

AMERICAN OPINION

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HISTORY

Jean Louise Diehl

A LETTER TO KHRUSHCHEV

Jean Louise Diehl

Other Articles And Regular Features

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AMERICAN OPINION

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March 3, 1958

Dear Reader:

As Richard Arens has said, "the United States is losing the Cold War with Russia, both internationally and domestically. Our American Civilization is now going down the drain, and not more than a handful of people are concerned about it."

What disturbs us, however, even more than the complacency of the many sheep, is the gullibility of the most faithful shepherds. For years the Communists have been enticing us down the road to Communism by programs—like Foreign Aid—sold to us under the guise of fighting Communism. Now they have led us, by that same trickery, around a steep curve indeed.

Some of the ablest and most patriotic business men in America are now busily spreading the horrifying highlights of the Gaither Report. They are doing this in *off-the-record* speeches and confidential memoranda to assorted groups of other leading business men. Of course this method of dissemination of the scare information in the Gaither Report, like the parallel leaks to columnists and editorial writers, is the surest way of making that information believable and convincing.

And yet, in our opinion, what has been revealed of the Gaither Report is anything but convincing. Also, it is one of the most cleverly contrived and important pieces of one of the most powerful propaganda drives ever let loose on the American people. Considerable background and space are needed to support that charge. In *A Letter To Khrushchev*, in this issue, we have used the space, and done our best, to give you that background.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Munich, February 17, 1958

ONLY A FEW WEEKS have passed since Mr. Eisenhower met the other NATO leaders in Paris—and the situation has already deteriorated beyond the point of return, or even of recognition. In Paris, at least, the illustrious congregation reassured the world (and itself) that NATO, precisely *because* it is willing to converse with the Soviets, will more loyally co-operate within itself than ever before; and that the conceded meeting at the Summit must be most carefully prepared by the experts of the foreign offices. In exactly eight weeks, both solemn pledges have collapsed as pathetically as bubble-gum blisters pricked by a child's pin. What is referred to as unity among the NATO partners was never messier than it is today. And poor Mr. Dulles, who can't face the idea that he is not really the Secretary of State, has at last acknowledged that Jim Hagerty is much closer to the job. A conference of foreign ministers, the castigated Mr. Dulles now confesses, is no longer an essential prerequisite of the Summit Meeting (which, in fact, is now even more certain than death and taxes, if only the Soviets will kindly tell us what they wish to talk about). Exactly as Jimmy Hagerty has indicated a few weeks ago, while Mr. Dulles was away laboring in some especially far corner of the planet.

NATO's Delight, To Bark And Fight.....

To begin at the beginning (which is not so easy in a monthly survey that does not enjoy the blissful ignorance of the daily front page), NATO's co-operativeness has reached its nadir. England is barking its way through the worst row it has had with West Germany since 1948. France, groggy with the punches it is dealing itself in North Africa, is mad at everybody, but particularly at the United States and itself. The parties that form the weak Italian Government are in an ugly conflict over the Rapacki Plan (with which the Polish Communist Government, doing fingerwork for the Soviets, meant to achieve precisely that type of effect). West Germany is in the clutches of sinister though naive demagogues, who begin to impress the German people that German "reunification" has been willfully prevented by Dr. Adenauer, and was sincerely offered by the Soviets, way back in 1952. The total military position of NATO on the Continent, as compared with that of two months ago, is simply that the British ponder the immediate withdrawal of half of their Rhenish army, while the French throw their last European reserves into the poisonous fracas with the Algerian rebels, even before the Germans have

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added another battalion of military strength to the defense kitty.

Now there is certainly no method in this savage folly, but there is a unifying reason. The reason, it seems to me, for NATO's dissolution before our unbelieving eyes, is that, deep down in his heart, no European believes for a moment in the possibility of a *military* Soviet advance into Western Europe; and, at the same time, everybody believes that Mr. Eisenhower is fast approaching a big deal with the Soviets anyhow. So that, all considered, everybody acts perfectly rational if he pays far more attention to domestic headaches than to the NATO kind of concept of a foreign policy that makes no sense at all. *If* it is true that the Soviets are not stupid enough to jeopardize the continuity of their *political* advance by *military* ventures; and *if* it is true that the United States is willing, ready and certainly able to *pay* the Soviets for their intelligent pursuit of their selfish interests—then, indeed, everybody else had better attend to his own little business. And so everybody does.

The British Double Standard.....

Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, for instance, has discovered that he can get exactly the same fifty million pounds sterling, over whose lighthearted expenditures for Welfare State frills Mr. Thorneycroft recently resigned, from the prosperous West German Government. And while he told Mr. Thorneycroft that it was stupid to resign from a nice political job because of such a bagatelle, he now tells the Germans (and the Soviets) that Britain's Rhenish army will resign from its job of watching over Europe's security if the rich Germans don't pay the bill of upkeep. Why should they?

Because the British troops are on their soil.

This is the kind of non-sequitur which makes Alice in Wonderland sound so irresistible. The British troops are on German soil, not because the Germans invited them, but because the NATO command thinks this is the best employment of the British contribution to the defense of Europe. The British, of course, have never been asked by the United States to pay for the upkeep of United States troops on British soil; and if they had been asked, their horse laugh would have been audible clear across the ocean. The fact that, a minor eternity ago, Germany has lost a war, has nothing to do with the present situation. At this point of history, West Germany is an *ally* of Great Britain, tied to her by a common need for defense—*not* by purse strings. Britain gets financial and military aid from the United States precisely on the grounds of her incapacity to carry the burden all by herself. She is now trying to get paid twice, just because she suspects West Germany to be in a position to pay. On my part, I suspect that Alice wouldn't find this nice.

George And The (Reluctant) Dragon.....

Nor does the Bonn Government. It is particularly irked by the argument that it ought to give England the money because Germany isn't paying enough for its own defense. West Germany (so goes the British plea) pays only four percent of its National Gross Product for military purposes, while Britain pays about ten and the United States even twelve percent of theirs. It's not quite clear where Mr. Macmillan's secretaries get their figures. Taken in a continuum of several years (and this is the only

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way to figure, for responsible policy makers), West Germany's expenditures for rearmament will amount, from 1958 to 1964, to almost exactly ten percent of Germany's National Gross Product for those six years. It is true that, as of *this* moment, Germany pays only about four percent of its National Gross Product for its army—but simply because it has just begun building that army. And it will need every bit of available resources to finance the next step of the fast expansion. This, to be sure, is not exactly Welfare State budgeting. Mr. Macmillan (as Mr. Thorneycroft can testify) will happily spend money required for tomorrow's needs on today's frills. But it is not (not yet, anyway) a formally binding commitment for all Western nations to behave like tranquilized fools.

Disappointment, Pride, And Fear...

Whether or not the French behave like fools, they certainly aren't tranquilized. On the contrary, they are acting lately with a savage and stubborn despair that seems to express a national conviction of hopelessness. No Frenchman in his right mind (i. e., hardly a Frenchman) will defend that lunatic air raid on a wretched Tunisian village; and yet, no such Frenchman will share the native American conviction that the best thing to do with the White Man's Burden is simply to throw it away. The French, it seems, have reached the point where they realize that they can neither stay in Algeria nor leave it. This is, in archetype, the situation Lenin had in mind when he defined, fifty years ago, the revolutionary break in history: A time when the "ruling class" can no longer govern, but can't let go either. And France, with an almost perverted

passion, cannot see anything but the bleeding sands of Africa.

As a basis for this terrible fascination, the promise that North and Central Africa contained only yesterday, of tremendous wealth for all of France, does not mean everything; but it means a lot. Only so short a while ago, France had good reasons to expect from the vastness of the Sahara desert a gigantic flow of oil. Competent experts estimated that France, if she only retained control of those budding Sahara pipelines which of necessity cut through Algeria, would in a few years become the world's third-largest oil producer. One does not have to be an economic determinist to notice behind the jerky military movements on the Algero-Tunisian border a desperate concern for the pipelines that are just about to be blown up.

But, as I said, it's not only oil. Nor is it even the normal pride of a once great nation that is still not ready to resign itself to the existence of a third-rate power. A comprehension begins to grow all over Western Europe, far beyond France, that the events in Africa may spell the doom of Europe, even before the Soviets begin their push into the Continent proper. I have reported last month that the more learned minds among Europe's military strategists look upon a successful pincer-movement through Africa as *the* decisive play of a correct Soviet strategy. Since then, in mere four weeks, things have moved in the Middle East (which is very much the strategic heart of Africa) with a speed the area has not known in a thousand years. Some Polyannas in our State Department may persuade themselves that the "unification" of Syria and Egypt, and of two Arab kingdoms in fast response, brings *some* order into the region (which, or so the thesis goes,

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means by itself a weakening of the Soviet influence that thrives on chaos). But it is the patent truth that all these events, without a single exception, tend to mold this strategically crucial area of the world in the pattern that clearly determines the suffocation of Western Europe.

Too Little And Too Late.....

In the face of such events, and of the increasing certainty of a United States-Soviet deal, the launching of the first United States earth satellite was, to put it softly, anti-climactic. In the first place, much as the Europeans were relieved that the Americans, too, had that kind of hardware, they are by now much too familiar with the vital statistics of such gadgetry not to notice, very condescendingly, that the United States Sputnik is a slightly comical midget when compared to the robust Soviet type that preceded it. And national pride makes sure that nobody in Europe forgets the entirely foreign parentage of the United States baby. (Wernher von Braun is at the moment one of the more popular Germans, and everybody tells the same story: On arrival in outer space, the little United States rocket asked his big Russian cousin whether they were all alone up there. "Sure," said the Comrade, in somewhat Teutonic Russian. "So why don't we simply speak German then?" asked plaintively Herr von Braun's offspring.)

Even more important was Europe's standard response to the belated feat. Now, all European newspapers of importance agreed in a *unisono* of relief, now that the hurt pride of the boyish Americans has been somewhat repaired, now they will sit down nicely with the Soviets and talk sense. "Sense" means, more than ever, the Rapacki Plan—

that wickedly clever Soviet proposal to disarm Western Europe by "de-atomizing" the two Germanies, Poland and Czechoslovakia and, at the same time, to get Soviet Germany formally admitted into the family of western nations. The Rapacki infection, at that, is spreading far beyond its initial area of appearance. There is in practically all smaller West-European nations a growing tendency to welcome an all-European "purge" of nuclear preparedness. And there were lately some stubborn rumors that the Soviet diplomacy has enveiled the Italian Government in preparatory talks it could hardly decline—specifically, concerning an offer to treat Rome, including the Holy See, a la Rapacki. If there is truth in this, it will be difficult for Italy, and the Vatican, to tell the Soviets where to get off.

Et Tu, Vatican?.....

But Europe's gossip-mongering is by no means confined to talks about a Rapacki gambit, in the Soviets' ambitious effort to have even the Vatican enter into that famous "dialogue" with Khrushchev. According to leftist Italian newspapers, the Soviet Ambassador to Switzerland, Dimitrij Pogidajev, is engaged in continuous conversations with the Apostolic Nuntius to Switzerland, Gustavo Testa. (This is the same Pogidajev who, as Soviet Minister to Rome in 1956, submitted a carefully worked-out—and even more carefully shelved—memorandum to Monsignore Fietta, of the Holy See, concerning a "rapprochement" between Kremlin and Vatican.) And Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko recently announced to an Italian "peace delegation" in Moscow that, if only Vatican and Kremlin would "leave aside the different ideo-

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logical considerations, we could easily agree and open official connections. A (Soviet) agreement with the Vatican on the problem of peace, arrived at today, would perform good services in the future." Now Gromyko knows that the Vatican can outdo even Gromyko in saying "nyet". If he, nonetheless, goes that far out of his way in courting negotiations with the Holy See, he must be pretty certain that the Soviet diplomacy can embarrass the Vatican diehards into some kind of palaver. Nobody need to be afraid that the Pope will pull an Eisenhower and get into a chummy group picture with Khrushchev and Bulganin, a la Geneva. But it is significant for the raised hopes and stakes of the Soviet diplomacy that they now even leer at the Holy See.

Timber!...?.....

Economically, the portents of prosperity still prevail in Western Europe. In fact, European recession talks center entirely on the United States. Seen from here, that is the economically endangered area of the West. And the recently disclosed figure of five million unemployed in the United States has sent chills down the sturdiest Continental spines. This is the nightmarish horror to Europe: a mass unemployment that would immediately make everybody recall all political bets. For even the most old-fashioned military mind over here can grasp that the Soviets gamble, not on military engagements, but on the kind of political hysteria that would engulf Europe in direct consequence of any mass unemployment. And it is tragically ironical that the first indication of mass unemployment should have come from the United States.

This most certainly does not mean

that West Europe's economic health seems invulnerable, even by comparison. On the contrary, the London quotations of international commodity prices show considerably greater nervousness than the parallel movements in New York and Chicago. Here are a few commodity prices of December 31, 1957, as compared with those of December 31, 1956: Copper, 181.5 vs. 267.5; tin, 731 vs. 777.5; lead, 72.5 vs. 116.75; zinc, 61 vs. 102.5; rubber 24.3 vs. 32. The only important exception in this woeful list of international price shudders is oil: 307 vs. 282. And this solitary price increase is not exactly a sign of health either. Oil went up through 1957 simply in response to the Suez crisis.

Reuter's *Index of Commodity Prices* suggests the depth of the total development: If the commodity prices of September 18, 1931 are assessed at 100, Reuter's *Index* gives those of December 31, 1957, as 423.9—compared to 503.6 on December 31, 1956. And the truly disturbing paradox is that, aside from this caving-in of wholesale commodity prices, every other fact indicates a continuation of *inflationary* trends, primarily due to the Welfare State commitments of all governments. So that the normally healing effects of price reductions in recessions cannot operate this time. The impulses of the free market are stopped by the walls of social and political regulations.

And The Chickens Of The Ill-Fare State Come Home To (Find No) Roost.....

That the Welfare State contributes, not to human welfare, but to human sloth, has been disclosed anew by recently published studies in France. France is the most minutely welfarized of all Continental economies this side

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of the Iron Curtain; and even on its other side there could hardly be a more direct responsibility of the State for a working man's daily bread than in France. (For instance, the "contribution" supplied to a worker's salary by the State is still, all considered, the larger part of his monthly income.)

And yet, as the French National Statistical Institute has just shown, the French worker (whose "welfare" has been the country's central political principle at least since 1936) is just about to be buried under the collapsing homes of France. There are about thirteen million "family habitations" in the country. Of these, no less than 1,800,000 are "critically overpopulated with three or more persons in one room." Some 1,650,000 homes are "overpopulated with three persons in two rooms, five in three rooms and seven in four rooms." In France, almost forty-eight thousand families of six persons live in one room. Almost forty thousand families of eight live in two rooms. And more than thirty thousand families of nine persons live in three rooms. One out of three newly married couples live in hotels, in sub-let furnished apartments, or with their in-laws.

These, of course, are the mere statistical facts. The living reality is much ghastlier. Amidst the most graceful urban architecture of the world, surrounded by the greatest glories of petrified taste, a clear majority of France's contemporary generations is housed far worse than cattle. Why? Not because of the war. France lost only a small fraction of the housing that war actions destroyed in West Germany; yet in a few years West Germany has erased the scars, while France's housing problem is incomparably graver today than it was in 1945. The reason is, simply

enough, that France has not lifted "rent controls" since 1916—not in forty cheap, politics-ridden years. And "rent control" meant in France, as anywhere else, that the poor dunce, "the common man", has gotten into the habit of paying no rent. But, no matter what the politicians say, if you pay no rent you will have no place to live. After forty years, the Frenchmen are finding out.

