

# AMERICAN OPINION

IN THIS NUMBER

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**EUROPEAN SURVEY** Library

William S. Schlamm

**ON SIGNING BLANK CHECKS**

Hubert Kregeloh

**WE MISS THE DAILY WORKER**

Medford Evans

**Other Articles And Regular Features**

**AN INFORMAL REVIEW**

50¢

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## AMERICAN OPINION

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August 5, 1958

Dear Reader:

The houses across the street from mine were on fire. The heat on my side was already intense, and sparks were constantly landing on my roof and porch. With the garden hose in full stream I was running back and forth, trying to put out each flame that licked up anywhere, before it could spread.

One of my neighbors, who had ostentatiously continued cutting his lawn, strolled over with an air of annoyance about him. "Look," he said, "maybe there is a fire somewhere. Maybe it's even getting hotter here—though I don't think it is as hot or as dangerous as you claim. But you are spending every bit of your time and energy on the destructive side. You are not stopping to seed your lawn, nor even to plant one rosebush, so that you will have a more attractive place after the threat of fire is over."

With the corner of one eye my mind noted that the ladder to my roof had just started burning. I tried to move quickly so that my hose would reach it. "Wait," he demanded. "I know you are *against* fire, and maybe that's all right. But you've got to be *for something*, too. If you are not *constructive* I have no confidence in anything you do."

Just then his garage door burst into flames. After an instant of stupefied amazement, he seized my hose and dashed towards his house. But by now it was too late to save either his house or mine.

We are sorry that there is so little time to plant rosebushes, in the pages of this magazine.

Sincerely,

*Robert Welch*

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# EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

*Mailed from Zurich, July 25, 1958*

Nobody has told it yet to the Marines, but they have landed in the wrong place. Or, rather, they have accomplished a veritable first in penetration strategy—they are engaged in a substitute invasion. After the first shock—good Lord, the United States was *acting!*—the European chancelleries soon recovered their posture of condescending disgust with United States policies. There is hardly an influential man in Europe who believes that the United States gives a hoot about the “independence” of Lebanon. The Marines landed there (or so goes the European consensus) because they could not land in Iran. Eisenhower’s intent was to notify Khrushchev that, after Khrushchev’s Nasser got Iraq, Iran must be left alone—Iran, the former Persia, whose oil is still the life blood of England and the rest of Western Europe. But a direct forestalling Anglo-American intervention in Iran might only have brought about the Soviet thrust the western powers are so deadly afraid of. Thus, United States Marines were stationed in Lebanon and Turkey, British paratroopers in Jordania—a substitute invasion, to impress the Soviets in regard to Persia.

## The Road To Teheran . . .

And perhaps it will work. The State Department, at any rate, seems to base its whole speculation on Soviet reason-

ableness: now that United States troops are actually in the area, the Soviets and Nasser will be too smart and too “peace-loving” to send troops into Iran. Or so Dulles hopes. But what if they do? What if the Soviets, on *their* part, reckon with *Eisenhower’s* reasonableness—figuring that *he* wouldn’t dare start the total conflagration just because somebody quartered the Shah of Persia? Well, that’s exactly what European statesmen are jittery about these days. They tremble when they think what the Soviets may do in response to Eisenhower’s sudden impatience—and they are furious when they speak (off the record, of course) about the latest jerks in Anglo-American Near East policies.

I have not met any one in Europe who believes the United States thesis: that the Marines have landed to protect Lebanon’s freedom; that they did so on Lebanon’s invitation; or that the Eisenhower Doctrine means a darned thing. Not that anyone doubts that Lebanon’s independence *was* threatened. But, until the massacre in Baghdad, the world was being treated to the cynical show of total official United States indifference concerning Lebanon’s fate. For weeks, day by day, the State Department was driving home the decisive point: that the United States did not think of rushing to the aid of a nation that had the impudence to be small and the bad taste to be attacked by the mighty Khrush-

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chev-Nasser Empire. How else to explain the scandalous conduct of Mr. Hammarskjöld, UN Secretary General and errand boy extraordinary for the United States State Department? He had never before done anything that he hadn't checked and double-checked with Mr. Lodge, the United States representative at the United Nations. And when Hammarskjöld, in the face of a truth known to all the world, cold-bloodedly denied that there was any outside intervention in hapless little Lebanon, the whole world knew what this meant: Washington, formally committed to help an invaded Lebanon, did not *want* to do it; thus, the brazen position had to be taken that Lebanon, don't you see, had *not* been invaded. This is currently being called diplomacy; and nobody is better at it than Mr. Hammarskjöld.

### Leads Through Beirut . . .

But surely, having double-checked with the United States Delegation first, the poor man was double-crossed in the end. Not by Mr. Lodge, but by Mr. Nasser, who master-minded the Baghdad putsch. Once Iraq had fallen (and where was the C.I.A., where the British Intelligence?), London and Washington were horrified into fast action. Eisenhower, it seems, is ready to concede Iraq to the opposition, though the fall of Iraq will ultimately result in a complete realization of Khrushchev-Nasser's concept of an All-Arabic Empire. But Persia, that invaluable supply center of the fuel that keeps Western Europe going, must be kept out of the landslide. For how long? Eisenhower, to be sure, could not tell. Knowing people in Europe keep telling me ("just look at the map!") that only

battle-ready superior military force, and nothing else, could prevent Iran from falling eventually into the Soviet-Arabic ocean of power that is now engulfing it. Still, at least for the moment, Anglo-American contingents in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey may hold Iran. But how long is a moment? And what then? Has the United States Government accepted the idea of war with the Soviet Union? For, if it has not, the Lebanon invasion will fizzle out in a few weeks. Or so they think in Europe.

### The Hypnotist Of France . . .

General de Gaulle is fast losing his race against time, for the very simple reason that he stands still. He gave himself six months to save France. Two of these six months are gone — and de Gaulle has not made a single relevant move. And yet, what made him the last hope of France was that, of all available men, he looked like the only one who could dare decisive action in Algeria. Everybody in France had known for a long time that the French either would have to get out of Algeria, and fast, or to conquer it, even faster—and that no "normal" government could undertake the one *or* the other. Only de Gaulle, whom no one could accuse of either cowardice or jingoism, seemed free to act, *decisively*, according to his patriotic insight and his acute sense of historic mission. He came to power. And for eight weeks now he is treading water—and sinking.

If de Gaulle did not know, his intimate associate, the superb André Malraux, could have told him that revolutionary dishes must be served sizzling hot. One of the few unequivocally established laws of revolution is their characteristic rhythm of acceleration: A

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revolution or, for that matter, a counter-revolution, is omnipotent in the beginning, slows down after a very short while, and soon turns, at best, into an immobile orthodoxy determined to stay in power. As far as I know, there has never been anything like de Gaulle's "immobilism." What happened to the tragic man who, for ten years, showed such a sense of urgency? For eight weeks he keeps himself in a kind of governmental retreat, holding some secret conferences with politicians, preparing some kind of uninspired legislation to be put, in October, to a popular vote. Then he will go back to his village. And France?

France isn't even aghast. France is apparently so indifferent that it wastes its last asset, de Gaulle, with an equanimity that borders on paralysis. Algeria? Ah well, now that not even the General knew what to do about that boil of hell, now it will surely burst some day and will poison Europe's bloodstream—but, or so the French hope with a tired shrug, that day may be far off; perhaps, who can tell, even a few months—time enough for the Lord to perform a miracle. The only nation ever to achieve the certified status of "a nation of rationalists" has no other political concept left than a peevish desire for painless magic.

### Himself Seems Hypnotized . . . .

And this, I am afraid, is what happened to de Gaulle. He did not rise to power, carried by an invincible popular movement. He slipped into power. And this may have doomed him. The undignified circumstances of the political haggling that made him, the professional victor, a victim of the Establishment, seem to have emasculated his revolution.

He does not say "yes" and he does not say "no"—he is silent again; but he is no longer defiantly silent. Now he's got power. And he does not do a thing with it. Now his silence is embarrassing—and even more embarrassing is his occasional articulation.

He has endeavored, several times, to say something about Algeria. A plan? No, nothing *that* radical! Of course, the General had a few private years' time to figure out what to do about Algeria, France's main problem, if he were ever called to power. But somehow he either did not do his homework or, at the crucial moment, he despaired of his chance. What the General so far has said about Algeria is a warmed-over, eclectic stew of all the platitudes which the last few governments of the late Fourth Republic have served on all popular occasions: "Integration"—"Equality"—"Frenchmen All."

There is, however, always the possibility that de Gaulle, congenitally incapable of cynicism, *means* it (unlike the politicians who blabber the clichés with undisguised hypocrisy). In that case France would be in *real* trouble. For an "integration" of Algeria would amount to the political and financial bankruptcy of France. If the nine million Algerians are allowed to send, on equal footing with Frenchmen, deputies to the *Chambre*, the French parliament will have, in addition to a Communist faction that occupies one-fourth of the seats, a faction of ruthless Algerian revolutionaries that amounts to another fourth of the French parliament. Which simply means that such a France cannot be governed, either democratically or in an authoritarian fashion; for how could even an authoritarian regime (unless it decays into some insane

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totalitarianism) keep one-half of the "integrated" nation under constructive control? And the financial bankruptcy would follow even faster.

### For 2 And 2 Make Only 4 . . . .

General de Gaulle is famously impatient with economic facts. But somebody should have told him that, just to pay those unbelievably fertile Algerians the legally prescribed state contribution for every child, France would have to spend more money on that one item of "integration" consequences than it was coughing up for the entire Algerian war—and would have to keep spending it permanently, year after year. (An expert informs me that this single item would soon amount to almost one-half of France's present staggering budget. For the three million Algerian women capable of childbirth would make an annual performance the nation's chief industry.) Or does de Gaulle think he would abolish the privilege in France, rather than expand it to Algeria? If so, he invites the first real uprising France has seen since the bloody days of the *Commune* in 1871. For, when it comes to cash, French indifference turns into fury.

No, I don't believe General de Gaulle means it, or has thought it through, when he talks of "integration." In the one issue which he was truly called by history to settle—the issue on which France is bleeding to death—the General has fumbled from the first day he governed. True, the overcharged sentiments of the paratroopers in Algeria made matters difficult; but that's exactly why, after the unhappy years of hedging and fussing governments, General de Gaulle took over—to reconcile the humiliated army with the

Republic, and to do it with a few bold strokes the world was entitled to expect from him. He did nothing of the kind. He tried what he is exceptionally untalented for—he tried to please everybody, glad-handing Mollet and Soustelle and the paratroopers and the unions. It's a heartbreaking sight.

### And 4 Is Not Enough . . . .

In October, de Gaulle has pledged, he will go—after the French people will have voted on a somewhat irrelevant constitutional reform. And then what? Then there still will be the nightmare of Algeria. And no other savior on the horizon but either a military junta of trigger-happy colonels or the *Front Populaire*. May God help France—de Gaulle, I am afraid, can't.

\* \* \*

Even Pollyanna, that cute epitome of simplicity, has instincts. The Eisenhower Administration, for instance, seconded by the metropolitan press, immediately knew what to think of Nasser's state visit to Tito's Brioni: Nasser, you see, is turning into an anti-Communist. Now this is, clearly, instinctive; for no human being could arrive *by reasoning* at the conclusion that Tito is a protagonist of freedom and that anyone, by breaking bread with him, has demonstrated immunity from Communism. Just so, Nasser's trip to Communist Yugoslavia was hailed, wherever the State Department retains channels of expression, as an audacious anti-Khrushchev gesture of the Egyptian Khrushchev, a slap in the face of Soviet foreign policy, a tremendous victory for the West.

