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A Rhetorical Study Of The Life Line Radio Broadcasts

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A RHETORICAL STUDY
OF THE LIFE LINE RADIO BROADCASTS

By

Arlee Wayne Johnson

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
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This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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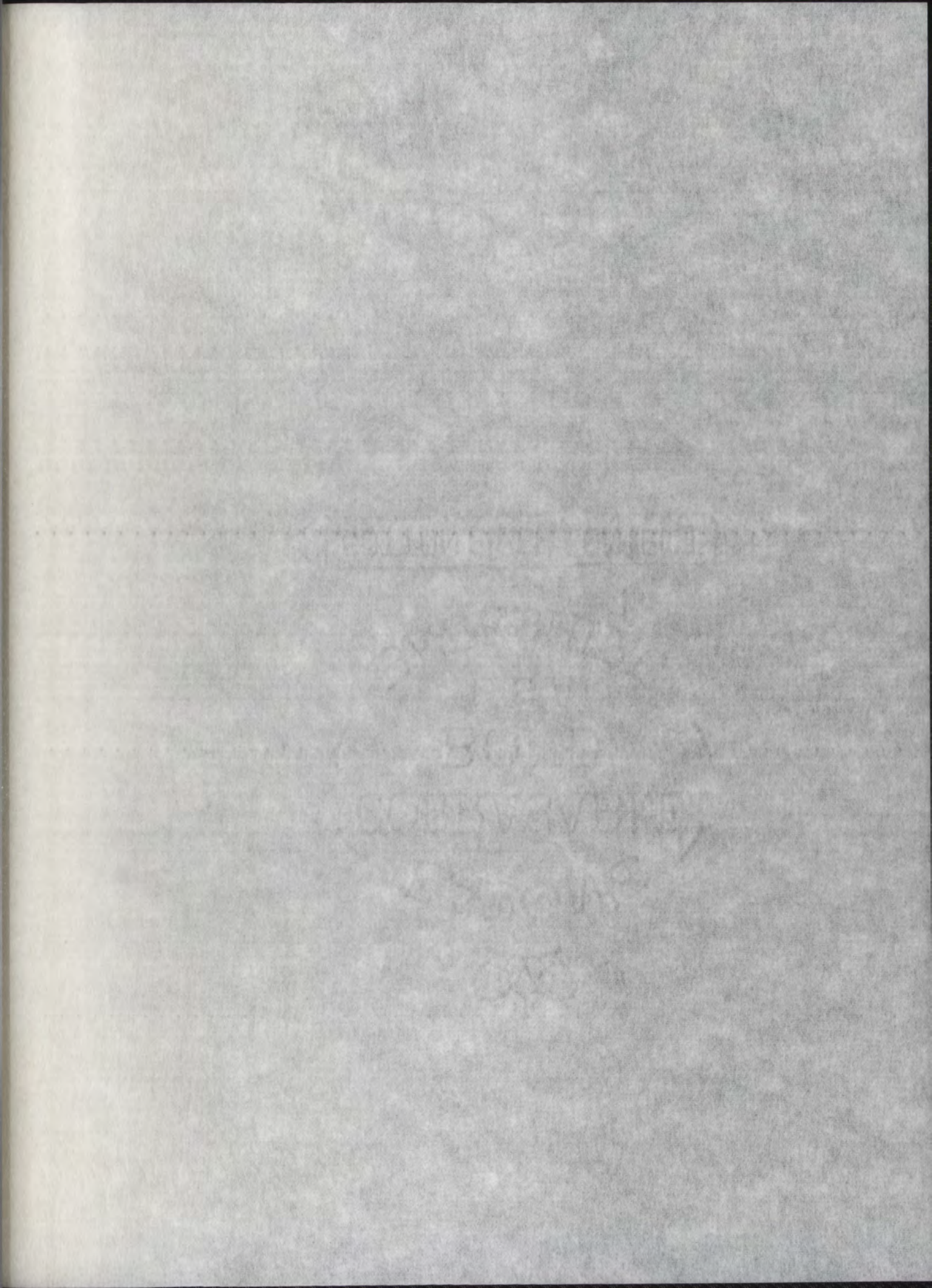
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INTRODUCTION

For more than a decade the American public has been discussing the merits of the philosophy of the radical right wing in American politics. This debate is not surprising when statements such as these by one of the foremost leaders of the radical right are examined:

On January 20, 1953, Dwight Eisenhower was inaugurated as the thirty-fourth President of the United States. He thus became, automatically and immediately, captain and quarterback of the free-world team, in the fight against Communism. In our firm opinion he had been planted in that position, by Communists, for the purpose of throwing the game.¹

With regard to this . . . man, Eisenhower, it is difficult to avoid raising the question of deliberate treason. For his known actions and apparent purposes certainly suggest the possibility of treason to the United States, no matter how he may rationalize it to himself as loyalty to an international dream.²

This paper will be devoted to the analysis of a series of forty-three radio broadcasts of one of the organizations which has been identified with the American right wing--the

¹Robert Welch, The Politician (Belmont, Massachusetts: Privately printed, 1963), p. 83.

²Ibid., p. 279.

Life Line Foundation.³ This study will concern itself with the role the Life Line Foundation plays in the American right wing thought and the effectiveness of its argument and evidence. Do the broadcasts proclaim the right wing line? Toward what type of audience are they aimed? Are the broadcasts effective because of the use of effective arguments and evidence? These are the questions to be answered by this study.

Much has been written about the American radical right. One of the most widely known studies is a book entitled The New American Right.⁴ Because this book was written before the surge of strength seen in today's right wing, it was expanded and updated in 1963 under the title, The Radical Right.⁵ These two books include essays by Daniel Bell, Richard Hofstadter, David Riesman, Peter Viereck, and Alan F. Westin. These articles posited theories concerning the

³Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger on the Right (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 136-137, 195, and 278. See also Robert G. Sherill, "H. L. Hunt: Portrait of a Super-Patriot," Nation, CXCVIII (February 24, 1964), pp. 182-195.

⁴Daniel Bell (ed.), The New American Right (New York: Criterion Books, 1955).

⁵Daniel Bell (ed.), The Radical Right (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963).

origins and motivating factors in the growth of the radical right wing in American politics. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet in their book, The Strange Tactics of Extremism,⁶ begin with a fairly comprehensive study of the John Birch Society.

This is followed with a not-so-intensive study of the organizations and leaders of the radical right. Included in these organizations and leaders are Dan Smoot, Carl McIntire, and Billy James Hargis and his Christian Crusade. This is followed by an overall view of the goals, organization, and characteristics of the radical right. Another study of the various groups within the American right wing is available in the book, Danger on the Right, written by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein. The chief drawback of this particular study is its concern with the anti-Semitism issue. It seems that often too much time is spent in an effort to link groups of the radical right with anti-Semitism even when such groups specifically disavow any animosity toward Jewish people. Ralph Ellsworth and Sarah Harris also have made a study of the American right wing.⁷

⁶Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, The Strange Tactics of Extremism (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1964).

⁷Ralph E. Ellsworth and Sarah M. Harris, The American Right Wing (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1962).

Their study is largely concerned with a description of the stand taken by the radical right on specific issues. A description of the ideology of the radical right is furnished by Clinton Rossiter in his book, Conservatism in America.⁸ Rossiter, however, prefers the term "ultra-conservatives" in referring to the radical right. Richard Hofstadter, in his book The Paranoid Style in American Politics, gives a brief description of right wing activities in American history. He also devotes chapters to the radical right wing of today and the man the radical right considers its political leader--Barry Goldwater.⁹ Edwin S. Newman devotes the final section of the book he edited, The Hate Reader,¹⁰ to essays written about the right wing. Some of these essays also appeared in The Radical Right. The above review of books and pamphlets describing, criticizing and supporting the American right wing is not

⁸Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), pp. 183-186.

⁹Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 3-141.

¹⁰Edwin S. Newman, The Hate Reader (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1964), pp. 129-160.

intended to be exhaustive. They are, however, the major works treating the American right wing.

Little or no attention has been given to the Life Line radio broadcasts themselves. Robert Sherrill, in his study of H. L. Hunt and the Life Line Foundation paid only scant attention to the content of the broadcasts. His main concern seemed to be that the Life Line Foundation had unjustly received tax-exempt status as an educational organization from the Internal Revenue Service.¹¹ This same complaint and the exposure of the radical right nature of the Life Line Foundation are the major revelations concerning the Life Line broadcasts found in Forster and Epstein's, Danger on the Right.¹² Harry and Bonaro Overstreet briefly analyzed some of the evidence of the Dan Smoot Report.¹³ As Forster and Epstein have shown, some relationship between the Dan Smoot Report and the broadcast of the Life Line Foundation exists. Dan Smoot was the first commentator employed by the Life Line Foundation. At that time, the Life Line Foundation's

¹¹Sherrill, pp. 182-185.

¹²Forster and Epstein, pp. 136-137, 195 and 178.

¹³Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, pp. 127-142.

radio broadcast was entitled "Facts Forum." Smoot later left the Life Line Foundation and started his own program.¹⁴ Other than these three studies, no previous research seems to have been done on the Life Line broadcasts.

But how significant is the problem of the Life Line radio broadcasts? Are these broadcasts really of importance to the American people? Alan Westin, in his study of the John Birch Society, points to Gallup Polls taken in April of 1961 and February of 1962 which, projected to the entire nation, would indicate that between seven and nine and a half million Americans viewed the John Birch Society as a useful organization in the anti-Communist cause.¹⁵ In viewing this figure it should be kept in mind that these polls were taken at a time when the Society was receiving publicity which was damaging its image. The press and other mass media were publicizing Robert Welch's charge that President Eisenhower was "a dedicated, conscious agent of of the Communist conspiracy."¹⁶ As will be pointed out

¹⁴Forster and Epstein, pp. 136-138.

¹⁵Alan F. Westin, "The John Birch Society: 'Radical Right' and 'Extreme Left' in the Political Context of Post World War II (1962)," The Radical Right, Daniel Bell (ed.), pp. 239-240.

¹⁶Ibid.

later, the broadcasts and publications of the Life Line Foundation are of a nature which would help to create an atmosphere favorable to the growth of the John Birch Society and the philosophy which it proclaims. In addition, it should be remembered that Life Line reaches a large number of people. These broadcasts may be heard daily over approximately four hundred and fifty different radio stations. These stations are located in forty-six states and Mexico.¹⁷ In 1964 Robert Sherrill reported that Life Line was heard over 331 stations, among which were 25 per cent of the nation's clear-channel outlets. He also reported that Life Line had an estimated audience of five million persons.¹⁸ Assuming his figures to be correct, or at least nearly so, it would seem safe to say that Life Line must reach an audience of over five million people each day at the present time. Clearly, any program which proclaims a message favorable to the John Birch Society and the radical right wing ideology to five million people daily

¹⁷These figures were compiled from a leaflet printed by the Life Line Foundation listing the stations on which the broadcast may be heard.

¹⁸Sherrill, p. 182.

is a phenomenon worth close attention and analysis.

In studying the Life Line radio programs this paper will first deal with the origins of today's radical right wing in America, along with a summary of its major arguments. The arguments of the radical right will then be compared to the major contentions of the Life Line Foundation to determine the degree of similarity between them. Following this examination of the major contentions of the radical right and the Life Line Foundation, the effectiveness of the arguments and evidence of the Life Line programs will be studied. This will be done by first considering the audience toward which these broadcasts are aimed. Then a detailed analysis of the validity and effectiveness of the arguments and evidence employed in the broadcasts will follow.

In this analysis, a series of forty-three Life Line broadcasts were analyzed. These broadcasts began on February 1, 1966, and were concluded on March 15, 1966. The texts of these broadcasts were obtained from the Life Line Foundation. Some of the texts were then compared with a tape recording which was made by the writer at the time the broadcast was presented. The texts proved to be faithful transcriptions of the recorded broadcast. In fact,

they were so accurate that one would suspect Munn reads the broadcast.

It is hoped that an analysis of the effectiveness of the arguments and evidence of the Life Line radio programs will reveal reasons for the effectiveness of its appeal to its audience as well as the entire right wing. In addition, such an analysis should provide a basis for the study of the programs and speakers of other right wing groups.

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIAL SETTING

The history of right wing activities in the United States is probably as old as the nation itself. However, the birth and growth of the ideology of the present-day American right wing is comparatively new. Perhaps the first real questioning of the loyalty of those nearer the left end of the political continuum than the right occurred in the late 1930's and early 1940's. This right wing activity was carried out by the House Un-American Activities Committee with Martin Dies as chairman. It seems that the real purpose of this committee was not to expose communists as much as it was to question the activities of liberals. This was pointed out by a writer of the right wing itself when Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky wrote of the committee in connection with the Alger Hiss case:

Martin Dies, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, . . . seemed much more interested in pursuing hapless liberals and belabouring fellow-travellers than in busting open the [Hiss] spy ring.¹

¹Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky, Seeds of Treason (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1962), p. 89.

The case of Alger Hiss added more fuel to the right wing fire in the late forties and early fifties. Even today the case of Hiss serves as an important argument for the right wing.²

In February 1950, the ideology proclaimed by today's radical right began to flourish in the person of Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin. McCarthy began his attack on internal communists in a speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, in February 1950, when he charged,

At war's end we were physically the strongest nation on earth and, at least potentially, the most powerful intellectually and morally. Ours could have been the honor of being a beacon in the desert of destruction, a shining living proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity.

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been selling this Nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer--the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in Government we can give.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been

²For a complete review of the rightist view of the Hiss case see Toledano and Lasky.

worst.³

Later, in the same speech, McCarthy stated,

I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy.⁴

Needless to say, many people disagreed violently with McCarthy's charges. However, there was also a sizable number of people who supported him. Even today, the debate over the correctness of McCarthy's charges continues.⁵ This study will not concern itself with the validity of the charges made by McCarthy. Rather, an attempt will be made to show the ideological relationship of "McCarthyism" to the American right wing of today.

McCarthy explained how he had been convinced of the treasonous activities of many of our top officials when he wrote,

³Joe McCarthy, Major Speeches and Debates of Senator Joe McCarthy (Washington, D. C.: Unabridged Reprint from the Congressional Record, 1952), p. 9.

⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁵Two books on the subject, one for McCarthy and the other against, are William Buckley and L. B. Bozell, McCarthy and His Enemies (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1954), and Richard H. Rovere, Senator Joe McCarthy (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1959). See also John A. Stormer, None Dare Call It Treason, (Florissant, Mo.: Liberty Bell Press, 1964), pp. 40-47.

Before meeting Jim Forrestal I thought we were losing to international Communism because of incompetence and stupidity on the part of our planners. I mentioned that to Forrestal. I shall forever remember his answer. He said, "McCarthy, consistency has never been a mark of stupidity. If they were merely stupid they would occasionally make a mistake in our favor." This phrase struck me so forcefully that I have often used it since.

When I took on my duties as a Senator, I discovered that certain outstanding Senators and Congressmen for years had been intelligently trying to alert the American people. They belonged to both parties. Unfortunately, when they clearly and intelligently presented a picture of incompetence or treason which should have commanded banner headlines in every newspaper, the story was found, if at all, hidden in want-ad space and type. I witnessed the frustration of those honest, intelligent, loyal Americans who were attempting to expose our suicidal foreign policy. Day after day I came into contact with convincing evidence of treason. Obviously, unless the public was aroused, the downward course upon which we were embarked would continue and at an accelerated pace. But how to arouse the public to the danger before it was too late?⁶

McCarthy found the means of arousing the public in exposing men he felt were betraying this nation because of incompetence or treason. As McCarthy saw it, this was the only method that would work. Only two other methods were available; they had been tried without success. Giving the evidence to the proper Senate committee had only resulted in a whitewash for every person McCarthy had named. An attempt to take the evidence to the President and ask him to release government officials serving the communist cause

⁶Joe McCarthy, McCarthyism, the Fight for America, (New York: The Devin-Adair Company: Publishers, 1952), p. 2.

had been unsuccessful because "the President apparently considered any attempt to expose communists in the government as a cheap political trick to embarrass him and would not even answer a letter offering him evidence of communist infiltration."⁷ Thus, as McCarthy put it, "The only method left to me was to present the truth to the American people."⁸

One of the men who was most suspect to McCarthy was Secretary of State Dean Acheson. McCarthy arrayed a great deal of evidence designed to show the communist tendencies of Acheson. An example of this evidence is McCarthy's analysis of Acheson's statement in 1950 that he did not intend to turn his back on Alger Hiss. McCarthy made this analysis:

This statement is significant not because it expressed undying support for an old friend who was a convicted traitor. Acheson's statement was extremely important because it served public notice on every other "Hiss" in the State Department that he could bank upon the powerful backing of the Secretary of State if he were caught and accused or convicted of treason.⁹

McCarthy also pointed out that Alger Hiss' brother Donald, who had also been named as an underground communist, had been an employee of the State Department until 1945. In 1945 it had been arranged for Donald Hiss to be transferred

⁷McCarthy, McCarthyism, the Fight for America, p. 7.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., p. 24.

to the Acheson law firm. There he was still a member,¹⁰ This again, to McCarthy, showed the communist tendencies of Acheson.

Another of our nation's leaders that McCarthy held was not deserving of the governmental positions he had held was General George Marshall.¹¹ After detailing all of the actions of General Marshall which had later proven to be detrimental to the best interests of the United States, as McCarthy saw the best interests of the country, McCarthy concluded:

If Marshall were merely stupid, the laws of probability would have dictated that at least some of his decisions would have served this country's interest. Even if Marshall had been innocent of guilty intention, how could he have been trusted to guide the defense of this country further? We have declined so precipitously in relation to the Soviet Union in the last six years, how much swifter may be our fall into disaster with Marshall's policies continuing to guide us? Where will all this stop? This is not a rhetorical question; ours is not a rhetorical danger. Where next will Marshall's policies, continued by Acheson, carry us?¹²

The fact that McCarthy's charges against Acheson and Marshall are the only ones covered in this study does not indicate that these are necessarily the strongest or weakest cases that McCarthy had to present. These have been given

¹⁰McCarthy, McCarthyism, the Fight for America, p. 24

¹¹For a complete exposition of McCarthy's charges against General Marshall see Joe McCarthy, The Story of General George Marshall, (By the author, 1952).

¹²McCarthy, The Story of General George Marshall, p. 171.

only to illustrate the nature of McCarthy's charges. In this paper only samples of the evidence presented by McCarthy in support of these two charges have been given.