In recent years, because of certain loopholes in the "rent control" legislation, private construction of new apartments has increased surprisingly. Over the last three years, an annual average of 250,000 apartments have been finished—all built with some kind of public subsidy, but so sensibly calculated that their profitable upkeep seems assured. Even assuming, however, that the present rate of construction could be retained for another hundred years, France would still have a perilous housing problem in 2058. The margin of profit that sets the current construction prosperity in motion is still too small to satisfy the minimum demands of the housing market.

But even that reduced activity is drying out. The French Government, running for its life away from the inflationary consequences of its policies, has cut down heavily on the subsidies that permitted the construction of those 250,000 apartments a year. The current estimates are that 1958's construction rate will be below 200,000 new apartments. And at that rate France will have, in another fifty years, literally no roofs over the heads of half of its population. But by that time, who knows, there might be no France and no Europe.

Another on-the-spot European Survey by Mr. Schlammm will appear in our next issue.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

by

HANS SENNHOLZ

AFTER FULL USE of the presidential influence to get the legislation adopted, President Woodrow Wilson signed the act establishing the Federal Reserve System, on December 23, 1913. The Reserve Banks opened their doors for business on November 16, 1914.

Why? What was the origin of this new System? How does it work? What are its good points, if any, and what are its dangers?

I

TRADE CYCLES had been an unhappy experience in the United States as well as in Western Europe. The panic of 1907 and the subsequent lethargy of business and finance had increased the widespread clamor for banking and currency "reform". "We need a more flexible currency," the advocates of a reorganization of the American banking system asserted; "a currency that can be made to expand or contract in accordance with the needs of business." This flexibility was to eliminate the recurring periods of financial stress and disorder.

The "reformers" pointed approvingly at the currency systems in Western Europe. There was, for example, the Bank of England. It enjoyed a partial monopoly of note issue, and served the government as banker and as agent. All other banks kept accounts with the Bank of England because its currency notes commanded greatest confidence and widest circulation. At the end of

each clearing the claims of all other banks were settled through transfers between their respective deposits with the Bank of England. It was the "lender of last resort." In times of financial crisis it was expected to stay liquid, and to grant accommodation to the most essential credit needs. It had done so during the crises of 1873 and of 1890. And in 1907 it had allayed alarm in England by merely increasing its discount rate.

Then there was the Reichsbank of Germany. It also conducted a discount policy for the protection of general banking liquidity. But the Reichsbank differed from the Bank of England in one important respect, which had great appeal for the planners in the United States. This was the "elasticity" in its note circulation. So our institution was fashioned, in general, after the Reichsbank.

The Federal Reserve System was comprised of a number of regional reserve banks under central control. It was originally required to maintain a gold reserve of forty percent against its currency notes in circulation. In addition, this currency outstanding was to be fully covered by the amount of trade and agricultural notes which had been discounted with the Federal Reserve by its member banks. And the Reserve Banks had to keep on hand, in "lawful money", thirty-five percent of all their deposits. In an emergency the full reserve requirements could be suspended

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for thirty days, with renewals of suspension for further periods of fifteen days each—but at a penalty of a graduated tax on the deficiency in reserves.

The legal ownership of the Reserve Banks rests with its member banks, as stockholders. This has proved most important through the high quality of the men generally elected as directors and governors. But the value of this procedure has been reduced to a minimum by the political pressures, exerted by the Federal Government itself, on the central body which controls the whole system.

II

TODAY THE Federal Reserve System has three main ways of manipulating our total financial bloodstream to suit whatever its purposes may be at any given time. In the beginning it had—or at least used—only one. This was the rediscount instrument.

Promissory notes, drafts, and bills of exchange, growing out of actual commercial transactions and with a maturity not to exceed ninety days, accepted by the commercial banks and then rediscounted with the Federal Reserve—this constituted, by law, the base and the boundary for the money the Federal Reserve could create. Thus a direct causal connection was to be established between the money supply and its demand. Since the total of commodity bills rediscounted was supposed to be determined by the intensity of economic life, basing the money supply on that total was supposed to bring about a perfect adjustment of this supply to the fluctuating "needs of business". This arrangement was to make money "neutral", smoothly rendering the vital service of a medium of exchange without itself affecting prices.

Of course, it did no such thing. For the volume of "paper" thus offered the Federal Reserve for rediscount—and hence the amount of currency and credit it could feed into the economy—was determined primarily by the rediscount rate which the Federal Reserve itself established, and could change at will. As so often happens, the planners had got the cart before the horse.

Also, by 1935, the boundaries in this channel of operations had been materially widened. The paper presented to the Federal Reserve for advances to its member banks no longer had to arise out of commercial transactions. It could even be government securities. If the notes, drafts, or bills of exchange had been drawn "for agricultural purposes," they could now have a maturity of nine months instead of three. In addition to banks, now individuals, partnerships, and corporations had been given access to the discounting facilities of the System. Finally, in 1942, the federal government was authorized to borrow up to five billion dollars directly from the Federal Reserve. And every loan the Federal Reserve System made to any borrower, for any purpose, under these relaxing conditions, gave it the authority to issue that much more currency, or credit in the form of a bookkeeping entry subject to the check of the borrower.

III

THE SECOND TOOL of the Federal Reserve System is its authorization to buy or sell certain securities in the open market. The original Act granted it this power to buy and sell obligations of the United States, and of any state, county, district, political subdivision, or municipality in the United States.

By the 1920's it was recognized that

The Federal Reserve System

these open-market transactions by the Reserve Banks offered an important method of central credit control. So a concentration of this power into the hands of one regulatory body was advocated. Legislation enacted in 1933 decreed that no Federal Reserve Bank should engage in open-market operations except in accordance with regulations adopted by the Federal Reserve Board. To improve and formalize this centralization, the Open Market Committee was organized. And in 1935 an amendment to the 1933 Act finally provided that "no Federal Reserve Bank shall engage or decline to engage in open-market operations . . . except in accordance with the direction of, and regulations adopted by, the Committee."

With this tool in familiar use, the Federal Reserve system no longer had to wait for member banks to ask for discounts and advances, at whatever rate it might have set, in order to affect the money supply. It could do so directly, on its own initiative, by buying or selling securities to make the money and capital markets more liquid or more tight, as it might wish. For in payment for securities the Federal Reserve merely draws, on itself, a check which constitutes newly created money. Then, as this check is deposited by the recipient in his bank, and redeposited by that bank, it winds up as an addition to the reserve account of some bank with the Federal Reserve. And hence, as we shall see presently, it becomes the basis for the creation by a member bank of new credit, to the extent of many times the amount of the actual new money.

Open-market operations of the Federal Reserve may deal in long-term securities. Thus they may affect, directly, long-term interest rates and yields;

and this effect is immediate. They are, therefore, a quite comprehensive instrumentality of control (or disturbance). For this reason such operations have high prestige and preference in the plans of the money managers.

THE THIRD, and perhaps most powerful, instrument of credit control in the hands of the Federal Reserve System is its authority to change the reserve requirements of its member banks. Both the rediscount process and the open-market transactions either increase or decrease member bank reserves, and hence the amount of credit which these banks can make available. But changing the percentage of its deposits which a bank must keep as a reserve is an even more drastic form of influence over the money and credit supply.

For suppose a bank has one million dollars of demand deposits. If the reserve requirement is ten percent, it must keep one hundred thousand dollars in its reserve account with a Federal Reserve Bank. It may loan out or invest the rest. But if the reserve requirement should now be lowered, let us say, to five percent, our bank would need only fifty thousand dollars as a reserve against its demand deposits. It can now lend or invest the remaining \$50,000.00.

If this were the whole effect, only \$50,000.00 of additional money would enter the economy. In reality, however, this is merely the beginning of a chain of multiple money creation. Let's assume that our bank purchases fifty thousand dollars' worth of additional securities. The seller of the securities deposits the \$50,000.00 he receives in another bank. This increases the deposits, *and the reserves on hand*, of that bank by \$50,000.00. That bank now holds back a reserve of five percent, or

The Federal Reserve System

\$2,500.00, against its increased deposits, and itself spends the remaining \$47,500.00 in the purchase of additional securities. Again, the recipient of this amount deposits it in still another bank. And this process continues until total bank deposits have been expanded by one million dollars. For the lowering of reserve requirements from ten percent to five percent frees \$50,000.00 in reserves, out of the million dollars on deposit with the first bank in the chain. And that \$50,000.00, with a five percent reserve ratio in effect, will support twenty times itself, or one million dollars, in additional bank loans and deposits.

This is an oversimplification, of course. But the impact on the capital and money market of changes in reserve requirements is extremely potent. It is estimated that at present a fluctuation of only one percent tends to increase or decrease the total volume of bank credit by more than six billion dollars. This authority to vary reserve requirements was given to the Federal Reserve System in 1933, as a *special emergency power*. Since 1935 it has been a permanent instrument of credit control.

V

AN APPRAISAL of the good points and bad points of the Federal Reserve System depends on the political and economic philosophy of the appraiser. If you favor government control over our economy you will regard the Federal Reserve most favorably, for it actually holds absolute power over the people's money and credit. And despite its technical ownership by the member banks, it necessarily operates as a government agency—an agency which regulates the money and credit supplied along lines dictated by political considerations.

If you are convinced of the beneficial nature of a capitalist economy, you will unconditionally reject the Federal Reserve System. You will condemn it as the controlling body of a socialized industry. You will blame it for having shattered the American dollar; for having caused booms, busts, recessions, and depressions; and for having given the forty-four years of its existence the period's fundamental characteristic: an unprecedented economic instability.

In the opinion of this writer this instability then fostered the growth of ideologies that are hostile to individual liberty. The Federal Reserve, through its policies of "boom and bust", helped to usher in the New Deal. And it now acts as mid-wife to ever more extensive government controls.

For with practically all legislative restrictions removed, the seven members of the Board of Governors have in their hands the greatest economic power ever held by so few men in the history of this great nation (and probably of any other nation). It is the power to change the content of every deferred payment; to increase or decrease the real value of every bond, mortgage, insurance policy, or other debt. It is a supreme power over prices, wages, profits, and employment or unemployment.

To be sure, there is still one legal limitation to its activities. The law now requires a gold certificate backing of twenty-five percent of the Reserve Banks' liability for deposits and currency outstanding (instead of the forty percent specified in the original Act.) But this limitation is of no practical worth in our contemporary economy—as we can easily learn.

At present the Federal Reserve Banks hold approximately twenty-two billion dollars in gold certificates. [These are

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receipts for that much gold, supposedly held—physically—by our government. If, under some extreme distress and through some miracle of independence, the Federal Reserve System should insist on redeeming these certificates for its gold, it is doubtful that our government could come anywhere near supplying that much actual gold. So even these certificates may themselves be only little more than another kind of government "paper" and a part of the whole hocus-pocus of government money management. But this is an aspect of the situation on which Dr. Sennholz does not touch. Editor]. This means that Federal Reserve liabilities are limited by statute to eighty-eight billion dollars. In spite of all the tremendous inflation in recent years, however, the total liabilities of the Federal Reserve System amount to only about fifty billion dollars. Which leaves an expansionary base of about thirty-eight billions.

Then remember that, as we have seen, the Board of Governors has full authority over the reserve requirements of member banks. It can lower these requirements to the statutory minimum of approximately ten percent. (Specifically: Demand deposits, of central reserve city banks, 13%, of reserve city banks, 10%, of country banks, 7%; time deposits, of all banks, 3%.) At the reserve requirements which could thus be established, the thirty-eight billion dollars of remaining Reserve Bank credit would enable member banks to make additional loans and investments of approximately three hundred and eighty billion dollars. This would almost triple the present volume of currency and demand deposits in the United States. The effects of such a monetary expansion, which lies entirely within the authority of the seven Gov-

ernors in Washington, would be indescribable.

VI

THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS of the Federal Reserve System have the clear power, through the political results of their economic controls, to make this a socialist nation. President Eisenhower, in many remarks about inflation since his second inauguration, has indicated the complete regimentation of our lives by the federal government which is in store for us. And the road from inflation to socialism is inevitable.

First, our economic planners in Washington clamor for an expansion of the volume of money and credit, in order to bring about—or sustain—a boom, prosperity, and full employment. They rejoice over wage boosts, but dislike the parallel price rises and the hardships caused those with fixed incomes. They approve of additional housing construction, but disapprove of higher prices for houses. They like one set of inflationary effects, but decry the inevitable twin set. And our economic planners are always most anxious indeed to do something about these undesired effects. In order to "fight" inflation they want to curb our economic actions with a series of socialist controls. They want credit controls, price controls, wage controls, and all kinds of other government controls over our economic lives. They want socialism. And in my opinion, an acceleration of the present long-range credit expansion will lead us rapidly into exactly the controlled economy that they desire.

Under these conditions the Federal Reserve System is the most important tool in the armory of economic interventionism. In the Governors' own words, it is the System's objective "to

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help counteract inflationary and deflationary movements, and to share in creating conditions favorable to sustain high employment, stable values, growth of the country, and a rising level of consumption". This is interventionism at its baldest, with all of the planner's usual assumption of benevolent omniscience. An institution which was established under the guise of a cooperative undertaking by the banks of the country to pool their resources has developed into the right hand of the government in promoting its "New Deal" and "Fair Deal" objectives. The beautiful fallacies of socialist "central planning" are being substituted for the hard, but lasting and productive, truths of a free market. And the Federal Reserve System supplies the magician's cloth under which the substitution is made.

Its part in the colossal metamorphosis of our country is not limited to the maintenance of cheap money, in order to prolong or create a boom. It also provides the government itself with the money the planners think they should have, beyond the amount they dare take directly in taxes. The Federal Reserve System facilitates the government's own inflationary financing "in periods of emergency". It makes easy the inflationary financing of budget deficits and the inflationary refunding of government loans. It stabilizes the government bond market through inflationary methods and manipulates this market to the advantage of the government. It does

all of this by wrecking the purchasing power of the dollar; by subtly stealing from the people of this country what it thus provides for the government, through a process exactly on a par with the coin-clipping of ancient kings — but much more diabolical because so much less visible.

It is no answer to these facts that the present Board of Governors are honorable men, with the best of intentions. Most socialists (and especially those who do not recognize themselves as socialists) have good intentions. That is what makes them so dangerous—and has brought the economies of France and England into their present miserable state. The simple truth is that without the Federal Reserve System there can be no continuing march towards socialism, and with it there can be no free economy. That is why the adherents of liberty and capitalism cannot rest until the Federal Reserve System has been abolished.

Precisely 110 years ago Karl Marx enumerated in his *Communist Manifesto* ten prerequisites for a successful revolution and the conversion of any nation into a socialist state. Point 5 reads: "Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly." Since the abolition of the gold standard in 1933 this point has been realized in America, for all essential purposes. The Federal Reserve System constitutes its realization.

A FOOTNOTE BY THE EDITOR

We have several good friends who are on the boards of directors of different Federal Reserve banks. They are among the finest and most public-spirited Americans that we know. Yet most of them are simply unwilling to recognize the true significance and inescapable function of the institution which they serve. So far have socialist theories become unquestioned, and socialist practices become commonplace, among us.

We hope that these friends will go back and read the above article a second time, without rancor or resentment. Dr. Sennholz, generally considered one of the two or three most brilliant disciples of Ludwig von Mises, is certainly one of our country's soundest and most scholarly economists. His analysis and conclusions deserve deep consideration.

A Review of the News

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

In February, 1958 . . .

→ After intensive negotiations in January, Egypt and Syria merged into a single state despite the absence of a common frontier. The new state of 28,000,000 people will be known as the United Arab Republic. Egypt's Colonel Nasser will be President and Cairo the capital. Other Arab states have been invited to join—with Yemen showing much interest. A rival union between weaker Arab Jordan and Iraq did not yet seem consolidated.

→ The U. S. Government dropped its four-year anti-trust suit against the United Fruit Company in return for an agreement by United to create a competitor in the banana business. A loss of about thirty-five percent of United's banana business is involved.

