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"Money and Politics"

An Intimate Message from Washington
By Richard L. Strout

Some \$147 million were spent in local and national campaigns for nomination and election in 1952. The cost in 1956 it is estimated will be around \$156 million. Campaign funds of this size come, in the nature of things, very largely from those able to give.

"The net consequence," says a dispassionate study just completed at the University of North Carolina by a group headed by Prof. Alexander Heard (published in a New Public Affairs pamphlet) "is a vastly larger representation of vested financial interests than contemplated by equalitarian democratic theory."

Or in different language, money talks in an election—and keeps on talking after the election is over. What big contributors get is not as tangible as the public often supposes, says the study; mostly what they "buy" is "access." One lobbyist called it "entree" and another called it a "basis for talking." The main result of "access" is to "speed things up."

The current study began with an alphabetical file of all known contributions of \$500 or over, followed by an analysis of the donors by occupational groups. Most of the money in a presidential campaign year comes in amounts of \$500 or over, it is found.

Some results are interesting. Of 27 noncareer appointees as Chiefs of United States Diplomatic Missions on July 1, 1952, at least 13 were filled by contributors of \$500 or more—and all were Democrats. But on October 1, 1953, out of 30 others at least 12 had contributed a similar sum—but now all but one were Republicans.

The value of "access" is increasingly recognized by lobbyists. Campaign contributions are now standard equipment. The analysts found no individual donations by trustees or directors of farm, veteran, or labor lobby outfits, but listed many from the board members of business associations. An example: In 1952 the roster of officials of the American Petroleum Institute showed many individual contributors, the report states, when "the disposition of offshore oil rights was a principal issue in the campaign."

Contribution of lobbyists know no party lines. Lobbyists are more interested in policies than in parties. Some contribute to both parties. Politically connected lawyers, especially, use contributions to keep in touch with the party in power. One individual was found who had alternated four times between the two national committees in a space of seven years.

Another big factor, says the report, is "corporate political participation through the contributions of officers and directors." An instance: "The four American firms most closely involved in the controversy over an import levy on Swiss watches all had officials who made contributions."

One odd fact is that following each presidential election "the winning party receives an enormous spurt of large contributions, and the losing party gets virtually none." These donors wait to see who wins. After the 1952 victory the Republican committees got 257 donations of \$500 or more (compared to 1,152 before); the Democrats only 35 (compared to 970 before). After the 1948 surprise Truman victory, the winning Democrats got 272 such gifts (as against 426 before); the GOP only 29 as against 1,115 before. The "access-buyers" quickly signed up.

Republicans generally get more money than the Democrats, the report says, though the difference is less than frequently supposed. Expenditures by partisan committees in 1952, including labor, showed the Republicans spending \$5.50 for every \$4.50 for the Democrats. The ratio varied widely. Tentative figures indicated a ratio of 61 to 39 in Connecticut, and 69 to 31 in Pennsylvania.

The result of this financing system is the growth within either party of what is described as "a crucially important group of people"—solicitors who can be depended to bring in large collections in time of need.

This group, the investigators concluded, is often more important than the formal officials of the party. They command access "in the grand fashion."

One man "with White House experience" is quoted as declaring: "The character of an administration is set by the network of people who raise the party's funds. Locate the chief fund-raisers and you locate political power."

What a curious contrast this discloses between certain philosophical assumptions held by most voters about their parties and the inherent financial realities of the American electoral system.

Dollars for Democracy

Democracy isn't just a matter of votes or getting out the vote. It's a matter of dollars too—and getting out the dollars necessary to get out the vote. A rough estimate indicates that the "going rate" of this expense in the United States this year will be about \$2 a vote.

We are not talking about buying votes in the sense of bribery. We are talking about what it will cost to persuade 60 per cent of the eligible voters to use their franchise in local and national elections. But without direct bribery the buying of influence may be involved. For if a political party must have money to get out its votes and must depend for such funds chiefly on large givers, its ears are likely to be especially tuned to the views of those givers.