When McCarthy was attacked for trying to prove guilt by association, he pointed out that those who were attacking him relied on the same type of proof to show the innocence of those he attacked. Further, he said that he was not concerned with guilt by association because he was not trying to convict any individual of any crime. Rather, according to McCarthy, the question was whether an individual who associated with communists should be allowed to participate in the planning of the policies of this nation and to be given access to top secret information.¹³

In the last chapter of his book, McCarthyism, the Fight for America, McCarthy answered this question: "Senator McCarthy, what can I--an average American, holding no public office, and owning no newspapers or radio stations --do to fight Communism?" McCarthy's answer was not that the citizen could help alert America to the danger of communists in the State Department. Rather, the job of the citizen was to counteract the damage of "Communist-minded teachers and Communist-line textbooks." McCarthy put the problem of communism in our educational system in these

¹³McCarthy, McCarthyism, the Fight for America, pp. 79-80.

words:

Countless times I have heard parents throughout the country complain that their sons and daughters were sent to college as good Americans and returned four years later as wild-eyed radicals. The educational system of this country cannot be cleansed of Communist influence by legislation. It can only be scrubbed and flushed and swept clean if the mothers and fathers, and the sons and daughters, of this nation individually decide to do this job. This can be your greatest contribution to America. This is a job which you can do. This is a job which you must do if America and Western Civilization are to live.¹⁴

McCarthy went on to warn his readers that when they detected and started to expose a teacher leaning toward communism in his teaching they would be smeared and accused of endangering academic freedom. McCarthy concluded by writing, "We cannot win the fight against Communism if Communist-minded professors are teaching your children. We cannot lose the fight against Communism if loyal Americans are teaching your children."¹⁵

Perhaps the ideology of Senator McCarthy can best be summarized by looking at this description of the objectives of the communist conspiracy given by McCarthy:

What is the objective of the conspiracy? I think it is clear from what has occurred and is now occurring: to diminish the United States in world affairs, to weaken us militarily, to confuse our spirit with talk of surrender in the Far East and to impair our will to resist evil. To what end? To

¹⁴McCarthy, McCarthyism, the Fight for America, p. 101.

¹⁵Ibid.

the end that we shall be contained and frustrated and finally fall victim to Soviet intrigue from within and Russian military might from without. Is that far-fetched? There have been many examples in history of rich and powerful states which have been corrupted from within, enfeebled and deceived until they were unable to resist aggression.¹⁶

As this study now shifts its focus to the arguments and ideology of the present-day American right wing, many similarities will be found with the arguments and ideology advanced by McCarthy. However, differences will be found also. Many arguments which McCarthy did not stress will be found in the new American right.

Before exploring the great number of similarities between the ideology of the McCarthy right and the present-day American right, it is necessary to understand the structural difference of the two groups. McCarthyism, employing very little organization, grouped its strength around one man. Today's right wing is characterized by a much greater organizational genius. This organization was evident in the 1964 Republican convention.¹⁷

The right wing now has a multiplicity of organizations owing little or no allegiance to each other. Included in the more prominent right wing organizations are the John

¹⁶McCarthy, The Story of General George Marshall, pp. 171-172.

¹⁷Hofstadter, p. 66.

Birch Society, the Christian Crusade led by Billy James Hargis, the Church League of America led by Edgar C. Bundy, and the Circuit Riders led by Myers G. Lowman.¹⁸ In addition, the right wing has radio broadcasts such as "The Manion Forum" and the "Dan Smoot Report" and magazines by the score, including The National Review and Human Events.¹⁹ Dr. Frederick C. Schwarz, head of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, has this to say about this multiplicity of organizations:

A commonly held view is that unity is the great need in this organized anti-Communism program. An argument such as the following is assured of a tumultuous reception with almost any group of businessmen: "Communism is the universal enemy. It is the enemy of every segment of a free society. It is the enemy of both Management and Labor. It is the enemy of all religions; Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Hindu and Moslem. Since it is the enemy of all free political parties, it is the common enemy of Republican and Democrat. Since it is our universal enemy, it should cause us to submerge our differences and unitedly throw ourselves into the struggle against it." Such an argument will be cheered to the echo yet it is as phony as a three dollar bill. When groups submerge their differences, they frequently submerge their motivating forces and the organization so formed is like an automobile without gasoline because the dynamics of action reside in the submerged difference.²⁰

¹⁸For a detailed discussion of these organizations see Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, The Strange Tactics of Extremism.

¹⁹For a discussion of these broadcasts and magazines see Forster and Epstein, Danger on the Right.

²⁰Fred Schwarz, You Can Trust the Communists, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 178.

Dr. Schwarz makes it clear that while there may be slight differences among the organizations of the radical right, they are all dedicated to one objective--the fighting of communism. This objective can be achieved most effectively in separate organizations.

Thus, while the organizational pattern of today's right differs significantly from that of McCarthyism, it becomes quite clear that the basic aim is actually the same.

Just as McCarthy argued we are becoming weak and impotent, so the right wing of today believes that we are rapidly losing ground to the communists. This can be vividly seen in John Stormer's analysis of the cold war and United States success in that war:

The COLD WAR is real war. It has already claimed more lives, enslaved more people, and cost more money than any "hot" war in history. Yet, most Americans refuse to admit that we are at war. That is why we are rapidly losing--why America has yet to win its first real victory in 18 years of "cold" war.

Within the framework of the "cold" war there have been "hot" wars in China, Malaya, Indonesia, Algeria, the Congo, Cuba, Iraq, the Gaza Strip, Hungary, Korea, Angola, Burma, Tibet, and Egypt. In 1963, there was fighting in Laos, Viet Nam, and on the Indian-Chinese border, renewed skirmishing along the 38th parallel in Korea, and terrorist activity in Africa. The forces of freedom have lost or will lose them all.²¹

To the right wing of today the reasons for these defeats in the battle against world communism are clearly evident. Certainly, it is not the actual strength of

²¹Stormer, None Dare Call It Treason, p. 7.

communism or the Soviet Union. According to Robert Welch, at least ninety-five percent of the people on both sides of the Iron Curtain do not want communism. Communism by its very nature is weak because it "must depend on falsehood, cunning, and terror, utilized by less than five percent of the total population," but the anti-communist cause rests on "truth, reality, human instinct, and the overwhelming weight of human desire."²² To the radical right of the present time, "the American support of the international Communist conspiracy is now the backbone of its strength, and has been for many years."²³ In short, "our danger remains almost entirely internal, from communist influences right in our midst and treason right in our government."²⁴ Using the words of another writer for the radical right, "every communist country in the world literally has a 'Made in USA' stamp on it."²⁵

The support which the American right wing offers for the generalization that the danger from international communism is largely internal varies a great deal from one writer to another. To Robert Welch, the support is most

²²Robert Welch, The Blue Book of The John Birch Society, (Belmont, Massachusetts: The John Birch Society, 1961), p. 73.

²³Ibid., p. 76.

²⁴Ibid., p. 32.

²⁵Stormer, p. 27.

clearly visible in the life of one of America's greatest traitors--Dwight D. Eisenhower. The following is the generalization about Eisenhower which Welch's book The Politician attempts to prove:

the Communist influences which completely controlled him /Eisenhower/ kept the reins of that control tight and effective. Subtly, cleverly, always proclaiming otherwise and finding specious excuses for what were really pro-Communist actions, these Communist influences made him put the whole diplomatic power, economic power, and recognized leadership of this country to work, on the side of Russia and the Communists, in connection with every problem and trouble spot in their empire. You only have to look at where we stand today, five years later, at exactly the same spots . . . to realize the truth of this assertion and the extent of this Communist success. It simply was not possible to lose so much ground, so rapidly, to an enemy so inferior, by chance or stupidity. The explanation calls for a very sinister and hated word, but one which is by no means new in the history of governments or of nations. The word is treason.²⁶

John A. Stormer gives a detailed account of the failure of both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy to stop the spread of communism. This is done in such a manner as to suggest that both of these men have not been as loyal to the United States as they have been to international communism.²⁷

Other writers of the radical right do not charge deliberate treason, nor do they suggest it. These rightists rather condemn many of our leaders for being liberals or

²⁶Welch, The Politician, pp. 5-6.

²⁷Stormer, pp. 33-93.

Fabian socialists. Hans F. Sennholz is an example of these writers. In an article entitled "How Communistic Are We?" Sennholz charted the progress our nation has made toward the goals of the Communist Manifesto.²⁸ An extended description of the arguments will be given here to show how these writers charge that we have drifted toward communism without any overt treason.

According to Sennholz, the first goal of the Communist Manifesto, the abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes, has gone a long way towards realization even though it has not been reached. To support this assertion he points out that the national government now owns 69% of the land in Arizona, 71% of Utah, 85% of Nevada, and over 90% of Alaska.

The second objective of the Manifesto, which calls for a heavy progressive or graduated income tax, has already been implemented.

The third goal also has, according to Sennholz, been almost realized by highly progressive taxation. This goal is the abolition of all rights of inheritance.

Fourth, the Manifesto calls for the confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels. This, too, has been done by laws against "enemy aliens" during World

²⁸Hans F. Sennholz, "How Communistic Are We?" American Opinion, IV (July-August, 1961), pp. 28-34.

War II and by taxation of American citizens living in "advanced" foreign countries.

The next objective calls for the centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly. This, too, for all practical purposes has been achieved through the Federal Reserve System.

The sixth goal of the program demands the centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State. Although there is still "a precarious margin of freedom in these industries," the goal has almost been fulfilled by the Federal Communications Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission. Article seven demands the extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of wasteland; and the improvement of the soil generally under a common plan. Since the advent of the New Deal, the electrical industry, atomic energy and the exploration of space have all become important businesses owned and operated by the federal government. Also important is the increasing amount of governmental control over all other industries.

The next objective of the communist program demands the establishment of industrial armies, especially in the field of agriculture, and an equal liability of all to labor. Sennholz writes that "we must anticipate its

realization during the next state of 'emergency.'" All men not conscripted to bear arms and "all women must expect to be forced to labor according to a central plan."²⁹ Another method by which this article will be executed is the Peace Corps. As Sennholz puts it,

Once the Peace Corps is firmly established, it undoubtedly will grow to "Peace Armies" at the disposal of the government for domestic as well as foreign labor. It is noteworthy that conscription of such slave labor was suggested when the "Corps" was first proposed, although political considerations made it necessary to defer for a while this part of the scheme.³⁰

The ninth article of the Communist Manifesto provides for the combination of agriculture with manufacturing and the gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equitable distribution of the population over the country. The combination of agriculture and industry, Sennholz argues, has largely been achieved through their common regulation and control by the federal government. Also, "area planning" and aid to "depressed areas" foreshadow the population planning to come.

The last article of the Manifesto provides for "free education for all children in public schools, abolition of children's factory labor in its present form, and combination of education with industrial production." This part of

²⁹Sennholz, p. 32.

³⁰Ibid.

Marx's program, says Sennholz, aimed at government ownership and control. This has been achieved in education by means of federal aid to education. Child-labor legislation as well as other labor legislation has also helped to carry out this article of the Manifesto.

Sennholz does not say that this advance toward communism has resulted from treason. Instead, it has resulted from the thinking of liberals and Fabian socialists.

Sennholz writes,

Many Americans seem to believe that our gradual realization of the Communist Manifesto actually improves our system of individual enterprise! Misguided by the Fabian socialists and "Liberals" in our midst, they are convinced that the government intervention provided by the Manifesto has corrected the alleged evils of "unbridled" capitalism. Of course, in accordance with the Fabian strategy of never launching a frontal attack against capitalism, the various provisions of the Manifesto were realized under misleading names and labels.³¹

It will be seen that in the thinking of the radical right liberalism and Fabian socialism are held to be equal in wickedness with Marxist communism. Further evidence of this spurning of any liberalism is seen in an article which recently appeared in the National Review magazine. It stated,

Liberalism is the dominant ideology of our time, and accepted as such in the most successful nations of the twentieth century; notably, of course, in the United States. If the world today is in a mess, if the last decades have been characterized by

³¹Sennholz, p. 33.

unprecedented cruelty, bloodshed and destruction, then, it would seem to me the triumphant spirit of Liberalism must be held responsible rather than the authoritarianism against which it has so ardently, and by and large successfully crusaded. . . . Liberalism in reality represented a collective death-wish. Like individuals, civilizations in decline consciously or unconsciously want to be extinguished; Liberalism is the primrose path to extinction.³²

John Stormer not only reveals his dislike for liberals and socialists, but also he links these two groups with communism. Although he does not identify liberals and socialists as communists, he does name liberals as "fellow-travellers" and socialists as being united in an "anti-capitalistic front" with the communists.³³

It becomes apparent that as McCarthy was concerned with conspiracy within our State Department to aid the communists in their conquest of the world, even so the radical right of today is concerned with a similar conspiracy on the part of our nation's top officials. Today's right wing seems to have expanded the conspiracy to include all liberals and socialists regardless of whether they have committed any treasonous acts or serious errors designed to aid the "communist conspiracy."

McCarthy was also concerned about teachers teaching the Communist ideology and textbooks following the Marxist-

³²Malcolm Muggeridge, "The Great Liberal Death-Wish," National Review, XVIII (June 14, 1966), p. 573.

³³Stormer, p. 25.

Leninist line. Today's radical right is no less concerned about Communist influence in our educational system. Allan Ryskind in an article in Human Events cites the "teach-in" demonstrations as evidence of the Communist tendencies of some of the nation's college professors.³⁴ Also of concern is the retention of the disclaimer oath for federal aid to higher education. The reasons for this position are given by Ralph de Toledano when he writes:

To make federal money available to those who are working overtime to subvert the American educational system is lunatic, suicidal, and destructive of the intent of the aid-to-education measure. . . .

The young people who benefit from federal aid are on the firing line of the Communist battle. Many of them will continue as teachers, where their effect on the minds and the thinking of young students will be most pervasive. Many will move into laboratories working on research in defense fields. Even those who are attending college preparatory to a medical or legal career--or to a life in the business world--will share in the opinion-making function of the educated.

In terms of national security and national sanity, education is our most sensitive area. Can the country afford to encourage and reward those whose antagonism to our institutions is so great that they refuse to declare their loyalty to them?³⁵

Aside from suspecting teachers of having communist tendencies and fearing that disloyal students will receive federal help in securing an education, the right wing fears all of education which falls into the general category of

³⁴Allan H. Ryskind, "Washington Teach-In Boosts Radical Peace Movement," Human Events, XXV (May 28, 1965), pp. 1, 6.

³⁵Ralph de Toledano, "Education Bill's Loyalty Oath Is Under Fire," Human Events, XXV (June 5, 1965), p. 11.

"progressive" education, begun by John Dewey. Most rightists see a historical relation between communism and progressive education. Dewey's activity program appears especially dangerous. In one pamphlet the reader is told that the activity program was adopted by Lenin in 1917 as the official Russian school system. He saw the activity program as a means of breaking down respect for authority and true scholarship in youth. The theory of freedom of self-expression was seen as a means of encouraging the young to challenge the authority of the teacher at school and of the parent in the home. In the appeal to the young to solve their own problems, Lenin saw an opportunity to destroy the religious convictions of the Russian people. All this was done to bring about a state of anarchy. This state of anarchy could then be used as an explanation for rigid controls by the central government. The people would gladly accept the totalitarian communist government. In 1932, when the job had been completed, Stalin imposed a rigid discipline in the Soviet schools. At the same time the United States was turning to the Dewey activity program. One of the leaders of this educational movement, says the spokesman of the radical right, was George S. Counts, a Dewey disciple who was in complete sympathy with the purpose which the program had served in Russia and would

serve here--the building of a new social order.³⁶

Today's radical right has endeavored to implicate many American institutions in the communist conspiracy. Certainly, these words of Robert Welch explain why so many facets of our national life are found to be a part of the communist conspiracy by the right wing:

almost every day I run into some whole new area, where the communists have been penetrating and working quietly for years, until now they are in virtual control of everything that is done in that slice or corner of our national life.³⁷

One of the most prominent features of our own national and international life which is attacked by the American political right is the United Nations. To the right wing the United Nations was conceived in wickedness which wrecked the organization and its aim of peace from the beginning. These words by Stillwell John Conner are typical of the way the argument is stated:

This gargantuan hoax should more accurately be referred to as the United Notions! Roosevelt and Churchill coined the phrase, United Nations. A peace eager world applauded their naive pronouncements, but what has been inflicted upon us, with grim deception, is a plan to socialize the world. The plan was conceived at the Moscow Conference in 1943. The old Bolsheviks, Molotov, Litvinov, Vyshinsky and company, presented their sweet sounding proposals to our not too well Cordell Hull and our

³⁶This summary of the position of the right wing on progressive education was taken from Milo F. McDonald, "Progressive" Poison in Public Education, (New York: American Education Association, 1951).

³⁷Welch, The Blue Book of the John Birch Society, p. 5.

not too astute Averell Harriman. Secretary Hull recommended approval--our Senate obliged. For all practical purposes the UN was born at that Moscow conference.

Then--as now--our representatives failed to recognize the vast difference between peace as understood by the Communists, and pease as understood by honorable men. To the Communists, peace has but one meaning--submission to their control.³⁸

In this excerpt it can be seen that the radical right holds that the United Nations was conceived by communists. Also, the radical opposition to peaceful coexistence as embodied in the United Nations is evident. The argument that the United Nations is a communist-innovated scheme is further carried out by emphasizing the role Alger Hiss played in drafting the Charter as our representative. They contend that Hiss was primarily responsible for giving the Soviet Union three votes to our one. All the time Hiss was acting as a communist conspirator.³⁹

The right wing not only argues that the United Nations organization was a communist innovation but also that it still is serving the communist conspiracy. To support this argument the right points to the many areas of aggression in which the Soviets have engaged since the founding of the United Nations. Also, the first three Secretary-Generals of the United Nations have all been socialists. Trygve Lie

³⁸Stillwell John Conner, The UN--A Study in Deception, (Belmont, Massachusetts: The John Birch Society, 1964), p. 1.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 1-3.

was a Norwegian socialist; Dag Hammarskjold, a Swedish socialist; and U Thant is a Burmese Marxist socialist. As Conner describes it, "Three Secretary-Generals--three socialists! The built-in Security Council veto guarantees that the Secretary-General will always be a socialist--at least!" Then he asks rhetorically: "Is this built-in assurance of the continuation of Socialist or Marxist Secretary-Generals an illustration of the Western parliamentary tradition?"⁴⁰ Conner then calls attention to the key UN posts which are held by Soviet communists and the security problems these posts present to the free world. The right wing also argues that the objectives of the United Nations Charter run counter to the United States Constitution.⁴¹ To conclude his attack on the United Nations, Conner used these words:

The John Birch Society is unequivocally opposed to peaceful coexistence--peaceful coexistence, the sure road to slavery for all with justice and human freedom for none.

