
Voice of America?

By
Senator Homer E. Capehart
of Indiana
in the
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SPEECH
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, notwithstanding the fact that we have had a quorum call, I find about as few Senators present as were present before the quorum call. However, I appreciate that Senators are busy in committee meetings.

This year the Congress voted an appropriation of \$27,000,000, as I recall the figure, to support the Voice of America. I do not know how many millions we have voted in the past. It was my understanding that it was to be a means of educating the peoples of the world as to our way of life and the good things about our country. I hold in my hand a script of one of the broadcasts, covering the States of Nevada and Utah. I have on my desk scripts relating to Alabama, Texas, and Pennsylvania.

If I correctly understand, the Voice of America, which is under the jurisdiction of the office of the Secretary of State, has had a young man and a young woman traveling over the United States. In these broadcasts they have been telling the world about our respective 48 States.

As I stated a moment ago, the broadcast which I hold in my hand, covers Nevada and Utah. It is unfortunate that we have no music here today; and it is unfortunate that we have no sound effects or voices in the background, because, not being an actor and not being accustomed to speaking on the radio, I may not do a very good job.

However, I wish to read the broadcast as sent out by our Government at the taxpayers' expense to the Central and South American countries. This broadcast was originally done in Spanish. I hold the English translation. The script which I hold in my hand was given to me by those in charge of the Voice of America programs. It is entitled, "English Translation—No North America." I call particular attention to that. The title is "No North America."

The caption reads further:

Script broadcast in Spanish to Latin America by National Broadcasting Co. on February 2, 1943.

Mr. President, when I say "music," I mean that music was heard at that point in the broadcast. Of course, in this instance it means that we should hear music, although we shall not. When I say "announcer," that refers to one of the two persons who, in the broadcast, were supposed to be traveling over the United States in an effort to educate the world in regard to our 48 States. The narrator was supposed to be one of those two persons. "Voice II" means one of the two persons talking to the narrator.

Now here is the broadcast:

Music: Theme up and under.

Announcer: The National Broadcasting Co. presents: Know North America, a weekly program in which we relate the adventures of two travelers who continue to discover the many wonders of historical and present life in the U. S. A.

Please notice that it says "historical and present life in the United States."

Then—

Music: Up and out plane, establish, then under.

That is the background.

Then—

Voice: Let me see—Oh—This immense expanse of white, is it Nevada?

Narrator: Yes—one of the biggest States in the Union, and it has only 110,000 inhabitants.

Voice: Then how can it be a State?

Narrator: One hundred thousand is the minimum.

Does anyone know of any law in the United States that requires that before a new State can be admitted into the Union, a minimum of 100,000 people must be living within its area?

Voice II: Is it possible that there is so much snow here? This doesn't seem like the West, but like a Siberian steppe.

Comparing it to Russia—

Narrator: But it's quite the opposite. The immense white expanse is a desert.

Voice II: Really?

Narrator: Of course it is. The Spanish conquerors were also deceived by the mirage, when Gaspar de Portola's soldiers saw this desert from the peak of that mountain, they shouted, "What a lot of snow!"

Voice: But they were disappointed.

Narrator: And what a disappointment! When they came down, the snow had turned to scorching sand. So it is that every time they referred to these regions, they talked about the big snowy country.

Voice II: Is this historical?

Narrator: Absolutely.

Voice II: Does this mean that Nevada owes its name to an optical illusion?

Narrator: Exactly.

Voice II: That's right, you're handsome.

Narrator: His name is.

Laughter.

Music, Up and out.

Still in the plane.

Mr. President, I presume they were flying over Nevada.

Then—

Voice (more or less alarmed)—

Note this, Mr. President; I suppose I should be more or less alarmed—

Listen, are we leaving Nevada behind?

Narrator: Yes; the plane flies directly from San Francisco to Salt Lake City.

Voice: What a shame.

Narrator: Why? Nevada has no interest in itself:

Listen to this:

Nevada has no interest in itself; it's a land of cowboys, and its two principal cities are in competition. In Las Vegas people get married, and in Reno they get divorced.

Mr. President, this is enlightening. We are supposed to be enlightening the world in this way—and we are spending millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money on these programs.

Voice: Yes, but you are forgetting that Nevada is the only State where you can play roulette. And, if we passed through Reno, I could get a divorce.

That is most enlightening; is it not? I am sure the people of Nevada appreciated that.

Then—

Narrator: You? From whom?

Voice: From you?

Laughter.

Voice: If he and I continue alone, we will get to know North America better.

The people of South America must have enjoyed listening to that.

Then—

Narrator: Oh, yes; getting up at four in the afternoon and leading a night life.

Voice: Well, what about it? All the self-respecting animals, the tiger, the lion, and the panther, sleep in the daytime and hunt at night. The hens are the only ones that go to bed at six in the evening.

Mr. President, the taxpayers are the ones who are paying to send that sort of trash over the radio to the people of Central America and South America.

Then—

Narrator: Don't you worry, we'll go back to Nevada, but first we have to stop in Salt Lake City.

Voice: What for?

Voice II: Utah is a very interesting State.

Voice: Oh, Utah. That's where men have as many wives as they can support?

Mind you, Mr. President, this is going over the radio to the peoples of the world.

Then—

Voice II: There's a gleam in your eye.

Narrator: But, man, you can't even support one.

Laughter into, up, and out. Light traffic. Three pairs of feet on pavement; stop.

Voice II: What a monumental piece of work.

Narrator: That's the famous Mormon Tabernacle. It was built by Brigham Young, one of the greatest colonizers in American history.

Voice II: How the Mormons suffered in their Odyssey from New York to Utah.

Narrator: In that period of deep religious feeling, people persisted in believing that the Mormons were trying to revive paganism. Joseph Smith, the prophet of the new religion, was assassinated by the people, and then Brigham Young took charge of the tribe and led it across deserts and mountains in search of the promised land.

Voice: Like Moses?

Narrator: Moses knew where he was going, but the Mormons did not. When they reached this spot and discovered that the water in the lake was salty, Young raised his eyes to heaven and said: "Jehova, I will build the New Zion on the borders of this new lake, because its waters are salty."

Voice II: And what a beautiful city they built.

Brigham Young governed the Mormons for 30 years with an iron hand, like an absolute emperor. When Mark Twain, the great humorist, visited this city in 1860, he said that the only thing which resembled the discipline of the Mormons was the Prussian Army.

[Laughter.]

Leaving the impression that they are still disciplined along those lines. Mind you, Mr. President, these broadcasts are sent out to people all over the world.

Then the script shows that there was laughter—that the persons giving the broadcast were laughing in an attempt to show they thought that was funny.

Then—

Voice II: Young used to carry a bottle of whisky in one pocket and a cut of chewing tobacco in the other.

Mr. President, I am sure that those of us in the Senate who voted to appropri-

ate \$27,000,000 for these broadcasts are proud of that statement, and are proud that we appropriated so much money to have some fool broadcast that sort of information to the people throughout the world.

Voice: How is that? Aren't the Mormons supposed to be very strict?

Narrator: Certainly, and that is why Young did it. Two or three times a day he pulled out the liquor and tobacco, smelled them, and put them back in the pocket.

Voice: So as not waste them?

Narrator: No; to prove that he was stronger than vice.

Voice: That is what is called having will power.

Narrator: Brigham Young was a primitive priest, who didn't counsel virtue, but imposed it.

Voice: How about the story that he had 40 wives; is that a lie?

Narrator: No. The Mormons were polygamous, but not for want of morality.

Voice: And what do you call it?

Narrator: I have no opinion, but they say that the Mormons instituted polygamy to defend themselves against their enemies.

Note this, Mr. President:

Voice: Those are excuses.

So, Mr. President, we have spent \$27,000,000 of the taxpayers' money in order to have such broadcasts made to the people of the world.

Then—

Narrator: They were very few in number, and had to increase the population rapidly.

Voice II: And did they succeed?

Narrator: Of course, so far nobody has succeeded in dislodging the Mormon dynasty in Utah.

Voice: Not even politically?

Narrator: Eighty percent of the population is Mormon, and the Governor, Senators, Representatives, etc., etc., belong to the sect.

Voice: So Utah is a kind of oyster?

That was a great contribution to the enlightenment of the world—to say that Utah is a kind of oyster.

Then—

Narrator: This is the only people in the world which is governed by religion, and legally so, because the citizens vote.

Voice II: But they vote for Mormons.

Voice: Of course, the day they vote for someone else they will lose control.

Music. Up and out.

Voice II: What a strange church.

Narrator: That is the secret church, which only the prophet and the 12 apostles enter.

Voice (laughs): Is that what they are called?

Narrator: Yes; they are the ones who govern the sect.

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Voice II: Does this mean that no one can enter?

Narrator: Only a chosen group, the highest directors of the tribe.

Imagine referring to the people of Utah today as a tribe.

Voice: This seems to me neither Christian nor democratic.

That statement went out, if you please, all over the world—"This seems to be neither Christian nor democratic."

