

AMERICAN OPINION

CONTENTS

LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY

NOV 27 1958

EUROPEAN SURVEY

William S. Schlamm

WHY PEOPLE BECOME COMMUNISTS

The Editor

TAX REFORM TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA

Wm. J. Grede

COLD FACTS ABOUT DISCRIMINATION

Hubert Kregeloh

Other Articles And Regular Features

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume I Number I

FEBRUARY 1958

50¢

AMERICAN OPINION

Editor

ROBERT WELCH

Associate Editors

HUBERT KREGELOH
HANS SENNHOLZ
J. B. MATTHEWS
WILLIAM G. SCHLAMM

Contributing Editors

COLM BROGAN
MEDFORD EVANS
RODNEY GILBERT
EDWIN McDOWELL
ELIZABETH WILSON

Editorial

Advisory Committee

The following group of distinguished Americans give the editor comments and advice which are helpful in determining the editorial policy, contents, and opinions of this magazine. But no responsibility can be attributed to any members of this Committee for any specific articles, items, or conclusions which appear in these pages.

GEORGE W. ARMSTRONG, JR.
JOHN U. BARR
K. G. BENTSON
LAURENCE E. BUNKER
F. GANO CHANCE
JAMES L. COKER
KENNETH COLEGROVE
MARTIN J. CONDON, III
ROBERT B. DRESSER
CHARLES EDISON
WM. J. GREDE
FRANK E. HOLMAN
B. E. HUTCHINSON
ALFRED KOHLBERG
J. BRACKEN LEE
CLARENCE MANION
FRANK E. MASLAND, JR.
N. FLOYD MCGOWIN
W. L. MCGRATH
W. B. McMILLAN
ADOLPHE MENJOU
LUDWIG VON MISES
COLA G. PARKER
J. HOWARD PEW
J. LAWRENCE SHEPHERD
ROBERT W. STODDARD
ERNEST G. SWIGERT
A. C. WEDEMAYER
W. H. WILBUR
GEORGE H. WILLIAMSON

CONTENTS—FEBRUARY, 1958

European Survey	William S. Schlam	1
About South Vietnam	Hilaire du Berrier	7
A Review Of The News	Hubert Kregeloh	13
Why People Become Communists		15
Tax Reform To Strengthen America - Wm. J. Grede		28
Bullets		32
Cold Facts About Discrimination . Hubert Kregeloh		33
For Alfred Noyes		38
A Review Of Reviews	Edwin McDowell	39
Looking Both Ways	A Staff Report	44

January 2, 1958

Dear Reader:

A great American patriot has said that historians of the future, looking back on this period of America's gradual surrender to Communism, will marvel most at the lack of resistance of those who had the most to lose.

To do our small part to prevent that tragedy, we are trying to reach, with this magazine, the intelligent, hard working, prosperous business executives, professional men, and other direct beneficiaries of our Americanist system. It is our objective to bring to this audience not more *knowledge*, but a better *understanding*, of current events—when viewed against the background of the methods and menace of the Communist conspiracy.

Our concern with the Communist plot and plotters, however, will not keep us from looking with wide-eyed interest at other activities of a much too busy world. You will even find us laughing now and then. But the laughter will be mostly *with*, rather than *at*, our companions in this sometimes pleasant and always exciting caravanserai between birth and death.

Finally, despite our two years of experience with the predecessor of this publication, we are far from being professionals, as we are well aware. We ask your indulgence while we gradually learn the techniques that convert a sheaf of articles into a magazine. And we promise in return that, from the very beginning, we shall try our utmost to give you *your time's worth* in every page you ever read in AMERICAN OPINION.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

AMERICAN OPINION—is published eleven months in the year by Robert Welch, Inc., Belmont 78, Massachusetts, U. S. A. Subscription rates are five dollars per year in the United States and Canada; seven dollars elsewhere. Copyright 1958 by Robert Welch, Inc. We use almost no articles except those written to order to fit our specific needs, and can assume no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

FEBRUAR

EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mr. Schlamm, too well known to readers of conservative publications to need any introduction here, is in Europe. For the next several months he will send us from Europe, for each issue of this magazine, a concise review of current developments on that continent. This first article in the series was mailed from Vienna the middle of December.

EUROPE'S PARAMOUNT FEELING about America has perceptibly changed. It's no longer resentment. It's now contempt. Europeans speak about America, today, the way Americans used to joke about the Ruritania of operetta's never-never land — an old-fashioned and ludicrous realm, crowded with improbable characters, blundering busybodies and, on the whole, rather attractive boobs. And should anybody think this statement exaggerated, he ought to join me for a short stay in Vienna.

Now Vienna is without a doubt the least anti-American capital of the Continent. Nowhere else has Communist penetration been so thoroughly reduced, and the proverbially friendly people of this city still remember the American Army, that decisive balance against the Soviet tide, with gratitude and even private nostalgia. And yet, the last few weeks it was tough to be an American in Vienna. Even when he is used to the normal chilling haughtiness of Europeans, an American is simply unprepared for the humiliating pity he is currently shown wherever he goes. For the first time in several generations, Americans are considered, in Europe, the stuff operettas are made of. What brought

this about is, of course, "Spättnik" (Viennese for *Late-nik*).

For what happened was, as usual, the unexpected. In the eyes of the Continent, America has now proved itself incompetent in the one sphere where Europe had willingly conceded American superiority — in the area of technology. For decades the Continent had assumed axiomatically that America can out-produce, out-invent, out-engineer any European combination of technological prowess. And this, in the opinion of Europeans, was America's only claim to leadership. This claim has now been lost — completely.

The effect of the Soviet gain in launching the first earth satellite was bad enough. Never before had Europe — always jittery about the Communists' political acumen — been also afraid of technological Communist competence. On the contrary, the Soviet troops, still so shudderingly remembered here, were particularly ghastly because, in addition to moral barbarism, they displayed that notorious amazement about the simplest gadgetry of modern living. And, all of a sudden, the incredulous admirers of wristwatches were the first to leap into outer space! But incomparably worse,

European Survey

incomparably more catastrophic for the American position in the world, was the cumulative effect of these last four American weeks; the incredible weeks of loud advance boasting about a smaller satellite, followed by the launching fiasco of December 5 and 6 — the impact of which will be felt for years to come.

It is not the concern of this report (nor has a traveler so far away from home the required information) to contemplate the reasons for the blunder of the age. Its consequences for United States foreign policy (my subject) are obvious enough: The United States is considered, not only on the streets and in the cabarets but also in the chancelleries of Europe, disarmed, not quite worthy of firm alliances, and anyhow, for the moment, neutralized. There are even some serious statesmen in Europe who insist that, at least in the near future, an alliance with America will be a suicidal liability. Which, among many other things, means that the Eisenhower Administration, to continue its unimaginative Foreign Aid policy (and it has no other idea) will have to pay a tremendous special premium for the privilege of giving away United States money. As it is dangerous to be seen in American company, the escorts we keep soliciting will have to get special rewards. That slumming abroad gets more and more expensive.

Mr. Kennan To The Fray . . .

The Democrats seem to have set up an American Government-in-Exile in Europe, ostensibly headed by Mr. George Kennan who, indeed, is currently getting far more front-page space in the serious European press than both Dulles brothers, with Mr. McElroy

thrown in. Nor is one by any means certain that Mr. Kennan (formally on a year's fellowship at Oxford, England) speaks for the opposition only. His latest bombshell — a lecture on the neutralization of Germany that, for weeks now, remains the No. 1 subject for all editorialists and politicians of the Old World — detonated with overtones of tacit State Department approval. And it wouldn't be the first time that the Eisenhower Administration waits for a Democratic advance endorsement of a policy it intends to execute — if only to shift the responsibility from the Republican Executive to the Democratic Senate.

Mr. Kennan, speaking in London, addressed Moscow. He advanced, once more, the notorious program of all American "liberals" and appeasers as the great illumination of the post-Sputnik hour: Let us withdraw all NATO forces from West Germany if the Soviets withdraw their forces from Eastern Europe; and, once West and East Germany are reunited, such a new Germany should withdraw from NATO, disarm (for all practical purposes) and solemnly declare its status as an eternally "neutral" power. The Soviets, promised Mr. Kennan, could not very well reject such a universally satisfying settlement of not only all German but all European problems.

In this one promise, at least, Mr. Kennan proved to be entirely correct. Less than a week after his speech, Mr. Khrushchev (in an interview that, to my knowledge, has been criminally underplayed in the United States press) announced that he is prepared to "support" the Kennan proposal. Which to those who understand the nature of Communism, and the problems of Eu-

European Survey

rope, was like solemnly announcing that Mr. Khrushchev is in favor of caviar. The Kennan proposal (known in the United States, for the last ten years, also as the Lippmann Line) of course "offers" the Soviets exactly what they desire *most* — the "neutralization" of Germany, the only European power that could hopefully resist the next revolutionary onslaught of Communism. The Soviets keep troops in the satellite countries, not so much to bolster there the Communist regimes (which could be just as effectively done by Soviet "volunteers" in the satellite police forces), but to high-pressure West Germany into "neutralization." Messrs. Kennan, Lippmann, *et al.*, keep "offering" the Soviets their very strategic goal if, on *achieving* it, they would only renounce the (now utterly superfluous) tools of the preceding operation. It is like "offering" burglars the safe deposits of a bank, if they have only left the jimmies at home.

The Effect in Germany . . .

Yet the reverberations of Mr. Kennan's poor speech, I am sorry to report, were epochal. In the first place, the German Social Democracy, whose "neutrality" had been thoroughly trounced by Dr. Adenauer's electoral victory only a few months ago, immediately re-emerged with its seemingly abandoned policy of German and European suicide, as if rejuvenated by Dr. Kennan's injection. And once more German "neutrality" is an articulate and aggressive force in German politics. Moreover, all over Europe the crypto-neutralists are getting dangerously noisy. By some universal misunderstanding, Mr. Kennan's manifesto is interpreted as an almost official United States encourage-

ment to all appeasement factions in Western Europe. (And, as I said, I am not so sure myself that it is a misunderstanding.)

For instance, the London *Times* has, for the first time in years, openly supported a policy of neutralizing Germany; and it is a sinister habit of the London *Times* to anticipate in editorials what, a few months later, becomes the policy of His or Her Majesty's Government. True, the *Times* did not, in so many words, endorse the Kennan manifesto in its entirety. It confined its approval to the "practical" suggestion that, to condition the world for the forthcoming total "settlement," NATO should not build missile bases in Western Germany. But this, of course, *contains* the recognition of German "neutrality." For, if West Germany (to secure for her a special role in a Western deal with the Soviets) were to be released from armament responsibilities which other NATO members would still have to shoulder, regardless of any consequences to their security, then the *whole* Kennan sequence follows irresistibly. A West Germany without missile bases *is* neutralized. And if the forthcoming "summit" NATO Conference in Paris were to abide by Mr. Kennan's and the London *Times'* recommendations, the battle for Europe would be practically over.

The Effect In Spain . . .

Of all the European changes of voice none was more surprising (and perhaps indicative) than Generalissimo Franco's. In a peculiarly measured speech, to which he himself ascribed extraordinary importance, Franco not only congratulated the Soviets on their Sputnik hits but emphasized, with deliberate accents

European Survey

on the "theoretical" part of his speech, that such successes can be only achieved where the majesty of planning and "order" prevails. Generalissimo Franco, in short, was the first conservative statesman in Europe to build some kind of bridge from anti-Communist belligerency to "prudent mutual respect."

Franco, of course, has not changed one iota of his convictions. And he is, in all truth, not even so terribly impressed by the Soviets' technological advance, technology being just about the last thing to impress a true Spaniard. What has impressed the Caudillo is the American posture of shameful helplessness. Fifteen years ago Hitler, to his growing distress, noticed that Franco pays greater attention to the prevailing winds than to the pious homilies in the logbook; and, in steering the course for Spain, insists on safety first and friendships later. And just as the Generalissimo, in 1943, adjusted Spain's position to the still forming superiority of Allied power over Hitler's, just so, in 1957, he seems to give the next round of the current power game to the Soviets — and to adjust Spanish articulation, if not Spanish policies, accordingly.

No matter what the Caudillo utters in public, Spain remains one of the few true candidates for a sensible United States policy of firm alliances — simply because Spain cannot switch sides in the struggle against World Communism without a deadly spasm of renewed Civil War. The Caudillo, of course, knows this better than any one else. But he also knows that the American umbrella is gone; and that a small country like Spain had better protect itself, *coñte que coñte*, from the on-setting downpour.

Europe Is Prosperous . . .

The tremors that are currently shaking Europe are apparently of a new type. The Continent is more prosperous than it has been in an entire generation, or more; and the prosperity, to tell the truth, seems to be even sounder than that of the United States.

In Europe, to begin with, prosperity is not based on installment buying. The anticipation of future purchasing power is here still a widely unknown economic habit and, significantly, only a West Germany (that is, the only European nation to realize the normal tendencies of a free market) begins to exploit the possibilities of credit buying to the hilt. But though this optimistic self-propulsion of demand remains essential for United States prosperity, it is also structurally dangerous; any considerable drop in confidence can, in an economy based on installment buying, snowball into a buyers' sit-down strike and a serious clogging-up of sales channels. In this sense, the Europe that does not yet know the full blessings of purchases on consumers' credit does not know its menacing dangers either. Its prosperity looks somehow sounder and more stable than America's. It is visibly based on tremendous increases of productivity, stimulated by the urgent and vital demands of a war-torn Continent.

But Uneasy . . .