We do not need more government; we need less. We do not need the UN Charter, we need the United States Constitution. We do not need the House that Hiss Built; we need the mansion bequeathed by our forefathers. We need to get the United States out of the UN and the UN out of the United States.⁴²

The radical right also views with alarm the relative weakness of the voting power of the United States in the

⁴⁰Conner, p. 5.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 9-12

⁴²Ibid., p. 16.

deliberations of the UN. The fact that small, under-developed nations have as many votes as the United States, seems to them a serious matter. This is viewed with increasing alarm when the votes of the smaller nations are used to obstruct "responsible" action. This can be seen in this excerpt from an article in Human Events:

The United Nations is sick, and even the United Nations knows it. This year's session of the General Assembly was a non-voting farce precisely because voting on important issues had switched to the General Assembly, swollen with the votes of irresponsible new nations. The Security Council was deadlocked. And when real decision-making was shifted to the General Assembly, that organ naturally became deadlocked too.⁴³

An argument against the United Nations, apart from the workability of the ideas behind the organization, is that it furnishes the Soviets with a front for their espionage work in the United States. One of the major bases for this argument is J. Edgar Hoover's statement concerning Soviet spies in the United Nations, "After World War II Russians assigned to the United Nations in this country gave additional striking power to Soviet espionage."⁴⁴ Articles written by the radical right are quick to point out spies and saboteurs uncovered in the United Nations. They are also sure to note that the UN has

⁴³"A Stronger UN?" Human Events, XXV (May 8, 1965) p. 8.

⁴⁴J. Edgar Hoover, Masters of Deceit, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), pp. 294-295.

the advantage of giving potential spies diplomatic immunity.⁴⁵

The political right contends that the Supreme Court has also betrayed the nation. The system of checks and balances is no longer working. The executive branch, which the radical right insists has more or less taken over the law-making role of the Congress, has also taken control of the Supreme Court by appointing men who make political decisions in line with the politics of the President. The justices of the Supreme Court are no longer interpreting the Constitution. The justices are now acting as proponents of their own political and economic beliefs. This contention can be seen in this excerpt from an article written by Ralph de Toledano:

For the past dozen years, the Supreme Court of the United States . . . has set out to do precisely what deeply worried Jefferson--to embody its "economic or moral beliefs in its prohibitions." Whether or not those beliefs are to be honored has nothing to do with the case. It should be remembered that Mr. Warren and his predecessors have held office not as "Chief Justice of the Supreme Court" but as "Chief Justice of the United States." As such he is responsible to the Constitution which the states ratified, not to his own sociological doctrines.⁴⁶

Toledano then reminds us that the Constitution is "a charter for responsible representative government and a solemn

⁴⁵"Red Spies in the U.N.," Human Events, XXV (June 26, 1965), p. 10.

⁴⁶Ralph de Toledano, "Some Thoughts on the Supreme Court," Human Events, XXV (May 22, 1965), p. 12.

contract among the states" in which only certain rights were given up by the states. While the Supreme Court might be forgiven for taking some liberties with a charter, it cannot be careless with a contract. The only way a contract can be broken is for all parties to the contract to agree. Toledano concludes that "since the Supreme Court is a party to that agreement, it cannot unilaterally decide to set it aside."⁴⁷ In short, the Supreme Court cannot change the meaning of the Constitution without the express consent of the states. Yet, this has been done by the vast expansion of the interstate commerce clause and the Fourteenth amendment.⁴⁸

Another argument used by rightists is that the Supreme Court in most of its decisions has favored the Communist line. John A. Stormer puts it this way:

Justice Black, in his first 25 years on the bench, participated in 102 cases in which subversion and communists were involved. He compiled the astounding record of reaching a decision favorable to the communists in all 102 cases. Justice Douglas participated in 100 such cases and avored the communist position 97 times. Frankfurter, third man in the trio, went along with Douglas and Black until his final three years on the bench when he switched and rather consistently opposed the Communist position.

In recent years, . . . Roosevelt's appointees have been joined by those of President Eisenhower, Earl Warren and William Brennan. Practically all

⁴⁷Toledano, "Some Thoughts on the Supreme Court," p. 12.

⁴⁸Stormer, p. 193.

legal restraints against communist subversion of our society have been destroyed by Court Action.⁴⁹

Earlier, Stormer had said that in sixty-two cases, Warren had never deviated from the communist position.⁵⁰

The National Council of Churches has also been attacked by those near the right end of the political spectrum. The first point of attack is the political nature of many of the statements of the council. It seems that many rightists agree with Martin Dies when he says that the Christian ministry should be confined "to the redemption of the souls of mankind by individual conversion" and government and laws should be left to the politicians.⁵¹ Other arguments against the National Council of Churches include the argument that the National Council is not representing the views of the people it supposedly is representing. One example of this conflict between the council and the people it represents is the issue of admitting Red China to the United Nations. While the National Council of Churches favors the admission of Red China, the right wing says that every poll of Protestants shows they are against such action.⁵² The stand of the

⁴⁹Stormer, pp. 194-195.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 38.

⁵¹Martin Dies, "Caesar and the National Council of Churches," American Opinion, VIII (April, 1965) p. 81.

⁵²Morrie Ryskind, "The Church and Politics," Human Events, XXV (May 29, 1965), p. 3.

National Council of Churches on other political issues is also irritating to the American right. These issues are the diplomatic recognition of Red China, elimination of right-to-work laws, repeal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, barring of feather-bedding practices in labor, striking out the loyalty oath provision of the National Defense Act, and the 1964 civil rights act.⁵³ The council when criticized has replied that while it does not pretend to speak for the individuals or the member churches it represents, it does issue statements on its own authority which the council hopes will be helpful to the churches, the nation, and the world in finding the will of God. A similar explanation was given by the Board of Rabbis of Southern California in endorsing a political candidate. To these statements a writer for the political right gave this rebuttal:

In both instances, the NCC and the board, there was a clear if unspoken intimation that spiritual advice had come from above. Perhaps the next revelations will disclose to us the Lord's will on such puzzling questions as the price of gold, urban renewal and whether or not that town in Texas really needs that new bridge.

But in such matters I am strictly from Missouri. It is my quaint notion that the Lord's telephone number is unlisted and that neither the learned men of the church nor the rabbis of the board know it any more than the rest of us. I would have to see the hot line they use to consult Him on political matters. And I might doubt it even then.⁵⁴

⁵³"Tax Exemption for NCC?" Human Events, XXV (May 8, 1965), p. 13.

⁵⁴Morrie Ryskind, "More About Church and State," Human Events, XXV (June 26, 1965), p. 10.

A final argument against the National Council of Churches has been that it, like many other groups, has been infiltrated, if not dominated, by communists. This is another argument which the right wing bases, to some extent, on a statement by J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover wrote in 1958, "The Party is today engaged in a systematic program to infiltrate American religious groups." He then listed the objectives of the communists in such infiltration. The last objective named was to influence clergymen. In explanation of this objective he wrote:

A dedicated clergyman, being a man of God, is a mortal enemy of communism. But if he can, by conversion, influence, or trickery, be made to support the communist program once or a few times or many times, the Party gains. If, for example, a clergyman can be persuaded to serve as sponsor or officer of a communist front, to issue a testimonial or to sign a clemency petition for a communist "victim of persecution," his personal prestige lends weight to the cause.⁵⁵

The radical right has taken this a step further and said that Dr. Harry F. Ward, who played a part in organizing the Federal Council of Churches, forerunner of the present-day National Council of Churches, was an identified communist.⁵⁶ Other writers from the right-hand side of the political continuum suspect Communist tendencies in the National Council of Churches today. Martin Dies writes,

⁵⁵Hoover, pp. 324-326.

⁵⁶Stormer, p. 125.

It is hardly enough, conservatives think, for the Council to issue some pronouncement that it has always been unalterably opposed to Communism. One would hope that this is true, but it appears to some that the Council has been less vigorous and outspoken in pointing to the 25 million people who were liquidated in Russia by the Communists, and the 35 million who were slaughtered in China, than it has been in condemning the crimes of a Nazi regime deposed twenty years ago. The Council has consistently opposed the Committee on Un-American Activities, and nothing the Committee has been able to do to meet the criticism of the Council has satisfied them. In fact, many N.C.C. spokesmen have gone so far as to propose abolishing the anti-subversive Committee. Conservatives are astonished.⁵⁷

The "conservatives" also point out that the council has adopted a resolution favoring withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Viet Nam. The right wing charges that this is "exactly the same stand being taken by Mao Tse-tung as well as the Daily Worker."⁵⁸

The radical right also views the work of psychiatrists and mental health programs as a collectivist hoax. As John Stormer puts it,

For the rare citizen who escapes indoctrination in the "new social order" in progressive schools; for the Bible-believing Christian who rejects "theologians" who teach that socialism is the new "Kingdom of God on Earth"; for all the sturdy souls who hold to age-old concepts of right and wrong, and are vocal about it, the collectivists have one final ultimate weapon. Declare them insane!⁵⁹

⁵⁷Dies, "Caesar and the National Council of Churches," pp. 89, 91.

⁵⁸"Tax Exemption for NCC?" p. 13.

⁵⁹Stormer, p. 155.

Stormer then gives accounts of prominent anti-communists who have been charged with insanity for their anti-communistic beliefs. Included among these are Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, Povl Bang-Jensen, and Major General Edwin A. Walker.⁶⁰ Stormer concludes that the mental health hoax is used not only as a political weapon of this nature but also as an instrument to create the "amoral" man who "will accept a one-world socialistic government."⁶¹

The civil rights movement is also seen as a part of the collectivist conspiracy. The writing of the right wing on this issue leaves the impression that the movement is at least serving the goals of communism, and probably has been infiltrated by the communists to a great degree. In the following excerpt the writer suggests that the civil rights movement is furthering the objective of communism:

If Martin Luther King can refuse to obey a law because he considers it unjust, every other citizen can do the same thing--and the inevitable result will be anarchy followed by dictatorship and slavery. I have no proof that King and the majority of those who are advocating his un-American doctrines are Communists. Neither do I consider it important; because what they are preaching will serve the purposes of the Communists as effectively as if they were all agents of Moscow.⁶²

Victor Lasky, in an article in Human Events, notes the link

⁶⁰Stormer, pp. 160-162

⁶¹Ibid., p. 166.

⁶²Martin Dies, "Race and the National Council of Churches," American Opinion, VIII (November, 1965), p. 110.

between civil rights groups and the communistic "stop bombing North Vietnam movement." Many demonstrators for the civil rights movement have appeared in the peace demonstrations. Lasky then writes,

Asked about the relationship between the civil rights movement and the organizations seeking "peace" in Viet Nam, the Rev. Dr. King replied that he saw all such movements as having a common goal of peace with justice. "It is either non-violence or non-existence," he said in Boston. "What good does it do me to integrate a lunch counter if the milk I drink there is loaded with Strontium 90 /from nuclear fallout/?"

Exactly what Dr. King was trying to say is difficult to fathom. Presumably it is his contention that continued fighting in Viet Nam may bring on a nuclear war threatening the existence of civilization. Therefore, it would be better to be "Red than dead."

This has long been the line peddled by the Communists. Nothing would better serve the Marxist purpose than to weaken the free world's will to resist Communist aggressions.⁶³

In this way writers of the political right often try to link the civil rights movement with the communist cause without accusing the members of the civil rights movement of being communists.

The last view of the political right which this paper will discuss is its reaction to the "Great Society" of Lyndon Johnson. Writing in relation to the Medicare program, one writer has said that "the quickest way to spell

⁶³Victor Lasky, "Civil Rights Hints on Viet Rile Presidential Advisors," Human Events, XXV (May 15, 1965), p. 9.

the 'Great Society' is 'socialism.'"⁶⁴ Johnson, as far as the right wing is concerned, has passed more socialist legislation than any other President has in such a short time. Medicare itself is seen as a gigantic step toward socialized medicine.⁶⁵

All of the federal spending legislation of the Great Society is seen as extremely detrimental to the national welfare. This is obvious when it is recognized that the right wing is opposed to the progressive income tax⁶⁶ and is afraid of our national debt.⁶⁷

Representative Otto Passman of Louisiana emphasizes that the giveaways of the Great Society will take savings from the thrifty and give them to the have-nots and in many instances the care-nots. This, according to Passman, is "the opposite of capital formation on which productivity rests and on which relief from poverty actually depends." Later, Passman voices the fear of the right that the Great Society will create such a large government that the freedoms of the citizens will be destroyed. This is made clear when Passman writes,

Your government is a spender--not an earner,
Anything the government gives the people, it must

⁶⁴Walter Trohan, "'Socialism' Is the Quickest Way to Spell 'Great Society,'" Human Events, XXV (April 24, 1965), p. 9.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Sennholz, p. 29.

⁶⁷Odin Langen, "No End in Sight for National Debt," Human Events, XXV (June 26, 1965), p. 6.

first take from them. Never in the history of America has it been proposed to take away so much from so many to do so little for so few. We should keep in mind that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take everything you have, including your freedoms.⁶⁸

The right wing is also opposed to the foreign aid program. Foreign aid too is dissipating the resources of the United States.⁶⁹ All too often our foreign aid, contends the right wing, actually promotes the cause of socialism rather than deterring it.⁷⁰ The right wing also contends that foreign aid actually helps the recipient nations very little. In fact, foreign aid is detrimental to the nation which receives it because the aid drives away foreign investment, the real key to economic growth. Henry Hazlitt summarizes the argument in this manner:

Government-to-government foreign aid has the opposite effect. It tends to discourage or drive away private foreign investment, because the recipient nations get /foreign/ aid without making the necessary fiscal or monetary reforms. Worse, the American Government, in order to continue to make it possible to give away foreign aid that is wasted and abused, has asked for a punitive tax on the very private foreign investment that tends to maximize world economic growth.⁷¹

⁶⁸Otto Passman, "'Great Society' Brings Galloping Socialism," Human Events, XXV (May 22, 1965), p. 1.

⁶⁹"Foreign Aid 'Sleeper' Destroys U.S. Control," Human Events, XXVI (June 11, 1966), p. 1.

⁷⁰Henry Hazlitt, "Dilemma of Foreign Aid," Newsweek, LXIII (April 20, 1964), p. 106.

⁷¹Ibid.

The right wing also opposes foreign aid because occasionally it is used to help communist countries like Cuba.⁷²

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the study of the degree to which the leaders of the Life Line Foundation follow the normal line of the radical right.

The commentator of the Life Line radio broadcasts is Melvin Munn. Texas-born Munn is a veteran newscaster, public affairs analyst, lay minister and public speaker. He is nationally known as a public speaker and has travelled 200,000 miles a year to address business, religious, and school groups. He has been voted the "Outstanding Speaker of the Year" by a number of major service clubs and organizations, and he is listed among the top platform speakers in America today. A Sunday school teacher for thirty-five years, Munn also served as a director of religious education, a lay minister, and as a member of the national General Board of the Methodist Church. He is listed in Who's Who in the South and Southwest, has been awarded the International Key of Honor by Key Club International, and is an honorary citizen of fifty cities. His professional experience includes banking, insurance, radio and television broadcasting and management. Years of public relations work and other activities in the District of Columbia have pro-

⁷²"Foreign Aid 'Sleeper' Destroys U.S. Control,"
p. 1.

vided him with a "diversified background for understanding the complexities of our national capital."⁷³ Aside from this, little information is available on Melvin Munn. It seems as though Munn has written nothing which might give a clue to his ideology unless the Life Line radio broadcasts are considered to be examples of his own writing and beliefs. These broadcasts will, of course, be considered in detail in later chapters.

Another leader of the Life Line Foundation has, unlike Munn, confined the propagation of his views to writing. This man is the Texas oil multimillionaire, H. L. Hunt. Two facts support the contention that the writing of H. L. Hunt is indicative of the views taken by the Life Line Foundation. The first of these is that Hunt is by far the largest financial supporter of the foundation.⁷⁴ Second, at the end of the book in which he sets forth his ideas concerning the communist conspiracy, the reader is urged to order copies of Life Line broadcasts and make them available to friends, neighbors, and acquaintances.⁷⁵ Thus, it seems that a study of the philosophy of H. L. Hunt is in order.

⁷³The biographical data given here was taken from a sheet containing information about the Life Line broadcasts sent to this author upon request.

⁷⁴Sherill, p. 184.

⁷⁵H. L. Hunt, Fabians Fight Freedom, (Dallas: H. L. Hunt Press, 1965), p. 185.

Hunt believes, as the remainder of the right wing does, that the strength of communism lies in the United States. The communist revolution in Russia "consisted of seizing control of mobs in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow, where there was no one left to keep law and order."⁷⁶ Hunt then contends that after three years of attempting to put down uprisings in Russia, the communists were about ready to fall. But it was then that "tremendous American volunteer effort saved communism in Russia." Millions of dollars in aid poured in, food and medicine were sent in vast quantities for distribution, American technicians and businessmen built or assisted the communists in building steel plants, assembly lines for tractors, trucks, and autos, and aided in opening Russian oil fields.⁷⁷ The Soviet regime was given another shot in the arm when the United States extended diplomatic recognition in 1933. This gave Stalin access to the credit and money markets of the world. Also, "as soon as the first Russian ambassador arrived on our shores, communist cells and spy networks began to operate out of his embassy." During World War II billions of dollars were sent to Russia in "lend lease" aid "instead of letting Hitler and Stalin destroy each other."⁷⁸

⁷⁶Hunt, p. 18.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 19.

In addition Hunt charges treason when he writes,

Red agents in the American government sent along such things as engraving plates, with which the Soviets printed U.S. dollars for their use (we even had to supply the ink!). Only part of the material sent to the Russians was actually needed or used in the war effort; most of it was stockpiled, to become--after the war--the foundation for the communist industrial machine of today.⁷⁹

Hunt charges further treason by alleging that the Soviets were able to steal classified atomic research information. This was possible because of "official tolerance of communist subversion and espionage during the war, on the childish theory that anyone fighting Hitler . . . could do no wrong."⁸⁰

Next Hunt turns his attention to the Yalta conference where the free world lost all of Eastern Europe "by the stroke of a pen--the pen of our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, with Alger Hiss at his side."⁸¹ The fall of China was again the fault of the United States and did not result from communist strength or existing conditions in China. The reason China fell was that "we would not give bullets to Chiang to fight the communists."⁸² About the Korean war, Hunt has this to say:

⁷⁹Hunt, pp. 19-20.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 20.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid., p. 21.

