

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

Wabash College
Library

Dear Mr. Francis:

**You do not think Fidel Castro
is a Communist. We do. In fact...**

(See Page 17)

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume II Number 4

APRIL 1959

50¢

AMERICAN OPINION

Editor

ROBERT WELCH

Associate Editors

HUBERT KREGELOH

J. B. MATTHEWS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

HANS SENNHOLZ

Contributing Editors

COLM BROGAN

MEDFORD EVANS

RODNEY GILBERT

EDWIN McDOWELL

ELIZABETH WILSON

Editorial

Advisory Committee

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

GEORGE W. ARMSTRONG, JR.

JOHN U. BARR

K. G. BENTSON

LAURENCE E. BUNKER

F. GANO CHANCE

JAMES L. COKER

KENNETH COLEGROVE

MARTIN J. CONDON, III

ROBERT B. DRESSER

CHARLES EDISON

WM. J. GREDE

FRANK E. HOLMAN

B. E. HUTCHINSON

ALFRED KOHLBERG

J. BRACKEN LEE

CLARENCE MANION

FRANK E. MASLAND, JR.

N. FLOYD MCGOWIN

W. L. MCGRATH

W. B. MCMILLAN

ADOLPHE MENJOU

LUDWIG VON MISES

COLA G. PARKER

J. HOWARD PEW

J. NELSON SHEPHERD

ROBERT W. STODDARD

ERNEST G. SWIGERT

A. C. WEDEMEYER

W. H. WILBUR

GEORGE H. WILLIAMSON

CONTENTS—APRIL, 1959

A Review Of The News	1
Chinese Communes	N. F. Allman 13
Bullets	16
If You Want It Straight	17
Confetti	44
How To Read The Federalist	Holmes Alexander 45
A Review Of Reviews	William S. Schlam 53

March 3, 1959

Dear Reader:

Any similarity of this magazine to *Time* is accidental—and deeply regretted.

But we believe one appeal of *Time* which greatly aided its initial growth, some thirty years ago, was its status as an insurance policy. To men becoming too busy to read their newspapers thoroughly any more, *Time* offered an assurance of not missing any really important news—through a weekly summary prepared by a staff which *did* read the dailies, with a fine-tooth lorgnette.

Today the tempo of American life has so greatly increased that just hauling away the piled-up copies of the weekly news-magazines, which nobody has had time to read, is getting to be a sizable industry. While some of the more conscientious subscribers are very much like the poor prospector who had never missed a meal in his life, but certainly had *postponed a few*. We know one of these ambitious never-give-uppers who has just finished doing *Time* for last July. In another six months of working on the pile, he is going to be able to find out who was elected this past November.

May we point out to all such hard-pressed *Time*-servers, therefore, that the first dozen pages of our magazine now offer, once a month, an insurance policy—against any gaping holes in one's *au courant*-ness—much more in keeping with the needs of the day. We deplore the fact that the world has become "too much with us," to so far greater an extent than when Wordsworth died, or even when *Time* was born. But for those who cannot get off the treadmill more than a few hours every month, we offer a service which we believe will be welcome. See for yourself.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

AMERICAN OPINION—is published eleven months in the year by Robert Welch, Inc., Belmont 78, Massachusetts, U. S. A. Subscription rates are five dollars per year in the United States and Canada; seven dollars elsewhere. Copyright 1959 by Robert Welch, Inc. We use almost no articles except those written to order to fit our specific needs, and can assume no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

A Review Of The News

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

February, 1959

Sunday, February 1

→ Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, assures us that the purpose of his forthcoming trip to Western Europe's capitals is "to discuss with Allied governments the possibility of talks with the Soviet Union on Germany." The Secretary's statement is in reply to mounting Democratic criticism in the Senate, accusing Mr. Dulles of "rigidity and negativism on German issues" and demanding "new ideas and more positive reactions to Soviet proposals."

→ A group of Liberal and Monarchist Spaniards announces in Madrid the formation of a political party opposed to the regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco. The party, called Union Española, is illegal as, except for the Falange, all political parties are forbidden by law.

→ The Swiss male voters reject an amendment to the Swiss Constitution that would have granted women the right to participate in the national ballot. The "no" is by a 2 to 1 majority (654,924 to 323,307 votes).

→ President Arturo Frondizi of Argentina ends a twelve-day state visit to the United States, during which he is reported to have closed substantial financial deals with the United States Government.

→ The Governments of Britain, France, and the United States agree "to review" a 1953 stipulation with the Bonn Gov-

ernment which would compel Krupp to break up the huge company by selling its largest steel plants not later than February 1, 1959. A new "mixed commission" will make new recommendations.

Monday, February 2

→ Senator J. W. Fulbright, the new Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, declares at a press conference that he has seen Secretary Dulles and is satisfied with the Secretary's new willingness to "counter Soviet proposals on Germany with new Western ideas for a solution of the German problem."

→ Public schools in Norfolk and Arlington, Virginia, open for the first time in history on a "desegregated" basis. Only half of the white students have registered.

→ Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, asks the Legislature to increase State taxes by 277 million dollars for the fiscal year 1959-60. He proposes to raise the State income tax by \$150 million, the cigarette tax by \$47 million, and the estate tax by \$10 million.

→ The British and the United States delegations to the Geneva Atomic Disarmament Conference reject the Soviet proposal for veto rights on the international policing of a ban on nuclear tests. In Washington, the Joint Chiefs of Staff caution against the signing of

A Review Of The News

a nuclear weapons test-ban agreement with the Soviets.

→ United States officials in Communist Prague, Czechoslovakia, express their optimism that a new Czechoslovak-United States trade-agreement will be signed soon. At the same time, the State Department announces in Washington that a United States loan of five million dollars has been approved to finance the purchase of forty United States diesel locomotives by the Yugoslav railway system.

→ The first shipload of oil to the United States is on its way from Communist Rumania. The shipment consists of 112,000 barrels of "residual oil for industrial use," and has been purchased by the Commerce Oil Corporation of Warren, Pa.

→ Prime Minister Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Ghandi, is elected President of the Indian Congress Party which rules India.

→ The Senate Banking Committee votes one billion dollars more than foreseen in the President's Budget for Federal subsidies to housing.

Tuesday, February 3

→ The Soviet Minister of Defense Marshal Rodion L. Malinovsky, tells the Communist Party Congress in Moscow that Soviet missiles with hydrogen warheads "could strike precisely any point." Turning to the Western powers, Malinovsky says scornfully: "Your arms are too short, gentlemen."

→ Secretary Dulles departs for top-level talks in London, Paris, and Bonn.

→ Secretary of Defense, Neil H. McElroy, testifies before the House Armed

Services Committee that "by December" the number of combat-ready intercontinental ballistic missiles in the nation's arsenal will be "within a few missiles of what we would expect the Russians to have about that time."

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev offers, in a talk with Bonn's Ambassador to Moscow, Dr. Hans Kroll, support for a plan to unify Germany through free elections, if Bonn would consent to recognize the Ulbricht Government in East Germany and then negotiate the arrangements for free elections with the Communist regime.

→ An American Airlines Electra turbo-prop plane, on approaching La Guardia Airport, with seventy-three people aboard, plunges into the East River. Only eight persons are rescued.

→ Thomas S. Gates, Jr., Secretary of the Navy, resigns.

Wednesday, February 4

→ According to military intelligence estimates released in Washington, the Soviets have 450 submarines operating—the United States 112.

→ George F. Kennan, foreign policy adviser of several leading Democratic Senators (among them, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Fulbright), testifies before the Committee in support of his "plan" to negotiate with the Soviets a "neutral status for a reunited Germany."

→ Philip K. Crowe, formerly connected with the *New York Post* and with *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* magazines, is appointed United States Ambassador to the Union of South Africa.

A Review Of The News

→ President Eisenhower, in his news conference, asserts that the United States is maintaining "a very splendid posture in the whole security field."

Thursday, February 5

→ The United States State Department makes public a tape recording of voices of Soviet pilots in the act of shooting down an unarmed United States Air Force transport over Armenia, five months ago. Seventeen men were aboard the C-130 which strayed across the Turkish border on September 2, 1958. On September 24, the Soviet Government returned six bodies and denied any knowledge of the fate of the eleven other men. They also still insist that the plane crashed and was not shot down. The tape recordings prove premeditated attack.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev invites President Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union.

→ British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan announces his forthcoming visit to Moscow for direct conference with Khrushchev.

→ Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, asserts that his organization has achieved "some success in thawing the Cold War."

→ A State Department official announces that an export license will be issued to allow the export of steel pipe which the Soviet Union wishes to purchase in the United States for forty-five miles of Soviet oil lines. This initial purchase, if approved, is considered the forerunner of much bigger Soviet orders.

Friday, February 6

→ The Western Allies, on United States

bidding, invite the Soviet Union to join them at a foreign ministers' meeting in the near future to solve the German problem.

→ President Eisenhower declares that, "should future developments suggest that a visit to the Soviet Union or anywhere else would serve to advance this cause (of peace), then it certainly would be considered."

→ A group of Labor Party Members of Parliament produces in London a resolution that calls for a "de facto" recognition of the Ulbricht régime and the formation of an "all-German federal council." Fifty Labor Party M. P.'s have allegedly signed the resolution.

→ Six anti-Communist members of the Iraqi Cabinet resign in protest against the schemes of Premier Abdul Karim el-Kassem.

→ Antonio Segni, a former Christian-Democratic Premier, is assigned to head the new Italian Government, which would try to rule as a minority government with the voting support of the Monarchists and Liberals.

Saturday, February 7

→ Secretary Dulles is said to have finished his whirl-wind tour through the chancelleries of London, Paris, and Bonn with a partial success in "reconciling Western attitudes" to the Berlin crisis. In particular, the State Department reports full agreement between Dulles and Adenauer.

→ The Soviet Union and Communist China sign an agreement that provides Soviet investments of five billion rubles (\$1.2 billion) in heavy Chinese industry. The plan foresees the construction of

A Review Of The News

seventy-eight new big Soviet plants in China.

→ Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin arrives in the United States on a goodwill tour.

→ The Ulbricht regime announces that East Germany's industrial production in 1958 rose by eleven percent over that of 1957.

→ Premier Kassem's reshaped Cabinet of Iraq declares that it is prepared "to co-operate with the Soviet Union on a vast scale."

→ James C. Hagerty, White House Press Secretary, denies that he has sought to influence the Federal Communications Commission in favor of a friend.

Sunday, February 8

→ The Premiers of Greece and Turkey, secretly negotiating in Zurich, Switzerland, reach an agreement on a settlement of the Cyprus problem. This British Crown Colony would become an independent Republic with the Turkish minority holding certain veto powers over the decisions of the Greek majority. The population of 531,000 is four-fifths Greek and one-fifth Turkish. Britain will retain its military bases on the island.

→ The United States Government has agreed to sell weapons to Indonesia's pro-Communist Sukarno Government.

→ French Prime Minister Michel Debré, on a visit to Algeria, assures that Algeria will remain under French sovereignty. He is greeted by unfriendly rightist demonstrations.

→ Major General William J. Donovan,

director of the Office of Strategic Services in the last war, dies.

Monday, February 9

→ Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, 71, takes an indefinite "leave of absence" to undergo surgery, but retains his job. Christian Archibald Herter, Under-Secretary of State, himself incapacitated by arthritis, will be Acting Secretary in Mr. Dulles' absence.

→ The Honduras Army crushes a revolt in northwest Honduras.