### Flies Keep Fouling The Ointment . . .

Then something happened that, of course, did not disturb the Eisenhower

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euphoria but clogged up some of the State Department channels: the Greek Foreign Minister, Evangelos Averoff, joined the twosome on Tito's sumptuous private island of Brioni. Greece, one will remember, was ten years ago the place where the West finally lost its Rooseveltian illusions about Stalin and made a first stand against Communist impudence; and, ever since, Greece was a domestically weak but strategically decisive anchor of what later developed into NATO strategy. Now, in July of 1958, the absolutely unexpected and (to the mind of State Department forecasters) impossible happened: the Greek Foreign Minister, without so much as warning his NATO colleagues, participated in secret talks with Tito and Nasser. And it is this conference, I would like to suggest, that will make the Brioni palavers memorable — not Nasser's "anti-Khrushchev gesture."

What did really happen? The unpleasant rock-bottom truth is that Greece can no longer be trusted as a loyal NATO member. Averoff's hurried visit with Tito and Nasser signifies at least two things: one, that Greece is eager to join "the third camp" of "neutralists" like Tito and Nasser; two, that Greece no longer considers itself a western fortress in the Mediterranean but, rather, a "natural" ally of Nasser's fast emerging Arab Empire in North Africa. How far advanced the technical arrangements between Tito, Nasser and Averoff are at this point, no one on the outside can tell. But the collapse of the western position in the Mediterranean is near and perhaps unavoidable. This *Survey* discusses the Italian intrigues around Saragat in another context; but it seems advisable to view that Greek change of fronts also with an eye on Italian developments:

Italy and Greece, the two armored fists of NATO in the Mediterranean, poised against a Soviet thrust into North Africa, are no longer ours. Both nations are engaged in a passionate wooing of Nasser's graces; both are moving, and fast, into the "neutralist" camp whose shrewd operator is the Communist Tito.

Are the Greeks turncoats? As this *Survey* has tried to explain several times, the small European governments cannot truthfully be blamed for their growing escapism. No nation can be expected to commit suicide; and United States policy being what it is, small European nations have begun to realize that they won't be defended. So they jump into "co-existence" via the seductively comfortable "third camp." In having developed the gadgetry of "neutralism," Tito will prove himself a far more successful protagonist of Communism than the dime-a-dozen Stalinists of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Roumania. He is an invaluable asset in the final breakthrough of Communism. And his Arab chum, Nasser, will happily welcome the Greeks and the Italians whose turnabout guarantees, for all practical purposes, Nasser's control of the Mediterranean.

### But We Peddle It Just The Same . . .

Now the State Department, of course, will not change one bit its serene countenance. On the contrary, it will soon express its deep satisfaction that Nasser, that old and proved American ally and friend of the West, rules over the area between Gibraltar and the Turkish Straits, rather than Khrushchev—who, after all, is not so old an American ally and proven friend of the West as Nasser. And Khrushchev, on his part, is not likely to disabuse Washington's astonishing dreamers. If they think Tito

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an anti-Communist, and Nasser an independent force, that's just fine. Let the State Department enjoy its happy dream. Khrushchev, in the meantime, is establishing the Soviets as the dominant power on both sides of the Mediterranean.

\* \* \*

### When Right Is Left . . .

Italy acts as if it had a government. But has it? The new Prime Minister, Signor Fanfani, is a charter member of the Left Wing (*"Iniziativa Democratica"*) in the Christian Democratic Party; and he wanted to take Nenni's fellow-travelling Socialists right away into the government. In this, he was busily supported by President Gronchi and that Grey Eminence of Italian Christian Democratic policies, the extraordinary Signor Mattei. (See *Survey* of July, 1958.) But Scelba and Pella threatened with open revolt and so prevented Fanfani from hooking up with Nenni at this point. However, his reputation among the knowing is characterized by the currently popular crack: Fanfani, the saying goes in Italy, is like a pomegranate — a hard shell with many red seeds inside. And, significantly, the press in Catholic Vienna made no bones about the Vatican's worries. "In high Church quarters," said a well informed Viennese paper soon after Fanfani had taken the Prime Minister's chair, "one approaches him with subdued confidence and one even thinks him capable of seeking, some day, a compromise with Nenni after all."

Even before that day arrives Fanfani will have already proved himself anything but a firm leader of a firmly pro-western Government. To begin with, the Government is structurally not firm.

With the one exception of Segni, all influential elder statesmen of Italy's Christian Democracy have declined to enter the cabinet — in an obvious display of suspicion, not only of Fanfani's intents, but also of his Government's life expectancy. And even the notoriously office-anxious Signor Saragat, the leader of Italy's Social Democrats, refused at the last moment to accept the offered job of Vice Prime Minister. He will, he announced gloomily, have his hands full with keeping his party behind the Fanfani Government. Actually, under the pressure of the Social Democratic Left-wingers (Matteotti), and his own curious illusions, Saragat is determined to work full time at "an opening to the left" — to Nenni.

### And Left Is Left . . .

In fact, Saragat has lost no time in putting the screws on Fanfani. Acting as the head of the second governmental party, Saragat quite brazenly outlined the new Government's foreign policy even before Fanfani had a chance to speak for himself. This program amounts (as Nenni has always demanded) to breaking with NATO's European concept and maneuvering Italy into the "neutralist" camp. Saragat's insolent prejudgment of Fanfani's position (and how on earth could that shaky Prime Minister free himself from such a mortgage without offending the man on whose parliamentary support his Government depends for its life?) reads, word for word, like a more radical version of George F. Kennan's proposals.

When he finally delivered his programmatic maiden speech as Prime Minister, Fanfani kept cautiously out of Saragat's way. Inasmuch as it made any

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sense at all, his declaration emphasized the Italian Government's desire "to work for peace"—which, in current European lingo, simply means to work for a "rapprochement" with the Soviet Union. But how is one to explain the loss of nerve, and of comprehension, on the part of a man like Saragat who, for several years, was one of the most intelligent foes of Communism in Europe? The explanation, I am afraid, is as simple as it is tragic.

For one, Saragat remained a Socialist; and all over the world a pile of evidence is accumulating that Socialists, though they often are most genuinely horrified and repulsed by the brutal ugliness of Bolshevik reality, remain helplessly vulnerable whenever Communism, a past master at the game, plays on Socialist prejudices — pacifism, appeals to "reasonableness" and "international co-operation," the incitement of all kinds of utopian dreams. Secondly, Saragat is characteristic of a collapse of intelligence that occurs in the West, and *not only on the Left*, whenever Communism goes through one of its habitual purge tremors. Since that unhappy Hungarian convulsion of 1956, a fringe of acutely anti-Communist American intellectuals keep being hypnotized by illusionary "new developments" in the Soviet orbit and by alleged "new openings for western policies." The basic ideas of the Rapacki Plan, and of all other "disengagement" fallacies, were advanced two years ago by journalists in *America* who consider themselves veritable ideologues of American Conservatism. In sad truth, you can't hear on the non-Communist European Left a single inanity—from "aid for Gomulka" to "neutralization of West Germany in exchange for Soviet

withdrawal from Hungary and Poland"—that you haven't heard before from some eager rationalizers on the American Right.

### Then Soon The Twain Shall Meet...

I say this to warn my readers against convenient oversimplifications. It is by no means certain that it will be the non-Communist Leftist who surrenders the West to Communism. A growingly perilous *trend on the Right* works for Khrushchev, too. De Gaulle seems tempted to renew France's flirtation with the Soviet Union. Chancellor Raab of the Austrian Catholic Party perpetually offers himself as intermediary between East and West. The Finnish Agrarians, an impeccably conservative force otherwise, are the Kremlin's best hope for the forthcoming conquest of Finland. The FDP in Germany, a strange political concoction that combines the economic thoughts of the Manchester School with romantic German nationalism, is deeply engaged in a "rapprochement" crusade. Pious Italian Catholics, who maintain excellent cross-connections with Nenni as well as with the most conservative segments of Italian society, are busily fixing "a dialogue" with the Soviets. And in America, a disintegrating confusion is being actively promoted on the Right.

The common denominator of all these perversities? The nervous restlessness of people who have not enough staying power, once they have understood the unchangeable nature of Communism, to settle down for the unchangeably dreary struggle to the end. They crave magic. But, as the French will soon find out, there are no miracles just to save the lukewarm or the bored.

# WE MISS THE DAILY WORKER

by

MEDFORD EVANS

IT HAS NOW BEEN SIX MONTHS since the *Daily Worker* suspended publication, on January 13, 1958. Its disappearance from the scene has seriously inconvenienced anti-Communist writers like myself. We even suspect that this was one of the reasons why the Kremlin laid it off. But we know there were other considerations.

Of course, no one imagines that the *Daily Worker* folded because it was broke. By and of itself, it was always broke. But the Communist Party supported it through thirty-four years, and is better able to keep it up now than ever before. In today's bull market for Communism, the out-of-pocket cost of maintaining this eight-page cheap newsprint tabloid, with a circulation of a few thousand, would be peanuts. If, however, the tabloid — because of its history and through being the best-known openly Communist paper in the United States — was embarrassing other operations which were surpassing it in effectiveness for the Communist cause, then clearly it made sense to close the tabloid down.

Of the *Daily Worker's* job, Louis Budenz has said: "As managing editor I did more than get out a daily New York newspaper. I was an active participant in the whole network of conspiracy of which the *Daily Worker* is a part."

## Its Job Was Important . . .

"Every morning," Budenz wrote a few years ago, after he had been re-converted to the Christian religion, "the

Communist leader in each part of the country picks up his *Daily Worker* to learn . . . what he should order to be done immediately." And in a letter to the *New York Times* of November 21, 1957, Budenz furnished a clue to a major reason why the *Daily Worker* was suspended: "In order that a nation may be made ready for the Soviet dictatorship . . . it must be persuaded to accept the Communist line . . . As Stalin explains in his *Foundations of Leninism*, the party must make use of as many non-party bodies and agencies as possible as 'transmission belts' for the Communist line. . . . It would be worthwhile to trace analytically the line, as it comes through Moscow's *International Affairs* and *New Times* (in many different languages) to *Political Affairs* . . . and the *Daily Worker*."

The "non-party bodies" which serve as "transmission belts" take it from there. But it has sometimes happened that one of the "non-party bodies" would by-pass the *Daily Worker* and get the line straight from a Moscow publication. For example, the *Nation* of September 8, 1945 said editorially: "We agree with the Russian publication, *New Times*, that since the fundamental principles are known 'it is simply a question of time before any country will be able to produce atomic bombs.'"

## But Too Many Wanted Into The Act . . .

The *Nation* was more candid than

## We Miss the Daily Worker

some other American publications have been about where it got its slant on this question. Obviously, however, if enough regular United States magazines and newspapers developed the habit of picking up the Party line straight from Moscow, or through some other channels (Communist and non-Communist), there would be no further need for the *Daily Worker*. In my judgment, that is what happened. Nowadays you can get the Party line better from a columnist like Walter Lippmann than you ever could from the *Daily Worker*. In its later years the *Daily Worker* seemed to become increasingly aware of this possibly embarrassing fact — of which, however, it tried to make the best. It got to citing and quoting Lippmann, trying at the same time to imply that if he agreed with the *Daily Worker* on a particular matter, this was what lawyers would call an “admission against interest” on Lippmann’s part, and constituted a doubly forceful argument for the *Daily Worker’s* case.

