the affairs of individuals and of the market place, we have a new set of commandments—a set of "thou shalt's." Ideally, government should enforce a set of "thou shalt not's" and thus leave the widest possible freedom of individual choice to be reflected and recorded in the free market.

The author does not take it in this undiluted form; he prefers a middle way, similar to that which has come to be known as the "mixed economy." Some hold that the mixed economy is an unstable sort of thing—that, if persisted in, it will lead gradually into some form of Socialist system. That does seem to be historically tenable, but perhaps we can be the exception. At this writing we stand a good chance of finding out.

Of considerable value are Mr. Canham's observations of the changes that have taken place in American business. Many good points are set forth indicating the degree to which business has shown great concern for the welfare of employees and community—a concern that has been definitely "good business." Here the title, *New Frontiers for Freedom*, seems most applicable. The author appears to be on more consistent ground when discussing American business than when he is contemplating functions of government.

Going beyond mere support of the United Nations, Mr. Canham advocates some form of international federalism. He is not specific as to which of the many prevalent plans he prefers, but it seems probable that he is considering

something like Atlantic Union on the NATO foundation, perhaps as a nucleus for world federalism whenever that seems possible. In proposing some sort of international federalism he takes a novel approach to the question of nationalism. In so doing he departs from the UNESCO pastime of clobbering the poor old beast at every turn of the page. Instead, the author sees nationalism as a tool—if properly used—to bring about international federalism. It is an interesting approach.

"Latterly nationalism has been out of fashion. And so it should be if it were not linked with the fact of interdependence. Nationalism without the leaven of interdependence becomes international anarchy. But nationalism expressed with an awareness of national and individual interdependence becomes community. We should use the force of nationalism to help liberate the world—the force of nationalism set in the new framework of growing regional federalism and world organization.

" . . . There is a place and always will be, in our integrating world, for a true sense of nationhood, just as there is a place for the proud Californian or the exuberant Texan or the canny New Englander in our own nation. . . . To attack nationalism is no way to lead human thinking toward cooperation. To use it as a vital means of social and political organization—of interdependence—will help remove many misconceptions among those who understandably fear the loss of precious values and safeguards."

As do so many proponents of federalism, Mr. Canham avoids mention of the fact that most nations brought into such an international government would be Socialist nations. On the issue of free enterprise versus socialism we would be simply outvoted, just as we have been in the ILO and many other international organizations. In fact, we outvoted ourselves three-to-one on the 1952 Socialized Medicine Convention of the ILO, with both U. S. government delegates and the labor delegate voting for the thing. The Convention is not law in the United States because it has not been ratified by the Senate. But it might well be the sort of thing to be enacted by the parliament of a regional federal government. The governments of most of the prospective members have already instituted variations on the same theme.

If the Jeremiads of John T. Flynn seem unduly pessimistic, Mr. Canham tends toward "peace, peace" by giving slight attention to current conditions and problems which eventually will call for solution rather than ignoring. He faces up to the fact that we cannot go on forever generating employment and prosperity with armament production. In a paraphrase of one of President Roosevelt's later-to-be-ignored pronouncements, Mr. Canham says, "Pros-



perity based upon armament production is a fool's paradise." But then he looks around for something else for the government to spend money on: "But there is plenty of productive work that needs to be done in America, and in the world—work that will pay for itself in social and economic benefit." This seems to be little more than the Keynesian concept. It might work in a dictatorship, but the plain fact is the simple one that politicians who must stand for reelection are just not going to discontinue the spending binge as Lord Keynes held should be done during times of prosperity. It is the "planned economy," but without the brakes Keynes proposed. And there is the little matter of the national debt—something Mr. Canham does not mention. Nor does he mention the attendant inflation that has, in effect, confiscated savings of citizens and reduced many of them to a degree of dependency upon government.

In his closing paragraph Mr. Canham places much-needed emphasis upon spiritual values as he expresses a high degree of hopefulness.

"If the American economy continues to evolve toward more and more evenly balanced power, if the American people more deeply understand and exemplify their destiny as a part of emergent freedom in the world, if the thorny road of diplomacy and power politics is trodden with wisdom, zeal, and practical idealism—if the definitely marked turning toward religious and spiritual values is followed up by people in daily living—we may surely say that an age of deepening, widening progress can lie ahead."

But earlier in his book he adopts and propounds a basic collectivist tenet which would point in quite another direction. Advanced are two so-called "principles": self-determination and interdependence. A world is contemplated "where the well-being of one is clearly dependent upon the well-being of all."

In a system of complete interdependence, dependability might be considerably wanting. Certainly, the habit of dependency—upon others or upon government—would not augur well for individual freedom and its handmaiden, dependability.

If we will look at our Declaration of Independence we will find the tenet of interdependence to be a drastic departure from our original foundation. First the acknowledgment was made that all men are created—that is, God was acknowledged. Then was acknowledged the fact that men are endowed by the

Creator with certain unalienable rights—that is, God, not government, was acknowledged as the author of liberty. It was from this standpoint that the signers were able to "pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor." This seems to be the logical order in true human cooperation—cooperation freely given from the strength of individual independence rather than commanded by a doctrine of interdependence. The Declaration of Independence was effective because it was, first of all, a declaration of dependence upon God. Observance of this starting-point distinguishes individual freedom from anarchy and it should also discourage the tendency to place demands on others.

Mr. Canham reflects this standpoint when he writes, "The drive of competition and of individualism, when wedded to the sense of social responsibility, is an imperative mandate for growth." "Social responsibility" is one of those vague terms, but it should certainly include restraint of impulses to impose on others and to conduct their affairs for them, as well as maintaining the humanitarian attitude expressed by the Good Samaritan.

The author gives us a clear definition of the inner strength of America. As we hold to this we may, indeed, find occasion for hopefulness.

"Any society, rooted as American society is, in the infinite importance of the individual is a society with a spiritual and moral base."

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

The Decline of the American Republic

By John T. Flynn, The Devin-Adair Co., 23 E. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y., 1955, 226 pp., \$3.00.

"We have passed through a revolution. World War II and our present embarrassments in Europe and Asia are merely the material manifestations of

the basic disease. That disease is nothing less than this: that we have abandoned the fundamental principle which the American Republic was based upon. For the perplexities in which we are trapped in Europe, for the confusion and frustration we do not know how to end in Asia, for the crushing debt and taxes at home and the almost unbelievable infusion of treason in our government and our society, there is no remedy so long as we continue to ignore ourselves with the symptoms and ignore the roots of disease. We will not make some headway against these tragic problems when we have the courage to look with utter realism at the cause and recognize that it will be not in Europe or Asia but in the center we have committed against our heritage and destiny when we began to destroy the American Republic."

This, then, is the basic thesis of John T. Flynn's most recent book. Mr. Flynn, undoubtedly, is best known for his pungent Jeremiads. But this does not make him an easy person for his "general" critics to dismiss. He has run up too much of a record of being right for that. For instance, Mr. Flynn's being howled down in the late '20s for his assertions that bad banking and speculating practices were introducing dangerous instability into our financial structure. In fact, the night before the stock market crash in 1929 a Wall Street personage was engaging in the pastime of ridiculing Mr. Flynn's predictions of a depression to follow. Those speculative boom then in process those days Mr. Flynn was known as a frequent writer for the *New Republic* and other Liberal journals, as a participant in the revisionist studies of World War I munitions scandals, a relentless critic of the financial system which were then threatening our system of private enterprise. In those days Flynn was called "a dangerous radical."

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IMPORTANT

★ When General William F. Dean was released from a Communist prison cell in North Korea two years ago after having withstood years of "brainwashing," he came home to Washington and had breakfast with President Eisenhower. Following this breakfast the President held a press conference. He said he sometimes wondered why more of our soldiers had not succumbed to Communist indoctrination. He said he felt this way because of the meager education given our young people as to what their obligations are to a free form of government, what it means to support it, and what it takes to keep it and pass it on. The President was saying in effect that American citizenship education is vitally important to the strength and security of our nation, and that there wasn't enough of it. Even as Mr. Eisenhower expressed this anxiety, some school systems and colleges were conducting courses in American citizenship education, and some were planning such courses. America's school system is versatile, and many schools are beginning to recognize the immediate importance of more positive teaching in American citizenship.

Reprinted from The National Program Letter of October, 1955.

Then came the New Deal, and almost immediately Mr. Flynn became a "reactionary." He early realized that the New Deal was not out merely to correct abuses of the American private enterprise system—but to change the system itself.

While World War II was still going on, Mr. Flynn wrote what this reviewer regards as his greatest book—*As We Go Marching*. This book is now out of print, as a result of the best "book burning" device yet dreamed up. Countless excellent, and as we can now see quite prophetic, books concerning the New Deal and the direction in which our nation was heading were wiped out by War Production Authority orders that the plates be destroyed. The 1951 order, for instance, saved little copper for the Korean War but succeeded in wiping out a number of good books.

A number of people, including this reviewer, have urged Mr. Flynn to bring out a new edition of *As We Go Marching* (Devin Garrity, please take note). In that book he traced the history of the Fascist and Nazi forms of non-Marxian socialism and showed how we were adopting many of their ideas even as we were engaged in war with them.

