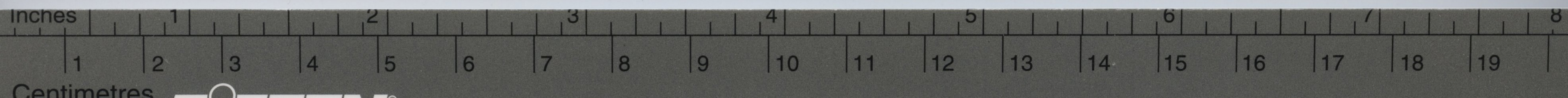
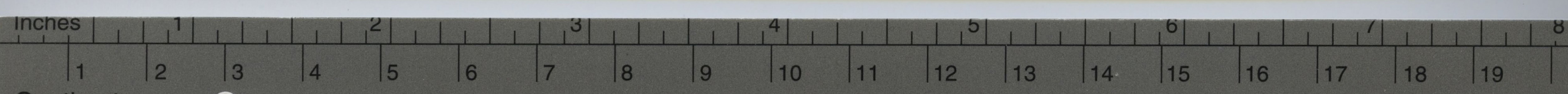
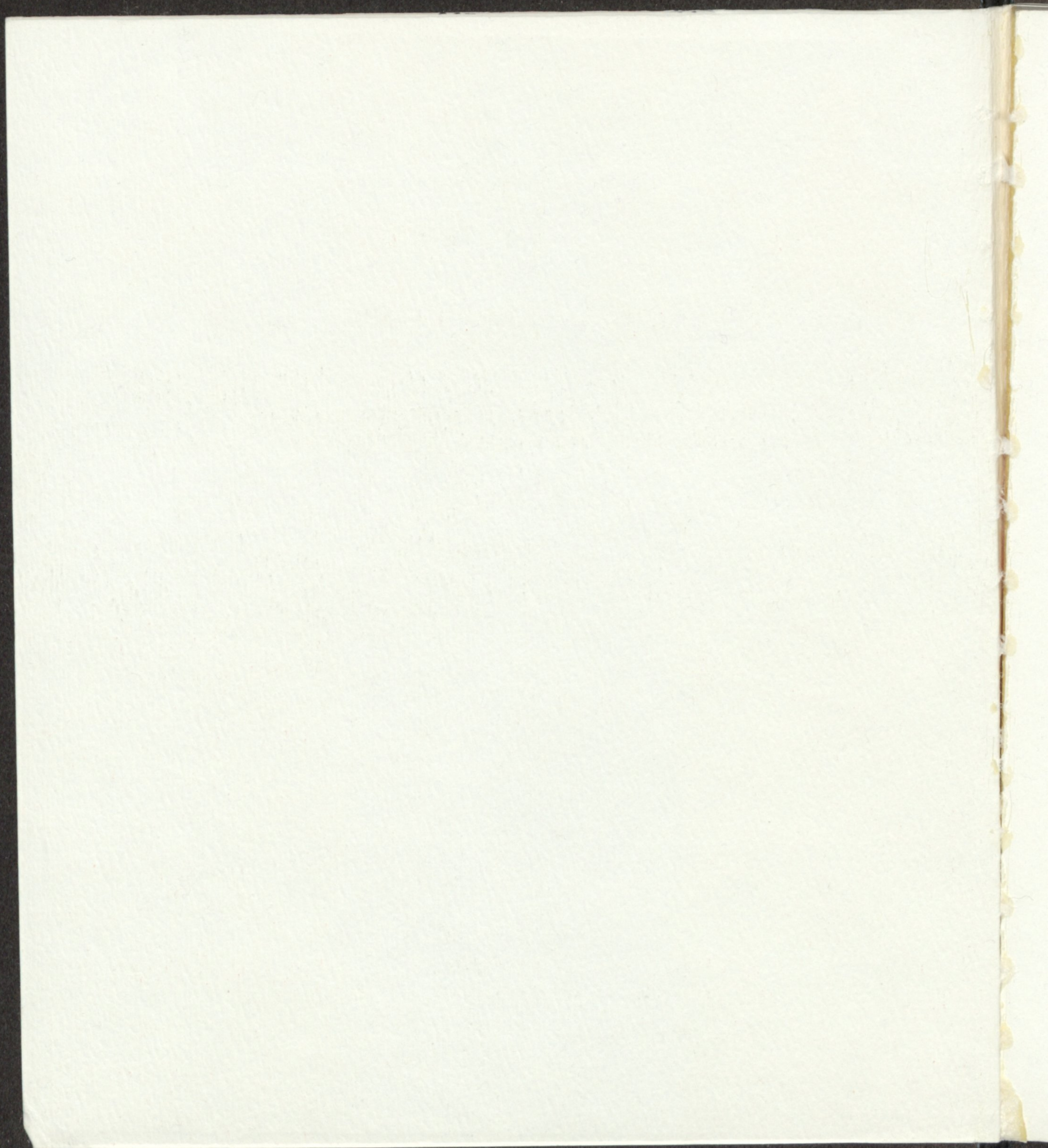


