

SOMETHING TO TALK ABOUT

FROM both sides of the Atlantic roll the oratory of legislators now considering action on the huge NATO budget proposed at Lisbon. NATO planners have staked ambitious goals but unless the several legislatures provide necessary funds these goals will not be achieved.

The legislators — Representatives, Senators, M.P.s, deputies — are the men who will ultimately determine NATO's course. Because of the vast expenditures planned by the Atlantic allies — several hundred billion dollars over a three-year period — it seems that these important men should jointly consider our common Atlantic problems. The military leaders, economists and diplomats from the NATO countries meet regularly. As a result, they develop an intimate understanding of the alliance. But the legislators do not meet together, with the result, we fear, that many of them in Europe and North America are not in tune with the planners and administrators.

Lately, from many countries, there have long gathered at meetings of the Inter-parliamentary Union, where they have exchanged general ideas. In Strasbourg last week, fourteen American Congressmen met with European parliamentarians at the Council of Europe. Congressmen were prominent in the U. N. as co-authors of its charter and delegates to its meetings.

But in NATO affairs they have been conspicuous by their absence. This may be because the scope and importance of NATO

REVOLUTION A LA FORM 1040

THE Federal income tax, authorized by the Sixteenth Amendment 36 years ago, was originally designed as a revenue measure. Through the years, however, it has been a force in bringing about a redistribution of wealth in the United States.

In a recent survey by the National Bureau of Economic Research shows how far this unintended process has gone. As summed up by Will Lissner in *The New York Times*, the Bureau's survey indicates:

"The result of little-appreciated changes in the distribution of a rapidly growing national income, the United States has gone about half the way toward leveling down the income of the rich and leveling up the income of the poor."

"Where three out of four families had only one out of three full-time earners only one out of three full-time earners were numerous. In the late thirties, one family in about 80 was in the \$5,000-and-over class, and one family in about 100 was in the \$10,000-and-over class. In the late forties, one family out of six was in the \$5,000-and-over class, and one out of 30 in the \$10,000-and-over class."

"Over the years, the very rich have become poorer. . . . The share of the upper one per cent of income has declined from 20 per cent to nine per cent."

The Bureau's charts show that after tax

RADICALS OR ROBOTS

IN 1949 the New York Legislature passed the Feinberg Law, which required the Board of Regents to make a listing of organizations which it felt to be "subversive." Further, it declares that "membership in any such organization . . . shall constitute prima facie evidence of disqualification for any position within the public schools of the state."

Last week the Supreme Court upheld the law by a 6-3 decision. The majority did not believe the law would deprive school employees of the right to free speech and assembly. Nor did it see a problem of procedural due process. "The presumption that a teacher is not conscientious is justified," the court said. "The Government depends upon what organizations the Board of Regents finds 'subversive.'"

The Justice Department and House Un-American Activities Committee have com-

WE DOUBT HE CAN

REVOLUTION of voters against the apparatus of government in Washington has been so widespread that many Southerners are making the mistake they made in the last Presidential campaign. Republicans, and some Democrats as well, think Truman is a dead duck; that the only thing necessary is to keep the state of Government corruption before the people, hold an election, and change administrations.

This may be true, but confining our revolt to the prospects in North Carolina is not to believe Bob Taft can carry this state against Truman or any other Democratic nominee. He may be a great man, and he may be a great vote-getter in some areas. But when Carolinians whose political judgment is usually sound tell us that while Taft might have picked up some convention

Tennessean Will Learn Hard Lesson

WITH THE absolutely unbelievable energy which is the hallmark of the American politician, Sen. Estes Kefauver is striving through the snow-piled main streets of New Hampshire, small towns, earnestly addressing sparse audiences in innumerable overheated halls; and otherwise conscientiously performing all the ritual functions of a candidate for the American Presidency. Yet the whole performance is an oddity empty gesture.

For Kefauver himself no longer really expects any substantial political reward, here in New Hampshire, for the immense energy he is expending. And on the national scene, if Kefauver really believes that he has a chance to be his party's Presidential choice, he is almost alone in this belief. Yet the case of Estes Kefauver, an able, honorable, but too ambitious man, is worth considering all the same. For it tells a good deal about the way American politics, and especially Democratic party politics, works.

What has been happening to Kefauver here in New Hampshire is a forewarning of what is virtually certain to happen to the Kefauver campaign nationally. When Kefauver announced that he would enter a state of delegates in the New Hampshire primary, he in effect slanted the New Hampshire regular Democratic organization right in the face. For it was he, and he alone, who had won the New Hampshire primary. Before he consented to do so, Truman was promised that he would give up his hands down, and that Kefauver would be taught a lesson.

While Kefauver talks simply, sincerely, and must be admitted, rather dull, in the over-the-top hall, his lesson is being prepared for him by a crowd of out-of-control delegates capturing just one delegate — but only a very outside chance of capturing a full delegate — but only a very outside chance of capturing a full delegate — but only a very outside chance of capturing a full delegate.