Embarrassment, however, is sometimes a two-way street. If the *Daily Worker* was embarrassed by the fact that a capitalist columnist had (as in the argument over “The Radford Plot”) presented the Communist attitude more skillfully than it could, this fact might also be embarrassing to Mr. Lippmann. Not that an occasional coincidence would do any harm; for after all even the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose. But it had got to the point where the *Daily Worker* could hardly find a fundamental disagreement with Mr. Lippmann on any serious issue — “McCarthyism,” disarmament, the German question, the Chinese situation, the complex of problems around the Mediterranean, or what have you. So obviously

one of these two, the *Daily Worker* or Mr. Lippmann, really ought—from the Communist point of view—to shut up and let the other have the floor. Well, not only is Lippmann a more impressive writer, and not only did his “non-party transmission belt” not cost the Party anything to operate; but the Communists did not control him and they did control the *Daily Worker*. So they shut up the *Daily Worker*.

### And The Daily Worker Had to Like It . . .

Of course we have used Walter Lippmann, of the New York *Herald Tribune*, here just as an example. Another capitalist journalist who had come to preempt most of the *Daily Worker’s* regular territory is James Reston, head of the Washington Bureau of the *New York Times*. It is only natural that the *Daily Worker* should have a good deal of respect for Mr. Reston, should refer to him as “the astute chief of the Washington Bureau,” and should quote him approvingly without too much embarrassment. For after all James Reston was the first American journalist to be granted an interview by Stalin after World War II, and in 1957 he had an important interview with Khrushchev.

On the whole the *Daily Worker* had come to treat the *New York Times*, not just James Reston, with what was, for the *Daily Worker*, courtesy. On May 23, 1957 it ran this—“Correction: The headline we ran yesterday over the text of the Turner Catledge interview with Nikita Khrushchev—‘The Times Interview the Times Didn’t Print’—may have unwittingly misled some of our readers. In trying to make the point that we were the first newspaper to publish the text of the interview in this

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country, we may have inadvertently given the impression that the original Catledge story was inaccurate. We meant to give no such impression. Comparison of the original Catledge account and the stenographic text, which we are publishing, shows no material discrepancy. We are informed by a *Times* representative that the stenographic text of the interview was not available when their story was filed from Moscow within a few hours after the interview."

Well, thank goodness that got straightened out. Down to the end there continued to be a considerable amount of good-humored raillery against the *New York Times* in the *Daily Worker*, as is illustrated by the headline apologized for above. But—as the apology shows—it was not meant to draw blood.

The trouble is (or was) that a situation, in which it is natural for the *Daily Worker* to cite the *New York Times* with approval rather frequently, and to be actually solicitous not really to offend the *New York Times*, is a situation in which there is not much point in the *Daily Worker's* hanging around any longer. *When the liner is fairly on the high sea the tug can put back to harbor.*

### II

IT MAY BE THOUGHT with indignation by some, and by others with elation, that I have indirectly accused the *New York Times*, Walter Lippmann, and James Reston of being Communistically inclined. That would be missing the point. It is not at all necessary to think that they are anything but conservative in a true sense—or at least the current sense—of that word. As a matter of fact, to support the major Communist positions is now the "conservative" thing

to do. Let's consider what those positions are:

1. *We must have peace.* "Peace" is the motto of the Communist movement. There was something about it in every issue of the *Daily Worker*. You will object that the Communists have merely appropriated a good slogan, and that they are hypocritical in their pretended devotion to it. In a sense your objection is correct. But in another sense you merely illustrate the success of the Communist propaganda. For note that your immediate reaction is not to question the desirability of "peace" under any and all conditions. It is, instead, to claim that you and I also are all for peace; that, in fact, we are far more sincere in our dedication to "peace" than are the Communists. We thus concede, without even stopping to think about it, that we have no reply to the Communist slogan of "peace" except to keep on shouting an ineffective "me, too." And it is largely the Communist propaganda which has caused us to grovel in the trail of this psychological leadership. Their propaganda has all but wiped out of American minds the memory that it was the Prince of Peace who once said he came to bring, not peace, but a sword.

### A Meaning For Them . . . .

In Communist semantics, "peace" has two meanings. Addressing their own, they use "peace" to mean *communism* itself: the utopian condition of the future classless society, in which each will contribute according to his ability and receive according to his need, the state having withered away. Toward such an end, they claim, the "struggle for peace" is directed. But since that era is incalculably remote, the struggle itself —

## We Miss the Daily Worker

which is in the form of a universal class war against "capitalists" and "Imperialists" on behalf of peasants, proletarian workers, and "colonial" peoples, under the leadership of the Communist Party—*this struggle itself becomes identified with its objective*. Thus "peace" to a Communist means fighting against "capitalists" and "imperialists." Since at present the "capitalists" and "imperialists" are identified as those who support or accept the leadership of the United States of America, "peace" to a Communist means a conscientious attempt to destroy the United States as a going concern. (That is why it makes me nervous to hear about "Atoms for Peace.")

### A Meaning For Us . . . .

But the Communists have a second and entirely different meaning for "peace"—though it leads toward the same ultimate goal—which they intend for outsiders to understand and accept. This meaning is adjustment without limit, retreat, accommodation with the enemy. It is what John Ruskin called peace bought by compromise with evil. This is the "peace" which the Communists urge that *we* take instead of a sword. And our attitude now is largely what the Communists recommend. Never before have the people of this country (and of other nations of the "free world") seemed willing to sacrifice so much for "peace." Never before was a sensible definition of *peace* so swallowed up in the technicality of a formal international relationship—where indeed the letter killeth.

Today "peace" is spoken of as if it were of absolute value—without qualifications or conditions. President Eisenhower has said: "There is no longer any

alternative to peace." Such a statement by the head of the greatest anti-Communist country in the world, if it is serious and if it is not repudiated, can mean nothing except eventual and complete Communist success. In the context which the Communists have now established for all such statements, "peace" can only mean surrender.

So here is a job in which the *Daily Worker's* part was already finished. Throughout its career this Communist mouthpiece had no more important task than to fight for "peace." But that fight is now being carried on by the capitalists and their press, far better than the *Daily Worker* could ever do it. And besides, that fight is practically won. If everybody is automatically for anything called "peace," then there is no more further need for the *Daily Worker* than there is for circus billboards inside a circus tent.

2. *We must have democracy.* This is the second Communist slogan. Like "peace," "democracy" has more than one special meaning. As urged by Communists upon the West, "democracy" means that all rank and subordination—which in one form or another are essential to churches, armies, schools, businesses, families and other organizations—must be eliminated. (In Communist countries rank and subordination, far from being eliminated, are sharply exaggerated; and the resulting social organization is called, in a supremely brazen contradiction, a "people's democracy.")

This semantic fraud seems more obviously absurd than the line on "peace." Yet this Communist position, too, is in effect now supported by conservative Americans. In the name of "democracy," officers and teachers in the United

(Continued on page 31)

## A Review Of The News

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

In June, 1958 . . .

→ A Congressional committee (the House Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight) established that Presidential aide Sherman Adams, boss of the White House Palace Guard, accepted gifts and favors worth several thousand dollars from Boston industrialist Bernard Goldfine, who had "problems" with several federal agencies. (The "problems" were the result of business malpractices). As the evidence involving Adams grew more damaging, both the "Assistant President" and Mr. Eisenhower ignored rising GOP demands that Adams quit, strengthening suspicions that Adams has in fact been President, while Eisenhower has served as his "Charlie McCarthy."

→ GOP strategists were painfully surprised when, in the California Gubernatorial primaries, Senator William F. Knowland was topped (approximately three to two) by Democratic candidate Edmund ("Pat") Brown, California's Attorney General.

→ The Mediterranean situation worsened. In Lebanon, rebel action apparently supported by Nasser's pro-Soviet United Arab Republic became more serious, while official Washington sweated out President Chamoun's threat to invoke the controversial "Eisenhower Doctrine" if the UN would not send troops to bar aid to the rebels from neighboring Syria. On Cyprus new con-

tingents of British paratroopers arrived as both Greeks and Turks on the island rejected a reasonable British plan for joint administration, and engaged in bloody hostilities.

→ Running true to form, the Warren Supreme Court handed down another decision of aid and comfort to the Communists. It ruled (five to four) that the State Department cannot deny passports to citizens whose activities abroad the Department considers inimical to the interests of the United States.

→ Radio Moscow announced that former Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy, deposed by Soviet intervention in the 1956 revolt, had been "liquidated," along with three of his collaborators, after a secret "trial." Nagy had been granted "safe conduct" to exile in Romania. The announcement resulted in protest demonstrations in the free world and counter demonstrations in Moscow. There were the usual impotent sputterings in the UN, and the Eisenhower Administration let a few more crocodile's tears run down its vicuna coat. The same Administration announced just one week later it was willing to give nuclear test ban agreements if the Reds bargained in "good faith!"

→ As the F.B.I. warned about the rising crime rate, stunned citizens in Detroit, Michigan and Fort Wayne, Indiana, learned that some of their most successful criminals were members of the police! They committed bank rob-

## A Review Of The News

beries, holdups and burglaries, and transported the loot in police cruisers. Some of the officers involved had earlier been cited for "superior police work."

→ Newspapers reported breathlessly that the Soviet Union awarded full membership in the USSR Academy of Sciences to Americans Linus C. Pauling and Detlev W. Bronk in a "precedent-shattering" action to "cement better relations" between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. Less impressed observers thought that if the newspapers had bothered to check the backgrounds of the appointees they might have been less surprised.

→ In the last hours of the month, Congress voted statehood for Alaska.

### In July, 1958 . . .

→ The Middle East crisis reached a new explosive climax. While Allen Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency apparently snoozed, pro-Nasser Army officers led by General Abdul Karim el-Kassem launched a successful coup d'état in Iraq. They overthrew the pro-Western Government of King Faisal II, who was murdered. Washington and London, fearful of further moves by pro-Nasser elements to seize strife-torn Lebanon and shaky Jordan, reacted by dispatching troops to those states. Khrushchev, denouncing these actions as "imperialist aggression," called for an immediate "summit" meeting, at which he clearly planned to treat the United States and Britain as "defendants." Under British pressure, President Eisenhower agreed to a "summit" meeting, but only under UN auspices. As high-level bickering continued, it was not clear at the end of the month when,

where or if there would actually be a "summit" conference and who, if one should be held, would participate. While the United States seemed to look anxiously for an excuse to pull the Marines out of Lebanon, the Middle East crisis continued to seethe and build up for new eruptions.

→ The world-famous Packard automobile left the American scene after fifty-nine years of production.

→ Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain named her son Charles, nine, as Prince of Wales.

→ After many disappointing missile launchings in recent months, the United States fired into orbit the Jupiter-C-powered "Explorer IV." Equipped with radio transmitter and other instruments, "Explorer IV," at 38.43 pounds, was the heaviest American earth satellite to date.

→ Teamster boss James R. Hoffa announced plans to form a giant alliance of all air, rail, water and highway transportation workers. In view of Hoffa's reputation of ruthlessness and defiance of the law, observers feared that he intended to gain a stranglehold on all transportation in the United States.

→ Lt.-Gen. Claire Lee Chennault died in New Orleans of lung cancer at the age of sixty-seven. He was the founder of the "Flying Tigers" of World War II fame.

→ With an anticipated twelve to fifteen-billion-dollar deficit for the current fiscal year, Congress granted President Eisenhower's request for another boost in the legal national debt limit—from \$280 billion to \$288 billion.

## BULLETS

A Mighty Hand, from an exhaustless  
Urn,  
Pours forth the never-ending Flood  
of Years.

*William Cullen Bryant*

He that will use all winds must shift  
his sail.