In another column on this page appears a summary of nonpartisan studies which show how this system operates in both parties. The best answer of the citizen who decries this situation is not denunciation of the big givers—although more publicity on such gifts would help. The best answer is to arouse potential little givers to furnish the bulk of campaign funds and so end the dependence of the parties on the big givers.

This is a favorite project of reformers. The trouble is that it is costly in time and money to collect campaign funds in small bits. But the Gallup Poll recently reported that 17,000,000 American families would give \$5 each to party campaign chests. This \$85,000,000 might be more readily collected than has been thought. Much might be offered voluntarily if it were better understood that every dollar so provided cuts down the power of the influence buyers and renders government more responsive to the individual citizen's vote—more truly democratic.

Bipartisan Collaboration

Mirror of World Opinion

The second year of budget balance under the Eisenhower administration is shaping up into a prime campaign issue. The Republicans will point to it with the pride of accomplishment. The Democrats will attempt to belittle it and attribute it to a neglect of the public welfare and the national defense.

But the fact remains that, whatever the circumstances, the budget is in balance and a modest surplus has been created. It represents the reversal of a trend toward deficit financing which had brought great disquietude to conservative observers and had raised the national debt to a staggering \$275 billion.

In part the Eisenhower achievement is due to a high state of business activity, which has kept employment and earnings high and the taxes rolling in. But it is also true, as Treasury Secretary Humphrey has pointed out, that even with higher tax receipts from a prosperous economy the favorable budget position would not have been possible without the substantial reduction in governmental expenditures which has been accomplished.

The campaign issue boils down to one of whether the budget should have been balanced, whether tax cuts are more desirable than reduction of the national debt, whether operation within income is as important as the extension of public services.

Democratic Candidate Stevenson already has joined the issue. From his Illinois farmhouse the other day he implied that the budget balance "was certainly an accurate reflection of what interests the Republican leaders most—not the education of young children, not a fair break for farmers, not the growing menace of communism in the world, not America's waning influence, but a balanced budget."

It is possible to wish that keeping to a sound fiscal program were not so much a matter of contention between the two parties, for it is a basic economic fact that no government can forever manage to spend more than it receives in revenue without ruining and bankrupting its people. When the budget should be brought into balance may be debatable, but whether it should be balanced is not. The temptation to operate at a deficit, by increasing the national debt and the interest charge on it, to provide services a lot of the population may want is unquestionably strong, but it is dangerous.

Mr. Stevenson is not saying that he prefers deficit financing as a way of governmental life, but neither is he suggesting an increase in taxation, and the promises contained in the Democratic platform can not be fulfilled without costs. This time, we think that the Democrats in their campaigning could safely adopt a policy of "me too" with respect to the budget. The implication of their belittling the Eisenhower program in that regard is hardly reassuring. Regardless of what the American people would like to have from their government, there are financial limits to the government's ability to supply it even as there is a limit to the ability to tax and be taxed. It would make for a more responsible campaign if this were recognized. —Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

News From Around Nebraska

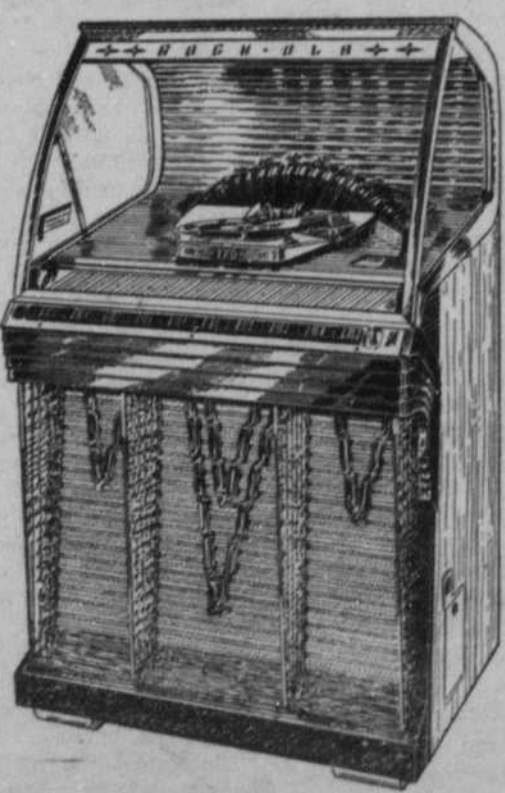
The Antelope Memorial Hospital at Neligh, Nebraska held a "Baby Alumni Party" last week to which all mothers who had given birth to babies in the hospital were invited. The babies were guests too which resulted in quite a collection of youngsters of all ages. Sixty-five mothers and their babies participated which meant that 65 yelling, running, screaming, crawling and crying babies must have made up the other half of the assemblage. The Neligh Leader, somehow, got everyone to sit still long enough to get a picture.