→ A.F.L.-C.I.O. Vice-President, Walter Reuther, demands in testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on Economic Affairs that the United States embark upon an economic policy, subsidized by federal means, to guarantee an annual expansion of at least five percent of volume.

Tuesday, February 10

→ Premier Einar Gerhardsen of Norway discloses that Khrushchev will be invited by the Governments of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark to visit the three countries this summer.

→ A special law decrees that the required age of Cuban Presidents be dropped from 35 to 30 so that Fidel Castro can get the job.

→ Soviet arms shipments have nearly doubled the armored striking force of the Iraqi Army.

→ Lieut. Gen. Adolf Heusinger, Inspector General of West Germany's armed forces, gives orders to make the existing five German divisions "combat-ready" by May, 1959.

→ The Senate Committee on Improper

A Review Of The News

Activities in the Labor and Management Field uncovers substantial evidence that the country's juke box industry has, to a large extent, been taken over by the organized underworld.

Wednesday, February 11

→ The Western Allies are considering the establishment of a Big Four Committee that would remain "in permanent session on the German question" and would invite representatives of "the two Germanies" to help in its work—i.e., would, by indirection, officially recognize the Ulbricht regime.

→ The Soviet Government threatens Iran with "dire consequences" if the country should sign the new defense treaty with the United States.

→ In a new increase of tension between Tunisia and France, the Tunisian Government dismisses all French employees of its postal-telegraph-telephone service.

→ President Eisenhower asserts he will not appoint a new Secretary of State as long as John Foster Dulles, who is being examined for the malignancy of his illness, himself thinks he can continue holding the job.

Thursday, February 12

→ Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Democratic spokesman on foreign policy in the Senate, proposes "direct negotiations between East and West Germany"; i.e., the total acceptance of the Soviet position on the German problem.

→ The Ulbricht regime announces that the Soviet Union will offer "its good offices" to bring about a direct contact between the Allied Governments and

the East German administration.

→ President Eisenhower urges Congress in a special message to increase the United States contribution to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development by \$1,375,000,000 in the current fiscal year (to \$4.2 billion).

→ The German Social-Democratic Party nominates its Deputy Chairman, Dr. Carlo Schmidt, as its candidate for the election of a new German President, to take place on July 1.

→ Former President of the French Republic, Vincent Auriol, resigns from the Socialist Party of which he has been a member for more than fifty years.

→ Premier Kassem of Iraq discloses that his army sends weapons to the Algerian rebels "on a weekly basis."

Friday February 13

→ The Cabinet of Cuban Prime Minister José Miro Cardona resigns. Fidel Castro is appointed Prime Minister.

→ Senator Mansfield's "Plan" is assailed by the Bonn Government as "dangerous and naive."

→ Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Greek Cypriote community, and Dr. Fazil Kutchuk of the "Cyprus Is Turkish" movement, agree to meet in London to strengthen the accord reached in Zurich on the independent future of Cyprus.

→ Romulo Betancourt is sworn in as the new President of Venezuela and affirms in his inaugural speech that "the philosophy of Communism is not compatible with the development of Venezuela." His Administration claims to depend on a coalition of the country's three non-Communist parties. Since

A Review Of The News

Betancourt is an avowed Marxist, the inconsistency of these statements and claims with his actual record is glaring.

Saturday, February 14

→ An official medical bulletin discloses that John Foster Dulles suffers from an advanced case of malignant cancer which makes further surgery impossible. The only remaining treatment is to expose him, for several weeks, to strong dosages of X-rays. Dulles will for an unforeseeably long time be unable to resume the administrative duties of his office.

→ Red China's leaders proclaim their "unbreakable unity" with the Soviets and assert that the efforts by the "American imperialists" to split the unified forces of World Communism are doomed to failure.

→ A representative of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church will sit in at the policy-making meeting of the World Council of (Protestant) Churches that is scheduled for August on the Greek island of Rhodes.

→ A nation-wide flare-up of guerrilla activities is feared in the Philippines. The so-called "Anderson Fil-American Guerrillas" movement, allegedly numbering 600,000 members, claims to preserve the traditions of the anti-Japanese guerrillas of the last war, but is reportedly penetrated by Communists.

→ The voters' mail in Governor Rockefeller's office runs at a rate of 100 to 1 against his budget proposals.

Sunday, February 15

→ Iran's Foreign Minister, Ali Asghar Hekmat, protests against Soviet threats,

promises his country will remain partner to the Baghdad Pact and sign the new treaty with the United States. "We all know that men die once," he announces. "It is better to perish as men with honor than live a life of misery."

→ Premier-designate Antonio Segni presents his chosen Cabinet, which includes the strongly pro-western former Prime Minister, Giuseppe Pella, as Foreign Minister. It consists exclusively of Christian Democrats, but Segni hopes for parliamentary support by the Monarchists and Liberals.

→ The Joint Congressional Economic Committee, Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, Chairman, will start a systematic inquiry on inflation. Its special concern will be to investigate whether "full employment" and rapid economic growth (demanded by the C.I.O.) can be achieved without inflation.

Monday, February 16

→ The Governments of the United States, Britain, and France invite the Soviet Union to a Big Four foreign ministers' conference "with German advisers present" on both sides. No date or place is suggested in the three notes delivered in Moscow, but the assumption is that the conference would take place in May.

→ The Soviet Government denies any knowledge of the whereabouts of the eleven airmen lost over Soviet territory on the United States plane shot down by Soviet aircraft on September 21, 1958.

→ Konstantin V. Ostrovityanov, Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Science, predicts that by 1965 the ruble will be "supplanting the dollar in inter-

A Review Of The News

national trade" and that by then the Communist-ruled countries will be "the dominating factor in world trade and monetary circulation."

→ The policies and views of Nikita S. Khrushchev are solemnly endorsed by "Hongqi", the "central organ" of China's Communist Party.

→ Castro's Government in Cuba reopens the hoodlum-run casinos of Havana.

→ The Philippine Government files claims amounting to \$735 million which the United States allegedly owes the Philippines for war-damage payments and refunds of processing taxes.

Tuesday, February 17

→ President Habib Bourguiba warns France that Tunisia will demand the liquidation of the remaining French military base in Tunisia if peace with Algeria is not attained within four months.

→ Wladyslaw Gomulka, Poland's Communist chief, returns to Warsaw from an extended visit to Moscow and declares that all differences between the Soviets and the Communist Party of Poland are "a thing of the past."

→ While Communist Yugoslavia is successfully trying to negotiate an increase of United States loans, President Tito announces that his Government will give the Sudan credits, for financing industrial projects.

→ A 21½ pound "Vanguard" satellite is fired from Cape Canaveral, Florida, to serve as the first weather observation station in space.

→ The A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention in San

Juan, Puerto Rico, demands "liberalizing amendments" to the Taft-Hartley Act and withdraws the unions' support of the Kennedy-Ervin "racket control" bill.

→ James W. Riddleberger, United States Ambassador to Greece, is slated to succeed James H. Smith, Jr., as Director of the International Cooperation Administration that manages the United States "foreign aid" program.

Wednesday, February 18

→ President Eisenhower declares that there will be no shooting around Berlin "unless the Communists start it."

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev discloses that the Soviet Union and its satellites are prepared to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany which, thus, would be a sovereign state "entitled" to fittingly rebuff any enforced passage of Western troops to West Berlin through its territory.

→ The Government of Communist Hungary declares there recently have been "signs of a move to normalize the situation" between Hungary and the United States "and we are happy to accept these signs."

→ Communist North Vietnam announces it will receive aid in the amount of \$170 million from Red China.

→ The Senate Labor Committee rejects the Administration's labor reform bill and approves the bill sponsored by Senators Kennedy and Ervin.

→ The Ford Motor Company announces it will "market" a small car, to sell for less than \$2,000, this fall.

A Review Of The News

Thursday, February 19

→ Official Soviet sources denounce the Western proposal for a Big Four foreign ministers' conference on Germany and insist on a "summit meeting" or a conference of twenty-eight nations; i.e., on inviting all former small European allies of the Big Powers in the war against Hitler, which are now mostly Communist-ruled.

→ A wide-spread coal-miners' strike in Belgium, that threatens to expand into a crippling general strike, indicates the growing difficulties of the European Coal and Steel Community, which insists on uneconomic Belgian coal mines being closed down in the interest of European unification.

→ The Cuban peso, for years virtually interchangeable with the dollar, has now dropped in value to less than fifty cents.

→ It is disclosed in Washington that scores of Congressmen pay members of their families out of Congressional office payrolls. A typical case is that of Democratic Congressman Steven V. Carter from Iowa, who pays his nineteen-year-old son \$11,081 a year, out of the government funds allotted for office salaries for the working staffs of Congressmen.

→ David Beck, the Teamsters' Union's former President, is convicted for evading the payment of \$240,000 of income taxes for the years 1950 to 1953.

→ President Eisenhower arrives for a brief state visit in Acapulco, Mexico.

Friday, February 20

→ It is announced in Bonn that the Western powers no longer reject the

recognition of the East German regime "as Soviet agents,"—that is, if the Soviet Union is willing to accept "final responsibility" for the conduct of the Ulbricht regime.

→ Bela Kovacs, member of the short-lived Nagy Government during the Hungarian revolt of 1956, praises in a solemn statement the Kadar regime that suppressed the popular uprising with Soviet tanks. Kovacs is the former President of Hungary's largest democratic party after World War II, the Smallholders.

→ Frank Costello, one of the nation's leading racketeers, is divested of his United States citizenship by a Federal Court.

→ Frank Coe, former Secretary of the International Monetary Fund and official of the Treasury Department, praises in a Red-Chinese magazine the achievements of the Chinese Communist regime. In the early fifties, Coe was vehemently defended by the Liberal United States press as "a victim of McCarthyism."

→ Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, wife of the editor-in-chief of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, is named by the Administration as the next United States Ambassador to Brazil.

Saturday, February 21

→ British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, arrives in Moscow "for crucial talks" with Nikita S. Khrushchev. He is virtually delegated by the Western powers to prepare the Big Four foreign ministers' conference on Germany.

→ President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic reveals that he

A Review Of The News

and Soviet Premier Khrushchev have exchanged letters renewing their pledges of mutual friendship, support and co-operation.

→ General Maxwell D. Taylor, Army Chief of Staff, suggests to Congress that a national mobilization may be necessary this spring and that "we had better do so in time."

→ A split within the Adenauer Government on the question of rapid German rearmament is disclosed. The Ministers of Finances, Economic Affairs, and Foreign Affairs have lined up against the Defense Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, who advocates immediate German construction of an aircraft industry.

→ Dr. Konrad Adenauer is reported to be "extremely depressed about the surprise Moscow journey of the British Prime Minister."

→ Brazil begins negotiations in Washington to attain an increase of United States loans which last year reached \$200 million. The country's foreign exchange deficit was \$300 million the same year, and the living costs were increased by more than twenty percent.

→ Cardinal Ottaviani, Pro-Secretary of the Vatican's Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, condemns "left-wing tendencies within the church" which are propagated by "little Communists of the sacristy."

→ Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi of Iran announces that his country will sign the mutual defense pact with the United States despite Soviet threats.

→ The Council for Social Action of the United Church of Christ demands that the United States recognize Red

China and that Red China be admitted to the United Nations.

Sunday, February 22

→ British Prime Minister Macmillan has an eight-hour conference with Nikita S. Khrushchev in the latter's country house near Moscow.

→ The Soviet Ambassador to Teheran warns that "Iran will definitely become our enemy" if it signs the planned mutual aid agreement with the United States.

