

AMERICAN OPINION

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Wabash College

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AN INFORMAL REVIEW

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AMERICAN OPINION

Editor

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February 8, 1959

Dear Reader:

The question is not whether the Communist conspiracy can be stopped and destroyed, but when. For of all the "big lies" cooked up by the Kremlin's bosses, the biggest was Khrushchev's boast that history was on their side.

Exactly the opposite is true. The continued survival and expansion of the Soviet tyranny is so contrary to the probabilities based on human experience that only once before, in all of man's recorded history, has there been any abnormality to resemble it.

Fascist Sparta had a cruel, self-perpetuating oligarchy at the top. This oligarchy exerted its control through a quite small percentage of the population, and based its economy on the slavery of the majority. Sparta established satellite states around itself, and used subversive cells within other states—as well as a brazen disregard for truth or treaties—until it did finally take over Athens and all of the Greek world.

But this success was precarious and short-lived. For it quickly brought home to the gullible Greeks the truth, which too many had blindly refused to believe before: That the ideological pretenses of Sparta were merely a deceptive cloak, under which ambitious criminals sought to hide and then impose their brutal tyranny. And the truth was all it took to shatter the whole framework of enslavement.

We are not spreading gloom when we try to give you the truth in this magazine. Truth is a spade with which to clear the way through the mudhole of Communism to the bright—and natural—road ahead. The more readily you seize and use it, the more you will share our optimistic confidence in the future.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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A Review Of The News

This is a magazine of opinion. But opinion should be based on facts. Here are the facts for
January, 1959

Thursday, January 1

→ Fidel Castro, thirty-one years old (?), ascends to power in Cuba when Fulgencio Batista abandons his office and escapes to the Dominican Republic. United States Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith allegedly had tried to arrange a "conservative revolution" by having Batista resign in favor of the "President-Elect," supported by a military junta. But a member of this conspiracy seems to have informed Castro and the deal collapsed. Fidel Castro is not demonstrably a member of the Communist Party, but his influential brother, Raúl, decidedly acts like one; and Castro's two chief assistants, Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos, have long-standing records of Communist allegiance. Revolutionary terror sweeps the island and the Cuban Communist Party, emerging after years of underground existence, openly stakes its claims to the control of the labor unions. The membrane that now separates the Communist Party from supreme power over an island ninety miles off the coast of the United States is very thin.

→ Europe's "Common Market" comes into existence. Its six members — France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands — are obliged to start on January 1, 1959, with drastic reductions of the traditional tariffs and trade quotas which have been in force against one another. Within twelve to fifteen years — that

is, by 1972 or, at the latest, by 1975 — the six countries are to form an economic unit through which commodities, moneys, and people can move as freely as they do within the United States. The remaining eleven countries that, in addition to the Common Market nations, form the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (Britain, Portugal, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, Austria, Ireland, Switzerland, Greece and Turkey) may be economically strangled unless they participate in the trend towards unification. They therefore demand that the six Common Market partners automatically extend all mutual relaxations of trade restrictions to every member of the O.E.E.C. In order to enable France's over-priced industries to compete under the new Common Market conditions, the Government of General de Gaulle devalues the franc by more than fifteen percent. On the same day, France, Britain, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Luxembourg decree "limited convertibility" of their currencies; that is, make their national currencies freely exchangeable against the currency of any other country, including the dollar.

Friday, January 2

→ According to Soviet claims, a cosmic rocket — first nicknamed "Lunik" — is launched in Russia towards the moon,

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passes that satellite, and enters an orbit around the sun. It thus becomes the first man-made "planet," that will keep circling for an indefinite time. Including its scientific payload — the Soviets allege — the weight of the rocket in its final stage was almost two tons. On its launching pad, the "Lunik" must therefore have weighed more than 250 tons. The ability to thrust such a mass into outer space makes experts here and abroad, who accept the report, assume that the Soviets have won the rocket-building race.

→ Judge Manuel Urrutia, an ineffective minor jurist, is appointed "Provisional President of Cuba" by Fidel Castro, who declines for himself any direct responsibility for the civil administration of the island. Castro, appointed in turn by Urrutia "commander of the nation's armed forces," insists on impersonating the "revolution's integrity." He undertakes to remain the dynamo of a "permanent revolution," without legal and constitutional limitations of power. His movement takes on a distinctly anti-American tinge. Elections are predicted "in about eighteen months."

→ The British Government announces that it will set up "countervailing tariffs and quotas" if Britain is excluded from the liberalization of foreign trade within the new European Common Market area.

→ The Secretary of Commerce, Lewis L. Strauss, announces that America's "over-all economy, as the new year begins, has regained the record high reached in mid-1957." Gross Annual Production, in the fourth quarter of 1958, was at a peak annual rate of \$450 billion.

Saturday, January 3

→ President Eisenhower proclaims Alaska the Forty-ninth State of the Union. With 586,400 square miles of land and water, it is double the size of Texas, but in population (211,000) even smaller than Nevada. Simultaneously Eisenhower announces the official design of the new United States Flag — the old stripes but the stars from now on (until Hawaii, too, achieves statehood) staggered in seven rows of seven stars apiece.

→ Representative Walter H. Judd of Minnesota turns down an invitation by Eric Johnston, of the Motion Pictures Institute, to attend a dinner in honor of Anastas Mikoyan because he doesn't "care to dine with men whose hands drip with blood."

Sunday, January 4

→ Anastas I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, arrives in the United States "for a holiday." The Chancelleries of the world are humming with rumors that the visit is actually the opening of direct American-Soviet negotiations concerning a "disengagement" deal in Europe.

→ The Soviets announce that "Lunik" has reached a distance of 318,750 miles from the earth.

→ The House Committee on Un-American Activities discloses in a special report that "Moscow is going about its business of recruiting espionage agents in this country at all times and in a very thorough and businesslike way." The Committee warns against a dangerous tendency in this country to underrate the threat that Soviet spying poses to the nation's security.

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Monday, January 5

→ Mikoyan has a first secret conference with John Foster Dulles, lunch with Senator Humphrey, dinner with Senators and Representatives, high United States Government officials, "leading" newsmen and business men, and Admiral Arleigh A. Burke (Chief of Naval Operations).

→ A White House statement admits that the President's advisers on nuclear problems had been wrong, and that it is impossible "to identify underground nuclear explosions." This disproves the official United States assumptions that were the very basis of the Geneva negotiations with the Soviet Union, concerning nuclear "disarmament" and mutual inspection of nuclear tests.

→ This is the second anniversary of the enunciation of the "Eisenhower Doctrine," concerning United States intervention against "Communist aggression in the Middle East." In Washington's unanimous opinion, it finds the position of the United States in the Middle East weaker, and that of the Soviet Union stronger, than it has ever been before.

Tuesday, January 6

→ Mikoyan has a secret two-hours talk with Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, lunch with James B. Carey, Walter Reuther, and various other A.F. of L.-C.I.O. leaders, and increasingly attentive television coverage.

→ The House Republicans, ending a twenty-two year reign of Joseph W. Martin, Jr. as their leader, elect Charles A. Halleck of Indiana to replace him.

→ A spokesman for Syngman Rhee announces that the eighty-four-years old

President of South Korea will run for re-election in 1960.

→ General de Gaulle's office announces that the two representatives of the French Socialist Party in de Gaulle's Government, Eugène Thomas and Guy Mollet, have resigned. The Socialist Party is joining the opposition.

→ Bloody rioting ends in Leopoldville, Belgian Congo.

→ Italian Prime Minister, Amintore Fanfani, arrives in Cairo on a four-day official visit to the United Arab Republic. Fanfani intends to lay the foundations of a new Italian policy, aiming for a withdrawal from a western orientation in favor of "friendship" with the "neutralist" Near East.

Wednesday, January 7

→ Mikoyan visits Cleveland as guest of multi-millionaire Cyrus S. Eaton.

→ The Senate Republicans elect Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois as the minority leader over John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, the candidate of the Republican "liberals." However, the "liberal" candidate Thomas H. Kuchel of California is elected minority "whip."

→ The United States Government recognizes the Castro regime in Cuba.

→ Newly elected Governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller, tells the Albany legislature that the State's "first urgent need" is to increase taxes.

→ On the occasion of Otto Grotewohl's visit to Cairo (he is "Premier" of the Quisling regime in Communist-occupied East Germany), Egypt extends diplomatic recognition to the Communist Government of Eastern Germany.

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Thursday, January 8

→ General Charles de Gaulle takes office as the First President of the Fifth Republic, which he created. His Minister of Justice, Michel Debré, who wrote France's new Constitution, is appointed Prime Minister.

→ Mikoyan has lunch in Detroit with the chief executives of Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler.

→ Adenauer threatens to break off diplomatic relations with Egypt because of Nasser's resumption of diplomatic relations with Communist East Germany.

→ Eamon de Valera, Prime Minister of Ireland, announces his bid for the Presidency as candidate of Fianna Fail against General Sean MacEoin of the United Ireland Party.

→ Israeli and Arab jet planes clash near the Israeli-Sinai frontier.

Friday, January 9

→ Eisenhower delivers his seventh State of the Union message in which, for the first time in United States history, a kind of Five-Years-Plan is envisaged. A committee "of educators, labor and management representatives and those of finance, the professions and other fields" will be put together "to define national economic goals for at least five years ahead. The group would set guide lines and goals in such fields as living standards, health and education and teachers' pay." The State of the Union message also admits "brilliant Soviet accomplishments" in ballistics technology.

→ Mikoyan has been in Chicago meetings with leading business men, indus-

trialists, public and political "leaders," including Adlai E. Stevenson.

→ Britain and Egypt resume their talks on financial deals which were broken off two years ago after the British-French advance on the Suez Canal.

→ Majority leader Senator Lyndon B. Johnson defeats the anti-filibuster move of the Senate's Democratic "liberals" by a vote of 60 to 36.

→ Nehru's Indian Congress party resolves to transform India's 612,000 villages into "farming cooperatives." Joint cultivation of the soil is to begin within three years. The Government will fix "definite ceilings" on the size of private landholdings by the end of 1959.

Saturday, January 10

→ Charles de Gaulle's first Cabinet of the Fifth Republic, under Michel Debré, consolidates itself as a right-of-center coalition without further support from the Socialists. Jacques Soustelle, by moving up to the position of Minister Delegate (Vice-Premier), becomes the third-most-important man in the French Government (after de Gaulle and Debré).

→ Bonn recalls its Ambassador to Cairo, but Nasser now states his recognition of the Communist East-German Government was not tantamount to "diplomatic recognition" — only "commercial relations" were established.

→ Congressional opposition to the President's prepared budget of approximately seventy-seven billion dollars centers on the proposed limitation of military expenses to 40.9 billion dollars. Spear-headed by Senators Johnson and Symington, the Democratic majority in

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the Senate calls on the nation's responsible officers to testify against the Administration's proposals.

Sunday, January 11

→ Mikoyan has conferences with California Governor Edmund G. Brown and leaders of San Francisco's business community.

→ "Diplomatic sources" in Washington announce "that in the long run the Western powers will have to make counter-proposals in reference to Berlin which will modify their present position."

→ United States Ambassador to Cuba, Earl E. T. Smith, resigns under Castro's attacks.

→ Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston criticizes "American business leaders and certain American business circles now singing the praises of Soviet Russia (which are) drowning out the cries for help and sympathy of the Hungarian people upon whom, in effect, the American nation has turned its back."

Monday, January 12

→ The Senate adopts by a vote of seventy-two to twenty-five the new moderate rules on cloture proposed by Senator Lyndon B. Johnson.

→ Dozens of new death sentences are pronounced by "revolutionary tribunals" in Cuba, in open defiance of all established rules of legal procedure.

→ New York Governor Rockefeller discloses that he will ask the State legislature for an increase of the state's income taxes and a two-cent per gallon increase of the tax on gasoline.

→ Mikoyan is guest of honor of Chancellor Raymond B. Allen of the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of California in Los Angeles; and guest of honor at a dinner given for him by the movie industry.

→ Dr. Adenauer describes the Soviet draft of a peace treaty for Germany as "brutal."

→ Otto Grotewohl of the East German Communist Government is solemnly greeted by Nehru's cabinet on his arrival in New Delhi.

→ The French Government decrees austere measures of economy, raises the income tax from eighteen to twenty-two percent, increases the price of cigarettes by fifteen to twenty percent, the price of gas and electricity by twelve percent, the price of beef by six percent.

→ The United States Treasury announces that it will seek new debt-limit legislation so that the debt ceiling, now confined to \$283 billion, may be legally raised to at least \$290 billion. The Treasury anticipates "a need for temporary seasonal borrowing of four to five billion dollars," and insists on "a leeway" of several billion dollars more.

Tuesday, January 13

→ Secretary of State John Foster Dulles declares that a free vote in East Germany, universally considered the Western rock-bottom condition for any reunification of Germany, is no longer an irreducible American demand.

→ Fidel Castro declares that "the war crime trials" will be carried on by Cuba's "revolutionary tribunals" in spite of American protests.

→ The Belgian Government announces

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measures aimed at organizing in the Congo "a democracy capable of exercising sovereignty and making decisions about its independence."

→ Ending a forty-day crisis, Vienno Johannes Sukselainen, Speaker of the Finnish Parliament, forms a new Finnish Cabinet "acceptable" to the Soviet Union.

Wednesday, January 14

→ The Bonn Government is profoundly shocked by Secretary Dulles' remarks concerning the "negotiability" of free elections in East Germany. United States Ambassador David K. E. Bruce is all day in conferences with Dr. Adenauer and his aides.

→ Mikoyan is feted by 1,100 American business and industrial leaders at a Waldorf Astoria dinner, sponsored by the Economic Club of New York. He lunched with a group of Wall Street bankers in the private dining room of The First National City Bank of New York, and took tea at a party given for him by former Governor of New York, Averell Harriman.

→ The United States State Department, in a move demonstratively directed against Syngman Rhee's policies, summons United States Ambassador Walter C. Dowling "home for consultation." The principal State Department concern is the new Korean security law.

→ President Eisenhower declares it would be "a little stupid" to deny that the Soviets were "somewhat ahead of the United States in certain phases of missile developments."

→ Fernando Marcia Castiella, Spanish Foreign Minister, left for an eight-day

official visit to the United Arab Republic. His aims are closer Spanish-Egyptian relations.

→ Tito is welcomed in New Delhi as "an old and cherished friend" by Prime Minister Nehru.

Thursday, January 15

→ Mikoyan has breakfast with Harriman, lunch with American Jewish Committee, tea with the Council on Foreign Relations, and dinner with the Committee on Economic Development, in New York.

→ Fidel Castro declares: If the Americans don't like what is happening in Cuba they can land the Marines and then there will be 200,000 gringos dead."

→ French Prime Minister Michel Debré asserts that France "has a duty towards herself and toward Europe to become a military atomic power."