Narrator: When they are subjected to criticism they ask frankly: "Do all the Catholics reach the Pope?"

Voice: It's true, they aren't entirely wrong. There must be a distinction in rank.

Narrator: The symbol of Utah is the beehive, and these are the Mormons, tireless and faithful bees. The sect, whose capital is truly fabulous, controls all the business in the State.

Voice: And who are the stockholders?

Narrator: There aren't any.

Apparently that is trying to prove that Utah is a communistic or socialistic State.

Everyone is obliged to give 10 percent to the State in perpetuity.

I want to read that again:

Everyone is obliged to give 10 percent to the State, in perpetuity.

That is not a true statement.

Voice II: Very well, and what do they do with so much money?

Voice: I suppose that the Twelve Apostles will manage it.

Narrator: They manage it, but they do not touch it. They spend it all on the community, in public works, hospitals, charitable institutions, and, above all, in schools, which are numerous and very fine in Utah.

That is an example of broadcasting to the world at the expense of the taxpayers that Utah—and it is not true; it is a lie to begin with—is some sort of socialistic State in which everybody contributes 10 percent to the State.

Voice II: Does this mean that no Mormon has the right to ask for an accounting?

Narrator: He doesn't ask for any and they don't give him any. The church is sacred, and distributes funds as it pleases.

Voice: And suppose a Mormon decides not to continue giving up one-tenth?

Narrator: Ah, for this sect has a little army, called the avenging angels.

Voice II: Which assume the task of convincing those who do not pay?

Narrator: Naturally.

Voice II: In what manner?

Narrator: With convincing arguments.

Voice: Made of rubber or wood?
[Laughter.]

That would leave the impression that there is a secret organization called the avenging angels, and that if a person does not pay 10 percent to the State, as stated in the script, they have a way of making him do it. The narrator wants to know if that convincing argument is made of rubber or wood, leaving the impression I presume that they take him out into the woodshed and proceed to pound him either with a rubber or a wooden substance. I ask Senators, are they not proud to have had a part in contributing \$27,000,000 to that sort of thing?

Music. Bridge.

Voice II: This hotel is as luxurious as the Waldorf Astoria.

Voice: Does it belong to the church also?

Narrator: Of course. Don't you see the beehive on the door? The sect owns 60 percent of the business houses in the State: this hotel and the temple square hotel, 3 daily papers and several reviews, a radio station, 2 banks, the Utah State National Bank and the Zion Savings Bank and Trust Co., the Utah-Idaho Sugar Co., the Beneficial Life Insurance Co., and hundreds of houses, buildings, farms, etc., etc.

Voice (whistles): And what does not belong to them?

Narrator: Hardly anything; but you can rest assured that the money that comes in is used entirely for the common good. You will already have observed that this city, without any exaggeration, is the cleanest and most orderly city in the United States.

The common folks own everything, they say.

Voice II: That is true.

Narrator: And that is because the church is efficient and honorable. The Mormons claim—

Mr. President, listen to this. Listen to this:

The Mormons claim that if the whole world were to adopt their methods there would no longer be economic problems.

Up to this point apparently it was endeavored by this broadcast to show that there is some sort of socialistic state in Utah, to which the people contribute 10 percent, and that the State owns everything. Let me read that again:

Narrator: And that is because the church is efficient and honorable. The Mormons claim that if the whole world were to adopt their methods there would no longer be economic problems.

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That is an insult to the United States Senate, to the people of the Nation, and particularly to the people of Utah, because the people of Utah are the same as the people of every other State of the Union.

Voice: They all say that.

Narrator: The sect does not oblige anybody to do anything, but everyone does his duty, and if they don't drink or smoke, it is not because of hypocrisy, but because they have a tremendous responsibility toward God to care for their bodies as well as their souls.

Voice: I don't understand it. Give me a lecture.

Narrator: The Mormons believe firmly in the resurrection of the flesh, and that is why they treat their bodies with the greatest possible respect.

Voice II: Naturally, since they only have one.

Voice: That is foolish; the body can stand anything.

Narrator: And the souls also, but according to the Mormons, he who dies with a perfect body and a clean soul will have a right to reincarnate in full youth on the final judgment day.

Voice: What for?

One of the two wants to know why, and what for.

Narrator: They hope to go on living in the next world.

Voice: With the cooperative and everything else?

That is insulting, Mr. President. It is an insult to their religion—"with the cooperative and everything else."

Narrator: No, but—

Voice II: Then why do they die?

Voice: So that they can have a new body, and on with the fiesta.

That is what the taxpayers are paying money for.

Mr. President, do Senators appreciate the significance of that statement, asking the question, with respect to people in Utah, "Then why do they die?" And the voice says:

So that they can have a new body, and on with the fiesta.

Narrator: What seems strange and even funny to us, has achieved great practical results.

Voice II: For instance?

Narrator: In Utah there are neither strikes nor political disturbances and they work as hard as anywhere. Furthermore, this State is at the head in public instruction. The Mormons are expert in languages. During the war, many of the translators and in-

terpreters came from here to work for the Government and the Army.

Voice II: Now you know it, so don't talk so loud.

Voice: A fine time to tell me.

Narrator: Just imagine that Senator ELBERT D. THOMAS, one of the best educated Members of the Congress, once wrote a book on Mormonism and in Japanese, and during the war he always talked on short wave to the Japanese, urging them to surrender.

Music. Up and out.

Street noises.

Voice II: Why do people greet us so politely?

Voice: They think that we have faces like Mormons.

Imagine sending that out on the radio—evidently insinuating that Mormons have different faces from those of other persons. That would be one reason for making that statement.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator have the names of the persons who wrote this and actually broadcast it?

Mr. CAPEHART. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator intend to put the information into the RECORD?

Mr. CAPEHART. Yes; I intend to put in a considerable amount of it. When I get through I think I shall offer a suggestion as to what I think the Senate should do.

Mr. FERGUSON. Does the Senator have information as to who supervises it?

Mr. CAPEHART. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. The Senator has not stated the date of that broadcast.

Mr. CAPEHART. The date of this broadcast is February 2, 1948.

Narrator: No; they know that we are strangers, and they want to instruct us in the faith.

Voice II: What for?

Voice: For the 10 percent?

Can the Senate imagine anything so insulting as that? It leaves the impression that everyone who visits Salt Lake City is subject to having 10 percent taken from him by the people.

Narrator: They are too rich and noble to think about that. They do it because their great and only fear is to lose their majority. At present, 80 percent of the population is Mormon, and if strangers continue moving in—

Voice II: The 80 percent will decrease, and they will lose their power?

Voice: Now I understand.

I can understand that they do not want 10 percent of the money, but they want to keep their power. But the Senators can see how insidious the whole thing is when we weave it together.

Voice: Now I understand. It is now they would need polygamy.

Narrator: Yes; but it won't come back.

Voice: Why?

Narrator: While Utah was a Territory they could do what they wanted, but in order to become a State they had to comply with the Constitution—

Voice II: And give up polygamy?

Narrator: Of course.

Voice: This little matter cost them plenty.

What was the little matter that "cost them plenty," according to this broadcast? Coming into the United States and obeying our Constitution.

Then there is laughter indicated. I assume they laughed at great length.

Voice II: Look, the tabernacle is closed.

Narrator: Naturally, today is Sunday.

Voice: How naturally, since it is on Sunday that all the churches are open?

Narrator: But not here; Sunday is a day of rest. Nobody does anything.

Voice: They don't even pray, do they?

Narrator: Yes, in their thoughts.

Voice II: What intelligent people. On Sunday they don't even give their lips any work. But I suppose that they eat, don't they?

Can the Senate imagine such silly stuff being broadcast? It is unbelievable, to me; I do not know how the Senate may feel about it.

Voice: Naturally, one has to care for one's body.

Music: Up and under.

Narrator: The biblical and social experiment of Brigham Young has been a resounding success; in Utah there are neither taxes nor political struggles nor any kind of speculations, because the morality of the church stands above all personal egotisms.

That does not require any comment from me. There are taxes in Utah. There are Federal taxes. To say the State of Utah is different from any other State is insulting. So I shall not even mention it; it is so ridiculous.

When Brigham Young planted his tents on the shores of Salt Lake he shouted to the legions of his enemies: "Give me a truce of 10 years and you will be astonished at my work." The prophet kept his word; today Utah is the cleanest and loveliest dwelling place in the immense palace of the United States.

Music: Up and out.

Announcer: You have just heard Know the United States, a weekly program in which

we relate the adventure of two travelers who continue to discover the marvels of the historical and present life in the United States. The participants in this program were * * *.

Production and artistic effects were under the direction of Juan José Vasquez.

Music up and. * * *

That was Utah. I have some more here. Senators will understand that these two persons have been traveling all over the United States, going into the 48 States.

The next is a broadcast on Alabama. I hope the Senators from that State are present. I do not know whether I have all of the broadcast on Alabama, but I have sufficient to disgust anyone. It opens with comments on Mobile, as follows:

Narrator: I want to show you something original, or shall I say "ironic"? Take a look at the name of this street.