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**WE CHOOSE AMERICA**







*We  
Choose  
America*

*text by*

Thomas A. Williams, Ph.D.

*cartoons by*

Eugene Payne

Winner of the Pulitzer Prize



Hoover

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## *Foreword*

We are lucky people, you and I.

We live in a great land. And as we approach the two hundredth anniversary of its founding, we are more than ever aware of the strengths and blessings of our American way of life.

Two hundred years old, but as young and vigorous as ever, the United States today faces opportunities as great and challenges as difficult as any it has ever faced.

Everywhere the world is changing. An old world is disappearing and a new one is being born.

There are those today who proclaim that the tight reins of a marxist state hold the single key to man's future. Mankind, they say, can be better served by communism.

We reject this view and everything that underlies it.

Although this work focuses on differences between the American and the Russian systems of government, com-

My dear friend,  
I have been thinking of you  
very much lately and  
wondering how you are  
getting on. I hope you  
are well and happy.

The weather is very  
pleasant here today.  
I hope you are enjoying  
it as well.

Everything is going  
well here. I hope  
you are the same.

I have not heard from  
you for some time.  
I hope you are well  
and happy.

I hope you are well  
and happy.

I hope you are well  
and happy.

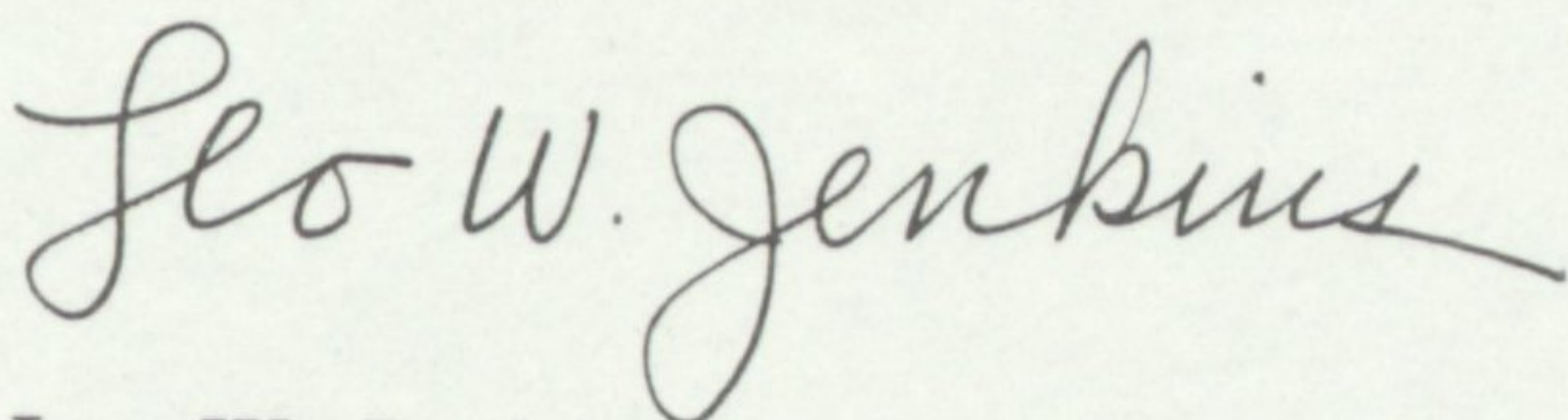
parisons with almost any country on earth would show the bountiful dividends of the American way.