→ With the beating of teachers, gang warfare, armed robberies in classrooms, increased rapings and an unprecedented use of profane language by teenagers, the jungle-like conditions in the public schools of New York City reached a new high. Racial tension was a major factor. One Southern Congressman, noting that no such conditions had ever existed in Little Rock, Arkansas, inquired why President Eisenhower had not dispatched federal troops to New York City.

→ On Feb. 7, in what the free world generally condemned as a major blunder, French warplanes (including American-built machines intended exclusively for NATO use) raided a Tunisian village near the Algerian

border. The incident—followed by two lesser ones later in the month—resulted in sharp deterioration of Tunisian-French relations. Paris claimed that the raid, which killed close to one hundred people and wounded another reported eighty, was in retaliation against alleged Tunisian support of Algerian nationalists.

→ Florida, plagued by the coldest winter in its history as a vacationland, lost tourist business; destruction of its citrus and vegetable crops ran into tens of millions of dollars; and it was feared that close to 300,000 cattle in all would perish of cold and starvation.

→ President Eisenhower appointed the first U. S. Negro ambassador. Clifton R. Wharton of Boston, Massachusetts, will represent the United States in Communist Romania.

→ At Cape Canaveral, Florida, various inter-continental rockets were launched by the three services, with mostly negative results.

→ Politically, the month was marked by: Democratic charges of GOP "depression policies"; increasing howls from Republican Congressmen in farm states for the firing of Agriculture Secretary Ezra T. Benson in the face of clearly voiced Presidential resentment of such demands; growing Republican nervousness over rising unemployment and Mr. Eisenhower's back-tracking from an earlier prediction that March would see the end of the downturn; and a Congressional probe of the Federal

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Communications Commission, members of which were accused of various irregularities.

→ Airman Donald G. Farrell, 23, spent seven days under simulated space flight conditions. The test, conducted at Randolph Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, was considered successful.

→ Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, 71, announced his intention to retire after twenty-five years of service in the Upper House. While Conservative, economy-minded Americans accepted his decision with consternation as another in a series of recent blows, pressure on the veteran solon was so great that he changed his mind two weeks later and announced that he would, after all, seek re-election in November.

→ In a further move in the United States trend to agree to another "summit" meeting with the Russians *on their terms*, Secretary of State Dulles abandoned his earlier insistence of a foreign-ministers parley as a prerequisite for a new "summit" affair.

→ Harold Stassen resigned as President Eisenhower's "disarmament adviser" to seek the Republican nomination for Governor in Pennsylvania. There was strong indication that the resignation had been "requested," and GOP political circles in Pennsylvania were united in opposing Stassen's candidacy.

→ The United States signed a new economic aid agreement with Communist Poland, raising total credits, grants, and favors to that country to \$193 million within less than a year.

→ In Indonesia, President Sukarno's government faced open revolt from opponents in Sumatra, who disagreed

with Jakarta's policies in general, and specifically with the inclusion of Communists in the Central Indonesian Government.

→ Granting a Presidential request, Congress "temporarily" boosted the national debt ceiling from \$275 billion to \$280 billion. It was the fourth time that the debt limit had been raised "temporarily" since Eisenhower's first inauguration.

→ In Argentina, Arturo Frondizi, a lawyer considered leftist, won the six-year Presidential term in a free election. From his exile in the Dominican Republic, former dictator Peron had supported and endorsed Frondizi.

→ The United States and Britain signed an agreement for the construction in Britain of four nuclear missile bases, to be armed with American 1,500-mile medium-range rockets.

→ Sir Winston Churchill, 83, at his French Riviera villa, was attacked by pneumonia and pleurisy, but triumphed once more over his enemies.

→ In a speech marking the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet armed forces, defense minister Malinovsky boasted that the USSR now has missiles capable of carrying a nuclear attack to any point on earth.

→ The Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that the cost of living reached an all-time high in January.

→ February 25 was "Foreign Aid Day." Arranged in Hollywood style by Eric Johnston, at huge luncheon and dinner affairs in Washington, D. C., prominent foreign aid boosters of both parties exhorted Congress and the people to support the administration's give-away program.

A LETTER TO KHRUSHCHEV

March 3, 1958

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV
The Kremlin, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Sir:

FIRST, we apologize for using the worn-out technique of the "open letter". It is the only apology you will find anywhere in these pages.

We are publishing this message, instead of merely mailing it to you, however, for two reasons. (A) We hope it will be endorsed, by an appreciable number of anti-Communists in this country, as a crystallization of some of their own thoughts. (B) The chance of having it actually read and considered by yourself will be much increased by this procedure. We want it to come to your attention — and, frankly, we believe that it will.

Do Not Expect Diplomatic Language . . .

Second, our phrasing will be straightforward. Using words, not to convey thoughts, but to disguise them, was in Talleyrand's time only a formula. The practice has now become a major branch of our contemporary arts and sciences. So the communications which you receive through diplomatic channels, from officials of our government, would seldom assay one brass tack to the carload. It may be well worthwhile for you to read a letter from an American private citizen, who can tell you what he thinks without swaddling the substance irretrievably in hypocritical humbug.

As a part of that straightforwardness, we shall not go out of our way to be insulting, as you have frequently done in addressing us — making a grandstand play of the insult for its

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propaganda value. Nor shall we, on the other hand, either make any pretense of hiding our dislike for you and your associates, nor sidestep the use of pungent idiom if it accurately expresses our point of view. A major reason for writing this letter is to speak, so far as we can, for that segment of the American population — which we believe still to be the preponderant majority — that is basically and bitterly hostile to your whole regime, and which feels betrayed by all of the expressions and manifestations of friendship towards you on the part of our present administration in Washington. Our government, following a proverbial principle of politicians, may well have hinted: "If you will desist from telling lies about us, we will refrain from telling the truth about you." But this writer does not subscribe to any such undertaking.

But Plain Truth, At First Hand . . .

Third, we are aware that you have plenty of agents in our midst, whose duties include the continuous despatch, back to the Kremlin, of detailed reports as to what the American people are thinking. But agents can be deceived, or deceiving. And anyway, you can save the cost of a lot of microfilm by simply reading this issue of AMERICAN OPINION. You will not even have to buy a copy. A gift subscription, to start with this number, has been entered for you by an enemy of yours. That's how we got the inspiration for this letter. Giving you some unvarnished truth might conceivably dispel a few dangerous ideas, which may be chasing each other around in your sometimes vodka-soaked upper story. Just for instance, you could be starting to believe some of your own propaganda. And that would be a bad mistake. For remember: If an erstwhile pal of yours, named Hitler, had paid less attention to his yes-men, and listened more attentively to some of his American *foes*, he might be dining on Wiener schnitzel in Berchtesgaden tonight.

Finally, this writer — along with many of his friends — does not believe that you are the "head of state" in Russia today at all. We think you are a "front" man, told what to say and

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how to say it, when to clown and when to rant, by Malenkov—or whoever the real dictator may be—behind the scenes. But we are perfectly willing to go along with this imposture, and address our remarks to you as if you really were the boss. For we deduce that yours is one of the most important sets of ears, as well as tongues and sets of hands, at his disposal. So we hope you will listen, both for him and for yourself.

II

STRANGE TO SAY, most of what we have to tell you is going to please you very much. For example, we know that you are winning the Cold War by leaps and bounds. We are familiar with the three-step program laid out by Lenin for the Communist conquest of the world: First, eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, and last the final bastion of opposition, the United States of America. We can see that you have already completed the first step entire, three-fourths of the second step, and — through the power of your strategically placed agents — at least one-fourth of the last step. In fact, we measured your tremendous geographical progress, in some detail, in an article entitled *Look At The Score*, in the November, 1957 issue of this magazine. (Back copies, each, fifty cents American or one thousand kopecks.) We are duly impressed and honestly frightened by that score.

We Know About Your Agents In Our Government . . .

We also acknowledge the remarkable degree of your influence in, or control over, a huge number of the governments of the world, even those outside of the Iron Curtain — and most assuredly including our own. We think that when Stalin implied to the Czech diplomat, Arnhost Heidrich, in 1947, that he, Stalin, was even then in practical control of the American government (see the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 14, 1947), he was not exaggerating. We think that this control of the Kremlin over the policies and actions of our government has steadily increased and tightened during the ten years since.

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We are sure that a very high percentage of the individuals in our government are entirely loyal and patriotic public servants. Nevertheless this whole organization has been insidiously but steadily led down the road the Kremlin wanted it to follow, by a clever and powerful minority of manipulators—consisting of actual Communist agents, Communist sympathizers, and their socialist allies and dupes. Loyal individuals, in positions of any authority at all, who were not gulled as to the direction the whole body was traveling, had to be willing to close their eyes to that direction instead of opposing the movement. Otherwise they soon found themselves transferred to less important positions, or on the outside altogether. And we think that the number, prestige, power, and brazenness of your agents within our government today, at all levels, is by far the greatest it has ever been. Many of our readers have heard us say this before, but not in a letter to you, so we hope they will forgive the repetition.

And What They Have Accomplished . . .

We recognize the many disastrous steps our government, or the political masters of our destinies, have taken during the last decade, as a result of this control from the Kremlin, to help International Communism. Regardless of the plausible excuses, oblique approaches, and indirect wire-pulling through which that control was exercised, many of the results have been catastrophic for our best friends throughout the world as well as for ourselves. Among the most important of these pro-Communist actions, or Communist-aiding activities, during the past twelve years — even though some did not seem so at the time to many who participated in them — are the following:

Abroad . . .

(1) The betrayal of our great ally, Mihailovich, and turning Yugoslavia over to Stalin's hatchet man, Tito — as fully documented in David Martin's *Ally Betrayed*.

(2) The betrayal of Poland by the Acheson-dominated State Department, and turning that country over to Stalin's Lublin Gang — as accurately described by our own ambassador

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right on the spot, Arthur Bliss Lane, in his book *I Saw Poland Betrayed*.

(3) The betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and turning the mainland of China over to your murderous subordinate, Mao Tse-tung, by the Dean Acheson-Alger Hiss-George Marshall axis in our State Department — as fully disclosed in George Creel's *Russia's Race For Asia* and a dozen other books.

(4) The dismissal of General MacArthur, in order to keep him from winning the Korean War.

Or At Home . . .

(5) The snatching of the Republican nomination from Taft in 1952 by purchase, theft, secret deals, and other tactics more foul than had ever before appeared in American politics. For Taft, as you well knew, would have cleaned out your agents by the thousands, and had to be defeated at any cost.

(6) The negotiations at Panmunjom, where all of the negotiators on the Communist side, all of the "neutralists" like Nehru, and entirely too many of the negotiators on our side, were all working for the Kremlin.

(7) The defeat of the Bricker Amendment, which would have constituted a roadblock across the flow of American sovereignty and power of decision into the United Nations, ILO, NATO, and other international organizations.

(8) The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, with the ultimate purpose (on your part, anyway) of fomenting civil war in this country.

(9) The censure by the United States Senate of Joe McCarthy — of which most of the senators who were pressured and bamboozled into so asinine a slap at themselves are now (when it is much too late) thoroughly ashamed.

(10) Our huge (and still continuing) part in the surrender of French Indochina to the Communists.

And Also How . . .

(11) The constant catering of our government to Com-

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munist collaborators, "neutralists", and viceroys like Gronchi of Italy, Nehru of India, and Soekarno of Indonesia — the last of whom, a Communist stooge all of his adult life, and who only a few years before had led a mob that burned an American president in effigy as an "imperialist", in the streets of Batavia, was in 1955 accorded the longest and most fulsome "state" visit in our nation's history. (As if you didn't know, or how it was arranged.)

(12) The "Summit Conference" in Geneva in 1955, which could have and did have no possible result except the strengthening of the Kremlin's grip inside the Iron Curtain and the aggrandizement of its prestige abroad.

(13) The doublecrossing, by agencies of our government, of the East German uprising in 1953 and of the Hungarian uprising in 1956.

(14) The acceptance by our National Security Council of the official position that we want the satellite nations to remain as military allies of Soviet Russia.

(15) The whole gigantic hoax called NATO, inaugurated by Dean Acheson, started on its way by the Communist-dominated Truman administration, and built to its present incredible mountain of extravagant futility by the influence of your agents in our government and other governments of the West.

(16) The whole Sputnik episode, with all of its ramifications, of which we shall have more to say anon.

We Do Not Congratulate You, But . . .

You are doing all right, Comrade Khrushchev; very much all right from your point of view. And we are well aware that the speed of your progress, the arrogant openness of the help given you by our government, and the vicious crushing of your opposition everywhere (including inside America), have all greatly increased since 1953. We are not happy about it, but we are realistic enough to face the facts.

We know that you know all of these things, Comrade Khrushchev, but a third step is important. We want you to

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know that we know that you know. We have recounted some of the farreaching maneuvers which have herded us to this precipice because we wanted to convince you that the Kremlin's hidden hand in those maneuvers was not as hidden as you might have hoped. By the time we come to write the final and most important paragraphs of this letter, we must have made clear: (1) That we really do know how far you have already gone towards making the United States just another batch of three or four Soviet Republics; and (2) that we understand the methods and the measures by which you have achieved such staggering results. In that vein, and for that purpose, let's turn from the past to what is happening right now, and to what you thoroughly expect to happen in the proximate future.

III

IN THE FIRST PLACE, we are sure that your former agent, Igor Gouzenko, was absolutely right when he said that your success in launching the earth satellite, Sputnik, was due to two factors: (1) The theft of the know-how from various agencies of our Defense Department; and (2) the deliberate holding back of such a launching by ourselves, through the influence of treason at work in our government. The treasonous moves were, as Gouzenko says, disguised under seemingly logical excuses. But the net result, and the intended result, was to let you have the glory, the propaganda value, and all of the less obvious advantages, of this first conquest of outer space.

Even the obtainable evidence to support this assertion is plentiful, and has been for a long time. In a speech by Senator McCarthy as far back as October, 1955 — on a platform which this writer shared with him as the only other speaker — the Senator pointed out that our own progress in the field of missile and rocket production was being willfully slowed down by traitorous forces inside our government. And he prophesied exactly what has now happened, as bound to happen unless the treason was rooted out.

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You Floated Your Sputnik . . .

We are not overlooking the importance of your kidnapped German scientists, Comrade Khrushchev, for many of them were and are rocket specialists. With their knowledge and experience, plus the information stolen from us — both directly and through the British — plus a “crash program” at any cost, you were able to put a ball high enough above the earth’s atmosphere to have it settle into a tentative and temporary orbit. You even followed that up with a second ball, supposedly much larger — but concerning which all specifications and reports have been much less authentically confirmed. And we are convinced that you also can justly claim credit for the way we have been so pantingly playing second fiddle, and shouting “Look, me too,” ever since.

But we are further convinced, Comrade Khrushchev, largely by your own claims to having such a plethora of rockets and missiles ready to loose on our helpless heads, that you do not have any such thing. For we know from long observation how your mind and your strategy work. If you really did have the weapons and the superiority in advanced technology, to accomplish our destruction or to be sure of winning any war that got started, you would be telling us just the opposite until you were ready to start using the weapons.

As You Got The Bomb . . .

We believe that there is a close parallel here with your former actions and pretenses in connection with nuclear weapons. We do not doubt either the knowledge, or the accuracy of the conclusion, of the former chief of security training of our whole governmental enterprise in the field of atomic energy. He says that up until 1953, at least, in all probability you had never manufactured even one atomic bomb; that those which you had been “test-exploding” for show-off purposes you had assembled out of parts which your agents had easily stolen, and simply walked away with, from our plants. And we think that, similarly, all of your claims to solid scientific

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accomplishment, based on the Sputnik stunt, are one-third exaggeration and two-thirds sheer poppycock.

But Your Reputation Is Tough On Your Pretenses . . .