Two: Jefferson Davis Avenue.

One: Wasn't that the president of the Southern Confederation?

Narrator: Exactly.

Two: And what is ironic about that?

Narrator: On this avenue, as you can see, only Negroes live.

Two: And he defended slavery and was the most bitter enemy of Lincoln's ideals.

One: That will show you that the dead do not return, because if they did the spirit of Davis would have removed the signs from this street.

Mr. President, that is what we appropriated \$27,000,000 for, evidently. That represents some of the silly things we do in Congress from time to time. Unfortunately we have no control over what these people do with the money which we appropriate. We are getting a little example of it at the moment.

Laughter is indicated. They all laughed about it.

Narrator: We are at Birmingham, the Pittsburgh of the South and the most important city in Alabama. It has a population of 300,000, and its principal industries are iron and steel.

One: And this city is like those two metals, hard and poorly made.

We appropriated \$27,000,000 for the purpose, I thought, of telling the peoples of the world at least some of the good things about this country. I shall read that statement again:

And this city is like those two metals, hard and poorly made.

Narrator: That is true. It was constructed in a hurry and they have not had time to improve it.

Can the Senators imagine that? The taxpayers money has been appropriated to tell the world about wonderful America, supposedly to educate the world in what we have here and for what we stand, our historical background, and our form, kind, and type of government; and this is how it is spent!

Two: Alabama is not a State of stupendous cities of brilliant history, but it has the importance of being the darkest of all.

One: The darkest? What are you referring to?

Narrator: In no other part of the United States has the colored race struggled and suffered so much as here.

I am certain that the people of Alabama who pay State taxes and Federal taxes will appreciate the fact that their money is being used to advertise them to the peoples throughout the world in such a light.

One: The darkest? What are you referring to?

Narrator: In no other part of the United States has the colored race struggled and suffered so much as here.

Two: Oh, I understand.

Narrator: And since there are more Negroes than whites in Alabama—

Which is a lie—

their contribution to progress has been very important.

(Narrator continues.) And do not think that the descendants of the slave continue to be laborers only. Since slavery was more intense here, it is only logical that liberty should also be more intense despite certain absurd laws that have not been eliminated.

We are advertising to the world about what a wonderful country we are, that we have a representative form of government, democracy and liberty, yet this sort of thing goes out.

The script moves to Montgomery, Ala., State capitol.

One: See what was holding up the traffic.

That must have sounded fine over the radio to the people down there. One narrator says to the other, "See what was holding up the traffic."

Two: An oxcart.

Narrator: That is a symbol of the spirit of Montgomery.

I am certain that the people of Alabama are happy over the description of Birmingham and the description of Montgomery, Ala. I shall read that again, because it seems to me that it would be almost impossible for anyone

to be so silly as to put this sort of thing out.

The script moves to Montgomery, Ala., State Capital.

One: See what was holding up the traffic.

Two: An oxcart.

Then the narrator said:

That is a symbol of the spirit of Montgomery.

Mind you, this went out on February 2, 1948.

Narrator: Alabama has wanted to show the rest of the world that even though it used to be the most determined in favor of slavery, today it is the most democratic of all.

One: Well, that is quite something.

Two: You who are looking for a place to establish your home, why not settle here? They give you the land free.

Mind you, Mr. President, this is going out to the world. They say, "You who are looking for a place to establish your home, why not settle here? They give you the land free."

One: Thank you. I do not like the cities where Mondays are the same as Sundays. Let us continue the tour.

"I do not like the cities where Mondays are the same as Sundays."

What is the inference, and what would that mean to the Spanish-speaking people of South America?

Now we will go to Pennsylvania.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. EASTLAND. I should like to comment on the broadcast about the State of Alabama. I do not come from Alabama, but I went to school in that State, and I know many people there. Alabama is a great State, and the people are a great people. Those people have been slandered by the expenditure of money appropriated by the American Congress, and I brand those statements for what they are, as merely contemptible, damnable lies.

Mr. CAPEHART. I might say that Alabama is going to be no exception in being slandered, because I think the Senator will find that every State in the Union has been slandered.

Mr. EASTLAND. Alabama is a State I know much about, and I think I am qualified to make the statement I have made.

Mr. CAPEHART. I agree with the Senator.

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Now let us move to Pennsylvania.

Voice: So this is Philadelphia.

Narrator: Yes; the city of fraternal love.

Voice: What kind of love?

Mr. President, that appears here, and it is paid for by the taxpayers' money.

Narrator: Fraternal. William Penn was head of a religious sect, Quakerism. Founded by a shoemaker and—

Voice: They must have been people of low class, considering the status of the founder.

Let me read that again:

They must have been people of low class, considering the status of the founder.

Narrator: On the contrary, they were and continue to be a social problem.

Voice: Why?

Narrator: The Quakers never take oath before any court of justice and they oppose military service because they believe that war is a struggle of monsters.

Voice: Of course it is. And what kind of religion is this religion?

Narrator: The most simple and original of all. The Quakers meet in halls devoid of ornaments and they wait in concentration the arrival of the Holy Spirit.

Narrator: That is Constitution Square and according to municipal ordinance you can only talk about liberty, equality, and fraternity there.

Voice: Splendid. If every country had a square like that the world would not be what it is today.

Narrator: Here the signing of the Declaration of Independence took place and here two great men of opposite tendencies, Jefferson and Hamilton, debated to the end. In this square the violent scenes of the French Revolution were repeated and the multitude cried: "Down with the aristocrats—down with Washington."

Voice: Washington?

Narrator. Yes. There was so much confusion that they even forgot his sacrifices. But these injustices and these struggles were useful. The civic and the philosophical experiment was not the failure that Hamilton predicted but the success that Jefferson upheld. The Republic and the democracy survive to this day.

Voice: And forever.

Traffic up. Sound of horn, truck suddenly stops. Voices, yells, etc.

Narrator: Say, what is happening to you.

Voice (nervous): Nothing; nothing.

Narrator: You almost got killed by that bus. Did you go to sleep in the midst of traffic?

Sound: Girls' laughter.

Voice: No; it was that—

Narrator: You stopped to look at the girls.

Voice: Say, do you think they could be Quakers?

Narrator (laughs): No. The Quakers live outside Philadelphia.

Voice: What a pity.

Narrator: Why?

Voice: Because I would like to talk familiarly with all of them.

[Laughter.]

Mr. President, that is what we are paying for. That was broadcast throughout the world. I know my colleagues are just as much ashamed as I am. I think I voted against that \$27,-000,000, although I am not certain.

I continue the reading:

State of program:

Voice: What time did we leave New York?

Narrator: At 2:30.

Voice: What State is this?

Narrator: Pennsylvania.

Voice: Is that the name of an Indian city or some Indian chief?

Narrator: No. The word "Pennsylvania" is made up of two words. Penn, the name of the first governor, and sylvania, derived from the Latin word meaning forest. In other words, this State is called Penn's forest.

Voice: And who was Penn?

Narrator: An English gentleman to whom His Majesty owed 25,000 pounds, a rather large sum in the seventeenth century, hence the King could not pay him.

Voice: Is that possible?

Narrator: Of course it is. The English monarchs were not always rich. Charles II once appeared at court with a torn stocking.

Voice: (Laughs).

Mr. President, that is really something for us to be telling the people of the world, is it not? We appropriate \$27,-000,000 to tell that the King of England in the seventeenth century owed Penn 25,000 pounds, and once went to court with a torn stocking. Then they all laughed, because it says "Laughs."

Narrator: According to chronicles William Penn was one of those hard creditors who tried to collect by letter and in person.

Voice: Don't talk to me about that. I know them quite well.

Narrator: Besides being persistent, Penn was a practical man and one day he arrived at the conclusion that a king who had holes in his stocking would never be able to pay him the \$80,000 debt.

Voice: Naturally.

Narrator: The Quakers have rather strange customs. They never take off their hats, and they speak familiarly to everybody.

Then the voice says:

How fresh!

The narrator says:

Nothing of the sort. They are respectful and charitable.

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Mr. President and Members of the Senate, I have also a program on Texas, or at least a part of one. This is:

Texas, December 5, 1947.

Sounds: Cowboys yip, yipping.

Narrator: This is the traditional yell of the man of the plains, the true civilizer of Texas.

Hoof beats. Yells. Music into Home on the Range.

Narrator: Texas is one of nature's disturbing experiments. Its area is infinite * * * its beauty varied and its history has been a succession of tempests.

Man II: Do you mean to say that bandits really exist here?

Narrator: I have told you that Texas is the State of miracles. An American writer has made the statement—

Listen to this, Mr. President, Senators from New England will enjoy this. I am glad to see the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] in the Chamber.

New England was founded by hypocrisy and Texas * * * by sin. [Laughter.]

Senators would hardly believe that such a thing would be sent out.

New England was founded by hypocrisy and Texas * * * by sin.

Man II: How is that? Were not the missionaries the ones who—

Narrator (chuckle): The Indians from Texas were so difficult to convert that a Franciscan priest wrote to the bishop that "these savages have to be converted to Christianity by force of arms." [Laughter.]