Familiarity with Mr. Flynn's earlier works will greatly enhance the reader's appreciation of *The Decline of the American Republic*. Mr. Flynn's great documentary of British and American Fabian socialism in *The Road Ahead* is particularly important. But so is his documentary of the non-Marxian forms stemming from Bismarck. In tracing the rise of fascism in Italy, Mr. Flynn brought out the point that Italian history was characterized by forty years of the "outs" denouncing the "ins" for extravagant deficit financing—and then spending more than ever before as soon as they got in themselves. The point made was that these men did not lack sincerity—just the ability and determination to stem the tide running toward national insolvency and totalitarian collectivism. Thus, when Mr. Flynn points out in his latest book that the present administration, after denouncing the extravagances of the Truman administration, proceeded to spend 32½ billion dollars more in its first two years than the Truman administration spent in its last two years, Korean War and all, he is criticizing a twenty-odd year trend in American government rather than any particular administration or president. Mr. Flynn is fully appreciative of the difficulties and determined opposition awaiting any who would attempt to reverse the trend toward socialism.

Another point Mr. Flynn brought out in *As We Go Marching* was the fact that Universal Military Training is peculiarly an economic device used in a system of "planned economy" to secure full employment. Today, ten years later, we still have the device, and no end in sight.

Now we are hearing much talk of "disarmament" but we hear nothing said of abolishing the peace-time form of involuntary servitude known as conscription. Yet Mr. Flynn contended, and today contends, that this is the device which had much to do with wrecking Europe. And he is perfectly right when he points out that many of those who settled America were people who fled the despotic conscriptive systems of Europe.

Other efforts by Mr. Flynn have included *The Truth About Pearl Harbor*, a pamphlet published in 1944 and roundly denounced at the time. This early pamphlet, written before the congressional investigation, is an interesting historical document now seen to be very mild in view of later revelations. But it was one of the earliest exploratory efforts on this subject. Another important book by John T. Flynn is his *While You Slept—Our Tragedy in Asia and Who Made It*, published in 1951.

The simple fact is, Mr. Flynn's books stand the test of time remarkably well. The "hindsight" cliché just doesn't fit him well. This seems to be a good standpoint from which to approach his new book. His thesis is such a strong one that many people might be inclined to dismiss it as an exaggeration. It seems that he realizes this possibility, for this book is not his usual concise and highly condensed style. It is very repetitive, as if the author is trying to pound home his few salient points from every possible angle. As he points out, a very considerable portion of today's voters never knew, during their adult years, any type of American government other than that instituted by the New Deal. In short, Mr. Flynn seems to feel that the American Republic is not only declined but also either unknown to or forgotten by a great number of people. He may be right. That he sounded the tocsin aright in 1929 and subsequent years is not conducive to a bland dismissal of his present warnings.

Certainly, Mr. Flynn could have presented his thesis in *The Decline of the American Republic* easily in half the number of pages he used, but perhaps the profuse repetition is a good thing. The book should be a particularly good one for young people in the schools—as a sort of companion piece to the collectivist approach of so many textbooks. It does give our educationists a golden opportunity to buttress the concept of presenting both sides.

Mr. Flynn's basic theme is his refrain from *The Road Ahead*—namely, that we are headed, sometimes slowly, but surely, down the road that leads to socialism. Whether it is the Marxian form or the non-Marxian form similar to that which flourished in many European countries—notably Germany and Italy—Mr. Flynn does not clearly specify. But such speculation is academ-

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Book Reviews

ic anyway; the two classic forms have become blurred in practice and they have always been fruit of the same tree. It probably all depends upon the accident of who ends up in control of the thing. The "planned economy" can and does mean either or both. "Socialism" has become something of a cuss word in America and has been pretty well abandoned by everybody but the Communists. There are still a few good old-fashioned Socialists like Norman Thomas who will not let the advantages of deception dictate abandonment of the term. But it is a safe bet that, whatever form of socialism we may get, it will be called something else—except, of course, by such critics as John T. Flynn. He insists upon the generic term.

The author holds that the decline or socialization of our Republic had its origin primarily in the academic theorizing of the intellectuals. He holds that the process had to assume two stages: first, the centralization of power in the national government by the dismantling of the federal system of 48 separate republics plus a federal government of clearly and definitely limited powers; and second, the further conversion of the national government into a Socialist State. The accomplishment of the first stage also revolutionizes the basic philosophy and law of government so as to permit completion of the second stage. Mr. Flynn's contention is that this was done by reinterpretation of the Constitution so as to permit what, for 145 years, it was held to forbid.

The thesis seems tenable—enough so that this book should provide some very interesting reading ten or twenty years from now, perhaps as much as *As We Go Marching* provides today.

Mr. Flynn's comments on the influence of the intellectuals—"Eggheads" to us—deserves considerable quotation. But he does not share Eggheadian illusion that the wise and benevolent rule will be their ultimate province.

"The last quarter of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th produced the most extraordinary eruption in history of what have come to be known as Eggheads. The Egghead has been defined by Louis Bromfield as a character who pretends to the title of philosopher—a sort of professional intellectual—dedicated to the theory that the Eggheads are the appointees of destiny who will bring something known in the intellectual trade as 'security' to a creature known as the 'common man,' in return for which he will deliver himself to the management of a

society managed by the Eggheads. The society of the Eggheads today embraces Communists, Socialists, rudimentary Fascists, along with their wives and certain rich men's sons and daughters, and even some corporate vice-presidents.

"It is a fact the significance and influence of which cannot be ignored, that at the base of all these schemes of social reconstruction—from Plato to Marx—ran this idea of the *Soviet of the Intellectuals*.

"The root idea at the bottom of this long history of reckless blueprinting from Plato to Karl Marx, Aneurin Bevan, Henry Wallace, and their disciples such as Dr. James Conant, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer and the essayists of the floundering *Nation*, the *New Republic* and the *Daily Worker* is that social planning is the peculiar mission of the poet, the playwright and the novelist, the scientist and the teacher generally. Obviously, I do not imply that this disease afflicts all writers, teachers and intellectuals. I merely suggest that the members of these crafts, some of them dissatisfied with their share of the social dividend, are apt to offer a peculiarly sensitive incubation to these giddy ideas. In the last 20 years in America this disease has run like a scourge through our colleges and journals of opinion.

"One does not run into many authentic poets who assume that their peculiar power enables them to split the atom or even understand what it is. But as every man in a free society is a citizen, he is at liberty to suppose that the role of citizenship itself qualifies him to rule or, even more, to divert himself in the intoxicating pastime of social architecture.

"The building and direction of the State throughout the ages has been considered a department of philosophy by the philosophers. It is a fact that all during human history, society has consisted of the herd and the shepherd—the masses, and the monarch and lords and warriors who understood the methods of acquiring power. The intellectual, if he was present, served the warrior. There were in most early civilized societies intellectuals who gagged at this rule of the knight and the soldier. Hence they dreamed of the perfect commonwealth where they would rule the herd. The herd would be better off, not because it acquired the right to rule itself, but because of the benevolent mastership of the philosophers.

"The men who operate the Socialist State—the State that possesses the combined powers of government and industrial and commercial authority with unlimited power to tax—will not be the intellectuals. Neither the philosophers nor the scientists nor the technicians will stand 'at the control switches of the nation.' It will be the Hitlers, the Musso-

lin's, the Stalins, the Bulganins, the Perons and their breed."

Mr. Flynn's contention that the basic character of the American government has been drastically changed by judicial reinterpretation of the Constitution is summed up in the following quotation:

"The Supreme Court is empowered under the Constitution, to 'interpret' the meaning of the Constitution when questions of judicial differences appear. It had, according to its time-honored practice, interpreted the Constitution to mean what its framers wanted it mean, and declared Roosevelt's first act unconstitutional—in the most important case by unanimous decision. There was, therefore, but one court open to the revolutionary cabal in Washington. It was a plan to change the Constitution, literally to wreck the whole fundamental structure of the American government, not only by orderly procedure as laid down in the Constitution, but by *judicial interpretation*. The plan for accomplishing this lawless aim was conceived by Roosevelt almost as soon as was presented to him. This was an infamous scheme 'to pack the Supreme Court.' (The direct attempt failed. The same end was accomplished indirectly through enactment of a new retirement law.)

"With the appointments of Hugo Black, Stanley Reed, Felix Frankfurter, William O. Douglas and Frank Murphy Roosevelt had a majority of the justices and a Court the radicals could count on to perform whatever surgery was needed on the Constitution to open the way to the collectivist State.

"Once a Supreme Court subservient to the President and the new collectivist revolution was installed, the job was easy. It was simply necessary for the Supreme Court to give new and utterly different meanings to *four words* in the Constitution—meanings those words never had in the preceding 143 years. The four words are comprised in the terms 'general welfare' and 'intercourse of commerce.'"

We have heard and read much in the way of "Liberal" assertions that the Constitution is a "flexible" or "adaptable" document, able to meet changing needs and changing times. Also, some of our most prominent internationalists have candidly proposed that the United Nations Charter be amended by reinterpretation, rather than by trying to get the Soviets to agree to the changes they want.

Our Constitution is flexible, in that it provides the lawful and orderly means of amending it by returning to its original source of authority—the people.