We choose America.

Many outstanding individuals had a hand in the preparation of this publication. Pulitzer prize-winning cartoonist Eugene Payne did the series of remarkable drawings which illustrate the text. Professor Thomas A. Williams, of our Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures and Editor of Era Press, researched and wrote the text. Dr. Kenneth R. Whiting, a highly respected U.S. Government expert on Russian affairs, generously reviewed the final manuscript. We are especially indebted to Mr. A. J. Fletcher of Raleigh who through his love for America and his dedication to public service provided invaluable spiritual and material support for this project.

In the bicentennial spirit of reaffirmation of faith in our hard-won democratic ideals, we at East Carolina University are proud to dedicate *We Choose America* to the people of North Carolina. Its message is important to us all, and we hope for its widest possible distribution . . . especially among those young citizens in our schools who will build our American future.

God bless America!

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Leo W. Jenkins". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

Leo W. Jenkins  
Chancellor  
East Carolina University

## *Watergate*

A Russian Watergate?

Impossible.

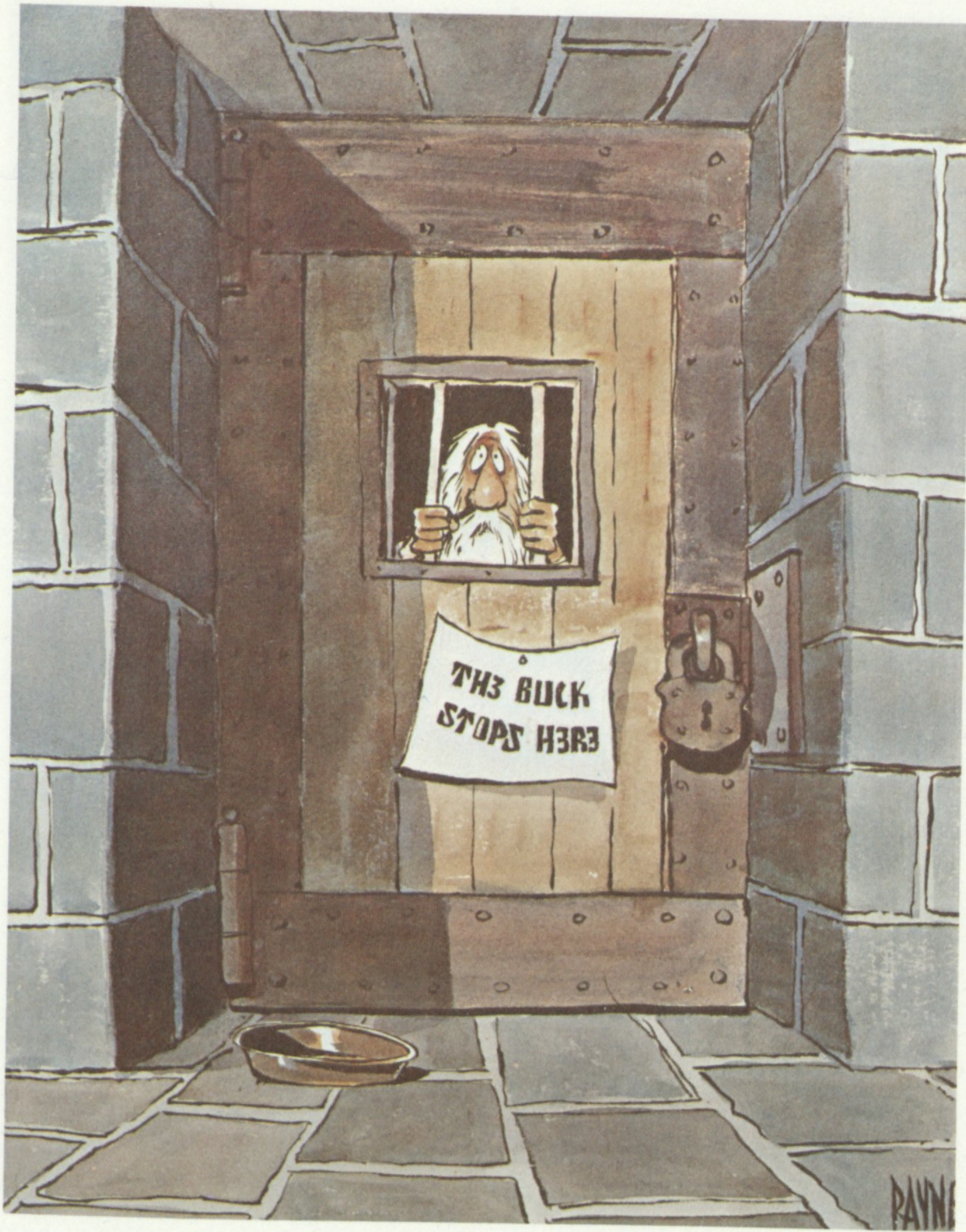
Stalin, for instance, never had a Watergate. Wealthy landowners thought he was abusing his power in the early days of the revolution. But there was no Watergate. There were also no more wealthy landowners.