Narrator: Texas, individual in everything, was not conquered by soldiers nor by priests.

Man I: By whom then?

And listen to this:

Narrator. By 600 cows with their respective bulls.

(Narrator then relates how Don Juan de Onate arrived in El Paso in 1598 with a large entourage and herd of cattle.)

Then the narrator goes on and says:

In less than 80 years the cows, with the help of the bulls, of course—

Mr. President, I am reading from this script—

with the help of the bulls, of course, transformed Texas into the center of the cattle industry.

Man II: Are Texans today as independent as the first settlers?

Narrator: They are really and completely different from the rest of America. They continue being first of all citizens of Texas * * * and after that, of the United States.

Mr. President, I have one on Colorado. It is rather long, and I believe I shall not take the time of the Senate to read it.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. Does not the Senator from Indiana think he has gone far enough? I am afraid he will come to a broadcast concerning New Mexico.

Mr. CAPEHART. I am certain that those who did the broadcasting would be just as insulting respecting New Mexico as they were respecting Alabama, Texas, Utah, Nevada, and other States.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, in all seriousness, I want to say that what the Senator from Indiana has said this afternoon, though there has been laughter throughout the Chamber over it, amounts to a downright tragedy.

I regret deeply that any agency of Government has used any funds or any facilities procured from such funds to portray to any nation features respecting any State such as have been read here this afternoon. I hope that what the Senator has read, together with the revelation of other bad features I have heard concerning the Voice of America program—and I have been one of the strong supporters for the right kind of a program—will have the effect of stopping such drivel, nonsense, and downright falsehoods as have been set forth in these broadcasts.

I should say that Mr. Allen, who has recently been confirmed, should have a copy of these broadcasts, and I hope that his agency will call the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of today to his attention, and that such drivel as is contained in these broadcasts will be stopped now, and that no other State will be subject to the insults and the utterly nonsensical pictures which these broadcasts have given. They cannot be too severely condemned.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I agree with what the Senator from New Mexico has said. I agree with what the Senator from Indiana has said concerning the implications that must be drawn from the broadcasts. While I feel that it would be a tragedy to have the program continue in this way, I would add to what the Senator from New Mexico has said, that that is no reason for stopping it. I am confident that the Senator from Indiana will agree with me, whether or not he voted for the Voice of America measure, that what we have in this country is worth talking about, worth doing

something about, and worth trying to spread. I feel very sincerely that the Senator from Indiana has done a public service in informing the Senate as to the character of this "stuff."

I agree that possibly there was some hypocrisy in the founding of New England. I am confident that the Senators from Texas will not agree that there was any sin in the founding of Texas. All of that stuff is baloney. But what we are trying to do through the medium of this agency is to render a service to our country and to the peace and security of the world. I am confident the Senator from Indiana will agree with me in that statement.

Mr. CAPEHART. Does not the Senator agree with me that it seems almost incredible that such programs should have been sent over the Voice of America? Does he not agree with me that it is almost impossible to believe that such programs could be broadcast, if anyone having to do with them had the least bit of common horse sense or judgment? One would think that any 10-year-old child, if he had picked up that script and read it in advance of its being broadcast, would have said that it should not have been used.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I agree with the Senator. What we have heard respecting Mr. Allen and his background, his intelligence, and his knowledge of the world, should make us believe that he will prevent anything of that kind being continued in the future.

I think we can commend the Senator from Indiana for making this scene, if we may call it a scene, this afternoon, but I hope that he will not permit the impression to go out from this body that the Voice of America program should not be continued, and should not be improved, and that our effort to spread knowledge of the opportunities existing in our country should not be continued. What the country is and what it stands for is something which should be made known to the people throughout the world, who are crying for such knowledge, if we can believe what we read in the newspapers.

Mr. CAPEHART. I agree with the able Senator from Massachusetts, but my opinion is that such broadcasts as those I have read will do the Nation more harm than good. I agree that it should be very simple to employ American citizens who would prepare stories

about our Nation which would be valuable and informative to the peoples of the world. We certainly have had sufficient instances of success, and there are so many good things about our Nation to tell the peoples of the world that they should be the subjects of these broadcasts, rather than the trash I have read on the floor of the Senate this afternoon.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one more statement?

Mr. CAPEHART. Yes.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. If the Voice of America would give, as one example of what this country has stood for, and the possibilities there are for its people to succeed, it could do no better than to describe the life of the Senator from Indiana, who addressed the Senate this afternoon.

Mr. SMITH and Mr. FERGUSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Indiana yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield first to the Senator from New Jersey, and then I shall yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. SMITH. The Senator from Indiana mentioned to me yesterday that he was going to bring up the matter he has discussed today. As the Senator from New Mexico has said, he and I have high hopes respecting the value of the Voice of America program. I made inquiries as to how it came to happen that such programs as the Senator has read were broadcast. I called the State Department only this afternoon, and I said I hoped they would send to me at the earliest possible moment a statement of the situation; how it could have happened, and where the script came from.

The preliminary statement I have—and I merely mention it subject to correction—is that the broadcasts were made under one of the contracts entered into with the National Broadcasting Co. and that the broadcasting was done under the provisions of last year's contract when the State Department was limited in its funds in providing supervision, which is one of the difficulties encountered in connection with the programs.

I am not saying this in defense of what has happened, because those in charge of the program are entirely responsible for it. What has happened should not have happened. But the fact remains

that today, in considering the remaking of contracts, the question of supervision is a primary one. I have insisted that something be done so that such a result as this cannot happen. It is no alibi to say that "We did not have anyone to read the scripts, and therefore we are not responsible for them." The State Department is responsible, and it will have to take the responsibility. I have asked the Department to make a very clear statement to us, so that we shall know how this happened. A contract was farmed out to the National Broadcasting Co. The scripts were not written by any member of the State Department, but the State Department has a responsibility.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, does the Senator from New Jersey mean to say that the State Department of this Government farmed out the writing of scripts broadcast abroad, without any power of supervision over them?

Mr. SMITH. Apparently last year, when it was insisted that the Department should let contracts for some of this work, it made contracts, under general directions, for example, that the broadcasts should be statements of fact with regard to the States of the United States, without any expressions of opinion. What has happened is that, because of the lack of supervision—and there is no excuse for it—this terrible kind of material has gone out. I am not defending it, but I am trying to give the facts. I propose to have a statement by tomorrow which I shall read into the RECORD.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, my first intention was to introduce a bill amending the act under which we appropriated this money so as to require that every broadcast be printed in the Federal Register in English within 10 days after it was made. I had to give up that idea. I have given it up temporarily, for the reason that I now find that 300,000 words are broadcast each day. I do not say that they are words similar to the words which I have read. I am sure that not all the broadcasts are of that character. However, 300,000 words a day are broadcast, and, of course, it is a problem for the Secretary of State and his staff properly to supervise 300,000 words a day. I am aware of the difficulty. Mistakes will happen; but what I read this afternoon were not particularly mistakes; the scripts were written that way.

The only suggestion I can offer, unless we wish to require that the 300,000 words be printed each day so that the public may see what is being said, is that under the existing law the Secretary of State be required to make available to the Senate and to the House, as well as to the Library of Congress, translations in English of everything that is said each day by the Voice of America.

I am offering this suggestion for the benefit of the leadership of the Senate. I am suggesting that we ask the Secretary of State, under the existing law, to furnish to the Secretary of the Senate, the Secretary of the House, and the Library of Congress, a copy of every word that is broadcast each day, thereby making the broadcasts available to any one who cares to look at them, making them available to the Senate and to the House of Representatives. Perhaps that is one practical way of handling the problem. There may be a better way; but I must say that we owe a responsibility to the taxpayers of America to see that this sort of thing is stopped, and that the money is used for the purpose for which it was intended.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I think what the Senator from Indiana has revealed as having taken place in the broadcasting to South America and Central America is tragic. The most serious aspect is that those words can never be retracted. They have gone forth on the airways, and it is impossible to recall them.

I am bound to say that we have had similar experience respecting previous broadcasts. No department of the Government—particularly the State Department, which supervises and is really responsible for the foreign relations of the United States has any right to allow words to go out to the nations of the world—300,000 or any other number—without strict supervision. I cannot understand how the Department could defend itself against the charge of lack of supervision. Our foreign relations in the world are at stake. This is a part of our foreign relations.

Mr. President, I think the time has come when the Congress must supervise these broadcasts. We should immediately revoke this appropriation until we know that every word is supervised by

responsible persons in the State Department.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. I could not quite hear all that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] said a while ago. Am I to understand that these broadcasts, so far as the private contracts are concerned, were produced by the National Broadcasting Co.?

Mr. SMITH. As I understand—and I shall have an official statement later to place in the RECORD, so as to keep the RECORD straight—last year when it was insisted that private agencies be used for these broadcasts, an arrangement was made with the National Broadcasting Co. to prepare a series of statements covering the facts with regard to the States of the United States. A contract was made, and this was the result. There is no possible defense for it; but being limited in funds, the Department did not have the proper personnel, according to its story, to check up on all these programs. It felt that the National Broadcasting Co. would itself do some censoring. Here we see the result.