A new food store opening at Aurora last week gave away a used car filled with groceries. The car was a prize given away to the person who could write a fifty word letter telling why "I like to shop in Aurora's new Red and White Store." The News-People carried a full section of congratulatory ads for the new store.

Farmers in Dakota County are confronted with a new hazard, the Dakota County Star has revealed. Huge cavities are appearing in the fields and farmers are damaging their machinery when they drive into them. One crew, cutting alfalfa for dehydrating, drove their machine into a hole which was four feet wide, damaging their machine and requiring repairs. Similar holes have been found in many other fields. The huge cracks, which get wider as the hole gets deeper, are attributed to dry weather in the area.

Voters at Hildreth, Nebraska, voted against a bond issue for \$180,000 last week, the money to have been used for a school building expansion. It was the second time the matter had been on the ballot and had lost both times. The proposal was to provide new gymnasium space, kitchen, offices and other extra-curricular areas.

Seven hundred fifty pheasants, 14 weeks old, have been turned loose in Merrick County around Central City, the Republican-Non-partisan reported last week. This was in addition to 1000 birds which were turned loose last spring. The pheasants were furnished by the Nebraska State Game Commission and were released in five different spots around the county.



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Drilling for oil in Saunders county has started again near Mead, according to the Wahoo Newspaper. The work had just started last week with the drill being down but 100 feet at the time the newspaper reported on the progress. Geologists say it is the most likely location between Wahoo and Fremont. Some cave-ins of the earth in the early stages of the drilling, held up work much of the first week.

A crew of men are stationed at Arapahoe making a topographic map of the area for the United States Geological survey. The work is done partly by ground surveys and from aerial maps of the area, the Public Mirror at Arapahoe stated.

The Lyons Chamber of Commerce and a number of the Lyons Business men have gone all out to congratulate and welcome a new bowling alley to town. The new business is housed in a building especially built for the purpose. There are ten alleys with automatic pin setters and underlane ball returns. The Lyons Mirror-Sun says that it is one of the most mechanized alleys in all Nebraska. Special prizes were given to the best bowlers last Friday and Saturday and Lyons merchants gave away 40 door prizes of merchandise to those who attended the first day openings.

Six Hooper businesses announced in the Hooper Sentinel last week that they have decided to discontinue the use of trading stamps. They announced in an ad that the cost of the stamps was high and that they would prefer to pass the savings on to their customers. They also pointed out that money spent for stamps was money which went out of their community and that the equivalent passed on in lower prices would remain with the Hooper folks.

Out in the western part of the state near Bridgeport, grass fires are plaguing rural fire districts. Four runs were made in four days last week, the Bridgeport Blade revealed. Lightning set fire to one patch which destroyed 35 acres. A smoldering cigarette is believed to have caused another and others were started by unknown manners. The extreme dryness of the grass is blamed for the fires.

Pawnee City turned out to honor a family doctor by the name of Boyer last Sunday. More than 2000 persons were expected and every civic organization in the community was taking a part in honoring the man who had served the community.

Wm. Perkins

William Perkins, age 54 years, of Laramie, Wyoming, expired Monday September 17, 1956 at a local hospital.