→ Tito and Nehru issue a joint statement in New Delhi, in which they demand that the great powers agree "at an early date" to end nuclear tests.

→ "Official reassurances from Washington have failed to dispel the growing conviction here that a basic reappraisal of United States policy on Germany has begun," states a *New York Times* dispatch from Bonn.

Friday, January 16

→ Mikoyan has another secret conference with Dulles, lunch with Senate leaders, and dinner with Dulles, Nixon and other high Government officers.

→ Britain and Egypt sign an agreement on the financial problems that grew from the nationalization of the Suez

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Canal in July 1956, and from the abortive British-French action against Egypt which followed.

→ Gerhart Eisler, chief propagandist of Communist East Germany, declares that his regime will take control of the West's air corridors to Berlin.

→ Nehru's special assistant, M. O. Mathai, has been relieved of his post so that he may defend himself against charges of corruption.

→ Spain is renewing its demands that Britain renounce its 255-years old rule over Gibraltar which, in Spanish opinion, remains Spanish territory.

Saturday, January 17

→ Mikoyan has a secret conference with Eisenhower that lasts one hour and forty-five minutes. According to the President's Press Secretary, Jim Hagerly, the topics covered were Berlin, Germany, disarmament, trade and exchange of visitors between the United States and the Soviet Union.

→ A spokesman of the United States Embassy in Belgrade predicts that United States aid to Tito will be increased from 125 million dollars in 1958 to 150 millions in 1959.

→ The Democratic Senate majority announces plans "for a searching inquiry to straighten out the confusion over the nation's defenses."

→ At the Congress of Nenni's Italian Socialist Party, more than forty percent of the delegates demand closest "cooperation" with the Communist Party.

Sunday, January 18

→ Mikoyan, on a nation-wide TV show ("Meet the Press"), insists that

Berlin must be "made a free city" and that Allied troops must be withdrawn.

→ The National Democratic Committee chooses Los Angeles as the site for the 1960 Democratic National Convention.

→ In the face of rapidly deteriorating United States relations with the Philippines, United States Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen has been called back "for consultations."

→ The Congress of the Italian Socialist Party adopts a resolution, presented by Pietro Nenni, which calls for the "autonomy" of the party, but promises the continuation of "unity of action" with the Communists.

→ Laos has formally protested to the United Nations that troops of Communist North Vietnam have occupied parts of her territory. The invasion took place in the Huong Lap district of Quang Tri province.

→ Professor Karl Barth, leading Protestant theologian, warns German Protestants that "the fleshpots" and "complacency" of the West, particularly "the American way of life," represent a greater danger to the Christian soul than Communism.

Monday, January 19

→ President Eisenhower submits to Congress the 1959 Budget that foresees Federal spending in 1960 at seventy-seven billion dollars and revenue of sixty million dollars more than expenditures. To achieve that precarious balance, the President asks Congress to raise the gasoline tax from three to four and one-half cents a gallon, to increase postal rates again, to increase the tax on life insurance companies, and to extend

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the present rates of corporation and excise taxes. The tax and postal increases are supposed to produce \$1,300,000,000.

→ On his final day in Washington, Mikoyan accuses the State Department of "continuing the cold war." During a luncheon, given in his honor by the National Press Club, he warns that "force would be met by force" in Berlin.

→ The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals outlaws, by a vote of five to two, Virginia's policy of "massive resistance" against integration in schools. A Federal Court in Norfolk rules that the closing of selected public schools to avoid racial integration violated the Constitution.

→ Indonesia's National Council resolves to give President Sukarno the power to "choose" half of the members of Parliament, exactly as Sukarno's program of "guided democracy" had demanded.

→ Fidel Castro announces that one thousand more "war criminals" will be "tried" by his revolutionary tribunals.

Tuesday, January 20

→ Sent off by a special "farewell message" from President Eisenhower, Mikoyan leaves for home. His DC-7C is forced down in Newfoundland because of engine fire — according to the official report. There are critics who think that the opportunity thus given him to spend the night at our Argentia base is extremely "convenient."

→ In his annual Economic Report to Congress, Eisenhower describes inflation as the only serious danger to United States business prospects. He warns particularly against "excessive wage increases."

→ Senator John F. Kennedy introduces a "labor-management reform bill" that is endorsed by the C. I. O.

→ Dr. Arturo Frondizi, President of Argentina, arrives in Washington for a ten-day visit. He is in urgent need of an influx of United States capital.

→ Underpinning the new Finnish Government's anxiety to attain "friendly" relations with the Soviet Union, Urho K. Kekkonen, Finland's President, leaves for a state visit in Moscow.

→ The *New York Times* reports that Europe's over-all reaction to the Mikoyan junket through the United States was the unanimous opinion that, "if Mr. Mikoyan were able to get his hosts into a political poker game, he would walk away with the pot."

→ White settlers in the Belgian Congo ask the Belgian Government for a guarantee that its proposals for a gradual self-government for the Congolese will not lead to a Negro dictatorship.

→ A mass meeting of one million Cubans (one-fifth of the island's total population) rallies in Havana behind Castro's "war crime trials."

Wednesday, January 21

→ Eisenhower, accusing his Democratic critics of "budgetary schizophrenia," warns against "the inflationary fever" that is afflicting the Senate majority.

→ Neil H. McElroy, Secretary of Defense, proposes a cut-down of the United States Army forces from 900,000 to 870,000.

→ Nelson Rockefeller, New York Governor, estimates that the State Budget for 1960 will be increased by 235 million

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dollars; thus going, for the first time in history, above two billion dollars.

→ A governmental committee of the United States, Britain, France and West Germany is being set up to develop "a re-examination of policy on Germany in preparation for an expected conference with the Soviet Union this spring."

→ The Manufacturers Trust Company and the Bankers Trust Company of New York are preparing a merger.

→ "Conservative" Prime Minister Harold Macmillan predicts that "the Communist nations will develop a freer system leading to peaceful coexistence."

→ *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, reports that among Mikoyan's hosts at the luncheon given by the First National City Bank of New York were also David Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller, 3rd.

→ Philip W. Bonsal, United States Ambassador to Bolivia, is named as the new United States Ambassador to the Castro regime in Cuba.

→ Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona is unanimously elected Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Thursday, January 22

→ The Soviet Government asserts officially that the United States and Britain were seeking a pretext "to bring about the failure" of the nuclear disarmament conference at Geneva.

→ Fidel Castro's "war crime" trials reach their hysterical peak with a performance of the revolutionary tribunal in Havana's Sports City Stadium, before a howling crowd of eighteen

thousand spectators, TV-cameras, and 350 invited visitors from abroad — among them United States Congressmen Powell and Porter.

→ Finland's President, Urho K. Kekkonen, has a secret surprise conference with Nikita S. Khrushchev in Moscow.

→ In retaliation against the recall of Ambassador Bohlen to Washington, the Philippine Government recalls its Ambassador to the United States, Carlos P. Romulo.

→ Thirty-three-years-old Ogden R. Reid, former President of the *New York Herald Tribune*, now owned by Jock Whitney, is being considered as Eisenhower's Ambassador to Israel.

→ Colonel Siegfried Dombrowski, chief official of the espionage service in the East German Communist Government, defects to the West. He discloses in Bonn that his regime has sixty thousand full-time agents working in West Germany, France, Britain, Spain, Italy, Norway, Luxembourg and Belgium. Dombrowski delivered a list of the top agents to the Adenauer Government.

→ At the Des Moines meeting of the Republican National Committee, Representative Richard M. Simpson of Pennsylvania and Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona openly criticise Eisenhower's failure in giving his party firm leadership.

Friday, January 23

→ The United States National Security Council is conducting a review of United States policy, to determine "whether considerable expansion of United States-Soviet commercial relations is possible."

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→ Senator Stuart Symington charges that the Administration is "adjusting" intelligence estimates of Soviet missile strength "to meet economies in the budget."

→ The Soviets *announce* that they have put a ten-billion electron-volts atom smasher in operation. (The most powerful United States atom smasher, the one at Berkeley, California, achieves a peak of six billion electron-volts.)

→ Fidel Castro is being given "a hero's welcome" in Caracas, Venezuela.

→ President Frondizi of Argentina asserts his country would not welcome a visit by Anastas Mikoyan.

→ The Government of Mexico breaks off diplomatic relations with Guatemala.

Saturday, January 24

→ The United States State Department concedes that it is ready to start, without delay, "negotiations" with the Soviet Union concerning the Berlin crisis. A preliminary meeting of Western representatives is scheduled for February 2 in Washington.

→ The Atomic Energy Commission warns the White House officially that underground nuclear tests must be excluded from any agreement with the Soviet Union on a suspension of nuclear weapons.

→ Premier Phoui Sananikone of Laos forms what purports to be an anti-Communist Cabinet.

→ A House Special Subcommittee finds unanimously that Hawaii "is entitled to statehood by every fair test and precedent."

Sunday, January 25

→ Pope John XXIII announces that an ecumenical council will be held this year — the first since 1870 — aimed at seeking unity between the Roman Catholic Church and other Christian denominations throughout the world.

→ New violence breaks out in the Belgian Congo. Mobs stone a Roman Catholic church and several Government buildings in the port town of Matadi.

→ King Hussein of Jordan expresses his willingness to end the feud with Nasser's Egypt.

→ The Soviet Government emphasizes that the withdrawal of Western troops from West Berlin is an essential element in East-West negotiations on a settlement of the Berlin crisis. But informed diplomatic sources agree that this is "a bargaining position," to be exchanged for a Western readiness to recognize the Communist Government of East Germany.

→ Fidel Castro declares in Caracas that "the Congressmen of the United States have vilified Cuba and the American press has engaged in a criminal campaign to defame the new Cuban Government."

Monday, January 26

→ Italy's Government of Premier Amintore Fanfani resigns, opening the doors for President Gronchi's favorite "solution" — a coalition of leftist Christian Democrats and Pietro Nenni's Socialist Party. The Cabinet crisis is a direct consequence of Nenni's victory at his Party's recent Congress, which allows him to enter a coalition cabinet

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without breaking off his ties with Communism. Many of Saragat's Social Democrats now consider joining Nenni's Party.

→ Adenauer's Government, in a reversal of policy, announces "a painstaking study of the Soviet proposals for a confederation of the two German states."

→ Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, tells the Senate Armed Services Committee that the United States Navy lacks ships, planes and missiles to match Soviet naval strength.

→ Deputy Undersecretary of State, Robert Murphy, declares "the United States felt the Soviet Union was entitled to be concerned about the possibility that a reunified, rearmed Germany might make war."

→ A French military spokesman in Algiers announces that casualty figures for last week's military operations indicated some of the heaviest fighting of the Algerian war.

→ A *New York Times* dispatch from Havana, Cuba, concedes that the Cuban Communists are attempting "to participate as a dominant force in the revolutionary government."

Tuesday, January 27

→ Opening the Twenty-first Congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party, Nikita S. Khrushchev proclaims that "the Soviet successes in space rocketry have shifted the balance of world power to the Socialist camp and that economic successes will soon have a similar result." He announces that the Soviet Union "has started mass production of intercontinental ballistic missiles."

→ Secretary of State John Foster Dulles asserts that the Soviet proposals on Germany and increased United States-Soviet trade "would help the Communists but no one else."

→ The Soviet delegation to the Geneva conference on nuclear disarmament insists that the proposed "control posts" be staffed exclusively by nationals of the country to be "policed" — that is, "control posts" in the Soviet empire by Soviet citizens only.

→ New violence erupts in Leopoldville, Belgian Congo.

→ The Algerian Provisional Government announces that it sees "no prospect for peace in Algeria."

→ New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller appoints Elmer A. Carter of the National Urban League to be the first Negro chairman of the State Commission against Discrimination.

Wednesday, January 28

→ Red China's Premier Chou En-lai and Poland's Wladyslaw Gomulka give at the Twenty-first Communist Party Congress in Moscow a glowing assertion of "complete unity" in the ranks of World Communism. Both, Chou and Gomulka, condemn "revisionists" who deny that "the welfare of all Socialist countries depends upon the welfare of the Soviet Union."

→ Virginia's Governor, J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., tells an emergency session of the Virginia Legislature that he can no longer prevent the imminent desegregation of public schools in Norfolk, Arlington, and Charlottesville; and that there is no longer a possibility to continue the policy of "massive resistance."

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→ President Eisenhower declares that the United States Government is "willing to engage in new talks with the Soviet Union."

→ The Baghdad Pact Council ends its conference at Karachi, Pakistan, with a statement that "the threat of (Communist) aggression against the Middle East is not diminishing."

Thursday, January 29

→ Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, tells the Twenty-first Communist Party Congress that, should the Western powers spurn the Soviet proposals on Germany, the Communist world would "seek other ways" of solving the problem. "The only result of a new war would be the defeat of the (Western) aggressors and, moreover, such a defeat as has not been known before in history."

→ Neil H. McElroy, Secretary of Defense, tells the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee that the United States Government is "voluntarily withdrawing from competition with the Soviet Union in the production of intercontinental ballistic missiles."

→ Chancellor Konrad Adenauer warns that the Soviet Union's policy on Germany is aimed ultimately at "mastery of the whole world."

→ Prince Rainier of Monaco suspends the country's Constitution and disbands the Legislature.

Friday, January 30

→ United States space experts testify before the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee that the Soviet Union can now pinpoint any city in the United States with a ballistic missile fired more

than five thousand miles away. Dr. Wernher von Braun, of the Army Ballistic Missiles Agency, replies to Senator Symington's question, "how soon will it be before our position is hopeless?" with an assertion that "it is a question of the next decade."

→ Senator Theodore Francis Green, ninety-one-years-old Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, resigns. His successor is Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, a close friend of George F. Kennan and persistent critic of John Foster Dulle's "sternly anti-Soviet" policies.

→ A Danish vessel with ninety-five persons aboard strikes an iceberg off Greenland and sinks without leaving a trace.

Saturday, January 31

→ President de Gaulle's Government informs the United States that France, in full agreement with Adenauer, opposes the holding of a Western foreign-ministers conference before the end of May (the deadline set in the Soviet proposals on Berlin).

→ Eisenhower warns Congress that any cutback in foreign-aid requests of the Administration (\$3.5 billion) would mean far greater spending for defense. Advocates of such cuts "simply do not understand what these programs mean to peace and American safety," he insists.

→ Marek Hlasko, celebrated Polish writer who "defected" to the West, decides to return to Communist Poland.

→ President Habib Bourguiba of Tunis proclaims his Government's intention to achieve economic independence from France.

THE CYRUS EATON STORY

by

HILARY GREY

A NEW AND POWERFUL figure has entered the international political arena—and not necessarily on our side. On May 19, 1958 the House Un-American Activities Committee announced that it would subpoena Cyrus Stephen Eaton for his attacks on the security agencies of our country. These were attacks which Richard Arens, Staff Director of the Committee, said were “typical of a campaign of villification which the Communist conspiracy is promoting in the United States against our security agencies and will accelerate in the future . . . to weaken our internal defences.”