And yet, as I said, the tremors that vibrate underneath this Old World are very real. They are political — but "political" in a very profound sense. The Continent, though hardly anybody here is articulate about this, senses acutely the depth of the real dilemma. It is *not* that the West has yet to find its strategy for a possible clash with the

European Survey

Soviet East. The real dilemma is that the Soviets, more and more clearly, are bound to profit from what is loosely called "peace", and wish nothing as sincerely as its continuation. By the same token, the essential interests of the West ought to point towards a determined and aggressive policy of attack *that takes a calculated risk of war*. But how is a Christian civilization — and one that, contradictorily, is based on a concept of bodily comfort above all — to face such a challenge? How can such a civilization seriously contemplate a voluntary decision in the direction of *deliberate war risks*?

This dilemma, more than anything else, is at the bottom of the tremendous (though subconscious) uneasiness that a perceptive observer can notice everywhere in this indescribably attractive and livable Old World. It is, clearly, at the bottom of the deep-rooted skepticism that precedes the NATO Summit Conference in Paris. What could the profoundly frustrated leaders of the West possibly produce except another proof of their frustration? Paradoxically, *if* the Soviet intention were indeed war, even a paralyzed Eisenhower would, it is quite likely, lead the West into resistance. But what if the real Soviet intentions are "peace"? What if a continuation of that "peace" were to assure the Soviets of incessant progress throughout the so-called free world? What if the only rational alternative for the West were to *enforce*, therefore, a showdown, even if it meant war? The answer, of course, is embarrassed silence. There *is*, it seems, no answer to this nettle of a problem in a Christian and comfortable world. There certainly will be no answer forthcoming from the Summit Conference.

The Communists Wage War With "Peace" As A Weapon . . .

The Soviets are making the most of their historically superior position — a position, that is, which quite authentically equips them, and them alone, with the decisive propagandistic tool of the age, a maudlin insistence on "peace." Bulganin's letters to the heads of the British, French, German, Indian and United States Governments, on the eve of the Paris Conference, have petrified its proceedings in advance. The Summit Conference is bound to prove, rather desperately, that the West, "too," desires "peace" more than anything else. No matter what the Western Governments may invent to bolster the sagging Western confidence in NATO, the essential result of the wildly over-sold Paris meeting must be a further incentive to the central Soviet menace — the Communist ballyhoo about "peace." This fraud has, on the whole, produced absolutely staggering results during the last few years, in Europe, as well as in Asia and the Near East.

And Keep On Winning . . .

At the recent Moscow Conference of sixty-eight Communist Parties, on the occasion of the Soviet Revolution's fortieth birthday, the new Soviet deputy in charge of what used to be called Comintern, Michael Suslov, had a staggering and, unfortunately, quite correct figure to report: At the last get-together of International Communism, before World War II, forty-three Communist Parties were represented, with a total membership figure of slightly more than four million members; but last November, at the triumphant meeting in Moscow, seventy-five Communist Parties could be of-

European Survey

ficially counted, with a total membership of thirty-three million. This rate of growth — eight hundred percent in twenty years — is approximately also the rate of growth of Communist power throughout the world: Since 1938, Communism has conquered — beyond the confines of the Soviet Union proper — the eastern half of Europe, China, most of Southeast Asia, strategic areas in the Near East; and has established immensely portentous footholds throughout Western Europe, in India, Malaya, Korea, North Africa, and in South America.

Europeans, by no means dumb, keep asking themselves: Whence this apparently uncheckable advance of Communism? Is it just plain jinx that everything we touch goes wrong, and everything the Soviets touch turns into gold? One cannot speak for a few minutes to a serious person in Paris, or Brussels, or Munich, or Vienna, without hitting the central suspicion: That the key to the apparently unstoppable Soviet march is not the strength or persuasiveness of Communism but the catatonia of the West. ("Catatonia" is a European five-dollar word meaning a hysterical state of, usually fright-induced, motionlessness.) Even in the midst of the all-European derision about America's technological inadequacy in matching the Sputnik stunt, even in this general readiness to discount America altogether, no European in his right mind denies that the United States, if it *wanted* to, could make hash of World Communism. The point is that no European in his right mind considers even the possibility that the United States *would* want it. Nor does he, in his heart of hearts, *wish* America would. For he, if anything, is

even more paralyzed than the American by the essential dilemma that has crippled the whole West: The hazy recognition that only a posture that accepts war could save the West, while "peace" works for International Communism. From the horrors of that dilemma, the American flees into a nice economic boom; while the European, equally enjoying this unparalleled prosperity, flees into a skeptical anti-Americanism, underlined with a coquettish melancholia that Europeans, since the end of the Nineteenth Century, have loved to display in their lapel.

But Marx Loses One Point . . .

To end this first report on a gayed note (though the news will also arouse the righteous envy of United States taxpayers), Austria has just announced its reform of income tax. This lovely little country of about seven million people, hardly emerged from the destructions of a cruel war, and straining all of its resources to rebuild not only its industry but just its elementary housing — Austria has just *reduced* the income tax.

In the highest income bracket (one million Schilling, or \$40,000, and over) the income tax is now thirty-eight percent. *No Austrian can be taxed higher.*

It will also interest those Americans who, in 1952 and 1956, have voted for a Republican Party they thought to be the center and rally of conservatism, that the Austrian Government is a coalition of Christian Democrats and Socialists. In other words, an Austrian Socialist approves of income tax cuts of which alleged United States conservatives would not dare to dream. There is here a moral somewhere, but I shall contemplate it next month.

ABOUT SOUTH VIETNAM

by

HILAIRE DU BERRIER

In the November issue of ONE MAN'S OPINION we presented a rough index of the present degree of Communist strength — according to our estimate—in almost all of the nations of the world.

The final list on this scoreboard was of those few (and mostly weak) countries where firm, honest, and continued opposition to Communism could still be taken for granted. We began this roll call with South Korea and Formosa. But to the surprise of some of our readers, we did not include South Vietnam at all. This appraisal by omission was based on some serious doubts as to the true state of affairs in the Saigon government. The following article, which we had not seen at that time, and which is now reprinted by permission from the ECONOMIC COUNCIL LETTER, will help to explain and justify those doubts.

The author, Hilaire du Berrier, is a native of North Dakota. He has spent most of the years since 1937 in the Far East — three of them as a prisoner of the Japanese. He has been thoroughly familiar with affairs in Indochina under France, Japan, the Communists, and the regime that followed the fall of Dien Bien Phu. His article raises many important questions. Among them: Have some of the most ardent anti-Communists in America again been gulled by clever Communist propaganda, and by the machinations of Communist sympathizers within our government?

THE STORY OF DEMOCRACY'S FAILURE in South Vietnam is also the story of President Ngo dinh Diem. Theoretically the two came in together via the Geneva Accord of 1954. With them, as a result of military defeat at Dien Bien Phu, French influence ended and American began.

Diem was raised in the north, son of a nine-button Mandarin, or court official, under the Emperor Kai Dinh. He had little or no contact with the common people, was never a leader in any of the Nationalist parties that struggled for independence. Of his five brothers,

one was killed by the Communists. Thuc became a bishop. Luyen is now Ambassador to Britain. Can, known as the gangster, represents his brother along the northern frontier. Nhu, whose wife is known as the Eva Peron of South Vietnam, is in Saigon, as advisor to the President.

Life Magazine, usually not daunted by research, said of Diem on May 13, 1957, "Just how Ngo dinh Diem came to power has never been divulged." Hans Morgenthau, of the University of Chicago, spoke of him as "a man who two years ago was little more than a

About South Vietnam

name pulled out of a hat by a few desperate Washington officials."

How Ngo Came To Power . . .

The story is simple. In 1952 all Vietnamese Nationalists looked to America to drive the French out of Vietnam, as they had out of Syria. Every ambitious Vietnamese with mobility, i.e., the price of a ticket, wanted a passport to go to America and seek backing for a free Vietnam under himself. Diem was so insignificant that the French did not fear him. He had no party, was aloof, a devout aristocrat. When asked a question he usually answered to something else. They saw no reason to fear him, so he was permitted to go to America. In America he met a group of left-wing intellectuals who made him their protegee in "the struggle against colonialism." A professor who wanted to be an Orientalist took him up. A former Austrian Socialist leader, naturalized American, made Diem and Vietnamese independence his business. A small pool of intellectuals was formed to write articles glorifying Ngo dinh Diem, quoting each other as authorities. Justice William O. Douglas met the new "find" at a luncheon, at which Senator Mike Mansfield was present (see *Harpers Magazine*, January, 1956). The Senator had met Diem in 1953 and has been a consistent champion of his. Cardinal Spellman was reported to be behind him also.

Support In Vietnam . . .

At this point Vietnamese Nationalist leaders back in Saigon were ready to embrace him also. A stream of letters and clippings had come back to convince them that Diem had American support. Very well, if he could get

America to oust the French and, accepting Diem, for a time at least, was the price they had to pay, they were willing. He had no party; they could always put in a strong Nationalist later.

A French journalist named Lucie Bodard started boosting him. Bodard wanted an American-supported premise to push the fight against Ho chi Minh the Communist in the north. Though Diem's sole war effort during Japanese hostilities consisted of hiding Japanese from the French, Bodard never missed a chance to advance him.

Then came the crushing defeat at Dien Bien Phu in the spring of 1954. Prince Buu Loc was the last pro-French premier. Monsieur Georges Bidault suggested to the Emperor Bao Dai, then known as Chief of State, that he appoint Ngo dinh Diem, the man "the Americans wanted."

Appointed By The Emperor . . .

On July 7, 1954, Diem became premier of the southern half of his divided country. Roughly 11½ million citizens remained to him, against 13½ million under Ho chi Minh in the north. The Accord stipulated that the two Vietnamese vote in July, 1956, to decide under which camp they would be reunited. Southern Nationalists were not discouraged by the disparity in numbers. They were free at last, and they figured by mid-1956 enough northerners would be disillusioned by Communism to swing the vote their way.

On bended knees Diem swore allegiance to the Emperor. He promised the Empress to save the dynasty for her son, and boarded a plane for Saigon. Pope Pham cong Tac, leader of the Cao Dai sect, hurriedly gathered followers for a "spontaneous" demonstration

About South Vietnam

tion, to give the impression that the new President of the Council was popular.

So it was that a northerner, neither native to the south nor with a following there, came to govern South Vietnam on nothing stronger than the fact that a few American Marxist-socialists and some middle-of-the-road anti-colonialists and conservative Catholics were behind him. Vietnamese believed that America's being "in the game" was insurance enough against Diem's abuse of power or France's return.

Ngo Takes Over . . .

Their disillusionment was sudden. The leaders, for whom independence was their due, were pushed aside. No dissenting voice was tolerated, which left only sycophants and the President's brothers and in-laws eligible for office.

The ascetic, intolerant Diem felt himself more and more isolated. He became suspicious of everyone. He drew closer to his brother Nhu, whose hands held all the political threads of the country. Madame Nhu became the President's hostess. Behind Madame Nhu in a web of palace intrigue was the figure of her mother, Madame Tran van Chuong, formerly a Councilor of the French Union. Madame Chuong and her husband, one of Bao Dai's ministers, had amassed a fortune. With one daughter married to Diem's most powerful brother, the other daughter's husband was soon made Minister of the Interior, and Madame Chuong sent her husband to Washington as Ambassador. Vietnamese with even less voice in their government under Diem than they had under the French referred to their President as "the parachuted—dropped on them from above, by a foreign

power—without roots in their soil."

Native leaders were suppressed or driven abroad. American agents, advisers and political officers flocked into the country, but they were partisans of Diem the man, rather than of South Vietnam the country. The rule was that anyone anti-Diem was anti-American. If an anti-Communist Nationalist tried to alert the Americans, he was turned over to Diem's police. Wearing blinkers against the smouldering unrest, the insulated Americans replied to all criticism, "But there is no one but Diem."

And Consolidates His Rule . . .

Two political-religious sects, the Hoa Hao and the Cao Dai, had private armies and policed their own areas against Communist infiltration. Another private army, the Binh Xuyen, under General Le van Vien, controlled Cholon, the Chinese city where gambling flourished, just outside Saigon. Because of Le van Vien's reputation as viceking, the Binh Xuyen were attacked first. Then Diem moved on to break the Hoa Hao and the Cao Dai. To gain personal power Diem weakened and alienated these groups that could have presented a united front with him against Communism. He plunged the country into civil war, killing or exiling native leaders. Lopping off the tops of these three groups drove them into an underground alliance where they are still operating and, if anything, gaining strength. Time can prove that these moves were unwise.

Hate spread. To divert it, Diem started a campaign against the French, playing on old grudges. Short-sighted American officers joined in, running a popularity contest against the French.

About South Vietnam

It was unwise. The gains were short-term, on a purely local field. The alliance against the common enemy to the north was forgotten. One hundred thousand French troops were pulled home. Some twenty-five thousand civilians followed. Restaurants closed, twenty-five thousand Vietnamese were thrown out of work. Over night Saigon awoke to the fact that withdrawal of the French army, navy, and airforce was not to be followed by the arrival of an equal number of protecting Americans. The hundred and twenty-five thousand French that arrived in France, literally ordered out of Vietnam by Secretary Dulles in April of 1955, were bitterly anti-American, and a potential source of poison in NATO. Alarmed Vietnamese saw themselves suddenly defenseless. To flee the country they needed a passport with an exit visa. Ten thousand dollars or its equivalent in jewels became Madame Nhu's price for escape, according to them.

The Same Old Formula . . .