Then came Korea, the war we were not allowed to win, the war in which the greatest American general (and, many feel, the greatest American) of the century, Douglas MacArthur, was disgracefully dismissed because he would accept no substitute for victory.⁸³

When Eisenhower became President, a major change in our national course was expected. Instead, a new device of appeasement was adopted, "that of splitting sovereign countries in two, dividing them with the Reds."⁸⁴ The Eisenhower administration had campaigned with statements about freeing the captive peoples. Yet, when the opportunity came to assist the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, the United States sat idly by with only words of encouragement.⁸⁵

When Castro began his revolution in Cuba, William A. Wieland, an official in the State Department, disregarded and sidetracked all information which showed Castro to be a communist.⁸⁶

The communist conspiracy which Hunt outlined in the manner summarized above was concluded with these words:

It is obvious that those responsible for our policy of aiding the growth of the communist empire have lost faith in America as a self-respecting, independent nation which should have a winning policy of

⁸³Hunt, p. 22.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 23.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 27.

its own, and that they are not deeply disturbed by the worldwide expansion of communism.⁸⁷

When it comes to education, Hunt takes a view almost identical to that of other right-wing writers. John Dewey's progressive education teaches "men to merge into docile groups which can be counted on to take all orders from above without protest." According to Hunt, this is essential to the creation of any socialist state.⁸⁸ Hunt points out the importance of Dewey's philosophy when he says that twenty percent of all American school superintendents and forty percent of all teacher's college presidents were trained at Teacher's College at Columbia University. Dewey dominated at Columbia.⁸⁹

When Hunt's argument against the United Nations is viewed, it again becomes obvious that his position is basically the same as that of the rest of the right wing. Hunt also claims that the United Nations was faulty from the start. At Yalta Roosevelt had agreed to give the Soviet Union three votes to our one in the General Assembly. The veto in the Security Council had also been written into the Charter at Yalta. This also was a great device for the

⁸⁷Hunt, p. 28.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 45.

⁸⁹Ibid.

protection of Russia.⁹⁰ Reviewing the role of Alger Hiss in the formation of the United Nations Hunt writes:

Alger Hiss was "our" chief architect of the UN. Hiss was the Executive Secretary of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference; he was at Roosevelt's elbow at Yalta. After heading UN planning in the State Department all the way, Hiss took the chair as acting Secretary-General of the San Francisco Conference and guided the adoption of his carefully-drawn Charter.

As acting Secretary-General at San Francisco, Hiss was in a position to staff UN agencies with his Red cohorts, from both Washington and abroad. Hiss was able, through these agents to influence the appointment of hundreds of employees at the UN.⁹¹

Some of the points of the Hiss-written Charter which Hunt is in complete opposition to are the lack of "an ample provision for the enforcement of the 'peace,'" and no provision for the forceful defense of individual liberty. In fact, the Charter "forbids the use of armed force for anything except the 'common interest.'"⁹² Hunt is also opposed to the fact that the budget is assessed from the member nations on the basis of their ability to pay. To Hunt this only means that the basic Marxist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is being applied on an international scale.⁹³ The problem, however, is that even this principle is not

⁹⁰Hunt, p. 108.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 109.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 110-111.

⁹³Ibid., p. 112.

being followed. Hunt charges,

Only last year government spokesmen in Washington and in our U. N. delegation stoutly insisted that Soviet Russia and other nations refusing to meet their U. N. payroll would lose their vote as the Charter requires in such a case. Last February, challenged and out-maneuvered and surrounded by Red China's stooge, Albania, the U. S. backed down, allowing the bullies to vote without even a protest.

Now the retreat is officially admitted. We will no longer demand that any member nation pay one cent of U. N. expenses in return for recognizing its right to vote in the General Assembly. If a member nation wants to contribute to U. N. expenses, naturally we will thankfully welcome it. But if other members don't pay, our Treasury will make up their part.⁹⁴

Hunt is also very much opposed to the way in which the Supreme Court is performing its duties. Hunt reminds his readers that the Founding Fathers never intended to give to the courts alone the power to change the Constitution.

Then he writes,

But now, changing the Constitution by the courts alone seems to have become accepted practice. Defenders of the present United States Supreme Court freely admit it. They no longer take the trouble to pretend that the Court is interpreting the Constitution of the United States as it was meant when it was written or previously respected.

It is possible that our fundamental law might need changing. The Constitution contains provisions for its amendment, and it cannot be right for the changes to be made by 9 political appointees serving for life or at least during their good behavior.⁹⁵

Hunt also reviews the records compiled by the various

⁹⁴H. L. Hunt, Hunt for Truth, (Dallas: H. L. Hunt Press, 1965), p. 102.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 54.

Justices of the Supreme Court in past cases when the Communist Party of the United States was directly involved. Because he arrives at approximately the same figures which have been given earlier, time will not be taken now to review those figures.⁹⁶ However, it is interesting to note that he also gives the figures for Justice Brennan. It seems Brennan favored the Communist Party in forty-nine of fifty-one cases.⁹⁷ It is interesting to note Hunt's conclusion after his revelation of these facts,

This is not to say that any Justice has actual communist sympathies. The Communist Party does hire clever lawyers and, no doubt, government prosecutors often make mistakes; but the outcome of the recent decisions indicates that a trend has been established.⁹⁸

It seems rather obvious, then, that Hunt's opposition to the Supreme Court is almost identical to the opposition of other writers of the right wing.

When the National Council of Churches and the civil rights and mental health movements are considered, it seems that Hunt has remained rather silent. Whether or not this silence can be interpreted as meaning that Hunt does not follow the right wing line on these points is questionable. At one point Hunt at least intimates that he is not in full

⁹⁶See page 35 above.

⁹⁷Hunt, Hunt for Truth, p. 87.

⁹⁸Ibid.

accord with the civil rights movement. At this point he states that riots and illegal demonstrations are as menacing to the nation as an armed invasion. He also voices his opposition to the Brown vs. Board of Education decision of 1954.⁹⁹

H. L. Hunt is as opposed to the Great Society and its "giveaway" programs as any writer of the right wing. To illustrate his point about the poverty program Hunt tells of a man from the Kentucky hills:

This resident of the ridges walked into the small post office and inquired of the postmaster:

"Say, I hear the President has declared war on poverty. Is 'at right?" "That's right," was the reply. To which the mountaineer said: "Well, I've come in to surrender!"

Beneath the humor of this anecdote is an ominous truth which probably never occurred to the originator of the tale: the proposed "war on poverty" is a blueprint for surrender of the individual freedom of every American citizen. The authors of this thinly-veiled scheme for complete government control and elimination of individual choice include in the "poverty" program such unrelated programs as those put forth in the Civil Rights Bills and the Mass Transit Act.¹ In fact, their conception of the requirements for "combating poverty" includes Lyndon Johnson's entire domestic legislation program!¹⁰⁰

This seems to be Hunt's biggest argument against the programs of President Johnson, that they will strip the American people of their freedoms. Hunt sees the job corps program as simply a device to herd thousands of young men

⁹⁹Hunt, Fabians Fight Freedom, p. 161.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 139.

into quasi-military camps so that they can be oriented toward super-government. Social security and medicare are opposed because eventually they will take as "gluttonous a bite from our daily bread as the income tax monster now takes."¹⁰¹ The Civil Rights Act is seen as stripping the individual of his constitutional right to a trial by jury and allowing members of the federal judiciary to administer harsh penalties.¹⁰² About the federal firearms control bill Hunt has this to say:

Arms control would seem to be quite out of place within a welfare program--unless, of course, the planners predict a need for confiscation of arms, to maintain the tyranny which would be set up by passage of the "poverty package."¹⁰³

Much of Hunt's opposition to the poverty program, of course, stems from his belief that inflation and deficit spending along with the income tax are immoral.¹⁰⁴ Thus, it is rather apparent that on this point, too, H. L. Hunt is in agreement with the rest of America's radical right wing. Also, a part of Hunt's philosophy about the Constitution is responsible for his opposition to the programs of Lyndon Johnson. The Constitution does not guarantee success

¹⁰¹ Hunt, Fabians Fight Freedom, pp. 150-151.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ See ibid., pp. 131-138 and Hunt, Hunt for Truth, p. 101.

to anyone. Anyone is free to start a business and compete for success. This competition, writes Hunt, "is the finest regulator" upon success. Hunt then contends that everyone

seeks to earn a profit on his invested capital or endeavor. And each is responsible for his own actions. If he fails to provide the quality of product or service desired by the public, he will not only fail to gain a profit, he will lose his capital. This is economic freedom in action; and constitutes the dynamic force of progress.¹⁰⁵

Hunt next recognizes that in business those who succeed will usually be counterbalanced by those who fail; however, if we tamper with this counterbalance, our economy gets into trouble. Thus the government should avoid subsidizing failure. This is what the poverty program is as far as Hunt is concerned--a subsidization of failure. As H. L. Hunt puts it himself, "The subsidization of failure only tends to multiply failure."¹⁰⁶

Hunt is also opposed to the foreign aid program. Hunt's major concern seems to be that the United States has "shoveled the inconceivable sum of over a hundred billion dollars down the bottomless rathole of foreign aid."¹⁰⁷ Hunt also contends that "a mountain of evidence" proves that foreign aid is not actually helping the poverty-stricken

¹⁰⁵Hunt, Hunt for Truth, p. 95.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 113

citizens of recipient nations.¹⁰⁸

Looking at the entire scope of right wing activities in America, it becomes clear that the roots of today's anti-communist right wing lie in the exposure of spies like Alger Hiss by the House Un-American Activities Committee of the 1940's and the work of Senator Joe McCarthy. Here was begun the idea of a communist conspiracy within the United States attempting to subvert all sectors of our national life. To McCarthy the State Department was especially full of communist spies. McCarthy also saw a danger of communism in the educational system of our country. The danger of communist infiltration has been greatly expanded by today's right wing. Today communists, or at least communist tendencies, are seen in most actions taken by the United Nations, in the Supreme Court, the National Council of Churches, the civil rights movement, mental health programs, and legislation sponsored by President Johnson. With most of these attacks, H. L. Hunt, one of the foremost leaders of the Life Line Foundation, is in active sympathy. This is the background from which this study of the Life Line radio broadcasts must be viewed.

¹⁰⁸Hunt, Hunt for Truth, p. 113

CHAPTER TWO

THE AUDIENCE

Before the effectiveness of the evidence and argument of the Life Line radio program can be judged, the type of audience listening to the program must be determined. The arguments and evidence which might be effective with one audience might be relatively ineffective with another type of audience. Also, some audiences might be persuaded without the use of really effective evidence and/or logical argument. This chapter, then, will be devoted to a study of the audience aimed at by the Life Line radio program and the audience which the program actually reaches.

H. L. Hunt's book, Why Not Speak?, provides some clues to the type of audience toward which Life Line is directed. Hunt gives his "patriotic" readers a large number of suggestions on the art of public speaking. Nine pages of the book explain to the potential public speaker the type of audiences which are most in need of the "freedom" message. It logically follows that these are the people Life Line is trying to reach.¹

¹H. L. Hunt, Why Not Speak? (Dallas: H. L. Hunt Press, 1965), pp. 67-76.

Hunt recognizes that one of the greatest faults of the programs of most "pro-freedom groups" is that "they speak only to themselves, to one another, or to like-minded people who already agree with them."² Hunt believes that this fault produces little or no gain for the right wing. The real "profits" for the pro-freedom group come when the audience is composed, to a large extent, of the uninformed. It is not difficult to find such an audience when the "uninformed" is defined in the manner in which Hunt defines it in this excerpt:

. . . the freedom speaker must be constantly on the alert to see that he does not fall into a false sense of self-righteousness by speaking only to such pro-freedom groups, ignoring the majority of Americans who are still largely uninformed about freedom, but who must become informed about it if freedom is to be saved. A good freedom speaker is one of the best sources of information these Americans can hope to have. That is why it is so important for every good freedom speaker to make a point of reaching them.

Although Hunt considers the majority of the American population uninformed, he believes very few Americans are "actually and sincerely opposed to freedom."³ This, of course, does not rule out the possibility that some in the

²Hunt, Why Not Speak?, pp. 67-68.

³Ibid., p. 68.

audience will be seriously opposed to the "freedom" message. These rare persons often appear to be in the majority only because of their outspoken quality. Because of the outspoken quality of those opposed to freedom, even most audiences which appear hostile actually contain a majority of persons who are eager to hear the freedom story.⁴

From the evidence which has been reviewed to this point, it would seem that H. L. Hunt feels that the message of the "freedom speaker" (and, therefore, the message of the Life Line broadcasts) should be directed at those who have not yet been convinced but may be convinced in the future. However, Hunt qualifies this in relation to the pro-freedom group when he writes,

This is not to say that patriotic, pro-freedom groups should be neglected by the freedom speaker. In fact, the especially constructive and inspiring speaker should devote special attention to these groups because, in our day, they tend to be too prone to discouragement.⁵

The audience which Hunt envisions for Life Line, then, includes the entire population with the exception of the anti-freedom or left wing forces.

⁴Hunt, Why Not Speak?, p. 69.

⁵Ibid., p. 67.

When the transcripts of the Life Line broadcasts are examined, it appears that occasionally the audience envisioned by Hunt is the actual audience that the program is trying to reach. Some of the programs which seem to be aimed at such a widespread audience are concerned with racial and religious discrimination in the Soviet Union, the growing amount of crime in the United States, the sacrifices made by the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the moral decay evident in the United States, Castro's revolutionary activities in all of Latin America, and the economic problems facing Soviet Russia.

Other programs appear to be aimed directly toward more specific groups and only indirectly at the large audience described by Hunt. Many of these programs, by the nature of their subject matter, seem to be aimed toward the right wing in American politics. Often, areas in which the communist conspiracy is diligently at work are pointed out to reaffirm the fears of the radical right. Of course, the purpose of these programs is also to win converts to the right wing philosophy by educating the "uninformed" as to the danger and presence of the communist conspiracy operating in the United States. Some of these programs deal with Supreme Court rulings which release communists

from legal pressures and allow the Communist Party to become aggressively active in our country; the communist influence in protests, demonstrations, and "teach-ins;" and foreign policy makers who favor retreat in the face of communist aggression. Another of these programs warns against the centralization of electric power which can leave the entire nation helpless in the event of a power failure or deliberate sabotage. Others are concerned with communists and liberals smearing the House Committee on Un-American Activities; the sinister changes being made in education by moving toward Dewey's "progressive" education; and the communist influence in groups which oppose the radical right.

A smaller group toward which a few of the programs are directed is the fundamentalists in religion. In the forty-three programs under consideration, a total of six are completely devoted to a religious theme. In fact, the Sunday Life Line program is always devoted to religion. A brief review of each of these six programs will reveal their "fundamentalist" nature. The first of these programs is devoted to the deliverance and pardon which the individual can receive from God. This pardon was made available through the life and death of Jesus Christ.

As Melvin Munn, the commentator of Life Line, states,

Through Jesus, God made intercession to man for man's eternal soul. He offered pardon for sin to those who would truly and earnestly repent and follow the example of Jesus. It is that work "pardon" that means so much in our lives. No matter how deep the sin, how grave the transgression, or how long the life has ignored God, Jesus pleads, "Come Unto Me."

But . . . there is no pardon unless each human being seeks it for himself and receives it from the loving hand of God, the Father.⁶

The second Sunday program in the series under consideration emphasizes the first coming of Christ. In this broadcast, the divine nature of Christ is reiterated. Christ is "the very presence of God in the lives of humanity while yet on earth." For the Christian, Christ does three things: forgives sins, gives power to live as we ought, and takes to Himself the punishment which should go to the Christian.⁷

The third of these programs advocating the fundamental religious doctrine contends that God's law is no longer being followed. This is true because all of God's laws--spiritual, moral, and legal--are being forced into a pattern of all-out human self-gratification. Modernists and liberals in

⁶Melvin Munn, "God and Pardon," Life Line broadcast of February 6, 1966. Each Life Line broadcast is printed on a single folded sheet. Thus no pagination will be given in footnotes citing one of the broadcasts.

⁷Melvin Munn, "The First Coming of Christ," Life Line broadcast of February 13, 1966.

religion are responsible for this departure from true adherence to God's way.⁸

The fourth and fifth programs related to religion encourage church attendance because this is the place where Christ and salvation can most readily be found.⁹

The final Sunday program included in the series under consideration admonished Life Line listeners to give God the primary position in their lives. Only this would lead to a serene life. As long as money, pleasure, or power are given the primary position, life will be one long series of disappointments.¹⁰

Another program which is closely related to fundamentalist religion, but not delivered on Sunday, deals with the "God is dead" controversy. Life Line, needless to say, takes the position that God is not dead. Rather, Life Line says, "The 'death' with which we need concern ourselves is the 'death' within the hearts and minds of today's so-called Christians."¹¹ To close the program Munn challenged

⁸Melvin Munn, "God's Law," Life Line broadcast of February 20, 1966.

⁹Melvin Munn, "Come Unto Me," Life Line broadcast of February 27, 1966. See also Melvin Munn, "The Courage of Christ," Life Line broadcast of March 6, 1966.

¹⁰Melvin Munn, "Cure Yourself!" Life Line broadcast of March 13, 1966.

¹¹Melvin Munn, "Christianity Without God? 2. A Call to Action," Life Line broadcast of March 10, 1966.

his listeners in this manner:

Men will not obey the message of the Bible unless they are convinced that the Bible is the revelation of the will of God. People are hungering and thirsting for an authoritative message of God.¹²

With programs of this nature during the week and the Sunday programs devoted completely to fundamentalist religion, it seems certain that Life Line seeks to reach the vast audience adhering to this religious philosophy.

The Life Line programs seem also to be geared quite directly to the person who pays a great deal of federal income tax. Seldom is a Life Line broadcast designed to appeal to the impoverished. Many Life Lines are devoted entirely to finding fault with welfare programs or federal aid programs which are costing the taxpayers more than the program is worth. In a broadcast dealing with the Job Corps Munn charges,

Its theory is that ne'er-do-well young people who are neither at work nor at school can be helped by a massive federal effort to become citizens. The massive federal effort takes the form of assembling them in camps where they are supported with tax money and offered various kinds of vocational education. In almost every case, these are young people who have deliberately turned down the education already being offered in the communities they grew up in, through local free public schools.¹³

Munn, later in the program, reveals the fact that a large

¹²Munn, March 10, 1966.