→ Marshal Tito of Communist Yugoslavia and President Nasser arrive in Damascus to celebrate the anniversary of the United Arab Republic.

→ Senators Symington and Humphrey demand that a new Secretary of State be named without delay to activate the State Department in the growing crisis.

→ A delegation of ten Cuban revolutionaries, led by the fellow-travelling aide of Fidel Castro, Major Camillo Cienfuegos, arrives in the United States on a "good-will tour."

→ Vice-President Richard M. Nixon undertakes to heal the split within the Republican Party in California by persuading former Senator William F. Knowland and former Governor Goodwin J. Knight to join forces in endorsing Richard M. Nixon as Republican candidate for the Presidency.

Monday, February 23

→ Harold Macmillan of Britain and Nikita S. Khrushchev of the Soviet Union express their readiness to negotiate "trade and cultural treaties" between the two countries.

A Review Of The News

→ Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, announces that Red China has refused to discuss with the United States the future of Quemoy and Matsu.

→ André François-Poncet, France's former High Commissioner and Ambassador to Germany, asserts that any "disengagement or neutralizing" of West Germany would "destroy Europe's growing economic communities" and NATO.

→ "Premier" Ferhat Abbas of the "Algerian Provisional Government" of rebels, which operates out of Tunis, starts an extended diplomatic trip that will take him to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Baghdad, Damascus and finally to Delhi for conferences with Nehru. This activation of the rebels' "diplomatic" schemes is tantamount to once more declaring war on the de Gaulle regime in France.

→ Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida declares that the President's failure to take positive action in the school desegregation issue "could lead to a national catastrophe."

→ Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin calls for a rebellion of Senate Democrats against the moderate leadership of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas.

Tuesday, February 24

→ Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, while engaged in "private diplomacy" with his guest, British Premier Harold Macmillan, violently rejects the proposed Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference on Germany. He insists on "Summit talks and a non-aggression pact" with Britain. The abrupt rejection

is Khrushchev's direct response to the Dulles-initiated "Western diplomacy of greater flexibility" that was meant to soften the shock of the Berlin crisis.

→ The leaders of Adenauer's party decide to present Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Minister of the Economy, as the Christian-Democratic Union's candidate, against the Socialist Dr. Carlo Schmidt, for the Presidency of the Republic.

→ The American Bar Association, at the Chicago meeting of its House of Delegates, calls upon Congress to modify by legislation the effect of recent United States Supreme Court decisions which seriously endanger the country's security in dealing with Communism and subversive penetration.

Wednesday, February 25

→ In response to Nikita S. Khrushchev's rejection of Western proposals, President Eisenhower declares that the West "won't yield an inch" on the question of retaining troops in West Berlin. Eisenhower refrains from mentioning the essential problem of the crisis—whether or not the West will accept direct dealings with the Ulbricht regime.

→ British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan considers his mission to Moscow to have failed in the face of Khrushchev's provocative statements.

→ President Charles de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer arrange for another urgent meeting to discuss the Berlin crisis.

→ The Communist Party of India announces its support for Premier Nehru's land-reform program.

A Review Of The News

→ Relations between Italy and Austria become strained (over the question of German-speaking Upper Adige or South Tyrol), as Austrian Ambassador to Rome, Dr. Max Loewenthal-Chlumetzky, is recalled to Vienna.

→ The Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Meade Alcorn, announces from the White House that a forty-four member committee has been formed to draft a long-range statement of party policy and objectives. Its chairman is thirty-nine-years old Charles H. Percy of Kenilworth, Illinois, an industrialist who is virtually unknown in National Republican politics.

Thursday, February 26

→ Prime Minister Harold Macmillan ends his visit to Moscow in an atmosphere of gloom.

→ The State Department's top officers gather in an emergency conference at the sickbed of John Foster Dulles in Walter Reed Hospital in Washington.

→ The administrators of the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations announce that the New York Philharmonics, under Leonard Bernstein, will tour the Soviet Union this summer on a good-will visit.

→ Italian police disperse anti-Austrian student demonstrations in Rome.

→ A majority of Christian-Democratic Deputies to the German Bundestag defies the party's leadership and insists that Dr. Ludwig Erhard must not run for the Presidency but retain his present job.

→ Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connec-

ticut demands that the United States embark "upon an urgent ninety-day program to prepare the American people, the economy, and the national defenses for a possible outbreak of war."

Friday, February 27

→ The United States sends a note to the Soviet Government, reporting on the boarding of a Soviet fishing trawler by a United States naval party 120 miles northeast of Newfoundland. The search is reported to have produced no evidence of the Soviet trawler's suspected interference with transoceanic commercial cables.

→ Italian Premier Antonio Segni, on introducing his Cabinet to the Italian Chamber of Deputies, receives a vote of confidence of 333 to 248. This considerable majority was produced by the decision of the entire Italian Right, including Monarchists and Neo-Fascists, to vote for Segni. The entire Left, including the Republicans and the Saragat Socialists, voted against him. Segni's problem is to keep the Christian-Democratic "left wing", led by former Premier Fanfani and by Italian President Gronchi, from joining the opposition.

→ While the Belgian Government announces the appointment of a native council in an advisory capacity to the Congo's Belgian Governor General, new riots break out in several Congo towns.

→ David Beck, former President of the Teamsters' Union, is sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$60,000 for evading \$240,000 in income taxes.

Saturday, February 28

→ The Communist regime of East Ger-

A Review Of The News

many announces that Nikita S. Khrushchev will visit the country next week to negotiate a "separate peace treaty" between East Germany and the Soviet Union. Coming immediately after the rude breakup of Khrushchev's talks with Macmillan, the announcement emphasizes the Soviet determination to make the recognition of the Ulbricht regime by the Western powers the rock-bottom requirement for a solution of the "Berlin crisis."

→ Senators Lyndon B. Johnson and J. W. Fulbright warn their Democratic colleagues against "offering the Administration any more free advice on the German problem." This warning is primarily directed against a Senate Resolution, jointly sponsored by Repub-

lican Senator Javits of New York and Democratic Senator Dodd of Connecticut, which calls for a firm United States position.

→ The Pentagon announces that no adjustments of military positions in Europe will be ordered that might be interpreted as mobilization or special alert.

→ A "Committee for Liberation of Haiti" has been formed in Cuba, openly supported and subsidized by Fidel Castro's Government. It aims at the overthrow of the Haitian Government of President Francois Duvalier. Headquarters of the Revolutionary Committee are in the Cuban Oriente Province, only fifty miles from the coast of Haiti.

And We Pause To Remark

We seem to recall that the luncheons honoring the Communist Mikoyan were largely attended by the most successful and conservative business men. But at the luncheon in New York on February 11, in honor of Willy Brandt, the anti-Communist Mayor of Berlin, the notables in attendance, especially mentioned by the press, were Leo Cherne, Ralph J. Bunche, Angier Biddle Duke, Mrs. Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Grayson Kirk, and Mrs. John J. McCloy. We suppose, by projection of the tendency indicated, that if Adenauer, De Gaulle, and Franco should show up together for a luncheon in New York, they would be "honored" by having Earl Browder, Norman Thomas, Eleanor Roosevelt, William Z. Foster, and Joseph Rauh, Jr. to sit with them on the dais.

* * *

This observation would prompt a serious question about another episode if we only knew to whom to direct it. The question would concern the spectacle of Fredric March and Carl Sandburg strutting their stuff for a joint meeting of both houses of Congress in celebration of Lincoln's birthday. So, To Whom It May Concern: Honest-to-goodness aren't there *any* Americans left, without Communist-front or Communist-aiding records half-a-mile long, capable of interpreting Lincoln to our national legislators? Have we already gone so far, and so clearly, over the divide? And since a question is a bad proposition to end a paragraph with, we'll refrain from asking this one: Who was responsible for the anomalous absurdity?

CHINESE COMMUNES

The Ultimate in Collectivism

by

N. F. ALLMAN

THE CHINESE COMMUNE is the brain child of Mao Tse-tung, and he probably stepped down from head of the Government to give undivided attention to this pet project. He remains, however, as boss of the Party. Mao started this movement in April, 1958 and it was formalized August 29, 1958 by a resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

The general scheme is to organize industry, agriculture, commerce and trade, culture and education into Communes as the basic units of the Red Society. The main aims are to make control of the populace absolute; destroy the integrity of the family; give the Government a vast forced labor supply; and to militarize the entire population.

As a starter the 750,000 previously organized collectives have been reorganized into 26,000 Communes. These vary in size and usually conform to a township or county. The average size is about 4800 broken up families. The Communes have not yet been extended to the larger cities such as Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton.

Under the Communes all males between thirteen and sixty years of age are formed into work battalions; the women go into production corps; and children between nine and thirteen are put into *youth production corps*. Younger children go into nurseries. All work is assigned by the Party cadres.

Control of The Populace Is Absolute

Control under the former collectives was not as tight as the Government desired—even though the people were regimented into various groups in which they were individually and collectively responsible to the police for the activities and movements of each other. Mao and comrades discovered to their dismay, from his hoax of two years ago of "Let a hundred flowers bloom" and "Let a hundred thoughts contend" that there were too many "Contradictions among the people." That is, there was simply too much opposition to the Party.

Under the collectives, individuals still owned their pots, pans, chickens and pigs, while husband, wife and children lived together as a family. They also owned, or cultivated, a small garden plot for their own use. All this now goes into the Commune. And better control can be exercised, since the Party cadres allocate work, clothing, food, and shelter in mess halls and dormitories.

The Family Is Destroyed

Mao claims that his Commune system is creating a new type of family. The only semblance of a family left, however, is that father, mother, and children still bear the common family name. The Party has concluded that it and the family cannot co-exist; and the

Chinese Communes

Commune is the means of breaking up the latter. Houses are taken over by the Communes, as husbands, wives and children (over a certain age) are assigned to their different work groups. Communal messes and dormitories supplant the homes; and heavy work schedules, drills, and indoctrination courses are substituted for family life.

The effect is to reduce the populace to unthinking ants, who look alike and act alike, and who will move at the will of the cadres. The latter will do all the thinking necessary. Everyone will wear the same type of drab uniform of blue cotton cloth, and submit to the same drab routine.

The Entire Population Is Militarized

The Chinese Reds have announced: "...all the people in the Communes are in the militia. During off hours, militia members, i.e. all men and women up to a certain age, receive military training. Thus conditions are created for transforming the entire people into an armed force. The militia is a means of the struggle against the external enemy." (The external enemy, of course, is the Free World in general and the United States in particular.)

Military discipline throughout the Communes limits the time for eating and sleeping. Reveille (over the radio) sounds at daybreak, groups are lined up and marched off to meals, to work, and back. During meal times indoctrination courses in Marxism-Leninism are given the captive audiences and work orders and other orders are promulgated. Punctual meals do away with idleness (prevalent under the collectives). It is estimated that military control has increased working hours by

thirty percent and production by twenty to thirty percent.

Though Mao Has Troubles

Mao realizes that his move to the Commune system is a big and drastic one. His propaganda machine (of which the virulent anti-American campaign is one product) is working around the clock. It strives to sell the "beauty and happiness" to be derived from living and working in the Communes. The din of the loudspeakers is everywhere.

Despite this, Mao is already faced with serious problems. Among these is the fact that the cadres do not like being put down on a living level with the peasants—whose every waking hour they now control. Distribution of supplies is in hopeless confusion. The Mainland has few good roads and only about eighteen thousand miles of railways. By and large the people bitterly resent the destruction of the family and the extreme regimentation. Thousands have already fled from Southwest China into Laos; and fishermen and others constantly flee to Hong Kong to escape the "happiness" of the Communes.