With the French gone, Diem lost his whipping boy. He had told the Emperor to stay out of the country and to let him handle things. He launched a campaign against the absent Emperor, raised a few hitherto unknown hangers-on to temporary importance on a Revolutionary Committee, under Nguyen bao Toan, Ho han Son, and Nhi Lang.

A constitution was promised, and a vice-president. Always just ahead was the promise of liberalization and a voice in government. Bodard, the journalist who worked two years to push Diem's appointment, had long since been expelled from the country. Very few of Diem's old friends remained. In the voting to decide whether Bao Dai or

Diem should run the country, Diem offered no alternative to himself, although the presidency were his to dispose of. Police made house to house visits "to instruct the voters." Ballots were green (unlucky color) on one end for Bao Dai, red (lucky color) on the other for Diem. No campaigning for Bao Dai was permitted. The ballot was torn in two, one end placed in an envelope (transparent), and a police man escorted the voter to the polls.

Back in America a high-pressure public relations firm, paid by the American taxpayer through aid money, literally flooded the country with glowing but completely false reports of Diem's popularity and South Vietnam's new strides towards democracy. The taxpayer was conditioned for longer and heavier appropriations.

And The Same Results . . .

Shortly after the Emperor was ousted the Revolutionary Committee disappeared. Nguyen bao Toan popped up in America, an exile. The skeleton of Ho han Son was found near Saigon in February of 1957. Nhi Lang is now in exile in Cambodia, harassed as an "anti-American."

March 4, 1956, was set as the date to elect a Constituent Assembly to draw up the Constitution. Only "approved candidates" were permitted to run. On Dai Viet, a member of the anti-Communist party that had carried the fight for independence for years, managed to slip through the screening and was elected, but disappeared immediately afterwards. A special refugee village constituency was created for Madame Nhu; even so, she polled less than 5,000 votes out of a possible 25,000. Her refugee village is maintained, idle, or

About South Vietnam

American aid dole. Its inhabitants are available and used for the "spontaneous" demonstrations mounted for Diem's comings and goings and the visits of American VIPs.

When the hand-picked assembly had written the Constitution as dictated, it was turned into a legislative assembly, and a long list of decrees that have aided only the Communists and alienated Southeast Asia followed. The leader of the Dai Viet Nationalists reached Washington through the aid of the American Ambassador to tell his story, but Senator Mansfield refused to see him. The black-out on all reports adverse to Diem was complete, but throughout Southeast Asia anti-American sentiment was on the rise.

One by one Diem's enemies and opposition leaders were lured for talks, under truce, and nabbed. In mid-1956 such a trap was set up for Bacut, the Hoa Hao leader, by Vietnam's then Ambassador to Tokyo, Nguyen ngoc Tho (arrested as a Communist in 1945 and father of a noted communist student agitator in Paris). Bacut was seized. Only one witness dared appear at his trial. He was summarily guillotined. The Hoa Hao swore to revenge their chief and are in open revolt today. As a reward for trapping Bacut, Nguyen ngoc Tho was made Vice President.

Communists In The Saddle . . .

As this is written, five other Southern Vietnamese are under sentence of death in Saigon. They came in voluntarily in response to pamphlets promising safe conduct. But on arrival they were told that there was a time limit to the offer and that it had already expired! It is a common observation that under the French a few Vietnamese were in

prison, now the number runs into thousands. Communists are running "universities" in the prisons.

In late 1956 Diem desperately staved off all native hate a while longer by passing a decree forcing nationality on all foreigners born in the country. It was retroactive, barred all who refused nationalization from eleven trades, and was directed against the million Chinese who control South Vietnam's economy. But also affected were the Laotians and Cambodians. The word went out to sabotage Diem's economy. Reaction spread to the three million Chinese in Thailand, the Chinese communities of Singapore and Hong Kong and the Philippines. In Laos and Cambodia neutralism took a jump as enough arms passed from Red China to mount an entire new division in the south. Amidst rumors of vast transfers of capital abroad by Diem's family, banknote scandals and rice deals with the Reds, the shortage of banknotes hit Saigon. Imports piled up in the warehouses and unemployment increased. Firms went bankrupt. Against this background Asia holds America responsible for "her man."

While America Feeds The Horse . . .

By this time Diem dared not back-track, could only go ahead. As the ship started to founder Vietnamese asked themselves if former important Reds who had flattered their way into key posts of government were not responsible for these decrees, by which only South Vietnam's enemies seemed to profit. It was pointed out that men trying to quit the Red camp to rally to the south were invariably arrested by their own former Communist leaders, for acts committed un-

About South Vietnam

der them in the north, as soon as they reached Saigon. Is it true then that rallying to a new standard is impossible—and only Red infiltration possible?

On February 20, 1957, an armored car regiment seven miles from Saigon prepared to move on the capital. They were betrayed and their leaders executed. "It is no use," said the Vietnamese, "Diem has so much American money to bribe informers. The country will fall to the Reds before we can ever move in."

On February 22 a schoolboy shot at the President and missed. Papers have not mentioned him since, though it is known that it was not a Communist plot, and the boy has refused ten million piastres, if he will tell who backed him.

Shortly after the "assassination try" Diem selected a non-dangerous opponent and labeled him "the legal opposition," as a sop to American opinion, but two priests were sent to prison for the mildest criticism of Diem and the last Catholic journal in the country was suppressed. With this, Diem took off for America in a desperate search for money. The Madison Avenue "coca-

cola campaign," as Vietnamese call his press-agenting in America, was tremendous, but the increased aid he sought in shock-treatment amounts was not forthcoming.

Since then he has made junkets to Korea, Thailand, and Australia. His objective: the place of leader left vacant by Magsaysay's death as "leader of Southeast Asia." Hatred and contempt for Diem in neighboring countries, and hatred of America for having imposed and supported him, is strong enough to threaten any alliance we may try to set up under his attempted leadership.

A paid propaganda campaign could convince American public opinion that Diem is indispensable in far away Southeast Asia—and may keep him in power. But your Vietnamese, there on the ground, knows truth from fiction. He sums it up, "*Unless we can get Diem out and install a broad government with popular support, the Reds will come in. Ung ngoc Ky, who is Ho chi Minh's underground leader in Saigon, boasts that he can take over when he chooses. Unless America heeds us he will do it.*"

You May Have Missed

The Magazine, U.S.A., quotes the New York *Herald Tribune* of November 21, as quoting Cyrus Eaton, the Cleveland industrialist, as follows: "The only people in the United States who believe that communism is a menace to the United States are the boys on the pay roll of the F. B. I."

Since General Douglas MacArthur, Ex-President Herbert Hoover, hundreds of other outstanding Americans we could name, and millions of ordinary citizens such as this editor, have made it crystal clear that we do believe communism to be a most serious menace to the United States, this pompous pronouncement of "the Cleveland industrialist" seems to make monkeys out of all of us, and to reserve the rank of "people" for himself, Earl Browder, the staff of the *Daily Worker*, and other fountains of patriotic wisdom.

We should like to think that somewhere, in all of the chain of quotation listed above, a link had got twisted, resulting in a misquotation. But knowing the almost incredible capacity of Cyrus Eaton for sounding silly, we fear this is too much to hope.

A Review of the News

By

HUBERT KREGELOH

In December, 1957 . . .

→ Detroit announced on December 3 that auto production in November reached the highest monthly level since January, with the output of 578,500 cars. Up to that date 5½ million vehicles had been produced in 1957—seven and three tenths percent more than the 1956 level.

→ During a White House conference early in the month, Pres. Eisenhower and aides urged Congressional leaders to meet Moscow's outer-space challenge with heavier spending for defense and foreign aid. The President also asked for authority to negotiate science-pooling agreements with "allies."

→ The controversial case of William Girard, American serviceman convicted by a Tokyo court for the shooting of a Japanese woman collecting metal scrap at a U.S. firing range, was closed with the announcement that Japanese prosecutors would not appeal the three-year suspended prison sentence, and with the discharge of Girard from the Army upon his return to the United States with his Japanese wife.

→ Frank E. Gannett, "self-made" founder of a 22-newspaper empire, mostly in New York State, plus several radio and TV stations, died at 81 at his home in Rochester, N.Y., following an illness which resulted from a spinal injury suffered by a fall in the Spring of 1955. Gannett was a GOP presidential candi-

date in 1940, but lost the nomination to Wendell Willkie.

→ On December 5 and 6, the United States tried unsuccessfully to launch a six-inch radio-transmitter-equipped space satellite with a Navy-developed VANGUARD rocket from Cape Canaveral, Florida. On the first day, the launching was postponed due to "technical difficulties." On December 6, the rocket exploded on the ground two seconds after firing. While there were no injuries, further launching plans were postponed indefinitely. There was wide-spread criticism of the high-pressure advance publicity, and some observers suspected sabotage.

→ On December 5, the Soviets claimed the launching of the first atomic surface ship—the 16,000-ton icebreaker "Lenin," capable of cutting through six feet of ice. Specifications given: 455 ft. length, 30-ft. draft, 44,000 HP.

→ In the worsening dispute over Netherlands-owned Western New Guinea, the Indonesian Government, under Communist pressure, seized the biggest of the one-billion-dollar Dutch enterprises; ordered approximately fifty thousand Dutch nationals (including Eurasians who had always lived in the islands) to leave; but forbade "essential" Dutch personnel to leave or quit work, threatening imprisonment; and hinted that American property also might be "nationalized."

A Review of the News

→ Povl Bang-Jensen, Danish member of the UN Secretariat and member of the UN Special Committee on Hungary, was fired by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld for refusing to release the names of Hungarian refugees who testified before the committee after being promised anonymity. Bang-Jensen was the sole custodian of the names.

→ Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia brusquely cancelled U.S. military aid to his country because of what he called "irritants." State Department officials voiced hope that he might be persuaded to reconsider and that he would at least consent to accept further economic aid.

→ A three-day NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) "summit" meeting was held in Paris on December 16 with Pres. Eisenhower attending. Agreement was reached "in principle" by the fifteen member states to station U.S. guided missiles in Europe "eventually;" to pool scientific knowledge; and to approach Russia for new disarmament talks. Nothing really concrete seemed to be accomplished. Twice-defeated presidential Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson rejected an Administration bid to participate as "consultant," probably because he did not wish to identify himself with the anticipated fiasco and did not want to weaken his party's ability to snipe at the GOP in connection with the "Sputnik"-sparked crisis.

→ The Communist governments of Poland and Yugoslavia offered Indonesia shipping to offset shortages created by the decision of Dutch ships to avoid Indonesian waters for fear of seizure.

→ At the AFL-CIO convention in Atlantic City, Vice President of the organization and United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther called for higher wages and a shorter work week in 1955 (in other words, more money for less productivity), based on the familiar argument that this will "boost purchasing power" and will thus "benefit the entire economy."

→ In a talk before the Kiwanis Club of Utica, N.Y., Rep. Keating (R-N.Y.) accused the U.S. Supreme Court of having gone too far in protecting the rights of individuals, pointing especially to the ruling giving the attorneys of accused Communists access to confidential F.B.I. files.

→ Administration officials disclosed on Dec. 27 that a serious rift on handling Soviet Russia had developed between Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Eisenhower's "special disarmament advisor," Harold E. Stassen. The latter was reported to urge large new concessions to Moscow, while Mr. Dulles remains skeptical of Soviet "good faith." Stassen declared the matter was so important he would not resign from the Cabinet to run for Governor in Pennsylvania, but Washington insiders commented that the Pennsylvania GOP had turned him down.

→ In the face of cries by professional big spenders in Washington that lack of money stymied U.S. missiles development, the Defense Department disclosed to Congressional investigators that actually over seventeen billion dollars have been spent on missiles development to date, all but half a billion since the end of World War II.

WHY PEOPLE BECOME COMMUNISTS

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN, on being shown the present reach and constant progress of the Communist conspiracy in this country, is exactly like the farmer being shown the giraffe. He simply insists that there isn't any such animal.

A main reason for this willful blindness is an inability of the typical American to understand how or why other Americans, very much like himself, could possibly have become Communists. This failure to comprehend or to believe is in turn due to a completely erroneous premise. He thinks that those few misguided souls, who do actually join the strange Communist sect, are moved by some unique and mysterious reason which is beyond the discernment of "normal" people.

There is, of course, no such clear-cut formula for converting any human raw material into the Communist product. The reasons why people become Communists are numerous, diverse, overlapping — and quite orthodox expressions of human psychology. Some of these reasons have been conscientiously reported, by such reconverts to Americanism as Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, out of deep personal experience. Arthur Koestler, George Orwell, and many other writers have brought detailed knowledge and penetrating insight into discussions of what makes a Communist and what makes him tick. We have neither the wish nor the ability to add anything new to the convincing analyses that are already available from many sources. But we shall try to summarize, in a few pages and plain language, the major inducements whereby Communism recruits and maintains its followers.

The Star Gazers . . .

1. We should begin our list with the appeal of Communism to the idealism of its prospective converts. For historically—though not currently—this has been the movement's greatest drawing card.

The young man or woman dreams of making this a better world. He sees poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions around him. He is told that socialism will abolish these things. He does not know that the very poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions at which he is looking have been reduced, by the americanist form of society, to their lowest levels ever reached, at any place on this planet or at any time in history. He does not know that their reduction to a further minimum is directly dependent on, and proportional to, the freedom of individuals from government paternalism. Many socialists never learn this, despite the clear and irrefutable evidence of all historical experience. Those who do, and remain socialists, carefully keep this knowledge from their young nibblers at the communist bait.