There are government scandals, of course. And from time to time clear-sighted people discover them. The prisons in Siberia are full of such people. In Russia you don't solve a problem like Watergate. They have a more direct method. Imprison or liquidate the critics and the problem goes away. Like magic. No, to have a Watergate, you need a free press, a free legislature, and free courts.

Watergate? Don't apologize for it. Brag about it. Against all odds, the free system works.

Watergate included . . .

We choose America.



## *Freedom of Religion*

A Russian, the law says, is free to follow his conscience in matters of religion.

Except, of course . . .

That while a parent can be a Christian, he can be sent to jail for teaching his children to be Christian, too.

Children can be taught only Marxist atheism.

We choose America.



*“Now tell us what you know about Jonah and the Whale!”*

## *The Russians and Human Nature*

There is this problem in the Soviet Union.

Human nature, they find, can be downright non-communist.

Just when everyone is stuck in his slot and the State is operating smoothly, some individual will get fancy notions. He will want recognition, honor, reward according to his merit.

Such outrageous behavior worries the Party bosses. "The first thing we know," they say, "a man will want to make his own choices! He may even object to the way we run his business."

Like the time a factory manager decided he had had enough of Party interference. He refused to work. He was sentenced to five years in a labor camp. Still he refused. Then a ten year sentence. Still no work.

He was not brought to trial again.

He was shot.

This is the great communist experiment?

We choose America.



*“He’s our new ‘incentive plan’.”*

## *Getting Out*

You think it's hard to be a Russian?

It's even harder to stop.

In the Late 1940's a young United States Consular representative named Walter Stoessel applied for an exit visa for American-born Eleanor Iechepene. As a child, Mrs. Iechepene had been taken by her parents from America to Lithuania, which later became a part of the Soviet Union. Now she wanted to go back home.

Walter Stoessel returned to Moscow twenty-five years later as the new United States Ambassador. A now elderly Eleanor Iechepene paid a call on him. She was, she explained, still waiting for her passport.

Nikolai Shehelokov, Russian Minister of the Interior, scoffs at such problems as these. "Everyone who applies for an exit visa gets it," he recently assured a visiting American senator.

If that is true it is certainly news to Eleanor Iechepene and thousands of others who want out.

That's why . . .

We choose America.



*“Everyone who applies for an exit visa gets it.”*

## *The Long Wait*

Which system meets the needs of the people?