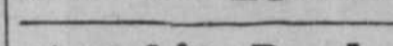
He was an employee of the U.P. railroad Co. for the past 14 years. Mr. Perkins is survived by 2 daughters, Mrs. Mary Louise Stuart and Mrs. Mozetta Moore both of Omaha; 2 step-sons, Melvin Essex and James Mansfield, Jr., both of Omaha; 2 brothers, Lawrence Lee Robinson and Cecil Perkins both of Omaha, and a very dear friend, Mrs. Janie Smith, of Laramie, Wyoming.

Funeral services were held Friday September 21, 1956 at 2:00 p.m. from the Myers Funeral Home Chapel with Rev. J. H. Reynolds officiating. Interment was at Mt. Hope Cemetery.

Pallbearers Messrs. Woodrow Nash, Reynold Jackson, Wilton Adams, Wendell Johnson, Freddie L. Brown and Charlie Reed.

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Article in Reader's Digest Reveals Jittery Pre-Menstrual Tension Is So Often a Needless Misery!

Do you suffer terrible nervous tension—feel jittery, irritable, depressed—just before your period each month? A startling article in READER'S DIGEST reveals that pre-menstrual torment is needless misery in many cases! Thousands have already discovered how to avoid such suffering. With Lydia Pinkham's Compound and Tablets, they're so much happier, less tense as those "difficult days" approach! Lydia Pinkham's has a remarkable soothing effect on the source of such distress. In doctors' tests, Pinkham's stopped... or strikingly relieved... pain and discomfort! 3 out of 4 women get glorious relief! Taken regularly, Pinkham's relieves the headaches, cramps, nervous tension... during and before your period. Many women never suffer—even on the first day! Why should you? This month, start taking Pinkham's. See if you don't escape pre-menstrual tension... so often the cause of unhappiness. Get Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound... or convenient new Tablets which have blood-building iron added. At druggists. *By named doctor.

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The Bell Tolls

By Leonard H. Bell

Today we are living in an era of discourtesy. Parents are discourteous to their mates and of course, to their children. Children, naturally are discourteous to both their parents and to others.

Pedestrians are discourteous to pedestrians and to drivers. Drivers are discourteous to pedestrians, each other, and to the forces of law and order.

In fact, this studied stream of discourtesy that now seems to be so prevalent throughout the United States appears to be following a pattern of preparation for coming strife.

A hardness of the souls of men, begotten by shallow universal cynicism; molded into molten steel, by the succumbing of our national life to the petty spirits of the age. In such manner throughout the ages, man has lost his sense of moral and spiritual guidance and values. He has laid aside his Bible, his practice of the Golden Rule, the Ten Commandments have become just a mere jargon of indecipherable biblical words to him. He has mentally retraced his steps to the dark ages of life's crudities, where constant strife and glorified cruelty prevailed, and men were unaware of the true brotherhood of man.

As a leader in the world today in democracy, (or rather the principles of democracy), in finance.

in industry, in progressive science and medicine, and presumably in goodwill, we should be fair to ourselves and confess that we do indeed make a very poor showing.

Our former good impulses toward others seem to be lost. Actually, we seem to have none for each other. The barbarities of life have come into prominence and popularity in our daily life, our national life and in our international life.

Progress into the realm of the atomic era is no excuse for this default of human values. Then why have we hit the trail of regression? What has motivated us to join in a universal conspiracy to destroy our cultures, our great institutions, our worldwide known sense of justice and fair-play, our charity toward all and practices of malice toward none? Is it because we do not practice that democracy that we are trying to sell both ourselves and the world? Is it because we have mathematically and theoretically worked out the principle of democracy to the nth degree, without carrying our formula into the laboratory for practicalization?

Whatever it is, something has brought about this cataclysmic collapse of progressive American moral and spiritual values.

Our conclusions might well be that this return to the dark ages, in thought, in action and in guidance could be blamed on our present leadership - locally and nationally.

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