Why People Become Communists

Even less does the idealistic young man know that socialism itself, far from eliminating poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions, will inevitably increase them all. He is given no warning that socialist plans automatically require an increasing regimentation of individual lives, which does not and cannot stop short of actual slavery of the citizen to the state. These facts, too, the socialists are careful to hide from him. Indeed, all but the most hardened among them are equally careful to keep these facts well hidden beyond the range of their own conscious attention.

Who See Only The Stars . . .

So this idealistic young man becomes convinced that socialism offers not only a way, but the only way, to bring about the brave new world of which he has a vision. He accepts the term communism as meaning socialism in its ultimate and most beneficial form. He is led to believe that Communists are the most sincere and praiseworthy of all those who profess to be socialists. For only the Communists are willing to dedicate their lives to the active fight to establish a world-wide collectivist Utopia. He is daily taught that the noblest plans are thwarted and delayed only by the willful selfishness of those who exploit their fellow men in a capitalistic system; of those who gain personal advantages from the poverty, suffering, injustice, and class distinctions caused by their exploitations. So he comes at last to accept the Communist doctrine, that any means are justified in order to impose a communist organization of society on the whole world for its own good.

By this time the idealistic young man, his soul suffused with a thrilling glow of self-abnegation and self-submersion into a great cause, has become merely a cog in the Communist machine. More and more do action, discipline, and the momentum of the machine displace deliberation in his consciousness. He learns under relentless pressures to be ever more resolute and "realistic", in accepting and carrying out duties assigned to him in furtherance of Communist aims. Finally even treason and murder become methods to condone, or virtuous actions to be performed, when they serve the needs of a crusading army which is marching on to total and glorious victory. To him Communism has now become a fervent and overpowering religion, requiring unquestioning faith on the part of its devotees, and ruling out all other loyalties.

The Lonely Hearts . . .

2. Another attraction of Communism depends on the basic loneliness of so many individuals. The Communist program not only gives meaning and purpose, however criminal, to lives which otherwise would be empty of both. It gives a sense of belonging, of sharing the comradeship and objectives and total strength of a vast army of fellow soldiers, to individuals who otherwise would feel lost and alone and unwanted.

There is a need in each human spirit to be a part of something greater

Why People Become Communists

than one's self, to lessen the futility of an egocentric existence by doing something that is important to a group. The feeling is present in all of us, and very strong in many. Throughout America today this need accounts for billions of hours of work on the part of millions of individuals in tens of thousands of voluntary associations, clubs, societies, and organizations of every conceivable variety. But the Communists make far more capital for themselves out of this instinctive behavior than any other group. They do so by their unceasing reiteration of the glories of their cause, by the extensiveness of their disciplined direction of an individual's efforts, and by the consciousness which they instill into each convert of the vastness and power of the organization to which he now belongs. Membership in the Communist Party, or adherence to its organizational hive, is more demanding, more exclusive of other interests, and of far more significance in its impact on the individual's own life, than any other loyalty that individual may assume anywhere in the world today—with the single exception of devotion to fundamentalist Christianity. For this very reason a consuming loyalty to the Communist movement is the most satisfying burial of self in something larger than—again excepting fundamentalist Christianity—our contemporary world can offer. It is tragic but true that many a miserable free man is changed by Communism into a happy slave.

Big Snobs With Little Equipment . . .

3. A very important appeal of Communism, not nearly so deserving of sympathy as those discussed above, is to the intellectual snobbishness of the sophomoric mind. There is nobody as fond of the adulation of the "intellectuals" as the pseudo-intellectual who has acquired the jargon, without the knowledge, of ideological scholarship. Being treated by these "intellectuals" as one of them, and hence as superior to the bourgeois herd of Philistines, is the greatest thrill an addlepated "liberal" can enjoy. And the real Communist scholars, unlike those in any other field, are willing to go along with and encourage the pretensions of a superficial phoney, if their doing so serves any Communist purpose.

Frequently it does. For such an individual, through inherited wealth, or high political position within the family, or the possession of a famous name, or through some other fortuitous means, may be able to supply prestige or money or influence to Communist friends and to Communist enterprises. In that case even the most deeply learned of the Communists are entirely willing to put their tongues in their cheeks, cross their fingers, and lead their patron to believe that he is a reincarnated combination of Plato, Hypatia, and John Stuart Mill.

Many of these victims of flattery, especially in the upper social or political levels, do not join the Communist Party or actually become Communists in any technical sense. For Communism is a serious business. There is nothing the Communists can afford less, or dislike more, than to be made to look ridiculous. And half-baked exhibitionists as prominent

Why People Become Communists

—or as conspicuous—as Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, and William O. Douglas, would not be wanted as Party members. But many a gain for the Communist side, in the Cold War game, has been made by such players, who either didn't know or didn't care that they were carrying the ball for the Kremlin's team. They were too constantly puffed up and exhilarated by all the applause and mental back-slapping from real members of that team.

And Just Little Snobs . . .

At the lower levels, however, men who bask in the fellowship and flattery of people whom they inwardly regard as their intellectual superiors—and also as their superiors in daring, initiative, and leadership—are to be found in almost every Communist cell. The likelihood that they will make laughing stocks out of themselves, in any way that would reflect ridicule on Communist activities, is minimized. It is taken care of by the same discipline and detailed supervision that turns these would-be eggheads into useful work horses for the Communist Party. A great many of the half-educated pedants of the academic cloisters, in particular, belong in this classification. They join, or affiliate themselves with, the Communists, because their acceptance into such "progressive" circles gives reassuring external support to their false show of scholarly standing—which otherwise is not convincing even to themselves.

The Green Sickness . . .

4. Since the academic world supplies so much more than its proportionate share of American Communists, the above discussion leads easily into the next compartment of motivation. The label over that compartment is "Envy." College faculties are not the only source of men who are made Communists by envy, of course. Also, many other motives besides envy, or on top of envy, play their part in making Communists out of Phi Beta Kappas. But "operation envy" is simpler to explain and easier to understand in connection with collegiate raw material than any other. We'll develop our argument through an illustration.

John Jones and Bob Brown were classmates in the liberal arts college of Ivy University. When they graduated, John stood third from the top of his class, Bob stood third from the bottom. Today, twenty years later, Dr. John Jones is making seven thousand dollars per year as an associate professor of history at Siwash College. Mr. Robert Brown is making forty thousand dollars per year as vice-president in charge of sales of the Siwash Soapsuds Company. To the professor this is conclusive evidence of the injustice of a capitalistic society.

For Dr. Jones not only has much the more brilliant mind of the two. He is well aware of that fact. Also, he has applied that mind diligently in his profession. Whatever there is to know about history, he knows it; and what he doesn't know isn't knowledge. He has an adequate familiarity

with
and p
done
since
idea
modi
the S

And

Dr. J
that
unfair
istic
aboli
to th
ment
to wh
a Co

appr
Sales
he h
ness
loved
was
put
set u
mati
foll
every

never
He i
respe
whic
even
as a
than
regio
Brow
has

the

FEBR

Why People Become Communists

with the fundamentals of literacy in many other fields. He is conscious and proud of having acquired that honest scholarship through hard work, done by a good brain. Mr. Brown, on the other hand, hasn't read a book since *Forever Amber* was all the rage. His intellect is only fair, and the idea of using it for anything more recondite than how to deal in commodity futures would strike him as absurd. Yet Brown is president of the Siwash Country Club, while Jones cannot afford to be a member.

And The Wrong Cure . . .

Over the years, while this difference in financial status was evolving, Dr. Jones succumbed to increasing bitterness towards a sociological system that made such a difference possible. He resented the importance and the unfairness (as he saw it) of the money rewards as bestowed by a capitalistic society. He longed for a world in which money had either been abolished altogether, or had been relegated to a role inferior and auxiliary to that of ration coupons, allocations, permits and favors issued by governments. And Dr. Jones was a man who followed his resentments and theories to what seemed to him to be their clearly indicated destination. He became a Communist.

Of course Professor Jones overlooked many things in his comparative appraisal of the efforts, the contribution to society, and the rewards of Salesman Brown and himself. Chief among them was the fact that he had chosen an academic career because of his distaste for, or unwillingness to engage in, the competitive struggle for financial success. Jones loved books and learning more than business and a larger pay check. It was his privilege to follow that preference. But to quarrel with the price put on his labors and accomplishments, by a free-market economy, was to set up his own egocentric sense of values as superior to that which automatically represented the total consensus of his fellow Americans. To follow his sense of values *for himself* was praiseworthy; to insist that everybody else accept it too was sophomoric arrogance.

In the second place, Dr. Jones is pleased with himself that he has never subjected *his* personality to the "vulgar" demands of salesmanship. He is proud of his solid standing in the cap-and-gown fraternity; of the respect for his learning on the part of his peers; and of many rewards which have come his way, of a kind that he doesn't think Brown would even understand. He considers the publication of his one book so far as a much more satisfying and important form of recognition of his worth than Brown's larger pay check; and he admits his presidency of the regional Association of Historians is a far more substantial honor than Brown's presidency of the country club. Yet he covets all that Brown has too.

Finally, Dr. Jones had never evaluated, nor even become aware of, the most significant terms in his equation. In order to reach a job at

Why People Become Communists

forty thousand dollars per year, in competition with other men after the same goal, Bob Brown had given of himself, in efforts more determined and in ways more demanding than John Jones ever dreamed. Jones feels virtuous because *he preferred* to avoid the strains and exactions of a competitive business existence. He doesn't realize that maybe Brown would have *preferred* to avoid them, too. But Brown considered the forty thousand per year, and such incidental returns as being president of the country club, as worth the cost out of his life and peace of mind. He may have been wrong, but the choice was his—just as Jones' choice was his own. And Brown, in the course of meeting the competition which he thus chose to face, helped the productive American economy to make available to Jones, at prices which even Jones could afford, the clothes on his back, the refrigerator in his kitchen, the car he drives, and even the books which he reads.

But Dr. Jones doesn't understand the processes through which he obtained these comforts in exchange for what he offered, nor Brown's part in those processes which made him worth forty thousand dollars per year to his firm and to the productive economy. Jones wants to have his cake and eat it too. This is something which the Communists promise to all fools who will listen, and especially to fools with a doctor's degree. And they obtain converts on the strength of these promises, despite the oft proved fact that in a socialist society both Jones and Brown get less cake, either to have or to eat, than in any other.

Tugwell Turns A Phrase . . .

We are not primarily concerned here, however, with the fallacy of the reasoning, or the unfairness of the individuous comparisons, which made Dr. Jones a Communist. We have wished merely to illustrate how envy serves as a Communist tool. Skillfully used by dedicated hands, it molds many a lukewarm prospect into an ardent member of the Party. And envy itself is only one model of the psychological tool called hatred, which is found in every Communist work box.

For hatred is a very powerful emotion among human beings. In the early days of the New Deal, Rexford Tugwell emphasized the importance of bitterness—toward capitalism and capitalists—in the campaign to bring about those social changes advocated by himself and his fellow "liberals". He urged the faithful to spur themselves on "by an energizing hatred".

The driving force in the whole life and philosophy of Karl Marx was hatred—of everybody who was not as foul as himself. (Which was quite a large order, as the reader may easily verify by studying the details of Marx's personal life.) Hatred was the one, and the decisive, contribution of Lenin to the mood of the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby he converted it into the October Bolshevik Revolution and a Communist strike for power. We find countless exhibits of the same brand of sulphurous hatred coming to the surface in contemporary America, as in the

Why People Become Communists

desecrative utterances of Milton Mayer or the obscene blasphemies of Langston Hughes.

Both Seed And Harvest . . .

Hatred, of the laborer for his boss, of colored people for their white neighbors and vice-versa, of Protestants for Catholics—wherever there is a climate in which it can be cultivated, hatred is both a product of Communist effort and a necessity of Communist progress. Sowing the seeds of such hatred and nourishing the crop is the constant work of many thousands of busy Communist minds and hands, both trained to make the greatest possible use out of every tragic opportunity. One result of all this fomentation of hatred is the continuous recruitment of additional workers, attracted to the trouble-making by a sympathetic feeling for its ostensible aims. These recruits range from Negro tenant farmers to the presidents of great universities. And identically the same envy or hatred of their fellow men, whom they consider better treated than themselves by the American system, may be the most powerful impulse to the acceptance of Communism on the part of both.

Involuntary Captives . . .

5. But not all Communists become such by persuasion and indoctrination. Many are driven into the fold by blackmail, terrorism, and other forms of coercion. The ordinary reader will say to himself: "Oh, sure. Unfortunately some men are undoubtedly driven by such methods to carry out Communist orders, or even to work on their own initiative to advance Communist causes. They never turn into real Communists, however; and they are always ready to break away from their Communist associations at the first opportunity." This conclusion would be correct in some cases, but in a great many it would not.

Mr. X, when quite young, drank too much one night, got into a brawl in the local tavern, killed a man in the fight which developed, and served three years in the penitentiary for manslaughter. On leaving prison he went to another city, where nobody knew anything about him or his past, started over, and has led an exemplary personal life ever since. He went to a law school in the new city, passed the bar, began the practice of law, got married, had two children, and, at the age of thirty-one or -two, was struggling along like most of us to "get ahead" in the world.

Primarily as a result of his undergraduate days in an Ivy League college, Mr. X was a "liberal" in local politics, but only to the extent that was currently fashionable. Suddenly, out of a blue sky, he was offered a job in our State Department in Washington. The offer seemed to be solely the result of his friendship for another and more prominent lawyer in the town. It was made to sound entirely plausible to Mr. X by the kind interest of this importantly-connected fellow liberal in Mr. X's career, and by complimentary comments concerning Mr. X's special fitness for the

Why People Become Communists

position. These comments also conveyed a reasonable expectation of rapid advancement in government work. Mr. X accepted the appointment, with a few secret regrets about his hidden past, but without any suspicion that the Communists already had him and that past under their untiring observation.