The only answer is to eliminate these broadcasts entirely or to have an adequate staff, as suggested by the Senator from Michigan, so that every word can be supervised before it is released. It is a problem.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I do not care how large or how small a staff the Department has. Are we to understand that no one in the State Department read the scripts which were broadcast, and which I have read this afternoon? Even an 8-year-old child, if he had read them, would have condemned them. In my opinion anyone in the State Department who was honest and had the best interests of America at heart would have blue-penciled them. It may well be that no one in the State Department read them.

Mr. SMITH. I have asked that very question. I have asked the Department whether or not anyone censored the scripts.

Mr. CAPEHART. If no one in the State Department saw the scripts before they were broadcast, in my opinion the State Department should be even more severely criticized.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. I thank the Senator for yielding. I shall withhold further questions until I hear the report which the Senator from New Jersey is to make tomorrow.

We had quite a conflict in the committee and on the floor of the Senate as to how much supervision should be exercised by the State Department and how much should be exercised by private companies. There were those who took the position that the State Department should have had no right of supervision whatever, and that the entire program should be turned over to private broadcasting companies. What I am anxious to find out is what are the facts. I understand that the Senator from New Jersey will present them to us tomorrow.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I think we must have the facts. I shall introduce a resolution tomorrow authorizing a committee to ascertain the facts and report back to the Senate.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I thank the Senator from Indiana for yielding.

Mr. President, when I first heard about the broadcast concerning Utah, I paid no more attention to it than I have paid to things which I have heard all my life about Utah. But when I realized, as the Senator went on with his story, that this broadcast covered the entire country, and that the entire country is considered in exactly the same light manner that the State of Utah and the people of Utah are used to being considered, I wondered about it.

Now I am wondering very seriously how a great organization such as the National Broadcasting System could take money from the Government of the United States for what it has given out to the world about the country which sustains it, and about the people who pay good money to keep that great corporation alive.

Another thing I wonder about is whether anyone in the State Department who is responsible for the administration of the law affecting that Department can so thoughtlessly make a contract without providing for any sort of follow-up—as has been proved to have been the case in this instance. If, for example, the persons who are gathering intelligence throughout the world for the

United States, so that the United States can be informed about what the world is thinking and doing, are so ignorant as to accept as true the statements made in the broadcasts which have just been read to us—this drivel, as it has been called—and accept it as the true story of American history and of American geography and of American life, can we depend upon them for anything? If, for example, as the Senator from Indiana has pointed out, in the program relating to the State of Utah the broadcast presents a description of it as a State which, according to the broadcast story, is idealistically practicing what we call communism, and if, according to the broadcast, there is no government in Utah that is run by the people, and if it is said that taxation there is a matter of donation, and that a single will controls the entire State—if the representatives of the State Department have that notion of communism—how in the wide world can we believe anything they say about communism in Russia or anywhere else?

Mr. President, certainly the members of the State Department who advise us in regard to foreign matters cannot be depended upon if they do things or permit the doing of things such as those we have heard about in connection with these broadcasts—a performance based upon ignorance. If such ignorance is manifested again and again, how in the wide world can the Senate of the United States and the people of the United States have any faith at all in what they learn from such sources about any other country?

Mr. CAPEHART. In other words, the Senator's point or observation is that if the State Department knows no more about what is occurring in other countries in the world than it does about what is occurring in the State of Utah or the State of Alabama or the State of Texas—as indicated by these broadcasts—then how can we believe anything they tell us? Is that the Senator's point?

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Of course. If those upon whom we depend engage in such activities, then the whole foundation we have in regard to accepting anything from them on trust falls. That is the serious aspect of this matter.

Mr. President, the Voice of America was established upon a platform of idealism based upon the notion that millions of American people have found in this country what they want in the way of government, and that in the United

States we have more or less made a success in achieving the things the people of the world have striven to accomplish. But now we find that we have told them in words of this kind what we have done.

Mr. President, I wonder whether anyone in a foreign country who is debating whether he should join the Communist Party—someone in Italy, or perhaps a person in some other country—has heard programs such as the one we have learned about today, and I wonder whether such persons believe that what they are told in such programs are correct statements about how democracy works in the United States—as told by America itself, as told by one of our great corporations, as told by our own State Department. If so, how in the world could such a person fail to decide to be a Communist under those circumstances, and can we doubt that anyone who believed such statements would decide to have nothing to do with the kind of democracy which is reflected by such broadcasts?

Mr. President, the saddest part of this matter is not only that the broadcasts are based upon ignorance, not only that they are untrue, but that the State Department itself makes an excuse, saying, "The Congress of the United States insisted that we use the going facilities of the country."

What businessman would sponsor a program of that sort and pay out money for advertising his own business if that sort of stuff were used as the advertising? The Senator from Indiana represents a great concern that advertises to a very large extent. Would the Senator from Indiana like to be a sponsor of such a program and pay \$1,000 a minute for it?

But, Mr. President, the sad part of all this is that every man, woman, and child in the United States is hurt by such programs, which supposedly are sent out to benefit our country and to make democracy more secure, and \$27,000,000 has been spent for these purposes. Yet today the House of Representatives is holding up a Federal aid-to-education bill because it is claimed that it costs too much.

Are there not some minds in the State Department or some minds in the National Broadcasting Co., if that company is responsible for these programs, with a sound feeling of responsibility for carrying out a contract and not wasting the

money of all the people of the United States and at the same time blackmailing millions upon millions of people?

Mr. President, the Voice of America program, which was established on a basis of realism, has suffered tremendously from this accidental issuing of a contract to what has been considered to be a great and responsible concern. Yet that concern states as an answer and as an excuse that the Congress insisted that the going facilities of the country be used.

It was long ago that the Senator from Utah asked questions about these programs, because he heard about them. It was long ago that representatives of the group responsible for the programs talked to me about them. But it did not dawn on me how serious the situation was.

Mr. President, those of us who have been trained to be teachers—and the Voice of America should be handled by teachers—have been taught from the very beginning that the attempt to mold the minds and thoughts of young people is a very serious undertaking. If there is not enough psychology and not enough pedagogy and not enough understanding of American history in the State Department to enable it properly to supervise such matters, then all we are doing and all we are spending and all that our people are sacrificing in keeping components of our Army abroad will be useless. What will the people of any foreign country think of an American soldier after listening to a program of that kind? What will they think he is trying to represent? What will they think of one of the diplomatic or other representatives of our country anywhere? Mr. President, we simply cannot believe that any agency of the United States Government would allow such a thing to happen.

I trust that what the Senator from Indiana has done will result in having those who are concerned with these programs obtain a clear understanding of the intent of Congress and in having corrections made, so that the Voice of America will no longer be used for such useless expenditures of money, but henceforth will be used for the purpose for which it was created.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, what has occurred on the floor of the Senate today—the reading of the transcript of these broadcasts; this tragic event for the United States—is not a reflection upon the Congress of the United States or upon the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate or upon its staff. The details of these contracts are not a part of its work. It is the responsibility of the State Department.

Last fall I had occasion to look critically at some broadcasts to Europe. They reflected upon the State Department. I talked over the matter with members of the organization concerned, and they assured me that the State Department set the pattern for these broadcasts and established the broad policy, and that the broadcasting companies were compelled to follow the directions of the State Department.

Today we learn that in February the broadcasts which have been read by the Senator from Indiana were made. When I first interrupted the Senator from Indiana, to ask a question about the broadcasts, my purpose was to ascertain the names of the persons or the supervisors who were responsible for them, so as to learn whether the State Department, through its facilities, monitors these broadcasts and knows what is going on.

Mr. President, when this matter is called to the attention of the State Department there are many questions that must necessarily be answered by it to the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Mr. President, when the Voice of America was under consideration in the House on January 19, 1948, and the question arose as to what Congress had a right to expect would be done in foreign broadcasts through the Voice of America, Mr. MUNDT, speaking in the House, said, as appears from page 330 of the RECORD:

Mr. MUNDT. These voices, as you call them, will be selected by the Department of State under the Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall, and the program will be administered by personnel cleared and checked by the FBI before it is utilized. The so-called Mundt loyalty amendment which we have put in all of our foreign-aid and assistance bills, since our unfortunate experiences with UNRRA, is made an inherent part of H. R. 3342. I made sure of that before I ever introduced the legislation.

Mr. MUNDT further said:

And for the first time, too, when and where we need to use it we shall have an arm of

our Government able and adequate to answer and refute slanderous falsehoods about us and to expose the fallacies and motives of vicious propaganda directed against us and our way of life. We will now be prepared to wage a peace just as we must be prepared to wage a war should necessity arise.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I wish to repeat briefly for the benefit of the able senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], the Voice of America broadcast about his State.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me at this point?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. Before the Senator repeats the broadcast about Texas, I should like to ask a question. I entered the Chamber during the course of this discussion, and I did not hear the early part of it. I should like to inquire whether the broadcasts which have been referred to took place prior to the appointment and confirmation of Mr. Allen, the present supervisor of these programs.