But if the practice is adopted of amendment by reinterpretation, we the citizens presently in power want it to and justifying what they want

justify. This is government of men. And it is also the distilled essence of lawlessness. In such a case the Constitution is not a charter of government, but an invitation to self-deception. Pursuance of such lawless and deceptive means, if persisted in, implies the distortion, overturning, and adulteration of constitutions, charters of government of every kind, social and moral codes, religious tenets and literature, and goodness knows what else. It is the spirit of lawlessness which would warp everything to serve its own ends.

Mr. Flynn sticks to the text of constitutional law. He takes the "general welfare" clause and quotes the most eminent authorities among the founders of the Constitution.

He quotes Alexander Hamilton (the advocate of a strong federal government) from *Federalist No. 83*:

"The power of Congress . . . shall extend to certain enumerated cases. This specification of particulars evidently excluded all pretension to a general legislative authority, because an affirmative grant of special powers would be absurd, as well as useless, if a general authority was intended."

He quotes James Madison's remarks in a debate in Congress on a bill to provide a bounty to Cape Cod fishermen and a subsidy to farmers (the bill was defeated):

"If Congress can employ money indefinitely to the general welfare, and are the sole judges of the general welfare, they may take the care of religion into their own hands; they may appoint teachers in every State, county and parish and pay them out of their public treasury; they may take into their own hands the education of children, establishing in like manner schools throughout the Union; they may assume the provision of the poor. . . . Were the power of Congress to be established in the latitude contended for, it would subvert the very foundations, and transmute in the very nature of the limited government established by the people of America."

And then he adds this clincher:

"Thomas Jefferson, who has been kidnapped as the patron saint of the radicals of today, wrote in 1817 that the grant of power to promote the general welfare did not give Congress any additional or unlimited power to legislate for the general welfare. On the contrary, he said, 'it was restrained to those powers specifically enumerated.'"

The Decline of the American Republic not all Jeremiads. Mr. Flynn's subtitle is: *And How to Rebuild It*. Many will argue that the solution offered is impossible, that we have long since passed the turning point. Perhaps. But we agree to this we have accepted the subtle argument of Marxist "historical determinism."

Mr. Flynn writes, "The first and most

challenging enterprise is to return the federal Constitution to its historic limits as construed by the Supreme Court for 145 years." Then he adds:

"Of course the politicians interested in public money and our noisy and treacherous Leftists will ask: Do you want to go back? Of course not. We want to go forward. But we have reached a road block in our civilization and have wandered off on a fork in the road. We have been stumbling under the guidance of hot-headed Socialist revolutionaries and corrupt politicians into a wilderness. *We must go back in order to go forward. We must return to the great highway of the American Republic.*"

Some of the remedies the author proposes sound drastic and even almost impossible. Here they are:

A constitutional amendment declaring the decisions of the Supreme Court since 1937 as having "no force and effect as precedents in judicial or other proceedings in determining the meaning of the words, sections and provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

"A complete repudiation of the United Nations and the removal of that organization, if continued by other countries, from this hemisphere." (This represents a return to the Monroe Doctrine.)

"The repeal of the 16th Amendment (the Income Tax Amendment) to the Constitution."

Adoption of the Bridges-Byrd amendment to prohibit the federal government's spending, except in time of actual, declared warfare, more than it takes in its receipts.

"A constitutional amendment . . . asserting that no bureau or department or corporation in which the federal government holds any part of the shares can perform any act which the government itself is forbidden to perform in its own name." (This was inspired by President Eisenhower's proposal for the financing of a highway program.)

Adoption of the Bricker Amendment. There it is—a mighty big order. And here is what Mr. Flynn regards as the alternative:

"Here is a revolution taking place under our eyes—one step at a time. Each advance into socialism is made possible by some special benefit in money or legislation which will accrue to some gullible group. And once this drift sets in a most astonishing phenomenon appears. *The nation slides unresisting down the slippery grade into socialism without any Socialist Party being implicated in the adventure.*"

Those who want the latter seem to think they know how to get it, and they seem quite confident that their efforts will be crowned with success. Meanwhile, both political parties are commit-

ted to the search for a "middle way," and the chances are we will continue to be led along these lines. Mr. Flynn maintains that there is no "middle way," that it is merely the transitional stage between the original American Republic and the Socialist State. At least he has had his say, and it remains for history to prove him right or wrong. But history, so far, has not done at all badly for this Jeremiah of American politics.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

Social Security

(Continued from Page 24)

loved and respected as individuals. That is not sufficient reason for a law which tends to put an end to individuality and its expression at age 65. If the young men and women of today's generation have lost a sense of love and respect for their aging parents, that is something which the government cannot restore through its devices of compulsion. That is a form of insecurity which must be borne by parents whose cause for anxiety lies in their having failed to convey to their children the concepts of the sanctity of the individual and the rights to life and private property.

A CODE OF ETHICS

The same time-weathered code of ethics which advocates honoring one's father and mother recommends respect for the life and livelihood—the private property—of others. To violate any part of that code destroys the meaning of the rest of it. Society cannot enforce a law which guarantees security to the aged by denying the producer the right to the product of his own efforts. The best that society can do is to give the individual a chance to honor and respect his elders. This means allowing the individual his choice concerning the use to be made of his own life and his own productive efforts. It is possible for an individual to honor and respect others who are tolerant of his freedom to choose. But rare indeed is the individual who can extract love and honor from others by compulsory means!

Such things as love, respect, honor, and justice in the relationships between persons are measurable and meaningful only to the extent that individuals voluntarily reject an opportunity to dislike, disrespect, dishonor, or deal unjustly with others. And old-age security also falls into that category. Since a weak person cannot force a strong person to help him, it would seem wise to put the appeal on some basis other than coercion. This means retrieving the responsibility for old-age security from the hands of government, which depends exclusively upon the power of coercion.

END

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- No. 15-F** — *Should the Government Use Industry Paid Employees in Making Positions in Peacetime?*
 GUESTS: Sen. John Sparkman and Col. Alvin M. Owsley, attorney, diplomat and soldier
- No. 16-F** — *Is the National Economy Endangered by the Current Business Merger Movement?*
 GUESTS: Col. Alvin M. Owsley and Sen. John Sparkman
- No. 17-F** — *Which Highway Program — Democratic or Republican?*
 GUESTS: Sen. John Sparkman and Cong. Bruce Alger (R-Texas)
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No. 64-A — *The United Nations — Success or Failure?*

GUEST: Eugene W. Castle, Author and president of Castle Films

No. 65-A — *Should We Join the Atlantic Union?*

GUEST: Gardner Osborne, Chairman of the American Coalition of New York (an organization of one hundred patriotic societies throughout the United States)

No. 66-A — *Should Movies Be Censored?*

GUEST: Arthur De Bra, Director of Community Relations for the Motion Picture Association of America

No. 67-A — *How Can We Protect Our Civil Liberties?*

GUEST: Patrick Murphy Malin, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union

No. 68-A — *Is the Fifth Amendment Being Abused?*

GUEST: Vitalis L. Chalif, noted New York lawyer and Member of the Board of Aware, Inc. (The stated purpose of this organization is to combat Communist conspiracy in entertainment communications.)

No. 69-A — *Should Subversives Be Barred from the Entertainment Industry?*

GUEST: Godfrey Schmidt, President of Aware, Inc.

No. 70-A — *Should Foundations Be Non-Partisan?*

GUEST: Norman Dodd, Public Relations Director of the Reece Committee (on tax-exempt foundations)

No. 71-A — *Is Colonialism Dead?*

GUEST: Earl Lloyd George, Member of the British House of Lords



BURT



BUCKLEY

(Continued on next page)

FACTS FORUM PANEL RADIO AND TV PROGRAMS (Continued)



COMBS



HODGES

No. 72-A — How Peaceful Is Our Coexistence?

GUEST: Devin Garrity, president of Devin-Adair Publishing Co.

No. 73-A — Who Is the Next President?

GUEST: Larry Newman of *The American Weekly*

No. 74-A — Can Organized Crime Be Combated?

GUEST: Judge Louis Goldstein, former District Attorney and prosecuting attorney Kings County, New York

No. 75-A — Are Schools Used for Propaganda?

GUEST: Professor E. Merrill Root, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana

***No. 76-A — UNESCO — Good or Bad Influence?**

GUEST: Willmoore Kendall, Professor of political science at Yale University, and editor of *The National Review*

***No. 77-A — How Hot Is the Cold War?**

GUEST: Arnaud de Borchgrave, Foreign Affairs Editor of *Newsweek*

***No. 78-A — How Influential Is TV in American Life?**

GUEST: Charles Alieoate, Executive Editor of *Radio TV Daily and Film Daily*

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The subjects and the guests featured during November and December, 1955, were claiming headline attention in the press:



HURLEIGH

The New Look Behind Russian Smiles

GUEST: Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wisconsin)

The Merits of a Tougher Foreign Policy

GUEST: Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisconsin)

New Strategy of Cold War and Propaganda Since Geneva

GUEST: Theodore C. Streibert, Director of United States Information Agency

Use of American Taxpayers' Dollars for Support of Foreign Nations

GUEST: Sen. Theodore Francis Green (D-Rhode Island)

Political Observations

GUEST: Kentucky's Governor Albert B. Chandler

Presidential News — State of the Nation on Eve of President Eisenhower's Anniversary in the White House

GUEST: Press Secretary James C. Hagerty

Review of Nation's Economy for 1955-1956

GUEST: Clifford F. Hood, President of United States Steel Co.