Eaton, at his farm-estate near Cleveland, Ohio, denounced the Arens statement as being made “for the usual publicity seeking purposes.” He said that he “would be delighted to appear,” and that he would “give the committee both barrels.” Later, on June 13, he accused both Arens and Representative Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, of “despicable, un-American tactics” in attempting to “intimidate, bully and push citizens around.” Just who is this Cyrus Eaton, whose rantings, described by Arens as “harmful to the United States,” have been beamed by Communist propagandists all over the world, and who is so jaunty at the prospect of being questioned about them?

Well, for one thing, he is a multi-millionaire industrialist and financier, reputed to be one of the twenty richest

men in America. While his political activity is of fairly recent date, Cyrus Eaton is, of course, well known in the business world—as head of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway; of Consolidated Premium Iron Ore, Ltd., of Toronto, Canada; of Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company; of West Kentucky Coal Company; of Steep Rock Iron Mines, Ltd. (Canada); of Portsmouth Steel Company; and as the controlling partner of Otis & Company, bankers. His vast industrial empire embraces steel (he created Republic Steel), electricity (in which he made his first million dollars), coal, iron, railroads, coal shipping, and freight airlines. It extends throughout the Midwest, West, the South, and into Canada.

Recently Eaton acquired eighty-five thousand acres of land, with some seven hundred million tons of recoverable coal, from the Nashville Coal Company. His Steep Rock Mines of Ontario contain an estimated billion and a half tons of high grade iron ore—the largest reserves of good quality iron ore in North America. According to geologists his iron ore deposits elsewhere in Canada (in Ungawa Bay, far northern Quebec) have “nothing in the world to compare with them.” In partnership with five of Germany's top steel producers, he has embarked on a two hundred million dollar development program of his iron-ore properties. Altogether, Eaton is probably the largest individual holder of iron-ore deposits on earth.

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His business career, however, has not been entirely devoid of storms. Starting very young, as an employee of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., Eaton early moved on his own into the formation of electric utility holding companies. He was a multimillionaire by the time he was thirty; and his utility combine was reckoned third only to those of Sidney Mitchell and Samuel Insull. But, like Insull's, Eaton's first fortune cracked in the depression of the early 1930's. He set out to make a new and larger one, and there isn't any doubt as to the level of his success.

There has been only one other wind to disturb his smooth sailing in later years. And while this would have the feel of a gale to most people, it probably was no more disturbing to Eaton than the puff of an air gun to a battleship. On April 7, 1958, the United States Government filed its brief in an appeal in a huge tax case. It claimed that Eaton and his partner in a Cleveland investment firm, William R. Daley, owed \$1,960,500 in back income taxes; and that the Consolidated Premium Iron Mines, Ltd., of Toronto, which Eaton and Daley control, owe a further \$2,587,000 in back taxes and penalties for failing to file returns. But of course Eaton has powerful friends. On May 16, 1958 Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon read a top-secret letter, dated November 21, 1956, from the former "liberal" Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent to his Ambassador in Washington, Arnold Heeny. It had asked Heeny to lodge a diplomatic protest over the American Treasury's attempt to collect these back taxes from Eaton. Two other formal protests have also been lodged. And we wouldn't want to hold our breath until the

United States Government gets all of these \$4,547,500 in taxes to which it claims to be entitled.

Another close personal friend of Eaton's, though the fact has no bearing on the above situation, is John L. Lewis. Soon after Eaton acquired the West Kentucky Coal Company, in 1953, the United Mine Workers were installed there, although the company had formerly been without a union since 1870. Maybe Eaton likes the way Lewis quotes—and misquotes—Shakespeare. And still another famous friend—Eaton likes 'em famous—was the late Albert Einstein. Eaton claims to have been instrumental, with Einstein, in gathering that assemblage of the world's leading nuclear scientists at Chicago University which led, on December 2, 1942, to the "first self-sustaining chain reaction," and which "thereby initiated the controlled release of nuclear energy." That date, he says, marks the beginning of the Atomic Age. (We imagine that he expects the name to be changed to "the Eaton Age" in due course.)

This business tycoon also lists himself in *Who's Who*—justifiably—as a farmer. He is a breeder, on a large scale, in both Ohio and Nova Scotia, of purebred Scotch shorthorn cattle. He claims to have the grand world champion in purebred shorthorn beef bulls. And he is willing to share, at least to the Soviets. Hearing that the USSR was deficient in good beef cattle, in 1955 Eaton presented one such champion bull to a soviet "farm" delegation which was visiting the United States. He declared, on doing so, that "it's better to trade bulls than bullets." This led to a meeting, arranged by our State Department, between Eaton and

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seven Soviet journalists, whom he found to be "unusually competent men, bright, and friendly..." And the "observations on co-existence" which he made to these journalists were so "sensible" that he was publicly complimented on them by the Soviet newspaper, *Izvestia*.

Mr. Eaton is also an author. He has written six books and numerous articles on politics and economics. He is a Trustee of the University of Chicago, of Denison University, and of Case Institute of Technology. He is a member of the American Council of Learned Societies and of the American Philosophical Association. He is a patron and benefactor of the Council on Liberal Education of the Association of American Colleges; and he lavishly entertained the thirteen college presidents of this Council at his Pugwash, Nova Scotia home in June, 1956. He holds several honorary degrees, probably the most recent being that of Doctor of Laws which Bard College, New York, gave him on June 21, 1958 as a way of showing its approval of his Soviet-aiding activities.

But Eaton's principal association, in the world of education, is with Chicago University. To quote William Schlamm's steal from Broadway, "it figures." In April, 1949, Dr. J. B. Matthews, Counsel for the Illinois Legislative Commission investigating Communism at Chicago University, gave evidence that some sixty professors and professors emeritus then at Chicago University had 465 affiliations with 135 Communist fronts. For those who have forgotten, the President and then Chancellor of the University of Chicago for a total of twenty-two years was the notorious Robert M. Hutchins, who

now shines as President of the even more notorious Fund For The Republic. The Fund For The Republic is financing the Mike Wallace Interview Series on ABC Television. And it was at a Mike Wallace interview on May 4, 1958 that Eaton lent such a hand to the Communists' "Operation Abolition," whereby they hope to get rid of our Congressional security committees and the FBI. He claimed that "the United States is turning into a police state with a spy organization surpassing that of Hitler." At just about the time Eaton was making this absurd statement, and as he well knew, the United States Government, far from persecuting Communists, was restoring scores of known Communist sympathizers to their former jobs in our federal agencies, in many cases with thousands of dollars of back pay, due to some equally absurd decisions of our Supreme Court.

Cyrus Eaton was born in Nova Scotia, Canada, on December 27, 1883. He came to the United States in 1900, and became a naturalized American in 1913. In December, 1907, he married Miss Margaret House, by whom he had seven children. His second wife, whom he married in December, 1957, was a thirty-five-years old previously married Cleveland socialite, Mrs. Anne Kinder Jones. Originally destined for the Baptist ministry, Eaton abandoned his religious vocation after his fateful meeting in Cleveland with John D. Rockefeller, Sr. He got his early training in business by working under "John D." for several years. Whether because of that association, or his early Baptist training, he neither drinks, nor smokes, nor even takes coffee. Eaton is the man about whom the expression must have been invented, that he "has no minor vices."

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So much for Cyrus Eaton's professional and personal background. What about his politics? On whose side is he? The America that has been so good, and so friendly, to him? Or its Communist enemies?

II

EATON SEEMS TO HAVE invaded the field of international politics in the winter of 1954. He announced that he was making his 150-years-old ancestral home in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, with its fifteen rooms, available as a vacation retreat for intellectuals. There they could "find recreation and time to reflect on the more profound problems that concern the family of nations" (*Newsweek*, August 15, 1955), and to "design formulas for us to live by in this brand new atomic world" (*Coronet Magazine*, December, 1956).

Pugwash is a tiny village, population 550. Its name is derived from a corruption of an Indian word meaning "Deep Water." Because the early settlers were predominantly Scots, it still has street signs in both Gaelic and English. It almost lives up to Poe's description of that *ultima Thule* which "lieth sublime, Out of space, out of time." To this luxurious hideaway two groups of intellectuals were to come for two weeks each in 1955 and four in 1956. In August, 1955 the following did come: Dr. Julian P. Boyd of Princeton University, Editor of the Jefferson Papers; Dr. John A. Wilson, an eminent Egyptologist from Chicago; Dr. Frederick S. Dunn, Director of the Center of International Studies at Princeton University; Dr. F. Cyril James, Principal of Canada's McGill University; and Sir Julian Huxley, British atheist, leftwing expert on "Scientific Human-

ism," and former Director General of Unesco — who had gone on a Communist-sponsored tour of the Soviet Union as early as 1931.

Eaton's Pugwash meeting in August, 1956, was more ambitious. Intellectuals came from the Communist countries as well as the West. Among them were: Dr. Chien Tuan-sheng, head of Red China's Institute of Politics and Law, who came by way of Moscow and Prague; Prof. Alexander M. Samarin, of Moscow's Soviet Institute of Metallurgy; Dr. Leo Kohn, Political Affairs Counsellor to Israel's Ministry of External Affairs; Dr. H. N. Fieldhouse, History specialist at McGill; Dr. Heinrich Bruening, German Chancellor prior to the Hitler period, now living in Vermont; and an international lawyer from Iraq named Majid Khadduri. The assigned subject of meditation, for this communion of genius at ease, was "World Affairs."

It was the next Pugwash meeting, however, held in the summer of 1957, which is known as the First Pugwash Conference. This is because it was the first to deal with nuclear energy. It was arranged by Eaton in response to the scare-mongering appeal of Albert Einstein (just before his death), and of the British super-egghead, Bertrand Russell, against the horrors of nuclear war.

Since Einstein and Russell are given credit for being originators of the Pugwash Conferences — as distinguished from earlier Pugwash "meetings"—it is worth our while to take a paragraph to look at each of these mentors of Cyrus Eaton, whom he has so glorified and helped. In an article in the Canadian *MacLean's Magazine*, in March, 1958, Eaton wrote: "It was actually that

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greatest of all scientists, Albert Einstein, who inspired the meeting of scientists at Pugwash."

But as the truth slowly comes to light, Albert Einstein's stature as a scientist steadily declines, and his recognition as a tool of pro-Soviet propaganda correspondingly increases. Few men have been painted in more glowingly false colors to the American people. He himself stated (*Time Magazine*, May 2, 1955) that he was driven by a "demoniac possession." As far back as 1927 he was an active member of the first great international Communist front, the League Against Imperialism, formed at Brussels that summer. He came to the United States a few years thereafter, apparently for greener pastures in which to plant his Communist weeds. He repaid the America that adopted and honored him by joining at least sixteen Communist fronts, by using his influence to place Reds in our atomic energy program, and by repeatedly attempting to sabotage all of our country's internal security measures.

As for his partner, Bertrand Russell, your editor dissected him at considerable length, in the pages of AMERICAN OPINION, a few months ago. Let it suffice for me to summarize his history very briefly here. Lord Russell is a very rich, thrice-married, aristocrat. He abandoned Christianity at the age of eighteen. He was offered a post at Harvard in 1916, but was refused a passport because of his subversive views. (In spite of, or perhaps because of, those views, he has frequently lectured at Harvard since that time.) He refused to fight for his country in the first World War, and wrote an article casting aspersions on the motives of young men in the United

States Army in that war. He was jailed for four months in 1918 as a result of these activities. In 1920 he paid a visit to Lenin and Trotsky in the Soviet Union. In 1940 he was prevented from taking the position of Professor of Philosophy at the College of the City of New York by a patriotic outcry about his morals, and the City Council of New York denounced him as "an enemy of religion and morality." Similar protests to prevent him giving the William James lectures at Harvard during that same year were unsuccessful.

Russell was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950, and the Unesco Kalinza Prize (for Science) in 1957. He is an ardent Socialist and member of the Fabian Society; an extreme pacifist except if and when Soviet Russia is attacked; a leader of the World Government movement; and is now conducting a hysterical campaign in Britain, bordering on treason, to induce the British people to prefer surrender to the Soviets against the risks of nuclear warfare. This arch-apostle of defeatism—the symbol of a diseased age—and the "demoniacally possessed" late Albert Einstein show the type of minds blue-printing the "Messianic Age" for us at Pugwash, Nova Scotia. And there are numerous other "Pugwashes" now being held all over the world.

III

THE FIRST PUGWASH CONFERENCE (1957) had far-reaching consequences. It was attended by twenty-two of the world's most publicized nuclear scientists, from the USSR, Red China, Poland, Austria, England, Canada, Australia, France, Japan, and the United States. A typical Communist-style, scare-mongering Manifesto was issued.

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This Manifesto was similar in content to the propaganda which has been put out in the United States by the *National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy*, in Britain by the *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*, in West Germany by the *Fight Against Atomic Death*, and in Japan by the *Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs*. Indeed most of the Pugwash scientists have interlocking membership in these Red Fronts.

The Science Council of Japan and its component societies, with a total membership of twenty-five thousand, endorsed the Pugwash Manifesto. Twenty of West Germany's leading scientists approved it. Red China accepted it "without reservation." Dr. Albert Einstein sent a letter of support, as did many other Nobel Prize winners. The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union officially ratified it, as did 155 top Soviet scientists. These Communist endorsers of the Manifesto called for the holding of "a broad international Pugwash conference of scientists," in order to "put the weight of scientists of all the world behind a movement to avert the danger of war." (The danger is to be averted, of course, simply by everybody surrendering to the Soviets.) And Dr. Eugene Rabinowitch sent out this Communist propaganda in a special number of his *Bulletin Of The Atomic Scientists*.

Although the Pugwash Manifesto was completely Communist in policy and wording, and although the delegates who issued it were either Communists from behind the Iron Curtain or fellow travelers from the West, Eaton had the effrontery to call the Soviet ratifications "most surprising

and most promising." Also promising was the fact that a Permanent Pugwash Committee was set up at this "first conference." The Committee met in London in December, 1957, to plan a larger gathering.

In *MacLean's Magazine* in March, 1958, Eaton explained that the Pugwash Conferences are held in Canada because Canada's refusal to panic at the thought of letting in Communist visitors stands in sane contrast to the United States' frenzied 'keep out' policy. He also claims that Prime Minister Diefenbaker is "actively interested in the scientists' meeting." Eaton further calls Canada "the most trusted nation in the world." This presumably refers to Canada's reputation at the United Nations, where Canada is praised as "the white India" because Lester Pearson is every bit as "good," from the Communists' point of view, as is Nehru.