Mr. CAPEHART. The one on Utah was dated February 2, 1948, the one on Colorado, February 9, 1948. The one I am about to repeat for the benefit of the able Senator from Texas was dated December 15, 1947. The others were made within the last 4 or 5 months.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, no excuse can be offered for any ridiculous, unjustified broadcast going out of the State Department or going out of any agency with which it has a contract. We had many complaints last fall and during the winter in regard to the Voice of America program. Growing out of those things, a joint congressional committee was appointed, which visited all over Europe last September and October in an effort to correct the situation and to justify an authorization for an increased appropriation.

The State Department brought back Mr. Allen, who was, I think, our Ambassador to Iran at the time, and put him in charge of the work. It was generally agreed by everybody that in view of his experience he was probably the best qualified man to do this.

I think the broadcasts to which the Senator refers were made prior to the taking over of this function in the State Department by Mr. Allen. I do not say that by way of justification, but I do say it in view of the fact that he undertook and has undertaken since he took charge to correct the situation. I do

not know on just what day he took charge, but it was since February, because his appointment was confirmed by this session of the Congress, I think, the latter part of February or March. I do not recall the date, and I am not sure just when he came back and took charge of that work in the State Department.

I think he has made a sincere effort since he has been in charge to correct whatever deficiencies or mistakes may have developed in the service prior to his appointment. All of which, though, I repeat, offers no justification for any such broadcasts, which seek to belittle the States of the United States, to be carried either by the State Department direct or by the National Broadcasting Co., or by any other company, when we are making an effort to educate the people of the world in regard to democracy in America.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I shall repeat the portion of the Texas broadcast for the benefit of the able Senator from Texas. This was broadcast on December 15, 1947:

Sounds: Cowboys yip, yipping.

Narrator: This is the traditional yell of the man of the plains, the true civilizer of Texas!

Voice II: Do you mean to say that bandits really exist here?

Narrator: I have told you that Texas is the State of miracles. An American writer has made this statement: "New England was founded by hypocrisy and Texas * * * by sin."

Mr. President, that was broadcast to the peoples throughout the world.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I am very happy to yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does the Senator know the name of the author of that script?

Mr. CAPEHART. I do not know, but it was prepared under the auspices of the Secretary of State's office, and broadcast by NBC, as the Voice of America program, for which the Congress appropriated \$27,000,000. While the Senator was out of the Chamber, I read in their entirety broadcasts on Utah, Nevada, Alabama, and Pennsylvania. Thus far I have failed to find a single State that has not been slandered, or a single State as to which uncomplimentary remarks have not been made.

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Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator, the State Department, or the National Broadcasting Co., or whatever little insignificant tool of either one of them uttered that sentence has libeled and slandered a State that during World War II furnished proportionately more volunteers than any other State in the Union and contributed as much as any other State toward the national defense in the prosecution of the war.

The author, who evidently knows nothing about the history of Texas, slandered and libeled the great Commonwealth from which I come. Let him read the history of Texas. It reads like a romance, and is a romance. American pioneers moved into Mexico and settled there, building their homes. They did not go there to foment revolution. The revolution in Texas was headed by Stephen F. Austin and others. One of their battle cries expressed a desire to live under Mexican rule. They demanded that Santayana, the dictator who had taken over the reins of the Mexican Government, abide by the Mexican constitution of 1824. They wanted to live under the republic to which they had immigrated, but they wanted their constitutional rights. When they were unable to secure those rights and were invaded by hostile armies they drew their swords and fought valiantly and bravely until they attained their independence, after shedding their blood and pouring out their scanty treasurer in a great conflict.

What has been the history of Texas since that time? For 9 years it was an independent republic. It had its ambassadors in Washington and in foreign countries. It held its head high for 9 long years and maintained its independence, though attacked on two occasions by Mexico and invaded by hostile armies. The Texans repelled them, driving them back. Finally they joined the Union in 1845.

What contribution did Texas make then to the Union? As a result of the admission of the State of Texas there followed the Mexican War, whose results brought within the domain of the Union that great territory stretching all the way to California and up the Pacific Coast to the place where the waters of the Columbia mingle with the waters of the Pacific. Thus there was brought under the flag of the Union a vast region dedicated to Anglo-Saxon civilization

and to the constitutional concept of free government and democracy and the parliamentary system.

That, Mr. President, is the story of Texas. Why did not the author base his script on that, instead of digging up filth and falsehood?

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. CAPEHART. Let me read the Senator two or three more paragraphs. [Laughter.]

Mr. CONNALLY. Very well.

Mr. CAPEHART. The narrator says:

Texas, individual in everything, was not conquered by soldiers nor by priests.

Man I: By whom, then?

Narrator: By 600 cows with their respective bulls.

(Narrator then relates how Don Juan de Onate arrived in El Paso in 1598 with a large entourage and herd of cattle.) In less than 80 years the cows, with the help of the bulls—

Now, mind you, Mr. President, this was broadcast in Spanish throughout the world.

In less than 80 years the cows, with the help of the bulls, of course, transformed Texas into the center of the cattle industry.

Now, how could the State be slandered in a worse way than by those statements, I ask the able Senator from Texas?

Mr. CONNALLY. I will say to the Senator that the entire script, evidently—I have not read it all—is a libel on the State of Texas. I thank the Senator for calling it to my attention.

Mr. CAPEHART. Let me say, please, I have read into the RECORD the Voice of America broadcasts on three or four States, and each of the States has been libeled. The States have been laughed at, they have been made to seem ridiculous, just as has the State of Texas. For example, Alabama—I do not have the broadcast here, but the State of Alabama was possibly more wantonly libeled than was the State of Texas. The statement concerning the State of Alabama, the city of Birmingham, and the capital, the city of Montgomery, was a ridiculous one.

Mr. CONNALLY. If the Senator will introduce a resolution and have it referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, I shall be very much pleased, as a member of the committee, to consider it.

Mr. CAPEHART. I know the Senator from Texas dislikes this sort of thing

as much as I do. He would not, by any stretch of the imagination, willingly permit any such programs to be broadcast.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator that when the question first arose in the Committee on Foreign Relations as to the establishment of the Voice of America, the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] and the senior Senator from Texas expressed very serious doubts about giving this tremendous power to any bureau of the Government. We did not anticipate such vile and baseless slanders as those which the Senator has revealed today. We did fear irresponsible broadcasts by some little two-by-four employee of some department who might think he had to write something and broadcast it to the world. Our worst fears have been more than realized with respect to this program. They had better not send anything than to send such trash as this. They had better close up their doors and keep quiet than to plaster all over the world these slanderous, outrageous stories regarding the different States of the Union. I do not know who the individual is who wrote it, but I will say that he has my utter contempt, and, I am sure, the contempt of the Senate for writing such matter.

Mr. CAPEHART. I shall introduce a resolution tomorrow calling for an inquiry, and I hope it will be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. BREWSTER. I think the Senator read a sentence which said that New England was founded in hypocrisy.

Mr. CAPEHART. I did.

Mr. BREWSTER. Have any representatives from New England had an opportunity to comment on that broadcast?

Mr. CAPEHART. Yes; the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. The statement was that New England was founded in hypocrisy and Texas in sin.

Mr. BREWSTER. I should like to supplement what has been said by observing that we shall need to redecorate the Capitol, because in the rotunda there is a very impressive mural showing the Founding Fathers assembled on the deck of the *Speedwell*, which is an historic error. They finally arrived on the *May-*

flower. But they are conducting a church service and reading the Bible.

On one side of the President's robing room there will be found a mural depicting the founders of America, the leader of the Pilgrim Fathers bearing a somewhat distinguished name. They are shown reading the Holy Bible.

I should suggest that if this characterization be correct, we might ask the same gentlemen to rewrite our history and to redecorate our Capitol accordingly.

The leader of the Pilgrim Fathers left England because he would have been hanged for his religious beliefs if he had remained. He was ready to sacrifice life itself for the things in which he believed. He was a refugee for some time, but finally escaped from England in the *Mayflower* and landed on what were at that time the inhospitable shores of New England, in search of religious liberty. Those who characterize as hypocrites those men and women, many of whom laid down their lives in the first winter of their residence in New England, are worthy of language which I think this Chamber would not deem it best to entertain.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I do not think any Senator needs to defend his State against these charges. A thought occurs to me which has not been brought out. As I have listened to the reading of the so-called broadcasts affecting each State I could not escape the opinion that either some wit wanted to have some fun at the expense of the United States Government, or someone deliberately wanted to present the United States Government to foreign countries in a very bad light. What interests me about it is that it is not merely a "happencence"; it looks like a calculated attempt to portray the United States in the most degrading way that radio technique would permit.