Another difficulty for Mao is that many Chinese regard Communism, with or without Communes, as a foreign invasion. The Russians sent Gregori N. Voitinsky to Shanghai in 1920 to help a few dilettante Marxists to organize and give virility to the Chinese Communist Party. The USSR has been its mentor, financier, and idol ever since. Thousands of Russian advisers and technicians are scattered around the Mainland; and except in the Politbureau in Peking their presence is deeply resented. These Russians are segre-

Chinese Communes

gated from the populace—sometimes in large groups, such as in the Russian enclave in Shanghai. Mindful of this resentment, Peking constantly takes pains to heap praise on, and acknowledge the great help received from, their "Big Brothers" in Moscow.

Thus on the recent celebration of the ninth anniversary of the Sino-Soviet Treaty each top official in Peking made a long speech of thanks, and stressed the solidarity with Moscow. These effusions were also broadcast to the inmates of the Communes. Madame Sun Yet-sen set the tone of the speeches, as per the following excerpts:

"...The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Party, treasure as the apple of their eye the great friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples. Soviet experts have unreservedly contributed their scientific knowledge to our construction. We will always be faithful to this alliance and learn from the great people of the USSR. With this solidarity the day of the final collapse of capitalism is drawing near. The imperialists, headed by the United States, are at their wit's end."

Mao is gambling on the continuation of the long-suffering and patient characteristics of the Chinese people, when he imposes both the Russians and Communes on them. He is aware, however, that the people have hitherto destroyed all foreign invasions, even though it took them centuries to do so. The Mongols lasted from 1280 A.D. to 1368, and the Manchus from 1644 to 1911. Both were oppressive and exhausted the Mandate of Heaven under which they claimed to rule. Mao makes no claim to a Mandate from Heaven. But Heaven knows, and the people are be-

ginning to realize, that his despotism exceeds anything that has ever existed before.

The Communes Are A Threat

If Mao's Commune system succeeds it presents a serious danger to the Free World. He has in effect created a militarized slave labor corps of some 650 million people, which he hopes to have act at his whim. If, for example, he wishes to wreck the economy and industry of neighboring countries, he can divert any part of this labor to making, and then dumping, any items into trade channels that would achieve this purpose. Even should there be a serious revolt, or discontent become dangerous to the Party, he would no doubt divert attention from his domestic troubles by embarking on external invasions—after the manner of his Korean venture. It is perhaps no mere coincidence that he formally launched the Communes and the attack on Quemoy at the same time!

But . . .

The Reds are fond of asserting that capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction. In the Commune, has Mao perhaps unwittingly created a seed that might lead to the destruction of Chinese Communism? Russia tried Communes in the early stages of Communism, but abandoned them as unworkable. It is also interesting that "Big Brother" Khrushchev, despite his subsequent denials, did criticize Mao's Commune system. If things really do have to get worse before they can get better, Mao with his Communes—entirely unintentionally and blindly—may have hastened the day when freedom will return to China.

BULLETS

What we need is a return to the morality that says "Right is right though nobody is right; and wrong is wrong even when everybody is wrong."

Clement C. Sullivan

* * *

It ain't the jumping 'urdles as 'urts the 'orses' feet; it's the 'ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer on the 'ard 'ighways.

'Ow True, 'Ow True

* * *

Try to save money if possible. Some day it may be valuable again.

Some Optimist

* * *

And 'tis my faith that every flower Enjoys the air it breathes.

Wordsworth

* * *

For forms of government let fools contest;

Whate'er is best administered is best.

Pope

* * *

If it works, it's obsolete.

Sign In Navy Bureau Of Air

* * *

Peace is a short pause between wars for enemy identification.

Clemens Kirchner

* * *

Men, dying, make their wills, but wives

Escape a work so sad;

Why should they make what all their lives

The gentle dames have had?

John Godfrey Saxe

* * *

Russia may be the first nation to reach the moon with a rocket, but America will get there first with foreign aid.

Quoted By Charles Edison

* * *

There's no fool like an old fool. You just can't beat experience.

Cleveland Papers Please Copy

The best way to tell if a politician is alive is to look at his mouth—if it's closed, he's dead.

Uncle Mat

* * *

Common sense is genius dressed in its working clothes.

Emerson

* * *

'Tis thus the spirit of a single mind Makes that of multitudes take one direction.

Byron

* * *

A senator receives a compliment from his assistant: "Great speech, sir—I like the straightforward way you dodged those issues."

Saturday Evening Post

* * *

No one is ever too old to learn, but many people keep putting it off.

Peninsular Light

* * *

Lo, where the stage, the poor degraded stage,

Holds its warped mirror to a gaping age.

Charles Sprague

* * *

Diplomats are clever people who get us out of scrapes that we wouldn't get into if we didn't have diplomats.

Clear Lake Mirror

* * *

Letter to Department of Indian Affairs: "Please send me your free bulletin for I have long desired to have an affair with an Indian."

Pity The Poor Indian

* * *

Infinite riches in a little room.

Christopher Marlowe

* * *

There the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

Job, III, 7

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

March 3, 1959

Mr. Dale Francis
439 South Tryon Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Francis:

You do not think Fidel Castro is a Communist. We do. In fact, to consider Castro as anything else but an agent of the Kremlin seems to us to demand mental gymnastics beyond the call of duty.

In further fact, the most substantial support in the United States, for the position that Castro is not a late-model Mao Tse-tung, appears to stem directly or indirectly from your articles. Nor are we overlooking Herbert L. Matthews, as the self-appointed patron saint of the Cuban revolution. Matthews has worn out his back and backing, in the support of so many Communists and Communist causes over so many years, that he simply doesn't carry any weight any longer — while you still do.

We cannot help remembering, Mr. Francis, how one writer, Edgar Snow, played such a tremendous part in the China tragedy, through the favorable reports on Mao which he fed the American public in the pages of one great magazine, the *Saturday Evening Post*. For that magazine was fully trusted by millions of readers. Now, in the pages of a truly great Catholic paper of larger circulation, *Our Sunday Visitor*, in which its readers similarly and justly have confidence, you have been carrying the torch for Castro — with far-reaching results. And we think you are just as mistaken as Edgar Snow was twenty years ago.

What is more, your articles, with their wide influence on

If You Want It Straight . . .

other segments of the Catholic press and thence on *all* of our press, are having another significant effect besides the conversion of a veteran terrorist into an idealistic youth. It is quite possible that a seemingly collateral accomplishment of the Communists, of which they have made you a useful if unwitting instrument, may have cost them more clever scheming, and may be of more importance in their long-range plans, than even their take-over of Cuba. We shall return to this extremely disturbing point in due course. Before that, we ask your careful consideration of the reasons why we believe that

Castro Is A Communist

To reach any other conclusion would require us to disregard the evidence, the tell-tale pattern which means more than the specific evidence, and all the laws of probability. It makes necessary too many straining answers to too many different questions, all of which easily and automatically answer themselves if we accept the perfectly natural and obvious premise.

Why, for instance, did Castro, while he was still a guerilla in the hills, insist on carrying out executions of his captured enemies by bullets fired into the back of the brain — a recognized trademark among Communists everywhere? We can dream up a dozen possible explanations. But the natural one, as we have said elsewhere, is that he wanted *fellow Communists*, especially in the United States, to know that he was one of the clan.

Tying prisoners together, having them transported to a trench previously dug, lining them up alongside the trench, shooting them, and pushing them in, to be buried forthwith in one mass grave, has also been a well-known Communist trademark for many years. General Mark Clark officially reported that he had solid evidence of 11,622 members of his command in Korea having been murdered in that way, while they were helpless prisoners of war, by the Chinese Communists. Before that a famous example of this method of terrorism by the Communists was the Katyn Wood massacre of several thousand

If You Want It Straight . . .

Polish officers. Before that, the same procedure had been used extensively by Khrushchev in his brutal subjugation of the Ukrainians in their capital city of Kiev. These and many other "incidents" have made this particular horror a standard Communist practice, *utilized by nobody else* in recent decades. (The brazen Communist effort to blame Katyn Wood on the Germans, and their present ridiculous "afterthought" of finding some similar atrocity in Batista's record, have been offered solely to meet a temporary need in their propaganda to non-Communists.) But Castro could hardly wait until he had finished seizing power in Cuba before he authorized such mass executions, carried out in exactly this manner, and had them widely reported. Why? The only logical answer is that, at the very time he and his supporters in the United States were shouting to the American people that Castro was not a Communist, he wanted to be sure that the Communists themselves knew he was.

When the Communists destroy the legitimate government of any country, and start imposing on it the police-state methods which lead ultimately to their complete and detailed control, they *always* say that they have *liberated* the country in question. The use of this particular word out of their Aesopian jargon is invariable under the circumstances described. (It is only a few years, at the present rate, before they will be announcing that they have *liberated* the United States.) Castro could easily have proclaimed that he had taken over Cuba, or that he had driven out a tyrant, or that he had established a new and better government. Or he could have put any combination of lies and truth he wanted into any one of many forms. Instead, he has been careful to shout over and over, for all the world to hear, that he has *liberated* Cuba. Just why has he made that precise and insistent choice of a word? The only answer that makes sense practically leaps out at you before you finish asking the question.

Huge public purge "trials," that make a mockery out of justice, and which substitute spectacular and carefully fo-

If You Want It Straight . . .

mented mob emotionalism for orderly legal processes, were introduced by Stalin, were adopted by the Chinese Communists as well as those in other countries, and have become a standard Communist form of spreading terror while simultaneously "justifying" acts of barbarism. Nor is it the slightest defense of even the *ex post facto law* frequently concocted for such occasions, to point to our participation in the trials at Nuremberg. For anybody who doesn't realize that we ourselves were the instruments of Soviet policy and purpose at those trials simply has not studied the history of the post-war period.

But Castro has been outdoing both Stalin and Mao Tse-tung in such brutal circus performances. Why? This was a perfectly natural combination of cruel ruthlessness and showmanship for Castro to carry out, if he is a disciplined and unwavering Communist. While any other explanation has to be manufactured laboriously out of very far-fetched and unconvincing surmises.

II

The Pattern Is Professional

You can, however, ignore the way Castro has been so unmistakably and deliberately attaching his Communist signature to his actions for all to see, and for the hard-core Communists to recognize, as irrelevant coincidence, if you wish, Mr. Francis. And obviously you do so wish, for in your thousands of words in many articles, supposedly giving your readers all of the pertinent facts about the Castro revolution, you have ignored these signs very studiously indeed. Just as you have avoided any mention of the significance and showmanship of Castro's calling his general strike in Cuba last year on *April 9*—the tenth anniversary of the Communist-led "carnival of murder" in Bogota, in which Castro participated in 1948. And just as you have ignored a dozen other dramatic and revealing touches which this bearded actor has carefully woven into his Communist script.

If You Want It Straight . . .

But how, Mr. Francis, have you been able to ignore the whole pattern of Communist methods, program, and purposes to which Castro has so expertly adhered? Just the parallels in the career and progress of Fidel Castro with those of other Kremlin stooges on the international stage are sufficient to show the same directorial hands at work behind them all. After Mao Tse-tung's failures in Hankow and southern China, for instance, Moscow supplied him in about 1930 one thousand trained guerillas as the core of his future revolutionary force—while we were still told repeatedly that Mao was independent of Moscow. After Castro's abortive failure to seize power in Cuba in 1953, Moscow trained for him, in Mexico, those terrorists whom he then took back to Cuba as the nucleus of his forces, for the campaign of murder and arson which eventually brought success. This fact was too widely known for even you to ignore it altogether (although you did the best you could to brush it off by reducing the time of this training by Moscow's agent to a trifle of two weeks).