The second "Pugwash Conference" took place at Lac Beauport, Quebec—because Mr. Eaton's Pugwash mansion lacked central heating—from March 31 to April 11, 1958. (The name "Pugwash," however, is to be permanently retained.) This one also was attended by twenty-two scientists, from the USSR, Red China, West Germany, France, Canada, Australia, Britain, and the United States. Many other scientists, including Bertrand Russell, sent messages of support. From the Soviet Union came Professors A. M. Kuzin, A. P. Vinogradov, D. F. Skobel'tzyn, and A. V. Topchiev, the last three being members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. From England came Sir Charles Darwin of Cambridge, from Australia Prof. M. L. Oliphant, and from Red China Prof. Chou Pei Yuan,

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the Vice-Rector of Peking University.

America's eight representatives included Prof. Leo Szilard of Chicago University, who attacked his country's "unqualified distrust" in questioning the Soviet Union's good faith in banning nuclear tests; Dr. John Edsall; Dr. Eugene Rabinowitch of Illinois University; and Dr. Carl Linus Pauling. According to the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1951, Dr. Pauling had "not deviated a hairsbreadth from this pattern of loyalty to the Communist cause since 1946." He was refused a passport by the State Department in 1952. And perhaps equally revealing as to where his sympathies really lie, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1954. But Dr. Pauling was one of the stars of the show. And of course he made one of his usual spine-chilling charges about the dangers of radioactive fall-out.

The leftist Dr. Rabinowitch, naturally, was "very well satisfied with the results achieved at the Conference." He said that the information which the scientists had exchanged there would be forwarded to the governments of the eight leading powers concerned, and possibly to the United Nations, as the "delegates felt this would help governments establish an international policy adapted to the realities of the hydrogen-bomb and long-range missile age." Nor should the influence of such unofficial but arrogant busybodies be underestimated. Just six weeks later President Eisenhower invited the USSR to have representatives attend an international nuclear conference, along Pugwash lines, to be held at Geneva beginning July 21.

The Second Pugwash Conference discussed a wide variety of subjects,

such as are to be found on any Communist agenda. No conclusions were reached which did not approximate very closely to the current Moscow line. Nevertheless Eaton announced that the Conference was "a complete success." He also announced that another Pugwash Conference would be held in September, 1958, probably in Vienna; but that this time it would be more broadly representative and with a larger number of participants. Eaton further informed the world, on behalf of the Pugwash scientists, that "if war broke out seventy-two million Americans would be killed the first day and an additional twenty-five million injured. Losses in Russia would be lower because the country was three times the size of the United States and its population was less concentrated."

It certainly seems that Cyrus Eaton's Pugwash activities more than bear out the charges made by Congressman Francis E. Walter. He says that Eaton is trying "to usurp the powers of the State Department," and that Eaton's activities almost amount to "an attempt to enter into negotiations with a foreign power."

IV

Cyrus Pugwash Eaton does not stop, however, at Pugwash Conferences. He has engaged in an extensive press and television campaign in both Canada and the United States. His themes follow the usual Communist lines: America is entirely responsible for world tension and the cold war; present-day America, mostly because of the FBI, is worse than Hitler's Germany; there are no Communists in the United States; and so on, *ad nauseam*. Some of the Cyrus Eaton propaganda monstrosities are

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quoted below.

In a television interview reported in the *Montreal Star* of December 4, 1957: "There is too much war scare in the United States. An arrangement with the Russians, *and not necessarily on our terms*, may be the price of survival." (Emphasis supplied.)

In an interview at Toronto, November 21, 1957: "There is more spirit of war in the United States than in any other country in the world—and it's dangerous. Our Mr. Dulles is talking just as the Kaiser did in 1914, and when one gets swollen with pride, one becomes arrogant and truculent and someone will take up the challenge." This remark was too much even for *America*, the Jesuit organ which usually finds unobtrusive ways of giving favorable publicity to the extreme left. In its issue of December 7, 1957, after calling in question Mr. Eaton's capacity to be a true force for peace in the East-West struggle, this paper stated: "It is surely out of place for a naturalized citizen of the United States, in which he has built up a hundred-and-fifty-million-dollar empire, to say such things outside his adopted country, where his words could serve only an anti-American propaganda purpose."

In a speech to over eight hundred leading business men at the Canadian Club of Montreal, on February 10, 1958: "They (United States statesmen) have seized upon every occasion to foment popular hatred of Russia. Twelve years ago, in fact, the United States declared cold war on Russia, and that has been the cardinal principle of American foreign policy ever since."

In *MacLean's Magazine*, March 29, 1958: Present American policy towards the USSR is one of "provocation, in-

sult, and threat."

In same article: "For years Americans have been drilled in the self-deluding doctrine — 'Everything American is worthy and good; everything Russian is crooked and evil.'" This will certainly come as a surprise to patriots who believe—with good evidence—that ever since the first FDR administration there has been a huge and growing effort to "sell" the American people on the good qualities of the Soviet Union.

In the filmed Mike Wallace Interview, on ABC Television, May 4, 1958: "The United States is turning into a police state with a spy organization surpassing that of Hitler." These interviews are financed by The Fund For The Republic, which enjoys tax-exempt status as an "educational" foundation!

In the same interview: "There are no Communists in America to speak of except in the minds of those on the payroll of the FBI." Also: "I always worry when I see a nation feel that it is coming to greatness through the activities of its policemen." Of course, there are practically no policemen in the Soviet Union, and those they do have are hired simply to help old ladies across the street! That's what makes life in Moscow and Kiev so wonderful.

In interview at Toronto, November 21, 1957: "The only people in the United States who believe seriously that Communism is a menace to the United States are the boys on the payroll of the FBI." You forgot the members of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Cyrus!

In same interview: "The Russians today are more defensive than imperialistic. If the West stopped competing in the arms race, they'd meet us half-way gladly and enthusiastically. Russia has

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abandoned its idea of making the world Communist because she realizes Communism made little headway in North America." Mr. Eaton insists on calling the Soviet Union "Russia." But he has not yet quite reached the point of informing us that there are no Communists in Russia either, any more than in the United States.

In an article in the *New York Herald Tribune*, November 8, 1957, later reprinted in the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*: "We need a spell of humility. To us, one of the most sobering thoughts must be that all the men who produced the first atomic bomb were not Americans — they were Italians, Danes, Poles, Germans. How could we have persuaded ourselves no other nation would ever devise one — when, while it was created on United States soil, it was created by *brains* from other parts of the world. We're suffering from the great success we had in World War I and World War II. We convinced ourselves we were invincible, that we were the darlings of the gods. We ought to stop boasting about ourselves and stop maligning other people, whether Chinese or Russian."

This seems to be upside down, Communist-style. We think it is Mr. Eaton who ought to stop maligning the United States, and praising regimes of murderous thieves, whether Chinese or Russian. Also, while many of us would love to go along with Mr. Eaton's misrepresentation, and grant that J. Robert Oppenheimer and many of his fellow creators of the A-bomb were not Americans, unfortunately the record shows that they were. Further, Mr. Eaton is too modest. For, to offset *all* of those foreign brains he talks about, of course *we* had the brain of Cyrus Eaton! Or

did we?

Mr. Eaton takes particular delight in ramming home, to Canadian audiences, the American inability to make an atomic bomb. He did this at Montreal on February 10 and in *MacLean's Magazine* on March 29, 1958. The idea seems to be his own private and patented absurdity. In view of the actual development and production of the bomb, his charge is grossly unfair as well as ridiculous. For if Communist influences in the administrations of Roosevelt and his successors had not succeeded in planting so many of the Klaus Fuchs and Pontecorvos and other foreign "brains" subservient to the Kremlin in our "Manhattan Project," and if the creation and use of the bomb had been left strictly to patriotic Americans, three things are certain: (1) Soviet atom spies in Canada and the United States would have had a much harder time stealing our nuclear secrets; (2) an atomic bomb would not have been dropped on an already beaten Japan months after she had indicated a desire for surrender negotiations; and (3) our Atomic Energy Commission would not have gone slow on purpose to allow the Soviet Union to get ahead with the hydrogen bomb and long-range missiles.

And as the climax of Eatonian arrogance, on June 13, 1958, at Cleveland: "I'm minding my own business." Maybe he was, and is. But if so, we had better find out just what kind of business he has in mind.

V

For many of the Eaton utterances, of which the above are typical—as well as his Hogwash Conferences—receive tremendous publicity throughout all six continents. They do incalculable

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harm to the anti-Communist cause. As Richard Arens has said: "The Communist propaganda machine is using Eaton's statements all over the world against the United States..." It is not surprising that Mr. Eaton has received a letter of congratulations from Khrushchev himself, or that it was delivered by the Soviet Embassy in Washington. (UPI dispatch, June 1958.) Mr. Eaton was "highly gratified" with this letter.

The proposed Un-American Activities Committee investigation is long overdue. But there is little chance that it will come off, and there is a disquieting report that the subpoena may be dropped because of strong pressure from the *Washington Post*, which calls it "an act of tyranny not to be tolerated by a free people"; by the *New York Herald Tribune*, which has virtuously advised "Go on speaking your mind, Cyrus"; and by Senators Paul Douglas and the Gump-faced Hubert Humphrey.

What is Eaton's motive in making himself so useful a mouthpiece and arranger for the Soviets? One interesting possibility has been suggested. For although Eaton claims to be among those who "can't be suspected of susceptibility to a bribe," it is rumored that he is hoping to win the Nobel Peace Prize by his unpatriotic antics. It's true that the Nobel Peace Prize is an "honor" which most good Americans would spurn with contempt. Since 1929, when the late Knut Hjalmar Leonard Hammarskjöld, father of the present Secretary General of the United Nations, became Chairman of the Nobel Foundation, this prize has almost invariably been awarded to Communists, fellow travelers, or those whose actions had clear-

ly helped the Soviet advance. But this seems to be the kind of company which Mr. Eaton loves best.

It was authoritatively reported in the world's press, in October, 1957, that the top candidates for the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize were the following: Pandit Nehru, Eleanor Roosevelt, Dag Hammarskjöld, Mae Tse-tung (!), Margaret Sanger, and Lester Pearson. It was the last-named candidate who is credited with having inspired formation of the United Nations Police Force in November, 1956; an international gendarmerie which, with contingents composed of Russian, Chinese, and Indian troops, may one day be used to enforce the police-state brutalities of Communism on the people of North America. But the "qualifications" which finally enabled Lester Pearson actually to win the 1957 Prize were probably more closely connected with that part of his career recalled to the public mind by the Easter, 1957 edition of *The British Columbia Catholic*:

"It was an ex-Communist in the United States, Elizabeth Bentley, who labelled Lester Pearson as a source of information to Communist espionage rings during the last war. The United States subcommittee has not yet revealed this testimony, but it could, any time."

Considering the almost unbroken record of pro-Communist sympathies of those who have been awarded the Nobel Prize over three decades, if Mr. Eaton does join that choir there would seem to be more—not less—reason to investigate him.

But desire for so tarnished a bauble hardly seems sufficient motivation for the pugwasheries of Cyrus Eaton. One question naturally comes to the mind

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of anybody puzzling over his strange behavior: Does Eaton really believe all he says? Does he, for instance, really think that John Foster Dulles (who supplied arms to the Indonesian Government in May, 1958, for the suppression of an anti-Communist revolt) is a "fanatical" anti-Communist, or that Dulles is almost solely responsible for the present world tension? Does he really think that the United States is a police state worse than Hitler's, and that it is the most war-like nation on earth? If he does, he must be the world's greatest fool. As Jack Lait, Jr. put it in the *Los Angeles Examiner* on May 18, 1958:

"If America were 'the police state' he said it was, he wouldn't have dared say what he did over the air. He'd have been thrown into a concentration camp. Yet the last I heard, he was still peacefully enjoying his fat millions in his comfortable Cleveland mansion, unmolested by any Gestapo, unthreatened with any concentration camp. If this is a police state, it's a pretty inefficient one. Hitler would be ashamed of it."

But fools do not usually become multimillionaires (except by inheritance). So the further question inevitably comes to mind: Can Cyrus Eaton be an actual Communist sympathizer, who wants the Communists to win in their conspiratorial effort to rule the world? Certainly he has done more for World Communism than most card-carrying Communists. William Z. Foster has never received the personal praise and congratulations of Khrushchev. To such an inquiry Eaton and his encouragers of the *New York Herald Tribune* type have, of course, a ready reply. He can't be a Communist because he is a capitalist.

This reasoning, while likely to appeal to the unthinking, is totally dishonest. Anyone who has made the slightest serious study of Communism knows that it has always had the support of some extremely wealthy men, in every country it has taken over. The last Soviet spy to be unearthed in the United States (he fled to Prague in July, 1957) was a millionaire stock broker named Alfred Stern. And the American capitalistic woods are full of millionaires who are subtly—and sometimes not so subtly—helping the Communist cause at every turn.

Moreover, Communism does *not* abolish capitalism. It merely transforms the plant and organization of capitalism into a state monopoly, with the leading Communists occupying all of the key and lucrative posts in that state. Communism is, in fact, a confidence trick, whereby a group of totally unscrupulous international conspirators acquire a nation's wealth by pretending to nationalize it for the "workers." While capitalists who are anti-Communist get dispossessed of their wealth, the capitalist who is a Communist becomes a Commissar for the state. The Communist capitalist does not even have any "labor troubles"; for the trade unions no longer operate to protect the workers against exploitation, but become instruments of the Marxist machinery to coerce them. And in a Communist country the state owns *all*—a far bigger fortune than the \$150 million with which Eaton is credited at present. The natural projection of this line of thought is that, if the Communists were to succeed in taking over Canada and the United States, the Eatons and the Sterns—and some others whose names easily come to mind—

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might be members of the comparatively small group that owned and ruled it *all*.

Whether such ambitions really do enter into Eaton's thinking we have no way of knowing. But we do know that, for whatever reason, he has done his adopted country immense harm. And it is difficult to see how he could be unaware of the aid and comfort he has given to our avowed enemies who have announced their intention to bury us.

Nor does it appear likely that his vast industrial empires in both Canada and the United States would be ranged on the side of the free world if the cold war turned into a hot one. A thorough investigation of this powerful ball-carrier in the Kremlin's wily maneuvers is urgently needed. Does he know he is playing on their team, or has the combination of their back-slapping adulation and his insufferable conceit simply got him hopelessly confused?

The Game Of Darts

Today's safety slogan: Watch out for school children—especially if they are driving cars.

Uncle Mat

"Harold Stassen . . . who would debate an Egyptian mummy if he thought it would get him publicity."

E. L. Dayton

Who ever saw a Professor of Education who could teach anybody anything?

E. Merrill Root

About the composition of the United Nations: "We have put the top criminal on the Police Commission."

(The Old) Freeman Magazine

In Russia they have a television set in every hotel room. But instead of you watching it, it watches you.

Bob Hope

As a matter of tragic fact, Dwight Eisenhower was a facade with no solid structure behind it. Like a stage set on a motion picture lot he presented an attractive and impressive picture, but you opened any door in the scenery and found yourself in a vacant lot.