I shall be very much interested in knowing who prepared the script. I do not think we need to defend our States in the Senate, but I should be interested in knowing who sat down deliberately and prepared such a script, unless he was a consummate joker or a person who did not believe in America.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I promised to yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I was present at a meeting of the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations when the Senator from Indiana read the broadcast relating to the State of Alabama. I did not hear the contents of the broadcast, but they have been brought to my attention since I left the committee and returned to the floor. I simply want to characterize that broadcast, its contents, and its statements, as base slander. The entire broadcast is such a tissue of falsehoods that I shall not dignify it by any detailed answer. As one who has the honor in part of representing the people of the State of Alabama in this body, I do want to express my deep resentment over this broadcast and to express my profound contempt for the author of it.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD the broadcast on the State of Colorado, because I shall not take the time to read it. I shall introduce a resolution tomorrow asking that it be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee to make a thorough inquiry into how such a ridiculous thing could happen in one of the departments of the Government.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KNOW NORTH AMERICA—COLORADO

Music: Theme, up and under.

Announcer: The National Broadcasting Co. presents Know North America, a weekly program in which we narrate the spiritual adventures of two travelers as they discover the numerous miracles of the historical and present-day life of the United States.

Train whistle, sounds, etc.

Voice: (Yawns.)

Narrator: What is the matter; are you bored?

Voice: Naturally.

Narrator: You have nothing to complain about; you are traveling like royalty.

Voice: Yes, that is true, but, the trouble is that we do not stop at any place.

Voice II: We are like three errant Jews.

Voice: Who are not even Jews.

Voice II: We are living the life of an air-mail letter.

Voice: Without a definite address.

Narrator (laughs): And what would you like—spend a season in each State?

Voice II: Not that, but it's trying to see everything and yet not be able to fully enjoy anything.

Narrator: Does that mean that you are not satisfied?

Voice: Where the captain commands, the sailor has no say.

Voice II: Do you think it was right that we only spent 2 days in Hollywood?

Narrator: No; but I believe I showed you everything; the only thing you did not see was the cemetery of Forest Lawn, where there are no tombstones, only trees with names.

Voice: What do I care about such artistic cemeteries!

Voice II: The quickest journey that we have made, a real record, was the one through Nevada.

[Laughter.]

Voice: You delivered the historic lecture to us on the plane and we did not stop.

Voice II: Don't you think that the State is going to resent it?

Narrator: Perhaps, but it was not my fault. The plane took another route. But don't worry, remember what John Barrymore said: "In the world there are two cities which every civilized man should visit, even though only once—Paris and Reno."

Voice: I have not visited either of them.

Voice II: Because you are not civilized.

Sound, train up and again in background.

Voice: What magnificent forests.

Voice II: They are endless.

Narrator: In the West 70 percent of the land is forests and deserts.

Voice: And yet the United States has 140,000,000 inhabitants.

Narrator: They could have 500—

Voice II: Look, we have entered Colorado.

Voice (reading): Mesa Verde, Colo.

Narrator: Prepare yourself to see the most admirable landscapes in the world. There are no equals, not even in Switzerland.

Voice: This looks like one of those Christmas cards.

Voice II: A forest of blue pines.

Narrator: Mesa Verde is a national park where the ruins of the prehistoric cities of the cavemen are preserved. In these virgin lands there are buffalo, deer, mountain goats, and bears—

Voice (suddenly): What a coincidence; there are two there.

Voice II: With what interest they look at the train.

Narrator: They are so tame that they stop the tourists' automobiles and beg for bread.

Voice: Rather dangerous beggars.

Narrator: Yes; one must be careful because with the bread they might take your arm.

(Train up and down again.)

Narrator: Nothing in the United States is comparable to Colorado.

Voice II: I won't know with regard to other things, but as far as picturesqueness, this is unique.

Narrator: In the State of Colorado there are 1,500 peaks over 10,000 feet above sea level; and of the 66 in the United States higher than 14,000 feet, 55 are in Colorado.

Voice: Then, this is nothing but mountains?

Narrator: No; on the other side are the plains and the deserts. That peak, covered with fog, is Lookout Mountain. Buffalo Bill, one of the most interesting characters in the history of the West, is buried there. His tomb looks toward the east, toward the vast plains where he was the terror of the redskins and the buffalo * * *.

Voice: When I was young I never liked Buffalo Bill.

Narrator: That is strange, because his adventures are enthusiastically read by all youngsters.

Voice: I always took the side of the Indians and the buffalo.

Voice II: Both suffered tremendously, but that's progress: It destroys in order to build.

Narrator: You may not believe it, but today, according to statistics, there are more Indians than before colonization.

Voice II: But there are no more buffalo.

Voice: Of course, since no one eats Indians.

(Train into.)

(Man calling "Denver—Denver." Station sounds.)

Narrator: We have arrived. Don't forget the suitcase.

Voice: I suppose we will rest here.

Narrator: Only what is strictly necessary to continue the trip.

(Sounds up and under.)

Narrator: Denver, the capital of Colorado, is situated at the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. It is the highest city in the country, and its air, clear and clean, gives life and optimism to the inhabitants. Colorado no doubt is the most spectacular State in the United States. Its principal sources of wealth are cattle in all its ramifications—gold, silver, beet sugar—even tourists.

(Street noises, voices, etc., in background.)

Voice II: What a large number of Mexicans we see here.

Narrator: In Denver alone there are 25,000.

Voice: This belonged to Mexico, isn't that true?

Narrator: And to France and to Texas, when the audacity of Sam Houston made him decide to extend his republic.

Voice: Where does the State take its name from?

Narrator: From the most important of its rivers, which the Spanish Conquistadores called the Colorado because of the reddish color of its waters.

Voice II: The gold and the silver rush began here after the one in California. Am I right?

Narrator: Yes, in 1860. But it was not until 1900 that the adventure became an industry, maintaining its splendor throughout the First World War.

Voice II: What history of the West: extravagant, heroic, and cruel.

Narrator: The strangest thing is that the furthest States, like California and Nevada, were the ones that were colonized first.

Voice: Why would that be?

Narrator: The adventurers saw the great plains and rushed toward them until the Pacific stopped them.

Voice II: Those who followed in their footsteps were probably more conservative.

Narrator: That is it exactly, according to historian James Truslow Adams, who says: "The men on horseback would swallow the horizon but the families traveled in ox-drawn carts and slowly were strewn along the way."

(Electric street car, very noisy, voices, etc.)

Narrator: The people from Colorado feel great pride in saying that Denver is the summit of the United States.

Voice II: Geographically?

Narrator: Naturally. Can you notice how distinctly you can hear the noises?

Voice: Yes; especially the one that the electric street cars make.

Narrator (laughs): They belong to an English company.

Voice: I thought so.

Voice II: For the rest, Denver is a quiet city.

Narrator: But don't think that it was always like this: it had its days of glory and scandal.

Voice: When the gold rush broke the thermometer?

Narrator: Yes. At that time it was an international coquette. Nevertheless, when gold disappeared it recovered its former calm and became a moderate industrial community.

Voice II: What it is today.

Narrator: When gold was exhausted miners continued to dig the earth desperately and instead of the golden or silver metal they found the most common and blackest mineral.

Voice II: Coal?

Narrator: Yes. According to statistics, there is enough coal in Colorado for 7,000 years.

Voice: They better consume it now because by that time people will get heat from atomic radiations.

Music: Up and under. Somewhat sad.

(A burro brays.)

Voice: Listen, what a cordial greeting! It has been a long time since I have seen one of those compatriots!

[Laughter.]

Voice: Compatriot? Colleague!

Voice II: Is this a city?

Narrator: It was; and not just any city but a real metropolis.

Voice: Metropolis, when almost all the houses are made of wood?

Narrator: What does that matter? There was more gold here than in many marble palaces.

Voice II: Modern ruins, are they not?

Narrator: Truly a paradox!

Voice: You know what this looks like? One of those studio sets that we saw in Hollywood.

Voice II: That's true.

Narrator: And it really had much of that. It was so fantastic and transitory!

(Suddenly.) Look out!

(Heavy board falls.)

Voice: That wall almost flattened me!

Narrator: You should thank God that it is made of wood.

Voice: Yes; but I am made of bone and flesh.

Voice II: More bone than flesh.

(Steps on stone.)

Voice: (Echo.) Hello! This used to be a theater. Isn't that right?

Narrator: And what a theater. The most famous opera and dramatic companies used to come here. On this stage Gladys Swarthout sang the Merry Widow and Walter Houston and Ruth Gordon presented Othello and the Doll House.

Voice: Then the miners were not so ignorant if they appreciated Shakespeare and Ibsen!

(Steps.)

Narrator (off): Come and see the legend.

Voice: What is happening to you? Are you forgetting Spanish? Legends are read or they are told.

Narrator: But the one that I want to show you, you can see.

(Door opens.)

Voice: This is very old.

Voice II: It has the odor of centuries.

Narrator: And yet this city was founded 70 years ago, when the mine of Central City was discovered—and a few days after it was born it began to die, little by little.

(Steps on wood.)

Voice II (reading): The Teller House.

Narrator: This used to be a hotel and very famous cabaret.

Voice: Well, where is the legend?