*John Fletcher*

Small boy to gushing aunt: "Sure,  
I'm getting bigger. So are you."

*Mort Walker*

Said of the Versailles Treaty, in 1919:  
"This is not peace. It is an armistice for  
twenty years."

*Marshal Ferdinand Foch*

There are three good things in Mos-  
cow. The first is caviar. The second is  
vodka. The third is an exit visa.

*Perle Mesta*

Socialism is the paralysis that results  
from the free ride. *The Farmer's Voice*

Tourist: "I got up at dawn to see the  
sun rise."

Native: "Well, you couldn't have  
picked a better time."

*Old Farmer's Almanac*

Today the average man lives twenty-  
five years longer than a century ago. He  
has to, in order to get his taxes paid.

*John L. Chapman*

Man's inhumanity to man makes  
countless thousands mourn.

*Robert Burns*

Looking for trouble is wasted energy.  
All a guy has to do is to sit down and  
wait.

*Uncle Mat*

Drive safely: The life you save may  
be that of a Republican.

*From A Democrat We Know,  
Named Sullivan*

A survey reports that after forty a  
woman's mind gets broader—but that  
ain't all. *From A Husband We Know,  
Named Anonymous*

A petition is a list of people who  
didn't have the nerve to say "no."

*The Sign*

How did I get so old so quick?

*Ogden Nash*

The Emperor Nero never was able to  
make any money out of his amphi-  
theatre. The lions kept eating up all the  
prophets.

*Peccavi*

Often do the spirits  
Of great events stride on before the  
events,

And in today already walks tomorrow.

*Coleridge*

Thou hast put an upward reach  
In the heart of man.

*Harry Kemp*

Some call it Evolution,  
And others call it God.

*W. H. Carruth*

But, look, the morn, in russet  
mantle clad,  
Walks o'er the dew of yon high  
eastward hill.

*Shakespeare*

## We Pause To Remark...

WE UNDERSTAND that a sizable organization has been formed in the Wolverine State to solve the problem: "What's the matter with Michigan?" If it would not be considered cheating for us to tell these golfers where their ball is, we could save them a lot of trouble. For the answer to their question can be given in two words: Walter Reuther.

\* \* \*

As several of General Chennault's other friends knew, we were intending to run an appeal to our readers, in this issue, to flood the General with cards and letters expressing their admiration, good will, and hopes for victory in his long and determined fight against cancer.

Like so many good intentions, this one was cut short of fulfillment. We are very sorry, for few Americans have been more deserving of any tribute paid them by their fellow citizens than Lieutenant General Claire Lee Chennault. As military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek from 1938 to 1941 (the four years when Chiang was all alone in fighting the Japanese, before we got into the war); as organizer of the famous volunteer group, the Flying Tigers; and then as commanding general, from 1943 to 1945, of the United States 14th Airforce; through all of these brilliant and untiring efforts Chennault was probably second only to MacArthur in his contribution to our ultimate victory in the Pacific. And it is doubtful if any commanding officer in American history has been more loved by his men.

Chennault died at the Ochsner Foundation Hospital in New Orleans, before our small gesture of appreciation could be carried out. We hope that the patriotism and courage of his career will serve as glorious examples for many other officers in the years ahead. They are qualities we shall sorely need.

## We Pause To Remark . . .

The United States exhibit at the Brussels Fair is wonderful! George V. Allen, head of the USIA, on orders from President Eisenhower, made a special trip to find out. Not only does he report favorably on the whole enterprise; but James S. Plaut, Deputy U. S. Commissioner General to the Fair, goes even further. Plaut has estimated that ten million Europeans have visited the American exhibit, without "one word of criticism either from visitors or the press." (Anybody who believes that ten million Europeans today could see, hear, or even think about anything American, without a word of criticism, certainly belongs in our State Department. We cannot conceive of any other job he would be qualified to hold.)

But we are glad that the American part in the Fair has been so "fairly" investigated. Now if we could have a similar investigation of the CIA, by Mr. Allen Dulles, and one of our foreign-aid program by Mr. Eric Johnston, we are sure their glowing reports would make us all feel better.

\* \* \*

On second thought, we know of another job for which Mr. Plaut would be exactly fitted—writing editorials about foreign affairs for the *Boston Herald*. We have quite a collection of these masterpieces, which we may some day lay out, end to end, for the titillation of our readers. The one which prompts our present Plaut-its, however, appeared on July 1, 1958. It deals with the kidnapping of American citizens by the "rebel forces of Fidel Castro in Cuba."

This is a pity, the editorial says, "since the daring of Castro has won a sympathetic response here . . . Castro's rebel army has evoked admiration for the underdog in an unequal but gallant struggle." We did a double take to see if Castro was also praised for "agrarian reform," or "anti-colonialism," but apparently the writer didn't have time or room to add those touches.

Now the evidence from Castro's whole past, that he is a Communist agent carrying out Communist orders and plans,

## We Pause To Remark . . .

is overwhelming. The evidence from his method of operation is even more so. He is using against Batista almost exactly the same tactics, at any cost in human misery, employed by Mao Tze-tung against Chiang Kai-shek in 1945 and 46. Of course, for the record, Castro *says* he is not a Communist, and reminds you that writers in the *New York Times* say he is not a Communist. This is standard procedure at this chapter of *Dictator's Progress*. We remember how emphatically Mao Tze-tung and his good friends among the *New York Times* writers insisted that Mao was not a Communist either. But actually, Castro has made it clear that he wants *his fellow Communists* and their sympathizers everywhere, and especially in America, to know that he belongs.

For in the "exclusive photographic report" on "Cuba's new Robin Hood," which appeared in *Look Magazine* some months ago, there was a revealing picture. Its significance was called to our attention in a very perceptive analysis by Dr. Medford Evans. This picture showed a dead prisoner who had just been "executed" by one of Fidel Castro's men. The "Fidelista" was holding a large automatic at the right angle and position behind the prisoner's head. If this was the actual execution, the reporter could not have been present and have photographed it for use in his article, without Castro's full permission. If it was merely re-posed after the event, for the photographer's benefit, then obviously this too was because Castro wanted the picture taken to appear in an American magazine of large circulation. The capitalist press (as Dr. Evans pointed out) could do a grand job of this kind of advertising for him, which *The Daily Worker* never could. *For execution by a bullet through the base of the brain is the signature of the Communist secret police.* Castro knew that it would be so recognized by every Communist in the world who saw the picture. He wanted them all to know that his "Fidelistas" were subject to, and were transmitting, the discipline of Moscow, even in the jungles of Cuba.

## We Pause To Remark . . .

In the news section of the *Boston Herald's* sister afternoon paper, *The Traveler*, on that same day, appropriate space was given to Senator William F. Knowland's sensible demand that the United States give Fidel Castro an ultimatum, to return every kidnapped American within forty-eight hours, "or else." The "or else" was the sending of American troops into Cuba to help Batista preserve law and order (exactly as we have since done in Lebanon with far less reason or excuse). It is necessary, therefore, for the sake of fairness, to explain that we are not condemning the *Boston Herald* as a whole. In our opinion, and although we disagree with it on practically everything, it is not a bad newspaper, as the large metropolitan dailies go today. But it evidently has one or more editorial writers who can't tell a Communist, at home or abroad, from a boy scout trying to win a merit badge. And when one of them starts talking about—or possibly trying to create—a "sympathetic response here" for a Communist terrorist like Castro, the *Herald* is making itself ridiculous.

\* \* \*

Speaking of metropolitan dailies in general, and now of the worst of them all in particular, we got a wry smile out of the following sentence in the July 5 issue of *National Review*: "We have copies of a correspondence between a gentleman and Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the *New York Times*."

It's a nice distinction. We hope it was not un-intentional.

\* \* \*

As to Castro, his poker hand is still short a most important card. The recognized way for any Communist rebel to win the respect and kindness of the United States Government is: (1) kidnap or murder American citizens; and (2) destroy the legitimate government of his own country by assassination and terror. The order of the two steps is not important. But the effectiveness of the combination has been so well proved by Mao Tze-tung, Ho Chi-minh, and many other Kremlin

## We Pause To Remark . . .

stooges, that it may soon become difficult to find an up-and-coming Communist regime or would-be regime, eager for more recognition, which is *not* holding American citizens as prisoners.

Newest member of the fraternity is Abdul Karim el-Kassem, protégé of Nasser, and leader of the rebellion in Iraq. On July 22 an Associated Press dispatch from Baghdad read: "Three Americans and a German were taken from the leading hotel by the troops, then abandoned to the mob and killed." Of course that kind of action virtually assured our recognition of el-Kassem's "government," provided he was able to murder the king and Nuri es-Said and all of the important anti-Communists in the real Iraqi government as well. Which he was. And so, on August 2, with the unseemly haste of the widow that married the man who shot her husband before the husband had been buried, Washington officially recognized the new regime in Iraq. The fact that this was done over the opposition of the few remaining anti-Communist governments in that part of the world—Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan—naturally increased the value of our action to Moscow, and added to the discouragement of Moscow's enemies.

\* \* \*

Kidnapping for blackmail purposes is one of the oldest tricks in the Communist bag. Soviet Russia itself has used the trick, consistently and successfully, ever since the Communists seized power there. In 1955 Khrushchev himself used the nine thousand German prisoners of war, whose detention for ten years after the war was over was in the same category as kidnapping, as a blackmail club over the head of Chancellor Adenauer, to force on Adenauer the resumption of official diplomatic relations between Bonn and Moscow. But this blackmail weapon is being wielded chiefly against the United States today, and primarily by various satellite and upstart dependencies of the Kremlin. This is for an additional reason besides direct support of the immediate demands of the East German

## We Pause To Remark . . .

or Peiping or Iraqi puppets. The fact that so many of these lesser or subordinate satraps of the Communist tyranny are allowed to keep on holding in shameful captivity increasing numbers of American citizens (including even many members of our armed forces, captured in uniform), constitutes a tremendous and continuing blow to American prestige in the rest of the world, and to the morale of the American people at home. And in letting our prestige and morale be chipped away by such two-bit enemies as Fidel Castro or Otto Grotewohl, of course our government has been glad to cooperate.

\* \* \*

If there were any way to obtain an accurate census, it would come as no surprise to any serious student of the International Communist Conspiracy—nor to the comrades themselves—to have such a census reveal that there are now more *actual Communists* in New York City than in Moscow. It would be no surprise to learn that there are now far more Communists, more highly placed, in our government, than there ever were under Roosevelt or Truman. It would be no surprise to learn how thoroughly honeycombed with Communists are most of our great eastern colleges and universities. The extent and level of Communist infiltration into every segment of our society, throughout the whole northeastern seaboard, is well known to anybody who looks beneath the surface of daily events.

What is not yet so well known, however, even to many reasonably informed observers, is the rapidity and success with which the enemy has been moving in on us through our western borders. A somewhat startling illustration is the fact that in the recent primaries in California, 425,000 votes were cast for a known Communist for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Communist influence in Alaska, percentage-wise, is enormous; and it is much stronger in Washington and especially in Oregon than in states further

## We Pause To Remark . . .

from the seaboard. But it is in Hawaii that the Communists have achieved what already amounts to a stranglehold on the life of the territory.

This fact was revealed and confirmed by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee after its hearings on the Islands nearly two years ago. But a recent illustration of how far the Communists have gone, and of how brazen they are now becoming in flaunting their power, is of interest. In July of this year a known Communist, Thomas S. Yagi, was elected chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Maui Community Hospitals. (The island of Maui, second largest of the Hawaiian group, is only a part of Maui County; and it is the hospitals of the whole county over which this board has jurisdiction.)