¹³Melvin Munn, "1. Job Corps; 2. Crime," Life Line broadcast of February 2, 1966.

number of young people in the Job Corps camps have criminal records and criminal tendencies. Also, a number of instances of lawless activities by the Job Corps trainees are given as examples of the results derived from the spending of tax money.¹⁴

Another argument designed to appeal to the taxpayer is the futility of foreign aid. After detailing the great burden foreign aid has been upon the American taxpayer, Munn points to actions of the nations which have received aid. In almost every instance these nations have taken a foreign policy stand which in many ways is most unfriendly to the United States. Even after this unfriendly stand has been taken, foreign aid is continued. Thus, the taxpayer's money is being wasted.¹⁵

Munn also appeals to the taxpayer when he makes this charge against a specific program within the "War on Poverty":

American taxpayers are being required to furnish funds for a pyramiding number of federal projects. The results of such expenditures are becoming more and more apparent. For example, one incident involves something in Harlem called the "Black Arts Repertory Theatre-School." This project has already received \$40,000 in federal funds. It is reasonable to assume that it will receive many thousands more of the taxpayers' dollars.

It is only reasonable, therefore, that the taxpayers be advised concerning its function.

¹⁴Munn, February 2, 1966.

¹⁵Melvin Munn, "Our 'Friends' and Red China," Life Line broadcast of February 3, 1966.

Briefly stated, it is to hate, and to hate white people. For more than seven months, it has been teaching Negroes to hate white people.¹⁶

Munn strengthens this appeal to the wealthy taxpayer in his conclusion when he asks, "Is it 'a constructive thing' to preach and teach 'hatred' and 'violence' under the name of 'creating a new cultural awareness'? Is it our desire that our tax money be used for such a purpose?"¹⁷

In a broadcast which charges that much of our freedom of choice has been taken away by government regulation, Munn again appeals to the American taxpayer. Munn says that fifty years ago Americans had the right to choose where they would spend or invest almost all of their money. But this is no longer true. Taxes have taken away this right of choice to a great degree. The future seems to promise only more curtailment of rights in this area.¹⁸

The taxpayer is appealed to indirectly in another program which contends that the right to fail has been taken away from Americans. The welfare state has insured the citizen against financial failure. Indirectly Munn seems to be saying that those who have made it on their

¹⁶Melvin Munn, "1. GNP and Inflation; 2. Subsidizing 'Hate' and 'Violence,'" Life Line broadcast of February 17, 1966.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Melvin Munn, "Freedom of Choice," Life Line broadcast of March 2, 1966.

own initiative--the taxpayers--are being penalized by the welfare program because others are just as successful financially without all the effort. Munn paints this picture of the freedom to fail:

But the freedom to fail IS an intimate, a very personal thing. It has been a prized freedom of Americans since the settlement of Jamestown and Plymouth. While many have exercised their freedom to fail, many, many more, we should thank God, have used that freedom as an incentive and a springboard to success. Some have never felt the sting of failure, partly because they realized the freedom to fail was there. Others have risen from the depths of failure, strengthened by their adversities, to mount heights of success.¹⁹

In effect, the taxpayer is complimented for his ability to avoid exercising his right to fail.

Programs which appeal to a specific audience directly and only indirectly to be broad audience described by Hunt seem to have as one of their major purposes the establishment of ethical proof. Especially does this seem to be the case in the Sunday Life Lines. By establishing himself as being reliable in religious matters, Munn may be able to persuade fundamentalists in religion that he is also reliable in political matters. The same may be said for those people who have to bear an excessive tax burden. Agreeing with Munn about the tax problem, it is difficult to disagree with his stand on the communist conspiracy.

¹⁹Melvin Munn, "Principles vs. Things; 2. Freedom to Fail," Life Line broadcast of March 12, 1966.

Having reviewed the audience envisioned by H. L. Hunt and the audience toward which Life Line is actually directed, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a study of the composition of the actual audience of Life Line. This analysis of audience composition will be based upon polls taken from Life Line listeners. Often Life Line will ask its listeners to answer a question with one of three answers--yes, no, or refrain. After all responses have been received by Life Line, the results of the poll are published at the conclusion of one of the radio transcripts. These polls should furnish a view of the opinions of the Life Line listeners on a number of crucial issues. The answers to poll questions reveal the political philosophy of a majority of the listeners to Life Line. Also, one can infer whether the listeners are already convinced of the right wing philosophy or if many are still "uninformed" about freedom. Of course, polls of this type may have some drawbacks which should be recognized. One of these is that the sample may not be extremely large. Life Line does not reveal the number of people who participated in the poll. Secondly, there is no method available by which the accuracy of Life Line's reporting of results can be checked. Finally, there is no way to determine whether those who answered the poll are, as a group, typical of all the listeners to Life Line. It may be that those with a right wing philosophy, being more politically

active, respond to the Life Line poll in numbers out of proportion to their numbers among all Life Line listeners. However, recognizing these limitations of the polls, an analysis of some of these polls should give some insight into the political beliefs of Life Line's most dedicated listeners.

Some of the questions asked by Life Line polls are designed to reveal the audience's beliefs about the existence of the communist conspiracy within the United States. As was shown in the first chapter, it has long been a contention of the right wing that such a conspiracy is a very real danger to the United States. The question most directly concerned with the communist conspiracy is "Should more spy films showing the Communist menace be produced?" The Life Line listeners who responded to this question answered with an overwhelming "yes." Ninety-eight per cent answered in the affirmative. Only one per cent said "no," and one per cent refrained from giving either a "yes" or "no" answer.²⁰ A second question relating to the communist conspiracy is "Should diplomats who often lose to communism be again assigned to missions?" In this connection the right wing argument that mere stupidity on the part of our diplomats would necessitate some right

²⁰Melvin Munn, "God and the Material World," Life Line broadcast of January 30, 1966.

decisions and some victories should be kept in mind. In answering this question, ninety-one per cent felt that diplomats who often lose to communism should not be assigned to other missions. However, five per cent felt they should be reassigned. Four per cent refrained by giving neither an affirmative or negative answer and apparently were undecided.²¹ A final question is this: "Has the left wing shown more national loyalty than the right wing?" In examining this question and the answers given by Life Line listeners, it should be remembered that often the right wing sees liberals and the left wing as being guilty as outright communists. In responding to the question, ninety-two per cent of the listeners to Life Line said the left wing had not shown more national loyalty than the right wing. Four per cent believed the left wing has shown more national loyalty and four per cent refrained.²² From the answers given by Life Line listeners to the three polls discussed above, it seems that a great majority are already in the right wing camp or are at least heavily leaning toward the right wing philosophy. Less than ten per cent of the listeners appear to be in the "uninformed" or "mistaken" category concerning the danger

²¹Munn, February 13, 1966.

²²Melvin Munn, "God Is Everywhere," Life Line broadcast of April 3, 1966.

to America's freedom from the communist conspiracy. However, with a total audience of five million, even ten per cent represents a rather significant number of listeners who may still be converted to the right wing idea of a communist conspiracy.

One question which furnishes a clue to the number of people who actually identify themselves with the right wing in American politics is worded in this manner: "Is a moderate more effective than a highly active patriot in combatting communism?" This question calls for more than an assent to the existence of a communist conspiracy. It asks the respondent to condone the entire philosophy and methods of the radical right in relation to communism. To this question eighty-six per cent answered "no." These people seem to believe that the radical right is more effective in its fight against communism than less extreme groups. Twelve per cent felt the moderates were more effective in fighting communism, and two per cent were undecided.²³ The result of this poll question indicates that the vast majority of Life Line's listeners do identify themselves with the radical right wing in American politics, at least on the communism issue. The number of listeners

²³Melvin Munn, "What to Hate," Life Line broadcast of December 26, 1965.

who identify themselves with the right wing, of course, is not as great as the number which takes the ideological position of the right wing. In other words, some listeners, while accepting the philosophy of the right wing, do not wish to identify themselves with the radical right. This conclusion is further substantiated by this question asked by the poll: "Should candidates reject support of certain anti-Communist groups?" Seventy-five per cent of those responding answered "no."²⁴ It would thus seem that three-fourths of the Life Line listeners are sympathetic with groups like the John Birch Society. However, this is not as large a percentage as was found in the questions concerning the existence of a communist conspiracy.

On the matter of giving foreign aid to neutral or unfriendly nations, which the radical right feels should be cut significantly, the Life Line audience again appears to be overwhelmingly favorable to the right wing position. To the question, "Should U. S. domestic foreign aid to neutralists be reduced--say, 40% or more per year?" ninety-four and a half per cent of the listeners answered "yes." Only 2.9 per cent of the respondents were opposed to reducing aid to neutral nations.²⁵ Similar results were

²⁴Munn, January 30, 1966.

²⁵Melvin Munn, "When God Has His Way," Life Line broadcast of November 28, 1965.

obtained when this question was asked: "Should we stop foreign aid to countries which trade with North Vietnam?" In this instance ninety-six per cent of the Life Line listeners were in favor of stopping foreign aid to nations trading with North Vietnam.²⁶

When it comes to government spending, it seems that many listeners of Life Line feel government spending should be decreased even in areas as vital as our space program. To the question, "Should expenditures to explore the moon be lessened?" seventy-three per cent said "yes." Only twenty-five per cent believed our expenditures to explore the moon should not be cut.²⁷ Unfortunately, Life Line has not recently asked any questions concerning the expenditure of federal funds for welfare legislation. However, it would seem that even a larger percentage of the listeners to Life Line would be in favor of cutting welfare expenditures.

A majority of listeners agree with the right wing in its opposition to recent actions of the Supreme Court. Life Line asked this question about the Supreme Court: "Should members of the Supreme Court be subject to Senate reconfirmation every six years?" Eighty-one per cent of Life Line's audience felt that members of the Supreme Court

²⁶Munn, January 30, 1966.

²⁷Munn, December 26, 1965.

should be subject to periodical Senate reconfirmation.²⁸

The audience of Life Line also goes along with the right wing on the issue of the national debt. The right wing naturally sees the national debt as a great evil. The Life Line audience was asked this question: "Does a high national debt cause inflation?" Ninety per cent believed that the national debt did cause inflation.²⁹

From these polls it appears that between seventy-five and ninety-five per cent of the listeners to Life Line already favor the right wing stand on the issues with which Life Line is most concerned. While Hunt envisions the Life Line audience composed largely of the "uninformed" and "mistaken," the polls suggest that at the most twenty-five per cent of Life Line's audience falls into the category of the "uninformed."

²⁸Munn, December 26, 1965.

²⁹Munn, February 13, 1966.

CHAPTER THREE

ARGUMENT AND EVIDENCE

This chapter will be devoted to the study of the effectiveness of the argument and evidence of the Life Line radio broadcasts. No part of this chapter should be construed as reflecting upon the truth or "rightness" of the arguments presented by Melvin Munn but only upon the effectiveness of the presentation of the argument and evidence.

In studying the effectiveness of the argument and evidence, the Life Line broadcasts will be divided into the main lines of thought which Munn develops. The effectiveness of the argument and evidence supporting each of these lines of thought will then receive attention.

These lines of thought may be summarized as follows:

(1) The United States has risen to greatness because of its devotion to the principles of freedom; (2) The growth of big government and the welfare state is one of the biggest problems facing the United States; (3) The tolerant attitude of society toward criminals is rapidly increasing the menace of crime; (4) Foreign aid is a failure; (5) Communism is inherently weak; (6) Liberals and others on the far-left are pushing the United States toward communism.

Munn begins his argument that America's rise to

greatness is a result of its devotion to the principles of freedom by emphasizing the dedication of the signers of the Declaration of Independence to "principle and only principle." Personal gain had nothing to do with their action because "each man had far more to lose from revolution than to gain from it." According to Munn, no other interpretations are possible.¹ While it would seem that at least the skeptical or uninformed might not agree wholeheartedly with this interpretation, Munn gives no evidence to support his interpretation.

In another broadcast Munn declares that our natural resources are not responsible for our wealth because "there are comparable resources in other nations." Hard work is not the key to our wealth because "in most countries the people work as hard or harder than we do." Munn then asks,

What, then is the reason for the difference in results?

It is our freedom--the freedom which we have had since our country was formed--that is responsible for the results.

.....

In those days the federal government didn't have anything to give away except freedom. And it was in this very atmosphere of freedom and in the absence of handouts that the American people became so self-reliant.

With no controls over productive or creative activities, production of material goods flourished. People, free to keep what they produced, or earned,

¹Melvin Munn, "Their Lives, Their Honor, Their Sacred Trust," Life Line broadcast of February 5, 1966.

had a greater incentive to produce. And produce they did, to the utter astonishment and envy of the entire world.²

Munn's major objective in this broadcast is to establish a causal relationship between freedom and the wealth of the United States. The idea that natural resources are, to a great extent, responsible for the economic wealth of the United States is discarded by merely asserting that other nations have equal resources but are not as wealthy. Munn makes no attempt to gain credibility for this assertion with evidence. Again, evidence to show that the citizens of no other nation possessed the same freedom the American people had is lacking. Thus, Munn fails to show conclusively that no intervening causes may have produced America's economic wealth and that freedom was not present in nations which failed economically. Later in the broadcast, Munn asserts that many nations have lost their positions as leaders in the world when they abandoned freedom for "the collectivist state path," but he fails to provide any evidence to support this assertion. No examples of nations which have fallen from world leadership because of the loss of freedom are cited. This same lack of evidence is found when Munn asserts that in the United States recent collectivist measures have taken away the vitality and "incentive to

²Melvin Munn, "Let's Face It," Life Line broadcast of February 24, 1966.

produce." Not even one example is given of an area in which producers have become non-producers. Munn also attempts to establish the relationship between freedom and economic wealth with this analogy:

Our young people can give a simple illustration of the effect of removing incentive from our society. It is the story of the two high school students who had taken an examination. One got a grade of 90, and the other a failing grade of 50. Now their teacher was the compassionate type who liked to help the poor and downtrodden. So she simply took 20 points from one student and gave them to the other. As a result, both had a passing grade of 70. The student who had actually failed was elated about getting something for nothing. Both learned that hard work doesn't pay off; and they both stopped working. And this is exactly what happens to our own economy as collectivism increases. The system encourages the producers to stop producing and the non-producers to continue as non-producers.³

An analysis of this analogy reveals two significant questions which the listener might have about the differences between the situation in which the teacher took points from one student and gave them to the other and the "collectivist measures" adopted by the federal government. The first of these questions is whether the collectivist measures of the federal government bring about complete equality as the action of the teacher did in the analogy. The second question is whether the collectivist measures are based primarily upon compassion and the desire "to help the poor and downtrodden." Perhaps these measures are also based

³Munn, February 24, 1966.

on the belief that they will enable the non-producer to become a producer and that these measures will keep the discontentment of the poverty-stricken and uneducated from growing to violence and open protest.

The causal relationship between freedom and the wealth of the United States is also asserted in another broadcast. The assertion in this broadcast is important because a new argument is introduced. This is the argument that America is great because "individual men have been rewarded for their labor with a generous share of the goods they helped to produce."⁴ As in other instances, no evidence is given to support this argument. Munn does not concern himself with the role of labor unions and government regulation in securing for labor "a generous share of the goods they helped to produce." Thus, Munn fails to establish whether freedom has caused labor to receive a generous reward or whether other causes were also involved. Again, Munn fails to establish a causal relationship between freedom and America's greatness.

The second proposition Munn emphasizes is the growth of the central authority in our federal system of government. One of the problems caused by the coming of the welfare state is the loss of individual liberty. If, Munn

⁴Melvin Munn, "1. Economic Freedom; 2. Genius of the Individual," Life Line broadcast of February 11, 1966.

argues, the trend toward more central authority continues, the future holds only "complete restriction and complete regimentation."⁵ Munn supports this argument with this example of governmental regimentation:

Fifty years ago, if anyone had told an American farmer that one day he would have to obtain permission from a federal official before choosing the crops he would plant on his land, the farmer probably would have called the nearest mental hospital. And he would have demanded that they send over the boys in the white coats to take charge of a certifiable lunatic.

Yet, today we have seen farmers actually taken to court, like criminals, for harvesting crops grown on their own land for their own use. Simply stated, the farmer has lost his right to choose in this and many other equally important matters.⁶

Munn argues that freedom of choice has also been taken away by government regulations dictating retirement age and setting wages and prices. In each of these instances, however, Munn fails to give any evidence to support his arguments. It seems unlikely that very many of Munn's listeners would be acquainted well enough with each of the areas Munn listed to verify from personal experience that Munn was correct in charging a loss of freedom. For the future, Munn sees only a greater loss of freedom:

And what of the future? In view of the central government's assumption of a substantial part of the responsibility for education, and a great desire to assume an even more substantial share, how much longer do you think your local school boards will be free

⁵Munn, March 2, 1966.

⁶Ibid.

to choose the textbooks that our children and our grandchildren will study?

How much longer do you think we shall be able to choose our own doctors or our own hospitals? How long do you think it will be, if present trends continue, before the government will be choosing what careers our young people will embark upon? How long will freedom of choice in planning our lives survive in a collectivist world?⁷

Later in the broadcast, arguing that the citizen's right to choose how he will spend his money has been restricted, Munn asks his listeners if they believe in giving their tax money to communist Cuba via the United Nations or if they want to help finance an urban renewal project in a town two thousand miles away. Then Munn states that even if they do not, their tax dollars are spent on such things. In this argument it seems that Munn advocates allowing each individual to choose the manner in which his tax money will be spent. However, in another broadcast Munn condemns a Yale professor who refused to pay his federal income because he did not want to support the war in Viet Nam.⁸ Thus, it becomes apparent that Munn's argument about the individual's freedom to choose how his money will be spent ignores a question which, had it been answered, would have made Munn's argument more effective. This question is not whether the individual has directly chosen how he will spend his tax

⁷Munn, March 2, 1966.

⁸Melvin Munn, "1. Rule of Law or--2. Courage and Peace," Life Line broadcast of February 22, 1966.

money. Rather, the question is whether or not the individual has chosen how his tax money will be spent through his elected representatives.