Clarence Budington Kelland

A diplomat is anyone who thinks twice before saying nothing.

Alex Dreier

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

Remember Anastas Mikoyan?

The question is not silly. This being a monthly instead of a weekly, our subject will already have been back home about three weeks before these paragraphs go into the mails. And if the American people do not remember Mikoyan's visit any better than they remembered his crimes, in three weeks not many will know who it is that we are talking about. But we have a few final words to add concerning this "guest" anyway.

Of course the Communists had many purposes in sending their Deputy Premier on a tour of the United States. And, aided and abetted by our government at every turn, they scored almost a perfect record of accomplishment. It would take too many pages to analyze all of even the important aims of this most undesirable visitor, and of the Kremlin that sent him—from arranging for more material help by us, to preparing the way for another "summit conference." But let's look at merely two or three.

One of the greatest efforts of the Soviets today is to have the American people come to feel that Communists are just like everybody else, only more so. Every visit of a Mikoyan, as well as all of the so-called cultural exchanges, are designed to make us forget the atrocities by which Communists achieve and maintain control over a country. In this connection, the choice of Mikoyan as the Kremlin's emissary of "friendship" was a deliberate insult, showing a supreme contempt for our memories and our pretensions to morality, which was not lost on informed anti-Communists—as well as Soviet-supporters—in the rest of the world.

For Anastas Mikoyan was the very man sent by Moscow to take charge in Budapest, when the Hungarian Revolt got under way. It was Mikoyan who had General Maleter and his aides arrested, on November 3, 1956, when they came in good faith to a parley to which he had invited them—supposedly to plan

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the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. It was Mikoyan who, having personally assured Zoltan Tildy, Minister of State in the new Hungarian government, that Soviet troops would be withdrawn, gave the signal for a massive invasion of Budapest by tanks, and subjected it to a horrible blood bath, as soon as he captured Maletier through betrayal. All of this happened only a little more than two years ago, so you can readily imagine the way the Kremlin has been guffawing up its collective sleeve at the gullibility of those naive Americans, when so many of even our leading business men have been falling all over each other to see who would be nice to this murderous monster, Mikoyan.

The Soviets want the American people to forget that any and every high-ranking member of the Communist hierarchy had to be a mass murderer to get where he is. They also want to break the will to resist Communism, on the part of the enslaved peoples everywhere behind the Iron Curtain, by showing them how friendly the Americans are to the most important and most brutal lords of the Kremlin. All of this intent, and a great deal more, was aided by the fawning on Mikoyan of our government officials and our business community.

In defense of the business men, however, it should be pointed out that they were largely persuaded and pressured *by our government* into bestowing this red-carpet hospitality on Mikoyan. The host of one of the most important luncheons given Mikoyan, for instance, was Mr. Howard S. Sheperd, Chairman of the First National City Bank of New York. We submit below copy of a letter written to Mr. Sheperd, about this matter, by Alfred Kohlberg.

January 21, 1959

Mr. Howard C. Sheperd, Chairman
First National City Bank
55 Wall Street
New York 15, New York
Dear Mr. Sheperd:

I did not realize that a bank with assets of over \$4 billion could be so humble until I read of your luncheon party for

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Anastas Mikoyan last week. Verily you must believe in turning the other cheek.

It is less than 10 years since these same Commies—for all Commies are the same regardless of whether they look like Russians or Chinese, or even Americans—struck you on the right cheek in China.

They made you continue your branches in Tientsin and Shanghai, but permitted no business. They made you keep the staffs, and forced you to send money from New York to foot the bill. After Dec. 17, 1950, you had to and did get permission of the U. S. Treasury to remit such monies because you had left your American employees there as hostages, contrary to my advice to get out. Finally the Treasury clamped down—no more cash for the Chinese Reds. Then you begged for one last lump sum permit for ransom money to get them out.

May I ask: Is it possible you still want more business with the Reds? What do you think would be the fate of the U. S. if business men like you were in control?

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Alfred Kohlberg

Mr. Sheperd's reply, dated January 22, is a lengthy exposition of the brilliant strategy on our part, involved in thus honoring and fraternizing with one of the most vicious of our enemies; with a man whose hands drip blood, as Walter Judd so accurately put it. It displays a line of reasoning of which any high school sophomore ought to be blushing ashamed. But the truth is that Mr. Sheperd probably could not well help himself, and had been maneuvered into defending the indefensible. For the explanation of how this luncheon really came to take place is revealed in the letter's second paragraph:

"Mr. Robert Dowling, President of City Investing Company and a Director of our Trust Company, has for some time been prominently connected with the United States' international program of educational, cultural, and business exchange.

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In this capacity he was *officially requested* to assist in plans to comply with Mr. Mikoyan's expressed wish to meet representative members of the New York business and financial community during his brief visit to the City. Mr. Dowling discussed the matter with me and I agreed to arrange to be host at the luncheon."

The italicizing in the paragraph above is ours, for it puts emphasis where emphasis belongs. Let the butcher of Budapest "express the wish" for anything that will help the Soviet propaganda mills, and you can be sure he has enough friends in Washington to see that effective *official* compliance with such wishes is promptly forthcoming. Arranging to have important business men, in New York, Detroit, and other great American cities, lower themselves to the point of breaking bread with an arch-criminal and avowed enemy of our country—that was one of the easiest chores for the Kremlin's busy helpers in Washington to accomplish during Mikoyan's whole circus performance in our midst.

The ultimate purpose of the Communists is to merge the United States with Soviet Russia into a one-world government ruled by the Kremlin. Every time we even shake hands with one of these characters like Mikoyan we are helping that purpose. The drive to keep us shaking hands with hard-core Communists, whether presented as farmers, housing experts, musicians, or diplomats, stems straight from Communist influences high up in our own government circles. And those same influences will see that the thirty-three "industrialists" from Yugoslavia, now coming to study our mining and metallurgy methods, will be given everything in the way of information as well as hospitality that American industry can provide.

* * *

While Reuther Marches On

For over an hour the famous college athlete had been telling his date how, singlehanded, he had saved his team from defeat in one game and had carried it to victory in another. Then

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he was seized by a sudden spasm of modesty. "But I shouldn't talk about myself so much," he said. "Now I'll keep quiet, and let *you* tell me how wonderful my various plays looked to you."

In this department there is a recurrent hammering away at the Communist-aiding activities, all over the globe, of the Communist sympathizers on our federal payroll. Despite the importance of the theme, it is bound to become monotonous. For relief, therefore, let's have as much of a change as the football player suggested in the story above. Let's look at how these Communist sympathizers are forwarding their cause through encouraging and protecting the parallel activities of non-government individuals and organizations.

A thick volume could be written, for instance, on the way Michigan State College has become the headquarters in the United States for the gradual sell-out of South Vietnam—and for suppression of all the real anti-Communist forces there—which is going on under the authority of our State Department's puppet ruler, Ngo Dinh Diem. Or, if there were any slightest chance of our Congressional investigating committees being allowed to uncover anything important anymore, it would be worth while to ask a lot of questions about the private sources in this country of the arms which enabled Castro to take over Cuba.

But what we had in mind, in magnanimously suggesting this change of pace, was another brief look at the smudgy fingerprints of Mr. Walter Reuther on the *international* wall paper, as put there vicariously for him by his hired hand, Irving Brown. For not many even of our readers—whom of course we consider the best informed people in America—seem to be aware that His Labor Majesty is now running a small-scale State Department of his own; or that it has the visible blessing of the more official State Department, which is supposedly answerable to Eisenhower. (It should have, since they are both as red as Walter Reuther's hair.)

After some years of planting the seeds of trouble in every fertile foreign spot he could reach, Roving Ambassador Brown

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now has the pleasure of nourishing and using some of the noxious weeds which have sprouted and grown to a considerable size—especially in Africa. We mentioned last month Mr. Brown's presence and moral support at the December conference in Accra of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sékou Touré of Guinea. The question now arises of possible material support as well. For, since the twenty-seven million dollars loaned by Ghana to Guinea was for subversive work among the black nations that voted, in the de Gaulle election, to remain in the French Union, the French government naturally would like to know just where Nkrumah himself got the money. And American sources of some kind are clearly indicated. For while it *could* have come from Russia, the Communists never pay for dirty work done on their behalf if they can get somebody else to pick up the check.

Tied in with the red aggressiveness stemming from Accra is the rebellion in Morocco, which was set off by the accession to power of a leftwing labor-union government; and where increasing anarchy will undoubtedly supply the usual excuse and opportunity for increasing repression of the regime's opponents. For Abdallah Ibrahim, head of the new and revolutionary government, is the leader of the Union of Moroccan Workers which was organized by Irving Brown, and Mr. Brown's agents on the spot. This new Premier, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, is an avowed Marxist, who favors closer ties with Nasser. And you can be sure that Premier Ibrahim will soon be finding reasons to invite Russian advisers and "aid" into Morocco to help him with his problems.

But Ghana is clearly intended as headquarters for the whole forthcoming and ambitious drive to bring all of French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, and miscellaneous other pieces of real estate in that general area, under Marxian governments. Even the Belgian Congo is early in the projected path of this movement. While the United States government has been consistently helping the Communists in Algeria, Ghana, Indonesia and other parts of the world, by support of the "anti-colonial-

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ism" slogan used by the Kremlin's agents against the French, the British, and the Dutch, it had more or less laid off Belgium's holdings in Africa. There had been no real pro-Communist leadership in the Congo, to be helped by, and to take advantage of, our parroting of the Moscow anti-colonialism line. But that seems to have changed at about the time of the Nkrumah-Touré conference. Of considerable apparent significance in connection with this change is the re-opening of our Brazzaville consulate, after having been left closed for six years. Brazzaville, where our consulate will now have charge of American affairs for all of French Equatorial Africa, is on the Congo River, just across from Belgian Congo. And Belgium is alarmed, as it has good reason to be.

For there isn't any doubt as to either the goals to be sought, or the tactics to be used, by the revolution-makers. With Irving Brown in Accra at the December conference was a Mr. Lawrence C. McQuade, described by the New York Herald Tribune as "a New York lawyer and economist." And in the Paris edition of that newspaper, on January 13, 1959, there was an article by Mr. McQuade entitled *Ghana's Bid For Leadership*. The theme of this article was a cry to Africa's blacks: "You have a continent to regain! Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!"

It was in the early 1920's that the Russian Communists invented the weapons of "anti-colonialism" and anti-foreignism (which they gave the more appealing name of "nationalism"), to be used against all of the great European powers — and America. The alloy comprising these weapons has usually consisted of about ten to twenty-five percent of honest resentment by native populations against allegiance to an external power. This spontaneous resentment had led less and less to armed rebellion or bloodshed during the preceding hundred years, as an earlier "colonialism" had developed into a more enlightened partnership between mother country and foreign areas under the same flag. From seventy-five to ninety percent of this alloy has been unjustified and unnatural bitterness among native pop-

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ulations, fomented by *foreign* Communist agitators, and utilized by these *foreign* agitators and their native agents to advance Communism's own imperialism.

How little concerned the Communists have been with either justice or the welfare of native populations, in forging and using these weapons, is clearly revealed by two items of history. The first is that the weapons have been wielded most viciously against the United States, the least imperialistic of any of the colonial powers. And the second is that each native population which has been seduced and stirred into "throwing out the imperialists" has wound up in far worse condition than it ever experienced during its "colonial" status. So far the weapons have done infinitely more damage to the natives who were persuaded to start swinging them than to the powers against whom they were aimed.

Under all of the present circumstances it is inevitable that this will be the case in Africa. Kwame Nkrumah has already trampled on most of the safeguards for the people of Ghana, which Britain provided at the time complete autonomy was granted, and taken many steps towards making himself a typical police-state ruler, Moscow-satellite-style. He is now preparing to cut Ghana's final ties with Britain and make it an entirely independent dictatorship. He seems already to have acquired one satellite of his own, in French Guinea under Sékou Touré. He is obviously looking for more and larger satellites to add to his galaxy. Since he and his whole string will belong to Moscow, he can count on plenty of help, in carrying out his own and Moscow's plans, from the United States government. But what this section is primarily about is the help he has already been getting, and the increasing help of many kinds he will surely receive in the future from the Foreign Office of that comparative newcomer among the great international powers, the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

The folly and the crime of this whole intentional movement to ignite black Africa at this particular time are beyond measurement. But so, alas, is Reuther's ambition.

If You Want It Straight . . .

And Everybody Helps The Government To Go Deeper Into Debt

We have only the highest regard for our fellow publishers of the conservative persuasion. We know that, by the very nature of our beliefs in an individualistic rather than a collectivist society, each of us is bound to have views on which the others do not agree. But some policies adopted and some actions taken by even some of the leaders, who in general are going our way, puzzle us no end.

Way up near the top of these puzzles is why conservative magazines will carry "for free" full-page advertisements exhorting their readers to buy government bonds. There are mining stocks available today, less *deliberately fraudulent* than United States Government bonds under the current fiscal policies of the said Government, for helping to sell which the publishers of these magazines would promptly go to jail. Yet many such publishers frequently give the back covers, or other favored positions in their periodicals, to help the Government's bond-selling campaign.

Inflation is *not* caused by a spiral of higher wages chasing higher prices which are chasing higher wages. That helix is merely one of the *results* of inflation. The giant manufacturing corporations could not grant the ever higher wages demanded each year unless they were well aware that a continuing inflation would enable them to raise their selling prices. And they then raise their prices, without fear of drying up the public purchasing of their products, precisely because a continuing inflation will raise the wages and other dollar-incomes of enough of the public to make these prices acceptable.

Inflation, basically, is nothing more nor less than an increase in the supply of irredeemable money, which increase thus dilutes the value of the money and of the credit balances and documents already outstanding. In actual practice in our contemporary society this is brought about simply by the government's printing more bonds. Due to the mechanics of the Federal Reserve System, each such bond, by becoming an addition

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to the legal reserve of some private bank, actually increases the money and credit supply by from six to ten times the par amount of the bond itself.

The most important direct result of this process is a steady embezzlement, by the Federal Government, from all the assets of its citizens which are in the form of money, bonds, or any financial credits of fixed amounts. That conscious embezzlement has been so great and so continuous that government bonds bought less than twenty years ago have already lost more than half of their value in purchasing power. You cannot "water" stocks, or bonds, or money, without reducing the strength and the per-unit value of the parts of the resulting mixture. Ever since 1933 the United States Government has been engaged in a process of "watering" its own obligations held by the public, which has made the total "stock-watering" operations of all the financial gyp artists in American history look like the stream from a hand pump in comparison with Niagara Falls. And far from any reformation being current or expectable, the evidence is strong and disturbing that the dilution is going to become more rapid, and that government bonds will again lose more than half of their *present* purchasing power within the next twenty years.