New York Governor Averell Harriman's Candidacy

GUEST: Carmine C. de Sapio, Secretary of State (New York) and Democratic Party leader

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Andalusia	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
	WCTA*	920	Mon	7:15 p
Anniston	WCTA†	920	Mon	8:30 p
Atmore	WSPC*	1390	Wed	7:30 a
	WATM*	1580	Tues	9:15 a
Auburn	WATM*	1580	Sun	12:30 p
	WAUD*	1230		
	WAUD**	1230		
Birmingham	WBRC-TV**	6		
Brewton	WEBJ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	WEBJ**	1240		
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS**	800	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL-TV**	23	Sat	7:00 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Sun	2:15 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun	5:00 p
	WOOF**	560	Sun	12:15 p
Enterprise	WIRB*	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		
	WJOL**	1340		
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
	WGWD**	570		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Hamilton	WEHH*	970	Fri	7:30 a
Huntsville	WBHF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Jackson	WPBB*	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
	WJJI†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
Oneonta	WCOV-TV**	20	Wed	6:00 p
	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

ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Flagstaff	KGPM*	690		
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sun	1:00 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p

ARKANSAS

Arkadelphia	KVRC†	1240	Mon	10:30 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	To be announced	
Camden	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
El Dorado	KRBB*			
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
	KFSA-TV**	22	Sun	1:00 p
Ilope	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Lot 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	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Paragould	KDRS*	1490		
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Preahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Russellville	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Stuttgart	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV**	6	Sat	8:30 p

CALIFORNIA

Colalinga	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	8:30 p
Needles	KSFE**	1340	Sun	7:30 p
	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p

CALIFORNIA — (Continued)

Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	
Oroville	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAFF*	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
	KSUE**	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	WYBC**	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
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
	WTVT-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
	WDLP*	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	WCGA†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKUJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Jesup	WBCR*	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	WWNS†	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
Wailuku, 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		

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Your programs are wonderful and so enlightening.

Mrs. LEILA P. SARVAY
1406 Mulberry Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Just received the November issue of *Facts Forum [News]* and have read nearly half of its contents. It is getting better every issue. Another significant characteristic is the simplicity with which the issues are presented. Congratulations!

W. J. KLOPP, PH.D.
4270 San Rafael Avenue
Los Angeles, California

P.S.—The article by Robert E. Wilson, "The Importance of Scientific Education," is a masterpiece and should be in the hands of every teacher of the sciences on the secondary school level.

I only wish I had the means to put your paper into every home in America. We need more fearless people getting the truth to our people.

MR. R. R. WYNCOOP
1550 White Avenue
Grand Junction, Colorado

I always look forward to receiving *Facts Forum News* because of the straightforward presentation of facts and issues . . . You are doing a great service for all . . . Americans who believe in a strict interpretation of the Constitution. Keep up the good work of carrying a patriotic message to the thoughtful readers of [your magazine].

KENT H. COURTNEY
7314 Zimple Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Wishing you continued success in your future broadcasts [*Facts Forum Panel*] and hoping you will be a means [of influencing] the public to do a little thinking. I remain

MR. F. X. HOHMAN
1 East Barre Street
Baltimore, Maryland

I am anxiously looking for the next copy of *Facts Forum News*. Wish it was a weekly.

Mrs. ROY E. CHAFFEE
Lansing, Michigan

This is to express my thanks and appreciation for the publication of Senator McCarthy's August 1st speech to the Senate. The October issue . . . was an extremely good number.

FRANCES BOLTON KORTHEUER
2641 Dartmoor Road
Cleveland Heights 18, Ohio

. . . Continued success in the production of one of the very few intelligent TV [*Facts Forum Panel*] programs.

MR. S. PLASS
1306 Carroll Street
Brooklyn, New York

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters' Roundup

ILLINOIS — (Continued)

Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
	WMAQ	670		
	WMAQ-TV	670		
Cicero	WHFC	1450		
Decatur	WDZ	1050		
	WDZ	1050		
	WTVP-TV	17	Sat	9:00 p
Dixon	WSDR	1240		
Du Quoin	WDQN	1580		
	WDQN	1580		
East Peoria	WEEK	1350		
	WEEK	1350		
Elgin	WRMN	1410		
	WRMN	1410		
Evanston	WEAW	1330		
Fairfield	WFIW	1390		
Freeport	WFRL	1570		
	WFRL	1570		
Galesburg	WGIL	1400		
	WGIL	1400		
Harrisburg	WBOQ	99.9	Wed	8:00 p
	WBOQ			
	WSIL-TV			
Herrin	WJPF			
	WJPF			
Jacksonville	WLDS	1180		
Joliet	WJOL	1340		
	WJOL	1340		
Kankakee	WKAN	1320		
	WKAN	1320		
Kewanee	WKEL	1450	Sun	12:15 p
	WKEL	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	WGGH	1150		
	WGGH	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
	WHBF-TV	13	Sun	2:30 p
Rockford	WHCO	1230		
Sparta	WHCO	1230		
	WSDR	1240		
Sterling	WIZZ	1250		
Streator	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	WTIS	1370		
	WTIS	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		
	WKJC	1380	Mon	8:30 p
	WILQ	1570		
Frankfort	WKAM	1460		
Goshen	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
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		

INDIANA — (Continued)

North Vernon	WOCH	1460		
	WOCH	1460		
Peru	WARU	1600		
	WARU	1600		
Portland	WPGW	1440		
	WPGW	1440		
Salem	WSLM	1220		
Seymour	WJCD	1390	Sun	
	WJCD	1390	Sun	
South Bend	WSBT	960		
	WSBT	960		
	WSBT-TV	34		
Terre Haute	WBOW	1230		
	WTHI-TV	10	Mon	
Vincennes	WAOV	1450		
	WAOV	1450		
Washington	WAMW	1580	Sun	
	WAMW	1580	Sun	

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG	1600	Mon	
	KCRG	9	Thurs	
Clinton	KROS	1340	Mon	
Decorah	KDEC	1240	Mon	
	KDEC	1240	Sat	
Des Moines	WHO	1040	Mon	
Fort Dodge	KQTV-TV	21	Sun	
	KVFD	1400	Thurs	
Marshalltown	KFJB	1230	Mon	
Mason City	KRIB	1490	Mon	
Muscatine	KWPC	860		
Newton	KCOB	1280		
	KCOB	1280		
Oelwein	KOEL	950	Sun	
	KOEL	950	Sun	
Ottumwa	KBIZ	1240	Mon	
Spencer	KICD	1240	Mon	
Waterloo	KWWL	1330	Mon	
	KWWL-TV	7	Sat	

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB	1460	To be ann	
	KCRB	1460	Sat	
Dodge City	KGNO	1370	Mon	
Garden City	KIUL	1240	Mon	
Hutchinson	KWHK	1260	Sun	
Independence	KIND	1010	Mon	
McPherson	KNEX	1540	To be ann	
Pittsburgh	KSEK	1340	Sat	
	KSEK	1340	Sun	
Pratt	KWSK	1570		
Salina	KSAL	1150	Mon	

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL	1290	Sun	
	WCBL	1290	Sun	
Campbellsville	WTCO	1150	To be ann	
Cumberland	WCPM	1490	Mon	
Danville	WHIR	1230	Mon	
Elizabethtown	WIEL	1400	Fri	
Hazard	WKIC	1340	Mon	
Henderson	WSON	860	Mon	
Lexington	WLEX	1300	Sun	
Louisville	WGRG	790	Mon	
Madisonville	WFMW	730	Sun	
	WFMW	730		
Mayfield	WKTM			
	WKTM			
Monticello	WFLW	1570	Sun	
Murray	WNBS	1340		
	WNBS	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS	1420		
Pikeville	WPKE	1240	Mon	
Prestonsburg	WPRT	960	To be ann	
Vancelev	WMTC	730		
Winchester	WWKY	1380		

LOUISIANA

Crowley	KSIG	1450	To be ann	
	KSIG	1450	Sun	
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV	25	Thurs	
Mansfield	KDBC	1360	Sun	
Minden	KAPK	1240	Sun	
Monroe	KMLB	1440	Sat	
	KNOE-TV	8	Sun	
Natchitoches	KWCJ	1450		
New Orleans	WJMR-TV	20	Sun	
			Retelecast	
	WJMR			
Opelousas	KSLO	1230	Sun	
	KSLO	1230	Tues	
Ruston	KRUS	1490	Sun	
Shreveport	KTBS	710	Wed	
Tallulah	KTLD	1360	Sun	

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV	2		
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL	810		
Salisbury	WBOC	960	Mon	

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC	680	Mon	
	WTAO-TV	56	Thurs	
New Bedford	WBSM	1230		
Pittsfield	WMGT-TV	74	Fri	
West Yarmouth	WOBB	1240	Fri	
Worcester	WWOR-TV	14	Wed	

MICHIGAN

Alpena	WATZ	1450	Mon	
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What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

My thanks to *Facts Forum News* for affording me the opportunity of reading Senator McCarthy's magnificent speech on the "Big 4 Conference" — a speech that would rouse most anyone out of complacency [October, 1955, issue].