Narrator: On the floor. Look at it.

Voice: A woman's head.

Narrator: One night, during the golden great days, a vagabond entered here and, with a piece of chalk, painted that face.

Voice II: Oh, I remember the legend. I saw it in a movie.

Narrator: The man, once he had finished, screamed, and fell dead on his work.

Voice: Then that is authentic?

Narrator: Naturally. A newspaperman wrote a ballad, famous and in poor taste, entitled "The Face on the Bar Room Floor."

Music: Music, nostalgic. Sound of car running.

Voice II: What a magnificent type of Indian. He looks like a prince.

Narrator: And probably he is. The Utes, the aristocrats of the Indian tribes of Colorado, live in this region.

Voice II: Oh, those are the indomitable.

Narrator: Yes; the Utes, like the Araucanos in Chile, were never conquered either by the Spaniards or the French.

Voice: Nor by the Texans?

Narrator: Not by them either. Nevertheless, the fact that they would not submit to anyone isolated them and therefore they do not form part of the active life in Colorado, like other tribes which, surrendering to the

conquerers, acquired their defects and virtues.

Voice II: In a way they are a monument.

Narrator. Yes. They are not taken into consideration but they are respected as a symbol of the heroism of the race.

Voice II: Which in this region is formidable. Isn't that right?

Narrator: Of course it is. The prototype is Jack Dempsey, terrible mixtures of Irish, Indian, and Mexican.

Music. Grandiose. Car running, up and to EG.

Voice II: What activity one sees everywhere.

Narrator: Colorado is one of the richest States in the Union, but it is only now, after the war, that it has started its progress on a large scale because most of the capital is in the hands of the daughters, granddaughters or great-granddaughters of the miners of the past century.

Voice II: And of course, the ladies are conservative and they don't wish to let go of what they have.

Voice: Like all women.

Music: Up and under.

Narrator: To the natives, Colorado is not just a State. It is something like a religion and, to a certain extent, their pride is justified since geographically it has no equal in the United States; and in few parts of the world. Colorado is half mountain and half plain. The peaks erupt rugged, violent from the plains and at some places there is not more than 100 kilometers between the most arid desert and the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Colorado has not only produced gold, silver, and coal, but also great artists like Harold Lloyd, Ernest Truex, Frederic March, and the unforgettable Douglas Fairbanks.

Music: Up and out.

Announcer: You have just heard Know North America, a weekly program in which we narrate the spiritual adventures of two travelers as they discover the numerous miracles of the historical and present-day life of the United States. Participating in this program were * * *. Juan José Vasquez was in charge of production and direction.

Music: Up and out.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I shall be happy to yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. Since my colloquy I have learned that Mr. Allen, the present head of the division of the State Department having to do with this subject, was confirmed by the Senate on the 31st of March of this year and took office sometime after that date.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY] hands me a document which

indicates that Mr. Allen was confirmed on the 25th of February. I think he took office sometime after the 1st of April, which would indicate—

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I did not want to leave the impression that these broadcasts happened since Mr. Allen took office.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am very much interested, because I was a member of the joint committee which visited Europe and looked into the broadcasts from America. We came back convinced that the service was needed in order to combat the propaganda against the United States in that quarter of the world. I recall that when the hearings were in progress before the Committee on Foreign Relations and the question of using existing facilities instead of broadcasting directly from the State Department was under consideration, the question arose as to the extent of supervision which should be exercised by the State Department over the broadcasting companies.

It was represented, I recall, that the broadcasting companies objected to State Department supervision on the ground that they would not be free agents to send out over their systems this information as they themselves prepared it.

I do not know, but I should like to know, and I hope the Senator from New Jersey in his inquiry of the State Department will ascertain, to what extent they exercised supervision and control over these private companies which disseminated this misinformation, and to what extent, if at all, there has been any change in the method of supervision, or any change in the type of contract made between the State Department and these broadcasting companies, any one or all of them.

I am sure that the Senator from New Jersey will undertake, even without a resolution or any action on the part of the Committee on Foreign Relations, to obtain every detail of the information so that the Senate and the country may know.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Kentucky that I have requested that information, and if it is not adequate when it is received, we will get more information, so that every last corner of this distressful situation will be explored.

Mr. CAPEHART. In the inquiry we should make we should call in the writers

and the authors and those who prepared the script, and ascertain under what circumstances the scripts were prepared.

Mr. SMITH. I agree with the Senator completely, because the tone of those broadcasts indicates that there certainly was a malicious intent in putting out information of that kind. I cannot condemn it too severely, and I thank the Senator from Indiana for bringing the matter to our attention.

Mr. CAPEHART. I have a copy of the letter of one of the authors of the script, which I am not at liberty at the moment to place in the RECORD, in which she in substance says that she was forced to write this sort of thing.

Mr. SMITH. I think we should investigate that very promptly.

Mr. CAPEHART. I may get permission later to put the letter in the RECORD.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. CONNALLY. Permit me to say to the Senator from Indiana that if and when his resolution is offered, and it comes to the Committee on Foreign Relations—

Mr. CAPEHART. I shall present it tomorrow.

Mr. CONNALLY. As one member of that committee, I shall insist not only that we have the officials of the State Department before us, but that we have the National Broadcasting Co. representative called.

Mr. CAPEHART. That is right, as well as the persons who wrote the copy.

Mr. CONNALLY. So that we can put our fingers on the copy and identify the source of it. It seems to me, as suggested by the Senator from New Jersey, that this whole matter is saturated with malice, with malice aforethought, in order to vent the spleen and pour out the venom of the authors of this stuff upon certain States and sections of the country. The idea that anyone, even one with a distorted mind, would conceive of sending out that kind of material to the detriment of the United States. These people are paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They are supposed to serve their country. They are supposed to wear the uniform of the United States. Yet they are saboteurs, they are traitors to their coun-

try and to the cause which they are supposed to represent.

Mr. CAPEHART. I hope the inquiry will go into every phase of the situation.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McMAHON. I have asked the Senator to yield because I looked up the date when Mr. Allen actually took over this program, and I find it to have been March 30, 1948.

I might say to the Senator that only those who so deeply believe, as I believe, in the necessity of America's voice, the true voice of America, being known to the world, could feel as deeply shamed and abashed at the kind of statements which have been voiced in the scripts which the Senator from Indiana has read. I am one of those who have heretofore voiced my belief that unless the United States of America succeeds in putting its case—and a great case it has—to the rest of the world, we will inevitably lose the battle for men's minds that is going on between us and the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, that is why I, perhaps as much as any other Member of the Senate, deplore this kind of broadcast, because I am afraid that the malfeasance in this office, if you please, might result in such condemnation as to result in the abolition of the office itself, which I think would be a very bad thing for the United States.

What we must do is to see that this does not happen again, but we must also resolve that we shall go forward to place America's case, what America stands for, the freedom it stands for, what America lives by, and what America is willing to die by, before the people of the world.

Mr. CAPEHART. What a tragedy it would have been had someone not called the attention of the Senate to the kind and type of broadcasts which are being made, and if it had been continued in foreign languages over a period of months and months and years and years.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AIKEN. I suggest that ascertaining the author of the script and perhaps reprimanding the author or securing his

dismissal from the Government service will amount to very little, and will probably correct nothing. The State Department, and the State Department alone, is responsible for the type of broadcasts which go out over the world under this program. I think the Congress has spent too much time in running down subordinates, getting sensational stories about subordinates, and then doing nothing about the department heads who are responsible for the subordinates. That is why I wish to point out that just so long as we devote our effort to running down subordinates of a department and do not take any action against the heads of the departments who are responsible for the acts of the employees, just so long will we have contributed very little toward better government. I hope that in this case at least action may be taken. I think we have to hold the department heads responsible if we are to get good Government service.

I realize that we have circumscribed the scope of the department heads in some cases by legislation so that they cannot function properly. If that be true, we should correct that situation, too. But, above all else, if we do not hold the department top levels themselves responsible, we will never correct the evil things which happen on the lower levels.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I am certain that public hearings will be held by the Committee on Foreign Relations on this question and on the resolution which I shall offer tomorrow.

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Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I feel that the Senator from Vermont has very clearly stated a point I had intended to mention, namely, that, regardless of who may have written the particular scripts which have been laid before the Senate, which have revealed a situation which is deplorable, and, I may say, tragic—regardless of who may have written them, the State Department, under whose direction and guidance they were written, is the responsible Government agency, and must answer for the acts. I think it is very well indeed to ascertain what individual may have written the scripts, and find from that individual why they were written and who authorized their writing.

Much has been said about the time Mr. Allen took office and began to perform his duties in charge of the Voice of America program. From the information given us today it appears he took office on March 30 of this year. That is not the question, however. Some one was there in that department before March 30, responsible, and solely responsible, I feel, for the conduct of the program. Inquiry should be made as to why this kind of broadcast was made; what motivated it. There could have been no good motive behind it. Why then should anyone in the Government service direct broadcasts or statements so injurious to the country? That ought to be the real purpose of the investigation. I hope it will proceed at once.