This expectancy is generally based on what George S. Montgomery, Jr., a prominent New York attorney, has called "the sordid spectacle of an Administration and Congress indulging in an orgy of extravagance with the credit of the American people." In our opinion, the real key to this accelerating inflation is far more sinister. It is to be found in a conscious drive of Communist conspirators to bring about currency depreciation for its own sake, with the complete worthlessness and repudiation of our currency as their ultimate goal. The wild wastefulness of Government is merely a convenient and plausible means for accomplishing this purpose. But whether the extravagance is merely an excuse and the apparent irresponsibility a cover-up for cunningly destructive plans, the results are the same. And, as the New York attorney, quoted above, recently wrote in a

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letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, "if a private organization were to seek funds from the public under similar circumstances, the officers and directors would find themselves speedily behind bars."

Yet every day the Government sends out over the air, to millions of Americans, the message that United States Savings Bonds with a maturity of over eight years represent "a more attractive long term investment than ever." And it floods the pages of our periodicals with similar statements which the Better Business Bureau could be expected to pounce on at once if they were issued by anybody but the Government.

None of which puzzles us at all. What does make us scratch our heads in wonderment is the willingness of publications which are bitterly opposed to the government extravagance, or to the subversive plans for which that extravagance may be an alibi, to aid and abet so dishonest an activity. Of all the things that a thrifty American can do with his money today, we can think of few that are worse than buying Government bonds. Nothing could be more unpatriotic than making it easier for an irresponsible government to continue and increase its dangerous irresponsibility; and few steps could be more imprudent than investing your savings in paper put out by a debtor who expects to continue incredible spending by simply issuing more paper. What's the matter with these publishers, anyway?

Heaven Help Us!

"But it could happen here. The United States could, in a global war, be brought to the point where only making peace (surrendering) would make sense."

John Cowles, President, Minneapolis Star & Tribune

"Now—I have forgotten the exact details but my impression was, which I can check up before the next press conference, Senator Knowland was trying to put into—amendments that would take the field and were I have—have certain of the other actions that I have recommended before. Now that is what I believe."

Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States

BULLETS

Who conquers me shall find a stubborn foe.

Byron

* * *

You've reached middle age when all you exercise is caution.

Industrial Press Service

* * *

Two famous psychologists were Doctors Junk and Fraud.

A Freshman "Boner"—Or Was It?

* * *

I've heard so much about you. Now I'd like to hear your side of the story.

J. Whiting

* * *

From Shakespeare's Twelfth Night—

Duke: "And what's her history?"

Viola: "A blank, my Lord."

Gosh, Was SHE Gadding About Even In Those Days?

* * *

Don't worry if Washington takes the shirt off your back. They've got a bureau of some kind to keep it in.

We Got It From George McHenry

* * *

Come in and have your faith lifted.

Sign On Church Bulletin,

Seaford, N. Y.

* * *

Life consists in what a man is thinking of all day.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

* * *

I'm like Eisenhower. Once I make up my mind I am full of indecisions.

Oscar Levant

* * *

When Hawaii is admitted to the Union, the name of the USA should be changed from the United States of America to the United States of Anywhere.

Willis Carto

The clock
Beats out the little lives of men.

Tennyson

* * *

The desegregation problem was in the process of being solved when it was interfered with by the arbitrary use of government power.

Dr. Donald Cowling

* * *

Inflation—a fate worse than debt.

Rod MacLean

* * *

He knew the precise psychological moment when to say nothing.

Oscar Wilde

* * *

Wife to husband: "I'm going next door for just a minute. Stir the soup every half hour or so."

Al Kaufman

* * *

When David prepared to slay the giant, he armed himself with a handful of stones. But President Eisenhower slew the whole Republican Party in the South with one Little Rock.

Senator John McClellan

* * *

It is better to keep your mouth shut, and be thought a fool, than to open it and remove all doubt.

An Anonymous Paraphrase of Proverbs XVII, 28

* * *

Pardon me for writing you so long a letter. I just did not have the time to write a short one.

Pascal

* * *

If peace cannot be maintained with honor, it is no longer peace.

Lord John Russell

* * *

Courage scorns the death it cannot shun.

Dryden

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

This is the eighth in our series of twelve essays by Mr. Alexander on The Federalist Papers. Some quote extensively from The Federalist, and deal with the proper interpretations of specific statements by Madison, Jay, or Hamilton. All are concerned with the background of traditions, beliefs, and purposes, against which The Federalist Papers must be read for their lasting value and present applicability to be understood.

Work and wealth are two sides of the same coin. To squander one is to waste the other. When a nation loses the will to work, its accumulated fortunes, both material and spiritual, are apt to dwindle. This is particularly true of a free people because they are, in the big sense, self-employed. They are working for themselves and their posterity, rather than to support the Queen-bees of a parasitic government. It is specifically true of the United States of America which, beyond all nations on earth, ought to know and respect the testament of honest toil and the treasures that result from it.

Has the U.S.A. begun to lose the knowledge of labor which raised the nation from colonial bondage to the position of exalted riches and unexampled liberties? By the mid-twentieth century such were the signs. The something-for-nothing craze had taken the form of conniving to get paid for work not done. This in effect was self-robbery. It was the voluntary reduction of man-hour productivity. It couldn't have come at a worse time in history, for the United States was locked in the cold war with Communism. American productivity was about the last remaining dike of superiority between the free world and the Red revolution.

But to understand the true tragedy of this self-inflicted crime, we must go back and consider where the philosophy of

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work fits into the American tradition. Each ethnic group has its own characteristics and accomplishments, some of which are a source of justifiable pride. And the idea that work is a noble thing seems to belong peculiarly to the Nordic races. No other people in all history, according to the best scholars, have looked upon labor as anything but a curse and a punishment; as one of the burdens that sinful mankind must carry between childhood and the grave. The Old Testament, which was written in the Mediterranean languages long before the North Sea races had any preserved literature of their own, explains that the transgressing Adam was sentenced to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. The folksongs of the Africans and the fables of the Asians show work as something immensely disagreeable, whereas the acme of all that is pleasurable is depicted as lolling on soft cushions and being tended by obsequious slaves.

Somewhere amidst the fogs and blizzards of the North European capes and plains, a different philosophy emerged and found acceptance by the inhabitants. The actual beginnings of this belief need not detain us, for they are enshrouded and in dispute. It is enough to note that the accent on work had become prominent in Germany by the time of the Reformation. It was a part, therefore, of the Western World's first break-off from points East. In due course the philosophy of work-is-ennobling was firmly established in the minds of many men, especially those of the Puritan outlook on life.

The British Puritans brought the idea to the New World. Indeed, without that idea, it's doubtful if the Anglo Saxons would have succeeded in outfighting the native Indians; in outlasting the French, who were already established in Canada; and in surpassing the Spanish, who had an empire going from Florida and Mexico down to the Andes. Besides, though it isn't as well remembered as it should be, the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth were not purely fugitives from religious intolerance and seekers after the abstract pearls of liberty. They were first of all partners in a collective bargaining contract with the Massachusetts Bay Company. They had come to the New World

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less to worship than to work. The undisguised purpose of their work was the creation of wealth for their employers and themselves. In time, the American literature under Longfellow, following the English line as expressed by Tennyson, would loudly celebrate the virtues of village blacksmiths, of the sooty and sweaty workers in factory and field, as well as of soldiers and statesmen.

Whatever else may be said about the it-is-noble-to-work philosophy, it raised the Nordic races for a while to undisputed leadership of the world. The Germans became the dominant nation of Europe, displacing the over-civilized French and the *dolce-far-niente* Italians. Two devastating wars just about finished off the French, who were victorious twice, and badly crippled the progress of the Italians, who won the first time and quit the second. But double defeat and two-way invasion did not destroy the German spirit or virility. The guns were still hot when the Germans hammered them back into plowshares and returned to work. The British, too, showed some remaining mettle as priests of the work philosophy. They had the individual wills to rebuild their cities from the rubble and to set the wheels of industry spinning again. Unhappily, the British were handicapped throughout most of the twentieth century by the same subversive betrayal of the will-to-work which a little later began to threaten America.

The United States, which is all we Americans have any responsibility to worry about, was not driven by inexorable forces, but was seduced into drifting, toward her doom. Germany and Britain could be excused in some part, because they were hurt, weakened, and demoralized by the actual clash of war. But America was not touched. As World War II came to an end, America remained substantially the only free country in the world where work was the accepted duty of all able-bodied men; and where, with the then-negligible exception of coke and coffee breaks, people went through a day without time off for siestas, tiffin and tea.

Let the scholars search for elusive secrets of the American

How To Read The Federalist

story. But for ordinary purposes of discussion, why make any mystery about it? America bestrode the world, industrially and economically, militarily and politically, because Americans worked hard in the heat of the midday sun. They not only worked, but they worked with a joy of accomplishment and with a sense that they were doing the right thing and would be rewarded in many ways beyond the accumulation of goods. Nobody can say that they were wrong in this expectation. The miracle of American production was a miraculous affirmation. The advancement of living standards, the refinement of manners, the discovery of a native literature no longer a step-child of Victorian Britain, the increased expression of religious life by church-building and church-going, the plowing of private fortunes back into public welfare and education, the vigilance and jealousy for personal liberties and national sovereignty — these were the heaped-up harvests of the peculiarly American doctrine, holding that it's right to work.

When and how did the change begin to show? Undoubtedly, it was part of a larger phenomenon of the mid-century. The disillusion of World War I gave us a Lost Generation which doubted the old standards of morality, questioned the traditional beliefs in religion, and could not find any reasonable explanation as to why our youth had been flung into the ancient wars of Europe. Next, with the recognition of Soviet Russia and the social acceptance of uncouth Bolshevism, there was spawned a whole breed of ideas that would have seemed fantastic and reprehensible both to the Pilgrim Fathers and to the Founding Fathers. The perversion of the work-idea into a concept of State-slavery, and the subtle shift of emphasis from July Fourth to May Day, spelt out some warnings which at the time too few American leaders of thought and action were willing to read and heed.

Put it anyway you like — the will to work was weakened. The manifestations were manifold of a changing morality among Americans. Property was robbed of its sanctity in a series of government-protected sitdown strikes and in the hard-

How To Read The Federalist

to-explain but wealth-destroying departure from the national gold standard.

"Property," Lincoln had said, "is the fruit of labor; property is desirable. It is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise." Now, property—the heritage of Western freedom—was a casualty in the same dark days that saw the desecration of the work-is-right doctrine.

Not just private property, as such, was being destroyed. So was public property. The commonwealth was in the early process of dissolution. We had better go back to the beginning of the Republic for a definition of that. Writing in *The Federalist Number 21*, Hamilton discussed the subject:

"The wealth of nations depends upon a variety of causes. Situation, soil, climate, the nature of the productions, the nature of the government, the genius of the citizens, the degree of information they possess, the state of commerce, of arts, of industry—."

It is withal an exceedingly complex matter, this wealth of our nation, because it comprises so many elements, both physical and abstract, yet all in devious but important ways being inter-related. The first three items on Hamilton's list — "situation, soil, climate" — have a lot to do with the items which follow them. Undoubtedly we have our peculiar government, much of our genius, and our freedom of information, due to the traditions under which our nation was born. The kind of commerce we have is not entirely because of our seafaring opportunities. The most important trade we ever have is internal. It developed our commonwealth because we bent our backs to dig canals and railroad beds. Our industrial art — we now call it "ingenuity" — is another outgrowth of the will-to-work. No nation that regarded labor as a punishment and curse could possibly have built this industrial empire of ours, not even with slave labor and centuries of time to get it done. Incentive, ambition, the glory of success, the deep soul-satisfaction of doing a

How To Read The Federalist

job for the sake of the job — these are indispensable ingredients of the American commonwealth.

Well, then, there are not many things more important to America than the will-to-work. We Americans are not naturally any good at loafing. We are inferior, if you will, to the Orientals and the Mediterraneans in the enjoyment of leisure. We have no patience. We have precious little use for ornamental and non-utilitarian craftwork. We are better at receiving entertainment than culture. Our time-off gets spent playing poker, going to movies and games, drinking strong whiskey and beer, racing aimlessly about our death-dealing highways. When we do stay still, we don't read nearly so many books per capita as Europeans do. Our best and fastest-increasing creative outlet is homework. American people more than ever love their households and spend a good bit of time-off in the gardens and at the cellar benches, a sublimation of the work-will in work-play.

But one of the most disturbing developments after World War II was the un-American trend in trade union contracts, to keep workers from working. The railroads, so symbolic of the commonwealth, were the first large industry to feel the will-to-work being denied. With the coming of Diesel engines the need for three men in the cab—the engineer and two firemen—was reduced. One man could probably do the job, but a helper was justified in the name of safety. The third man, however, the extra fireman, would be supercargo. The unions put up a battle for his retention, until a special investigation committee for President Truman pointed out that by idling a trained man, the unions were curtailing the number of Diesel engines that could operate.

The practice called "featherbedding," or enforced idleness, grew to a scandal in the postwar years. The music industry suffered mightily. Orchestras disappeared from motion picture theatres, and from most legitimate theatres, because of the padded payrolls for non-working performers. The publishing industry saw one newspaper after another go out of business

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because of the expense of paying for undone work in the composing rooms and photo laboratories. A union bricklayer was fined and suspended from his local for using a tool that speeded up his work. The extra pay to skilled workers was levelled down to accommodate the rank-and-file until there was little or no incentive to become proficient. Economists reported that in 1955 the restrictive practices of labor unions increased the cost of homebuilding by twenty percent. One restriction alone — against inserting window glass at the factory instead of at the building site — was calculated to have taken fifty million dollars of American earnings that same year.

But these are only losses in money. What is the moral and psychological effect on a population of getting paid for unaccomplished work? No one could be wise enough to give a precise and lucid answer. But something may be understood if we backtrack across the sands of history. At the very outset of the retrograde journey, we would stop and wonder about the victories of World War II without those prodigious American feats of manufacture. Of course, the feats would never have taken place if Governor De Witt Clinton and his fellow citizens in 1825 hadn't taken an energetic attitude toward the patent difficulties of building the Erie Canal. But there probably wouldn't have been any need or desire for that commercial enterprise if the early American settlers hadn't been the kind of people who cooked up the half-jocular penalty of pouring a cup of cold water up the sleeve of a work-shirker.

There is not much point in retracing the Western World's progress back to the first temples where work was worshipped. We will never know what bearded patriarch began the preaching of the work-morality. But if we could name him, he would be the right man to call the progenitor of the race which, say what you will to the contrary, once made itself the leader of mankind.

It's the future, not the past, that ought to claim our attention. There was no doubt by mid-century that the Russian Slav, half-Easterner and half-Westerner, had dug up the

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American secret of success. The Russian, driven by his leaders and not led, had begun to close the one all-important gap of superiority which the American held by tradition and nature. The Russian commenced to work much harder at the same time that the American commenced to work much less.

