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### Williamsburg Voice of Democracy

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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to take such a step which would take the initiative away from the Communists in that part of the world.

The hour in Asia is very late. We have entered a crucial 6-month period wherein the future of the Far East and the ultimate security of America may be determined.

This month we celebrate the birthdays of two great Americans, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

In his day George Washington represented the spirit of the new America that overcame the dark days of Valley Forge and brought us through perilous times to the creation of a new constitutional Republic.

Abraham Lincoln furnished inspired leadership to the Nation at a time when we were passing through the convulsions of a great Civil War. He recognized that our Nation could not continue half slave and half free.

In this atomic age in which we now live, we face challenges and dangers which may be even greater than confronted these great leaders.

I have a deep conviction that if we show the same courage and commonsense they demonstrated in their time and place, the same reliance upon divine guidance they demonstrated in their darkest hours there are none of these domestic problems which, as free people, we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

### The Voice of Democracy Contest

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, yesterday the distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPEL] introduced to the Senate the four winners in the Voice of Democracy contest.

I had the privilege of addressing these young people and the other contestants in the contest, at Williamsburg, Va., on last Saturday evening. At this time I should like to invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that the contest is sponsored by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, the Radio-Electronic-Television Manufacturers' Association, and the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. The meeting in Williamsburg was attended by the winners in 38 States. It was a fine demonstration of a democracy workshop in action. I therefore ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a copy of my speech on that occasion.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Tonight on the other side of the world men in mud forts ringed with barbed wire are standing watch for freedom. This is Indochina, and here is being waged a strange, savage war which may yet touch the life of each of us in this room. Here at stake are important economic resources—rice, tin, oil, and rubber. Here also at stake are the more important human resources—the free men, women, and children who are our allies in a struggle for security and self-respect in Southeast Asia.

This weekend you young people have talked of our form of government as it operates here at home. This evening let me

turn to the role of our Government abroad. Does the heritage of Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and George Mason offer us counsel in our new era of crisis? I believe that it does. I believe that this counsel can guide us even as darkness falls on mud forts in a land of which our forefathers had never heard.

No one—not even a Member of Congress responding to your interest and your hospitality—should attempt to guess the probable advice of our early patriots on any specific issue of today.

Mr. Jefferson, for example, has been quoted often and irrelevantly through the years to suit both sides of many issues. Yet it is possible, I believe, to underscore at least three principles which link our own times to those of Williamsburg when a new nation was being born.

The first common principle is that our conduct of foreign affairs must be based on a realistic and informed appraisal of the effect of events abroad on our own security and self-interest.

Our forefathers were acutely aware of this interdependence of national and international interests. News was slow to travel and often hard to acquire, and yet our political leaders were then remarkably well informed. Almost all the space in the Virginia Gazette and other early papers was given to reports from overseas. Benjamin Franklin was constantly concerned with the climate of opinion abroad. Washington was frank to acknowledge that American independence could not have been won without French aid and continuing sympathy for the American cause within Great Britain. And for the first quarter-century after freedom was won, the domestic policies of the young Republic were shaped chiefly by developments abroad.

Today, we are forced again to recognize this interdependence. The world has shrunk.

When I was a boy in Montana the oceans were broad barriers and the sky over my head was free. Today, man can fly anywhere in the world in 50 hours—tomorrow perhaps in 25; there can be no guaranty for men anywhere against assault from the air. This threat has been compounded by the atom bomb and now the hydrogen bomb, and there is already talk of a cobalt bomb far more deadly and less expensive to produce than either.

The similarity between our interest in international affairs in the 1700's and our interests in international affairs today to me is fascinating. Then our fledgling democracy's chief concern was the ambition of predatory nations. Today it is the same in many respects. The chief difference, of course, is that then we were weak and now we have great strength, and the capabilities and responsibilities of the weak are necessarily less than those of the strong. But neither in those days nor in these could we live apart—or go it alone—however much we wanted to.

Let me add that there is no easy and simple answer to the problems of today, any more than there was an easy and simple answer to the problems of the Virginians who gathered in this patriot headquarters. When I taught history at Montana State University, I sometimes felt sure of a few answers; when I came to Washington and struggled with issues at first hand, I learned how really difficult answers could be. It is easy to be critical, to condemn, to call the other fellow a muttonhead. But it is difficult to find the lasting solution.

The second principle common to the 18th and 20th centuries is the resistance to oppression . . . mental, physical, spiritual. In a sense, men have always struggled for self-government and freedom, as well as for military, political, or economic power.

Today—when brainwashing and thought control are the scientific weapons of totalitarians—how applicable is Jefferson's pledge

of eternal hostility to any form of tyranny over the minds of men. And how applicable George Mason's ringing phrases in the Virginia Declaration of Rights:

"That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

Today, when nations under new-won freedom from a colonial status are groping for effective democratic forms of government, you have a new measure of respect for the who shaped our own Constitution. Today when there is too often only silence a rumor behind the no man's land which separates the free world from the slave world, you must say a prayer as fervent as that of any of our forefathers in behalf of the freedom of the human spirit. We are impelled now, as we were impelled then, by what Washington called an innate spirit of freedom.