Now there isn't any doubt about Yagi being a Communist. He is division director, for Maui County, of Harry Bridges' ILWU. He has been identified under oath as a Communist, independently by several different witnesses. In 1950 and again in 1956 he pleaded the Fifth Amendment time after time, rather than answer any questions about his Communist affiliations. Yagi does not even make any serious pretense of not being a Communist. And two other faps (Fifth Amendment Pleadings) already have been serving as chairmen of important Maui County boards.

When Thomas Yagi was made chairman of the Trustees of the Community Hospitals, however, a strong letter of protest to the trustees was written by Mrs. George P. Cooke, of the island of Molokai (which is in Maui County). Mrs. Cooke, who is a good friend and much-admired friend of your editor, was the former Sophie Judd, when her marriage to George P. Cooke fifty years ago combined two of the most famous and influential families of Hawaii. She has been a leader in community affairs all of her life. Her husband, George Cooke, has not only been a leading business man of the Islands, but was for many years president of the Hawaiian Senate (the highest elective office in the Territory). And Mr. Cooke fully endorsed

# THE HYMN OF DEFIANCE

*To the tune of, or as additional verses for  
The Battle Hymn Of The Republic*

Oh Americans, awake, arise, and flood your land with light—  
Onto foes who bear no sword or flag, as men of honor fight,  
But forearmed with lies and treason creep behind you in the night;  
Our country must be saved.

## *Chorus*

*Hail, all hail to freedom's banner,  
Hail, all hail to freedom's banner,  
Hail, all hail to freedom's banner,  
Our country must be saved.*

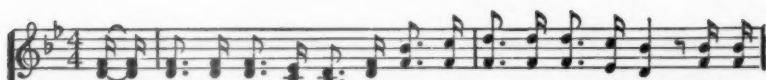
Over all the earth they spread and hide, like vermin out of caves;  
And it's "still they come, and still they come," in endless silent waves,  
Till today they crawl and feed upon a billion human slaves;  
Our loved ones must be saved.

In the guise of men their agents gain high place in this, our land;  
See them bore within the councils where our nation's course is planned;  
When our armies march to fight this foe, 'tis he who takes command;  
Our nation must be saved.

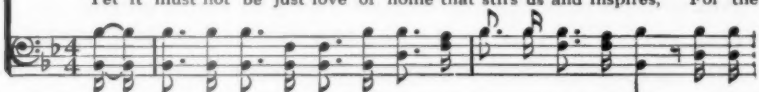
Although traitors threaten us within, and terror from without,  
For our God and Country let us stand, unmoved by fear or doubt,  
Till at last we put these ghouls of Hell to final flaming rout;  
Our freedom must be saved.

Yet it must not be just love of home that stirs us and inspires,  
For the hopes and prayers of all mankind blow on our beacon fires;  
Yea, we shall be worthy of this trust, and faithful to our sires;  
Our country shall be saved.

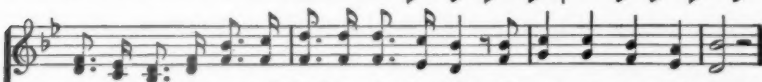
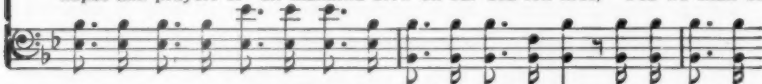
## The Hymn of Defiance



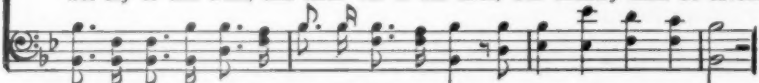
Oh, A - mer - i - cans, awake, arise, and flood your land with light — Onto  
Over all the earth they spread and hide, like ver-min out of caves; And it's  
In the guise of men their a-gents gain high place in this, our land; See them  
Although traitors threaten us with-in, and ter - ror from without; For our  
Yet it must not be just love of home that stirs us and inspires, For the



foes who bear no sword or flag as men of hon - or fight, But forearmed with  
"still they come, and still they come," in end-less si-lent waves, Till to-day they  
bore with-in the councils where our nation's course is planned; When our armies  
God and coun - try let us stand, unmoved by fear or doubt, Till at last we  
hopes and prayers of all mankind blow on our bea-con fires; Yea we shall be



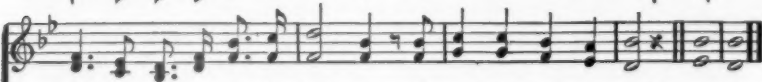
lies and treason creep behind you in the night; Our coun - try must be saved.  
crawl and feed up - on a bil-lion human slaves; Our loved ones must be saved.  
march to fight this foe, 'tis he who takes command; Our na-tion must be saved.  
put these ghouls of hell to fin - al flaming rout; Our freedom must be saved.  
wor-thy of this trust, and faith - ful to our sires; Our country shall be saved.



### CHORUS.



Hail, all hail to freedom's ban - ner, Hail, all hail to freedom's ban - ner,



Hail, all hail to freedom's ban - ner, Our country must be saved.



## We Pause To Remark . . .

his wife's letter. Under these circumstances it could not be ignored. The trustees reconvened and reconsidered the matter. The result was disclosed in their answer to Mrs. Cooke. They not only kept Thomas Yagi as their chairman, by unanimous vote of those present, and they not only gave him a commendation worthy of a national hero, but they wrote Mrs. Cooke that "the trustees have the highest regard for his ethical leadership and integrity of character."

This statement would be ridiculous but for its tragic stupidity. Those trustees who are not actually Communists or Communist sympathizers themselves, who issued any such endorsement, ought to have their heads examined. For we are simply being factual, and not dealing in epithets, when we point out that every Communist is exhorted by the gods of his "religion" to become a liar, a cheat, a traitor, and one who at least condones both murder and torture as means to the ends he desires. Every Communist on territory under the American flag is, automatically and by definition, a traitor; and if we do not learn enough in time to put them in jails as traitors, it is the rest of us who will presently be in jails and concentration camps instead.

But the trustees of the Maui Community Hospitals like a Communist for their chairman. Despite the considerable publicity given to the above exchange of correspondence and to Yagi's record, by the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* and by the radio broadcasts of the Hawaiian Residents' Association, no change in their decision has been made, and obviously none is likely to be made.

The question now is how soon Hawaii will be given statehood, and will become the first state in the Union to elect a known identified Communist (designated by Harry Bridges, of course) as its governor. This is the very real possibility which causes so many good Hawaiians to be among the most ardent opponents of statehood at the present time.

\* \* \*

## We Pause To Remark . . .

On July 14 our troops were ordered into Lebanon. On the evening of July 15 this writer was asked by a group, of which he was a member, to tell what he thought was going to take place in the Middle East. The answer given then was as follows.

"In my opinion, when the 'dust settles' in the Middle East, four things will have happened:

" (1) We shall have lost our remaining prestige and following in that part of the world as completely as we forced England and France to lose theirs by backing down in the Suez affair.

" (2) The authority of the United Nations, our subservience to the United Nations, and Russian domination of the United Nations, will have been greatly increased.

" (3) Nasser, as a viceroy of the Kremlin, will be in dictatorial control of the whole Arab world.

" (4) Western Europe will be dependent, for the oil which is so necessary to its economy, on the 'good will' of Nasser and his Kremlin bosses; and the Kremlin will be using that fact as a powerful weapon to force more and more appeasement and 'neutralism' on the governments of Western Europe."

As these lines are being written, on August 2, we see no reason to change that opinion in the slightest.

\* \* \*

Probably few of our readers will disagree with the expectations expressed above. Many, however, will quarrel with this sequel. For we believe that it was all "planned that way" in advance by the Kremlin. We believe that the antics of Dag Hammarskjöld, our intervention in Lebanon, the uprising in Iraq, and all of the other major moves—and their timing—were plotted and scheduled by the bosses of the International Communist Conspiracy. We believe this to be just as certain as that the British-French march on Suez, our forcing them to withdraw, and all of the other major steps leading to the Suez debacle in the fall of 1956, were laid out by the Kremlin

## We Pause To Remark . . .

for its agents as far back as the Twentieth Communist Congress in Moscow in February of that year. Which means, of course, that we believe the Communist conspirators now have sufficient control over the British government and our own to be able to count on making those governments dance like puppets on the ends of strings, whenever and however the Kremlin desires. What's more, we do not believe we are ever going to stop the steady advance of the Communist Conspiracy towards rule of the world, including enslavement of ourselves, unless and until the American people wake up to this tragic truth.

\* \* \*

Our feeling of personal bitterness towards Sherman Adams is, and long has been, so strong, that probably we should disbar ourselves from comment concerning the sticky mess with which he still stands tarred. But it should be all right for us to quote some comments from others which have crossed our desk.

From our printer, for instance, we received the following card:

"So here's to good old Boston,  
The land of the bean and the cod;  
Where Adams speaks only to Goldfine  
Under conditions exceedingly odd."

In the column by Edward F. Hutton, in Mary Cain's *Summit Sun*, we read that "minks are for Eves, while vicunas are for Adams."

In *Farm and Ranch* we read a letter to the editor which said: "I have seen a recipe that is used by the government for making a whitewash that was highly recommended. Thought you might tell me what government agency to write to get it." The editor's reply was: "Write Sherman Adams."

The news item that Goldfine had taken Adams with him to Goldfine's tailor, to see that Adams had better clothes, prompted one correspondent—whom we had better leave unidentified—

## We Pause To Remark . . .

to write: "The next time Adams pulls some of his usual insufferable arrogance on some caller, the visitor should come back with—'By the way, Sonny, who paid for those pants you are wearing?'"

And before disqualifying ourselves, let us add that we think the whole thing is unfortunate. We have an oldfashioned sense of justice which hates to see the right results arrived at for the wrong reasons. Here is a man who, calling himself a Republican, has done everything within his power to wreck the once great Republican Party, and to metamorphose the debris into a twin of the Americans for Democratic Action; who was at the very center of the malicious conspiracy to destroy an able and patriotic fellow Republican, Joe McCarthy; and who has given the full support of his high office, behind the scenes, to the most un-Republican schemes of some of the most ambitiously radical labor bosses. Yet he got his comeuppance for none of these things, but for leaving some barely discernible footprints in the mud of influence-peddling. Truly the mills of the gods grind slowly, and also erratically, before they grind exceeding fine.

As to the justice of the present grinding, the whole issue seems to depend to a considerable extent on the comparative truthfulness of John Fox and Sherman Adams. We have never had any occasion or opportunity to make a personal appraisal of the veracity of John Fox. It's a completely unknown quantity, so far as we are concerned. But we did live through the 1952 primary campaign, listening to what Sherman Adams said about Taft. On the basis of that experience, this writer personally would accept the word of John Fox in preference to that of Sherman Adams, at any time or on any subject.

\* \* \*

During recent months there has been quite a spate of wartime anti-German propaganda films, shown on American TV stations. They are filled with scenes showing Germans as murderers, rapists, sadists, and dregs of humanity.

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Without the subpoena powers of a Congressional committee, there is no way of proving that the Communists are behind this effort to instill in American minds a renewed feeling of hatred toward our present strongest anti-Soviet allies, the people of West Germany. Our State Department, although it intervened in favor of French feelings when the American film, *Paths of Glory*, was first shown and booed in Brussels, has virtuously proclaimed that it "has no control over matters of this nature. Any attempt by an agency of the United States Government to influence the output of a television station (or a radio station or a newspaper) would promptly be branded as an improper and unwarranted invasion of the right of free speech."