ELIZABETH HAMM
535 South Gramercy Place
Los Angeles 5, California

God bless your fine work.

HELEN W. BIRNIE
Christian Anti-Communism Crusade
Box 508
Waterloo, Iowa

I am truly interested in your magazine and all that it contains. We must keep both feet on the ground, both eyes open, and be constantly alert.

MRS. A. BLACKERBY
671 South 34th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

While in the La Salle College Library in Philadelphia, I chanced to pick up the September issue of *Facts Forum News*, which I enjoyed very much. I noticed that FACTS FORUM presents both sides of an issue, so that the reader can come to an intelligent decision about the topic presented.

EDWARD M. O'DONNELL
429 Avenue A
Folcroft, Pennsylvania

I have been getting *Facts Forum News* ever since it had four pages, and I am truly amazed that with each issue FFN gets bigger and better. I hope the process continues.

ROBERT L. HARDGRAVE, JR.
Sonora, Texas

We have heard your discussions on TV for some time, and get a great deal of knowledge from them.

MRS. DAISY BARNABY
504 South Third Street
Terre Haute, Indiana

Facts Forum News is doing an excellent job in presenting both sides of vital issues. All too often publications present only their own . . . side.

DONALD J. ELY
1350 West 41st Street
Baltimore 11, Maryland

The article [The Basic Law of Life] by Cong. B. C. Reece of Tennessee in *Facts Forum News* of October, 1955, is to my mind one of the best addresses I have read. Tennessee is fortunate to have this gentleman working for them and the U. S.

DR. THOMAS BURNS
15 Tremont Street
Kingston, Massachusetts

MICHIGAN — (Continued)

Ann Arbor	WPAC-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	WCBC†	1240	Fri	12:45 p
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
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	WCGW†	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	9:45 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		
Gulfport	WCCM*			
Indianola	WMLA*	1400		
	WMLA**	1400		
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	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
Wavelo	WELO*	1490		
	WELO**	1490		
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:00 p
	WROB**	1450	Thurs	7:00 p
Wazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

ape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS-TV**	12	Sun	12:30 p
	KGMO*			
	KGMO**			
aruthersville	KCRV*			
	KCRV**			
harleston	KCHR*	1350	To be announced	
	KCHR**	1350		
linton	KDKD**	1280	Sun	12:00 p
stus	KJCF*			
	KJCF**			
annibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
erson City	KLIK**	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
plin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WMBH**			
	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
hanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
alden	KTCB*			
	KTCB**			
aryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:45 p
oberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
ountain Grove	KLRS*			
ovada	KNEM*	1240	Sun	1:05 p
plar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:30 p
	KWOC**			
rtageville	American Christian Broadcast, Co.			
Joseph	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 p
Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
	KWK*			
	KFUO*	850	Thurs	3:45 p
	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSGM**	980		
alia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
	KSIS**	1050		
eston	KSIM*			
	KSIM**			
ringfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KICK*			
	KICK**			
	KTTT-TV**			
ayer	KALM*			
	KALM**			
enton	KTTN**	1600	Sun	5:30 p

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	To be announced	
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLO*	1230	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLQ**	1230		
Butte	KXLF**	1370	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLF-TV**	1370	To be announced	
	KXLF-TV**	6	Sun	9:45 p
Glasgow	KLTV*	1240	Tues	7:30 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLK**	1400	To be announced	
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:00 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ**	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	KIYH†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**	1450	Wed	7:45 p
	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	
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NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Millville	WMLV**	1440		
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	KSWV-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
Buffalo	WXRA*	1080	Sun	9:30 a
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410		
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p
Hornell	WWHG*	1320		
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:30 p
Kingston	WKNY-TV**	66	Fri	10:00 p
Little Falls	WLFH*	1230		
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
New York	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WPIX-TV**		Fri	12:00 n
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
Ticonderoga	WIPS*			
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville	WWNC*	570	Sat	6:30 p
Belmont	WCQG*	1270		
Brevard	WPNF*	1240		
	WPNF**	1240		
Burlington	WBBS*	920	Sun	1:00 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410		
	WEGO**	1410		
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Wed	10:00 a
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

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I would like to say how informative I find your Sunday [Facts Forum Panel] programs. Mrs. GENEVIEVE SAYDAK 8874 Piedmont Detroit 28, Michigan

It is a pleasure to mail my subscription to Facts Forum. You have done much to keep the American people informed on the vital issues of the day.

EDWARD C. WREN
Route No. 2
Cascade, Montana

I have just finished listening to another one of your provocative and interesting programs. I wish to say that you are doing a fine job educating the American public to the problems of today.

RALPH R. NICHOLS
12 Hamilton Way
Columbia, Missouri

I'm sending [some] questions which I hope are used in your broadcasts. I only wish to add that I believe you are doing a tremendously great job.

JUAN R. SOCASTEGUA
Calle Ochoa 482, Ote.
Ciudad Juarez, Mexico

. . . Another constructive article I read in your November, 1955, issue is entitled, "Soviet Foreign Trade," by Siegfried Garbuny . . .

R. B. TURNAI, M.D.
146-22 - 35th Avenue
Flushing, New York

Just finished your wonderful, informative [Facts Forum Panel] TV program which had the following question: "Is the Fifth Amendment Being Abused?"

MR. HERBERT P. HOPPE
10532 Wisteria Lane
St. Louis 23, Missouri

Facts Forum is to be highly commended for the interest it takes in the welfare of the ordinary people; also for bringing the facts to the people.

CHARLES F. MILLER
1714 Stephen Street
Brooklyn 27, New York

For several weeks I have been meaning to write you to commend you for your Facts Forum Panel program. It has been one of so few worthwhile programs on TV and eagerly awaited each week by this viewer—particularly for the brilliant debate of Mr. Buckley. Appreciate your admirable productions and trust that they may continue as a source of enlightenment and interest.

Mrs. JAMES D. HOLMAN
Mantoloking, New Jersey

Please extend my thanks and appreciation to Freda Utley for her masterful article in October FFN.

OSCAR LAPIROW
340 West Main
West Jefferson, Ohio

NORTH CAROLINA — (Continued)

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
	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Statesville	WTYN*	1580		
Tyron	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wallace	WHED**	1340	Wed	9:30 p
Washington	WHED*	1340		
	WGNI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Wilmington	WMFD-TV**	6	Tues	10:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV**	26	Sun	5:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230		
	KDIX*	1230		
Fargo	WDAY-TV**	6	Sun	4:00 p
			alternating Sun	4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Valley City	KOVC†	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
	WDOK*	1260		
Coshocton	WTNS*	1560		
Delaware	WLSN**			
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	Sun	3:30 p

OKLAHOMA

Altus	KWHW†	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
	KTVO-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	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun	4:30 p
Carbondale	WCBL*	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	WBZP†	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	WKRZ†	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	WKBI*	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBI†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WKBI**	1400		
Scranton	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		
Wellsville	WNB†	1570	Sun	1:00 p
	WNB**	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	DZAO-TV**	3	Mon	
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PUERTO RICO

Mayaguez	WTTL**	1300		
San Juan	WFOA**	1400	Tues	

SOUTH CAROLINA

Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	
Bishopville	WAGS*	1380		
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	
Charleston	WHAN*	1340		
Cheraw	WCRE*	1420	Sat	
	WCRE**	1420		
	WCCD*	1490		
Chester	WCCD**	1490	Sun	
	WCCD**	1490	Sun	
Columbia	WCOS-TV**	25	Sun	
Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	
Florence	WJMX**	970	Thurs	
	WOLS*	1230	Sun	
Georgetown	WGTV†	1400	Mon	
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY**	1280		
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	
Rock Hill	WTYC*	1150	Sat	
Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	

SOUTH DAKOTA

Brookings	KBRK*	1430		
Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	

TENNESSEE

Athens	WLAR**	1450		
Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	
	WMFS*	1260		
Clarksville	WDXN*	540		
Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Mon	
Cookeville	WHUB*	1400	Thurs	
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	
Etawah	WCPH*	1220	Sun	
Harriman	WDEH*	800		
	WDEH**	800		
	WHBT*	1230		
	WHBT**	1230		
Jackson	WTIS*	1390	Tues	
	WTIS**	1390	Thurs	
	WDXH†	1310	Mon	
	WDXH**	1310	Mon	
Johnson City	WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
	WKXV**	900		
	WTSK-TV**	26	Thurs	
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	
Lebanon	WCOR*	900		
	WCOR**	900		
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	
Maryville	WGAP*	1400	Sun	
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	
Morrisville	WCRK†	1450	Mon	
Murfreesboro	WGNS*	1450	Sun	
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	
Newport	WLIK**	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	
	WTPR†	710	Mon	
	WTKS*	1420	Mon	
Pulaski	WSEV*	930		
Sevierville	WEPG*	910	To be	
South Pittsburgh	WEPG**	910	To be	
	WSMT*	1050	Sun	
Sparta	WDBL*	1430	Sun	
Springfield	WENK*	1240	Tues	
Union City	WENK**	1240	Mon	
Winchester	WCDD†	1340	Mon	