The third principle which most Americans have shared over the years is that in times of crisis political partisanship must be subordinated to the public good. In his Farewell Address, Washington warned against "the baneful effects of the spirit of party." He said that party faction "serves always to distract the public councils, enfeebles the public administration, agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, [and] kindles the animosity of one against another." This is a message which ought to be read again and again against the headlines of today.

Subject all important issues to the keen test of debate—yes; limit freedom of speech and opinion—never. But let us be responsible in what we say. Let us not search for a scapegoat in order to divert attention from the real issue or to camouflage insincere purpose. Argument, discussion, the exchange of views, whether the form is oratorical or conversational—these are the proper, tried and proven tests of soundness. But let the tests be honest, not devices of demagoguery. No true citizen of a true democracy seeks to curb difference of opinion and debate, but the times cry out again for the spirit that animated our first President almost two centuries ago. We must learn now, as our predecessors learned then, to live above our political prejudices.

This weekend we honor George Washington. As we grope together in America today for solutions for the many problems of both foreign and domestic policy, let us remember a single episode at Valley Forge. You all recall the peril of the winter encampment. The ragged Continental troops were short of fuel, short of food, short of ammunition, and—even more serious—short in moral. They asked Washington if there was more they might put on which would rouse their spirits. For Washington, there was only one choice—Addison's Cato, which he recalled from his youth at Mount Vernon and which he had read in company with his beloved Sally Fairfax.

The most significant lines in the play are those spoken by Cato's son Portius, whose "steady temper" was so much like that of Washington himself. Portius promises to rouse the spirits of the Roman soldiers in words which breathe the essence of Washington's own philosophy. Turning to his comrade in arms, Sempronius, Portius says:

"I'll animate the soldiers' drooping courage  
With love of freedom, and contempt of life;  
I'll thunder in their ears their country's  
cause

And try to rouse up all that's Roman in  
'em.

'Tis not in mortals to command success—  
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll de-  
serve it."

We can never, in Washington's day or in ours, command success, no matter what our strength. We must, in all humility, deserve it.

If, then, we can agree that we were then and are now a nation which cannot avoid a responsible role abroad; if we agree that our two times of crisis are linked by common issues at stake; if we agree that we again require statesmanship which transcends party; and if, in the language of Washington, we are prepared to merit success, rather than command it; then we have here this week-end paid effective tribute to those patriots who once made Williamsburg their capital. History viewed in this perspective is not a dead exhibit, but a living process which should enter our lives and our decisions. If we look at history this way, Williamsburg becomes a living adventure in history, and a place where the present and future truly learn from the past.

## The Problems of the Living Theater

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk a brief statement which I have prepared on the problem of the living theater in the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that this statement, together with a stimulating address delivered before the National Association of the Legitimate Theater by the distinguished past chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, Mr. Ralph E. Becker, of Port Chester, N. Y., and Washington, D. C., be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WISCONSIN CONFERENCE OPPOSES THEATER TAX  
(Statement by Senator Wiley)

I recently heard from Mr. Ronald C. Gee, executive secretary of the Wisconsin Idea Theater Conference relative to the continuing heavy burden which the Federal admissions tax imposes upon the living theater in our country.

As we are all aware, the theater is an indispensable element in American culture.

It may not be generally realized that the present 20 percent tax involves more than simply the problem of the professional theater.

There are, for example, 1,858 college and university nonprofessional groups. I am proud that one of the finest such groups is our own University of Wisconsin Idea Theater.

There are 26,900 high school theater groups, over 1,400 community groups and over 111,000 miscellaneous amateur groups.

All of these are indirectly vitally affected by the revenue problems of the professional theater which, unfortunately, has been declining very seriously in recent years.

In other words, so long as young people in high school or college or community plays can look forward to the possibility of entering upon a stage career, they will be particularly encouraged in their nonprofessional theatrical activity.

But they now see in the world of the professional theater, a drastic drop in attendance; mass unemployment of actors; and all economic blight generally.

The American Educational Theater Association is but one of the many groups interested in this problem. It consists of over 2,000 members in every State of the Union, and at all levels of instruction, including children's theater, primary and secondary school theaters, college and university theaters, and community theaters.

UNITED STATES DOES NOT BELIEVE IN THEATER  
SUBSIDY

The United States is the only major country in the world where the living theater is not regularly subsidized by the National Government.

We still rightly believe that our private enterprise system is and should be sufficient to look after the cultural needs of our people without Government subsidy.

We see no reason for such subsidy, but at the same time, we know that tax conditions must be favorable for the private enterprise theater to continue.