Become Enthusiastic Converts . . .

In Washington Mr. X did "get ahead" in the State Department. He discovered early that the more he leaned to the left, the more favorably he was regarded by those associates and superiors who were paying the most attention to him, and the more his responsibilities increased. Also, he was encouraged to "liberalize" his views still further by the strength and unanimity of the "liberalism" around him. Caught up in the flood of "enlightened democracy" and one-worldism at work, Mr. X found it a thrilling and happy experience to float along on so benign a wave.

Then a crisis arose. Mr. X found that he was expected to do something, or to take a position, which was so "liberal" that, even to his now slanted sensibilities, it bordered on treason. He rebelled, reluctantly but firmly. And that brought a gentle but equally firm awakening. Mr. X was led, politely and affectionately, to see that a "reactionary" could not be allowed to block the wheels of humanitarian progress, even if his past had to be revealed to get him out of the way of those wheels. He could take his choice. He could be smeared as a jailbird, and tossed out of his job as a "fascist traitor" to the cause of true democracy. Or he could continue to work and advance as a member of the noble brotherhood of courageous forward-looking, dedicated souls, who were striving to bring justice and peace and equality and democracy to the whole world. Disturbed, but wishing to be convinced, Mr. X went along with the noble brotherhood.

From that point on the screws gradually tightened on the sides of the trough in which Mr. X moved forward. But so long as he didn't try to jump out of that trough his progress became even faster and more assured. He soon realized the real terms of the two courses open to him. One was to fight an organization which, as he already saw, was too well entrenched and too insidiously powerful for him to make any impression against it. The other was to do the bidding of that organization; to let himself become ever more closely allied in aims and in spirit with its members and dupes; and thus to reap all the rewards of increasing power, prestige, and remuneration which that organization could throw his way. In due course Mr. X wound up as a full-fledged and consecrated Communist, doing his important part to advance the purposes of the international Communist conspiracy — and giving as much of his energy as directed to bringing other prospects along exactly the same path that he himself had followed.

And The Victims Are Varied . . .

It is not only in every branch of the American government that black-

Why People Become Communists

mail pressures of this kind have been used, and are being used effectively today, by the hard-core Communists. Skillfully adjusted pressures of the same basic mechanism are at work in our educational world, scientific world, and every area of public influence and authority. Nor is it only the man with a jail term behind him who is the victim of such smooth coercion. The stick for resistance and the carrot for submission are employed very cleverly, complementing each other, on many a poor soul who has been trapped into wearing the Communist harness.

We took Mr. X for our illustration simply because this article is dealing with the question of why "normal" people become Communists. In actual fact the blackmail approach is most widely and profitably used by the Kremlin's agents on brilliant men who have the extreme misfortune to be homosexuals. Such men seem to gravitate almost automatically into government service. They have a built-in and fundamental predisposition to resent the accepted standards and beliefs of our society. They also have, always over their heads, a threat of personal disgrace far more disturbing than the record of a jail sentence. So these unfortunate individuals become easy putty for molding by Communist techniques into disciplined and devoted members of the Party. Also, because of the introvert brilliance of their minds, and their obsessive desire for success and public recognition to counterbalance a guilt-consciousness that is ever with them, they develop into some of the most high-placed and potent Communists in any government. For these reasons it is not too surprising or unusual to find one of these agents of the conspiracy smoothly and subtly promoting its aims, as a high functionary of our State Department or as the administrative head of some great international organization.

"Most Flagrant Of The Passions" . . .

6. This brings us logically to the next classification, which consists of those who are converted into Communists by the appeal of the carrot, without any brandishing of a stick being necessary. And the most effective carrot — especially for the ruthlessly ambitious spirits whom the Communists wish most to have on their side — is the promise of personal power.

In Russia, since Stalin consolidated his dictatorship and liquidated all of the old Bolsheviks along with whatever idealistic revolutionary fervor still remained; in China almost from the very beginning of the Communist drive; in most other countries since Stalin's control over international Communism became virtually complete; everywhere, for the past two decades, the sheer lust for power has been the primary motivation of those who achieved high standing in the Communist "aristocracy". What has been presented to the world as a revolutionary movement based on ideological considerations, and what is still so presented to the outside masses and to millions of its own proletariat today, long ago degenerated in fact into a plain conspiracy of gangsters.

So the cunning man without conscience, in any country, who sees in

Why People Become Communists

the whole vast Communist apparatus the opportunity and means of achieving power over others, may join the Party for that ultimate purpose. The more clearly he sees from the very beginning that the Party's ideological pretenses are merely a sham and a weapon, so far as those in the top ranks are concerned, the more rapidly he advances within the hierarchy. In time he benefits at the level of baron, earl, or prince, from all the labor of the serfs at the bottom of the Communist organizational pyramid. And whatever his position at any given moment, in this unconfessed but rigid order of ascending privilege and power, he never ceases scheming and striving to climb higher still.

Even As Gould And Capone . . .

In the United States of the nineteenth century such men would have set out to acquire this desired power through amassing great wealth by almost any means. Some of them still do. A generation ago men like Al Capone went into the rackets. Some of them still do. Twenty years ago men of the same type went into the lush fields of mushrooming labor unionism. Many still do. But increasingly over the past two decades men with this lust for power have gone into the vastly more expansive racket of imposing a secret Communist gangsterism on all the rest of America.

There are differences, of course. The earlier racketeers were willing to use *almost* any means to accomplish their ends. The Communists use *any* means, without qualification. The power of these earlier overlords was less tangible but more visible than that of their Communist counterparts. In America today, for obvious reasons, the most powerful and successful Communists are the secret ones, whom the public — and most of their Communist underlings — do not even suspect of having Communist sympathies. The fact that their power is exercised behind the scenes, and that their authority and standing are known only to an inner circle, apparently adds to the thrill for men with minds of a certain type.

But the differences fade away before the likenesses, in the paths and aims that have been pursued — with one exception. Because of the importance attached to the ideological argument, in the arsenal of Communist weapons, education and suavity are of far more value to the ambitious Communist than they ever were to the buccaneering financier, to the Tommy-gun gangster, or to the boss of a hoodlum battalion in some so-called labor union. So the Communist racket has attracted far better educated, more deceptive, and hence more dangerous men, to its ranks. Then, out of these lower ranks, the *most* cunning, *most* ruthless, and *most* dangerous have risen to be its leaders.

"The Way To Promotion And Pay" . . .

7. Finally we come to the pure opportunist. Here is the man who does not consciously chart the course of his own future. But he does want always to float with, instead of to struggle against, the current. And he is keen enough to sense the direction of the current, even in waters that seem placid

Why People Become Communists

to the less shrewd observer. It is a frightening fact that he and his kind now probably constitute the largest single source of converts to Communism — or at least to an actively sympathetic attitude towards Communists — as more and more “wise guys”, even in America, become convinced that Communism really is “the wave of the future.”

Whether these contemporary vicars of Bray are correct as to the ultimate total victory of the side they have chosen remains to be seen. But the evidence of their wisdom, as to the immediate practical and material results of their betrayal of both country and civilization, is visible on every hand. To pay off, this betrayal does not even have to be active or premeditated; it can be passive, or unintentional, or both. So strong and all-pervasive has now become the Communist influence and the secret Communist strength in this country, that you do not even have to be pro-Communist to reap the rewards of Communist favor. All you have to do, for the ubiquitous wheels of this conspiracy to start turning on your behalf, is to be visibly and vigorously anti-antiCommunist. You fight to put down the enemies of the Communists, and they will fight, in dozens of ways which you cannot see and may not suspect, to lift you up.

The adherents to the anti-antiCommunist line range all the way from active participants in the Communist conspiracy to good patriots who are honestly duped into belittling the menace of that conspiracy. But all benefit from following it.

For Example . . .

Isn't it arguable, for instance, that Nathan Pusey's bitter opposition to McCarthy was an important factor in having him chosen as president of Harvard University? Or that General Zwicker's promotion in rank was largely due to the same influences at work behind the scenes? These influences wanted not only to reward Zwicker for his testimony, protecting the protectors of Communists; they wanted the whole American public to see that such acts of anti-antiCommunism *would be* rewarded.

Does anybody believe that Dore Schary's leanings to the left did not materially aid his meteoric career in Hollywood? Or that Drew Pearson's column would be syndicated in as many newspapers today, if he had not done such a grand job in the past of making trouble for those who made trouble for the Communists? Or that Walter Reuther would already have such tremendous and growing power in the American labor movement, if he had not once written a letter glorifying Soviet Russia and urging an equally glorious form of society for the United States?

And In Reverse . . .

The other side of the coin has the stamp of the same regime. Does anybody think that George Meany's standing and future in the AFL-CIO have not been seriously damaged by, or will not gradually be undermined because of, his outspoken opposition to international Communism? Or that John O'Donnell's syndicated column has not been turned down by news-

Why People Become Communists

papers — even good newspapers which would really like to carry it — because of his known intolerance for traitors in our midst? Or that Corinne Griffith's movie career was not hurt by her crusading speeches in opposition to Communist doctrines? Or that General Kirk Lawton's retirement was not forced as a result of his patriotic effort to help in the exposure of Communists under his command at Fort Monmouth? Or that so brilliant a teacher and sound a scholar as Felix Wittmer would not long ago have become the president of some university but for his anti-Communist lectures and books?

Enough specific illustrations of Communist favor and disfavor at work, in every field of American opportunity, could be given to fill many magazines the size of this one. But the benefits of fellow-traveling for profit — unintentional or otherwise — are only presented as background for the real point of this section. We are concerned here with those members of our society, with great cleverness and little conscience, who observe the unfailing effectiveness of Communist hands pulling countless strings. They carry their analysis of the significance of this observation to its logical conclusion. Guided by that conclusion, they go all of the way into membership in, or affiliation with, the Communist Party.

No List Can Be Complete . . .

This catalogue of reasons why people become Communists is by no means comprehensive. We have, for instance, barely touched the edge of the thinking expressed by "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em." The target most vulnerable to this shaft is the very man who sets out most energetically to fight the Communists. He gradually finds, on digging in, that they are so much more insidiously penetrating every cranny of our collective existence, and are already so much further advanced, than he had ever dreamed. He succumbs to a feeling of hopelessness over the blind complacency of his fellow citizens, and over their unwillingness even to take an honest look at the flood creeping up around them.

It is all right to say, and it is true, that a man who goes over to the enemy for such a reason didn't have the right stuff in him in the first place. But it is certainly no secret after these thousands of years that the "stuff" in individual human beings varies a great deal. It is also no secret that most of the readers of this page can name a man, once holding a high position in American political life and highly respected for his firm opposition to the schemes of the Left, who is now ardently wielding a whitewash brush for his pro-Communist and Communist pals. He was badly beaten by the Communists — working through the usual "liberal" front — so he went over to their side. And he is merely one example of these defectors because of despair.

Then there is the phony reason, given by the Communists themselves, and even more noisily shouted by their gullible "liberal" stooges, that men become Communists as a result of their own poverty and illiteracy. The

truth
Ame
ably
pove
area
force
to in
very
poor
from
mak
And
into
port
men
was
the
is no

alon
hoo
com
inde
a ve
the
once

Espe
outv
by a
The
civic
ting
tive
mer
Stat
muc
real
Col
pres
sch
on
bod
beli

Why People Become Communists

truth is that the over-educated man in highly industrialized and prosperous America is a far easier prey to Communist arguments than the most miserably poor and illiterate peasant of non-industrialized Asia. The more poverty-stricken and more ignorant the population of any country or any area may be, the more completely do the Communists have to depend on force and terrorism — with less help from an ideological fifth column — to impose their police-state rule. Our humanitarian instincts make us wish very much to see the standards of living and of literacy raised in all the poorer nations of the world — but not as a means of saving those nations from Communism. It takes at least a little learning and a little leisure to make the Communist sophistry a dangerous thing.

And The Motives Combine . . .

There are other reasons, both real and imaginary, for the steady influx into the Communist camp. But we believe our list includes the most important. We have presented these appeals and motivations which make men Communists, however, as if each one acted alone; as if each appeal was successful only if the right type of "persuasion" was applied to exactly the matching susceptibility in a prospect for the Party. And of course this is not the case.

With the single exception of the man who is propelled by pure idealism alone, into a foul conspiracy which he mistakes for a self-sacrificing brotherhood, every convert to Communism has been pulled into the fold by a combination of reasons and arguments of varying proportions. Nor do the indoctrination, persuasion, and coercion ever stop, even after he has become a veteran Party member. Only the very clearminded, the very brave, and the very determined, ever break completely out of the web that binds them, once they have put themselves within its toils.

And so, year by year and month by month, the Communist flood rises. Especially do the secret members of the Communist conspiracy — which outweigh the open members in America, in both numbers and importance, by at least ten to one — increase their permeation of our whole social body. They go about their daily business or professional jobs, and their social and civic undertakings, exactly as do you and I, with nothing outward to distinguish them from loyal citizens. But the power and reach of their cumulative effort are visible on every hand, in the results they steadily achieve. You merely have to look each New Year's Day at how much closer the United States is to becoming a Communist nation than it was a year before, at how much closer the whole world is to becoming a Communist empire, to realize how unmistakably and steadily the Communists are winning their Cold War everywhere. They are winning it in, among other places, the press, the pulpit, the radio and television media, the labor unions, the schools, the courts, and the legislative halls of America. They expect to go on winning it while most of us refuse to believe that, in our country, anybody but a few crackpots ever become Communists. We had better start believing — fast — the overwhelming evidence of our sense and our senses.