TEXAS

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	
	KRUM*	1400		
Ballinger	KBMT-TV**	31	Mon	
Beaumont	KFDM*	560	Mon	
	KFDM**	1490	Sun	
Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Mon	
	KIBL**	1490	Mon	
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	
Bonham	KFTN*	1420	Sun	
	KFTN**	1420	Sat	
	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	
Borger	KSTB†	1430	Sun	
Breckenridge	KBOR*	1600	Sat	
Brownsville	KBWD†	1380	Mon	
Brownwood	KORA†	1240	Mon	
Bryan	KCAR*	1350	Sun	
Clarksville	KCLE*	1120	Sun	
Cleburne	KCLE**	1120	Fri	
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Sun	
Colorado City	KVMC*	1320	Sun	
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Sun	
	KVDO-TV**	22	Sat	
	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	
Crockett	KIVY**	1290	Tues	
	KRLD-TV**	4	Sat	
Dallas	WFAA*	820	Wed	
	WFAA**	570	Mon	
	KERC*	1590	Sun	
Eastland	KBRZ**	1460	Sun	
Freepport	KNAF†	1340	Mon	
Fredericksburg	KGVL*	1400	Mon	
Greenville	KPRC*	950	Wed	
Houston	KSAM†	1490	Mon	
Huntsville	KEBE*	1400		
Jacksonville				

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I laud your most worthy program which is a great consolation to me and, I suppose, many other citizens concerned with various timely issues which you discuss.

Mr. JOHN W. LOGAN
P. O. Box 14
Spindale, North Carolina

Your program comes in just perfect, we enjoy it immensely. A tense fast-moving program. In regard to a present subject or problem — I know in our home — you hold the interest of everyone.

Mrs. HUBERT OSWEILER
Webster, Iowa

. . . I take this opportunity to say your magazine is doing a fine public service, and I highly recommend it to all my friends.

Mrs. PAULINE CLASSEN
Shortsville, New York

Once again I would like to congratulate you highly for your excellent and most needed publication. It surpasses anything now being offered to the public.

RICHMOND GILL, JR.
1552 Vance Avenue
Memphis 4, Tennessee

Since subscribing to your publication some five months ago, I get an excellent compendium of conservative views to balance the preponderance of leftist propaganda which seems to permeate local news organs.

THEODORE L. HUMES
RD No. 2, Johnson Road
Bridgeville, Pennsylvania

I enjoyed Mr. William Buckley's able defense of the right to censor motion pictures in the discussion on Facts Forum Panel, Saturday, p.m. It is heartening to hear someone with a sense of decency take a stand for morality in a world fast losing its sense of moral values.

MISS BLANCHE MARS
4014 Simpson
Dallas, Texas

As a reader of *Facts Forum News* I look forward to each issue.

REV. URBAN J. BAER
St. Wenceslaus Rectory
Rural Route 1
Eastman, Wisconsin

I have been a subscriber to *Facts Forum* magazine for over a year now, and I find it to be the best magazine available for those who really want to know the true situation concerning issues that involve our national welfare. Both sides of the questions are always presented in an unbiased manner.

If the average layman would read *Facts Forum News*, he would not only have a better understanding of his government, and the problems with which it is confronted, but he would have a better insight into the type of individual that it takes to make good government.

JOHN P. DEAR
220 South First Avenue
Paden City, W. Virginia

Who Should Judge Our Boys?

JENNER (Continued from Page 42)

There is no torture in American jails. French police can keep the accused in jail for months or even years. The judge is in practice, a public prosecutor, determined to find the accused guilty if possible.

I am sure you have heard the story of Privates Dick Keefe and Tony Scarlotti, who had had too many drinks at Christmas time and "borrowed" a French taxi-cab. A French court gave them each five years — in solitary confinement. The French government even refused to let the men write or receive letters from their families. When a distinguished American patriot went to France recently to see what he could find out about the Americans in French jails, he was given the run-around.

Fellow Americans, I have introduced in the Senate, Senate Joint Resolution 4, calling on our government to end these treaties, and restore to every American soldier the protection of our Constitution wherever his government may send him. A similar resolution was introduced in the House of Congress by Congressman Bow of Ohio.

This issue will come up again in Congress in January. The members of Congress do what the people of their districts ask them to do.

This is your issue, fathers and mothers and wives of our fighting men. Our soldiers cannot protect their constitutional rights. We must do it for them.

If you feel as I do, that no American in his country's military service can be deprived of his basic rights, you will not stop until these treaties are ended, and the Constitution once again protects everyone serving under the American flag.

PARKMAN (Continued from Page 43)

Servicemen who have broken local laws. Mr. Robert Murphy, Deputy Undersecretary of State, testified that in a total of six thousand cases in which American soldiers have run afoul of local laws, no basis has been found for a single complaint on the part of our government. The State Department stated that of the six thousand cases only eighty-five individuals have gone to jail, and that only twenty-two are still there serving a sentence. Moreover, the State Department pointed out that in not one of these cases is it believed that an innocent man has gone to jail.

Facts simply do not show any real reason for concern over the Status of Forces Treaty. As a matter of fact it has worked well, and there is every reason to

believe that it will continue to work well. So far our servicemen stationed abroad have gotten only good out of it. If the contrary should ever become true, it would be a simple matter for us to rescind the treaty and to take other measures to insure fair treatment for our men.

Reorganizing the Government

(Continued from Page 25)

ice connected sickness. The Commission supported this as a public obligation but proposed a method to stop "gold bricking" which the veterans organizations themselves have denounced.

Another instance is the recommendation as to the Rural Electrification Administration, where it has been represented that the Commission was trying to destroy that service. We did not recommend its termination or the limitation of its operations; but we did recommend its reorganization to put it on a more businesslike basis. Nor did the Commission attempt to destroy housing programs. It did recommend a simplification in federal action that would not stop a single project. I myself had brought about the first federal action in this area 23 years ago, and the Commission supported its continuance.

The Water Resources Task Force was not packed with special interests. It comprised 15 engineers, five lawyers, three governors or former governors, and a public accountant. They included members of both parties.

When a motion was made in the Commission to place three persons on the task force "who believe in the principle of federal public power development," it was tabled by a vote of 10-to-1, in which three Democrats concurred, on the ground that such action would necessitate appointment of three persons also to represent the public utility interests. Instead the Commission voted unanimously to authorize the task force to hold public hearings at which individuals and representatives of groups could present their views.

These public hearings were held throughout the country. A total of 261 statements were presented to the task force, representing all points of view, and making 5,000 pages of testimony. These statements received due consideration in the task force's findings.

No one with 40 years' experience in public life expects the opposition to a particular idea always to be fair. However, a method of balancing the budget and substantially reducing taxes by the elimination of waste would not seem an unworthy program for both political parties.

RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

TEXAS — (Continued)

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	KLVT*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOV*	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KTVE-TV**	32	Sat	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	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Pampa	KPAT*	1230		
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-TV**	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	WOAI-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	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:45 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KTFS*	1400	To be announced	
Tyler	KLTV-TV**	7	Wed	10:00 p
Vernon	KVVC*	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*	1290	Wed	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV**	5	Fri	8:30 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV**	6	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	WBLT†	1490	Mon	9:30 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	WMBC*	1380		
Roanoke	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	3:00 p
Staunton	WAFB*	900	Sun	12:00 n
Suffolk	WLPN*	1450		
	WLPN**	1450		
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced	
Winchester	WINC-WREL*	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	WKOY†	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		

(Continued on Page 64)

CONTEST RULES

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

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 10 six-month subscriptions to FF News for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, \$5 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; with a token award of 5 six-month subscriptions for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes.

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:

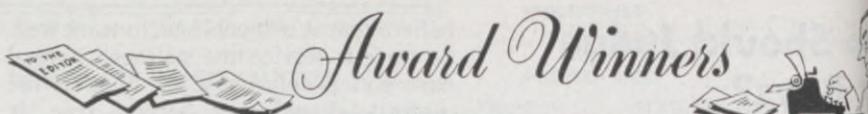
Send questions to be discussed on the **FACTS FORUM PANEL** programs to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those who send questions which become the subject of a broadcast will receive a set of Collier's Encyclopedia, and the runner-up will receive a set of Wedgewood china. Additional awards of lesser value 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 three persons submitting questions used on each program 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

U. N. IS STEP TOWARD WORLD DICTATORSHIP

To the *Moline Daily Dispatch*:

The UN instead of being a progressive step toward world peace and prosperity, could become a death trap for freedom-loving peoples.

The U. S. is the greatest nation on earth because the principles embodied in the Constitution were established by God-fearing men and based upon the divine standards set forth in the word of God. However, the proposed revision to the UN charter would require all member states to surrender their national sovereignty to this international body; whereby, under majority rule, those peoples who have no respect for divine authority and American principles would be in a position to determine, define, and enforce the standards governing every individual upon the face of the earth. Having once surrendered national sovereignty to the power controlling the resources and military forces of the world, no nation could hope to regain freedom.

The UN is a definite step toward totalitarianism and world dictatorship.