The skillful use by Castro of other features of the "Yenan technique," developed by and for Mao Tse-tung, has been noted by other writers—but they obviously made no impression on Dale Francis. One minor but interesting illustration was the way Castro copied Mao's stunt of having writers sympathetic to him and to the Communist cause visit him and his guerillas in their hideout—while they were still hunted rebels—and then glorify these brigands with all kinds of romantic drivel in the "capitalistic" press.

More important, however, than any and all such details of similarity was the sameness of the overall strategy employed by Mao and Castro. The three-pronged Communist campaign plan consists of, simultaneously: (1) infiltration within the established government; (2) terroristic pressures on its citizens in the most vulnerable areas, accompanied by sabotage of the means of communication and transportation and disruption of the economy wherever possible; and (3) subversive propaganda aimed at the whole population. The smoothness, speed,

If You Want It Straight . .

and ruthlessness with which all three of these lines of attack were developed in Cuba showed Communist management and planning clearly at work—and also showed how much the Communists have been able to professionalize and standardize their procedures for conquest since Mao's earlier struggles.

In the same light should be considered the Communist trick which marked the turning point in Castro's campaign. This was his seizure, and holding as prisoners, of members of the American armed forces in uniform. It has become a custom over recent years for two-bit Communist satraps to show their power and importance by grabbing American service men, and then thumbing their noses at the American government. That the pusillanimous attitude of our government has permitted such repeated insults, and has left so many of our suffering men in the hands of such savages, is an indication of the Communist influence in Washington itself which we do not need to discuss here. But as soon as Castro had shown his ability to follow in this way the pattern set by Moscow, as had Mao and Ulbricht and others before him, and that he had sufficiently powerful Communist backing to enable him to humiliate the United States in this way, with impunity, more and more Cubans began to regard him as their coming ruler. The shift towards success for his undertaking began from that moment. And please do not try to tell me, Mr. Francis, that it was Raúl Castro who seized the American servicemen and held them captive over Fidel's objection. There would be about as much chance of Raúl Castro doing any such thing under the circumstances without the approval of his boss, Fidel Castro, as there would of Victor Reuther giving James Hoffa a "hotfoot" without Brother Walter supplying him the match.

Most important of all, however, among the pieces of this Communist pattern, has been the extravagant use, by Castro and his supporters, of that overworked Communist tactic: Always accuse your opponents, as loudly and extensively as possible, of the very crimes which you yourself are committing; especially in the matter of atrocities distract attention

If You Want It Straight . . .

from your own and soften their impact on the public, by inventing lurid tales of even worse atrocities by your enemies.

The most revealing official document ever published on this topic was a letter sent on February 29, 1944, as an official communication of the British Ministry of Information to higher members of the British clergy (!) and to the British Broadcasting Corporation. We reprinted it in the September issue of this magazine, by permission of the author, from Rozek's *Allied Wartime Diplomacy* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York). Because of its unusual bearing on the recent news from Cuba we are herewith printing it again, in full and verbatim, with all proper apologies to our readers for the repetition.

Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If You Want It Straight . . .

Your cooperation is therefore earnestly sought to distract public attention from the doings of the Red Army by your wholehearted support of various charges against the Germans and Japanese which have been and will be put into circulation by the Ministry.

Your expression of belief in such may convince others.
I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

(Signed) H. Hewet, Assistant Secretary

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

Now we are sure that Batista was no angel. Also we suspect that, during the last months of 1958, when the murderous Communists were moving in on every segment of the Cuban nation with visibly increasing prospects of taking it over, Batista may have been impelled to more aggressive measures to run them down and destroy them than he had taken previously. But we are equally sure that most of the ghastly crimes with which he and his supporters are now being so excitedly charged either never occurred at all, or were actually perpetrated by the Castro forces and the details have been revamped to suit the needs of the accusation. For not only, as we have said, is this a typical Communist tactic, and not only is it exactly in tune with the known past history and actions of Fidel Castro and his followers, but attributing these massive cruelties to the Batista regime calls for a gullibility on the part of your readers that some of them, at least, justly resent. In fact we have a letter from one such reader, and subscriber to *Our Sunday Visitor*, who said he was surprised that some of Castro's writers had not yet invented any Belgian nurses being impaled by Nazi agents of Batista on pointed Cuban canestalks.

For when we stick to the history which we know about Batista, the incontrovertible fact is that if he were the kind of man being pictured by the Communists, Castro would not be alive today. It is worth while reminding our readers again that Castro's first attempt to take over Cuba by violence failed;

If You Want It Straight . . .

that he was captured, properly tried (in a law court, not a circus ring), given the lenient sentence of fifteen years imprisonment by the court, and then released a year later by Batista, in a general amnesty. And like every other Communist, the minute he was released by a government trying to be humane and civilized, he set out at once on further plotting to overthrow that government.

Also, the monstrous deeds Batista is charged with committing during more recent months are not in accord with his record and character up to the point where it is impossible to bring up the pebbles of truth through the mud of Communist propaganda. Certainly, neither he nor his followers have perpetrated these cruelties after January 1, for Castro and his Fidelistas have ruled the roost since that time. And up to January 1 the American press had plenty of representatives in Cuba, most of whom didn't like Batista and would have been glad to dig up any dirt about him that they could. How come we didn't hear a single thing about all of these atrocities by Batista until after Castro and his fellow Communists were in complete command of everything that happened—including the news that was allowed to go out?

And please, Mr. Francis, do not start referring me to "independent" articles in the *Brooklyn Tablet* and other good segments of the Catholic Press, to support your own "proof" and exploitation of these cruelties of Batista. For I have noted that most of these articles carry the credit line of the NCWC News Service. It stands to reason that the Director of the Bureau of Information of this agency, corresponding to an Associated Press for Catholic publications, could be in pretty good control, one way or another, of what goes out over its wire service. And we happen to be aware that, unless there has been some very recent change, the Director of the Bureau of Information of NCWC is Mr. Dale Francis. For a man who was a Methodist preacher not too many years ago, and whose conversion to Catholicism occurred during World War II, you seem to have maneuvered yourself rapidly into some extremely

If You Want It Straight . . .

strategic spots in the Catholic press for influencing the opinions of a lot of people. We are not making any insinuations about your sincerity, Mr. Francis. Actually, we congratulate you on your prowess, your foresight, and your success. We just wish you had used them in what seemed to us a better course. And we do question whether your perspicacity and judgment, on the Communist issue, are equal to your salesmanship.

III

The Evidence Is Considerable

Now that the generalities and amenities have been attended to, let's get down to some of the specific indications that Castro is a Communist. We wouldn't expect to find him carrying a card, even if we could put our hands in his pockets. But short of that, we don't see what more is needed than just a look at the clear facts of his career.

Castro is known to have been a leader of the Communist students during his college days in Havana. This was both before and after he participated in the Communist riot and massacres staged at Bogota' in 1948. He was a "student leader" at the Communist-controlled University of Havana when, with Communist followers, he made his first start towards overthrowing the government of Cuba by force, in 1953. He has been working towards that same objective, with single-minded determination, ever since. There is no tangible evidence of his ever having abandoned the Communist cause. He has associated with Communists, depended on Communists, been supported by Communists, and made Communists his chief lieutenants and agents, continuously from his college days to the present. All of this is a matter of plain and public record. What possible reason is there for the straining guess that somehow Fidel Castro has, nevertheless, ceased to be a Communist, right in the course of becoming such a successful one?

As to the character and loyalties of the coterie with which Castro has surrounded himself, the facts are so clear and their

If You Want It Straight . . .

significance so unmistakable that we'll touch only the high spots here. There is, for instance, Brother Raúl. As you admit, he "takes pride in calling himself an atheist"; and, as you did not mention, he completed his political education in Russia. As *National Review* points out, he was greeted as "Comrade Communist" by the Communist radio station that began broadcasting two days before Fidel's victory.

Then there is Alberto Bayo, who gave Castro's original eighty-two guerillas their two months of intensive training in the arts, cruelties, and ruthlessness of Communist-style insurrection. Bayo is a veteran of the Communist forces in the Spanish Civil War. For some understanding of what that means, for a better knowledge of the unspeakable horrors perpetrated by the Communists in Spain until they were driven out, we refer our Catholic friends, especially, to *Thunder On The Left*, by Father John A. O'Brien, now of Notre Dame University. But we can give an inkling in very brief compass. On April 16, 1937, the *London Times* reported that under the preceding twelve months administration of "the present Spanish Government" [that is, the Communist, so called "Loyalist," Government], "over 4,000 priests have been murdered in cold blood; nuns have been stripped naked in the streets, outraged, and murdered; churches, shrines, private chapels and religious statues have been desecrated with unspeakable obscenities and destroyed."

Alberto Bayo not only participated in these deeds and came out a veteran member of the Communist forces. After this experience and this participation he has remained so loyal to Moscow and so ruthless an expert in the kind of terroristic tactics used, that he was picked and trusted by Moscow to train guerillas for other needs. And yet this is the man whom Castro, certainly knowing all of this about him, either picked or gladly accepted as the professional helper to put his men in shape for their campaign in Cuba. It was not going to fit Castro's strategic needs to unloose his men on priests, nuns, and churches—not yet!—but the skillful and heartless use of terror on other

If You Want It Straight . . .

elements of the population, which Bayo could so well teach his men, was exactly what he did need—as we shall see.

It is nice of you to concede with regard to Alberto Bayo, Mr. Francis, that "he quite possibly is a Communist." Also, considering the attitude toward priests as a whole which Fidel Castro is reliably reported to have expressed, before the exigencies of his present situation in Cuba made it politic for him to talk out of the other side of his mouth, it is easy to see another reason why Castro welcomed Alberto Bayo into his inner circle—and invited him to come to Havana to help to celebrate the minute victory was assured.

(And we did say "reliably" in the sentence above, Mr. Francis. It was J. B. Matthews, not some uninformed freshman in this fight, who wrote, in connection with the bloodshed and destruction at Bogota' in 1948: "Castro was arrested for murder and is reported to have boasted, 'I did a good day's work today; I killed a priest.'" And while Dr. Matthews states that this information comes from intelligence sources which he is unwilling to reveal, he believes it to be true or he would not have repeated it. For more than twenty years Dr. Matthews has been inexhaustibly giving names, dates, and facts concerning the Communist conspiracy and its agents, without once being found in significant error as to either word or purport of his statements. And incidentally, the famous columnist, Enrique Farias, in his "Window Of The World" feature of February 19, 1959 in EL UNIVERSAL of Mexico City, accepted this quotation from Castro as having been "written with the support of confidential documentation and indisputable proofs.")

But next in the parade we were watching, of Castro's collaborators, is one Ernesto Guevara, an Argentinian Communist who has been Castro's righthand man for years, and who was second in command of the revolution at the time it pushed across the wire. This "Che" Guevara fought for and with the Arbenz Communists in Guatemala, and the same Cuban Communist radio station referred to above has praised him as an outstanding Communist leader. But to you, Mr. Francis, Che

If You Want It Straight . . .

Guevara is "a man of possible Red background," whom friends of yours—unidentified—do not believe to be a Communist. It's no wonder you can't see the Communist in Castro, Mr. Francis. How do you and your friends feel about Mao Tse-tung or Khrushchev?