Last winter 10,000 housewives stood outside a Moscow store for as long as eighteen hours. When they finally reached the head of the line they were able to *get on a waiting list* to buy a simple rug for delivery a year later.

Which would you choose?

We choose America.



*"Its not the price, it's the waiting list I can't afford."*

## *Freedom of Speech*

Six o'clock.

Time for TV and the daily ration of news. Do you ever sit there and do a slow burn as New York-based commentators disagree with all your favorite views?

You do?

That's good. It means that the Bill of Rights is alive and well. You know, the part that goes "... And Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press ..."

You can start worrying when you *don't* hear contrary views freely expressed. Sure, we abuse this freedom sometimes, you and me and the commentators too.

In Russia, of course, nobody abuses the right to free speech. The reason is simple.

Nobody has any.

In Russia there's only one point of view, and that's the Party's point of view.

Russians listen carefully and hasten to agree.

The winters are cold in Siberia.

We choose America.



*"If you wish to make any last statement, we will be happy to provide you with one."*

## *A Russian Sunday*

Sundays are different in Russia.

The idea of a seventh day's rest, of time out for thinking about what a man is and what he owes his creator is a part of the very air we breathe. We can scarcely imagine a land where it doesn't exist.

But there is such a land. It's called Russia.

The only divinity the Party recognizes lies embalmed in a Moscow monument. If you're Russian and you feel the spiritual stirring within, you can always take the kids down to Lenin's tomb and spend a few minutes in silent, reverent awe.

The church of your choice, or the remains of V.I. Lenin.

Which do *you* prefer?

We choose America.



*"Certainly he performed miracles. He tripled the population of Siberia in just a few years."*

## *Wheels*

If you're a Russian and want a private car and the mobility it gives you, you'll have to wait.

Five years, on the average, for a Volga sedan or a Russian-made Fiat.

Now, I have this friend who sells cars right here in North Carolina. There's no wait, he assures me. It takes just a few minutes to make out the bill of sale. And he'll let you sit in your shiny new car while he's doing that!

Five years or five minutes?

We choose America.



*“The children are all grown now, Vaslav has a job in Kiev, and your car came yesterday”.*

## *Keeping It Going*

Once you get a Russian car your problems have just begun.

The trick is to keep it going.

The only factories more inefficient than the ones that make the cars are the ones that make parts to repair them with.

There are ten big service and repair centers planned for Russia. Only one is in operation. The others are still on the drawing boards.

Even harder than buying new parts is hanging on to the ones you've got. Windshield wipers won't last a weekend on a street-parked car. Tires disappear overnight.

The Russian *Literary Gazette* tells the story of a professor who left his car for repairs in a Moscow garage. When he came back to pick it up, the generator was missing, the seats had been replaced by an older set, and his steering wheel was gone.

"A man like that shouldn't own a car," the *Gazette* concluded sternly. "He is entirely too trustful."

We choose your friendly corner service station.

We choose America.



*"It's a ransom note . . . . They're holding my generator."*

## *Don't Touch That Dial!*

In America your automobile radio can be a problem. It forces you to make choices. Up and down the dial, over six thousand free and independent stations compete for your attention.

In Russia, the choice is easy. If you have a car, and if you have a radio, you can tune in only one station: the official government one. All your life, wherever you are, only one dull station.

It's all for your own good, of course. Free choice, the Russians know, can make a man unhappy with things as they are.

We'll make our choices and take our chances.

We choose America.



*“And now for the good news . . . .”*

## *Down with Washboards!*

I grant you, a washing machine won't necessarily make you a better person. But it won't hurt either.

Any old-timer can tell you that breaking your back over a washboard and tub is definitely a poor way to build character.

The American housewife certainly agrees. She likes free enterprise because it furnishes the things she needs. When she wants a washer, she goes out and buys one.

In Russia, things are different. Even if Ivan has space in his apartment for a washer, he may not be able to find one. There are only half as many washers as there are potential buyers.

Down with washboards!

We choose America.