Considering the millions of dollars of taxpayers' money spent by the Federal Government to maintain thousands of publicity agents, for the specific purpose of influencing what is said by television stations, radio stations, and newspapers—on everything from the glories of foreign aid to the shortcomings of private enterprise—the above sentence seems to reach a new high in sanctimonious disingenuousness. As to the British, from whom most of the TV stations claim to be getting these films—under block-booking arrangements which make their showing an economic necessity—the British Embassy in Washington blandly refers the whole matter to London, after carefully claiming that there is nothing London can do about it; and London supports that claim, and the buck-passing, by refusing to answer the mail. So the films go right on being shown.

One result of these showings, of course, is to distract attention of the viewers from the atrocities of the Communists themselves—in Hungary, in Indonesia, in Cuba, wherever there is a Communist with a gun or a knife. This is in accordance with one of the most overworked precepts in the Communist copybook. Always accuse your enemy, first and loudly, of the very crimes you are yourself committing. And

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it brings to mind one of the most revealing documents ever published. This is an official letter, showing just how far and how openly the Communist influence in the British and American governments has been able to make those governments go, in deliberate lies and deception, for the "protection" of our Communist "friends" from the results of their own atrocities.

This letter, reprinted by permission of the author from Rozek's *Allied Wartime Diplomacy* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York), was sent on February 29, 1944, as an official communication of the British Ministry of Information to higher members of the British clergy (!) and to the British Broadcasting Corporation. We submit it verbatim.

Sir,

I am directed by the Ministry to send you the following circular letter:

It is often the duty of the good citizens and of the pious Christians to turn a blind eye on the peculiarities of those associated with us.

But the time comes when such peculiarities, while still denied in public, must be taken into account when action by us is called for.

We know the methods of rule employed by the Bolshevik dictator in Russia itself from, for example, the writing and speeches of the Prime Minister himself during the last twenty years. We know how the Red Army behaved in Poland in 1920 and in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Galicia, and Bessarabia only recently.

We must therefore, take into account how the Red Army will certainly behave when it overruns Central Europe. Unless precautions are taken, the obviously inevitable horrors which will result will throw an undue strain on public opinion in this country.

We cannot reform the Bolsheviks but we can do our best to save them—and ourselves—from the consequences of their acts. The disclosures of the past quarter of a century will render mere denials unconvincing. The only alternative to denial is to distract public attention from the whole subject.

Experience has shown that the best distraction is atrocity propaganda directed against the enemy. Unfortunately the public is no longer so susceptible as in the days of the "Corpse Factory," the "Mutilated Belgian Babies," and the "Crucified Canadians."

Your cooperation is therefore earnestly sought to distract public attention from the doings of the Red Army by your wholehearted

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support of various charges against the Germans and Japanese which have been and will be put into circulation by the Ministry.

Your expression of belief in such may convince others.

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

(Signed) H. Hewet, Assistant Secretary

The Ministry can enter into no correspondence of any kind with regard to this communication which should only be disclosed to responsible persons.

\* \* \*

The House Un-American Activities Committee came into existence just twenty years ago. And August 20 will be the twentieth anniversary of J. B. Matthews' initial appearance before that committee. He was the first individual, who had an intimate knowledge of the workings of the Communist conspiracy, to give testimony before either a Congressional Committee or a court of law. He has poured out thousands of pages of testimony since then, and has supplied information unceasingly to members of Congressional committees and their investigating staffs, without one date, name or fact he has given ever being successfully challenged.

Over the past two decades Dr. Matthews has made himself probably the most effective enemy the Communists have had in America. (His only rivals for that honor would be J. Edgar Hoover and Joseph McCarthy.) That the total effectiveness of J. B. Matthews, of others like him, and of the House and Senate committees, has not been sufficient to turn back the rising Communist tide, is no fault of these patriots or of the committees. It is due to: (1) the brilliant deceptiveness, the dedication of "the whole of their lives" to their purpose, and the incredibly foul methods, of the Communist conspirators; and (2) the apathy, gullibility, and decadence of the moral sense, of the American people.

But the war is not over yet. And we are proud to have one of the greatest fighters on our side as an associate editor of this magazine.

## We Miss the Daily Worker

(Continued from page 11)

States are deprived of the disciplinary authority necessary, respectively, for military efficiency and sound education. But at the same time it is impressed on us that we must not criticize the brutal disciplinary system of the Soviet dictatorship, for fear of offending the Russian people.

Two special subheads under "democracy" are "civil rights" and "civil liberties." It would certainly not be conservative in the United States today to oppose either of these. Yet the working definition of both serves Communist purposes. From June through September 1957 "civil rights" superseded "fall-out" as the *Daily Worker's* leading topic. "Civil rights" means the right of a Negro to receive preferential treatment because he is a Negro (thus opening an inexhaustible source of discord). "Civil liberties" means the liberty of a Communist to conceal whatever important secrets he pleases about the conspiracy in which he is involved, right at the time he is demanding that the U. S. Defense Department be compelled to publish whatever secrets it may have left. Of course the *Daily Worker* gave such "liberties" (and all other adjuncts of "democracy") unremitting attention throughout its life.

But when the Supreme Court of the United States is so active in the promotion of just such "civil rights" and "civil liberties," what is there for the *Daily Worker* to do?

3. *We must have a guaranteed economy.* This is the most obviously Communist position of all. Yet it is by now the most "conservative" of all. To guarantee management and labor against "recession," while guaranteeing pensioners and consumers against "inflation,"

requires a system of government controls basically indistinguishable from government ownership. Yet when do you think there will be a Congress willing to eliminate or seriously modify government controls? How would you, in a "conservative" way, go about getting rid of two such important Communist impositions on the American economy as Social Security and the graduated income tax? People who even suggest such things are now almost universally assigned to the "lunatic fringe." Most academic economists have long since outdone the *Daily Worker* in demanding ever more government controls, to prevent economic distress, or as a remedy for economic distress which is bound to occur.

We have already reached the point where any American who opposes the most effective schemes devised by Karl Marx for communizing our country is considered something of a "nut." So, for goodness sakes, of what use was the *Daily Worker*?

These are the major Communist positions: "peace," "democracy," and a guaranteed economy. In the files of the *Daily Worker* through the generation of its existence you can find thousands of headlines, editorials and articles, pushing these deceptive packages. Some are stupid, some clever, some truthful, some lying; but taken all together they make up a reiteration of unparalleled monotony, as intellectually paralyzing as the buzz of beetles bumping the dark side of the screen on a summer night.

### Mission Accomplished . . .

Usually with more grace, often with less vigor, and nearly always with less apparent awareness of the consequences, the same themes are repeated—the same

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positions supported—by the majority of preachers, professors, journalists, politicians and even business men throughout the United States today. There is no surer way than such uncritical droning of “peace,” “democracy,” and “government protection of our economy,” to turn peace into terror, wreck democracy, and communize our economy. The *Daily Worker* led the pack along this road so successfully and so far that it finally worked itself right out of a job.

### III

OF COURSE, aside from supporting general Communist positions, the *Daily Worker* had plenty of specific tasks to perform as well. Of these the most important, perhaps, of its whole career, was to destroy McCarthy. It was the *Daily Worker* that blew the signal on McCarthy, and invented the term “McCarthyism,” for the capitalist pack to follow. McCarthy was the *Daily Worker's* Enemy No. 1 for about four years. After his death it boasted, correctly and with quotations to support the boast, that it had led the way for the attitude towards “McCarthyism” and developed out of “McCarthyism,” of the United States Senate, the Supreme Court, and the *New York Times*. But long before the hunt moved in for the kill, the *Daily Worker's* leadership had been lost in the stampede.

### The Paper Praised Its Helpers . . . .

Another duty of the *Daily Worker* was to let the faithful know whom it admired—so that the faithful would make no mistake about following suit. To have some Communist deuce, hidden on some provincial newspaper, trump a capitalist ace whom the Communists were expecting or hoping to

lead—such as Walter Millis or Herbert Matthews—had to be avoided.

And whom did the *Daily Worker* come to admire most? That is, after Khrushchev? I have already mentioned Walter Lippmann and James Reston. I will confine myself to whites, for the *Daily Worker* seemed to admire all Negroes (undoubtedly a false pretense, so foreign is the Communist mentality to the Negro temperament).

The *Daily Worker* admired Cyrus Eaton, the Cleveland tycoon. This affinity is illustrated by an editorial in its issue of November 12, 1957, which said: “In a remarkable plea for ‘meeting the Russians halfway’ . . . Cyrus Eaton, Cleveland capitalist, warned that ‘the longer we put off a common ground, the tougher it is going to be to find’ . . . He likewise maintained that ‘this is the great time for people to speak up’ for peaceful approaches to the USSR.” You can even detect a little catch in the *Daily Worker's* voice (“remarkable plea”), prefacing this hum of satisfaction with Brother Eaton’s sentiment, as it evidently wonders how long it can last with this sort of competition from a capitalist tycoon.

The *Daily Worker* admired multi-millionaire Governor of the Empire State, Averell Harriman. It admired that eggheaded master of diffidence, Adlai Stevenson. It admired British nobleman Bertrand Russell. It admired those Ozymandian relics of capitalistic conservatism, the Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations. And it especially admired General Omar Bradley.

The *Daily Worker* once went so far in honoring Bradley as to link him with Khrushchev. In an editorial of November 10, 1957, headed BRADLEY AND KHRUSHCHEV, it said: “The spec-

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tacle of an American general speaking up for peace, for agreement with Russia [what else could "peace" mean?] is almost as rare as a white blackbird. When the general is one as distinguished as General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it's a sign that sensible men even in conservative circles are looking for a way out of the perilous dead-end into which Dulles policy has led our country. General Bradley, speaking at St. Albans School in Washington last Tuesday . . . urged efforts to reach agreement with the Soviet Union . . . 'I am unable to understand,' he said, 'why . . . we do not make greater, more diligent, more imaginative use of reason and human intelligence in seeking an accord and compromise which will make it possible for mankind to control the atom and banish it as an instrument of war.'

With conservatives like that, who needs Communists? Or a Communist newspaper to spread the Communist line?

### But Got Too Much Help . . .

Let's look at just one more assignment of the *Daily Worker*. This was to let the faithful know when some important piece of Communist propaganda was being transmitted by a non-party body, without visible Communist parenthood or instigation. And the best illustration of this "aid to identification" was in connection with the famous advertisement sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. This statement of the Committee occupied a full page in the *New York Times* of November 15, 1957.

The *Daily Worker's* other self, the *Sunday Worker*, reproduced a photocopy of the advertisement, under the

heading "Crusade for H-Sanity." It is so reduced in size that the copy is hard to read. But the advertisement was easy enough to read in the *New York Times*. The type is large, the language is plain, the meaning is clear and deep and deadly as Crater Lake. "We Are Facing A Danger Unlike Any Danger That Has Ever Existed" reads the heading. This statement is repeated in *Italics*, in the body of the text. I agree. But the danger is not the one of which these leaders speak.

Consider how the following passage of the statement transfers, to another object of devotion, that pledge of life, fortune, and sacred honor once made to the United States of America: "The sovereignty of the human community comes before all others—before the sovereignty of groups, tribes, or nations. In that community man has natural rights. He has the right to live and to grow, to breathe unpoisoned air, to work on uncontaminated soil. He has the right to his sacred nature. If what nations are doing has the effect of destroying these natural rights, whether by upsetting the delicate balances on which life depends, or fouling the air, or devitalizing the land, or tampering with the genetic integrity of man himself; then it becomes necessary for people to tame and restrain the nations."