Parallel to this almost total Communist composition of Castro's top command has been the material aid, moral support, and wild applause he has received from Communists everywhere. The strongest support of all undoubtedly came from the United States, where the effective control by Communists of our State Department, CIA, and other agencies of government is now visible and known to everybody else in the world except the American people. Almost at the same time that the State Department was *giving* arms to the Communist Sukarno, to help him to crush an anti-Communist rebellion in Indonesia, it declared an embargo on even the *sale* of arms or ammunition to Batista, to break his resistance to a Communist-led revolt in Cuba—thus following exactly the same route by which it had enabled Mao Tse-tung to overthrow Chiang Kai-shek and establish Communist rule over the Mainland of China. And this was only a sample of the way Castro was favored by Washington.

But since too many of your readers and ours are not yet ready to grasp the plain and provable fact that support of any rebel or any faction by our government—in Cuba or Laos or Lebanon—is strong evidence of the aided party being Communist, let's move on to a less "controversial" look at Castro's second most important source of material assistance—Venezuela. During the last year of Castro's murderous and finally successful insurrection, goods and guns flowed to him increasingly from that country. During that time Larrazabal was in nominal power, Romulo Betancourt was the dominant political figure, and Jesus Fariá—who openly and regularly goes to Moscow for his instructions—had a complete stranglehold on the economy of the nation. To think that Larrazabal (who, in writing, welcomed Communist support in the last election)

If You Want It Straight . . .

and Betancourt (an avowed Marxist who has been serving the Communists extremely well for the past fifteen years) are not Moscow agents, or at least Communist sympathizers, is too naive for us. And, anyway, there wasn't a chance that arms and supplies could have been shipped continuously to Castro from Venezuela without the full approval of Jesus Faría. Moscow does not set up, nor even permit, all of the elaborate arrangements by its agents in the United States, in Mexico, and in Venezuela, which enabled Castro to win, except on behalf of its own.

As to the moral support and applause for Castro, by other Communists from Moscow to Pennsylvania Avenue, it has been flooding all the media of communication by which the Communist bosses reach their own kind, at the very time that you, Mr. Francis, have been doing your utmost to sell the American people the opposite bill of goods. The Cuban Communists, who have already been given the status of a legitimate political party, under the name of "Popular Socialist Party," are as proud as Punch of Castro and all his works. Those in the labor movement have already seized control of the trade-union organizations and headquarters in every major city in Cuba. The Communist Party, USA, has hailed the Castro triumph as a glorious victory. In the February, 1959 issue of *Political Affairs*, the official Communist monthly published in New York, Lazaro Pena, billed by the magazine as a "leading Cuban Communist," gloats over the forthcoming victory of Fidel Castro which he foresaw when the article (supposedly) was written. And so it goes.

Nobody could read one-tenth of the world's Communist Press, of course. But we do read most of the avowedly Communist publications in this country, some of those from Europe, and we regularly have sample copies or extracts supplied us from such publications in other continents. And one thing is clear from them all. The Kremlin wants *Communists*, from Moscow to Santiago de Chile and from Cairo to Tokyo to know that Fidel Castro is one of their boys; and they are equally

If You Want It Straight . . .

anxious that non-Communists, especially the anti-Communists among the American people, regard him as just an idealistic democrat—as they once did Mao Tse-tung. For the Kremlin just cannot afford—yet—to let the American people wake up to the fact that the Communists now have established a firm beachhead of their power only ninety miles from our shores.

In helping them to accomplish the second half of that aim, Mr. Francis, you can proudly boast—as you did in your most recent column—of the part played by yourself, the NCWC News Service (under your influence?), and your ideological allies, *America* and *Commonweal*. But it seems too bad that you had to drag so great and so usually sound a publication as *Our Sunday Visitor* into this operation as the major instrument of your achievement. It not only seems too bad to this Protestant, who has long read and admired *Our Sunday Visitor*, but to thousands of the best informed readers of that paper, as we well know from our overwhelming mail.

IV

Why The Omissions?

You make much, Mr. Francis, of the fact that through your personal knowledge of Cuba you are presenting the most factual, objective, and complete picture of the recent developments there, which are available to American readers. And although we cannot guarantee not to have missed anything, we have tried to read every word of all of your columns since this argument started. And we are disturbingly surprised by the way you have so diligently ignored so many things which seem to us both relevant and important.

Just for instance, on November 1, 1958, agents of Castro's movement—unregistered terrorists operating freely within the United States—seized at gunpoint a plane of Cubana Airlines which was carrying passengers from New York to Havana. They crashed it in Oriente Province of Cuba, killing seventeen innocent people, six of whom were American citizens. Castro's

If You Want It Straight . . .

agents in New York blandly denied that their men were responsible for the seizure, at the very time when Castro's agents in Oriente Province were boasting of the feat—and both the United States Embassy in Cuba and eyewitness survivors flatly identified the pirates as members of Castro's forces. This incident, which was one of three similar plane seizures, showed that total disregard for either property or human lives which was so common-place in all of Castro's activities. But I don't believe you have ever told us a thing about it. Have you?

On January 3 the flames of civil war were still raging through Havana, even though formal opposition had long since collapsed. Mobs were continuing the orgy of destruction which had begun on New Year's eve. Strongarm squads, composed of or directed by Castro's revolutionaries, continued *systematically* to wreck buildings associated with the Batista regime. Hundreds of homes, apartment buildings, government offices, casinos, and newspapers—including the Havana Post—had already been pillaged. For three days Havana suffered a *typically Communist* exhibition of terrorism, designed to frighten all opposition into silence. You didn't tell us anything about this part of the glorious triumph of freedom and democracy at all, did you, Mr. Francis?

The most prominent anti-Communist in Cuba, and one of the best-loved anti-Communists in Latin America, was Ernesto de la Fe, of the Interamerican Federation for the Defense of the Continent. He was arrested on January 1, in the very first hours of Castro's success. Later he was marched in front of the television screen among those condemned to death by Castro's "justice." Whether the volume of protests will yet save his life, by making Castro leary of carrying out so coldblooded and unjustified a murder, is still a question. For Ernesto de la Fe fought with words only. Let us quote Enrique Farias, in *El Universal*, again: ". . . in this fatiguing struggle against Communist infiltration in our beloved Latin America. We do not fight with machine guns, even when we know perfectly that in the Red trenches all arms are used, from those which fire

If You Want It Straight . . .

bullets to those which fire lies. And Ernesto de la Fe has never used either bullets or lies. He has shown proofs, documentation, calm and effective analysis to denounce to the Latin American peoples the danger which is hidden among many false mentors of democracy. It is possible that at some time he may have raised his voice in disagreement with the bloody and totalitarian methods of Castro; against his terrorist attacks which left thousands of dead among innocent people, men, women and children; against his dictatorial threats towards all that dare to oppose the orders of (his) 26th of July movement; against the indiscriminate death sentences that he pronounces on any citizen that had the boldness to express his voice in the presidential elections; against . . . the pillage, the outrages, the coldblooded assassinations."

Here you see the truth coming out, Mr. Francis, as to what was really going on in Cuba; a truth so obscured by the slanted and stupid reporting of the A P and U P representatives that even Publisher John S. Knight wrote a vitriolic and sarcastic editorial about it. But what we are concerned with here is the condemnation to death of a journalist like Ernesto de la Fe for simply telling that truth; a journalist so well known all over Latin America that his "legalized" murder would be most important news; a journalist so respected that his opposition to Castro was a highly significant fact. No truly objective story of the Cuban holocaust could omit either de la Fe's opposition, or his having been arrested. But I don't believe you have ever once mentioned his name, have you, Mr. Francis?

There is a photograph which has been printed in hundreds of publications, especially those widely distributed in Latin America. It has been reproduced in professional photography magazines. It purports to show Castro meticulously posed, with the camera aimed at him from an upward angle, with light striking his tranquilized features, while he gazes serenely into space. With the help of the beard, the camera man's art, and the fortuitous resemblance of the subject to certain paintings, the effect is to bring to the mind of the viewer a conscious or

If You Want It Straight . . .

unconscious memory of Christ. Our understanding is that it was not even posed by Castro, but his propagandists would certainly not have employed it so widely as a photograph of him without his full approval. Don't you think this almost incredible blasphemy deserved even a line of comment, Mr. Francis, in a whole series of articles visibly aimed at winning the sympathetic support for your hero of the most important Catholics in our country?

In one of your articles you carefully listed six points we were to watch out for, in trying to anticipate what would happen to Cuba under Castro. But neither there nor anywhere else have you even mentioned his bellowings about "agrarian reform." As one journalist has written, in connection with this baldly Communist program which Castro has pledged, "for all we know, he might very well have used one of Mao's old speeches. The promise and the plea for time were identical."

This further striking example of basic similarity in the techniques and intentions of Fidel Castro and Mao Tse-tung seems to us to be of decided importance. As does the remarkable likeness to Achmed Sukarno's "guided democracy" of the kind of dictatorial government which Castro has projected for the future of Cuba. But we cannot recall any slightest suggestion of these revelations of the real Castro anywhere in the many pages put at your disposal. Just how, Mr. Francis, *do* you select what you want us to know about Castro?

It seems that in this selection you are even guilty of ingratitude to a couple of your busiest little helpers. Not only were Adam Clayton Powell of New York and Charles O. Porter of Oregon the only two United States Congressmen who accepted Castro's invitation and lent their prestige to his circus-ring trials. Mr. Porter has even used the privilege of his office to spread one of your articles—glorifying Castro for his humanitarianism and condemning this writer for his ignorance—in the pages of the Congressional Record. But if there has been any mention of such solicitous support anywhere in your columns, we need new glasses. What's the matter, Mr. Francis?

If You Want It Straight . . .

Were you aware of what the average American thinks of these two smaller-bore Hubert Humphreys, and that having them on the side of Castro and yourself certainly would not do your argument any good?

In the particular article which the Hon. Charles O. Porter inserted in the Congressional Record, Mr. Francis, you ventured this bold and flat statement: "All the evidence seems to indicate Castro is not a Communist." We believe that sentence should be corrected to read: "All the evidence I have presented in these columns seems to indicate Castro is not a Communist." Even that would, in our opinion, be a hopeful exaggeration. But it would at least be plausible.

V

Re-rebuttal In Advance

In simple truth, there is only one single bit of evidence that Castro is not a Communist, offered by you or anybody else, which is worthy of the slightest consideration. This is the fact that, since Castro achieved success in his bloody revolution, he has had the visible support of some important elements of the Catholic Church. For the Catholic Church has long been, and still remains, the strongest organized bulwark against Communism in the world. As a general rule the Catholic clergy in the United States have been harder to fool about Communist enterprises than any other group. When this writer, or any other serious long-time student of the Communist conspiracy—whether he be Catholic, Protestant, or Jew—finds a man like Castro being accepted as a non-Communist by high-ranking members or sizable segments of the Catholic clergy, he almost automatically falls in line with their judgment, just from past experience.

But all of these facts are, of course, well known to the Communists too. And, having now enslaved one-third of the world's population, and stirred practically all of the remainder into a seething ferment which advances their purposes, almost

If You Want It Straight . . .

entirely by deception, they need and seek ever more subtle means of making further deception convincing. Also, with the known determination of the Communists to pierce and weaken every roadblock in their path to power, and to use every trick of cunning, however vile, it would be absurd to think that creating dissension within the Catholic Church itself would not be one of their constant objectives of supreme importance.