TAX REFORM TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA

by

WM. J. GREDE

On December 5, 1957 William J. Grede, Chairman of the NAM Taxation Committee, made a powerful speech on the need of tax reform, before the Congress Of American Industry. With his permission we have condensed that speech, in order to give our readers the core of its message.

IN THE ADULT lives of many here, there has been little but a series of emergencies, first domestic and then foreign and at times the two combined. The psychology of crisis has dominated our existence.

After the cessation of the Korean War we had four years in which to get our bearings on some difficult national issues which diminish the vitality of our free economic society. Then came Sputniks 1 and 2. This restored the psychology of crisis and converted pressing domestic problems to second-grade news. But at this time we need perspective — perspective not so much on the strength of the Russian thrust for supremacy in space as on ourselves and our way of life. How strong are the ramparts of our free society?

The space-missile problem is out in the open. The determination to catch up, if we are behind, and never lose this race, is not a partisan matter. We have no recourse but to allocate all needed manpower, facilities, and funds to this important task. But whenever the psychology of crisis invades our nation, every group which sups at the public trough tries to ride its coattails. More public spending becomes the universal cure-all for real or fancied problems. So these groups shout for virtually unlimited extravagance without regard to its effect on our dynamic freedom. Tax reduction next year is out of the question, they say — as if high taxes were all that was needed to save the free world!

It Doesn't Follow . . .

But let us not be befuddled, this time. We may have let the Soviets get a start on us, but this does not add up to a crisis in public spending. The funds budgeted for missiles in the current fiscal year are less than three percent of the total budget; and no authority has projected a figure for next year much higher than four percent of the budget. Economies in civilian activities, and in obsolete and wasteful military activities, could more than make up for any and all increases in the rate of spending on missiles.

Because we have so much greater total technological and productive capacity, we are shocked to find a Soviet breakthrough in any one field.

But are
individ
forces
I s
since S
will be
of the
open.

It's T

W
model
is the

"to ea
in Rus

Is

have n

that d

votes

high

causes

have

ment

well-b

effort

— ad

effort

the le

E

gressi

our n

Sputn

tified

nothi

Some

T

is the

ness

for e

pecte

educ

out o

S

more

Tax Reform To Strengthen America

But are we to ricochet from one breakthrough to another, trying to tag their individual successes, while neglecting or misunderstanding the eroding forces which impair and undermine our strength?

I submit to you that the psychology of crisis which has swept over us since Sputniks 1 and 2 has missed the point. The threat to us is not that we will be annihilated from space, but that we will be annihilated by forfeiture of the ramparts of freedom. This is the problem we need to get out in the open. Here is where we need perspective.

It's Their Poison, But We Drink It . . .

We like to attribute to the Soviet Union the weaknesses of Karl Marx's model for social organization, but how blind can we be? Where in Russia is the dictatorship of the proletariat? Where in Russia is the principle of "to each according to his needs, from each according to his ability?" Where in Russia is the leveling-down process of confiscatory income taxation?

Is not the Marx model more evident in America than in Russia? We have no dictatorship of the proletariat, either. But we have a government that does things, in the name of the people, which are designed more to get votes than to serve the people. We have elevated the "rights of man" to a high order, and relegated his responsibilities to the limbo of forgotten causes. By government fiat and government-supported monopoly force, we have attempted to lift man up by his bootstraps, until he looks to government and his union instead of to his own efforts to provide his economic well-being. While we have still paid lip service to the dignity of human effort and achievement, we have erected and retained a tax system which — adopted from Marx's model — makes a mockery of individual man's effort to better himself. The harder a man works and the more he earns, the less his efforts mean to him.

Excessive rates of income tax, and especially the steeply rising progressive rates of the individual income tax, are the most socializing agent in our midst. We have more to fear from this foreign agent than we do from Sputniks. A totalitarian society can benefit from doses of incentives identified with the free way — as Russia has shown. But the free way has nothing to gain and everything to lose by doses of socialism in any form.

Some Specific Effects . . .

Take education — there the root of the problem of educational finance is the Federal income tax system. The excessive rates inhibit the willingness and cripple the ability of state and local governments to provide fully for educational needs. Also, during a period when it could have been expected that more and more citizens would donate more freely to private education, it is these same high rates that have prevented the accumulations out of which such giving would come.

Some educators have supported the tenets of steep progression. But more and more of them are recognizing that tax exploitation of the capable

Tax Reform To Strengthen America

and the productive results in less for everyone, including Education. We hope educators will join in the counter-attack against this greatest socializing agent of all. In time, then, America will reap a rich reward in a better educational system, and in unbeatable strength throughout the whole range of science and technology.

As to economic growth, we like to think of the post World War II era as one long continuous boom. But whom are we kidding? The Russians? Actually, after fifteen years of depression and war in which net new capital formation was negligible, we have succeeded in growing at an annual rate only roughly that of the sixty years preceding the depression. We haven't even made up for lost time, much less moved on to the heights of which an advanced economy of free men is capable. Now the fact that the forces of growth are slowing down does not even rate mention in the news as a factor in the race with Russia for world leadership and survival.

Here is what the Monthly Letter of the First National City Bank has to say in its November issue: "Could anyone seriously expect the economy to keep growing in this kind of a strait jacket? Uncorrected, the present steep progression of rates will gradually suffocate the economy as a whole, just as it is already suffocating opportunities and incentives for the gifted individual."

What To Do About It . . .

But this is not a time for futility and despair in regard to the socialization of our land through Marxist taxation. Now of all times is when we should, we must, face up to the fact of this cancerous growth and make a mighty effort to get it out of our system.

All tax legislation is initiated in the House Ways and Means Committee, which is now composed of fifteen Democrats and ten Republicans. Two members of this Committee, Antoni N. Sadlak, Republican of Connecticut, and A. H. Herlong, Jr., Democrat of Florida, have introduced an identical bill — the first thorough-going legislative program for reform of the income tax rate structure since the rates started their upward movement twenty-five years ago. Such reform is possible only on a bipartisan basis; and it was on this basis that Rep. Herlong introduced his bill, following the earlier one introduced by Rep. Sadlak.

These great statesmen not only took a step which none before them had taken. They documented the case for their bills in two remarkable explanatory statements, so strong and convincing that their case has not been and cannot be rebutted. The pending legislation has been commented on, favorably and hopefully, in the press throughout this land. Hundreds of organizations have already endorsed the bill, and explanatory literature has been widely distributed. Every citizen should now be familiar with this legislative program — and if you are not I urge that you become so.

As we look at economic indices, pointing to an adjustment — mild or severe, as you choose — I can think of no action that would take the brakes

Tax Reform To Strengthen America

off the productive forces in America more surely than tax reform along those lines. It would also, in fact, lead to more government revenue rather than less, in the years ahead. And the stage is set, if we do not let the spenders deter us.

The Honorable Jere Cooper, Democrat of Tennessee, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has announced thirty-day public hearings on this bill, to begin on January 7. These are not run-of-the-mill hearings. This is the first opportunity offered to taxpayers and their organized groups, in ten years, to come in and talk about the impact of excessive discriminatory income tax rates on the vitality and health of our free economic system. It is an opportunity to support the program for rate reform introduced by Representatives Sadlak and Herlong. And we must take full advantage of this opportunity which Chairman Cooper has offered to us.

In The Long Run . . .

I am not a pessimist about the supremacy and survival of the free way. Russia has its Achilles heel, and America has its secret weapon, and they are one and the same thing — the priceless factor of free competition, which we possess and they do not.

In Russia, no lash of the whip, and no aping of the free way in regard to incentives, can over the long range overcome the stultifying hand of centralization — which means the absence and unavailability of the catalyst of competition. No centralized direction of industry can successfully contest the strength of private competitive enterprise, if such enterprise is really free — and not burdened with socialist rot. But the use of the taxing power as a social instrument is most destructive of man's willingness and capacity for competition. It is the very root of socialism.

The danger confronting the nation is not Soviet missiles nor Sputniks — it is that we will allow spectacular Russian shows to postpone urgently needed tax reform. Moderation of the excessive and discriminatory income tax rates is essential to the maintenance, to the improvement and expansion, of American industry. It is thus vital to our ability to defend ourselves. Russia does not so much fear our ability to produce Sputniks and missiles, but rather the dynamic power of a free industrial society. If the launching of Sputnik causes us to destroy our free economy, the Russians will have accomplished their mission.

The contest with the Russians will be a long one. Over that long run, whether we are a few months ahead or behind them in space and missile technology will be of little significance. Whether we restore the incentives and free play of economic forces, and break the destructive chains of socialist taxation, will have much greater bearing on the ultimate outcome. Free men will survive if they accept all the responsibilities and obligations of freedom, as well as its rewards.

BULLETS

The unsigned articles appearing in this magazine sometimes represent the views of the editor—and frequently of no one else.

*Paraphrased From
Frank E. Masland, Jr.*

America is the only place in the world where a man can drive up with his own car to collect his unemployment insurance.

General Electric News

Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction.

Matthew, VII, 13

Signs on a church billboard in Omaha, Nebraska:

What is Hell?

Come in and hear our organist.

Western Tobacco Journal

Leisure originally meant an opportunity to do something. It has come to mean an opportunity to do nothing.

Dr. Martin H. Fischer

For the sin ye do by two and two ye must pay for one by one.

Kipling

Peace will come to this earth when her peoples have as much as possible to do with each other; their governments the least possible.

Richard Cobden

Organized labor still has special privileges and legal immunities that even kings and governments lost years ago.

Roscoe Pound

Modern Republicanism—an elephant trying to make a jackass out of itself.

Probably A Bull Moose

When two men have charge of a horse, it is lean; when two men have charge of a boat, it leaks.

Chinese Proverb

* * *

The older a man gets, the better he could swim as a boy.

Charles Curran

* * *

You may be on the right track, but you'll get run over if you just stand there.

Quoted by Russell and Ann Ackley

* * *

All year long I scrimp and save and pinch pennies, and then you blow the whole thing in on your income tax.

Housewife, Reported In THIS WEEK

* * *

It's what you learn after you know it all that counts.

We Haven't Learned Yet

* * *

You can't fool all of the people all of the time, but it isn't necessary. A majority will do.

Nor This One

* * *

It is not by the gray of the hair that one knows the age of the heart.

Bulwer

* * *

I live for those who love me, for those who know me true;

For the heaven that smiles above me and awaits my spirit too;

For the cause that lacks assistance, for the wrong that needs resistance,

For the future in the distance, and the good that I can do.

G. Linnaeus Bank

COLD FACTS ABOUT DISCRIMINATION

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

Gilding lilies is a silly occupation. But we cannot resist the temptation, in presenting so excellent an essay, to add one or two preliminary facts and comments of our own which COULD make its argument even stronger.

In 1821 the American Colonization Society selected a point on the African Coast, south of Sierra Leone, as an appropriate site for its first settlement of freed American Negro slaves. Between 1822 and 1828, along the coast near this point, a colony of these freed men was founded. It was named LIBERIA, from the Latin word LIBER, meaning FREE. Its capital was named Monrovia, for the then President of the United States, James Monroe. In 1847 these emigrants from America established their colony as an independent republic. Somewhat precariously since that time, and with much help from England, Germany, France, and the United States during the first decades of the present century, that independent republic has been preserved.

Because of the backward condition of Liberia's indigenous tribes—many of which until recently still practiced cannibalism—the original settlers who, even as slaves, had had prolonged contact with Western civilization, had many advantages over the natives. They and their descendants have been able to be of great service during the past 150 years, in bringing to their new country an increasing amount of industry, education, and other benefits of a more civilized political economy. And so, quite naturally, it is the descendants of those original American slaves who constitute, almost entirely, the business, professional, and cultural ruling classes of Liberia today.

Under these conditions, therefore, and in light of the historical background, Liberia is about the last place on earth where an idealist concerning human nature would expect to find the practice of RACIAL discrimination. But the idealist would be greatly surprised. Meditations stirred by the actual situation prompted one of our associate editors to write the following article.

DISCRIMINATION is one of those many words used daily and abused badly which became caught in the semantic embroglio of the past few decades. The perversion and contortion of our vocabulary is partly the result of ignorance and laziness. Our schools obviously no

longer make Americans proficient in the use and comprehension of their own language, yet people try to include in their every-day conversation erudite-sounding words and phrases whose correct meaning they do not understand. Newspapers and magazines with re-

Cold Facts About Discrimination

porters of questionable competence have also been major offenders, because people with little education tended to assume that the printed word was linguistically authoritative.

However, much of the perversion and contortion of the vocabulary has been deliberate. It has been practiced by political demagogues and by leftist intellectuals to break down traditions, patriotism and truth; to serve the objectives of creeping, alien social revolution; to deceive the people into believing that what these peddlers of poison brought was actually good and desirable. The appalling fact that even ministers of the Gospel lent their efforts to promoting Socialism and outright Communism under the fraudulent cloak of religion rendered these diabolical manipulations more effective. Thus, when people today talk about "democracy," "liberalism," "conservatism," even "labor" and "business," it is really necessary to ask for definitions to ascertain what they mean.

A Word Prostituted . . .