### For Even Its Most Revolutionary Aims . . .

This is indeed a revolutionary concept. To speak of the "sovereignty of the human community" is to say something which is legally meaningless and religiously blasphemous. This is as radical as the Communist manifesto. It is consistent with the Communist manifesto. It is not consistent with the

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Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States.

To me the philosophical implications of this statement are extremely important. They are even more serious than that the specific proposals, regarding nuclear tests and disarmament, follow perfectly the Communist line; so perfectly that the advertisement is reproduced in the *Worker*, and the proposals are given the *Daily Worker's* complete editorial endorsement. And who are the people that signed it?

### For Example . . .

The *Daily Worker* gloated, as follows: "... the statement's signers include men and women like Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Rabbi Edward E. Klein, James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union; Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the General Mills Corporation; Clinton Golden, labor official; Father George B. Ford of Corpus Christi Church; Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*; John Hersey, James Jones, Cleveland Amory, and Lewis Mumford, writers; Dr. Paul Doty, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists; Norman Thomas, Clark Eichelberger, director of the American Association for the United Nations, and others."

Since the original list is alphabetical, the order here may indicate the *Daily Worker's* estimate of the relative importance of some of these people. [Or its estimate of the public's estimate of their relative importance. Editor] Actually, all forty-eight signers are important. Here are the rest. Oscar Hammerstein II, Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester, Leland Hazard, Kirtley F. Mather, Pitirim Sorokin, Paul J. Tillich,

Rev. Robert J. McCracken, Michael Amrine, Roger N. Baldwin, Dr. John C. Bennett, Dr. Harrison Brown, Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Harold Fey, Dr. Erich Fromm, Robert Gilmore, Rev. Walter H. Gray, Rev. Donald Harrington, Dr. Homer Jack, Dr. Stanley Livingston, Lenore G. Marshall, Lawrence S. Mayers, Jr., Robert R. Nathan, William F. Neuman, Elliott Nichols, Clarence Pickett, Josephine W. Pomerance, Dr. Charles G. Price, Elmo Roper, Philip Schiff, James T. Shotwell, Howard Thurman, Dr. Hugh Wolfe, and Jerry Voorhis.

Names make news. In this case they should. The identity of these signers sort of staggered me. Of course some of these people have — shall we say — "liberal" reputations. But what about Harry Bullis, Leland Hazard, General Hester, and many more? Yet here they are, all forty-eight of them, doing exactly what the Communists want. The *Daily Worker* was laid off because people like this are now doing its job for it so much better than it ever could.

Obviously, too, the Kremlin's top brass in this country has now found other ways to let the faithful know what's what. But we are not among the faithful. When we saw some policy supported in the *Daily Worker* we knew it was the gen-u-wine, simon-pure, Communist line. But when we read about some plan to advance brotherhood and sweetness and light in Walter Lippmann or James Reston, we have to guess. They may have dreamed it up themselves. We poor outsiders are bound to be confused. We miss the *Daily Worker* to keep us "on the line." As we mentioned in the beginning, maybe that is one of the reasons why the Kremlin padlocked the place.

# ON SIGNING BLANK CHECKS

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

IT WAS IN THE DAYS immediately following World War II, when the Soviet Union was still considered an "ally" and the great majority of the American people were even more frightfully ignorant about the dangers of domestic Communism than they are today. I served as a member of a strictly temporary regional committee concerned with quick action to alleviate some of the pressing hardships in the war-ravaged areas of Europe.

This was entirely a private project, seeking to deal on a humanitarian basis with an existing emergency. There were influential people on the committee: two college presidents, several professors, clergymen, industrialists, and representatives of service clubs and other organizations.

Very soon it seemed that at almost every luncheon meeting we held to discuss our project some sort of petition was circulated. I noticed that these petitions originated with a woman who might be defined as "pleasantly aggressive." Nobody had invited her to serve on the committee but she came anyway. I was apparently the only person there who knew that she was a persuasive and very effective promoter of Communist-front organizations and "causes." At that time she was particularly and openly active in the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, whose subversive nature was not recognized by most people until long after the events under discussion.

This woman introduced her petitions

by assuring us with a disarming smile that they were in support of a "good cause," or for "international understanding and world peace," or in the interest of "American democracy," or for something else which most people would not wish to be recorded as "against." And thus, I noticed with consternation, all those present except me would sign these petitions with hardly a glance at their contents, while at the same time trying to listen to what somebody was saying in connection with overseas relief.

One day I objected heatedly to the circulating of such petitions, which had nothing whatever to do with the purposes of our committee. I said I wouldn't take anybody's word for it that the causes supported were "all right." While my behavior was probably considered boorish, at least the petitions ceased. By a significant coincidence, the pleasantly aggressive lady lost interest in the work of our committee, and from then on she presumably lunched in more "promising" places. Looking back over the years and knowing what I do now, I am by no means sure that at least one or two of those present didn't realize they were signing pro-Communist appeals. But most of them were as innocent, and as easy to lead, as sheep following a Judas goat to the slaughter house.

## II

AND HAS THE American public grown wiser and more courageous in such mat-

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ters since 1946? It has done just the opposite.

Not long ago I was invited to address a dinner meeting of the men's club of a Congregational church in a Western Massachusetts community. At the end of a short business meeting preceding my talk the chairman asked if there was any additional business. A personable young man got up, stated that he represented the "social action" committee of this church, and said that his committee recommended endorsement by the members of the club of a petition to the United States Congress. The petition, which he then circulated for signatures, had dual though closely related objectives. It urged Congress to "continue" and "expand" (!) foreign aid, and requested passage of House Bill H. R. 10368—which was up for action at that time. (H. R. 10368 would have extended the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act another five years, and would have given the President discretionary powers to lower tariffs further on foreign imports.) The personable young man explained that his committee recommended support, of the legislation requested in the petition, as a "Christian responsibility."

As the petition circulated and signatures were being affixed briskly, I watched in profound unhappiness and anger. For I was fully convinced that the objectives of the petition were utterly inimical to the interests of the American people. I also suspected that most of those signing had not had an opportunity to study the immensely complicated material with which the petition dealt. They signed because one of their fellow members had asked them to sign, and because as Christians they wished to live up to those "Christian

responsibilities" specifically cited in connection with the circulation of the petition.

In the minutes remaining before my introduction as the speaker of the evening I had to decide on the wisdom or folly of attacking the petition. It was clearly in some respects a delicate situation. I had been engaged and was being paid to speak to the club on a specific subject—my topic in this case being "Recession Sense and Nonsense." If I attacked the petition, I might embarrass the personable young man who presented it; I might conceivably offend the minister, who was sitting next to me, by appearing to oppose "Christian responsibilities"; and I might antagonize those who signed, which included all but one or two. Certainly they would all be on solid ground if they told me bluntly that they had not invited me to advise them how to run their club and what to support or not to support.

Nevertheless, I decided to stick my neck out, especially as my talk on the recession enabled me to point out that the current flood of foreign imports has a definite adverse effect on the employment picture, notably in New England. I was pleasantly surprised by the reaction to my decision to stand by my principles in this situation. After my talk so many previous signers withdrew their signatures that the petition became worthless. Several men came up to me and actually thanked me for speaking out, explaining that they themselves had entertained doubts but had signed because they didn't want to appear "difficult," let alone "un-Christian." The personable young man wasn't miffed, either. He conceded readily that he didn't know much about the objectives of the petition, and had recommended

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its support simply because the State Social Action Committee (of Massachusetts) had sent him instructions to that effect. He indicated he was really interested to hear the opposing opinion on the foreign-aid program and on the renewal of the "Reciprocal" Trade Agreements Act. (The quotation marks reflect my statement at the meeting that in this connection the word "reciprocal" is as fraudulent and misleading as is Mr. Eisenhower's constant reference to the foreign-aid swindle as the "Mutual" Security Program.)

The personable young man, you see, was representative of untold thousands of American men and women. Every day, citizens are trapped into supporting through their signatures political candidates about whom they know too little, and highly controversial legislation about which, at best, they are only sketchily informed. They sign because paper and pen are handed to them under circumstances making it "awkward" to decline; because the political candidates or the proposed legislation seem well recommended by men and women of prestige; because there is an implication that refusal might somehow indicate a poor sense of civic responsibility; or simply because "everybody else" signed.

In the case I have just reported, the controversial petition was evidently introduced in good faith. The young man, in his capacity as chairman of the social action committee of his church, followed the recommendations of a higher committee—one that presumes to set the policies for the social action committees in all Congregational churches in the state of Massachusetts. The social action committees of several Protestant denominations have long

been among principal targets of leftist infiltration, because these committees can be most influential in mobilizing organized religious groups behind political objectives; and because the recommendations of religious groups carry prestige and "respectability." However, the average Protestant church member seems to be quite unaware of these conditions. Nor has he, probably, ever wondered why all the political action for which his support is sought tends to benefit so-called "liberal" causes; why his aid is never solicited in behalf of conservative legislation. No committee of his church ever asked him to support the Bricker Amendment; to demand a critical examination of the activities of the United Nations; to request a strict accounting of the manner in which foreign-aid funds are spent; or to help to protect the House Committee on Un-American Activities against leftist efforts to destroy it.

At any rate, the point I am trying to make is that the experience recorded above is naturally not an isolated one. Occasional newspaper accounts showed that this same petition was circulated in all or most Congregational churches in Massachusetts, and also in churches of other Protestant denominations. In some cases—by accident or design—circulation of the petition was preceded by a speaker whose talk stressed the desirability of the policies it recommended. This happened, for instance, in a Congregational church in Springfield, Massachusetts, where the speaker was an economics professor at Amherst and a former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs under Truman. The audience probably consisted mostly of citizens too preoccupied with the task of making a living to have

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found time to study the intricately involved aspects of what is generally described as our "economic" foreign policy. Without the benefit of dissenting opinion, they were easily impressed by the presumably authoritative dissertation of a man with apparently impressive qualifications. At any rate, they ended up signing the petition, which urged Congress to flush more of the American taxpayers' money down drains all over the globe, as well as to make it easier for foreign goods produced with cheap labor to throw American workers out of their jobs. While most signers were no doubt unaware of the true nature of the legislation they backed, it is disturbing to speculate as to just how much influence these widely circulated petitions may have had on the ultimate decisions of Congress — decisions in favor of the foreign-aid swindle and the further liberalization of our import policies.

### III

LET ME ADD JUST ONE MORE, to these examples of "herd instinct" in action. Personal friends of mine belonged to the organization concerned, although they were not present at the time of the incident. This was a Parent Teachers Association. One of its meetings in the spring of this year was addressed by a high-pressure campaigner for fluoridation of the public water supply. The professional pushers of fluoridation concentrate on emotional appeals to the parents, arguing that their "reactionary" opponents deprive the children sadistically of the "wonderful benefits" of this treatment of the drinking water. Thus the promoters logically regard PTA groups as among the most fertile platforms for their sales talks. In this partic-

ular case, following the fluoridation salesman's address, those present were asked to record themselves in favor of the program. It was explained that their wishes would be forwarded to the National PTA in Washington, D. C., which seems to be collecting this data.

The fluoridation advocate was an M.D. In the course of his address he made it plain that he regarded as lunatics and "crackpots" all who oppose the program. This undoubtedly helped to get all those present to vote in favor of the poisoning of their water supply, for nobody likes to declare himself a "crackpot" and a lunatic. Yet, the unassailable fact is that fluoridation is a highly controversial and potentially very dangerous program. It forces all the people in the community to absorb into their systems small daily doses of a deadly poison so that the teeth only of children in a certain age bracket may allegedly be helped. There are eminent authorities, including physicians and dentists and entire medical groups, who categorically reject the program as harmful or, at least, as not proved safe. All this is known to everybody who reads a newspaper. Yet at the PTA meeting of which I am writing, not one person apparently had enough courage to stand up and say a few words to this effect: "Fluoridation is so controversial an issue that I don't think we should vote on it, if vote we should at all, until we have heard the opposition competently presented—preferably in the form of a debate." I happen to know that there were people present who entertained doubts. Yet they followed the herd and voted for fluoridation because they wanted to be "agreeable"; because they didn't want anybody to say afterwards that they had "made a scene."