The income tax law was not solely responsible for this redistribution of wealth. Contributing factors were progressive management, free trade unions, liberal credit policies, technological changes and great productivity gains.

In the view of Dr. Arthur F. Burns, who directed some of the Bureau's research, we should have reached the limit of the usefulness of the income tax as a device for redistributing income. For example, Senator Ferguson, the conservative Michigan Republican, Henry Lucas, publisher of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune*, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Virginia Dabney, the illustrious *Life* editor, are all members of the "subversive" groups, although these individuals, by no stretch of the imagination, could be termed disloyal.

We hope the New York schoolmen will show care in compiling their "subversive" lists and contain a dose of common law and degree of participation by the teacher. If not, the fears of disloyal Justices may be justified. Mr. Justice Black foresees a danger, think or say anything except what that transient majority happen to approve at the moment. Mr. Justice Douglas believes "the law inevitably turns the school system into a spying project . . . it is a system which searches for hidden meaning in a teacher's utterances."

The Court's action in upholding this law is important to all Americans because a precedent has been set. Legislators and school administrators have a great potential power over the views and actions of the teachers. This power should be used sparingly and wisely. It is better to have a few radicals than a lot of robots in the classroom.

Truman Changed Mind

Thus the Democratic regulars were threatened with public humiliation and disgrace. In order to avoid this, President Truman was persuaded by former Navy Secretary John Sullivan, acting as a Kefauver emissary, to retract his famous statement and enter the New Hampshire primary. Before he consented to do so, Truman was promised that he would give up his hands down, and that Kefauver would be taught a lesson.

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ONE of the paradoxes of politics is that President Truman allowed his name to be placed in the New Hampshire primary. The Democratic national committee's primary plays ball with the Republicans.

The committee, Emmet Kelly, was certain to lose his post and with him other organizations and the President's campaign. Now, however, the race looks so tight in New Hampshire that this little group of Democrats may lose out again.

Kefauver, for whom Truman did this favor, is so close to New Hampshire Republicans that GOP Gov. Sherman Adams has consistently appointed him Railing Committee member. Kefauver has frequently thrown his weight behind Republican policies in order to get Democratic members of the New Hampshire Legislature to support the Governor.

Kefauver is being backed by the leading Republican in the First National Bank of Boston, the utilities through Lawrence Whitmore, and works for the staunchly Republican *Boston Paper Co.* of Boston, N. H. He is also a powerful interest which used part of Kefauver's machine to attempt to defeat Senator Taft. Though Taft supported so many of Truman's policies that he got Kefauver elected a Democrat.

Thus Truman bared his breast and let his name stand in the New Hampshire primary, to save a leader who is being attacked by his best friend, and who, in order to save his political prestige, is now pulling out every card in the deck to put Truman across in the coming primary.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round

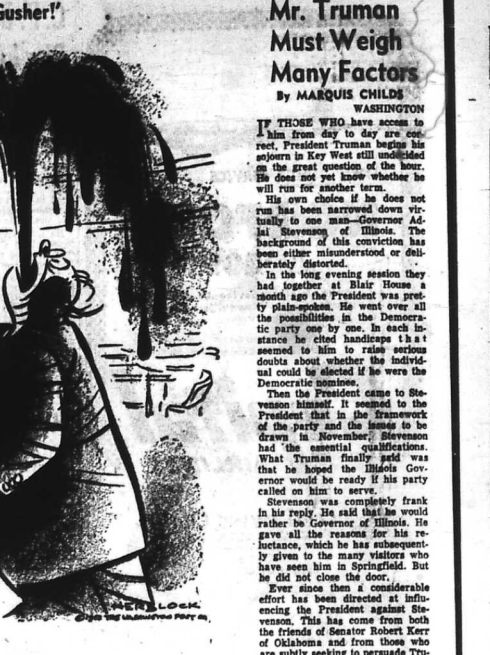
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What The N. H. Vote Will Mean

IN U. S. News & World Report

CONCORD, N. H. (Candidates for the Presidential election are getting a great store by the vote that New Hampshire citizens will cast in their primary election on March 11.)

That primary, however, is conducted under such narrow rules that the outcome can scarcely present any accurate indication of votes in November. Party lines cannot be crossed. Independents cannot vote. Leading candidates seem to be willing to risk their political fortunes on the result.

To understand the meaning of the primary, it is necessary to know a few rules and figures.

What's The Vote All About?

Actually, there are to be two kinds of primaries. A voter can vote in each one, or either one, all on the same ballot.

One kind is a presidential-preference primary, in which voters express their choice of candidates among the four who are on the ballot. This is a binding on anyone in any manner. If a voter doesn't like any of the candidates who have entered the primary, he can write in a name. A Democrat, if he wishes, can write in the name of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, or a Republican can express a preference for Democratic Senator Estes Kefauver.