Many examples could be cited involving the terms just listed to explain the vast differences in definition and interpretation. Let us merely think of what the average American has in mind when he mentions "democracy," and what the Soviets and the Red Chinese mean when they apply the same word! However, this article intends to confine itself to the subject of discrimination. As a result of the factors listed before, "discrimination" has become a dirty word in our vocabulary, but there was a time when people understood that it could have another meaning. Among the meanings listed in Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, we find: "... a

mark of distinction; the quality of being discriminating; faculty of nicely distinguishing . . ." And the synonyms listed are: "discernment, penetration, distinction, acumen."

Thus, not long ago, people were considered to be called "discriminating." They felt they were being recognized as individuals of culture and refinement who did not run with the herd, but they were careful and particular in the choice of clothes, books, art, food, wine and associates. The advertisers of expensive merchandise catered to "discriminating" people. But recently the proprietor of a high-class restaurant changed his advertising of many years standing from "serving a *discriminating* clientele" to a "*discerning* clientele." And he confided to friends that what with all the noise over Little Rock, the Supreme Court, the NAACP and everything else, he didn't want to be misunderstood. This incident dramatizes the absurdity of the situation and the degree to which aggressive minorities already tyrannize the majority; a restaurateur is induced to change his advertising to placate the feelings of people who have been too busy looking for trouble and grinding axes that they haven't had time to familiarize themselves with the dictionary definitions of "discrimination."

A People Maligned . . .

At any rate, now that we've established that most Americans, under the influence of the liberal propaganda barrage, today accept the term "discrimination" as denoting solely something evil, let us see just how evil we are as a nation. The liberal bleeding hearts of this country, led by Generalissimo Eleanor Roosevelt, a professional meddler, are always telling us how ashamed

Cold Facts About Discrimination

quality of behavior should be of all our sins — such as engaging in racial and other forms of discrimination — as the rest of the world is said to watch our shame with amazement and horror. Eleanor & company inform us how disturbed our "friends" are in Asia and Africa when they hear about things like Little Rock — conveniently ignoring, of course, that not the citizens of Little Rock but the liberals in Washington promoted to an incident of international importance what would otherwise have been a purely local and temporary problem. Eleanor and the Americans For Democratic Action warn us darkly that we cannot qualify for leadership of the free world unless we mend our bad ways and cleanse ourselves of our sins. And that with you and I are supposed to hang our heads in shame.

To hear these liberal pontificators talk you gain two distinct and viciously wrong impressions — that conditions of discrimination in the United States are much worse than is actually true; and that no such thing as discrimination exists outside this country. The facts, of course, are altogether different. Discrimination is an entirely human phenomenon, encountered the world over among all races, nationalities, religions, classes and other groupings into which men are divided. And while discrimination can be reduced, the realistic observer knows there is an irreducible point beyond which not much can be accomplished. Any informed person knows that there is fantastically more class distinction today in the Soviet military and civilian structure than we have in the United States. Jawaharlal Nehru may comment in shocked tones about discrimination in our country, but Nehru is, among many unpleasant

things, a hypocrite. For in his own India there is more, and more varied, medieval discrimination than can be found anywhere in the Western world. Significantly, the individuals and groups engaging in hostile discrimination in India have lived together since long before the appearance on the scene of the former colonial overlords from Britain, whereas in this country African Negroes, who had nothing whatever in common with the white population, were brought in relatively recently under the most unusual and unnatural circumstances imaginable.

For A Universal Fault . . .

Discrimination in the great majority of cases never erupts into violence, but that does not mean there is no discrimination. It is simply a fact that all over the world racial, national, religious and other majorities proceed to arrange things as they like them best, and resent aggressive minorities that would change whatever established order is involved. Thus to single out the United States for condemnation — which has become a sport among domestic and foreign liberals — is unfair and unintelligent in the extreme. Whatever selfish objectives may have motivated him, it is an historical fact that the white man from Europe introduced in the areas concerned a civilization and established an economy without which today sovereign states like India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and many others would not be possible. (See the recent complaint of one African nation that it was more backward than its neighbors because it had never had the benefits of colonialism!) And the white intellectual in the United States was heavily responsible for helping those peoples to obtain sov-

Cold Facts About Discrimination

ereignty and termination of colonial rule once the time for such a step seemed ripe. Yet a white man going about legitimate business almost anywhere in Asia today is keenly aware of dislike and of discriminatory treatment.

In spite of the fact that Indonesia, for instance, has been the recipient of American foreign aid, owes its very existence as an independent state largely to United States policy, and badly needs all the economic support and know-how she can obtain, every American businessman familiar with that country will tell you how the Indonesian bureaucracy goes out of its way to make life miserable for an American trying to operate there. The result of the almost sadistic chicanery of the bureaucracy and the officially stirred-up population has been a mass exodus of American and European businessmen and companies even before the latest outrageous Communist-led excesses against Dutch firms and personnel.

Of Infinite Variations . . .

A Christian living in Israel would surely have reasons to complain about "discrimination" in several forms and would certainly find it imperative to comply with the customs and regulations of the Jewish majority. A white man living in the Negro Republic of Ghana also would have to adjust himself to many conditions he might not particularly appreciate, or get out. Active Protestants are likely to encounter all sorts of difficulties almost everywhere in Roman Catholic Spain and in certain sections of Portugal and Italy, plus areas in Latin America. By the same token, active Catholics might run into embarrassing social and professional situations in Protestant Scan-

dinavia, and might find it virtually impossible to serve in any official capacity.

The dockworker isn't welcome at the Polo Club of the high society anywhere and in an esoteric circle of professional army officers the humble civilian is made to feel uncomfortable . . . And it goes. The examples of discrimination in one form or another the world over are almost endless. As noted earlier, most of it never erupts into violence and national headlines, but that does not alter the emotions and motives of the people involved. Violence is likely to break out when an aggressive minority, led by impatient and perhaps sinister men, seeks to impose itself and its ways upon an alarmed majority seeking to protect its traditional patterns and interests. Thus there may be trouble if a number of Negroes decide to move into an all-white neighborhood, regardless of the feelings of the residents, or if a white family is confronted with the possibility of their daughter's marrying a Negro. But there would also be trouble if an American Baptist on business in Spain met and wanted to marry the daughter of a Spanish ducal family steeped in the ancient and strict traditions of the Roman Catholic Church. And there would be trouble, undoubtedly culminating in violence, if a group of determined dockworkers, no matter how decent they might otherwise be, forced their way into the Polo Club and declared they wouldn't leave until they had been made members.

Worst Where Least Expected . . .

One was stimulated to think along these lines by a pertinent report on a situation which has developed in the Negro Republic of Liberia. The report appeared in the November 25th issue of

NEWS
"Racial
ism "in
ing. R
racial
crimin
simply
the N
widely
line ho
velt an
cessan
only
guilty
The
WEE
Schoe
of M
girl,
The
that
the U
while
had c
Germ
Repu
was
many
dent
a'dr
man
offer
emp
— C
reas
H
is a
mor
of c
the
hav
tice
Pre
pro
bett

Cold Facts About Discrimination

NEWSWEEK, under the heading "Racialism in Reverse." Actually racialism "in reverse" seems a little misleading. Rather, it is an example of that racial and of all other forms of discrimination which, as we have noted, simply exist everywhere. Nevertheless, the NEWSWEEK story should be widely quoted because it helps to underline how absurd it is for Eleanor Roosevelt and other leftist-liberals to talk incessantly as if, in the whole wide world, only the bad white Americans were guilty of discrimination.

The story, as reported in NEWSWEEK, concerns a man called Uwe Schoenig, who married a girl by name of Marion Nassau. For marrying the girl, Schoenig was fired from his job. The trouble was, said NEWSWEEK, that Miss Nassau, a pretty instructor at the University of Liberia, was a Negro, while Schoenig was a white man who had come from Germany to work for a German firm operating in the Negro Republic's capital of Monrovia. Schoenig was offered transportation back to Germany, but refused. All-powerful President William Tubman, in his annual address to the Liberian legislature, demanded a new law making it a criminal offense for a company to dismiss an employee after an inter-racial marriage — even if the company gives other reasons for the dismissal.

However, Mr. Schoenig's dilemma is actually overshadowed by the far more serious and widespread incidence of discrimination in Liberia reported in the same NEWSWEEK article — this having to do with discrimination practiced by *Negroes against Negroes*. President Tubman's real integration problems, wrote the magazine, lie not between whites and blacks but between

the one thousand "American-Liberians," proud descendants of freed slaves who began landing on the West African coast in 1822, and an estimated two to four million others, largely illiterate and disease-ridden back-country tribesmen. The "civilized," as the American descendants are called, long suppressed the "uncivilized" and even sold them into slavery on such a scale that in 1930 the League of Nations went so far as to propose the abolishment of Liberia as a state unfit to govern itself responsibly. Tubman himself warned that anyone who discriminates against the "uncivilized" will be considered "an enemy of the state" and a "confirmed lunatic." Nevertheless, noted NEWSWEEK, "despite the new law the old hostilities are deep-seated."

With Elimination Always Difficult . . .

With only about one thousand white people in Liberia, there has been little racial trouble between whites and blacks, although the NEWSWEEK article pointed to the fact that even the government headed by President Tubman enforces a degree of racial discrimination. For instance, the German Schoenig, whose wedding was one of about twenty interracial marriages per year, is now in business in Monrovia for himself. However, as a white man he is under the law *barred from becoming a citizen of Liberia*.

These are conditions which the integration fanatics in this country might frightfully ponder. Mr. Schoenig married the Negro girl in spite of the difficulties and hostilities which he immediately encountered. He now has his own business in the Negro Republic. If the couple have children, these will be colored, and the parents will probably

Cold Facts About Discrimination

decide that the children are better off in Liberia than they might be in white Germany. Thus Mr. Schoenig, for reasons which he considers good and valid, had made and will make certain far-reaching decisions which will steer his own future and that of his descendants into a pattern radically different from what it would have been had he never left Germany. Under these circumstances, he would very likely decide the proper thing to do is to become a Liberian citizen and share in all the responsibilities as well as privileges of citizenship, thus ending that status of insecurity which in most countries is the lot of those who remain aliens permanently. But there is *racial discrimination in the Negro Republic of Liberia*, and thus — unless at some time or other in the future the law is changed — Mr. Schoenig cannot become a citizen.

But The "Liberals" Never Learn . . .

This article was written for the benefit of ordinary Americans who would like to inform themselves and may at times be in danger of becoming confused by the unctuous propaganda of the intellectual Left. It was not written in any hope of impressing the professional "liberals". Their minds are made up; far from being truly liberal, they are vindictively intolerant of every opinion but their own; they do not wish to be confused by the facts; they are incorrigible. But the public should be made to realize how these "liberals" incessantly trumpet that *we* — always we — have a duty to do this and that and something else again, but when foreign nations fail to practice what these liberals tell us we must do . . . why, then, of course, we just don't talk about it! "Only a reactionary would be tactless enough to bring up such embarrassing truths!"

For

Alfred Noyes

As after Rome, now once again the drapes
Of ignorance and bigotry and lust
May close upon the scene. Insentient dust
Will bury the forgotten stage. And apes
Who know not man, his glory and his dreams,
His wish to be more worthy of his God,
Will stalk the earth and wield the brutal rod,
And stamp upon each tiny light that gleams.
Amid the dull collective monotone
Of universal serfdom will be lost
The memory of song and singer. Prone
And helpless, soon, upon the rubbish tossed,
Will die the Muse. Let us rejoice to own
This one great poet more before the holocaust.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

TO REVERSE the famous slogan of the *New Yorker*, this feature is not written for the Madison Avenue sophisticates. We shall have in mind the reader who is more interested in the content, slant, and public reception of the most important new books than in the cleverness of the reviewer. Consequently most of our comments will be as elementary as the Ten Commandments, as out-of-date as self-reliance, and as straightforward as simple truth. Doubtless we shall be laughed at by the "liberal" intellectuals, because many of our pronouncements will also be naive—as naive as the idea that two plus two still equals four.

The whole concept of this REVIEW is naive. Ambitious as Newton when he "took all knowledge to be his province" (but unlike him in any other respect), we shall try to make a bird's-eye survey of the complete book-publishing scene every month. The bird's eye will pay little attention to most of the popular fiction, for books like *Peyton Place* and *By Love Possessed* will hardly suffer from too little publicity in these pages. But we shall pause to discuss in each issue, for a varying number of lines or paragraphs, some ten to fifteen books which we think you might like to have brought to your notice. We shall even go behind the screen erected by the *New York Times Book Review*, the *Saturday Review of Literature*, and their partners in public obfuscation, to point out worth-while

books which have been "reviewed by omission."

Of course you will know what we personally think of each book, whether we merely tap it or wholly dissect it. But we shall try hard to be as objective and fair in each operation as our quotas of human nature and blank space make possible.

* * *

Now we'll prove our rule, of dealing with new books only, by making an exception of the very first item. *CONQUEST OF THE AMERICAN MIND* (Meador Pub. Co., Boston), by Dr. Felix Wittmer, was published a year ago. But if you missed it, don't.

Dr. Wittmer examines with great clarity the "rotten spiritual and intellectual core" (of socialist creeps) which has infested our schools and infected our every-day life. He piles up fact after fact, to deliver a smashing indictment against those who—under the umbrella of "freedom", academic or otherwise—use our honored institutions and organizations for subversive purposes.

Dr. Wittmer knows firsthand what it is like to swim against the collectivist tide lapping around our ivory towers. After eleven years as a history professor at New Jersey State Teachers College, Montclair, he was forced to resign. E. Merrill Root wrote in *Collectivism On The Campus*: "Dr. Wittmer's ordeal by 'liberalism' occurred because he saw very early, and

A Review Of Reviews

pointed out, the threat of Soviet Communism—at a time when collaboration with it was the intellectual habit of the day.”