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And every vote will be used by the professional fluoridation fanatics as a bullet in their brutal war to force all Americans eventually to drink poisoned water.

### IV

THE MORAL OF THESE INCIDENTS — typical of myriads that have occurred in the United States over recent years—is obvious. Ask yourself if you have ever signed “petitions,” “resolutions,” or “appeals,” while either not being quite satisfied that you agreed with the objectives involved, or without really knowing enough about whatever it was to take a definite stand honestly and intelligently. The Communists have operated a signature racket here since the 1930's, always carefully avoiding the ugly word “Communist.” The various Communist-operated “peace appeals,” for instance, have trapped thousands of sincere men and women who would never think of consciously supporting the Communist conspiracy. The more “liberal” and “civic-minded” a person is, the more he functions as a “joiner” and a “good Joe,” then the greater is the danger that he will be persuaded to lend his name and prestige to questionable causes. And the more prominent a citizen is, the more frequent and the stronger will be the pressures to get his signature on a piece of paper. The signatures of prominent people are then used both to impress officials formulating policy and to lure others into signing. Therefore prominent people, realizing the potential influence of their signatures, have a duty to be particularly cautious about signing anything in support of objectives with which they are not personally thoroughly familiar.

Not one of the people who ask us to support through our signatures this

candidate or that “cause” could ever get us to sign a blank check for him. Yet when we affix our names carelessly to letters, petitions or resolutions, we may well, without realizing it, hand our enemies a blank check to help them in their efforts to destroy our Constitution and our freedoms. Let us always bear in mind that our own signatures may induce friends and neighbors to sign also, because they will tend to assume that we have studied the issue involved and are convinced that whatever it is should be supported. Difficult and embarrassing as this sometimes may seem, we cannot ever allow the “herd instinct” to dictate our actions. This means, among other things, that we must politely decline to sign anything of which we do not consciously approve after careful study. Those who want us to sign may be annoyed at the time but, if they are sincere, will eventually come to respect us for our courage and sense of responsibility. If the position we are asked to support is actually wrong, in our considered opinion we should be courageous enough to say so frankly and to explain why we refuse to sign. If the issue is controversial and we haven't given it much thought and study, we should have the good sense to insist on hearing the opposing opinion and thinking it over before committing ourselves.

We are extremely careful not to give away signed blank checks because we're afraid we might lose our money. Yet, if we lightly sign papers endorsing political candidates and “causes” we have not investigated we may some day find that we gave away blank checks which cost us not only our money but our country!

# A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

*Due to the timeliness and importance of the book reviewed below, we have given it all of the space available for this feature in this issue of AMERICAN OPINION. In the October number we shall discuss Rosalie Gordon's NINE MEN AGAINST AMERICA, Paul Bakewell's INFLATION, Holmes Alexander's THE FAMOUS FIVE, and other recent volumes which we think should be of major interest to our readers.*

SHORTLY AFTER THE McClellan Labor-Management Racket Committee was born—and that now seems a long time ago — there was a meeting of a committee of business men concerned with the government's activities in the field of industry. Elation was the order of the day. At last — so went the feeling — we are going to see the hoodlumism of Walter Reuther exposed and publicized. But one man dissented. "Gentlemen," he said, "it would be a pleasure if I could agree with you. But in my opinion you are utterly unrealistic in your expectations — or in your appraisal and identification of the forces at work.

"In the first place, I think that somewhere and somehow, behind the scenes, this whole show has been planned and set up by Walter Reuther and his would-be stooge, Senator John Kennedy. It will be controlled by them, indirectly but almost completely, every step of the way. You are going to see the abuses in the American labor movement investigated at the instigation of the man most guilty of the most flagrant abuses. In timing, in subtlety, and in objectives the entire maneuver is typical of Communist strategy. It has been planned by a man who learned Communist tricks

right at the horse's mouth, and has built his whole career by using them — even when he was fighting Communists.

"In my opinion here are the specific purposes of the McClellan Committee—probably utterly unsuspected by that fence-straddling old mediocrity who serves as its chairman — and in my opinion these objectives will be successfully accomplished.

"(1) The rising revulsion of the American people against the misuse of power by the labor bosses will be shunted off onto a sidetrack, and turned solely against the financial racketeers in the labor movement.

"(2) The whole drive for investigation will thus be dissipated, without any serious damage to the ideological racketeers, and without even a good look at the criminal violence by which these socialistic dictators gain and hold dominion over increasing millions. It is the thieves who steal from their unions, not the tyrants who make political slaves of the union members, at whom the anger of the American people will be directed.

"Any attempt by the McClellan Committee to look into the responsibility of Walter Reuther for the thousands of

## A Review of Reviews

vicious crimes of his goons will be converted into a whitewash or a propaganda circus for Reuther. Because Reuther, through his fellow-schemer, John Kennedy, through Kennedy's brother Bob as counsel for the committee, through Reuther's hired hand, Senator Pat McNamara of Michigan, and through still other reins of power behind the scenes, will be able to call the turn on everything the committee does. If you think, for instance, that John Kennedy would be taking a leading hand in this investigation, at this stage of his political career, if there were the slightest chance of its even embarrassing Walter Reuther seriously, then you are innocent babes in an awfully snake-infested swamp.

"(3) The McClellan Committee, some members consciously and some members unconsciously serving Reuther's purposes, will help mightily to destroy or weaken the very enemies in the labor movement whom he fears most.

"(4) To the leaders of the Democratic Party in the South, who are innately opposed to labor bosses, and whose support will be so important for the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1960, John Kennedy will be able to make himself appear as a "conservative Democrat" who has the courage to investigate labor unions. He will be able to do this, not only without hurting himself in the least with Eleanor Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, Joseph Rauh, and their fellow "liberals" in the North, but while actually doing a huge favor for their favorite "labor statesman," Walter Reuther.

"What you are facing, Gentlemen, is a brilliant scheme, concocted and to be carried out by the most dangerous demagogue in America, Walter Reuther, with the help of his accomplice, John

Kennedy—who is the biggest phony in America today and probably the most slippery politician. And unfortunately there will not be a damn thing Barry Goldwater or the other good men on that committee can do about it."

The above analysis seems to me to serve well as an introduction to the "hero" of the new biography by Eldorous L. Dayton: *WALTER REUTHER* (Devine-Adair, N. Y.; 280 pages, \$4.50). In this book "Pete" Dayton has laid out Reuther's methods, progress, and purposes in black and white. Above all, he has told the story of this crafty Marxist's rise to power in a text that is as easy to read as the best of novels.

Today Walter Reuther is well on his way to becoming the absolute dictator of organized labor in America. It should give any good citizen goose pimples to think of the hundreds of millions of dollars and tens of thousands of agents which will then be at his disposal, to be used for the promotion of Reuther's sociological ideas and Reuther's personal ambitions. For even now he already has more money to spend in politics, on the support of his friends and the defeat of his enemies, than the Republican and Democratic parties put together. And he is already within reaching distance of working control of the American Congress. Beyond those goals lies dictatorship, through the mechanics of a "labor government," over the whole American nation and the lives of all of its people. That in this consummation he would wind up ruling the United States as a viceroy of the Kremlin is just as inevitable, considering the sources of his strength and the "facts of life" in American and international politics today, as was the same result for Sukarno and Nasser in their respective satrapies.

## A Review of Reviews

During recent years Walter Reuther has made quite a point of having no love for the Communists. But he can hardly deny that they love him—and everything he is doing and all that he stands for. He certainly could not deny that the principles on behalf of which he spouts so much ham oratory come straight out of Karl Marx, for the record is too clear and too extensive. For seventeen years, since he made the pitch to have the automobile industry manufacture fighter-planes, under the operation of joint management-government-labor committees, right up to his last bargainable gambit of proposed profit-sharing on an utterly unfair and unrealistic basis, one after another of his most important schemes have involved some trick for bringing the Communist gimmick of "codetermination" into American industry. In fact, as even Mr. Dayton for some reason does not point out, the very word "soviet" originally came from and meant exactly the kind of joint "councils" which Reuther keeps trying so diligently to introduce into American industrial life. Not even his highly ballyhooed desire to level all American incomes down to some socialistic ceiling, nor his proposal to have the government build twenty million cheap houses all exactly alike, is any more completely Communist than his dream of turning American industry over to a hierarchy of soviets.

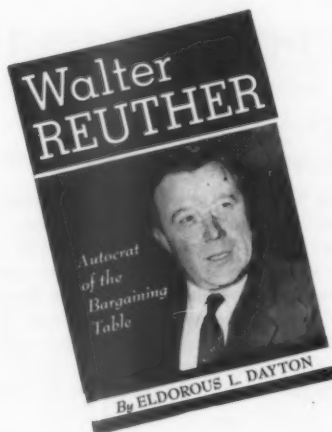
The most significant affinity between Reuther's mental processes and those of the Communists, however, lies in his unhesitating willingness to use any means to achieve his ends. The internal key to his almost incredible climb to "greatness" is found in his industriousness, cunning, and consecration to the job of advancing Walter Reuther. The

external key is almost entirely in the one word, *lawlessness*. From the time when he led a handful of men through a window into the locked Kelsey-Hayes plant, to stage his first tiny sitdown strike — shortly after his return from nearly two years in Russia, and using an idea he had learned from the Communists of France—until twenty years later when his UAW bullies tried to shoot their way into all four plants of the Perfect Circle Company in Indiana, utter contempt for the law has marked every step of his progress.

During those twenty years his hoodlums have committed literally thousands of serious crimes, including dynamiting, acid-throwing, mayhem, kidnapping, and manslaughter. In Reuther's attempt to destroy the Kohler Company (not over wages, but because Kohler refused to force his employees to join Reuther's union), Dayton confirms that "these union torturers did not have to tip their hats to the terrorists of the French Revolution or the musclemen of the Al Capone underworld." Reuther has proceeded on the assumption — which proved to be entirely correct — that the fear of physical reprisal by his goons and of political reprisals by himself would make cowards or opportunists out of enough officials to break down law enforcement. Now he is obviously looking ahead to a near future when it may not be necessary to have his minions break any laws, because he will have the power to revise and rewrite the laws themselves to suit his ambitious purposes. If you would like to see how near Reuther is to such a goal, and to understand how he got this far, we urge you to read Dayton's twenty-four chapters. They constitute one of the most important books of the decade.

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Though government can cause a colossal inflation, Mr. Bakewell finds that none has ever corrected the situation and restored sound money. Every government which has caused inflation has been overthrown and a new government of a different type brought into power.

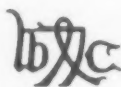
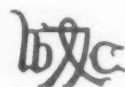
Having achieved, since 1934, the greatest inflation ever experienced in the United States, and having accumulated a direct government debt of nearly \$275,000,000,000, what, then, can be accomplished toward a return to the gold standard and the redeemability of paper currency, the basic essentials of a good monetary system and a sound economy? The author outlines seven remedial steps by which this purpose may be accomplished without completely wrecking the economy of the nation, something which might very well be the result of an abrupt termination of inflation.

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*Editor-in-Chief of The American Mercury*  
October, 1957 - June, 1958.

Belmont 78, Massachusetts

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