ADDRESS OF RALPH E. BECKER, DELIVERED DECEMBER 27-29, 1953, ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE LEGITIMATE THEATER, INC., AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE THEATER LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY THEATERS, SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, NATIONAL THEATER CONFERENCES, AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL THEATER ASSOCIATION

The National Association of the Legitimate Theater, Inc., has retained me as its counsel in Washington. I am presently engaged, in its behalf, in a program which has for its objective the repeal of the Federal excise tax on legitimate theater admissions, including both the professional and nonprofessional theater throughout the country. The association was organized more than 20 years ago for the general welfare and preservation of the American living theater.

As you know, the legitimate theater—the American living theater—includes all presentations of both plays and musicals where live performers, whose roles develop the theme of the play or musical, are actually present and acting before an assembled audience. This term is also used broadly to include all groups and individuals, both professional and nonprofessional that present such plays, and all theaters used principally for the staging of such attractions.

As defined, the living theater is thus not confined to Broadway in New York, but includes many thousands of amateur and professional groups located in each of the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories. As such, it involves many thousands of people who earn their living in the theater and it provides entertainment to many millions who, as audiences, enjoy the living theater.

The living theater has always played a basic cultural and entertainment role in the United States. From the opening of the first theaters in Philadelphia and Williamsburg, more than 200 years ago until the present time, the theater has been the outstanding medium of culture and entertainment. It has served both as a training ground and as a final goal for artistic talent in all major entertainment media. Community groups and stock companies have provided invaluable experience from which the most talented may graduate into all other fields of entertainment.

This tax is a war tax. It was first imposed at the rate of one-tenth of admissions prices in World War I. Congress promised its removal after the war but it was not removed. It continued without abatement until World War II when, in 1944, it was doubled to one-fifth of the admissions prices. Again a promise of removal and yet the tax continues—it would seem forever.

Effective November 1, 1951, the Morano bill granted discriminatory exemption from the excise tax for certain nonprofessional, educational, and charitable entertainments, in-

cluding the operas, symphonies, and certain other functions. That is the only inroad to date on the admissions taxes.

In effect, this war tax means that every fifth seat throughout the house is roped off for the Federal Government. The American living theater cannot afford this war tax.

As an outsider, I consider it to some extent presumptuous to talk to you about the economic conditions in your industry—the American living theater. Until I became engaged in this present program, like all outsiders I had no idea of the economic distress in which your industry finds itself. Just as in any industry the views of an outsider, however, are sometimes most helpful and this is particularly true in the case of the legitimate theater industry since Members of Congress—in whose hands possible relief lies—are outsiders. They see the hits—the great money-making shows like South Pacific and Oklahoma. They buy tickets at premium prices for these hits, and for that reason think all is well and much money is being made in the theater. Figures which the outsider does not and which most Members of Congress do not know point dramatically to a sorry showing.

Only 63 professional plays and musicals were presented on Broadway in New York City last season, compared with an average of 108 productions in each of the past 22 years. This represented a decline of 68 percent from the 195 plays produced even during the depth of the depression in 1931-32.

One authority states that costs of production have quadrupled in the last 12 years while in New York City admissions prices have been raised 28 percent for drama—37 percent for musicals. One of the odd results of this situation is a recent musical play that played over 90 weeks both in New York and on tour, but nevertheless lost \$30,000. Conditions do not permit the further raising of prices. Attacked by the tremendous unfair competition of admissions tax-free entertainment such as radio and television, the theater has become further crippled. Excise tax relief in 1951 to the nonprofit and educational operas, symphonies, and certain other entertainments has only intensified such competition. Yet the theater is the very heart of the entire entertainment industry. Without it, motion pictures, radio, and television would suffer.

In the past 30 years the number of legitimate theaters has been reduced by over 100 percent. Practically no new theater has been built in over 25 years. Since 1930 the number of legitimate theaters in New York City has dwindled from 68 to 29. Since 1937, in New York City alone, 14 former legitimate theaters with a normal seating capacity of 16,955 have been taken over for either radio broadcasting or television performances. These theaters, as well as countless studios throughout the country where broadcasting or telecasting are carried on, are filled several times each day by tremendous audiences that are not only seeing entertainment without paying for it, but for which the Government is deriving no revenue in the form of taxes. It is live entertainment they are seeing too—the sort we provide, and not films, kinescope, or any other mechanical forms of reproduction.

There are some who say that relief lies in subsidy from the Government. The United States remains the only important country of the world which does not recognize the theater as an invitation worthy of subsidy from national funds. Even England, in the midst of her postwar financial troubles, recently appropriated the equivalent of \$4 million for the establishment of a national theater.

It is worthy of note that in early 1949 a bill was introduced in Congress calling for Federal action in the promotion of theater arts throughout the Nation and requesting an appropriation for this purpose. The bill died in committee, but maybe the bill was