*“Do you remember the washer I promised you?”*

## *Freedom of the Press*

Something important will happen this afternoon.

A young neighborhood capitalist will throw a newspaper on your front porch.

You always unfold your paper with expectation. You never know what you're going to see. Maybe you'll approve. Maybe you won't.

Your newspaper will print the truth as it sees it. Not as you see it or as I see it. Or as some political party or even the President sees it.

In America reporting the news is private enterprise. And private enterprise is free.

In Russia the news is not free.

Newspapers have only one message: the official party message.

That's why — editorials, comics, horoscopes, and all . . . .

We choose America.



*"... and then the editor said the article looked all right to him . . .  
That's him over there."*

## *Purchasing Power*

Want to gripe about inflation? About how hard you work to put a meal on the table? About the cost of shelter and clothing and gasoline?

Go ahead and gripe. It's an American tradition.

But let's keep things in perspective. The American system is having its problems, granted.

But when you consider the alternative . . .

- \* In the U.S. of A., a single hour of free enterprise labor will buy a basic cotton shirt. The Russian worker works fifteen hours for the same shirt.
- \* The average American worker puts in twenty-three hours for his best Sunday suit. The Russian, when he can find a suit at all, puts in one hundred and seventy-five.
- \* A dozen democratic, western eggs costs seventeen minutes. Twelve communist ones cost two hours and a half.
- \* A quart of milk from contented U.S. cows can be had for eight minutes of work. A quart of marxist milk costs thirty-one.
- \* Four and a half hours buys a go-to-meeting dress in America. In Russia the same dress costs seventy-five.

The answer is clear.

We choose America.



*“Is that the shirt you worked fifteen hours for?”*

## *Freedom of Assembly*

On the twenty-second of January, 1967, three young Russians - Vladimir Bukovsky, Vadim Delone and Yevgeny Kushev - held an open demonstration in Moscow's Pushkin Square. They were demonstrating in support of friends who had been arrested for publishing a non-authorized magazine.

Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution guarantees the right to peaceful assembly. It reads, in part:

*In conformity with the interests of the working people,  
... the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law:*

- a. Freedom of speech*
- b. Freedom of the press*
- c. Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings . . . .*

Yes, but . . .

As the secret police interpret the constitution, these freedoms do not include the right to criticize official government actions.

The Russian Secret Police accused Bukovsky and his friends of "slandorous statements against the social system."

The trial was a formality. The dissenters were found guilty. The sentences ranged from one year, suspended, to seven years at hard labor.

We choose America.



*“Now I recognize you. You won a literary prize or something.”*

## *No Trespassing!*

In 1973 the Party closed down Moscow's Mathematics School Number 3.

"The atmosphere," they complained, "was too free."

Why, some of the students had not only visited a synagogue but had even signed the guest register.

And one literature teacher was heard to tell his class that Alexander Solzhenitsyn was "the best living Russian writer."

Nobody goes to the Mathematics School Number 3 any more.

There's a chain across the door.

We choose America.



*“They’ve called a teacher’s meeting.”*

## *Medical Care*

Free medical care in Russia?

Let's take a closer look.

If you go to the hospital in Russia, you'd better have a family. They'll have to take care of you.

They'll have to bring you many of the special foods you may need, and even some medicines. Miracle drugs and modern antibiotics are not often available - except in the special wards for Party big-wigs.

And if you're old and sick you might as well stay home. You won't be very welcome in the people's hospital. Use *their* beds to die in? An unforgivable waste of space, hospital administrators say.

Let them die at home.

We choose America.



*“They rejected him!”*

## *Farms and Freedom*

Josef Stalin, after siezing control of the Russian government, "reorganized" Russian agriculture into a system of vast collective farms. According to Communist theory this *should* have increased production.

Unfortunately, you can't eat Communist theory.

It takes thirty-nine million Russian farmers to feed the Soviet people.

In America, three and a half million free enterprise farmers feed an entire nation and much of the world besides. The American farmer's productivity is unmatched in the history of the world.