Where it would end, where the change-over would take place, no oracle was around to say. But it's axiomatic that when the American sloughs off the will-to-work he ceases to be the American that the world has known — or the American for whom *The Federalist Papers* were originally written.

An Interesting Parallel

For the sake of establishing the base for these comparisons, please allow us to repeat one paragraph of information from an earlier issue.

Twenty years ago the Communist parties of the world had a total membership of about four million. In the fall of 1957 the Communist parties which were represented, at the triumphant celebration in Moscow of the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, had a total membership of about thirty-three million. This is approximately an eight hundred percent expansion in the last two decades. And that is just about the rate of growth of Communist power and influence during those twenty years, no matter from what angle you look at it, or with what unit of measurement you appraise it.

It so happens, however, that twenty years ago we were thinking of our federal-government spending in terms of around ten billion dollars per year. (Even in 1940 it was only 9 billion 183 million.) Today the rough figure which comes to mind is eighty billion dollars per year. There has been an eight hundred percent expansion in the two decades.

Also, twenty years ago, our federal-government debt was in the neighborhood of thirty-five billion dollars. In 1938 it was 37 billion 165 million. In 1958 it was about 280 billion dollars, plus "outside" trifles of a few billions here and there. Again the current figure is some eight times the earlier one.

These are striking coincidences, of course. But is that all they are?

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HISTORY TO HAUNT US

by

ANTHONY KUBEK

THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY for the policies which characterized our World War II diplomacy must rest with President Roosevelt. Far more than any other American President, he personally directed the conduct of our foreign relations. And, under the influence of Soviet sympathizers, reinforced by his own eagerness to please Joseph Stalin, no one in the United States was more thoroughly deceived by Russian promises than Roosevelt. He was obsessed with the idea that through a face-to-face meeting with Stalin he could mold the pattern of international relations in the form that was closest to his heart's desire.

His correspondence and conversations are filled with his emphasis upon winning the war. His eyes never lifted to the boundaries of the new world that would follow the war. This appalling lack of vision is largely responsible for the tragic conditions of the world today. He was long on war plans but amazingly short on plans for a just and durable peace.

On January 14, 1943, at the Casablanca Conference, Roosevelt announced to the world the Allied objective of the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan. The implications of this policy are exceedingly interesting. It enabled Hitler to convince the great majority of Germans that they had to fight to the bitter end or see their country destroyed; it hardened the firm resolve of the Japanese to continue the struggle. His policy unquestionably

meant the prolongation of the war and caused unnecessary loss of American lives. Only one power was to benefit by his formula—Soviet Russia.

It is very evident that the President had a definite contempt for the democratic processes, so far as foreign relations are concerned. He grew more autocratic each year he remained in the White House. His strong desire for secret conferences was expressed on May 5, 1943, in a letter he wrote to Marshal Stalin:

I am sending this personal note to you by the hand of my old friend, Joseph E. Davies . . . I want to get away from the difficulties of large staff conferences or the red tape of diplomatic conversations . . . The simplest and most practical method that I can think of would be an informal and completely simple visit for a few days between you and me.

He was never able to arrange this "completely simple visit" with Stalin. At Teheran he had a typical large-staff conference, and he resented the constant flow of advice that poured into his reluctant ears. He had hardly met Stalin when the Russian dictator in a display of solicitation invited Roosevelt to stay with him in the Russian Embassy. Stalin himself moved to a small cottage on the embassy grounds to make room for his guest. Yet Roosevelt was discouraged at first when it appeared that he had not immediately attracted the favorable notice of Marshal Stalin.

I thought it over all night and made up my mind I had to do some-

History To Haunt Us

thing desperate. Then . . . I began to tease Churchill about his Britishness, . . . about his cigars, about his habits. It began to register with Stalin . . . Finally, Stalin broke into a deep guffaw, and for the first time in three days I saw light. I kept it up until Stalin was laughing with me, and it was then that I called him "Uncle Joe" . . . From that time on our relations were personal.

Roosevelt left Teheran believing that he had won the confidence and friendship of Stalin. "He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor," Roosevelt remarked. "I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people—very well indeed."

Roosevelt's estimate of Stalin and Soviet intentions shows that he was tragically naive about international politics. Numerous forces, events, and pressures made him look with favor upon Russia. The past errors of that country had been explained away as "growing-pains," and Russian victories over the Nazis were acclaimed in press and pulpit. The pro-Russian attitude in Washington was intense. The Soviet Union encouraged this pro-Russian state of mind with a number of superficial concessions, including the "dissolution" of the Third International, the reopening of a number of churches, and some lessening of control over certain countries incorporated in the Soviet Union. America magnified these acts until they were out of proportion to their real importance.

Many persons who were close to the President were prompt to defend Soviet actions. Besides, there was Roosevelt's

exalted opinion of himself as a diplomat. He had no doubt that he could enroll Stalin as a member of his charm school and could lead the saturnine Soviet leader along new paths of accommodation. He had little patience with diplomats who were well acquainted with Soviet policy, and who warned him against any optimism about establishing cordial Russian-American relations. To William Bullitt, the former Ambassador to Moscow, Roosevelt petulantly declared: "I have just a hunch that Stalin doesn't want anything but security for his country, and I think that if I give him everything I possibly can, and ask nothing in return . . . he won't try to annex anything and will work for a world of democracy and peace." To the Polish leader Mikolajczyk, he remarked: "Stalin is a realist, and we mustn't forget, when we judge Russian actions, that the Soviet regime has had only two years of experience in international relations: But of one thing I am certain, Stalin is not an imperialist." Roosevelt could not have been more in error, either in his estimate of Soviet political experience or of her imperialistic intentions. The President had been seeking to avoid any action which might make Stalin suspicious of Anglo-American intentions!

The unwarranted concessions to Stalin in the Far East opened a Pandora's Box of troubles for the United States, the end of which has not yet been seen. He gambled for stakes as enormous as any statesman ever played for; he bet that the Soviet Union wanted peace, and was willing to pay for it by collaborating with the West. There is little doubt that Yalta marked the greatest diplomatic defeat in Amer-

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History To Haunt Us

ican history. With a naval base at Port Arthur, commercial preponderance in Dairen, and control over the South Manchurian Railway, gained at Yalta, Soviet Russia could dominate North China. Actually, this was a betrayal of Nationalist China, because at the Cairo Conference in November, 1943, Roosevelt had promised to Chiang Kai-shek all of the territory Japan had taken since 1917.

On March 1, 1945, Roosevelt appeared before a joint session of Congress for the purpose of making a "personal report" on what had been accomplished at the Yalta Conference. It was significant that he resorted to mendacity in this report. He realized that the American people would not relish the news of a complete surrender to Stalin with reference to our Far Eastern policy. He also must have realized that the sands of his life were running out quickly. He had almost reached the point of physical collapse. Death was just around the corner of a few weeks, and he could not have been unaware of these hints of dissolution.

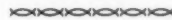
In his address before Congress he stated that the Yalta Conference had "concerned itself only with the European war and with the political problems of Europe, and not with the Pacific war." Of course, as we know today, the principal work of the Conference had been particularly concerned with the problems of the Far East; and he had solved those problems by giving the answers that had been suggested by Stalin.

Roosevelt had disliked the idea of having to give any accounting to Congress. Unlike President Wilson, he had not summoned any Peace Congress. He

remembered very clearly what had happened to the Treaty of Versailles when it came before a hostile Senate. There would be no Senate rejection of any treaty he made. Instead, he chose the system of making the peace through executive agreements that did not have to be passed upon by the Senate. For the first time in American history an important war had been brought to a close, not by a treaty, but by an agreement made by the President with the rulers of a few countries that had been closely associated with the United States in the conduct of hostilities.

As one looks back over these costly years of confusion and betrayal, it is difficult to believe that Roosevelt could have been so tragically naive about Russian history and Communist philosophy. He could scarcely have been altogether ignorant of the vast network of slave labor camps in the Soviet Union. The horrors of Soviet mass deportations from eastern Poland and the Baltic states during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact were well known to him. As a matter of fact, before the Yalta Conference, which took place early in February, 1945, there were no less than eight major actions of the Soviet Union, well-known to the President, which should have inspired the gravest doubts as to Soviet intentions and good faith. The enormity of these Soviet offenses was lost behind the smoke and the excitement of war.

In view of the President's shrewdness in domestic politics, his naiveté with regard to Soviet politics set a course which was destined to end in diplomatic bankruptcy.



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MARCH

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Although Edwin McDowell remains on our editorial staff as one of the very pillars of the magazine, this department is herewith turned over to the untender graces of William Scalpel Schlamm. For in the dissection of ideas, to which these pages are devoted, the adroit Mr. Schlamm is one of the world's grand masters.

The new head of the department will deal at times with books; at others with magazines; at others perhaps even with the theatre, television, or the world of music. For after the interruption of a year while William went Schlamm-ing in Europe, this feature now takes the form originally planned for it. And in this issue the doctor puts his sharp thin knife to work on two pink patients in the periodical ward.

Even a conformist society lives by ideas. In fact, a conformist society does so more than any other. For, to make men conform ideologically, they must be conditioned by notions more than by physical arrangements. Unless a man is helplessly subjugated by continuous brute violence, he is likely to rebel against the machinery of confinement; but he is only too susceptible to the impact of reiterated "guidance."

This is not said for the pleasure of indulging in philosophical speculation, but to define the quite practical aims of this department. It will discuss, every month, the ideas that are currently effective; as those ideas are being offered in more or less fashionable books, as they are more or less cleverly promoted by magazines engaged in the business, and as they are gradually absorbed by the whole body politic. The axiomatic premise of this department is that not only was *the word* "in the beginning," but that it remains, to the very last act of our social drama, the essence of the

plot. *A Review Of Reviews* is dedicated to the exciting who-done-its of our nation's intellectual existence. No other exercise in detection is better calculated to keep you in suspense.

This month I propose a bit of slumming, through quarters where we can dependably expect to find many roots of our contemporary civilization. These quarters house the accredited "journals of ideas," the small-circulation "magazines of opinion," such as *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The Reporter*, and *The Saturday Review*. For in their experienced kitchens is prepared the intellectual menu for "liberal" America. These magazines are a microcosm within our society and, at the same time, its faithful replica. Just as a perfect essay is a rain drop in which the universe is reflected, so is the skillfully edited magazine of this type the exact mirror of contemporary American society. A competent analyst of American trends could easily do without watching television or reading the *New*

A Review Of Reviews

York Times. But only when he has exposed himself to *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and similar instruments, will he know, expertly, the themes and variations of what is being played in the American symphony.

Between them, *The Nation* and *The New Republic* have a paid-up circulation of no more than sixty thousand. Both magazines, of course, live on subsidies received from some of the wealthiest people of this country. Both have achieved a venerable age of several decades and the kind of readership that assures a "journal of opinion" of intellectual success. This readership consists of the "intellectual elite," represented roughly by the college professor. There is hardly a single college, among the several thousand American (and un-American) institutions which go by that name, where you will not find a cluster of addicts to *The Nation* and *The New Republic*.

Between 1920 and 1935 these two small magazines, beyond a shadow of a doubt, played a major part in bringing about the new social growth in America that is known as the New Deal. The Roosevelt Revolution is surely the most distinct case of so important a change of social climate so largely produced by the cumulative effort of a couple of minor magazines. And from 1935 to 1945, *The Nation* and *The New Republic* were indubitably leading carriers of the grave Communist infection that despoiled the American "intelligentsia." One of these two journals, *The Nation* under Freda Kirchwey and Alvarez del Vayo, continued this visible fellow-traveling course for another ten years; while *The New Republic* began in the late forties to grope for a more refined posture.

But in January, 1959, both journals have navigated themselves into altogether untried waters. It took a reader who never saw either magazine, during a whole year spent abroad, to appreciate the change.

II

To begin with *The Nation*, Miss Kirchwey has evaporated from its pages—along with all the supernumeraries and minions who, for twenty years, had made the magazine the most undisguised cloaca of Stalinist propaganda in America. On *The Nation's* masthead there are still several names familiar to students of front organizations. But compared with the list of names that used to appear in *The Nation* only a few years ago, the regulars as well as the occasional contributors today are a veritable paradigm of virginal innocence. And with the change of cast has come an even more impressive change of attitude.

The guiding editorial bias of *The Nation* is no longer open Stalinist (or Khrushchevian) propaganda. The new line is consistently to warn a beloved but befuddled American democracy that the sinister Soviet Union is an immensely and unmatchably strong military power; that war with that thoroughly unpleasant customer must be avoided under any circumstances and at any cost; and that, if only war is avoided, broad areas of Communist penetration may relapse into *freedom à la Poland* and Yugoslavia. Here we have an openly professed non-Communism, even "anti-Communism," mixed with vehement pacifism and, above all, fervent preachments of "disengagement" in Europe and Asia. This new editorial slant of *The Nation* per-

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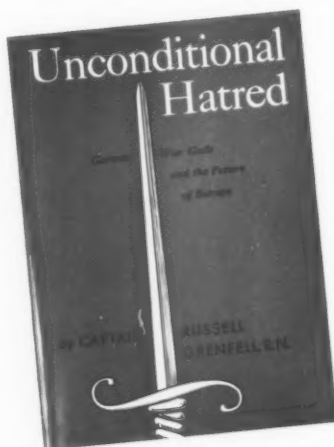
meates all the departments of the magazine, its book reviews as well as its art criticism and even Mr. Lester Kremble's quite sensitive musicological column. *The Nation*, in short, has turned from being America's outstanding Stalinist mouthpiece to being our outstanding Titoist journal. And this, to me, is momentous news. For it certainly corroborates the suspicions of those students of Communist penetration who have been warning us for the last ten years that Tito, Gomulka, and all the other Communist "diversionists," are in truth the most valuable agents of Communist progress in the West.