From the past actions of yourself and your associates, it seems likely that your beeping moonlet was a glittering sample, contrived at an all-out cost for the display window, with nothing in stock behind it but an exhausted shop. Otherwise, why would you go to such extreme lengths, through every pipe in your propaganda organ, to convince us of the opposite. Many of us have read enough Russian history, Comrade Khrushchev, to remember Potemkin's "prosperous" villages on the Dnieper. The houses were only false fronts, without walls or floors behind them, which served the single purpose of making a good show for Catherine and her courtiers as the royal barges floated by. With some cardboard painted to look like tile, and a traveling troupe of actors dressed like peasants, Potemkin gave Catherine a deluded glimpse of a whole happy empire in the Crimea. With one missile weighing — so it is claimed — 165 pounds, and another one much more vaguely presented for our imaginations to endow with some frightening statistics, you would have us visualize behind them a flotilla of space ships ready to head for Mars. And we are to take for granted that, just as a by-product of building your Sputniks, or vice versa, you have or will soon have a battery of intercontinental missiles ready to pinpoint Times Square, the Boston State House, and Capitol Hill as targets from five thousand miles away. Pfui! We don't claim your grapes are sour, Comrade Khrushchev. Knowing what an inveterate liar you are, we don't believe they even exist.

Infantry You Have . . .

Don't get us wrong. We know that you have a land army massive enough and brutal enough to overrun all of Europe at will — mowing down in the process tens of thousands of our soldiers who have been scattered everywhere in helpless small

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detachments to make that particular result easier for you. We know that the strongest part of your navy is your fleet of submarines, because submarines were a specialty of the German scientists whom you enslaved in 1945 — with the utterly disgraceful assent of representatives of our government. One reason that we really believe in those submarines is that the information comes from authoritative sources *outside* of your government or *ours*. Another is that we haven't heard you boasting about them. We are also painfully aware that you do not have to transport your nuclear pilferage to Russia; that it is possible for your agents to steal the parts of, assemble, and hide right here in our cities, enough atomic bombs to do tremendous damage in a surprise attack at any time you felt safe enough from retaliation to undertake one. But the key to all of the problems thus posed for us is really our internal security against treason, not your military strength or ours — and that is the significant point of this discussion to which we are coming in due course.

But Production You Haven't . . .

Also, please do not get us wrong about another matter. We do not claim that Russians are constitutionally incapable of designing a submarine or a rocket. What we doubt so confidently is that you have either the vast technological competence or productive capacity, below the experimental level, to turn out all of those missiles and nuclear bombs you are threatening to start tossing around. The most dependable conclusions, arrived at by the most objective scholars from combining all of the evidence available, is that your equipment, your degree of mechanization, and your production per man-hour, even in your most industrialized centers at their best, are about equal to what ours were in 1920; and that your total industrial production in proportion to your total population is today at the level of ours in 1900!

Your real pride, Comrade Khrushchev, as distinguished from your deceptive boastings to frighten a gullible public, is

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in the six thousand Communist schools and colleges throughout the world, teaching *political* warfare, agitation, and subversion. We know that too large a percentage of the Communist youth, with the best brains and the most ambition, are taking this road to personal advancement, for the total inventive genius and technological capacity of your whole brainwashed gang to exceed the level which this country passed right after World War I. As late as 1944, under the most pressing need imaginable, your thousands of brilliant young technologists didn't have "scientific" sense enough to put together the complete manufacturing plants which we shipped them, or to keep such plants running even after we assembled and started them off in good order. Why should we think that in a dozen years your whole engineering and technical-labor population has suddenly moved from the abacus to the electronic-computer stage of dealing with matters mathematical and materials scientific?

For Subversion Is Your Real Weapon . . .

We think you are making headway, without question. And that in due course, if we all live that long, the growing and spreading skill of your workers in technical production processes will move you up from the 1920 notch to some reasonably contemporary level, and one very dangerous for ourselves. But up to now, Comrade Khrushchev, you have been running too many schools and agencies of subversion, because that is the area in which you were winning all of your important victories — and where you are still looking for your decisive victories today. Most of the successful sycophants and brilliant schemers in your system have learned the professional uses of animal cunning and the forensic employment of dialectic cleverness; not how to split an atom — nor how to improve a lathe. In the proper setting of a loaded debating society on the East River, they can lift the wings of logic. But when it comes to lifting the wings of lead, they still have to steal the blueprints from the West, and ape the motions of the West in trying to build and run the machines those blueprints forecast.

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And Your Bluffs Are Superb . . .

If you really have all of this scientific superiority you are beating your breast about, Comrade Khrushchev, why is the basic textbook on nuclear physics, which is in use everywhere in the Soviet Union, one that was written in, and simply taken from, the United States? Why did you claim that your ten-billion electron-volt atom smasher had reached full power last spring, when it is in this case a known fact that it produced only *one-millionth* as many protons as needed to use it *for research*? And why, pray tell, when you needed in October, 1957, to release a picture of your Sputnik to the world for propaganda purposes, did it turn out to be an *exact* reproduction of the photograph of a satellite model on Page 129 of the January, 1956 issue of our magazine, *Popular Science*. Pfu! again, Comrade Khrushchev. *The Wall Street Journal*, from which we got a part of the information above, calls you a *truth-stretcher* with regard to your scientific accomplishments. We would offer that, in any contest, as the prize understatement of at least a thousand years.

IV

HOWEVER, you did get Sputnik I, and even something you could call Sputnik II, up in the sky. And great was the propaganda value thereof. The immediate acclaim, fanned by your agents everywhere, was so great that most people assumed the direct visible results of this *tour de force* to be the most important results. These included: (1) The sheer glory of scientific achievement, and the mighty boost to Russian prestige all over the world which accompanied this glory; (2) the vague fear of what more deadly "machines of the future" you might unleash, on the part of the man in the street everywhere, as expressed by one of them who said "it sorta gives you the shivers to think of that thing circling around overhead"; and (3) the blackmail value in diplomatic circles of your superiority in advanced weapons, of which this stunt was supposed to be the proof. Your plans to use the psychological advantages

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thus given you, to bring about a "neutralization" of all of Germany, were outlined by one of our Associate Editors, Mr. Schlamm, in the February issue of this magazine.

This harvest alone would constitute a very good return on your investment. But we think you have some larger and longer schemes afoot, concerned primarily with ourselves, for which the launching of Sputnik was the starting gun. And you do not expect Americans, even a majority of those most active in promoting these schemes for you, to suspect that they are being cleverly inspired and steered into the final destruction of their own republic by your smooth secret agents and your plausible propaganda. For these same "naive Americans" are not yet even aware of how completely our domestic plunge into the swampy edges of the socialist quagmire, over the past twenty-five years, has come about, simply because the Kremlin, and the Kremlin's agents in this country, "planned it that way".

The Real Sputnik Was Launched In 1933 . . .

To change the metaphor, Comrade Khrushchev, the conspiratorial mechanism by which you are converting the United States into a communist country — to make it infinitely easier for you then to convert it into Communist satrapies ruled from Moscow — can be quite properly compared with a three-stage rocket. The first stage was fired in 1933, starting us with a "whoosh" on our way. Before the trajectory from that propulsion had leveled off we had already gone through: (1) the run on our banks and their resultant closing, in creating which hysteria your hands played the decisive unseen part, and which really supplied the launching stage for the whole rocket; (2) the establishment of the NRA, and the NLRB, and the boondoggling PWA, and the AAA, and all of the other alphabetical monstrosities of the New Deal — a great many of the leaders in which agencies have since been identified as active Communist agents or strong Communist sympathizers; (3) our joining the International Labor Organization, and the flooding into Washington from Montreal and Geneva of the agents of this

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strategy board of international socialism; (4) the placing over the heads of our formerly self-reliant people of the government umbrella of "social security" — largely through the influence and machinations of your ILO pals; (5) the Wagner Act, and a complete change in the direction, morals, and character of the American labor movement; (6) the introduction of class hatred into our country, which previously had hardly even been conscious of class lines; (7) a tremendous increase in the size, expensiveness, power, and reach of our federal bureaucracy; (8) an increasing subservience of both the legislative and judiciary branches of our government to the executive branch; (9) the gradual acceptance by the American people of the first significant use of the progressive principle of taxation; and (10) hundreds of other measures, large and small, designed by your Marxian predecessors to make the initial journey of any people into the boundaries of socialism appealing, deceptive — and irrevocable.

Was Refueled By The War . . .

The second stage of this rocket you managed, largely by conspiratorial diplomacy and aggressively lying propaganda in many countries, to get fired on December 7, 1941. And this second stage had the indescribably powerful propulsion given it by a world-wide war. Its trajectory had only now started to level off, after carrying us so much further into the socialist realm that we do not even need to recount here the milestones and markers which we have rushed past in mad flight. We do not believe any sensible man, whether he desires socialism or hates it, could deny that we are twice as far along, in the direction you have wanted us to go, as we were in 1941.

And Now Zooms Anew . . .

Then, in October, 1957, your Sputnik set off the third stage of this far more important, though purely metaphorical, rocket. And once again, with a great "whoosh", we are on our way. The level of socialism to which you expect this rocket to

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carry us is simply astounding. We'll list, soon, many of the specific goals your agents have in mind, which will constitute and delineate that level. First we need to congratulate you, once more, on your cleverness.

For the propulsion and the "whoosh", of this third-stage projectile of your psychological rocket, have not been provided altogether by your new kind of physical satellite. You and your fellow conspirators never do things by half, or leave any stone unturned which might conceivably make the success of your designs more certain. So, with the most beautiful timing imaginable, reports of the Gaither Committee, and of the Study Group of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and of assorted other committees and "study groups", have been following Sputnik and then each other with the precision of the hammer blows of a fancy clock striking the hour. And all of them have been driving into the American consciousness, as did Sputnik, the exact line of thought which you want lodged there at the present time. Like the confused general in the satirical epigram, the American nation is supposed to wake suddenly to a danger it does not understand, jump on its horse, and ride off in all directions at once. And under the present infiltrated leadership, it undoubtedly will.

With Boosters . . .

We do not claim to know all of the details as to how you have accomplished this feat. But with more room to spare, Comrade Khrushchev, we believe we could play back for you a recognizable résumé of the most significant tactical steps. Suffice it to say here that the Gaither Committee seems to have been composed of the usual quota of innocents, opportunists, and some who are not so innocent at all. Among the "innocents" are men as devotedly patriotic as any in America, who are also among our country's most able business men. But their "innocence", once they get outside of their own bailiwick, into the maze of politics and government, is ineffable. For the quickest illustration we can think of, these are the kind of men who

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insisted in 1952 — and some of them even in 1956 — that Eisenhower was a conservative Republican. In view of the record, even in 1952 entirely clear and readily available, that by his ideological convictions, his actions, and his associations, Eisenhower belonged in the left-wing fringes of the Democratic Party, it would have been too much to expect of such men a realistic skepticism about any plausible-looking "facts" you arranged to have set before them.

Just how you managed, Comrade Khrushchev, even with all of your agents and dupes in our midst, to give the "facts" you wanted these men to get excited about all of the beguiling appearance of official "inside" information, and how many agents — if any — you had right inside the Committee itself to help to steer the reaction to these "facts" in accordance with your wishes — is not important. It is the results that count.

And Superchargers . . .

As for the report of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Study Group, the question as to how these men arrived at their conclusions does not even arise. For this report was nothing more nor less than a condensed rehash of a book already written by its chairman, Henry A. Kissinger. The book was swallowed from foreword to appendix without visible hesitation by the "study group", and presented anew to the public with the formality of a "report", and with the window dressing of "big names" to give it more attention. And since Professor Kissinger is a distinguished member of the Harvard Faculty, there are certainly enough of your influences around him to push him pretty hard in the directions you desire.

At any rate, the tenor of both reports is exactly what you wanted, to reinforce the psychological impact of Sputnik. And we learned long ago not to be blinded by studying the details of your pyrotechnic displays at too close hand. It is much more instructive, and gives a much more accurate understanding of what goes on, to stand off far enough to look at the pattern formed by these panoramic fireworks in their unified effect.

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In the present instance, as in many others, it is the superb synchronization that — next to the results themselves — most surely reveals your clever planning behind the separate displays which produce their composite magic.

All Coming In On Cue . . .

The Gaither Committee, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Study Group, and other esoteric clusters now spouting the same extreme alarm — even to the hint that it might be wise to arm ourselves for a preventive war — have been gathering their “inside dope” for very varied periods. But at just the right time after your Sputnik was set up in the propaganda business, and at just the right time before our Congress got down to its job at this session, out came all of these reports to send shivers down our spine. It was all simply *too pat*, Comrade Khrushchev. Until your mathematical wizards (if any) succeed in amending the laws of probability, and in greatly lengthening the long arm of coincidence, we simply cannot buy such brilliant deceptive concatenations, and their extremely important results, under the label of happenstance.

For added to these more definitive assaults on whatever clearheadedness we might still possess, there has mushroomed a great amorphous storm of similar propaganda. The way your whole world-wide machine is now clicking like clockwork, to bring every needed instrumentality and propaganda tool into play with just the right line at precisely the right time, is one of the most brilliant performances in your long experience with organized deception. And the objective of every stunt, every boast, every report, every line, and every voice is exactly the same: To frighten both us and our representatives into giving the American left-wing everything even Karl Marx would ask for — all of it in the name of defense against Communist military might. The third stage of the rocket has been fired. From your point of view, it must not fail to carry the United States all of the remaining way to socialism, finally so recognized and proclaimed; and every ounce of available

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strength of the Communist conspiracy must be marshalled—had to be marshalled — at the exact time and place to give it all necessary propulsion.

V

NOW THAT OUR rocket figure-of-speech has, we hope, served its purpose of relating our forthcoming leftward movement to similar glacial slides which began in 1933 and 1941—and in calling attention to your planning and engineering behind all three — let's abandon it. For in discussing specifically what the Kremlin expects to accomplish through all of its currently concerted ballyhoo, we need to talk in plainer language.

Our first need is to point out that it *is* ballyhoo, not substance. At least ninety-five percent of all of America's sudden fear of being destroyed or fatally injured by Russian weapons of war is due to just the same old Communist bluff and bluster, given a new injection of sound and fury. In the foreseeable future, Comrade Khrushchev, you are *not* going to try to impose your tyranny on us, or on what would be left of us after an all-out war, by launching any such war. For not only, in our opinion and as already mentioned, do you lack the productive base to sustain a world-wide war now — even in comparison with an enemy greatly weakened by whatever destruction you could accomplish through surprise — but there are three other controlling considerations.

You Also Have An "Enemy Within" . . .

The first of these is that the all-out world-wide war, to which any direct attack on the United States by the Soviet Union would certainly lead, would be the signal for a world-wide uprising of your enslaved subjects. For the desperately subdued and separately powerless people in China, in Poland, in East Germany, in every satellite and some "neutralist" dependencies, even in Russia itself, would know that the time to fight for freedom was now or never. And your Communist core, ranging from perhaps one percent of the total population

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in China to five percent of that of Russia itself, simply would not be able, even with its brutal police-state mechanics for holding the masses in control, to withstand any *simultaneous* uprising of all of your slaves and enemies — even with your tanks against their sticks and stones. Little wars, piecemeal conquests, “police actions”, insurrections of natives against their “colonial” rulers, even isolated rebellions against yourself within your own domains; these disturbances you can afford to foment, and guide, and support or suppress as the case may be, to have them best serve your ends. They are the sharp edge on the sword of your strategy. But the sword is not massive enough, and would not stay sharp long enough against such blunting resistance, to cover the planet with unfalteringly effective sweeps.

Simpler Plans . . .