In another broadcast Munn argues that the freedom to fail is being taken away by the welfare programs of the federal government. Munn emphasizes the importance of the freedom to fail when he argues that the removal of the freedom to fail--the possibility that failure may come--will result in mediocrity. If "government guaranteed security from the cradle to the grave" becomes a reality, Munn contends, few will be left to produce the wealth, the goods and services required to provide the life-time of security for everyone.⁹ To support the argument that the welfare programs will result in mediocrity Munn makes this analogy:

A friend told of the following incident during his basic military training. His company was sent to the firing range and the commanding officer given two orders: bring back no live ammunition, and see that all men qualify.

The trainees fired round after round at their targets, knowing all the while there was no possibility they would fail to qualify. Their non-com instructors aided them only half-heartedly. When all the ammunition had been expended, the troops boarded their vehicles to return to camp. Cadremen examined the targets at which each man had fired, and with a pencil punched additional holes near the bullseye if there were not enough for a passing score.

Thus the orders were carried out. Not a man flunked his basic training.

Absolute assurance of success takes all the risk

⁹Munn, March 12, 1966.

and gamble away. Thus, it diminishes the effort willingly put into a task.¹⁰

This analogy would have been more effective if some of the apparent points of disagreement between the analogy and the lack of freedom to fail because of the welfare programs had been dealt with. The most obvious difference is that in the analogy only two possibilities existed for the trainees. They would either pass or fail their basic training. In the situation to which this analogy was applied this may not always be true. The food, clothing, and shelter provided by welfare programs may be only a degree of failure which can be tolerated more easily than the absolute failure experienced without the welfare programs. Success may still require effort to produce necessary goods and services. In other words, success and failure in life are measured by degrees and are not the absolutes pictured in Munn's analogy. Another difference between the analogy and the situation to which it is applied can be seen in the fact that the success or failure which provides an incentive to produce goods and services may take more than one form. Degrees of success and failure may be achieved in such areas as pride in doing a job well and in the position of power the individual can achieve by excelling in the production of goods and services. Munn did not specify whether these factors of pride and power

¹⁰Munn, March 12, 1966.

were at work in the analogy. Munn's analogy could have certainly been more effective by accounting for the points of difference detailed above.

Another freedom which has, Munn insists, been taken away is the freedom to be a "bum!" The worst culprit in this instance has been the urban renewal program. Munn argues,

City slums are far from attractive. No thinking American argues against the notion that public health and the general safety of all our people must take precedence over slovenness [sic] and indifference. Even so, when the federal bulldozers go roaring into a city slum dwellers' area to wipe out apartment buildings, stores, warehouses and even working factories, they often go far beyond the public good. People live in those places. They do business there. They have just as much right to be heard, and to be considered as do the folk in clean white houses of the suburbs and in bright new manufacturing plants.

Thousands of Americans who were not contributing to any health hazard or in any way interfering with the orderly lives of their fellow citizens have been forced out of their homes. Urban Renewal had other plans for the space they occupied. Whether they liked it or not, many of these families were forced to relocate. Some move to even worse quarters at no saving in rent costs. Others have to take on more expensive quarters which they can ill afford. Not the least of the tragedies is that some who were content in their poverty or squalid living were forced to move among strangers. Ties that made them comfortable are broken at the direction of a federal bureaucracy. Schools, churches, shops and neighbors that have been familiar to them for years, and even decades, are no longer available to them. They have to try new schools, new churches, new stores, and strive to make new friends.¹¹

Munn's argument against the urban renewal program

¹¹Melvin Munn, "A Man Can't Be a Bum!" Life Line broadcast of February 21, 1966.

would be much more effective if some evidence were given to support the charge that many of the areas in which these projects have taken place were "not contributing to any health hazard or in any way interfering with the orderly lives of their fellow citizens." The effectiveness of the argument would also be increased if evidence were given to support the charge that many lives have been seriously disrupted because of difficulties in relocation. The entire argument Munn presents against the urban renewal program is also weakened when, in a different broadcast, he describes what he considers a good program of slum removal. In the latter program Munn said,

Just across the Potomac River from Washington, D. C. is an area called Foggy Bottom. In 1958 the city of Arlington, Virginia turned back a proposal for Urban Renewal in the Foggy Bottom section by a vote of 2 to 1. In its place, Arlington vigorously sponsored development of 37 acres of slums in to a multimillion dollar collection of office buildings, high rise apartments and modern motels. Ground advanced in value several times over. What was once a swampy slum-land is now a most valuable bit of real estate. And the thing that makes it tough on advocates of existing federal laws and departments is that all this was done with private capital and investment. In 1960 land value in Foggy Bottom was about \$6 per square foot. Today it is about \$25 per square foot, and Arlington, city, county, and state tax collectors beam happily.¹²

In this case where development was accomplished with "private capital and investment" Munn fails to give his audience

¹²Melvin Munn, "1. Unselfish Independence; 2. Middling Meddling," Life Line broadcast of March 1, 1966.

any evidence to show that the people living in the slum were "contributing to any health hazard or in any way interfering with the orderly lives of their fellow citizens." If such evidence had been presented, it would certainly have increased the effectiveness of his argument against the federal urban renewal program. Neither did Munn present any evidence to show that the lives of the people living in the Foggy Bottom slum were not seriously disrupted because of the development program. Such evidence would also have greatly strengthened his argument against federal urban renewal while strengthening his argument in favor of development done with "private capital and investment." The only benefit mentioned in the case of Foggy Bottom was that the land value rose significantly; however, no evidence was presented to show that land values do not rise significantly as a result of federal urban renewal programs. Such lack of evidence also diminishes the effectiveness of Munn's argument.

Munn also argues that the freedom to be a "bum" has been taken away by asserting that little distinction is made between the criminal derelict and the law-abiding bum. Munn expands his argument by saying, "Let a man ask for a handout almost anywhere in America today and he is likely met with a threat to 'call the police.'"¹³ The

¹³Munn, February 21, 1966.

reason that suspicion, fear, and distrust have taken the place of compassion, understanding, and love, according to Munn, is that "we have transferred our individual rights and privileges of serving our fellow man" to the federal government. In attempting to establish a causal relationship between the growth of the federal government and the lack of compassion, understanding, and love, Munn presents no evidence. The effectiveness of the argument attempting to establish such a causal relationship is, therefore, diminished.

Another area in which Munn sees freedom taken away by a large federal government is the area of securing employment. Munn alleges that the rejection of an applicant for employment with the federal government often causes other prospective employers to give no consideration to the applicant, regardless of the reason for the governmental rejection.¹⁴ Again Munn offers no evidence to support his argument. Because of this lack of evidence the argument is rather ineffective.

Munn also charges that the "U. S. Department of Education" (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) controls a "vast horde" of projects in education. These projects keep a continuous "flood of official memos" on the

¹⁴Munn, March 1, 1966.

desks of school administrators. Constantly the school officials must complete forms and "prove they are not violating some obscure federal edict." Munn's final charge is that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is also beginning to control the choice of textbooks by making "heavy-handed recommendations to publishers, state text-book committees, and colleges who train future teachers."¹⁵ Although the charges detailed above, if supported with evidence, would effectively show that the growth of the federal government is resulting in a loss of freedom, Munn gave no evidence to support his charges. Thus, to anyone not already in agreement with Munn, the argument would be relatively ineffective.

Munn also contends that the larger government becomes the more mistakes are made. These mistakes weaken our nation and make it more vulnerable to communist aggression. One example is our loss of food surpluses. To support the assertion that United States surpluses are dwindling, Munn cited U. S. rejection of Ghana's appeal for more Food for Peace. The rejection had been caused, to a large extent, by the lowering inventory of wheat on hand.¹⁶ In a later broadcast, however, a different cause was given for this

¹⁵Munn, March 1, 1966.

¹⁶Melvin Munn, "Whose Ox Is Gored," Life Line broadcast of February 4, 1966.

rejection of Ghana's request. Munn gave this explanation:

Millions upon millions of American dollars were poured into Ghana. The Peace Corps had a heavy program there; the Agency for International Development, U. S. Information Service, and the World Bank all made vast contributions to the growth of Ghana as an independent nation. In his book, Nkrumah lashes out at all these organizations without mentioning the benefits his people have had at their hands.

The lesson we apparently learned here is found in the dismissal of a request from Nkrumah that the American Food for Peace program provide him with about \$100 million in food for the current year.¹⁷

If Ghana's request was denied primarily because of Nkrumah's actions, then certainly the shortage of U. S. surpluses was not an extremely important reason for rejection of the request. The question which next arises is whether U. S. food surpluses have really dwindled to a dangerous level. Certainly, it would seem that if U. S. surpluses were dangerously low, Nkrumah's actions would have had no effect upon the decision because the decision would have been an automatic rejection. This apparent contradiction, of course, reduces the effectiveness of Munn's argument concerning the inevitability of mistakes by a large central government. The effectiveness of this argument could also have been increased by the use of some evidence to support the conclusion that "all of a sudden the idea of a planned economy is in trouble" because "government may well find itself

¹⁷Melvin Munn, Focus--Trouble and Cure," Life Line radio broadcast of February 15, 1966.

caught up in a seller's market, rather than the buyer's market of recent years."¹⁸

Another example of a problem caused by a large central government is the national debt. Munn demonstrates the seriousness of this problem with this analogy:

Ask the average American what he thinks of [the national debt], and chances are that all too many will shrug and say, "I've never had it so good." But ask those same Americans what they think of going to a department store and running up an equivalent debt which their children and grandchildren will have to pay, with interest. They would reject the proposal as being dishonorable. They would be right. But why do so many regard our government's financial practices as being any different?¹⁹

If Munn had answered his own question and supported his answer with evidence, the analogy would have been more effective. Without emphasizing the similarity and taking into account any differences between the national debt and a family debt, however, the analogy loses much of its potential effectiveness.

Munn also tries to emphasize the harm caused by the national debt when he asserts that deficit spending results in inflation.²⁰ Again Munn fails to present any evidence to support his assertion. Thus, the causal relationship Munn attempts to establish between deficit spending and

¹⁸Munn, February 4, 1966.

¹⁹Munn, February 17, 1966.

²⁰Ibid.

inflation is ineffective unless the listener already believes that deficit spending causes inflation.

Munn also makes an analogy between the financial situation Germany had after World War I and the present situation in the United States. Munn emphasizes that in ten years the "purchasing power of the German paper mark fell to less than one-trillionth of its value" and prices also rose more than a trillion times.²¹ But even in the analogy Munn fails to provide any evidence to show a causal relationship between inflation and deficit spending. Such evidence would, of course, have increased the effectiveness of the analogy. Even more important, Munn fails to take into account the differences between the German situation after World War I and the situation presently confronting the United States. Munn should have considered the fact that Germany had just lost a war and been made to pay reparations by the victorious countries. Certainly, had Munn shown that such differences did not destroy the validity of the analogy, his argument would have been more effective.

Munn also contends that some drastic mistakes are being made in the war on poverty. One of these mistakes is supplying funds to the "Black Arts Repertory Theatre-School" in Harlem. This project is operated by a playwright

²¹Munn, February 17, 1966.

named Leroi Jones. Munn says this about the project:

According to Associated Press reports, all of the productions at this government-supported project "seethe with rage" against "whitey," an all-inclusive term used by Negroes to label white people. In the productions staged at Leroi Jones' "Theater-School," all white people are portrayed as degenerates and homosexuals.

.....

This, then, is part of what you and I are getting for our share of the taxes required for yet another war. When inquiry was made of a spokesman for the "War on Poverty," this was the explanation: "It (meaning Leroi Jones' theater-school) is creating a new cultural awareness and that is a constructive thing."

Is it "a constructive thing" for American taxpayers to be forced to underwrite a project directed by one who is obsessed with hatred, one who is apparently trying to inculcate this same obsession in others of his race? Is it "a constructive thing" for tax dollars to be used to finance a forum dedicated to teaching and stirring-up of hatred and violence.²²

In this instance Munn does support his argument with evidence. However, referring to his sources as "Associated Press reports" and a "spokesman for the 'War on Poverty'" reduce somewhat the effectiveness of the evidence which Munn does use. More explicit identification of the sources cited would have given more strength to the evidence. Anyone doubting the accuracy of Munn's evidence and wishing to check it, certainly would have difficulty doing so. However, Munn also presented some evidence on this issue which was identified more explicitly. Munn argued:

²²Munn, February 17, 1966.

In a recent letter to the U. S. poverty war director, United States Congressman Paul A. Fino [from New York] demanded to know whether the director supports the \$40,000 grant to the Harlem playwright previously mentioned. He observes, "It is too incredible to think that the Federal Government has taken such complete leave of its senses to bankroll black segregationists."

He then propounds two questions of interest to all Americans. "Do you feel," asks the lawmaker who is dean of his state's GOP House delegation, "that it is fair to use taxpayers' dollars to subsidize theater projects painting whites as homosexuals and advocating black revolution? What precautions are you taking to make sure Federal money does not go to bankroll black racism?"²³

With the source of his evidence stated explicitly, Munn's evidence is much more effective. The validity of this evidence could be checked by writing a letter to Congressman Fino.

Another area in which Munn contends government centralization has led to mistakes is electrical power. Munn argues that the long-range goal of Joseph C. Swidler, chairman of the Federal Power Commission, and his associates prior to the blackout in the Northeastern states was to link all of the United States to a single electric power grid similar to the one in use in the Northeast. In 1964, Munn states, the commission had issued an "official opinion that it was very unlikely that any large area would suffer a total loss of electric power even under an attack

²³Munn, February 17, 1966.

by nuclear weapons."²⁴ Then came the Northeastern power failure of November 9, 1965. According to Munn, "the whole area served through the northeastern power 'grid,' so eagerly promoted by the federal government, was blacked out."²⁵ Next Munn emphasized that Maine, the only state north of Pennsylvania not affected by the blackout, had its power system operated by a local company and under state control. Maine was not connected with the northeastern power grid and "not yet a part of the centralized, inter-linked system desired by the Federal Power Commission."²⁶ Next Munn cited statements by "several responsible authorities" which asserted that if all of the United States had been linked in a single power system, the entire country "would have been plunged into darkness on that evening of November 9, 1965."²⁷ Munn also noted that Federal Power Commission Chairman Swidler had stated that there was no guarantee that a similar power failure could not happen again. Munn then asserted, "If this kind of failure could happen again accidentally at any time, it certainly could

²⁴Melvin Munn, "Big Government and Electric Power," Life Line broadcast of February 10, 1966.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

be caused at any time by clever and skillful sabotage."²⁸ To support this assertion Munn quoted the columnist Victor Reisel when he wrote, "The fact is that just a handful of Communist saboteurs could have accomplished what would take armadas of manned enemy aircraft. Even these fleets could not effect total darkness."²⁹ The broadcast summarized above reveals one of the few occasions in which Munn presents substantial evidence to support his claims. The use of statements by the Federal Power Commission and its chairman, Joseph C. Swidler, are especially helpful in increasing the effectiveness of Munn's argument. The emphasis placed upon Maine's lack of a power failure is also effective. Victor Reisel's statement supporting one of Munn's assertions adds to the effectiveness of the entire argument. However, in one instance the evidence could have been presented more effectively. This instance concerns the charge that if all of the United States had been linked in one power system, the entire country would have experienced a power failure. This argument would have been much more effective if some of the "several responsible authorities" had been named.

The conclusion Munn draws from the Northeastern

²⁸Munn, February 10, 1966.

²⁹See ibid.

power failure is:

The causes and effects of the great Northeastern power failure are striking proof that gigantic schemes for centralized planning and control by Washington commissions can weaken us to a truly dangerous degree, making us far more vulnerable both to accident and to enemy action. The true safeguard of our people and of our productive systems is not to be found in any Washington bureau, but in the diversity of constructive effort and the keen technical competence of Americans on the spot. If their effort is blocked and their competence ignored by a pyramid of local, state and federal governmental controls, the systems which productive Americans have created will become less and less reliable in years to come.³⁰

Munn arrives at the generalization that "central planning and control by Washington" make us "vulnerable both to accident and to enemy action" on the basis of one specific instance--the Northeastern power failure. Certainly, a generalization based upon one example would be effective only if the listener already agreed with the generalization. In a situation in which the listener already felt that centralized control was dangerous to the nation, the example of the power failure would be only one more instance which would substantiate his existing conviction. The "uninformed" or unconvinced listener, however, might desire a few more examples before accepting the generalization.

The third line of thought which Munn develops in his broadcasts is that the menace of crime is rapidly

³⁰Munn, February 10, 1966.

increasing because the attitude of society toward criminals is one of tolerance. In one broadcast Munn charges that mobsters have been "told that they have a right to riot." This sympathetic type of attitude which society has toward the mob may cause an invasion of "the major department stores in cities, thence to factories and other industrial facilities."³¹ In making this charge, Munn fails to present any supporting evidence. The effectiveness of the argument is diminished when no evidence is given to show that responsible elements in society are telling mobs that "they have a right to riot."

Munn also asserts that on occasions pamphlets have been printed in advance of demonstrations and riots charging "police brutality even before anyone had been arrested, and prior to the staging of the demonstration."³² Munn says that this has occurred at Berkeley, California, and in Albany, Georgia. However, Munn again presents no evidence to support his assertion. It would seem that the argument certainly would be much more effective if some type of evidence were presented to show that pamphlets charging police brutality actually had been printed even before the demonstration took place.

³¹Munn, February 22, 1966.

³²Ibid.

Munn contends that one of the major causes of increased crime is the apathy of many citizens, "especially of those who witness brutal crimes but who refuse to either aid the victim or even call the police."³³ To support his contention Munn quotes Quinn Tamm, the Executive Director of The Police Chief Magazine: "The rash of cowardly mob assaults on policemen . . . and the many reports of people failing to go to the aid of their fellow men in distress make one wonder whether bravery is fashionable today."³⁴ Although the statement by Tamm would suggest that there is a great deal of public apathy, it does not necessarily follow that there is a causal relationship between the increased crime rate and public apathy. This relationship could have been made more credible if Munn had presented more evidence to support the existence of the causal relationship.

Munn argues that the federal courts are also responsible for the increasing crime rate. Often the courts' decisions are based on "flimsy technical" grounds which "free the criminal rather than upholding the fundamental right of all citizens to be protected from crime."³⁵ Because Munn presents no evidence to support his argument, effectiveness is significantly reduced. Munn even fails

³³Munn, February 22, 1966.

³⁴See ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

to give examples of the technical grounds on which criminals are supposedly freed. Munn's argument also could be strengthened by exposing the fallacious reasoning or basis for the courts' decisions.