LAURENCE G. EHRHARDT
1925 31st St., Moline, Illinois

* * *

2nd Award

ELECTION WILL TELL

To the *Boston Post*:

The newspapers continually state that if Ike does not run for President he will pick as his successor someone who will continue his policies.

The supine and apathetic way in which our citizens accept that statement indicates all too clearly the evil effect on our thinking due to coexistence with totalitarian governments.

Our Constitution provides means for our citizens to choose their Presidents and carry out their will — and does not intend that an incumbent President should choose his successor to carry out his will.

No one knows if our citizens approve his policies or not until next election day.

GBACE BACON
37 Walnut Place
Newtonville, Massachusetts

3rd Award

ONLY LABOR CAN GUARANTEE WAGES

To the *Dallas News*:

It is too bad Mr. Reuther doesn't plain, or at least mention in passing, a few basic truths to his labor followers. First, that wages are produced, not anteed.

The only way a guarantee for can be made is to guarantee that thing produced will be purchased follows, therefore, that the only the money to come from is from the higher the value, the greater market.

Secondly, the only guarantee for is for labor to turn out greater value.

Thirdly, the only way for labor deliver more value is to give workmanship. Thus, in final only labor itself can guarantee wages, by giving value. Wages are produced, not guaranteed, as Mr. Reuther well knows.

While we are about it, why not anteed profit for management?

MELLIE MERLE
909 East Hapkin
Mexia, Texas

* * *

COLONIALISM vs. COMMUNISM

To the *Fresno Bee*:

I note your paper cites the Sun Yat-sen as the George Washington of China.

But today China is in a worse than ever. Red communism is entrenched, hunger and injustice spread and Christian missionaries driven out. Even Sun Yat-sen's Communist.

This China mess is the inevitable result of trying to make the Chinese Democrats. The Internationalists that because Democracy has worked England and America, it should everywhere.

The trouble is that before democracy can be established, the Communists and take over. Walter Winchell that the Red termites have taken the Indonesian cabinet.

Thus, the international democracy the UN is fast being displaced by national communism. We need to alive on this vital issue and react

that British, French, Dutch and Italian colonialism is a lesser evil than international communism.

R. C. CHAPLIN
3601 Brown Ranch Road
Santa Cruz, California

* * *

SAVE THE CONSTITUTION

★ To the *Indianapolis Star*:

Today's Constitution is practically powerless because of its gradual emasculation by interpretation.

Loyal, self-reliant, and individualistic Americans have long been aware that their treasured Constitution, which was created by them, and for them, has fallen into the hands of those who interpret it in favor of a little clique of Socialists, whose "omniscience" enables them "to know what's best" for the people.

If the people of America are to remain strong, their Constitution must also remain strong. If one falters, the other must falter; if one fails, the other must ultimately fail also.

LEROY M. PELKIN
946 North Meridian
Indianapolis, Indiana

* * *

GOLDEN RULE MISAPPLIED

To the *Boston Post*:

The President and his clique continue to hold the spotlight with their conciliatory attitude consisting of soft words, sycophantic phrases and the application of the Golden Rule.

The milk of human kindness dried long ago in the hearts of the Soviet leaders.

The sad spectacle of two U.S.A.F. officers — one dead and the other injured; the innocent victims of a shooting in North Korea is the offshoot of these gangsters being treated with decorum by our leaders.

What further must we do to show our desire for peace? We've already turned the other cheek; we've shut our eyes to the unconformity of our enemy; we've huffed off all responsibility for the welfare of our citizens abroad; given the same glad hand to Russians traversing our land. What's the next step? Give them the keys to our homes and the life of refugees in our own land?

MRS. ELEANOR G. PRICE
Route 2
Dover, New Hampshire

* * *

SEGREGATION SOUND

To the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*:

The attitude of the white people of the South toward mixing the races socially will not be changed by the recent ill-considered decision of the Supreme Court. The record of peaceful coexistence of

two races so diametrically opposite for more than two centuries in spite of irreconcilable differences in culture, heredity and experience proves to all fair-minded people that the system making this possible, namely segregation, is sound and beneficial to both races.

This history of mankind will reveal no instance where a minority, racially impossible of assimilation, living under a government conceived by and for white men, has received such consideration, enjoying equal rights and opportunities, with the prospect of continued improvement intellectually and economically.

It would be an act of irresponsibility on the part of both races to even consider the abolition of segregation which experience has proven is our only guarantee of continued progress.

WARREN S. WEBB
1924 Harbert Avenue
Memphis 4, Tennessee

* * *

A. P. I. TO THE RESCUE

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*:

Although socialism is supposed to promote brotherhood and fraternal cooperation, it occasionally slips a cog, as, for instance, when the SOCIALIST coal miners of England refused to produce enough coal to keep the boilers burning in the SOCIALIZED UTILITY PLANTS.

The utility plants, in return, were obliged to turn to A.P.I. (American Private Industry) and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey supplied the answer. They are building huge oil tanks in Britain, in which will be stored oil enough to keep the SOCIALIZED gas and electric utilities running, while the SOCIALIST miners take it easy!

Well, that's how socialism usually works out! Each little Socialist spends so much time worrying lest a fraternity brother acquire a "meatier" slice than his, that his own production "falls off" with dire results to the entire Utopian setup!

But this must have been a bitter pill for socialism to swallow!

GRACE LEE KENYON
36 Sherman Street
Bristol, Connecticut

* * *

DISGRACE TO AMERICA

To the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*:

Men must undergo rigorous training to survive in war, but the system of brain-washing to which the men are being subjected is a disgrace to America. The indignities heaped on prisoners of war can be endured, but when Americans use the same beastly tactics as the Communists, can you expect the soldier or his family to have respect for this

government?

Why punish all the men for the mistakes a few have made? It's not the few turncoats who are dangerous to America, but the "coat-turners" in this country who sit back in plush chairs and undermine the principles on which this country was built. When we begin to use a technique that godless nations use to break a man's spirit, we are becoming in part like them. Every mother should protest. Our sons can't invoke the Fifth Amendment and go free; they have to suffer.

MRS. BESSIE K. SMITH
4433 Virginia Lane
Fort Worth, Texas

* * *

FARM SURPLUS

To the *Examiner*:

(We should) demand . . . that the piling of farm surplus stop. We would then get cheaper and better food, for farmers would again feed their meat animals grain . . . We would be the better fed country we once were and wouldn't have to live on vitamin pills.

A billion dollars loss each year takes just that much more money away from you. Why should butter, milk, cheese, grain — and now they are talking of piling up pork products as another surplus — be kept from our tables to be thrown away or sold at a loss to foreign countries?

Any time you eat any of these products remember you are not only paying the price the merchant asks, but are also paying for what you don't get . . .

M. MAYON
1529 Market Street
Oakland, California

* * *

'STATUS OF FORCES' TREATY

To the *Christian Science Monitor*:

There is no argument with the truth of the statement that Undersecretary of State Robert Murphy gave an extended and effective presentation in defense of the North American Treaty Organization status-of-forces treaty before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, but there is definite reason to doubt the legal justification of his seemingly logical, but very dangerous argument.

If there is legal justification for such argument, then American constitutional rights are dependent solely upon political expediency — upon whether or not the surrender of our rights is deemed for the best interests of or necessary for the good of our country, to be determined by treaty, signed by the President and ratified by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, or by executive agreement signed by the President alone.

BEATRICE J. BROWN
230 Main Street
Brattleboro, Vermont

HISTORY WILL DECIDE

To the *New Bedford Standard-Times*:

The liberal's opposition to Senator McCarthy is often misunderstood and, therefore, deserves clarification.

The McCarthyites believe that the activities of Communists and Communist sympathizers within the United States seriously threaten our national safety. To remove this danger, we must expose the Communists and their friends and make them powerless as rapidly and as completely as possible.

We liberals believe that the ideas set forth in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are just as valuable as physical safety, and that life without liberty is life without meaning. We are convinced that the methods and attitudes of Senator McCarthy and his imitators are as destructive of American political freedom as any totalitarian regime. We hold with Benjamin Franklin that a people which sacrifices liberty for security deserves neither.

For these reasons we oppose Senator McCarthy and his supporters. Which of us is wrong will be decided by history.

ROBERT W. HANEY
97 Spring Street
New Bedford, Massachusetts

* * *

RUSSIAN METHODS

To the *Newark Star Ledger*:

As long ago as 1920, Bainbridge Colby, who was Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State, said: "The existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith. The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements."

Joseph Stalin expressed the Communist diplomatic philosophy even more bluntly: "Words must have no relations to actions — otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron." (The Real Soviet Russia, Yale University Press, p. 71.)

PETER MASTRANTUONO
77 Van Nostrand Avenue
Jersey City 5, New Jersey

* * *

Manuscripts submitted to *Facts Forum News* should be accompanied by addressed envelopes and return postage. Publisher assumes no responsibility for return of unsolicited manuscripts.

Farm Problem

(Continued from Page 48)

supports, the kind of farm price supports and the manner of administration . . .