In the present situation the Communists were obviously faced with a serious problem. They had successfully used almost every trick in the book to disguise, as long as necessary, the fact that the "agrarian reformer" Mao Tse-tung, the "Arab nationalist" Nasser, the Indonesian "George Washington" Sukarno, the "anti-colonialist" Nkrumah, and other up-and-coming members of their stable of viceroys, were Kremlin agents. None of these propaganda tricks could be safely counted on to work for Castro. And yet it was absolutely imperative that the American people be deceived for a while about the true position of this Communist dictator, in command of a country right at our door which we have regarded almost as a ward of our nation.

There was one brilliant way to do it. And, as so often happens in Communist planning, that way would also serve another great Communist purpose—one perhaps even more important than establishing the beachhead in Cuba. This was to obtain for their newest Mao Tse-tung the blessing and acceptance of enough of the Catholic Church to throw the American people, even including good anti-Communists, off guard; and thus to drive a huge wedge into the solidarity of the Catholic Church itself, by gigantic steamroller efforts to ram the acceptance of a murderer like Castro down the throats of good Catholics who knew better. And one can safely say, Mr. Francis, without making any accusation as to any part you have *consciously* played in this scheme, that after your recent articles the Catholic Church of this country will for a while be badly handicapped in presenting the same unbroken, prescient, and powerful opposition to the schemes of the Commun-

If You Want It Straight . . .

ist conspiracy that it could have only six months ago.

This is a very awkward and dangerous subject for a Protestant editor to write about, I am well aware. (The Communists planned it that way, too.) So much so that if my country and our whole Christian civilization were not so seriously endangered, I would sidestep this much of the argument and let you have that part of the field unhampered, on which to continue to parade all your glowing testimonials about Castro from members of the Cuban clergy. I even considered having this article written by good Catholic friends of mine, or at least endorsed by them. But I have decided, instead, to stand entirely on my own feet in a straightforward approach to so serious a matter.

And I must raise the question, Mr. Francis, reluctantly and hence laboriously, as to whether some of the Catholic clergy in Cuba have not been even more grossly deceived about Castro than you have been. There is an easy explanation of how clever, long planned, Communist scheming could have brought this about; of how news favoring Castro has been coming out of Cuba with testimonials from the Catholic clergy embodied in the releases. A Catholic priest, by the very nature of his calling and by his willingness to devote his life to the priesthood, is a man of strong humanitarian instincts. He is motivated in much of all he thinks and does by a deep and lasting sympathy for the poor and the suffering. Increasingly for forty years, the Communists have been grand masters at deceptively appealing to and utilizing these very traits of Christian kindness, in advancing their aims. Right while they are murdering the people and burning the property in one area — of Cuba or China — their agents can convince men of good will in an adjoining area that the Communists will bring alleviation of poverty and all kinds of improvement in the lives of the poorest classes.

It is the utterly false but extremely persuasive promise of Socialism, to bring about better living conditions for the "underprivileged," which has helped more than anything else to

If You Want It Straight . . .

slant so many of the Protestant ministry in the left-ward direction that Moscow desires. This is true right here in the United States where the poor whom we have always with us are not poor at all by most of the world's standards. How much more is it bound to be true, therefore, for the Catholic clergy of Cuba. So that once the Communists and their allies and dupes were able to get the line going that Castro was a modern Robin Hood, seeking to rout the forces of the oppressive sheriff, Batista, and to distribute to the mistreated peasants the goods Robin Hood had virtuously stolen from the well-to-do—it didn't take much of a push behind that propaganda line, by one or two individuals whom the clergy trusted, before it had been accepted and become a part of the firm truth for many members of that clergy, high and low. From that point on it was also easy to get any glowing praise or defense of Castro, and any condemnation of or accusations against Batista, accepted at once as unquestioned truth. May I remind you once more, Mr. Francis—and our readers—how many millions of honest, honorable, and idealistic people really believed at one time that Mao Tse-tung was just what the clever Communist propaganda had made him out to be.

And so, through that same combination of treason, misguided idealism and innocence, on which the Communists have relied so successfully for so many years in so many different countries, they seem not only to have gained the support of the most articulate part of the Cuban clergy for their agent Castro, at the time when he needed that support most. They also have used the results and effects of this combination to divide and confuse the Catholic faithful in this country, both clergy and laity, as the Catholics here have never been split before. For that saddening result, Mr. Francis, and no matter how little you may have desired it, there is no way you can avoid taking a large share of the blame. You had Herbert L. Matthews, veteran glorifier of the Communists in the Spanish Civil War, running beautiful interference for you; but it was you who carried the ball in this particular play.

If You Want It Straight . . .

VI

For "Morality Sees Farther Than Intellect"

What makes this whole development so regrettable, Mr. Francis, is that it could not possibly have taken place without a wandering from fundamental moral principles. It is a great Protestant Christian, and very good friend of mine, Syngman Rhee, who expressed the thought in these particular words: "What is morally wrong can never be politically right." But it was a great Catholic and also good friend of mine, Alfred Noyes, who wrote me such glowing approbation when I expressed much the same thought, in the form that it takes in the subhead just above, in the very first issue of this magazine. And I know that a vast majority of the leaders of Catholic thought and action in this country adhere strictly to that belief, however they might phrase it. If all actions and policies and loyalties are considered first and solely against the moral questions involved, then the temptation to find virtue in political smartness or expediency never has a chance to operate. And nobody drives home the value of this absolute standard, against shifting measures of other considerations, more emphatically or more sincerely than the vast body of Catholic clergy in America.

Yet somehow, in this instance, an appreciable fraction of Catholic clergy and Catholic lay leaders have been brought, I believe by propaganda, to give their support—extremely valuable support at this stage—to a man who, whatever else can be said or claimed about him, has been known to be a murderer, an arsonist, and a blasphemous leader of Communist bands—of students, guerillas, or armies—continuously for years. It seems to me, Mr. Francis, that many great and good Catholics have thus been swept off their feet, without realizing it and without stopping to think through the full significance of their actions, simply because they did not grab hold of the anchor chain of morality before they had ever been budged an inch.

There is a strange species of illogic which clever Communist thought control has now made a normal part of our

If You Want It Straight . . .

public mental processes. In the present situation it has caused many of us, forgetting the irrelevancy involved, to assume that reports of atrocities on the part of Batista somehow prove that Castro is not a Communist. More than that, by a gross extension of the lesser-of-two-evils theory, and by completely ignoring the fact that a Christian can never condone foul means for the sake of a supposedly fair end, we have even been brought to applaud Castro as a hero and a savior of Cuba. This temporary and carefully induced blindness to the moral issues at stake, coupled with a simultaneous and optimistic blindness to the methods, ruthlessness, and imminent threat of the Red machine, have allowed the Communists to have their way in Cuba, so far, with remarkable ease and speed.

There is plenty of cause for extreme alarm in just this sheer physical advance of Communist imperialism. For it took Achmed Sukarno—with strong support in the beginning from many good Moslems in Indonesia, who were just as anti-Communist as are the best Catholics in New England—it took him some fourteen years to rise above the need of non-Communist support, suppress his anti-Communist enemies, and reveal his true colors. But we believe, because of the increasing tempo and ease of the Communist advance, it will take Fidel Castro only two or three years to eliminate non-Communists of any power and standing in Cuba, *among both his supporters and his opponents*. And that in so short a time we shall see an unmistakable Communist dictatorship, headed by one of the youngest, most ruthless, and most ambitious of the Kremlin's lieutenants, firmly established as the nearest beachhead in the tightening Communist encirclement of our own country.

But what this writer regrets even more about the present situation—and what, as we have said, we think is even more important to the Communists—is the apparent progress they have made with their vicious weapon of “confuse and divide” against even so tightly knit an enemy of theirs as the Catholic Church in America always has been.

Although we have been discussing possibilities and even

If You Want It Straight . . .

probabilities as to how so considerable a number of influential Catholics have been led or pushed so far out on a limb in support of Castro, of course we do not venture any charges against any individuals for doing the leading or pushing. We simply do not know enough about the details or the personalities involved. Even if we did, it would not be our province or our desire to point a finger at anybody. We have enough for which to ask forgiveness of our Catholic friends and fellow-fighters against the Red terror, in having tried, in all good faith and earnestness, to point out a serious mistake which we have thought even some of the most faithful Catholics were making. But we do venture the opinion that the influential Catholics who have helped to promote a favorable attitude towards Castro are on a bad limb, and that they will live to regret it. As one good Catholic friend of ours put the case, expressing a most solemn worry in a semi-facetious vein: "I think my Church is making its biggest mistake since it gave Henry VIII the title of 'Defender Of The Faith.'" We think so, too. And strange as it may seem, but for very sound reasons of both patriotism and religion, we regret it as much as he does.

VII

In Conclusion

For the importance of the Communist accomplishment is tremendous and terrifying. Inside our country they had already stirred up such increasing distrust and bitterness, between Gentiles and Jews, between Protestants and Catholics, between fundamentalist and "modern" Christians, between white and black, between employers and employees, as could not even have been dreamed of in our America of thirty years ago. They had already infiltrated their cunning agents, who know no loyalties except to the international Communist conspiracy and have no base of morality except what helps that conspiracy, into literally thousands of positions of power and influence—in our government, in our schools and colleges, in

If You Want It Straight . . .

our great religious bodies, in our business and professional circles, in our labor-union organizations, and in every segment and division of our national life.

Now, I am afraid, they have driven another huge wedge into what was probably the most important remaining single beam of solidarity in our whole internal structure. And simultaneously with bringing about this further drastic increase in our confusion and cross purposes, they have now brought that "encirclement of the last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America," as the original Communist strategy has been paraphrased, to a visible and frightening reality.

The Communist infiltration into, and influence over, our neighbor to the north is, we believe, even greater than in the United States. Mexico, for all of its still firm official anti-Communism, serves as the headquarters from which most Communist activities in the whole Western Hemisphere are directed. The Communist stranglehold on the economy of the Hawaiian Islands is now so strong that it constitutes virtual political control as well. Venezuela and Bolivia are already in Communist hands, and the anti-Communist governments of Central and South America are crumbling almost monthly before our eyes. Now Cuba is in so firm a Communist grip that even the disguise of "independence" can be allowed to wear off without patching. And this tightening encirclement is matched by a total Communist influence within our borders that doubles the danger. Under these circumstances the fulfillment of the final part of Communist plans with regard to the United States may be ominously close. "We shall not have to attack; it will fall like overripe fruit into our hands." Even for the United States, now, there is no longer a question as to when the Communists are coming, or whether they may come. They are already here. But in this country they do need, for yet a while, to keep some disguise on their presence and their purposes.

Unless we can penetrate that disguise far enough and soon enough, Mr. Francis, and expose and oppose these evil forces with a dedication equal to their own, we are doomed to go

If You Want It Straight . . .

down—and to pull the rest of the world with us—into the same slavery that has already befallen a billion human beings just like you and me. We hope you will stop seeing silver linings where there are only the darkest of clouds, and will help us with head, hand and heart in wise preparations to meet the storm.

For whether you believe it or not, Mr. Francis, we are far along in a gathering crisis that is going to make us all search deeply into our beliefs, and into the values and loyalties that motivate our actions. This is a *worldwide* battle, the first in history, between light and darkness; between freedom and slavery; between the spirit of Christianity and the spirit of anti-Christ for the souls and bodies of men. Let's win that battle by alertness, by determination, by courage, by an energizing realization of the danger, if we can. But let's win it even with our lives, if the time comes when we must. Let's even keep in mind, against that time, an inspiration which we hope we shall not need. It comes from the end of a great and stirring hymn, written to inspire men to fight against a far less extensive slavery of their fellow men.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was
born across the sea,

With a glory in His bosom that
transfigures you and me:

As He died to make men holy, let us
die to make men free,

While God is marching on.