In another broadcast Munn asserts, "There is an undeniable correlation between the rise of juvenile delinquency and the increased activity of the Communist Party of the United States." A little later in the same broadcast Munn says, "Leftist activity [helps] to stimulate juvenile delinquency."³⁶ However, after making these assertions Munn does not attempt to support them with evidence or logic or even his own opinions. Munn merely asserts there is a causal relationship between the growth of communism in the United States and juvenile delinquency and leaves the subject.

Later in the same broadcast Munn notes that "one expert" has suggested that of all the causes of the increasing amount of juvenile delinquency, "the most damaging is the false teaching which tends to blame society for all the frustrations, woes, and inconveniences, real or imaginary, visited upon our young people."³⁷ If Munn had told his listeners who the expert was and what position he held, the

³⁶Melvin Munn, "1. Why Juvenile Delinquency? 2. Challenging Youth," Life Line broadcast of March 5, 1966.

³⁷Ibid.

argument conceivably would have been much more effective.

Munn argues that the Job Corps is an example of the way in which today's tolerant society is attempting to deal with the problem of the criminal or idle young people. Munn's major contention is that the Job Corps, rather than helping to alleviate the problem of juvenile delinquency, is making the problem worse. Munn argues:

Society's failure has opened wide the door for apologists for big government who assert that government must do for individuals what they cannot do for themselves. This failures [sic] has caused the government to come in with a variety of programs which treat the symptoms of delinquency but not the cause. One example is the Job Corps. This program feeds the stomachs of youngsters and enrolls the boys and girls in regimented camps. But it does precious little for their attitudes and nothing for their souls. In fact, by providing for the essentials of life, some of these projects have actually made it easier for some delinquents to engage in their favorite pasttimes.³⁸

Munn then detailed some of the violence which had taken place in a number of the Job Corps camps. At Camp Breckinridge, Kentucky, a riot had resulted in the hospitalization of thirteen persons. Seven boys were charged with drunkenness and expelled. At Camp Collbran, Colorado, serious injuries had resulted from fights. At Camp Atterbury, Indiana, a number of rapes had occurred. Other criminal violations had taken place at Cleveland, Ohio, at a Job Corps center in Texas, and at Lewiston, California.³⁹

³⁸ Munn, March 5, 1966.

³⁹ Ibid.

Although this list of camps in which violence has occurred is impressive, Munn's argument loses much of its effectiveness because no evidence is given to show that the examples given were not the only cases of crime and thus not typical of most of the Job Corps camps. Also, Munn's own statement must be considered. Munn states, "However, much of this was to be expected. More than half of the first ten thousand enrollees had police records."⁴⁰ Considering that more than half of the enrollees had police records, the listener might wonder if perhaps, even with the amount of violence Munn told about, the Job Corps has not done an excellent job. Munn could have presented evidence to show that the amount of crime occurring in the Job Corps camps was more than had been expected. This would have increased the effectiveness of his argument.

Munn also charges that the Job Corps is wasting much of the tax money it spends. Munn declares:

The Job Corps may seem to be a wonderful "showcase" for the bureaucrat, but it cannot justify itself to the American taxpayer unless it provides a means for giving effective help of lasting value to relatively large numbers of young people. Instead, what is happening is that tax money is being lavished on small groups while the majority are being ignored or actually deprived in favor of the "showcase" group. For instance, a Women's Job Corps Center has been set up in Omaha, Nebraska. Fewer than 400 girls are enrolled, yet there are 130 staff members, more than one for every three young people. In the regular community schools, desperate efforts have to be made

⁴⁰Munn, March 5, 1966.

to have one teacher for every thirty students. Omaha Job Corps girls were flown at taxpayers' expense to watch a recent Gemini launch at the space center in Houston, Texas, while the most promising science students at Omaha high schools could not be sent to the same launch because of lack of funds.⁴¹

Munn's argument again could have been more effective if evidence had been presented to show that the Omaha instance was a typical case.

Another charge against the Job Corps is also supported by only one specific instance. In this case Munn charges that the director of the Job Corps camp at Breckinridge, Kentucky, had put his own wife and the wives of fifty-one other "bureaucratic employees" on the payroll of the program.⁴²

Munn's fourth proposition is that foreign aid, from the standpoint of the best interests of the United States, is a failure. Munn asserts that the advocates of foreign aid have been telling the American people that "other countries will love the United States and loathe and reject communism--if we will just pick up the tab for their 'hopes and aspirations.'"⁴³ Having made this assertion, Munn fails to support it with any quotations from advocates of

⁴¹Melvin Munn, "1. Foreign Aid; 2. Job Corps," Life Line broadcast of March 4, 1966.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Melvin Munn, "1. Foreign Aid Failure; 2. Individual Action," Life Line broadcast of February 28, 1966.

the foreign aid program. Even after listening to Munn, the "uninformed" listener might question whether the purpose of foreign aid is to make other countries "love the United States and reject communism" or whether its purpose is to give sufficient strength to the recipient countries to allow them to resist communist aggression and follow a course of national self-interest.

Munn also contends that although the avowed purpose of our foreign aid program has been to bring peace to the world, "the entire giveaway era has been marked by numerous and continuous wars."⁴⁴ Munn supports the contention that foreign aid has not brought peace by asserting that India and Pakistan have fought "each other with ammunition and equipment furnished them by us."⁴⁵ In the same broadcast Munn alleges that the United States has supplied both sides with military materials in wars between Turkey and Greece and between Israel and Egypt. In this instance, as in others, Munn's argument was diminished in effectiveness because of a complete lack of supporting evidence for his assertions.

Munn also contends that foreign aid is a great burden on the United States economy. Munn argues:

Foreign aid has been a strain on our economy,

⁴⁴ Munn, February 28, 1966.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

a drain on our gold reserves. Our dangerous balance of payments deficit has prompted government planners to restrict foreign commerce and take other drastic measures.

The three communist leaders, Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev, were completely in agreement in saying, in effect, "The United States will spend itself into destruction. We will make them pay our bills."⁴⁶

The effectiveness of Munn's argument could have been increased in two different ways. First, the presentation of evidence to show that foreign aid makes the difference between a positive balance of payments and a negative balance of payments would have increased the effectiveness of Munn's argument. Second, the use of the actual words of one or more of the Soviet leaders would have increased the effectiveness of the argument. Munn's quotation from the communist leaders is not actually evidence but merely an assertion by Munn that the communist leaders believe that the United States will spend itself into destruction by paying the bill of the communists.

Another Munn argument is that foreign aid does not actually help the nation receiving the aid. Munn asserts that "often our foreign aid appears to have wrecked the economy of recipient nations."⁴⁷ In addition, Munn argues that foreign aid cannot significantly raise the standard of living of the recipient nations under any conditions

⁴⁶Munn, February 28, 1966.

⁴⁷Munn, March 4, 1966.

because "only the people of the country concerned can do that." The best that foreign aid can do is to keep the recipient country from "becoming even worse off than they now are." But even this does not happen because the aid never gets into the economy of the nation. The aid money simply adds to the income of the wealthy.⁴⁸ Munn fails to present any evidence to support his argument and thus the argument loses much of its effectiveness unless the listener already agrees with Munn.

Munn sees the United Nations votes of countries receiving U. S. aid as particularly indicative of the ineffectiveness of the aid program. Munn argues in this manner:

. . . more and more nations every year vote in favor of admitting Red China to the United Nations. Nearly all of them have received significant amounts of American aid; several have received gigantic sums. In the 1965 vote on admitting Red China to the United Nations, 47 nations openly favored Peking and 45 of them had received American aid. Twenty had each received, over the years, more than \$100,000,000 from the American taxpayer; six had each received more than one billion dollars of our tax money. India, which has been handed \$5,622,000,000 from us, mostly in the last few years, was in the forefront of the pro-Peking group. The only nations voting for Peking which had not received our aid directly were Soviet satellites who got it indirectly through such arrangements as the Russian wheat deal of 1963 and 1964.

In fascinating contrast were five small African nations which strongly opposed the admission of Red China to the United Nations and lined up firmly with

⁴⁸Munn, March 4, 1966.

the United States on this critical issue. These nations were Niger, the Malagasy Republic, Gabon, Togo and Upper Volta. None of these has received as much as \$10,000,000 of American aid overall, out of a program which has handed out more than \$115 billion around the world.

It has been obvious from the beginning that foreign aid was not buying friends, for true friends are not for sale. The vote on Red China in the United Nations shows unmistakably that foreign aid is also not buying support for our foreign policy. Instead it seems to be having a reverse effect. Some of the countries which have received the least aid vote with us, while many which have received vast quantities of aid vote against us.⁴⁹

In another broadcast Munn emphasizes the fact that six nations voted to admit Red China into the U. N. even though "they have been favored nations in every sense of the word."⁵⁰ These nations are Great Britain, France, Norway, Ethiopia, India, and Pakistan. In analyzing this argument, it seems that the effectiveness of the argument is decreased because Munn fails to show that one of the major purposes of the foreign aid program is to influence the foreign policy of recipient nations. In addition, Munn does not show that the nations which voted in favor of admitting Red China to the U. N. did so because they oppose the United States and are in favor of Red China. In other words, Munn failed to show that these nations did not have justifiable reasons for their votes. These reasons may not necessarily be in opposition to the best interests

⁴⁹Munn, March 4, 1966.

⁵⁰Munn, February 3, 1966.

of the United States. Also, Munn's attempt to establish a causal relationship between countries which have not received large amounts of foreign aid and countries which voted against Red China is rather ineffective. To establish this type of relationship Munn would have to show that most of the forty-six nations which voted with the United States had received little or no aid. In actuality, Munn shows only five nations which received little aid and still voted with the United States. Munn presents no other evidence revealing the amount of aid received by the other forty-one nations that voted with the United States. If all forty-one of these nations received significant amounts of U. S. aid, then clearly no causal relationship between nations not receiving aid and countries voting with the United States would exist.

The fifth major line of thought developed by Munn in his Life Line radio broadcasts is that communism is inherently weak. The area in which the greatest weakness can be seen, according to Munn, is the area of agriculture. To support this argument Munn quotes Thomas Ware, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Freedom From Hunger Foundation when he says, "Collectivized agriculture has, by the simple process of destroying human incentive, inflicted far greater losses on the world's food potential

than all the other blights combined."⁵¹ Munn further supports the argument that communism destroys agricultural incentive when he quotes the Peiping People's Daily as saying that before the revolution a hoe lasted three generations but now it lasts only one season.⁵² Evidence of the type described is quite effective.

Munn also cites the Chinese-American author, Valentin Chu, who writes of large areas of land overgrown by weeds, with millions of city dwellers being mobilized with peasants and thrown into a war on weeds. Munn says:

[Valentin Chu] points out that the land area affected by "natural calamities" has risen year by year, from 13 million acres in 1950 to 29 million in 1954, 78 million acres in 1958, and 148 million acres in 1960. Chinese broadcasts have been complaining of drought and other difficulties this year, and another crop failure has been chalked up in many sections of China. To maintain the Chinese diet at even near starvation levels, Red China has imported some 22 million tons of grain during the past four years.⁵³

This piece of evidence would have been more effective if Munn had told his listeners what qualified Valentin Chu as an expert on Red Chinese agriculture other than the fact that he is "Chinese-American." In addition, it should have been made clearer whether Chu was actually saying that

⁵¹Melvin Munn, "1. Red Farm Failures; 2. Our Heritage," Life Line broadcast of February 26, 1966.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

the crop failures were due to the nature of communism or to climatic conditions.

Munn also quoted a 1961 report of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security as saying that private plots of farmland accounted for 3.3 per cent of all land under cultivation in the Soviet Union. From this 3.3 per cent the Soviet Union received "26 per cent of all potato deliveries, 34 per cent of all eggs, 15 per cent of all wool, 14 per cent of all meat and poultry, and 7 per cent of its green vegetables."⁵⁴ What Munn fails to show is whether or not proportional amounts of the state farms were devoted to these agricultural products. Perhaps the Soviet government, expecting the private plots to produce 34 per cent of all eggs in the Soviet Union, devoted less energy to the production of eggs and concentrated on products which private plots would not produce. If Munn's evidence had taken this factor into account, it would certainly have been even more effective. However, looking at the entire scope of Munn's argument and evidence in relation to the topic of communist failures in agriculture, it seems that Munn's use of argument and evidence is quite effective.

Munn carries his argument about communist failures in agriculture a step further when he tells his audience:

One lesson to be drawn from current communist

⁵⁴Munn, February 26, 1966.

confusion is as old as civilization. The old adage that "an army marches on its stomach" can be expanded to most areas of economics. The employee or servant of the state works "on his stomach," and the technician, the scientist, the field hand, the plant worker and all who produce tools, machines, and goods are motivated by at least an adequate diet of food. Without that and other basic necessities the human machine just does not function well. Without a functioning population, industry, invention, commerce and all that support a modern civilization falter.

That is precisely what has slowed down Russia's industrial expansion and has prevented Red China from achieving any noticeable industrial power.⁵⁵

Munn's argument, while effective because of its common sense nature, could have been more effective if supporting evidence had been presented. Munn continues this argument when he asserts:

A general refusal by the large grain producers in the West to sell grain to Russia in 1963 and 1964 could conceivably have brought about the downfall of the communist regime. The Czarist government fell in exactly this way, in the midst of food riots, in February 1917 which was the real Russian Revolution, later corrupted by the Bolsheviks.⁵⁶

Munn's analogy would have been much more effective if he had emphasized more similarities between the communist government of today and the Czarist government of 1917. Munn should have been able to show that the communist government is no more powerful militarily than the Czarist

⁵⁵ Melvin Munn, "Confusion in the Communist Camp," Life Line broadcast of March 9, 1966.

⁵⁶ Melvin Munn, "Economic Troubles in Soviet Russia and Socialist Sweden," Life Line broadcast of March 15, 1966.

government was. Also, Munn should have taken into consideration the fact that there were elements in Russia in 1917 which wanted to seize governmental power. Then he should have discussed whether or not such elements exist in Russia today. If they do not, then Munn should have presented evidence to show that this is unimportant to the analogy. If Munn had accomplished the task outlined above, his argument that communism is inherently weak would have been more effective.

The final major contention dealt with by the Life Line radio broadcasts is that liberals and others on the far-left are pushing the United States down the collectivist path toward communism. One of the areas in which this move toward communism is occurring is education. "People planners, collectivists, and social revolutionaries," alleges Munn, are attempting to gain control of the nation's schools. Once in control of the schools, they will have a major influence over the country's children. Only real non-conformists "would fail to conform to the over-all plan of the schemers." The purpose of the "new education" brought about by these "schemers" is to develop children in a collective group. The "basic skills" are neglected in favor of "endless experimentation" which "is the order of the day."⁵⁷ To support this argument Munn quotes

⁵⁷Melvin Munn, "The Big Changes in Education," Life Line broadcast of March 3, 1966.

George S. Counts, a "disciple of Dewey," when he said:

In the collectivist society now emerging the school should be regarded . . . as an agency for the abolition of all artificial social distinctions and of organizing the energies of the nation for the promotion of the general welfare. . . . Throughout the school program the development of the social order rather than the egoistic impulses should be stressed; and the motive of personal aggrandizement should be subordinated to social ends.⁵⁸

Although this quotation may be interpreted to mean that the schools and the minds of American children should be used to achieve a collectivist society, it certainly is difficult to see where Counts says that the "basic skills" should be neglected. Munn, however, emphasizes the decline in importance of the so-called "basic skills" in American education when he says:

The decline in basic skills even among the supposedly highly educated is familiar to everyone who comes in contact with the work of even the best-intentioned young people. It used to be that an eighth grade education guaranteed the ability to read and write with reasonable accuracy and clarity. Then only a high school diploma could guarantee it. Now, incredible as it would seem to earlier generations, even a college degree is no proof of proficiency in basic English, as almost every employer who needs writing done can testify.

When we seek the causes of this astonishing trend, it would be well to remember the so-called "progressive educators" who campaigned so long and hard against the teacher's authority in the classroom, against recitation and drill, against primary emphasis on learning skills and facts. They spoke often of educating the "whole child." Is a "whole child" properly educated who cannot read and write his own language correctly?⁵⁹

⁵⁸ See Munn, March 3, 1966.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Munn's attempt to establish a causal relationship between a decline in basic skills and the growth of "progressive education" loses effectiveness for two reasons. First, Munn fails to give any evidence that there actually has been a decline in basic skills. The only listeners who could verify Munn's assertion are employers who have found college graduates to lack proficiency in English grammar. Even many of these employers would be unable to say that college graduates two or three decades ago were more proficient. The "average" listener would have no means of verifying Munn's assertion about a decline in basic skills. The second reason Munn's attempt to establish a causal relationship between a decline in basic skill and the growth of progressive education is ineffective is that Munn presents no real evidence to show that progressive education neglects the teaching of the basic skills. This has been discussed above and thus will not be considered here, other than to list it as a cause for Munn's lack of effectiveness.

Munn also contends that leftist protest groups are moving the United States toward communism. Regardless of how well-intentioned these young protesters may be, they have been infiltrated by communists. To support this contention Munn emphasizes the marks of organization and planning in the various protests, demonstrations, "teach-ins," and riots which have taken place. Few of the youth

leaders who are in charge of the demonstrations "can boast either the natural skill or the background of training to produce efficient results such as are seen in so many of these public displays."⁶⁰ The lack of evidence to support his contentions significantly reduces the effectiveness of Munn's argument about communist infiltration of the protest movements in the United States.

Another area in which, Munn argues, liberals are leading the United States toward communism is foreign policy. The standard by which Munn says the actions of liberals must be judged is described in this excerpt:

Debates on the motives of American collectivists are mostly a waste of time, because we are not mind-readers able to explore the inner recesses of a man's brain to find out just why he acts against freedom and a Constitutional republic. The "sincerity" of these collectivists, or the lack of it, is an issue between them and their Maker. We can only judge them on the basis of what they actually say and do. In making such judgments, it is most useful to have a way of testing the consistency of the moral principles on which the collectivists claim to operate. If we can show a complete contradiction in these claimed principles, that is good evidence that they are not really important in shaping the thought and action of those who say they hold them. Whether they are "sincere" in their hypocrisy, by actually failing to see their own contradictions, is beside the point.⁶¹

⁶⁰Melvin Munn, "Two Left Feet," Life Line broadcast of February 7, 1966.

⁶¹Melvin Munn, "Rhodesia and Viet Nam," Life Line broadcast of February 18, 1966.