Second, you are looking forward to achieving your military formalization of your take-over of America, when the time does come, by having your side win the domestic *civil* wars which you will have instigated for that purpose — exactly as you have done in every other country where there was any real strength of opposition. And neither your fomenting of civil strife in America, nor even your hidden grasp of the reins of authority and communication, have yet gone far enough to make the stage ready for that performance.

And the third consideration is that you are winning the whole world now — and moving forward towards a final showdown *in*, not *with*, the United States — too rapidly and too surely, to be foolish enough to gamble your steadily materializing victory on an all-out test of military strength. We think you will keep right on working for that total victory by basically the same means that have been so successful for you in the past. And deception is the essence of your method.

And Surer Ways To Win . . .

For many years we Americans have been taken steadily

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down the road to Communism by steps supposedly designed, and presented to us, as ways of *fighting* Communism. Now, although the danger remains almost entirely *internal*, from Communist influences right in our midst and treason right in our government, the American people are being persuaded that our danger is from the *outside*, is from Russian military superiority. Now there is to be no limit to the plausible idiocy of the further steps to be taken under the excuse of matching this military strength, of preparing to defend ourselves from this threat of outside force. Our new Secretary of Defense has revealed the key to the overall program by announcing that "we may have to change our way of life." And you and your fellow Communists believe that you can stampede us into the biggest jump ever towards, and perhaps the final jump right into, socialism, communism, and then the Communist camp. Here are some of your obvious aims for the United States, to be achieved, you hope, through the momentum of the attitude induced by Sputnik and all of its auxiliary propaganda:

Specifically (For Us) . . .

(1) Greatly expanded government spending, for missiles, for so-called defense generally, for foreign aid, for every conceivable means of getting rid of ever larger sums of American money — as wastefully as possible.

(2) Higher taxes, and still higher taxes, and then much higher taxes.

(3) An increasingly unbalanced budget, despite the higher taxes.

(4) Increasing and ever more rapid inflation of our currency, leading in a parabolic curve to its ultimate worthlessness and complete repudiation.

(5) Government control of prices, wages, and materials, supposedly to combat inflation.

(6) Greatly expanded and intensified socialistic controls over every operation of our economy and every activity of our daily lives. This is to be accompanied, naturally and automatic-

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ally, by a correspondingly huge increase in the size of our bureaucracy, and in both the cost and extensiveness of our domestic government.

(7) Far more centralization of power in Washington, especially in the Executive Branch of our government, and the gradual but practical elimination of our state lines.

(8) The steady advance of federal aid to, and control over, our educational system, leading to complete federalization of our public education.

(9) A constant pounding into the American mind of the horror of "modern warfare", and of the beauties and the absolute necessity of "peace" — peace, of course, always on Communist terms.

(10) And the consequent willingness of the American people to allow the steps of appeasement by our government which amount to a piecemeal surrender of the rest of the free world and of the United States itself to the Kremlin.

There is what Sputnik and all of its side decorations are really about. Those are the long-range results that we have to fear. If you and your fellow Communist conspirators can succeed in making us domestically a communist nation, it will not be too difficult a final move for you to pull us right into the world-wide Communist organization, ruled by Moscow. And unless we can have enough of a rebellion, in our own country, against the appeasement policies of our government *outside* and its communizing policies *inside* America, there isn't any doubt about your carrying out every one of the projected steps to your final goal, and reaching that goal itself.

VI

OF COURSE, having Sputnik and Gaither and Kissinger running around, unconscious, in the orbits you have established for them, did not itself bring to pass any of the objectives outlined above. It merely provided the mental climate and the political opportunity for your agents and their sympathizers and dupes to initiate and carry through the practical measures

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leading to those objectives. Some few of these undertakings of your agents can be catalogued, much too briefly, as follows.

The Mechanics Of The Movement . . .

(1) Continue to keep us alarmed over the danger of actual war.

(2) Increase the impression that the Communist Party in the United States is rapidly declining in strength and numbers — while the number and power of your *secret* agents is growing by leaps and bounds.

(3) Carry through "Operation Abolition", to wipe out the Congressional investigating committees and the FBI, or to render them helplessly ineffectual in exposing your agents and activities.

(4) Make Communism and Communists ever more respectable, and sedition itself merely a difference of opinion.

(5) Liquidate or smother all voices which would *tell the truth about your conspiracy*, and amplify those which sing the tunes you call.

(6) Have some of your most important secret agents in the United States attack Soviet Russia, and each other, at times and in ways to serve your careful plans. Confuse the people of this country concerning their leadership, and then double that confusion.

(7) Have conspicuous characters, who command public attention, skillfully delineate and pompously confess to so many shades of belief, from lightest pink to darkest red, all smoothly flowing into each other, that nobody will be courageous enough or clearheaded enough to draw a line and say: "On this side is merely 'liberalism', but on this side is treason."

(8) Use the phony "civil rights" slogan to stir up bitterness and civil disorder, leading gradually to police-state rule by federal troops and armed resistance to that rule.

(9) Break down our immigration barriers further, and smuggle more aliens in through what barriers do exist. (Mr. Richard Arens, our best informed authority on the subject,

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states bluntly that there are now over three million aliens illegally in this country, a huge number of them under the control of your front, the *American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born*.)

With Plenty Of Oil . . .

(10) Promote more "cultural exchanges" between ourselves and Soviet Russia. This will provide more spies nosing openly into everything we do, while our visitors to Russia will be allowed to see only what you want them to see. It will further build up the impression that Communists are just like everybody else, only more so.

(11) Gather together ever new fronts of gullible innocents, controlled by a few of your secret agents, to rant publicly about everything from "peace" to repeal of the McCarran Act.

(12) Support vigorously, by every trick in the Communist political repertory, all legislation leading towards your major objectives.

(13) Flood the country with new "small" magazines of every description, each of them catering to the specialized area of interest of some segment of the American people, with no apparent room or reason for concern with the Communist issue — and each of them subtly promoting the Communist line as its real reason for existence.

Transmission Belts . . .

(14) Organize an unending number of phony committees, for "aid", or "information", or "liberation" of the people behind the Iron Curtain, so as to drain off money and energy of the American people that might otherwise go into honest anti-Communist causes.

(15) Push your own men ever further and higher in our union labor organizations, and extend your power steadily over our whole labor movement. Not only does this give you a tremendous potential for sabotage in our economy whenever needed, but a "labor government" would be a most convenient first formal step in taking us over.

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(16) See that our supposedly expanded, and certainly more expensive, missile program is kept in exactly those same hands which have so messed it up and delayed it — and allowed it to be sabotaged — before. You will need to keep pointing to our “lagging inferiority” in the most modern weapons, for many purposes.

(17) Promote ever more meetings, and ostentatious gestures of friendship, between members of your government and of ours. It increases despair and decreases resistance of anti-Communists on both sides of the Curtain.

(18) Get your known sympathizers elected ever more openly and brazenly to high positions in our great religious and educational organizations. It discourages opposition within those organizations, as being hopeless and futile; and enables your agents to speak your lines with the *ostensible* support of millions behind them.

(19) Feed the prestige and power of the United Nations in every way possible. It's your baby — and has been ever since Alger Hiss served as midwife for its birth.

(20) Spread a belief in the inevitability and desirability of our recognition of Red China, and of its admission to the United Nations.

(21) Promote greater United States participation in ILO, WHO, and all similar international organizations. They dilute our sovereignty, our substance, and our anti-Communist determination.

And Wrenches . . .

(22) Stir up distrust and hatred between Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, Negroes and Whites, and all other possible offsetting factions of our population, by every possible lie, smear, and distortion. Your first maxim for the conquest of any people is to divide them.

(23) Maintain and increase your working control over both of our major political parties. You do not have to fear

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that any firm and aggressive anti-Communist will be elected president, so long as you can keep one from being nominated.

(24) Expand the mental health racket just as rapidly as you can. Railroad your outspoken enemies to hospitals, as being "mentally sick", will become very useful, long before you reach the police-state ability to knock on a door at two o'clock in the morning, and dispose of an enemy in such way that he is never heard from again.

(25) Smear your effective enemies by every form of character assassination known. *After this has been accomplished*, or where it is insufficient, arrange "natural deaths", fatal "accidents", plausible "suicides", and — as a last resort, outright obvious murders — wherever getting rid of such an enemy seems worth the storm that may be raised. The only matter to be weighed in any case is the damage being done to your cause by the individual, against the extent to which your hand might be disclosed or surmised in his murder, and against the reaction of the public to the event.

This list, far from being exhaustive, is only a beginning. We could identify at least a hundred specific similar efforts to which your agents in this country — open and secret, foreign and native — are assigned right now. But this is enough to serve our purpose — to let you know that we know what you are about. Most of these enterprises are exactly the same methods you have used in taking over other countries. Some are adjustments or extensions of your strategy, to cover the circumstances involved in annihilating the one greatest and final bastion of your opposition.

VII

WE KNOW, Comrade Khrushchev, that you and your associates take for granted that you will win — that it is only a matter of time. We know that most of the best-informed people on "our side" think the same thing. Most of my friends who have been in this fight the longest, and know the most about it, do not give us any chance whatever for survival. Some

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say we have one chance in a hundred, some one chance in fifty or thirty or twenty, as the case may be. Carl Byoir, who knew more about propaganda and its uses than any other American, stated before his death that we had "not more than" one chance in ten; and that is the most favorable probability I would be able to quote from anybody whose experience, judgment, and honesty in this field I respect.

Your Powerful Agents . . .

We know, Comrade Khrushchev, how deep, how far, and *how high* your infiltration has gone. Just a month ago a committee of the Massachusetts legislature officially cited thirty-seven more active Communists in this area, on top of twice that number named by it a few months before that. But these *identifiable* Communists are almost negligible in the total picture. What is much more important is that, within not too many miles from where we are writing these lines, there is a president of one institution of higher learning (not Harvard, incidentally), the president of one sizable bank, the dean of one law school, the editor of one newspaper, and the judge of one court, whom we believe to be Communists; not merely ideological sympathizers with a communism which they foolishly mistake for humanitarianism, but active agents of an international conspiracy, subtly working for Communist conquest of the world. And our opinion, in every one of these cases, is shared by other students of your conspiracy who judge these men by the *ultimate results* of what they do — which *always* help the Communists — rather than by the excuses they give for doing it. Yet every one of these men is a highly respected and — by the general public — utterly unsuspected member of the community.

Your Instrumentalities Of Thought Control . . .

We know, Comrade Khrushchev, how unaware the American people are of the unseen tentacles of your conspiracy, now exerting their hidden pressures everywhere. To maintain this

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unawareness you have employed, on a tremendously larger scale, the exact technique of opinion molding which Stalin used so successfully in Russia, from 1924 to 1929. You have projected this technique into a system of influence and control over the media of mass communication in America that is probably the most gigantic accomplishment of its kind in human history. You have created a blanket of twisted information, misleading slants, subtle propaganda, and brazen falsehoods, between the American people and any clear view of your activities. We admit that you have made every effort to pierce this blanket seem almost hopeless — and every light which is somehow thrust into the darkness seem pitiful in its candlepower. Not only do the American people as a whole have no idea of what is happening. Your propaganda machine has induced into them an unwillingness to believe the facts, no matter how incontrovertibly presented — or even to listen to the facts at all, so as to have any chance to believe.

Your Ideological Subterfuge . . .

We know, Comrade Khrushchev, that too many influential Americans, in all good conscience, are blaming the visible results of your vast conspiratorial operations on "a worldwide spontaneous movement to the left, which nobody can do anything about." Just how *spontaneously* (!) this "movement to the left" has been welcomed is shown by the fact that the Peiping government has had to murder some forty million Chinese to keep itself in power and has — according to its own figures — had to suppress more than *five million* insurrections! Just how *spontaneous* was the "movement to the left", represented at a far different level, and in different degree, by the nomination of Eisenhower instead of Taft in 1952, is shown by the fact that the president of one of America's largest banks took suitcases full of currency to the convention, to bribe delegates away from Taft; and that he was rewarded, for thus providing such *spontaneity*, by a major ambassadorship.

Five years ago the White People and the Negroes of our

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South, more peacefully inclined towards each other than at any time since the Civil War, were making tremendous progress in the solving of our difficult racial problem. But with the help of a huge book written by a Swedish collaborator of yours, of a Communist-contrived Supreme Court decision, of white Communists sent to serve as "secretaries" to notoriety-seeking Negro preachers, of a whole school for agitation run by Communists in Tennessee, and of ten thousand other acts and methods skillfully designed by your agents to stir up bitterness and riots, the Whites and Negroes of the South are now giving dangerous vents to an increasing hatred — all, naturally, because of this *spontaneous* "movement to the left."

Of course the whole argument is camouflage for conspiracy, and the very words have been put into American minds and mouths by your agents. But even when we write a hundred pages of completely proved history, to show that every detail of causation behind even some minor event was conspiratorial rather than ideological, the ordinary American replies: "Oh, but the Communists are not that clever. You give them too much credit." While in your mind, Comrade Khrushchev, the almost infinite amount of cunning and implementation, regularly meshed together by your organization, has always been justified by the prize at stake. We are fully conscious of the size of the job you have done in this country, of hiding your hand and your cleverness in an all-pervasive fog of cleverness itself. We know from actual experience the frustrating near-impossibility of dispelling that fog at any point for any moment — and how quickly it closes in again. We do not underrate any of the advantages which you hold.

And Your Loathesome Tactics . . .

Finally, we know we cannot fight you with your kind of weapons. For you and your agents are prepared to use — will delight in using — every foulness which you have tried so successfully in the past, in order to accomplish your purposes. A pragmatic amorality — the lack of any belief in moral ab-

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solutes, or any conception of good or bad — is a fundamental philosophic principle of your following. While we, fighting to save our civilization as well as our lives, must confine ourselves to civilized means and methods. We not only believe that there are other ends to an individual's life than the pursuit of personal power and the conversion of humankind into a soul-less serfdom to the state. We believe that even the means used by each of us separately, and all of us collectively, to achieve those various ends, however noble — or even to defend ourselves — must conform to basic ideas of right or wrong. These concepts have evolved over thousands of years as common factors in all of our great religions. You and your fellow barbarians of the Kremlin, as well as those suave savages who work for you in America, are counting on the handicaps, imposed on us by the very things we are fighting for, to help you and them to destroy us.

Do Not Frighten Us Enough . . .

We know all of these things, Comrade Khrushchev, and a great many other reasons for discouragement. Yet — and this, at last, is the whole point of our letter — we do not share the defeatism of our learned friends. Maybe that is why; we are not scholarly enough to accept any verdict in advance; or — in a more vernacular expression — to know when we are licked. For we do know that history is full of apparently lost causes that still emerged victorious. We simply refuse to be licked; and for that reason, among others, we do not think that we shall be.

While You Tremble At Your Risk . . .

For we have one all-powerful weapon, Comrade Khrushchev, and our only need is to get it unsheathed. That weapon is the truth. To unsheathe it we must make the American people understand what is really taking place, and how, and why — and we must do this before it is too late. This — simply having the American people realize the truth — is the only thing in all

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the world today that you and your cohorts fear. But because of your fear of this one possibility, you still live, behind your ghoulish grins, in a constant state of sweat and strain and terror. As well you should.

But There Is One Way Out . . .

This may sound like ants challenging an elephant. But elephants have been killed by ants in the past, and the wise elephant does not get himself hopelessly entangled in an angry swarm. This warning is the fundamental justification for this letter. There is one, and only one, possible course which might extricate both you and us from the impasse to which your conspiratorial schemes have now brought us all. This is, simply give up and *call off* your conspiracy. Put all of your energy and cleverness into raising the mental and physical living standards of the Russian people. Everything in the whole world-wide horror and turmoil you have caused can then be handled and eventually straightened out, within the framework of civilized human relationships. And you will become a man who really changed the course of history, in a happier direction, instead of merely a nasty blot on one of its gloomiest pages.