As I see it, high price supports and production control go hand in hand. Of course, there are some who want to have their cake and eat it, too. Yet, there must be limits to the amount of surpluses the government can pile up in price support policies. So long as farmers are willing and able to produce a quality product and to hold production within reasonable proximity to demand, they have every justifiable right and reason to demand that their prices be supported at a high parity ratio — at 90 per cent of parity. Unless farmers are willing and able to produce a quality product and to hold supply within reasonable proximity of demand, then high price supports are unworkable and uneconomical. Much of our present surplus is composed of inferior quality products.

Now this leads to what appears to me to be the second fundamental tenet of an effective price support policy. . . . I think a fundamental fallacy of farm policy has been and continues to be the effort to apply one farm program formula to all farm commodities pretty well alike. Cotton can be stored for a hundred years and still be good. Milk, on the other hand, is highly perishable.

In the case of storable farm commodities, I am willing to support 90 per cent price supports, if the farmers are willing to produce a quality product and to accept and apply production controls.

In the case of perishable commodities, we must develop a different kind of formula. Here, too, it will be necessary to keep supply within reasonable proximity to demand or rather to stimulate demand to approximate supply. . . . It is, it seems to me, in this field that we may find a more workable formula for commodity support.

Now, as I see it, there is a third fundamental tenet to a successful farm program, and that is the development of foreign trade. Our government has allowed other countries to take much of the American farmers' foreign market away from him.

In 1952 we exported 36 per cent of our cotton. In 1954 we exported only 23 per cent of our cotton. What makes it worse is that we had to cut our production heavily. Let me put it in number of bales. In 1939 we exported 6,500,000 bales of cotton. In 1952 we exported 5,519,000 bales. This year we are exporting less than 3,500,000 bales.

In 1952 we exported 475,000,000 bushels of wheat — 48 per cent of our crop. Last year we exported 216,000,000 bushels — 18½ per cent of our crop.

Without any partisan interest, I say to you that our government cannot continue to ignore these facts.

RADIO and TV SCHEDULE

(Continued from Page 61)

WEST VIRGINIA (Continued)

Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon

WISCONSIN

Appleton	WBHY†	1230	Mon
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon
La Crosse	WLCX†	1490	Mon
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be ann
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be ann
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be ann
	WTRW**	1590	To be ann

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues
Lander	KOVE†	1230	Mon
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon
Torrington	KCOS**	1490	Tues

Christianity and the Economic Crisis

(Continued from Page 27)

who repudiates the legitimacy of private property. Christianity has no of the superficial view that sin is a matter simply of unequal property balance in society, and it knows a strategic social reform far superior to the redistribution of property.

Yet Hebrew-Christian revelation offers no platform of absolute private ownership. Whatever man has, is only as a responsible loan from the Creator, who never renounces His interest in the material element of man's economic life, and who holds accountable for a responsible stewardship. . . .

The Biblical handling of the profit motive follows the same pattern. The principle of reward is a legitimate one. Throughout the Bible the good is represented as divinely rewarded. It is assumed that the industrious man merits its rewards. But the Bible offers no vindication of the profit motive. The absolute economic principle, abstracted from the other areas of life, and completed of any context of obligation, vindicates the profit motive, as it does the right of private property, in a specific manner, which presses even contemporary capitalism to the spiritual and moral issue: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The Bible makes the whole subject of profit in a spiritual and spiritual context; it legitimizes the principle of reward, but bounds it with a stern sense of justice and ethical obligation.

Slogan for
January, 1956

Facts Fell Foes

— Submitted by
Edwin Spengler
508 Euclid Avenue
Brooklyn 8, New York

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes January 10

Yes No

- Are Americans being deceived by talk of Russia's desire for peace?
- Should Federal government aid elementary and secondary public schools?
- Is NAACP's support of forced integration doing more harm than good?
- Would you favor constitutional amendment guaranteeing right to work?
- Should the president of the U. S. be elected by popular vote?
- Are you afraid to talk out frankly in criticism of government?
- Should England discontinue trading with Red China?
- Will automation cause widespread unemployment?
- Is the entire farm subsidy program wrong in principle?
- Should budget be balanced before more money is sent to other countries?
- Should we reduce the national debt before we lower taxes?
- Do you think the Vice President should have more duties?
- Do you approve a hike in postal rates now to offset the deficit?
- Should warehousing of food surpluses be stopped?

Remarks _____

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.

Send me Facts Forum News for 1 year. I enclose \$2.00.

January 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: MRS. VIRGINIA B. ALMORE
356 North Craig Street
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania
- 2nd: BYRON M. AUGUSTINE
9027 Fig Street
New Orleans, Louisiana
- 3rd: DARYL P. BAILEY
1112 South Howeth Street
Gainesville, Texas
- 4th: THOMAS L. BEADLES
1314 West 83rd Street
Los Angeles 44, California
- 5th: BERNARD J. BERG
Grand Meadow, Minnesota
- 6th: VINCENT C. CALLAHAN
8611 Colonial Road
Brooklyn 9, New York
- 7th: JAMES DADY
Veteran's A. C., Section 7
Bath, New York
- 8th: GEORGE DURST
P. O. Box 61
Jamaica, New York
- 9th: MRS. IONE KNIGHT
Bend Route
Lometa, Texas
- 10th: DOROTHY M. LAY
62 Sellers Road
Annapolis, Maryland
- 11th: MRS. EVELYN B. MAIER
1925 Sharp Place
Houston 19, Texas
- 12th: WANDA MILES
321 Henry Street
Appalachia, Virginia
- 13th: MRS. JANE VERARDO
5518 Eleventh Avenue
Brooklyn 19, New York
- 14th: JOHN WELCH
27½ Morton Street
New York 14, New York

LAST MONTH'S POLL RESULTS

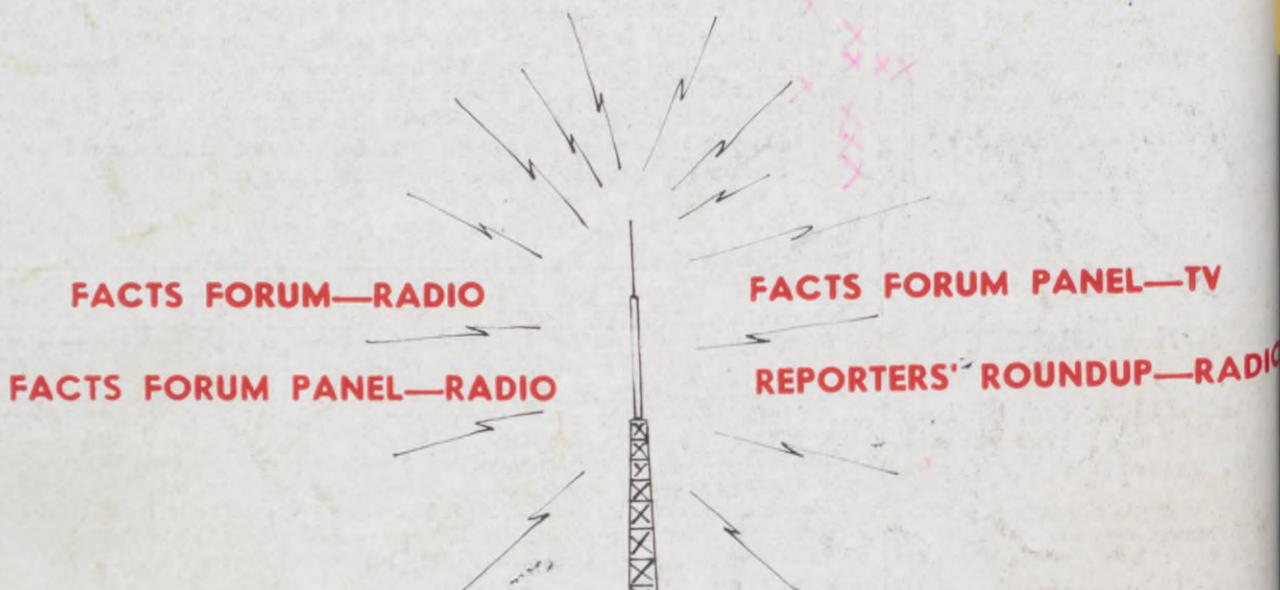
% Yes

- 10 Should the U. S. continue aid to Tito's government?
- 93 Do you favor more restraint on foreign aid?
- 89 Should secret recordings of jury deliberations be outlawed?
- 93 Is organized labor becoming too big?
- 24 Should the cabinet decide upon the inability of a president to work?
- 48 Do you believe that wire tapping should be made legal?
- 90 Should our public schools be kept free from federal aid?
- 34 While indebtedness is high or budget unbalanced, should taxes be lowered?
- 74 Should narcotic smugglers and peddlers be subject to the death penalty?
- 85 Is Negro justice in the South harmed by NAACP interference?
- 57 Should the U. S. A. sell arms to the Arabs?
- 12 Do you think rigid farm price supports should be restored?
- 78 Should the electoral college be abolished in favor of a popular vote?
- 96 Should unlimited power of the federal government to tax be restricted?



Hear... See...

FACTS FORUM PROGRAMS



From Maine to California Alaska to the Philippines*

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON
LIBRARY
HOUSTON, TEXAS
12-55

REFER TO RADIO AND TV
SCHEDULES IN THIS ISSUE