Free enterprise or collectivization?

We choose America.



*"It makes a nice symbol, but it's a lousy way to farm."*

## *A Man's Home . . .*

A private home, economists tell us, is becoming difficult for the average American to own. Most young couples today will have to put off that home in the suburbs for a year or two.

For the moment they'll have to be content with a seven or eight room older home. Or maybe they'll decide to rent a brand new two-bedroom apartment. With appliances. And maybe even a swimming pool.

Just until they can do better, of course.

For the young Russian couple the situation is different.

The average Moscow couple may wait as long as two years to get married because they can't find a place to live. And when they *do* find a place, it's likely to be on a community basis, one private room with kitchen and bath shared with other families.

A Moscow man, married two years, wrote a plaintive letter to the magazine *October*. He and his wife and child, he complained, were sharing a single twelve by twelve foot room with another man and woman and *their* year-old child. "I have been married just two years," he lamented, "but I am an unhappy man. What chance is there to love or be loved under these conditions."

America has housing problems? Perhaps.

But would anybody out there trade with the Russians?

We choose America.



*“Just think, only two to a room!”*

## *Productivity*

Does the Communist system increase a worker's pride, efficiency, output?

The figures say no.

It takes 108 million Russians to produce less than half the goods that 74 million free American workmen can turn out.

Communist collectivism or American individualism?

We choose America.



*“What’s a recession?”*

## *Freedom of Movement*

In America if you want to move to another town you just pick up and go. You're free to move where you want, when you want.

In Russia, they know better. They understand that too much freedom is bad for a man. He might make a mistake. He might look out for himself just a little more carefully than he does for the Party.

So in Russia they protect a man from his own errors. If he wants to move his family from one place to another he has to ask Big Brother for permission. He has to have an *internal passport*.

It's all for his own good, of course. Helps the KGB find him in case they need him.

"The internal passport system," says one Soviet official benignly, "is just our way of helping the citizens exercise their rights."

It's all very friendly.

But with friends like that, who needs enemies?

Uncle Sam or Big Brother?

We choose America.



*"I was in the black market . . . . Selling road maps."*

## *An Easy Lesson*

No matter what the Communists do, they just can't seem to eliminate private enterprise.

Man to man bartering on the second-hand market is more active and more productive than standing in line at the State Store.

Personal incentive payments are necessary to increase industrial production.

Farmers are allowed to cultivate a small portion of their land for their own "cash crops." These small private plots, a mere fraction of the total land used in agriculture, account for *half of the food that the Russians consume.*

Could the lesson be clearer?

We choose America.



*"He's moonlighting."*

EUGENE G. PAYNE first began to delight his fellow North Carolinians with his editorial cartoons in 1956, when he went to work for the *Charlotte Observer*. He has been the recipient of many awards and honors, but the highlight of his career came in 1967 when he won both the Sigma Delta Chi Award and the Pulitzer Prize. In 1971 Mr. Payne turned his talents to television, a medium that at first glance did not seem to lend itself to editorial cartooning. The idea was an instant success, however, and the public's response has been heavily in favor of this addition to the television news. Eugene Payne lives in Charlotte with his wife and seven children.

THOMAS A. WILLIAMS, is a writer and teacher (Professor of Foreign Languages and Literatures) at East Carolina University. He is editor of *Era Press* and *The New East* magazine, and the author of books and magazine articles in the fields of biography, history, education and literary criticism. Born in Savannah, Ga., Dr. Williams has spent most of his professional life in North Carolina. He has taught at High Point College, Davidson College and East Carolina University.

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SINCE ITS FOUNDING in 1907, East Carolina University has had one single aim: *servire*, to serve. From that dusty October day so many years ago when the first class of excited students began filling its newly opened dormitories, the University has devoted itself to the education of our Tarheel sons and daughters for full and productive lives. The third largest University in North Carolina, East Carolina University has become one of the most vital, innovative and stimulating educational complexes in the South. Its goal remains as it was . . . simply, to serve.