VIII

WE DO NOT EXPECT you to heed this advice, Comrade Khrushchev, so we shall not belabor the argument. Having made this "positive" approach, for the sake of fairness and however little consideration you might give it, we continue with a "negative" warning which you are better able to understand. There are now many thousands of us in America — of whom this writer is only one unimportant example — who have given up careers, incomes, possessions, all hopes of personal peace and leisure, and their whole lives, to the one task of alerting as many of our fellow citizens as we can to the methods and the menace of the Communist conspiracy. Our numbers, our strength, and our experience are growing together. We have leaders who are now veterans in this fight — Fulton Lewis, Clarence Manion,

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Dan Smoot, Bonner Fellers, Frank Kirkpatrick, Frank Hani-ghen, and a hundred more I could name — and who, despite your vicious efforts to smother them, are increasing their total influence every week. And at least the progress of your conspiracy, though not its methods, becomes daily easier to demonstrate to those we can persuade to listen.

We Find Encouragement, Too . . .

We are denied the use of most of the newspapers, magazines, television programs, radio programs, and even book-publishing channels, which already have large established audiences — by your binding influence exerted in ways too numerous, too subtle, and too powerful for us to delineate them here. But we are finding ways to run your blockade, and to reach with print or voice a still small but increasing percentage of the people of this country. Also, we are helped mightily by one intangible aid — the intuition of our "grass-roots" neighbors. For while the American people do not know what is wrong, nor have any idea how badly it is wrong, they sense that something *is*. Despite all of the specious explanations given them, to account for our steady loss of ground, they are vaguely but deeply disturbed. And with the new converts we are gaining daily, who in turn become crusaders for this same enlightenment, our new enrollments are going to increase faster than you can smear us out of effectiveness, or silence us by murder.

Just suppose, Comrade Khrushchev — and shudder at the possibility — that this very letter were placed in the hands of, and read by, only one million Americans. It might set off a chain reaction of truth-seeking which would rip your whole blanket of lies and subtle censorship into shreds — something you fear infinitely more than all of our hydrogen bombs and NATO alliances. It won't happen. Your silencers are too well entrenched for that. Full many an effort like this, each one reaching its comparatively few thousands, will have to be sweated out by many minds, before we blast any decisive holes in that entrenchment. We know that the momentum of your

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spreading, descending power in America is tremendous. It is far greater than any offsetting resistance we can hope to create in the near future. But the resistance which we do seed wherever we can is now taking root, and growing, and bearing the fruit of more resistance in many fertile plots. We recognize the Herculean task that we face. But we assure you, and warn you, that we shall not give up the fight as long as we breathe; that for each of us who goes down, two will arise to replace him; and that — knowing what you hope most — we shall not despair.

In Knowledge Of The Past . . .

For, contrary to another of your vaunted lies, Comrade Khrushchev, history (or human experience) is clearly on our side. Your British socialist allies know this, if you do not. It is why they felt obliged to subsidize a hack named Toynbee to rewrite history the way they wanted it to appear. For socialism is merely a degenerative disease in a body politic, which will have to be excised out of even your own country, before you can ever become really strong in anything but bluff and cunning, or can rule by any means except cruelty and deception. Conspiracies, no matter how successful for a while, do not last. And human beings simply will not stay enslaved.

And In Our Own Determination . . .

The question is not whether your gang will be destroyed, but when; how much farther you can still go before you will be stopped, and routed. Your planning is terrific, your patience superb, and your ambition is truly epic. You may actually reach, for a precarious moment, a position of world rulership, with even the United States held formally and temporarily in thrall. But if so, your empire will be blown to bits almost immediately by the forces within it, as was that of Sparta shortly after — by the same kind of infiltration and treason — it conquered Athens and the whole Greek world. And it was Athens, not Sparta, that lasted and contributed to the current of civilization.

Our goal is to see that you do not even get that far, and

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there are plenty of us willing to die in the effort. We do not relish sounding melodramatic, Comrade Khrushchev, for melodrama *should be* out of place in the expression of such sober thoughts. But you have, by the studied theatricality of your incessant maneuvers, deliberately made melodrama the very mood of contemporary existence. So we cannot speak our lines with any effectiveness without climbing onto the same stage where you strut. With embarrassment, but simple earnestness, therefore, let us repeat: There are plenty of us willing to give our lives, whenever necessary, in this battle. All we ask is to make those lives cost you enough. And some of us have given much more thought to that bargain than did Taft, or McCarthy, or many of your lesser victims such as we would be.

Only a few months ago a close personal friend of this writer, who had bought and distributed several thousand dollars worth of our books, was — in our considered opinion — murdered in cold blood by your agents, because he was distributing tens of thousands of dollars worth of other anti-Communist literature also. And so unwilling were our pusillanimous metropolitan press and hamstrung law enforcement agencies to stir up your powerful secret antagonism, that they gladly let this murder ride as an utterly fantastic suicide — just as they did the equally fantastic and unbelievable “suicide” of James Forrestal. But this victim of your “preventive measures” made one mistake. He had not made careful plans as to how his untimely death — from any cause — would create more disturbance in your smooth-running plans than the damage caused you by what he was doing. Some of us will try to do better.

Our “Ancient Founts Of Inspiration” . . .

As for any sneer on your part that this expressed willingness to give life itself for our cause is out-Khrushchev-ing Khrushchev in histrionics, let me try to disillusion you. Nearly two years ago we quoted in this magazine, with premeditated purport, Macaulay’s famous lines that now seem to the oversophisticated so much out of date:

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"And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods."

You should get one of your more trusted agents, Comrade Khrushchev, to make a survey of just how often those lines have appeared since, in various little "right-wing" publications throughout the United States. And if your agent is an expert in psychology, he might discover and reveal to you just how accurately those lines express the silent reflections of the men and women who reprinted them. And of many a reader, too. We all must die sometime. And so we ask ourselves, in simple sincerity, just how *can* man die better — especially if in doing so he appreciably reduces the odds against his compatriots in the fight. "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?" We know that you have been personally responsible, Comrade Khrushchev, for the planned and deliberate murder of literally millions of your fellow human beings. (See *Reader's Digest*, September 1957.) So we know you are not playing. We want you also to know that neither are we.

You boast that you will bury us, and that our grandchildren will live under socialism. Maybe so, Comrade, but we do not believe it. As for your cunning attempt, even in that boast, to deceive us into considering remote a danger which is indeed very close, we see through that, too. There is far more likelihood that we, of the present generation, will live for a while — those of us who do live — under your gang's dominion, than that our grandchildren will. For freedom will have been restored by then, at whatever cost.

Your Lack Of Any Support Of The Spirit . . .

The ultimate reason, however, Comrade Khrushchev, for our confidence that in the long run it is we who shall bury your conspiracy — instead of your burying us—lies in the difference

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in what we are fighting for. You cannot base a "way of life" on the cruelty, repression, exploitation, lies, deception, amorality, and eternal scheming and jockeying for personal power, of a ruling class that constitutes less than five percent of a population, and then expect loyalty to that "way of life" and to that ruling class on the part of the regimented and oppressed serfs, when the showdown comes. Just where, Comrade Khrushchev, do you find the men who are willing to die to defend the lies and cruelty — to themselves — of their masters? Remember Kiev. You had been the absolute autocrat of the Ukraine for twelve years, when you made your impassioned speech that your capital city defend itself valiantly against the oncoming German armies. Four days later Kiev surrendered without firing a shot.

With so large a proportion of your own subjects your bitterest enemies, as is shown by your constant concern with possible insurrection, how can you expect them to become your loyal supporters for the purpose of enslaving others? Even the millions wearing uniforms in your armed forces, and subject to all the brutal discipline and indoctrination of your "democratic" army, could not be trusted for a minute. Remember how, near the end of World War II, one detachment after another of your troops, even while breathing victory in their nostrils, surrendered enthusiastically to General Vlasov's army in German uniform — just as soon as they discovered that this army was led by a Russian bent on liberating Russia from your rule? Or remember that, even in suppressing the Hungarian Revolt, you did not dare trust your European soldiers, but sent tanks armed by Mongolians, who had no understanding of why they were fighting, or of whom. Of what avail your missiles or your submarines or planes, if those who man them have nothing to die for, when the time comes to use these weapons in war against your enemies?

And Our Loyalties That Go Beyond Patriotism . . .

We, it is true, are complacent with prosperity, justly dis-

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trustful of much of our leadership, divided among ourselves, and now greatly lacking in the moral stamina and fearless patriotism of our fathers. But we have an inheritance of freedom and a traditional "way of life", which we have ourselves enjoyed, and which a vast majority of us feel is worth any sacrifice to maintain for our descendants. While many of us consciously, and most of us unconsciously, have a motivation, Comrade Khrushchev, which goes even deeper. It is a loyalty to the best in human nature, to the ideals of truth and justice and compassion and individual integrity, which man has slowly and haltingly acquired over thousands of years. We do not believe that the toil and teaching through the ages, of the saints and the philosophers, the fighters and the poets, the workers and the dreamers, who have created such civilization as we now have, are to be cast aside as useless and in vain. We may blindly lose our gratitude, our perspective, and our vision for the future, during absorption in the little games that constitute our daily lives. But underneath all of this apparent callousness, we have a pride in what has been created for us by the noblest minds and soundest builders among those who have gone before. And the most important element in all of this inheritance, material or spiritual — formed by the contributions of millions of men, each trying to be more worthy of the life given him by whatever Concept of the Divine he worshipped — *is the composite human conscience.*

Will Bring The World Another Morning After This Dark Night . . .

This amorphous but quite palpable total human conscience, Comrade Khrushchev, you and your power-hungry fellow conspirators against civilization would utterly spurn and destroy. But we are sure that, instead, its influence will bring about your own destruction. For we "doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs". *And that eternal purpose is not cruelty, lies, and tyranny, but kindness, truth, and freedom.* It is against the power of that unswerving long-range

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purpose that your foul and degrading conspiracy will break to pieces. And better men of a better age will wonder how their ancestors could have tolerated, and been frightened by, such beasts as you and your fellow criminals — for even so brief a moment in the life story of the human race.

—ROBERT WELCH

OZYMANDIAS OF EGYPT

I met a traveler from an antique land
Who said: Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown
And wrinkled lip and sneer of cold command
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed;
And on the pedestal these words appear:
"My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!"
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

Percy Bysshe Shelley

OPPOSING TEAMS, SAME GOAL

by

COLM BROGAN

We have always liked the story of the star in College athletics who had spent an hour telling his girl about his victories, his prowess, and his popularity. Then he said, modestly: "But I shouldn't talk about myself so much. I'll keep quiet now so you can tell me how wonderful I am." We trust that the reason this story came to mind will be clear when you finish reading the following article.

This brief discourse is really a tail to the kite of Mr. Brogan's dissertation in our last number, on the Communist influence over the British media of communication. And a most revealing tail, or tale, it is.

It may be a matter of some uncertainty whether American or British organs of news and opinion are the more gullible victims of Soviet propaganda. But a recent performance of the British Broadcasting Corporation strongly suggests that British standards of soft-headedness would be hard to equal anywhere, much less to excel.

The British independent television concern reached an agreement with the Russian television authorities to have an interchange of camera teams. The Russians would make a television film of life in Britain; the British would perform a similar task of enlightenment, to show the British people the truth about life under Soviet Communism.

There were two conditions attached to the bargain. First, both films had to be edited in Moscow. This meant that the Kremlin had the final say, not only as to what their own people would be allowed to see of British life, but also as to what the British people would be allowed to see of Russian life. Secondly, politics were to be rigidly excluded from both films.

We have now seen the result of this experiment in international cooperation. The British film of Russia could not have

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been more gratifying to the Kremlin if it had been shot and put together by the staff of the *Daily Worker*. Even if the British television team had not been a set of young innocents abroad — not to say all at sea — a film on Communist Russia without mention of Communism would still have been as useful as a film on the Russian winter without a mention of snow. But, in fact, though the team had been told they could go wherever they wished, they went precisely where their hosts wanted them to go. The result was such an idealized and selective picture of the Promised Land that it may possibly have defeated its own purpose. There is some reason to believe that the mass of ordinary people who saw the pictures were a good deal less gullible than the extraordinary people who took them.

But there is no sound reason for believing that there is any limit to the credulity of the imprisoned and indoctrinated Russian, and that is why the Russian film of Britain was more instructive. The first views of London shown to the Russian people were shots of London docks. The first ship photographed was a Russian ship, with a British author coming down the gangway after a glorious holiday in the glorious Soviet Union. There followed a flashback of the author enjoying himself in said glorious Union. There were shots of the British Museum, with the *non-political* commentator proudly announcing that this was the place where Marx, Engels and Lenin had studied. There followed shots of the Marx Memorial Library. It would be going rather far to say that this purely Communist institution is a London landmark, for not one Londoner in ten thousand has ever heard of it. The Russians, however, could hardly be expected to know that; and no doubt they were edified to see the librarian, Andrew Rothstein, who is one of the half dozen most influential Communists in Britain but, like the library he runs, almost totally unknown to the British people. He spoke into the camera in Russian. His words were not translated.

Pictures were shown of the dense morning crowds going to their work in offices, and the commentator announced that

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these unfortunates were so hard-pressed that they could not even stop to buy a newspaper. Men actually at work were seen in the Isle of Wight. These were farmers who, we were told, were toiling to make rents for a Lord. The Lord himself obligingly took a bow to show that he was real.

Shaw's Corner figured prominently. This dreary domicile, decorated in the most deplorable taste, and filled with mementoes of Shaw's fantastic vanity, excites so little interest in Britain that the trustees had to rent it to an ordinary occupant because nobody would pay to come to see it. But we all saw it on the television screen, with a close-up of the portrait of Lenin on the mantelpiece, and with a reminder that Shaw had an immense love of the Soviet Union. Flashback to Shaw disporting himself in the Soviet Union. To bring us down to the grass roots of ordinary British life, we were given pictures of a simple British family living in a humble terrace home. By a strange coincidence, the girl in this particular family happened to speak excellent Russian. There was a tiny garden in front of the house and the commentator kindly conceded that *some* British houses also had a garden at the back. If "some" is a fair version of "a few million", no doubt he was justified.

So much for the Russian observance of the ban on politics. The film itself is of no great importance. In spite of its unscrupulous tendentiousness it will not make any Russian think worse of British life than he was taught to think before. The importance lies in the evidence it provides of what the Kremlin means by cultural exchanges. For the Kremlin, cultural exchange is a two-edged weapon, both edges to be used against ourselves. There is no ground for surprise in this, for the Kremlin gangsters have played the game in this way for forty years. Nor is there even ground for surprise in the fact that the West can still provide fools willing to play it with them. They also — these Western dupes — have been at the game for forty years. And they will go on playing it till we learn enough sense to crush them flat — or the victorious Communists crush them instead.

A PATTERN FOR THE PRESENT

By

GORDON H. SCHERER

One of the loudest cries from the Left today is for the abolishment of the House Un-American Activities Committee. It has outlived its usefulness, these clever critics argue, and is now only re-running for the American people the same old film, which should be labeled "Pattern Of The Past."

The following article on this subject was written for us by the highly respected Congressman from the First District of Ohio, who is a member of the Committee. With a few minor illustrations and one major example of the Committee's current activities and disclosures, Mr. Scherer shows you why the Communists so desperately wish to "liquidate" this watchdog across their path.

The tragedy of our time is that, in spite of all that has transpired and all that has been written, only a handful of Americans really understand the Communist mind, the Soviet objective of world domination, and the strategy used by the conspiracy to reach its goal. Of course, such lack of knowledge on the part of Americans generally is excusable when the Supreme Court of the United States, by a long series of sickening decisions affecting our internal security, has demonstrated that it too has failed to grasp the nature of this conspiratorial apparatus.