The second kind of primary involves the choice of 14 delegates to the Republican National Convention and 10 to the Democratic Convention. Voters pick from a long list of individuals, most of whom favor one or another of the candidates.

Who Is Running?

For the Republicans, it's Eisenhower vs. Taft vs. Stassen. They are the three main candidates in the popularity contest. In the race for delegates, persons are entered who have no real name. A Democrat, if he wishes, can write in the name of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, or a Republican can express a preference for Democratic Senator Estes Kefauver.

For the Democrats, it's Truman vs. Kefauver in the popularity primary. In the delegate primary, there are entries favorable to the President, Senator Kefauver, former Democratic Chairman James A. Fallows, and Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois. The politicians will watch the choice of delegates. The public will be more interested in the popularity contest.

In the Democratic primary, only registered Democrats, in the Republican primary, only registered Republicans, a Democrat will not be allowed to vote in a Republican ball, or vice versa. Absentees cannot vote at all. Neither can independents. This means that the impression the country gets from the New Hampshire primary will be related rather closely to the number of registered Democrats and Republicans.

The 14 count listed more than \$11,000 of the State's \$30,000 accounts as registered voters. No

Quote, Unquote

IT HEARD the story before, but I like the way H. H. Geddis tells it. It's about a magician who got drunk and then the magician walked to the wall. He walked up the wall, across the ceiling, down the front wall, and out the door on the back wall. He said, "That's the way to get out of a tight place." The bartender replied, "Well, I guess he is—he never has said goodnight."

—Felix S. Professor, *America* (T.C.) Globe-Herald.

HEADLINE: "Truman May Make Race as 'tacit'." In a sacrifice play, as all followers of the nation's leading fellow who has been named don't get to first base—Lexington (Ky.) Leader.

Truman Backs Doubtful H. Democrats

2. Cracked the whip over Federal job holders. Jim Farley once said that every Federal worker was worth 40 votes, and that's a reasonable estimate. Small state like New Hampshire, the 2,500 Federal jobs are enough to swing a Democratic primary.

3. Sent the labor union hobnobbing. Truman was accompanied by a 7403 vote of the United Labor Policy Committee which includes the AFL, CIO, United Mine Workers, and the National Education Association.

4. Despite this, an AFL representative showed up at the recent Manchester meeting at the Rialto-Venice Hotel featuring a panel discussion on the future of the United Labor Policy Committee—though it may be denied—his was an independent show.

5. Sent the overwhelming Truman odds, however, there is a secret has been happening in the last week.

6. Contrary to Senator Majority Leader Scott Lucas, by getting out and meeting people. Truman from Tennessee, a personal messenger to assure him that there would be no hard feelings after the primary. This was done so quietly that it didn't leak to the press, but it was a real triumph for Truman. The question is whether it will be enough to offset the organized labor and machine vote.

Sour Scott Lucas

Kefauver completely outplayed Emmet Kelly by getting out and meeting people. Truman from Tennessee, a personal messenger to assure him that there would be no hard feelings after the primary. This was done so quietly that it didn't leak to the press, but it was a real triumph for Truman. The question is whether it will be enough to offset the organized labor and machine vote.

meeting was brief and dispirited, with Lucas whining about his defeat in Illinois instead of delivering a fighting, pro-Truman speech.

Lucas, an able citizen when he is able to forget the past, complained that Kefauver had cost him his Senate seat by bringing the crucial vote to the State of New Hampshire. He said that Kefauver wouldn't have embarrassed the Democratic Party if he had been a good Democrat. Lucas concluded that President Truman had "lost this hour of peril" and "should be persuaded to run again."

Behind The Iron Curtain

ALMOST unnoticed in the military appropriations bill passed by Congress last year was \$100,000,000 to be used for underground operations behind the Iron Curtain. This is something which this columnist has been urging for years.

Most Americans have sat back and followed the policy of letting Communists penetrate the USA, without penetrating the Iron Curtain in return. This was one reason for the freedom balloons launched over Czechoslovakia and Poland last Summer. The result was that the Iron Curtain was giving hope to people who believed they were forgotten.

However, following the \$100,000,000 appropriation by Congress last year, almost nothing has been done except for penetrating the Iron Curtain. It has been marred, partly in a bureaucratic controversy over how the money shall be spent, partly in a controversy over Russian refugees.

Recently, however, Sen. Pat McCarran of Nevada has been applying pressure on the State Department to throw his weight behind the Ukrainians, some of whose leaders are active in the USA.

While the Ukrainians in the United States are opposed to the Ukrainians, claiming they are so rabid that they play into Stalin's hands, nevertheless it's a fact that there are many other groups in Russia, the Ukrainians have the national organs. For years they have sought to be independent of the Soviet.