Munn sees "a complete contradiction in . . . claimed principles" in the liberal stand on Viet Nam contrasted with the liberal position on Rhodesia. In Viet Nam the liberal demands the withdrawal of American troops "under the pretense that it is only a civil conflict." But in Rhodesia, the liberal cries for "the immediate dispatch of British or U. N. troops" because he is afraid "a civil conflict might develop some time in the future."⁶² In attempting to show this apparent contradiction, Munn fails to present evidence to support his contention that the people demanding withdrawal of American troops in Viet Nam are the same people demanding intervention in Rhodesia. Therefore, the argument Munn develops loses much of its effectiveness because of a lack of evidence.

In the Dominican Republic crisis, contends Munn, the doctrine of non-intervention was rejected by President Johnson in order to save the Dominican Republic from a communist take over. The liberals were opposed to such action by the President. Munn asserts that the liberals

will do their best to confine the American intervention within the narrowest possible limits and gradually to withdraw it until the non-intervention doctrine is once again restored to its place of favor. If as a result the Dominican Republic should go communist, as in all probability it would, they could then plead that there was

⁶²Munn, February 18, 1966.

nothing they could do about it.⁶³

Munn again fails to present evidence to support his argument and make it effective to the "uninformed" listener.

Munn also believes that those who favor disarmament are leading the United States toward a policy which will eventually mean the victory of world communism. To show that disarmament cannot bring peace, Munn gives this example:

Some of the activists in this movement do honestly and passionately believe that disarmament will lead to peace. They refuse to face the fact that never in all history has it done so; rather, on several famous occasions it has led directly to war. The greatest of these occasions recently was the period between the First and Second World Wars, when the general naval disarmament of the Western powers tempted Japan into aggression, and the refusal of the British to maintain air power equal to Nazi Germany's had the same effect on Adolf Hitler.⁶⁴

It is quite clear that Munn's example in this case does not support his contention that disarmament "has led directly to war." Munn's example shows only that unilateral disarmament will result in war. This argument, that unilateral disarmament is not practical, Munn supports quite effectively. However, the example Munn gives does

⁶³ Melvin Munn, "1. A New Privileged Sanctuary; 2. Dominican Danger," Life Line broadcast of February 8, 1966.

⁶⁴ Melvin Munn, "Alliance for Retreat and Disarmament," Life Line broadcast of February 12, 1966.

not support the argument that general disarmament will not work. Munn, however, asserts that general disarmament will not work. He states:

It is sometimes forgotten that, though it is most unlikely to happen, general disarmament would also result in their victory. The vast populations of Russia and China, brainwashed by propaganda, disciplined by all the apparatus of an almighty state, could certainly prevail in the end over the smaller populations of Western countries if these were denied all modern means of defense.⁶⁵

This assertion would seem to be in direct contradiction with Munn's statement in a later broadcast⁶⁶ in which he argued that "an army marches on its stomach." Also contradictory to Munn's argument that Russia and China would win a war in which both sides were denied "all modern means of defense" is Munn's argument that communist agriculture has been a complete failure. This argument has been detailed above.⁶⁷ Even with this apparent contradiction, Munn's argument could have been made effective if he had presented some evidence to show that the communists would be able to get sufficient food in time of emergency or else that the masses of Russia and Red China could be made to fight in order to secure food from conquered territories. However, Munn failed to present

⁶⁵Munn, February 12, 1966.

⁶⁶For this Munn statement see page 110 above.

⁶⁷See pages 107-111 above.

such evidence.

Munn alleges that the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, or SANE, has definite communist tendencies. To support his allegation against SANE Munn quotes a 1961 report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities:

The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy is not a Communist front. It is not controlled by the Communist Party. Its leaders are not Communists, although a number of its national sponsors have extensive records of Communist front activity. SANE's aims, however, total disarmament, the abolition of nuclear weapons and their testing, and opposition to any civil defense program, coincide with the major propaganda demands which the Soviet Union and the Communist Party are making to camouflage their true aim of taking over the world. This being so, it was inevitable that Communists should move in on the SANE organization.⁶⁸

With this evidence from the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the testimony of Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut that there is "evidence of serious communist infiltration at chapter level throughout the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy," the argument against SANE was quite effective.

Munn also sees the effort of liberals to strengthen the United Nations and give it power over individual nations as an effort to bring about communism. As Munn puts it, "To give a United Nations Army authority over free nations is to commit murder to liberty and freedom."⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See Munn, February 12, 1966.

⁶⁹ Munn, February 15, 1966.

On this issue Munn is ineffective because he does not attempt to support his assertion with evidence of any type.

Viewing all of Munn's arguments and evidence as an entity, it is clear that quite often Munn's arguments are ineffective because of a lack of evidence. Even when evidence is presented, the source of the evidence may not be given or qualified as an authority. Seldom is evidence properly used. When Munn attempts to establish a causal relationship, his argument is generally ineffective. Munn's analogies quite often are ineffective because the points of difference outweigh the points of similarity. Munn also, at times, seems to contradict himself. An argument will be presented which is in apparent contradiction to an argument presented in an earlier program. It would certainly seem fair to say that the effectiveness of the Life Line radio program is not due to the effectiveness of the argument and evidence presented by Melvin Munn.

CONCLUSION

The radical right wing is a significant part of the American political scene. An indication of the number of people who may be classified with the radical right is found in the fact that Gallup polls taken in April of 1961 and February of 1962 revealed that between seven and nine and a half million Americans viewed the John Birch Society as a useful organization in the anti-communist cause.

The origin of today's radical right philosophy seems to be the work done by Martin Dies' House Committee on Un-American Activities in the late 1930's and early 1940's. Liberals and "fellow-travellers" were questioned a great deal about their loyalty to the United States. When the Hiss trial came about a decade later, the right wing was given a new impetus. Soon communist spies and traitors were seen in abundance. The State Department especially was filled with communists. The man who led the right wing movement in the early 1950's was Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy. McCarthy arrayed a great deal of evidence designed to show the communist tendencies of such governmental officials as Dean Acheson and General George C. Marshall. When McCarthy was charged with using evidence designed only to prove guilt by association, he answered that his opposition relied on the same type of evidence to show their innocence. Furthermore, McCarthy argued that

he was not trying to prove guilt by association because he sought to convict no one of any crime. McCarthy's concern was whether an individual who associated with communists should be allowed to have a voice in planning the policies of the United States. Also, McCarthy believed that people with communist associations should not be given access to top secret information.

McCarthy also contended that "Communist-minded teachers and Communist-line textbooks" were a menace to the United States. McCarthy encouraged the "average American" to expose teachers leaning toward communism even though they would be smeared and accused of endangering academic freedom.

Today's right wing is composed of a large number of organizations and leaders. The activities of these organizations include "religious crusades," radio and television broadcasts, and the publication of a large number of newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets.

Today's right wing seems to be even more concerned about communist influences in the United States than McCarthy was. The radical right sees American support of the international communist conspiracy as the bulwark of its strength. Hence the source of the communist danger is almost entirely internal. If communist influences were not controlling many of our leaders both outside and inside the federal government, nations like Red China, North Korea,

Cuba, Laos, and North Viet Nam would not be under communist control. The communists would not even control the Soviet Union if they had received no aid from the United States in times of crisis.

The radical right also contends that the United States itself has drifted toward communism. Hans F. Sennholz argues that the United States is making rapid progress in achieving the goals or objectives of the Communist Manifesto. Some of these goals have already been met. Sennholz and others argue that the reason America finds itself in a "mess" is that liberals and Fabian socialists have been in control of the federal government. In fact, one writer for the radical right contends that "Liberalism is the primrose path to extinction."

The radical right sees great danger in the "progressive" education begun by John Dewey. The right wing argues that the goal of progressive education is to break down respect for authority and true scholarship in youth and to destroy the religious convictions of the people. When these objectives have been achieved, the collectivists will be ready to build "a new social order."

The United Nations, according to the radical right, is also communist inspired. The plan for the United Nations was conceived by communists at the Moscow Conference in 1943. The right wing also argues that the United Nations Charter was drafted largely by communists. According to

the writers of the radical right, Alger Hiss, acting as the representative of the United States, was primarily responsible for giving the Soviet Union three votes to our one. Further evidence of the communist tendencies of the United Nations is seen in the fact that all three Secretary-Generals have been socialists. The present Secretary-General, U Thant, is a Marxist socialist. The radical right further contends that the security of the free world is threatened by the fact that many key UN posts are held by Soviet communists. In addition, the radical right sees the United Nations as an organization which gives diplomatic immunity to spies and saboteurs from the Soviet Union.

The Supreme Court is charged with betraying the nation. No longer are the justices of the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution. Rather, the justices are now acting as proponents of their own political and economic beliefs. Furthermore, many of the decisions of the Supreme Court have favored the communist line. The radical right is especially concerned with the decisions rendered by Justices Black, Douglas, Frankfurter, Brennan, and Warren.

The American right has also attacked the National Council of Churches. The radical right is opposed to the political nature of many of the statements of the council. Another argument is that the National Council of Churches

is not representing the views of the people it represents. The radical right argues that while the National Council of Churches favors the admission of Red China to the United Nations, every poll of Protestants shows they are against Red China's admission. The National Council of Churches, like many other organizations, is charged with having communist tendencies. In fact, the radical right has asserted that Dr. Harry F. Ward, who played a part in organizing the Federal Council of Churches, forerunner of the present-day National Council of Churches, was an identified communist. The stand taken by the council on many issues is seen as further evidence of the communist tendencies of the National Council of Churches. Some of these issues are the recognition of Red China, elimination of right-to-work laws, repeal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, and the withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam. The radical right argues that these are exactly the same stands taken by the communist nations.

The radical right also views the work of psychiatrists and mental health programs as a collectivist hoax. The right wing argues that the mental health program has two basic purposes--to charge individuals holding anti-communist beliefs with insanity and create the amoral man who "will accept a one-world socialistic government."

The civil rights movement is also seen as a part of the collectivist conspiracy. The radical right wing argues

that if everyone refused to obey a law because he considered it unjust the result would be anarchy followed by communist dictatorship and slavery.

The reaction of the right wing to the "Great Society" of Lyndon Johnson is that it is bringing socialism to the United States. Medicare is seen as a gigantic step toward socialized medicine. The radical right also argues that the give-aways of the Great Society will take away savings from the thrifty and give them to the have-nots and in many instances the care-nots. This, argues the right wing, is "the opposite of capital formation on which productivity rests and on which relief from poverty actually depends."

The radical right also opposes the foreign aid program. The first reason the right wing is opposed to foreign aid is that it is a tremendous drain on our economy. The second reason for the opposition of the radical right to foreign aid is that the aid does the recipient country little or no good.

One of the organizations of the radical right is the Life Line Foundation. The Life Line Foundation's daily radio broadcast reaches approximately five million people every day. One of the leaders of the Life Line Foundation is the Texas millionaire, H. L. Hunt. Hunt has done a great deal of writing which indicates that his views closely follow the right wing line. Hunt believes that the strength of communism is found in the United States.

According to Hunt, progressive education teaches "men to merge into docile groups which can be counted on to take all orders from above without protest." Hunt's argument against the United Nations is basically the same as that of the rest of the right wing. Hunt argues that the Founding Fathers never intended to give to the courts alone the power to change the Constitution, but it has become accepted practice for the courts to change the Constitution themselves. Hunt also argues that many of the decisions of the Supreme Court have favored the Communists. Hunt remains rather silent about the National Council of Churches and mental health programs. As for the Civil rights movement, Hunt states that riots and illegal demonstrations are as menacing to the nation as an armed invasion. Hunt is opposed to the foreign aid program because of its cost and its inability to relieve the poverty of backward foreign nations. Hunt's arguments as described above show that he adheres rather closely to the philosophy of America's radical right wing.

When the audience of the Life Line radio broadcast is considered, it seems that there are actually three audiences. First, there is the audience which Hunt envisions for the "freedom" speaker. The second audience is the one toward which the Life Line broadcasts are actually directed. The final audience is the one which actually listens to the broadcasts of the Life Line Foundation.

Hunt recognizes that one of the greatest faults of the programs of most "pro-freedom groups" is that "they speak only to themselves, to one another, or to like-minded people who already agree with them." Hunt believes that the most profitable audience for the "freedom" message is the audience composed mostly of the "uninformed." Hunt believes most of the American population can be placed in the "uninformed" category. Of course, Hunt warns that the people dedicated to freedom should not be ignored by the "freedom" speaker.

While some of the Life Line broadcasts appear to be directed at the large variety of listeners envisioned by Hunt, most of the programs appear to be directed toward more specific groups. One of these specific groups is composed of the "fundamentalists" in religion. The Sunday Life Line broadcast is always devoted to a sermon which is "fundamental" in nature. Another specific group toward which some of the broadcasts appear to be aimed is composed of individuals who pay a great deal of federal income tax. Few programs, however, are designed to appeal to the impoverished.

The actual audience of Life Line appears to be overwhelmingly in favor of the stand taken by Life Line on all issues. Polls taken and published by Life Line indicate that between seventy-five and ninety-five per cent of the listeners of Life Line take the radical right position.

Thus, the audience of Life Line is not composed of the "uninformed." Rather, the audience is composed mostly of the "informed." Therefore, it would seem that the fault which Hunt recognizes in most of the programs of "pro-freedom groups"--that "they speak only to themselves"--is largely true of the radio broadcast which he sponsors. However, it should be remembered that the five or ten per cent of the five million listeners of Life Line who are "uninformed" or "mistaken" constitute a significant number of people who have not yet been converted to the radical right philosophy.

When the effectiveness of the argument and evidence is examined, it is found that in most instances the argument and evidence presented in Life Line is rather ineffective unless the listener already agrees with the position taken by Life Line or fails to question the assertions made by Melvin Munn, Life Line's commentator.

Munn's attempt to establish a causal relationship between America's rise to greatness and its devotion to the principles of freedom is ineffective largely because of Munn's failure to present substantial evidence. Also, Munn, in his use of an analogy, fails to deal with possible questions which the listener might have about the differences between the analogy and the situation to which it is applied.

Munn also argues that the growth of big government

and the welfare state is one of the biggest problems facing the United States. The effectiveness of this argument suffers from a lack of evidence. The effectiveness of Munn's argument is also diminished when in one broadcast it seems that Munn is advocating that each individual should be allowed to choose the manner in which his tax money will be spent but in another broadcast condemns a Yale professor who refused to pay his federal income tax because he did not want to support the war in Viet Nam. Munn's use of an analogy to show the mediocrity which would result from the removal of the freedom to fail was ineffective because Munn did not consider some of the apparent points of disagreement between the analogous situation and the removal of the freedom to fail by the welfare program of the federal government. Munn also argued against the federal urban renewal program. However, he argued in favor of a program replacing slums with new structures in Arlington, Virginia. Although the later program was financed by private investment, Munn failed to show that the disadvantages he had described in the urban renewal program were not present in the slum development program in Arlington, Virginia. This significantly decreased the effectiveness of Munn's argument against the urban renewal program and his argument against big government and the welfare state. Munn's use of two analogies to show the seriousness of the financial situation of the United States was also

ineffective because he failed to show that the points of disagreement were outweighed by the points of similarity. When Munn argued that the "War on Poverty" program was financing hatred and violence, some evidence was used. However, much of this evidence was somewhat ineffective because Munn failed to make explicit identification of the source of the evidence. Munn's argument against centralization of the electrical power systems of the United States was quite effective. However, Munn's attempt to generalize from this one specific instance that all centralization was bad was rather ineffective. This weakened Munn's entire argument against the growth of big government and the welfare state.

Munn's third main argument was that the tolerant attitude of society toward criminals is rapidly increasing the menace of crime. Munn sees the Job Corps as an example of this tolerant attitude. In giving examples of the failure of the Job Corps, Munn fails to show that these examples are typical of the entire Job Corps program. Munn also fails to present evidence to support his assertions that a causal relationship exists between the rising crime rate and the decisions of the federal courts and between the juvenile delinquency problem and leftist activity in the United States. This also makes his argument ineffective.

In arguing that foreign aid is a failure, Munn fails to support his assertion that the purpose of foreign aid is to cause other countries to "love the United States and

loathe and reject communism." Munn also attempts to establish a causal relationship between nations which have not received a significant amount of foreign aid from the United States and nations which voted with the United States to bar the admission of Red China to the United Nations. However, of the forty-six nations which voted with the United States, Munn listed only five which had received very small amounts of U. S. aid. Thus Munn's attempt to establish a causal relationship was ineffective because he failed to show that a majority of the nations voting with the United States had not received large amounts of aid from the United States.

Munn's fifth major argument is that communism is inherently weak, especially in the field of agriculture. This argument was generally well-supported and effective. However, when Munn used an analogy to show that a general refusal by the Western nations to sell wheat to the Soviet Union in 1963 and 1964 could have brought about the downfall of the communist regime in the Soviet Union, he was rather ineffective. His argument could have been effective if he had emphasized more of the similarities between the communist government of today and the Czarist government of 1917.

Munn's final argument is that liberals and others on the far-left are pushing the United States toward communism. This argument suffers a great deal from a lack of evidence

to support his contentions. Munn also argues against disarmament. In doing so he states that the vast populations of Russia and China could certainly prevail over the smaller populations of the Western countries if the West was denied all modern means of defense. However, in another broadcast Munn declared that an army marches on its stomach. In the same broadcast Munn had argued that communist agriculture had been a failure. Thus, it would seem a contradiction to say that the communist populations could overrun the Western nations. This apparent contradiction decreased the effectiveness of Munn's argument that liberal advocates of disarmament were pushing the United States toward a situation which would allow a communist take over. Munn's argument against the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, or SANE, however, was more effective. Munn was able to support this argument with evidence.

It seems quite clear that the effectiveness of the Life Line radio broadcasts is not due to the effectiveness of the argument and evidence presented by Melvin Munn. If any conclusion can be drawn about the reason for the effectiveness of the Life Line radio broadcasts from this study, it might be that the effectiveness is due to the type of audience listening to Life Line. For the vast majority of Life Line's audience, effective argument and evidence is not necessary because the audience already agrees with Munn's conclusions. Whatever evidence is

presented merely confirms opinions and beliefs already held. For some not in complete agreement with the political philosophy of the Life Line broadcasts, the ethical proof Munn employs in his Sunday Life Line broadcasts may account for his effectiveness during the week when political issues are discussed. Whatever the reason for Life Line's effectiveness, one can hardly escape the conclusion that Life Line's effectiveness is not due to the effectiveness of its argument and evidence.

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Life Line Foundation. A sheet presenting a biographical sketch of Melvin Munn.

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