We still think of war in terms of military aggression—of planes, guided missiles, and nuclear projectiles. But firepower, or destructive force, is only one of the weapons, one phase of the total offensive being waged by the Soviets against the West. All of the credible evidence indicates that the destructive force of the East and the West are fairly well balanced. The Russians are not dumb. They know that an all-out nuclear war will mean the total destruc-

tion of their cities; and that today the United States would win such a conflict. Consequently, we are not going to have a nuclear showdown in the foreseeable future. The Kremlin is not going to sign its own death warrant. And why should it? In the last decade the Communists have been incredibly successful in expanding the Soviet empire by the use of a weapon far more effective than Sputniks or nuclear missiles and certainly less costly.

Our Danger Is A Disease . . .

The insidious and diabolical weapon of infiltration and subversion has done the job of taking approximately one-third of the earth's surface and one-third of its people into the Communist orbit. Another one-third, in the so-called neutral bloc, is fast drifting toward Russian satelliteism. While the near equality of firepower between the East and West creates a stalemate, the deadly, effective weapon of infiltration and subversion works like an undiagnosed cancer on the institutions and govern-

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ments of free men everywhere. Russia's apparent supremacy in ballistic missiles has created a state of shock and fear, forcing us into an orgy of spending to prepare for a shooting war which in all probability will never come to pass.

The tragedy is that, while there is this clamor for better Sputniks and more missiles, there are those, like the Communist-controlled Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, and the Fund for the Republic, with an assist from the Supreme Court, who are attempting to strangle and destroy the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the investigating committees of the Congress.

And The Doctor Is Attacked . . .

A few weeks ago a great general of our time said that one of the few remaining forces in the world which really understands this cancerous internal weapon of the Communists is the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Let me give you one example of the results of the current campaign to destroy the Committee.

The Washington Post, in an editorial on Saturday, January 18, 1958, said:

"For twenty years the Committee has been disclosing and reporting on the pattern of Communist infiltration of American life; this part of its function has long since been completed, and the pattern of the past no longer has much application to the present."

The editorial then continues with a plea to strangle the Committee.

Yes, the present strategy of the Communist conspiracy is, as J. Edgar Hoover said recently, "to make you believe that it is shattered, ineffective, and dying." The Communists and their apologists, therefore, contend that infil-

tration and subversion are a "pattern of the past" with which the Committee on Un-American Activities is still dealing.

If space permitted, however, I could give you example after example of current subversive activities being brought to the cold light of common day by the Committee. And these activities reveal a diabolical "pattern of the present" which even the Supreme Court ought to be able to comprehend. Let's take a look at just two cases which are as current as this issue of AMERICAN OPINION.

The Carriers Are Everywhere . . .

We have been worried about a Sputnik in outer space. The Committee uncovered a Sputnik right in the Congress of the United States—not five years ago, not two years ago, not one year ago, but just two months ago.

The Communist record of one Wilfred Lumer was recently brought to light. Now, who is Wilfred Lumer? He is the man who was doing research for Members of the House of Representatives and for at least two Committees of this Congress. The results of his handiwork found their way into reports on legislation that is being considered by this Congress.

Let me quote just three questions and answers from his testimony taken on November 20, 1957, which will clearly illustrate my point.

Mr. Arens (Counsel for the Committee): "During the course of this assistance which you rendered on the Hill to the Congress, have you at any time in the course of the rendition of that assistance been under the discipline of the Communist Party?"

Mr. Lumer (after conferring with his counsel): "I again decline to

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answer on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments."

Mr. Arens: "Have you reported your activities on the Hill, on Capitol Hill, over the course of the last several years, to a person known by you to be a Communist?"

Mr. Lumer: "I must decline to answer that question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments."

Mr. Arens: "We have information, and I want to be absolutely frank with you, Mr. Lumer -- we have information that in the recent past you have been in contact with, and under discipline of, Sam Abbott, a ranking Communist in the District of Columbia. We want to give you an opportunity now while under oath to deny it."

Mr. Lumer: "I must decline to answer that on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments."

And remember: this did not happen five or ten years ago, but in the immediate present. If it had not been for the Committee on Un-American Activities, which the extreme left-wing wants to scuttle, Lumer would still be working on Capitol Hill.

And The Germs Come By The Millions . . .

The second example is even more significant. Today there are coming into this country each year through the United States mail approximately ten million pieces of subtle, effective Communist propaganda from Iron Curtain countries and Communist centers located in friendly nations. Let me describe one of a series of almost identical Committee hearings dealing with Communist political propaganda, held in a

few of the forty-five ports of entry for mail in the United States.

Our Committee met in Buffalo in October of last year. On the courtroom floor were dozens of large sacks of mail directed to the Buffalo area which came from behind the Iron Curtain. Sacks were opened at random and their contents dumped on the tables. Eighty percent of the mail in those sacks was pro-Russian propaganda in one form or another, emanating from Communist countries, addressed to people in the Buffalo community. Part of this propaganda, printed in eleven different languages, is directed to various nationality groups; often to individuals who have migrated to the United States from satellite nations, or who have families still living under the Kremlin's heel.

The propaganda is cleverly and subtly presented in magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets which, from a casual perusal, do not reveal the poison they contain. Expensive magazines, comparable in size and format to our *Life* and *Look*, are sent free, or sell for only a small fraction of the cost of printing. They are obviously subsidized by the Communist propaganda agencies, since they carry no advertising whatsoever.

The United States Information Agency testified that the boys in the Kremlin are spending approximately three billion dollars a year on all forms of Communist propaganda, directed to every country in the world. Exactly what portion of this amount the comrades spend for the edification of the people of the United States is in the process of being determined. However, these bright-colored pictorial magazines, newspapers, and seemingly innocuous pamphlets, containing articles bearing attractive titles, are at this very moment

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being shipped into this country in huge quantities and at an accelerated rate.

The Dead Red Herring . . .

Those who want you to believe that the Communist Party is shattered, ineffective, and dying, and that the investigating committees are beating a dead horse for headlines, point to the recent "folding-up" of *The Daily Worker* to sustain their charges. But *The Daily Worker's* demise was not a natural death. It was a well-planned suicide. *The Daily Worker* for years boldly carried the Communist line. It was the source of valuable information for both the F.B.I. and the committees. Old issues carried the Communist activities of a long list of now indignant and self-righteous brethren who are today attempting to destroy or to handcuff the Bureau and the Congressional investigating committees. *The Daily Worker* of yesterday was coming out of the archives too often to haunt these fellow travellers.

It is obvious that "self-preservation," and not the Communists' pious interest in the preservation of the so-called civil rights of their fellow citizens, has prompted their recent tawdry efforts to cut off the appropriations for the Committee on Un-American Activities. So let's not be too jubilant over *The Daily Worker's* sham burial rites. The conspiracy has only switched its strategy by flooding this country with more subtle propaganda.

The evidence at the hearings shows that, when the Communists want to influence the attitude of certain nationality groups in this country on current political and other issues, there appears a rash of concentrated mailings to these groups, carrying the Communist line on the issue.

And The Live Leeches . . .

As I have said, people who receive these mailings are often those who have fled Iron Curtain countries and settled in the United States, or who have families and relatives in those countries. They become greatly disturbed when they find that the Communists know their addresses in the United States. Many were so upset that they changed their residences and their names. Some became panic-stricken when, within a few weeks thereafter, similar mailings arrived bearing their new addresses and their changed names.

Our Committee determined how these addresses were obtained by the overseas Communist propagandists. The findings illustrate how effective one Communist can be. The argument made by the left-wing that there is nothing to fear because there are so few Communists in the United States is again negated. Here is one method used. A member of the Communist Party joins, say, a Polish singing society. His Communist connections, of course, are unknown to the members of the group. He surreptitiously obtains the mailing list of the organization. One of his obligations to the Communist conspiracy is fulfilled when he sneaks that list behind the Iron Curtain.

Let me give you a few excerpts from the record of the hearings which indicate how these people feel about the material they receive. In order to protect them, the transcript of the hearings does not contain their names and addresses.

A woman writes to a postal official as follows:

"Lately I have been receiving propaganda from abroad. I do not know who sent my name in or how they found my address. Please return this material.

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My husband and I do not want trouble with this government."

One person begs: "Please do not let these things pass through. I do not need this smelly stuff."

A former resident of Berlin has this to say:

"I would like to advise you that I do not want any mail sent to me sealed from Berlin. This is a black, dirty Communist Party literature to return us new Americans to our native countries. I am loyal to my new home, the U.S.A., and do not want to hear any of that kind of literature. Please destroy all that."

A group of displaced persons wrote as follows:

"We, the displaced persons, been getting by mail Communist propaganda here in five different languages . . . First it started with small sheets now they are mailing large printed sheets over every other month calling us back, it is our duty to be back in your own country . . . We shorten the working hours and raise the pay 30 percent, don't slave there, they don't want you there where you are now slaving your life out.

"We are very sorry we cannot give our names and addresses in this letter; we are in fear of danger same as five Russian seamen been kidnapped from here, most of us are as citizen now . . . All we ask kindly to stop the propaganda mail coming over so we can live peacefully; we don't want their propaganda here and we don't want to be victims."

A professor at one of our universities, as late as January 10 of this year, wrote to the Committee in part as follows:

"I am enclosing a bit of East German literary work. It is to be assumed that it is being circulated in appreciable quantity in this country by mail. . .

"I am concerned about the influence

of this propaganda upon the average person in this country. While one may argue that no red-blooded American could ever be affected by this literature, it is my experience that it requires more than an ordinary degree of sophistication in these matters to become fully aware of the presumptuousness of this magazine. . .

"This is obviously a government-subsidized venture; no East German publisher is in a position to finance this grade of translation which, by Iron Curtain standards, is of excellent graphic quality. They take unfair advantage of the absence of censorship by the U.S. mail to further their shady cause, which is to cast doubt upon the U. S. position toward Russia. They provide additional eye-wash for those who are eager to forget the Hungarian struggle for freedom, and to break down American morale by 'proving' that the Russians aren't so bad after all. . .

"This is sneaky business. . . The magazine I am enclosing was mailed to my address at an institute of higher learning, and the expectation is quite obviously to get wide circulation in a group of comparatively high intelligence. . . It is an example of the new twist in Red psychological warfare. . .

"The stuff is poisonous and, even if the reader is critical, too many of the facts are out of his reach. Maybe some education by your Committee of potential recipients of such propaganda would help."

Poison For The Gullible . . .

Of course, I would not want to lead you to believe that the propaganda is directed solely to nationality groups and those who have ties in Iron Curtain countries. In fact, only a small percentage of the total propaganda coming

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through the mails is devoted to this group. Of the more than one thousand different types of these periodicals which come to our shores each year, the great mass is printed in English and goes to native-born Americans; to our libraries, colleges, seminaries, and to people with extreme left-wing propensities who are in positions to mold American opinion.

There is another facet to this Communist propaganda offensive. Some months ago the country was flooded with what purported to be scientific radio journals from the Soviet Union. Great prominence was given in these journals to a quiz for ham radio operators. A series of prizes were offered to the winners.

It is significant that, after the contestant had answered the questions, which in themselves were filled with propaganda, he was asked to give his address, the call letters of his radio station, and other pertinent information about his activities as a ham operator. It would be presumptuous for me to detail how highly valuable such information is, not only to the propagandists but also to the Russian secret police.

Our postal and customs officials testified that of the tremendous number who participated in this contest, *several thousand won "the second prize"*. It was a copy of a publication entitled "Radio Moscow". The Communists certainly got a lot of mileage out of the rubles spent on this one!

And Lies For The Innocent . . .

Perhaps the most revealing development was brought to light in hearings at New York. These hearings were being held a few months after the Hungarian revolution. One of the exhibits was a magazine dated a few months before

the Hungarian freedom-fighters rebelled against Communist oppression. It was published in Hungary, but printed in English, and widely distributed in the United States.

It was interesting to read, immediately after the revolution, from this propaganda sheet printed immediately before the revolution, how the Hungarian people were happy and content and how they were prospering under the Communist regime. This piece of propaganda was done so cleverly that, had not the revolution and subsequent Russian atrocities taken place, thousands of Americans, particularly those of Hungarian extraction, would have been duly convinced of the alleged success of a benevolent Communist regime in Hungary.

Should Be Labeled . . .

Some readers will ask what legislative purpose, other than exposing this phase of the cold war, did the House Committee on Un-American Activities have in making the investigations and holding the hearings I have been discussing in this article.

Under the First Amendment of the Constitution, which prohibits interference with freedom of speech and the press, these publications cannot be banned. The Committee had no thought of attempting to do so. We do, however, have a law known as the Foreign Agents' Registration Act, which requires that all political and subversive propaganda coming from abroad must be properly labeled so that the recipient will know the source and nature of the material. Our Pure Food and Drug laws require that bottles and packages containing certain foods and medicines, especially poison, must be labeled as to content. If the law requires that poison

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which may go into our stomachs must be clearly identified, it certainly should require that poison for the mind be also unmistakably labeled.

While the Foreign Agents' Registration Act apparently requires proper labeling, the loopholes and weaknesses are such that our customs and postal officials testified that they never saw one piece of the propaganda I have been talking about so labeled, except that

which was sent to the Library of Congress, embassies, and other agencies of government.

The straw of absurdity that broke the camel's back of patience in these hearings was the development of the fact that the taxpayers of the United States, who at present are subsidizing our tremendous postal deficit, help to pay the heavy cost of delivering this propaganda which would destroy us.

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BULLETS

And the morning breaks eternal,
bright and fair.

From An Old Hymn

Life begins at forty. So do lumbago,
bifocals, stomach disorders, and an in-
clination to tell the same old stories over
and over.

Western Tobacco Journal

He's tall, dark, and has some.

Sweet Young Thing Writes Home

Light is the task, where many share
the toil.

Homer

Adam and Eve were the first book-
keepers. They invented the loose-leaf
system.

Collected By Esar

In Biblical days it was considered a
miracle for an ass to speak; now it
would be a miracle if one kept quiet.

Missouri Papers Please Copy

Nothing in the world is more haughty
than a man of moderate capacity when
once raised to power.

Wessenburg

Good manners are made up of petty
sacrifices.

Emerson

There are two ways of becoming a
star, Miss Tulare. One is by industry,
concentration, and perseverance. The
other, I think, might interest you.

Director, Quoted By Howard Baer

Who will always vow to file
Long before the deadline. I'll.
Who is running short of time
Now that it's approaching. I'm.

Richard Wheeler

He'll go thundering down through

history like an extra quart of water
over Niagara Falls.

Earl Wilson

For they have sown the wind, and
they shall reap the whirlwind.

Hosea VIII, 7

Keep your eye on the ball, your shoul-
der to the wheel, and your ear to the
ground. Now try to work in that posi-
tion.

Some Literal Character

One way not to catch fish is not to
go fishing.

J. U. McCarthy

Paris — that's the place where the
birds and bees follow people around
and take notes.

Bob Hope

When you argue with a fool, be sure
he isn't similarly engaged.

Quoted By Prochnow

The polls are places where you stand
in line to decide who will spend your
money.

This One Too

I am a part of all that I have met.

Tennyson

Our rulers will best promote the im-
provement of the nation by strictly con-
fining themselves to their own legitimate
duties, by leaving capital to find its
most lucrative course, commodities their
fair price, industry and intelligence their
natural reward, idleness and folly their
natural punishment, by maintaining
peace, by defending property and by
observing strict economy in every de-
partment of the state. Let Government
do this — the people will assuredly do
the rest.

Thomas Babington Macaulay

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

Just when we were settling down comfortably with the feeling that we could say anything we wished in these pages, because nobody read them, we received the shock of learning otherwise. Having now been lambasted from many sides—and praised from a few—for some of our pontifications in previous issues, we probably should start each new article with a trembling typewriter, and a determination to straddle all controversial questions in a straightforward manner.