That habit, this book makes clear, has steadily become more fixed and more malignant. From a small group of educators and agents, the collectivists (who gravitated mainly toward Columbia Teachers College), and the Communists (whose first choice was Harvard), have “in the course of twenty years turned thousands of teachers into the missionaries of their creed.” With smooth tongues and slippery pens these mind-poisoners in pedagogue’s clothing have done great harm to our country. Their Fabian dreams and Communist schemes are now firmly embedded in the minds of millions of Americans, for whom a republican form of limited government has become an out-moded concept.

Dr. Wittmer has compiled a great deal of evidence showing the liberal press at work, in a silent conspiracy to suppress books and articles by libertarian authors, while glorifying the brain-children of the Left. With encyclopedic detail he names persons and cites publications. He has shown a similar quicksilver-like conspiracy at its similar task, with regard to many other activities which determine America’s thinking. His research has been masterfully organized, his conclusions are irrefutable, and the results of his efforts—are up to you.

* * *

Russell Kirk, young dean of conservative thinkers in the United States, has written not one but two brilliant new books for Americanists.

THE AMERICAN CAUSE (Henry Regnery Company, Chicago) defends

the social and moral principles on which our country was founded, and marshals these Christian moral beliefs in support of our free economic system. Mr. Kirk makes devastating use of the sword of logic to pierce the specious arguments of the collectivists. He also notes that “when men have lost their customary beliefs they seek a fanaticism that promises peace of body and mind, and often leads to Communism.”

THE INTELLIGENT WOMAN’S GUIDE TO CONSERVATISM (Devin-Adair Co., N.Y.) explains the essence of conservative thought, and contrasts this viewpoint with that of “liberalism”. Mr. Kirk describes a conservative as “a friend to religious belief, to national loyalty, to established rights in society, and to the wisdom of our ancestors.” Though addressed to women (as a spoof of George Bernard Shaw’s title, *The Intelligent Woman’s Guide To Socialism*), this concise book is a godsend for anyone who wishes to understand the theory and evolution of present-day conservatism.

Both books should be required reading in every university in America. But Mr. Kirk is too direct, too logical, and too pro-American for his thought to be allowed to contaminate our campuses. An author who makes as much sense as Russell Kirk is usually proscribed by the Liberal Establishment as “controversial.” It wouldn’t do to let him upset the dear little socialist minds of the brain-washed sophomores.

* * *

The *Chicago History Of American Civilization* is a projected series of books “which aims to enliven the historical literature, to invigorate it with judgments, and to enrich it with the best

A Review Of Reviews

and most recent scholarship." Actually the series is a brazen yet queazy vindication of the socialistic state which has been imposed so subtly on our framework of government. Dean Acheson, George Catlett Marshall, and Alger Hiss become the heroic defenders of our American heritage, while McCarthy, MacArthur, and Whittaker Chambers are the villainous usurpers of freedom. Maybe George Orwell was too optimistic when he thought it would take until 1984 for black to become entirely white, and vice versa.

Two books in the series (of which twenty-odd titles are to follow) are **THE NEW AGE OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, 1932-45**, by Dexter Perkins, and **THE PRICE OF POWER**, by Herbert Agar. The first opus is the typical glorification of Franklin Roosevelt which, under various titles by various authors, has graced (or disgraced) the pages of the *New York Times Book Review* for so many years that their compositors now probably set most of the reviews of it from memory. The second masterpiece contains the fiercest, most scurrilous attacks on patriotic Americans since John Roy Carlson's *Undercover*. This accounts in part, at least, for the extreme popularity and praise being given it by the "intellectuals" of Europe. We leave it, for the moment, to their attention.

In Perkins' book, the Great Egotist becomes the Great Economist; the Colossal Blunderer becomes the Shrewd Diplomat. As far as Perkins is concerned, Roosevelt could do little wrong. The unbalancing of the budget is "defensible in theory." The Yalta Pact was all right, "because Roosevelt gave away nothing that the Russians would not

have been able to take anyway." Such links of specious reasoning form the chain of the book's argument.

The book is neither scholarly nor objective. And if you really want to learn anything about His Breezy Majesty Franklin D. Roosevelt, or the Communist courtiers who cunningly determined most of the policies during our "unlucky thirteen" years of his reign, we suggest that you stow Mr. Perkins on the shelf alongside Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in the "unintentional fiction" department, and go back to the books of John T. Flynn.

* * *

But the most secure spot on that shelf should undoubtedly be allocated to the second volume of this *Chicago History* series. If history books of the future are to resemble Agar's *The Price Of Power*, it would be better just to eliminate history. For truth and scholarship will have completely disappeared, under the flood of "liberal" legend.

For example, Mr. Agar solemnly states that in Korea our "victory was endangered far more by Syngman Rhee than by the Russians or the Chinese." (General James A. Van Fleet, who fought in this war with Rhee as an ally and knew both him and the real history of the Korean tragedy from active participation, has said that Syngman Rhee was "worth his weight in diamonds" and "one of the greatest statesmen who ever lived.") Mr. Agar taunts Robert Taft as having been an anachronism; and informs us that Alger Hiss was hated because "he was intelligent and possessed manners." And of course the omniscient adult, Herbert Agar, puts that immature child, General

A Review Of Reviews

Douglas MacArthur, in his proper place, with only the dunce cap left to one's imagination.

It's too bad George Orwell died before we got this far along in the fulfillment of his prophecy. Under his "Big Brother" scheme of government, one of the means to absolute control over a people is the constant rewriting of history to suit the purpose of the state. First you suppress the true history, and then you proceed to falsify it until the new version is satisfactory for your needs. As Bryton Barron and Donald Dozer gave up their careers to tell the American people, that suppression of true history, and of the official documents which reveal it, is being carried out regularly and unblushingly, on a huge scale, in our State Department today. It is only left for men like Mr. Agar to write the distorted new history, which can be given out as truth.

The pity is that it *will be* received as truth. *The Saturday Review* enthusiastically gushed: "In his role as a gadfly bestirring thought, a somber Herbert Agar serves the nation well with his new book." So far as the determined "liberals" are concerned, Agar has presented an acceptable story of America's decline. It will be recommended reading for most college history students, few of whom will have any knowledge of honest history against which to appraise its misleading absurdities.

The same process has, of course, been going on for a generation. That is why so many students of yesterday, who are the professors, lawyers, and business men of today, have been so ready to swallow piece by incredible piece the propaganda bait that hooked them onto any current Communist propaganda line. The only current change is in the

tempo and brazenness of this distortion of history. Both are rapidly increasing.

* * *

While Imre Nagy criticizes Russia, he does not criticize Communism. On the contrary, he advocates a return of Communist regimes to the principles of Marx and Lenin. IMRE NAGY ON COMMUNISM (Frederick A. Praeger, N. Y.) is the political philosophy of the veteran Communist who, as Premier during the Hungarian Revolt, demanded that the Soviets withdraw from Hungary, to allow his country to work out its own destiny.

How much sincerity there was in this demand, or whether the whole maneuver was dictated from the Kremlin, we do not pretend to know. But today Nagy is "somewhere in the Soviet world", ostensibly a captive of the conspiracy he worked so tirelessly to advance. And though he probably would still deny it, Communism remains murderous tyranny, whether it be the Communism of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev—or Imre Nagy. We must note too, in connection with any book of Communist authorship, that a Communist remains a dedicated liar, whether he is in prison or out.

Nagy's book is written for Communists. It is, therefore, weighted down with doubletalk, euphemisms, and contradictions. Nevertheless, it has value for anybody who would like to study the rationalizations the human mind must make in order to embrace this system. Read objectively, by anti-Communists, this book could help the cause of freedom. Which is certainly the last thing its author intended.

* * *

In the first two decades of this century John Dewey developed the idea

A Review Of Reviews

and plans which have been most generally identified by the term "Progressive Education". Such phrases as "Modern Education" or "The New Education" are largely attempts to disguise Deweyism in practice, under new terminology and with the adjustments of his disciples added.

Lenin saw in Dewey's methods "an opportunity to eliminate from Russian life religious faith, private property, family and parental authority." So in 1918 the new Communist masters in Russia imported the Progressive Education system, lock, stock, and barrel; and laid out the new education in Russia on the Dewey model. By 1932 the Communists had discovered that the Dewey plan also eliminated—besides the items listed above—all necessary discipline and all worth-while education. So they threw it overboard for themselves, and returned to an intensive orthodox educational program. But at the same time they went to work all the harder to help Dewey and his disciples to impose their schemes more thoroughly on America. For there was nothing the Communists wanted more than to eliminate from American life "religious faith, private property, family and parental authority", plus all necessary discipline, and all worth-while education.

If you wish a fully documented record, showing through whom, by what methods, and to what extent, they and their busy helpers have prostituted our whole educational system to the service of those purposes, read *BENDING THE TWIG* (The Heritage Foundation, Chicago), by Augustin Rudd. You will better understand why "we have already lost the battle for engineering manpower" was a true statement as

early as 1955. And that particular result, while much emphasized right now because of the Sputnik furor, is only a very tiny part of the tremendous general loss we have sustained. Col. Rudd's book will make you aware of the total loss.

* * *

Let's end this cacophony on a happier note. Taylor Caldwell is one of America's most popular novelists. The Review Establishment, which once praised her work to the skies, now does all it can to ridicule her books, ignore them and have them ignored. For Taylor Caldwell is now recognized as one of our country's most devoted and determined anti-Communist patriots. It is for exactly the same reason that we step outside our "no-fiction" borders, to inform you that *THE SOUND OF THUNDER* (Doubleday, N.Y.) is the newest of her excellent tales.

The rise of Edward Enger from a delicatessen helper to a rich man may be an Horatio Alger-type plot. But Miss Caldwell's understanding of people and her dynamic narrative skill lift this story far above the ordinary rags-to-riches novel of a less tense and less sophisticated age. *The Sound Of Thunder* is a warm book, as well as an entertaining one. It will stir the reader's emotions as well as provide him with many vicarious thrills. Judged by the early sales, it is also going to be a very successful book—continuing that momentum of Miss Caldwell's popularity which even the dirty digs of *Time Magazine* have not yet been able to kill. We hope that this momentum and her great ability will make her each new book more popular than the last one.

LOOKING BOTH WAYS



HUBERT W. KREGELOH

We are delighted and honored to introduce Hubert Kregeloh to our readers as one of our associate editors. Each month he will condense the vapors of world news, crystallize the condensation into nuggets bristling with dates, places, names, and other specific facts, and then present the most important of those nuggets in his summary: *A Review Of The News* (See Page 13). Frequently he will write for us an additional article on any topic that tempts his pen, as he did for this number (See Page 33). And we shall have the benefit of his knowledge, experience, and insight available at all times.

Mr. Kregeloh is one of our country's most penetrating and dependable analysts of the events and personalities which make up the news. Born in Austria, of British and Belgian parents, he has had years of residence and travel in many areas of Europe and the Middle East. He is now an American citizen. During the past twelve years, as a commentator over Station WSPR, Mr. Kregeloh has built up a large and enthusiastic following. Recently he has become firmly established on Station WNBH as well. And he has won many awards for the quality and informational value of his programs.

Besides broadcasting, lecturing widely, and serving as a member of the faculty of Bay Path Junior College, Mr. Kregeloh has been putting out a monthly newsletter, *HUBERT KREGELOH COMMENTS*. This publication, which grew out of the demands of his radio listeners for some printed record of his spoken thoughts and observations on world affairs, has now been merged into *AMERICAN OPINION*. We hope that his former readers will continue to follow his brilliant treatises, in the pages of this magazine, and that all of our other subscribers will profit from them as well.

AMERICAN OPINION will retain much of the character of that informal review, *ONE MAN'S OPINION*, which died in giving it birth. But "the old order changeth, yielding place to new," even in a magazine with an incorrigibly intrusive editor. We shall now be looking outside for the best thinking and most skillful writing we can find to offer you.

There will be certain prerequisites: (1) Both the thinking and the writing must be honest; (2) the subject matter and its treatment must be worth your time for other reasons than sheer entertainment; and (3) the authors must belong to the Americanist rather than the Communist camp, in the warfare which divides our anxious world. We shall consider fairness and objectivity in the discussion of every person and every event, to be of vital importance; but impartiality we shall scorn as a combination of pretense and cowardice.

William Schlam will regularly lead off our list with his *European Survey*. Also superbly meeting our uncompromising requirements, there will be forthcoming in an early issue an article by J. B. Matthews on the *World Health Organization*; one by Hans Sennholz on some aspects of the Federal Reserve System; one by Colm Brogan on the campaign in England to stifle the expression of any opposition to the socialist-Communist point of view; and many other combinations of solid information and incisive opinion. It's true that the editor, in order to pacify all three of those nostalgic readers who praised *ONE MAN'S OPINION*, will have a long article in each issue of *AMERICAN OPINION*. But we still hope you will like our magazine.

ll retain
informal
JUNIOR
But "the
place
in an in
We shall
the be
ting we

quires
writing
t matter
rth your
heer en
ors must
her than
warfare
rld. We
jectivity
son and
ortance
rn as a
coward-

arly lead
Survey
uncom-
will be
an article
d Health
Sennholz
Reserve
a on the
the ex-
the so-
ew; and
solid in-
It's true
pacify all
ers who
ON, will
issue of
we still
azine.

OPINION