A magnificent case in point is a major article, published in *The Nation* of January 24, in which Jacob Altmaier, a Social Democrat member of the German *Bundestag*, offers "The Keys To Berlin." The selection of the correspondent could not have been more shrewd. How could anybody accuse a reputable member of the respectably anti-Communist Social Democrat faction in the German parliament of Titoism? Well, if you had spent last year in Germany (as I did), you darn well could. You could offer evidence that essential segments of the German Social Democrat Party are indeed, even conciously, the most effective extension of Titoism into the Western structure. Their enmity to Dr. Adenauer's foreign policy makes them willing pawns of a Soviet intrigue which aims at driving West Germany into a "confederation" with the Communist Quisling regime in East Germany. The puerile pacifism of these Social Democrats has emasculated them intellectually with regard to the foreign affairs of their country. All of this can be said and proved and

doublechecked. But to do so, one has to be expertly familiar with the situation in Germany. Those who are not (and who therefore qualify as subscribers to *The Nation*) will dismiss the conjecture that Herr Altmaier *may* be an unreliable witness, let alone judge, *in re* Berlin. Thus, to choose him as *The Nation's* decisive German expert was a stroke of genius. [*To be distinguished from The Saturday Evening Post's choice, for many years, of Edgar Snow as its expert on China, by which Ben Hibbs achieved an all-time-record stroke of innocence.* Editor]

And what has Herr Altmaier to say? "If the West is seriously interested in furthering a military disengagement, the pursuit of strategic expedencies and the pointless provocation of the Soviet Union must stop . . . Disengagement and a corresponding military status for all Germany [i.e., partial "conventional" disarmament and total "nuclear" disarmament], would banish the fear of Russia, as well as that of Poland and Czechoslovakia, of a German danger." Here, in a precious nutshell, is the whole intrigue—the goldbrick Khrushchev is trying to sell us through the good services of Mikoyan, Tito, George F. Kennan, and Walter Lippmann. Tacit premise No. 1: Soviet policy is *not* motivated by the immovable Communist determination to conquer the world, but by "Russian" resentment of "pointless American provocations" and by "Russian" fear of a "German danger." Explicit premise No. 2: Military "disengagement" in Central Europe is technically feasible and mutually advantageous. Policy conclusion: "We cannot ignore," asserts Herr Altmaier, "as is done in the case of Red China, (Continued on Page 53)"

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A Review Of Reviews

(Continued from Page 51)

the existence of an East German satellite state known as the 'German Democratic Republic' Russia will never permit reunification so long as there is any danger that the West's bases for atomic artillery and atomic rockets will be advanced from the Rhine to the Elbe, so long as West Germany remains a military deployment area for the march against Russia and her satellites in Eastern Europe." [Italics mine. W. S.S.]

Nowhere have I read in the West a more impudent assertion that the West intends to march against the Soviet Union and her satellites. Nowhere have I seen a more facile justification of all Soviet policies which, after all, in the light of Herr Altmaier's illumination, appear to be mere reflexes of "Russian" self-preservation. In short, *The Nation's* unexceptional expert, a *bona fide* German Social Democrat and a reputable non-Communist, performs more profitably for Moscow than Miss Kirchwey could ever have dared.

The same act of switching cast and arguments, to guarantee the success of the old aim in a new political climate, is being performed in all departments of *The Nation*. Its book-reviewers, for instance, who only a short few years ago were the toughest contingent of literary hatchetmen in the business, are no longer the notorious Old Guard of Stalinism. New and (to my knowledge) uncompromised characters have begun to appear in *The Nation's* back pages. For instance, Mr. Harvey Swados. In the issue of January 10, 1959, he reviews *Diary Of A Strike*, by Professor Bernard Karsh; a book which, to nobody's surprise, has been published by the University of Illinois Press. Now the old

Nation, managed by a fellow-travelling hack like del Vayo, would have reviewed a book like this as a piece of political literature; as something written and to be discussed in the good old spirit of class warfare. Not the new *Nation*. Harvey Swados knows that he is now catering to an audience conditioned, not so much by Marxian indoctrination, as by the "idealistic" spirit of tepid gentility that permeates our contemporary ivory towers.

And Swados really delivers. He writes a hymnical chant "to the élan of the participants (of a strike), their communion of aspiration, their unselfishness and indeed occasional heroism, their devotion to a larger ideal than personal advancement." All this, a veritable religious experience, he has found in Professor Karsh's *Diary Of A Strike*—and, doubtless, in the recent acts of unselfish heroism committed by New York's newspaper-deliverers and various segments of Jimmy Hoffa's monkish ascetics. "When an ordinary man is put to the test, whether in a Midwest mill town or in Budapest or Poznan, he amazes himself and his family and friends—and sometimes the rest of the world as well," emotes Harvey Swados. Anybody can see that, in addition to advancing social science, Swados has managed to throw a Double-Nelson on all unsuspecting "liberals": If you, mister, admire the freedom-fighters of Budapest and Poznan, you must also admire the Kohler-strikers. You are hooked. Freda Kirchwey would have caught you by your troubled conscience, but Swados catches you by your anti-Communist sympathies. He does not tell you, as del Vayo would have done, that your goose is cooked; he argues,

(Continued on Page 55)

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A Review Of Reviews

(Continued from Page 53)

gently (though hymnically), that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. This, as you can see, is a considerable change in *The Nation's* menu. But it is indubitably the same old kitchen.

III

The innovations in *The New Republic* are even more radical. The job an overhauled *Nation* has cut out for itself is to shed the soiled Stalinist skin and to put a smile on its lifted face. But *The New Republic*, it seems to me, has picked for itself an entirely new field of dedication. It no longer tries simply to improve on its public-relations job for the Revolution — it has switched its loyalties altogether. *The New Republic*, that for decades was one of the two relevant American magazines in rallying the American "intelligentsia" behind the Socialist attempt to overthrow the two-party system, now strikes me as Walter Reuther's chosen tool for conquering the Democratic Party — for the purpose of a forthcoming United States Labor Government. In other words, *The New Republic*, far beyond gaining a new complexion and a new vocabulary, has gained in stature. Today, apparently, it is the nearest thing to a "central organ" of Reuther's new New Deal. It has become one of the nation's truly significant journals.

This shows even in *The New Republic's* list of contributors. A growing number of Democratic United States Senators do not just honor the magazine with their Olympian insights, but feel themselves honored on being admitted to its pages. *The New Republic* is visibly anxious to lose the odd fragrance of an *avantgarde* magazine. It now eschews that foppish attention, even in

its back pages, to the concerns of style, to the "modern" arts, and to all the other esoteric subjects of the old *New Republic*. It's now being written and edited down to the level of ordinary United States Senators. It deals no longer in the intellectual commodities of utopia, but entirely in the practical matters that keep Washington's salons humming. Senator Symington, for example, in his Cassandra act concerning the Administration's failures in catching up on Intercontinental Missiles, has no busier supporter than *The New Republic*.

Of course, in certain central subjects of this era, *The New Republic* keeps duplicating *The Nation's* job; for there are a few crucial strategic topics on which all special contingents of the Left have to move in monotonous *unisono*. This is simply because, when it comes to those subjects, Moscow cannot stand for shilly-shallying. Such a topic is, typically, "disengagement." To get West Germany "neutralized," to push the United States military forces out of Europe, has become so clearly the very heart of Communist strategy that everybody, from George F. Kennan and Walter Lippmann to the *National Guardian* and the last little TV commentator, must single-mindedly concentrate on the one big slogan — "disengagement." And no exception can be made for *The New Republic*, even though the journal may silently resent its boring participation in leftist monotony.

Significantly, however, *The New Republic* would choose for that job the type of respectable man it defines in an editorial note introducing its "diplomatic" contributor, Mr. Perry Laukhuff. That note reads: "Sixteen years in the

A Review of Reviews

Foreign Service included posts as Chief of the Political Section for Political Adviser Robert Murphy in the United States Military Government in Germany, 1945-49, and Director of the Office of German Political Affairs in the State Department from 1949 until he left the government in 1953." With these credentials, Perry Laukhuff then proceeds (in the issue of January 19) with the conventional sales talk praising the Rapacki Plan. ("And one is entitled also to wonder who is the real voice of Poland today — Rapacki with his *reasoned and moderate* diplomacy, or Gomulka with his kind words for Moscow and harsh words for the West. It might pay us to find out." One is *not* entitled to wonder what a man like Laukhuff, who does not know whether Boss Gomulka or his minion Rapacki is the "real" voice of Communist Poland, was doing in the State Department's policy-making positions for eight years. He seems to have been especially well fitted to Dean Acheson's foreign policy, of which the very essence was waiting, brilliantly, "until the dust has settled down.")

But the true specific function of *The New Republic* becomes transparent in a piece by Stephen K. Bailey on *The Congress And Majority Rule* (issue of January 5). This article outlines the proposed voyage of the Democratic Party for the next two years. It does so with the quiet self-confidence that normally is supplied only by a far-reaching accord between the writer and the forces-that-be. Bailey does not just "dream," as the old *New Republic* used to do; he apparently *knows*. "Perhaps the most important job before the Democratic National Committee is to create a truly national Democratic

Party in the South. In some areas, this may necessitate a brand-new grass-roots organization." Senator Byrd would be well advised to take these words as coming straight from the donkey's mouth. For here, Mr. Paul Butler is speaking, if not Walter Reuther himself; and what is meant are Democratic organizations like those that are beginning to sprout, with CIO support, all over Virginia.

"This subordination of the individual Member (of Congress) to an economic conservatism and a social reaction which is heedless of majority interests is at the crux of what ails the Congress," continues Mr. Bailey. And here, again, his master's voices are audibly speaking. We hear the Hubert Humphreys, Paul Douglasses, William Mennens and the host of "northwestern" Democratic politicians getting ready to assume control of their Party. They are cocky, and *The New Republic* is cocky with them. The Bailey piece ends on this triumphant trumpet note: "Legislative machinery will be so constructed that compromises will fall in the direction of the interests of the *majority* of American citizens. Let us affirm the slogan: majority rule and minority rights. Let a National Democratic majority capture the legislative machinery to this end."

Anybody who has the echoes of the old *New Republic* still in his ears will notice the change in atmosphere and orchestration. Here are no longer some lofty radicals talking in their disturbed sleep. Here is an appointed spokesman articulating the determined course of a powerful leadership-group. And the timing of the Bailey piece was meant to declare Reuther's war on Senator Lyndon Johnson's generalship; on his temporarily successful attempts to put a

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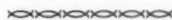
few conservative brakes on the political "liberal" machine that is now on its way to overpower the United States Senate. If I were Senator Johnson, I would cut out one speech a week and devote the time so gained to a careful reading of *The New Republic*. In it he will find the signals that are being called for the opposing team. And, unlike the weird semantic sensations aroused by the old *New Republic*, they are being called in perfectly understandable language.

While even the new *Nation* depends on the traditional type of pacifists to create and to fan the war scare in the United States, the new *New Republic* leaves the business of frightening the citizenry to the generals. It quotes, for instance, with the broadest frown of approval, this bit of punditing by Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips: "The missile gap is already here and the United States has been forced into a 'minimum deterrent' threat for a period in which we have no chance of winning a major war." Now, evidently, no rational and responsible mind would be prepared to accept the possibility of a major war which we have no chance of winning. Yet *The New Republic*—quoting only United States Generals, mind you—keeps informing you that we have no such chance. Consequently, the intelligent readers of *The New Republic* will reject any policy which (as any forthright policy must) includes the risks of a major war with the Soviet Union.

And *The New Republic* is projecting its new perspective—the pink-cheeked optimism of practical political operators—onto the "cultural" back pages. Gone is the traditional tone of gloom and *avantgarde* despair about the trends of "commercialized mass-civilization." If the new *New Republic* reviews now-

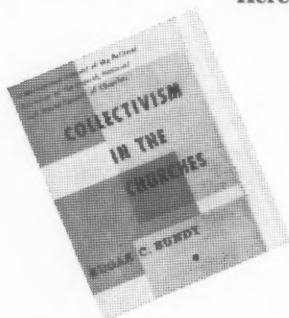
adays Aldous Huxley (*Brave New World Revisited*), it simply scolds him for "pessimism"—"romantic pessimism" to boot. "He appears to have become—perhaps he was always so—more pessimistic about the individual condition . . . The combination of social pessimism and individual romanticism . . . is a serious disqualification for social thinking for a rather curious reason. It means that one is constantly trying to think, or idealize, the individual into a non-social context." (*The New Republic*, January 12, 1959.) Than which no crime is worse in the new code of *The New Republic*. You see, "non-social contexts" are the one unspeakable delict for a magazine that has hitched its wagon to the stars of Big Labor. Man is born in order to pay union dues, buy union-labeled commodities and, having kept his romantic mouth generally shut, to die with burial expenses paid by kind Walter Reuther. *The New Republic* will never be caught with such "a serious disqualification for social thinking" as the "combination of social pessimism and individual romanticism." Its skies are blue, even though they are occasionally darkened by fast-flying Soviet missiles. There is a bright tomorrow waiting for you—under "majority rule" exercised by Humphrey, Hoffa and Reuther.

This alluring outlook will have to stay with my readers until next month, when I propose to report on *The Reporter* and to review the *Saturday Review*. I cannot promise that it will be undiluted fun. But I think I can promise that any red-blooded American's craving for a nice helping of who-done-it-suspense will be satisfied.



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The Reverend Terry Atkinson, of Bridgeport, Texas, has been collecting those slips of pen, tongue, or compositor, in connection with church bulletins, which make the most solemn deacon smile right out loud in church. The prize of his collection involved a minister who once proposed to preach a sermon on "Who Is Living Your Life?" In printing the bulletin announcing this sermon, the typesetter changed only two letters, but the topic still came out, on the notices which were distributed, as "Who Is Loving Your Wife?" And we understand that the attendance for the sermon set an all-time record for that church.

* * *

Ticket taker: "Here, you two boys can't get in on one ticket!"

Youngster: "I'd like to know why not. Were half brothers."

* * *

Lincoln's birthday reminds us of the school girl who, trying to give her hero full credit for his achievements, wrote the following in a history examination: "Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809 in a log cabin he built himself."

* * *

A four-year old was playing quietly while her father, asleep on the davenport, snored lustily. Suddenly he turned over on his side, and the snoring came to an abrupt end. "Mummy," exclaimed the little girl, "you'd better see about Daddy. He's killed his engine."

* * *

A note reading, "Joe Smith, having gone to sea, his wife desires the prayers of the congregation for his safety," was handed to the minister before the sermon. In the pulpit, however, the minister read it like this: "Joe Smith,

having gone to see his wife, desires the prayers of the congregation for his safety."

* * *

The *Illustrated Weekly* of Bombay, India, records the complaint of a patient to his psychiatrist that he found himself slowly going mad over beautiful women. "Doc," he begged, "isn't there some way of speeding up the process?"

* * *

And Mike Connolly tells us in the *Hollywood Reporter* of a conversation he overheard in a nightclub: "You and your suicide attempts—did you see this month's gas bill?"

* * *

"There's the guy I'm laying for," said the hen, as the farmer crossed the barnyard.

* * *

And then there was the farmer who fed his cows money because he liked rich milk. And the Mexican golfer who killed his brother by shooting a hole in Juan. And the moron who spent a whole day in the lumber yard, looking for his draft board. And—oh, all right, but let us remind you that Shakespeare liked puns too.

* * *

Joe: "Just look. I bought a million 1942 calendars for a penny apiece."

Bob: "What on earth are you going to do with them?"

Joe: "It's rather a long chance, I admit. But, oh boy, if 1942 ever comes back, I'll make a fortune."

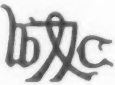
* * *

The *Spokane Spokesman-Review* reports an error in the widely held opinion that the United Nations serves no useful purpose. A low-principled friend wrote the editor that, because the UN is not considered American territory, he was able to get a drink there on election day.

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