But the truth is that such skillful deviousness is beyond our capacity. So we'll have to let lack of sophistication parade as courage, while we keep on bluntly telling you what we think about as many of the books as we can catch, out of the flood that pours endlessly from Mr. Gutenberg's invention. And what we think first is that Solomon's whole reputation for wisdom could rest on his observation that "of making many books there is no end."

* * *

After our ivy-covered institutions have run out of socialists sufficiently sympathetic to the Soviet, on whom to confer their honorary degrees, one of them ought to go in for contrast and confer a PAS degree on A. G. Heinsohn, Jr. The initials stand for Patriotic American Spokesman. And of course the institution could follow academic custom, and satisfy its "liberal" constituency, by simply reversing them for formal use.

At any rate, Mr. Heinsohn, a successful business man, has written a scintillating book. *ONE MAN'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM* (Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho) is the story of his dramatic battle against the invasion of Robin Hood Roosevelt's army of bureaucrats into Mr. Heinsohn's personal domains. In the course of making intelligible the blows that were traded and the lances that were broken, the author shows how the weapons — minimum wages, parity, price control, federal income tax, to give just a few of their names—put into the hands of these bureaucrats by vote-seeking politicians, have all but destroyed our basic concept of government. That we are killing the capitalistic goose that lays the "standard of living" eggs is obvious, but Mr. Heinsohn carefully shows *how*; and he leaves no doubt that we are marching on the heels of the British, down the same road, to a "Socialist Ill-fare State".

If the situation described were not so serious, and the results for America so tragic, Mr. Heinsohn's small book could easily qualify as a best seller in the Humor Department. His titillating letters, in response to inane government requests, will make you laugh as well as swear. And his terse remarks to the evasive chairman of the National Labor Relations Board will make you applaud. But since Mr. Heinsohn thinks more favorably of the American Constitution than does Gunnar Myrdal, we are sure the only recognition he

A Review of Reviews

will ever get from the lords of the ivy league will be the epithet "reactionary". Which, if it prompted him to write another book, telling the precocious eggheads some of the economic facts of life, would be good.

* * *

THE STORY OF MARY LIU (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, New York), by Edward Hunter, is the true story of a Chinese girl with a completely unconquerable spirit. From severe frostbite, when she was five years old, she lost both legs, one arm, and the fingers on her other hand. Not only did she overcome these physical handicaps, that seemed so insurmountable. She kept a faith in her religion, a confidence in herself, and an attitude toward life, which enabled her, years later, to escape the Red tyranny of the Chinese mainland by fleeing to Hong Kong.

But this is much more than the biography of a handicapped girl of tremendous courage. It is also the saddening and significant story of the persecution of the Chinese Christians and missionaries by the Godless Communists—who have substituted brainwashing and "self criticisms" for the arena and the lion, with far more inhuman and frightening results. At a time when Communism is making enormous inroads into our churches, right here at home, this book should be read by every literate American who values his inheritance of freedom. But our gliberal press will clearly arrange otherwise. As *Counterattack* has said, "Edward Hunter's books have been consistently wrapped in stifling folds of cotton and quietly laid away behind the Cloak of Silence." We are glad to be able to open just one small fold of that cloak.

One of the most shameful facets of the Korean War, aside from the humiliating truce forced upon the sterile United Nations, was the treatment of the United Nations "prisoners of war". Most of these Chinese and North Koreans were not ordinary prisoners of war, for they had willingly surrendered to the United Nations command, in order to escape from Communism.

Through the use of propaganda broadcasts and leaflets dropped over Communist territory, the United Nations urged these impressed non-Communists to escape and seek protection, guaranteeing them safety from the Communists, and humane treatment from the United Nations. With the knowledge that they would be killed if caught trying to escape, thousands of these humble "prisoners" made their way to our lines, seeking the peace and protection that had been promised them.

HEROES BEHIND BARBED WIRE (Van Nostrand Co., Princeton, N. J.), by Col. Kenneth K. Hansen, is the story of the humiliation and despair these "prisoners" were forced to accept, after they placed their trust in the United Nations. Communist agents, masquerading as explainers, violated every principle of the prisoner exchange agreement, shocking even the "neutralist" Indian troops. These "explainers" used every threat and every bit of blackmail they could contrive to force the "prisoners" to return home. Communist agents infiltrated the stockades, setting up "kangaroo courts" to deal with recalcitrant freedom-seekers, and causing mass demonstrations.

It is no tribute to the United Nations — or to the United States — that so few "prisoners" did choose to go back. The wonder is that after all of

A Review of Reviews

the terror, degradation, murder, humiliation, and deceit which we permitted, many more did not decide simply to live and die under Communist tyranny. Thanks to the honesty and courage of Syngman Rhee, who liberated twenty-seven thousand "prisoners" rather than have them suffer the Communist pressures and cruelties, the haul of the Red criminals was even less than it might have been.

On May 10, 1941, one week after Hitler declared that Yugoslavia no longer existed as a nation, Col. Drazha Mihailovich, along with remnants of the Yugoslav Army, thrilled the world by announcing the continuation of the war against Germany. Overnight he became a hero. His name was on everyone's lips. He became the subject for a cover story in *Time*, and the world press printed glowing accounts of his every move.

Then, almost as suddenly as it had begun, the adulation for Mihailovich waned, and another "hero" was being mentioned in his place. He was an unknown "Yugoslav" named Josep Broz-Tito, the leader of the Communist Partisans. Soon Drazha Mihailovich was being denounced in the newspapers and magazines. The press became the medium for a campaign of lies and distortions, charging the patriotic Colonel with collaborating with the Italians, and with not fighting the Germans. America and Britain, yielding to strong pro-Communist pressures in their governments, withdrew their support from Mihailovich and his Chetniks, and transferred their aid to the Russian-schooled Tito—thus sealing the fate of the real Yugoslavian leader, and delivering that strategic Balkan country to Communism.

This story, of course, has an all too familiar ring. For at the same time Drazha Mihailovich was being betrayed in Yugoslavia, the identical scheme was being carried out in China, Korea, Indo-China, and Poland, with a different cast but with the same tragic ending. Fortunately, the complete record of the betrayal of Mihailovich has been faithfully preserved in David Martin's *Ally Betrayed*, so we can skip the details in this review.

THE HERETIC (Harpers, New York), by Fitzroy Maclean, is supposed to be the biography of Tito. In reality it is as phony as Tito himself, Stalin's Balkan hatchet man, in the role of a democratic ruler. And small wonder. For Maclean, as a representative of the British government during the war, was instrumental in causing the Allied about-face toward Mihailovich. Consequently, his "biography" is nothing more than a toilsome and tedious brief for the present tyrant of Belgrade. Unlike Winston Churchill, who later admitted that he had blundered in supporting Tito, Maclean does not recant. Perhaps he feels, as H. L. Mencken once said, that time is a great legalizer, and he hopes that our memories are short. In any event, his story checks so poorly with the facts that it might much better have been published as fiction.

The stultifying "Spirit of Geneva"—the Geneva that was, and the Geneva soon to come—now dominates our political life, and hence most of our non-political life as well. Recently there was an all-day meeting in Washington, at which a small group of business men were briefed about our national state of affairs by Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General; C. Douglas Dillon,

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Deputy Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs; Donald A. Quarles, Deputy Secretary of Defense; Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Treasury; Percival F. Brundage, Director of the Bureau of the Budget; and Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce. A question-and-answer period followed each speech. But during the whole day not one word was said, nor one question asked, about the most overwhelmingly important problem now facing our government and our people—that of the internal threat from the Communist conspiracy.

It is true that when an Imre Nagy, or Milovan Djilas, or Vladimir Dudintsev writes of his disagreement with the contemporary Communist bureaucracy, such books are translated and published in America. Some, like that of Djilas, even get on the best-seller lists. And when native American Communists, like Howard Fast and John Gates, go through their pale literary motions of similar disagreement, they find more readers than they deserve. But these men do not exploit nor expound any differences between their views and the basic principles of Communism, nor do they advocate any abandonment of the ultimate goal of Marxism-Leninism. Instead, they argue only as to the proper method of achieving this desirable goal. Articulate opposition to Communism itself, in both literary and government circles, has now become either so tame and perfunctory, or so diluted throughout varying shades of pink opinion, as to constitute virtual acquiescence in the long-range plans of the Kremlin.

Under these circumstances it is a pleasure to see a bolt of lightning break through the dark silent clouds, and reveal the menace unfolding under-

neath. **NO WONDER WE ARE LOSING** (Bookmailer, New York; 230 pages, \$2.50), by Robert Morris, is a notable exception to the "anti-Communist" pap which the free world has been fed since Djilas worked out the formula some eighteen months ago.

From his days on the Rapp-Coudert Committee (set up in 1940 to investigate Communism in the New York school system) until he recently resigned as Counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (to run for the United States Senate from New Jersey), Bob Morris has had a ringside seat at the "fight of the century". In this struggle between Communism and republican systems of government, the free world has been fighting with one hand tied behind its back by its own pro-Communists and dupes. Now the bell has rung, signaling the start of the final round. Bob Morris wants to have America shake loose from its shackles, and come out fighting. He is trying to bring this about by reviewing the previous rounds.

Especially interesting is the section dealing with the congressional investigating committees. The scrupulous correctness with which they conduct their hearings, and the conscientiousness with which they respect individual rights—the liberal columnists brazenly to the contrary, notwithstanding—is a forceful answer to those who "liked what McCarthy did but disliked his methods". (Incidentally, for readers who might still be under the illusion that it was McCarthy who conducted star chamber hearings, the chapter on the egregious Tydings Investigation will be a startling revelation.)

The Fifth Amendment, China, Poland, The Marshall Plan, Owen Lattimore, the Greek Civil War, Yalta, Potsdam, the Jenner Committee, Yugo-

A Review of Reviews

slavia, the Katyn Massacre, *Amerasia*, the Institute of Pacific Relations Investigation—all are dealt with in this painstakingly factual book. Here is history that you will never be able to glean from the pages of Messrs. Commager and Schlesinger. It is history that is tragic. It is history that is irrefutable. And it is history that, if the pseudo-liberal "historians" have their way, will soon become extinct.

* * *

Probably the last place most Americans would look for subversive influences at work is in the seemingly-innocent field of concern with mental health. But there the Communists and collectivists, their identity blurred by a thin veneer of pretended omniscience, have been most busily at work. And with their catchy phrases and fancy slogans they have been paving the road to a disguised hell on earth.

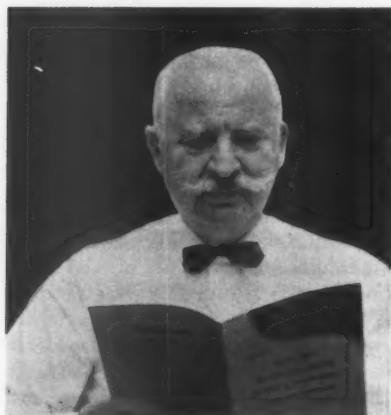
MENTAL ROBOTS (Caxton, Caldwell, Idaho; 107 pages, \$1.50), by Lewis A. Alesen, spells out the extremely dangerous fraud being perpetrated on the sleep-walking American people by these soporific Marxists, who advance their totalitarian schemes under the label of "science". Wearing the masks of "scientist" and "psychiatrist", the Communists expect increasingly to silence all of those who question their nefarious doctrines, by having such troublesome dissenters adjudged insane. The cases of Mrs. Lucille Miller, Ezra Pound, and the Finn twins—all of whom were confined to a ward for the insane without benefit of impartial psychiatric examination—are three well-known examples of this procedure already at work. More recently, the case of Fletcher Bartholomew, a civilian employee of Radio Free Europe who

protested against the number of homosexuals in that agency and was promptly slapped into a mental ward, illustrates how threatening and how horrible the "mental health" weapon has already become in the hands of the collectivists.

The author of this book is a past president of the Los Angeles County Medical Association; past president of the California Medical Association; and the immediate past Chief of Staff of the Los Angeles County General Hospital. A practicing surgeon of highest repute, and a public-spirited citizen long active in committee work for the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Lewis Alesen has combined authoritative professional knowledge and experience with his observations and studies in the role of a plain patriotic American, as background for the writing of *Mental Robots*. His evidence and his conclusions will be hard for the plotters to brush aside.

Dr. Alesen shows how the controversies over flouridation, group dynamics, the income tax, and progressive education have all been grist for the mill of these overweening tyrants of the left, who insist that anybody who disagrees with their views and plans is crazy—and who intend to enforce that arrogant determination by any amount of cruelty and guile. In order to prevent the vicious use of the "mental health" racket in support of the collectivist drive, the author proposes that government be completely eliminated from all activity in the health-care field. He presents convincing arguments and figures to show how this can be done. In short, Dr. Alesen calls for individual responsibility and private enterprise to do the job in this area that an effete and infiltrated bureaucracy simply cannot do—to safeguard the rights and lives of individuals.

LOOKING BOTH WAYS



J. B. MATTHEWS

Here is the dean of them all; the most smeared, because the ablest and the best, of the anti-Communist scholars in America. And we are quite flattered by this pose, showing WHAT THE WELL-VERSED PHILOSOPHER LIKES TO READ.

J. B. Matthews was born, of old American stock, in Hopkinsville, Kentucky. He has an A.B. degree from Asbury College; a B.D. from Drew Seminary; an S.T.M. from Union Theological Seminary; an M.A. from Columbia University; and a Ph.D. from the University of Vienna. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, as a result of research into the geography of China, Indonesia, and Africa. He is an outstanding linguist, being a specialist in Hebrew, Arabic, Dutch, Malay, Sundanese, Persian, and Sanscrit, and fluent in several other languages. He lived in Java for some years, as a teacher; he was ordained as a Minister of the Methodist Church, in Singapore, by Bishop Robinson of India; and he once translated a Protestant Hymnal into Malay.

As a liberal, "J. B." cooperated for a short while with the Communists. He began coming to his senses about 1934, and since 1936 has been one of the most effective enemies the Communist conspiracy has had in America. With a phenomenal memory, a clear understanding of Communist methods and purposes, a precisely accurate and analytical mind, and voluminous files built up over more than two decades, he has become, as George Sokolsky says, "the greatest authority in the United States on the subject of Marxism and its infiltration into this country."

On top of all of that, and more important, J. B. Matthews is probably the most intellectually honest man this writer has ever known. We are proud to have him as one of our Associate Editors.

A pig is a pig is a pig, as Gertrude Stein did not say, and as Ellis Parker Butler almost did. And so is your editor. If any reader is charitable enough to question this self-accusation, counsel for the prosecution calls attention to the amount of space we grabbed in this issue (Pages 15-51) for a few words we wanted to get said. We know people who, in that much space, could have written a history of the world, the great American novel, and a definitive treatise on how to understand women.

May counsel for the defense point out, however, that we did not dispossess any of our box-office attractions in order to substitute our assortment of words for theirs. We suppose that somebody, somewhere, cut down the old pine tree, to provide all of the extra paper we used. But at any rate, despite our own epistolary marathon, we made room for some very excellent articles by William Schlamm, Hans Sennholz, Colm Brogan, and Congressman Gordon Scherer; also for Edwin McDowell's usual survey of the publishing front, for Hubert Kregeloh's survey of the unlimited front, and even for that literary potpourri known as *Bullets*.

What is more, having had our big say in this issue, we promise to limit our editorial license—in the next couple of numbers anyway—to a few pages of pithy (we hope) paragraphs, bailed together by the caption, *We Pause To Remark*. This will leave plenty of room for our regular features, including further installments in the series of essays by Holmes Alexander on *How To Read The Federalist*; plus all of those masterpieces, by J. B. Matthews, Medford Evans, Rodney Gilbert and others, that we have been telling you about. We hope you will like their penetrating performances.

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