Sincerely,

ROBERT WELCH

We Are Flattered

Instructions issued to the members of at least one Communist cell recently (and we presume, therefore, to many others) included the admonition to see that AMERICAN OPINION was removed from the reading tables in the waiting rooms of physicians and dentists. The comrades were told that this magazine "did not belong" in such places. Obviously the comrades feel that having even so small a modicum of the truth reach so few people is a risk they cannot take.

CONFETTI

Hubert Kregeloh, one of our Associate Editors, a well known radio commentator, and a history teacher at a girls' college, is also one of those optimists who tries to wake people up to what is really happening in this country by recommending books for them to read. And he says that invariably, when he does recommend a book to some acquaintance, the first question asked is not "Who wrote it?" or "What is it about?" but — you've already guessed — "Is it thick?"

But the chic and charming young lady in this story from *School Activities* was more broadminded. She asked for a good book to read. The obliging librarian said: "Do you want something light or do you prefer a heavier book?" "It really doesn't matter," the young lady assured her. "I have my car outside."

* * *

Conversation in a London pub:

"Ow did Bill die?"

"E fell through some scaffolding."

"Whatever was he doing up there?"

"Being 'anged."

* * *

Just how we got stuck in London for two tales in succession we don't know. But this one comes from the *Daily Mail*. It says that the *Law Society's Gazette*, commenting on "the rather monotonous English style in legal documents," quoted by contrast the following letter by a lawyer in India —

"Dear Sir:

Unless you pay the.....rupees that you owe to Mr.....within seven days of this date, we shall take such steps as to cause you the utmost dammed astonishment."

* * *

And speaking of the things you see in newspapers, we liked this news item

from a California paper a few years ago:

"Miss Roberta Ford was injured while driving a car near this city yesterday. The area in which Miss Ford was injured is spectacularly scenic."

* * *

The doctor was taken to the patient's room, but came down in a few minutes and asked for a screw driver. Five minutes later he was back and asked for a can opener. Soon after that he returned and demanded a chisel and hammer. The worried husband couldn't stand it any longer. "Please, Doc," he implored, "what is wrong with my wife?"

"Don't know yet," the doctor snapped. "Can't get my bag open."

* * *

The drunk staggered from deck to stateroom, sat down, and peered through the porthole the entire afternoon. Finally he got up, turned his back, and mumbled, "What a lousy television show!"

* * *

Can You Bear This?

It is so old it may be new again. A hunter saw a bear exactly seventy-five feet south of him. He shot at the bear, wounded him, but did not kill him. The bear stumbled exactly one hundred feet due west of where he had been standing when shot. The hunter, who had not moved all of this time, now walked exactly seventy-five feet due south, brought the butt of his rifle down on the head of the wounded bear, and killed him.

What color was the bear?

You really do have all of the information needed to give the precise and only correct answer to the question. For those who get lost we'll print that answer next month.

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

This is the ninth in our series of twelve essays by Mr. Alexander. Each is in reality a sermon, of exact and remarkable timeliness today, based on a text taken from The Federalist Papers. The lasting value and continuing applicability of the counsels of Madison, Jay, and Hamilton are strikingly revealed.

IT DID NOT OCCUR to the founding fathers that Americans would ever lose faith in their own abilities to meet the everyday challenges of life. The peril of foreign invasion was deemed the paramount danger to our liberties. But by the mid-Twentieth Century a strange mutation had taken place. The healthy vigilance against foreign intrusion had given way to the psychotic dread of internal failure.

There was a substitution of words to mark this switch-over. Safety, meaning to be safe from external enemies, faded into the sickly word called security, meaning safety from the ordinary vicissitudes of human life. To get a before-and-after contrast we can start with a passage by Alexander Hamilton in *The Federalist Number 8*. Hamilton wrote:

"Safety from external danger is the most powerful director of national conduct. Even the ardent love of liberty will, after a time, give way to its dictates. The violent destruction of life and property incident to war, the continual effort and alarm attendant on a state of continual danger, will compel nations the most attached to liberty to resort for response and security to institutions which have a tendency to destroy their civil and political rights.

To be more safe, they at length become willing to run the risk of being less free."

If we change "national safety" to "social security" we will get the point and its application today. Hamilton is warning us of what happens to a free people who put their physical welfare above freedom. Furthermore, we will see a hidden meaning in the much quoted maxim paraphrased from President Roosevelt's first inaugural address: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." The words are the first links in a chain of a national obsession. Franklin Roosevelt was setting up a black specter. He did not tell the American people that they should be afraid of nothing. He told them, in effect, that it was all right to be afraid of fear.

It is now possible to translate Hamilton's meaning into contemporary terms. The Franklin Rooseveltian dread of a collapsed economy became and remained "the most powerful director of our conduct." The ardent love of liberty, so characteristic of America, began to give way before this dread. The American people in their brooding terror resorted to Federal "institutions with a tendency to destroy their civil

How To Read The Federalist

and political rights." In search for economic security and for a shelter from the ordinary risks of life, this proud people showed a continuing willingness "to run the risk of being less free."

Let us dissect this fear which has been the lasting legacy of the Rooseveltian revolution. The dread which he planted in us has to do with being poor, old, ill and unemployed. But are these things of which we ought to be afraid? There never was a nation, indeed there was hardly ever a family, which could claim any special immunity from these unhappy but unavoidable risks of life. What a paltry catalogue of fears they are! It must never be forgotten that Franklin Roosevelt addressed his soft, comforting words to a people who had carved a home from the wilderness, who prided themselves justifiably on their self-sufficiency and ingenuity, and who held high the belief that God would help those who helped themselves. The depression of the 1930's might have been a fiery furnace putting us to the ultimate test of our innate abilities, as well as of our faith in Divine Providence. The depression became, instead, a sickbed or mourning-bench from which we never quite arose again.

The Roosevelt New Deal passed into the Fair Deal of Harry Truman and on into the Middle Road of Dwight Eisenhower. Give or take a few details, the economic period of Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower becomes an elongated hyphen.

The new American attitude of invalidism brings our nation, for the first time in history, to the psychiatrist's couch. Our fears reveal two hidden "needs," which is psychiatric lingo for what our forefathers called moral weak-

nesses. The first of these is the need of something (other than ourselves) on which to lay the blame when anything goes wrong. The second is the need to find somebody (other than ourselves) to save us. Beginning with the Rooseveltian revolution, but never as yet ceasing, these needs have snow-balled to a size where they almost dominate our national habits of thought. Day by day, in every way, we go on blaming our troubles, both real and imaginary, on something else—such as the free enterprise system. Day by day, in every way, we seek help, both help that is needed and help that is merely desirable, at the foot of a false deity—the Federal welfare state.

II

IN ORDER to be afraid of fear (an unthinkable idea to early Americans), and to run for refuge (something once too cowardly to contemplate), we had to destroy the true genius of our land. Call it self-reliance, free enterprise, or the competitive capitalist system. Under whatever name, it had to go if we were to become a fearful nation. The Communist infiltration after 1933, of both government and public education, had much to do with the assault upon the competitive enterprise system in America. Our own ultra-intellectuals assisted at the shameful business. Studies have been made to show the changing tenor of education all the way upward from the grade schools to the graduate.

At first young Americans were taught to believe that capitalism is, at best, a necessary evil. It could be tolerated, they were told, but it must be safeguarded at all times by Federal watchdogs and controllers. Further,

How To Read The Federalist

our rising generations were taught, capitalism is inefficient. Young Americans were instructed that free enterprise, even when not criminally gouging the people, is incapable of producing and maintaining a viable prosperity for the whole population.

From these teachings there understandably sprang a hostile and also patronizing attitude toward capitalism. Young Americans grew up believing that there was a good reason why the Federal government had to go into business for itself. The educated youth had been taught to think that without Federal vigilance capitalism would run amuck, and that without Federal assistance and supervision, capitalism would fall over its own ineptitude and would bring down the country with it.

All this was bad enough. But there was worse and more to come. From being a necessary evil, capitalism gave way in our educational system to being an unnecessary evil. Youngsters were taught, slyly at first, that free enterprise, as known in America, would have to go. Students in advanced learning began to hear, from their instructors and more publicly from their national leaders, that big business was an ogre and an enemy to free society. By the mid-1930's we were undergoing an orgy of vilification in which successful enterprisers were rubber-stamped as economic royalists, robber barons, selfish interests, merchants of death and, in general, as a race apart from the "people" of the United States.

In this period there began the inspired campaign, still with us today, not only to redistribute American wealth among Americans, but to scatter and squander it among the nations of the earth. By subtle attrition in the

beginning, and as time went on by outright demolition, the great capitalist structure of "do-it-yourself" and "own-it-yourself" was being razed.

Socialism is the right word for what was taking place. Socialism is what the process should be called, but the word has always been more or less taboo in free America. Some few attempts to make it respectable, such as those by the Princeton graduate, Norman Thomas, have had no more than middling success. For the most part, politicians and propagandists like to stay away from dubious nomenclature. So instead of the forthright and well-understood term of Socialism, we were approached with euphemisms such as social welfare, social security, new deal, fair deal, planned economy, "program with a heart." But they all came to the same thing. All these terms implied that there had to be a substitute for supply-and-demand; there had to be a mollifier for the hard methods of the competitive market place. All the soft synonyms for Socialism were ways of calling for a popular vote against the peculiarly American system of free enterprise.

The denigration of capitalism did such a job on the educational system, and left public opinion so dazed, that for the better part of twenty years it was next to impossible for a learner to hear anything of positive good about free enterprise. To be sure, there were some apologetic attempts to show that capitalism was not all bad. Occasionally, a defender of the old-fashioned doctrines would be able to find a small publisher and a scanty readership. But anybody who spoke up for capitalism was out of order. From the Rooseveltian revolution onward, the "bright"

How To Read The Federalist

young men and the "enlightened" statesmen were those who expressed shame for our capitalistic system and contempt or horror for any remnants of such bygone principles.

III

THUS MILLIONS OF Americans grew up in blackest ignorance. They never had the chance to learn the plain, simple, and provable truths about competitive enterprise. Capitalism, as its detractors say, did create great wealth; but, as they did not say, it never did create great poverty. Poverty was always, and still is, the distinguishing mark of nations where capitalism never found a foothold. No other economic system, and no other nation except America, ever came close to contradicting the Biblical text that the poor are always with us.

The proof is there for all except those who refuse to behold it. The slums of the United States and Canada at their hideous worst could never hold a candle to the public starvation and the rotting disease in the streets of the great cities of India, China, Greece and North Africa.

There never was a time in the history of the United States when people died for the lack of food within easy reach of well-packed granaries. But this has happened almost everywhere else in the world. It is inconceivable in the United States that starving beggars and infected invalids would line the boulevards under the feet and eyes of the ruling classes. But this happened almost everywhere else in the world. Never in America did a President's lady tell the hungry to eat cake. It is a safe bet that never in the meanest American village was anybody, no matter what his color,

creed, or criminal record, permitted to suffer or die from neglect in the presence of onlookers. If you have never read such statements before it is because the writers of textbooks, histories, public speeches, and proclamations have not for many years thought it fashionable or intelligent to sing the true praises of their country — especially when it called for unfavorable mention of foreign countries.

All the phenomena of neglect, inhumanity and unfair distribution of wealth are characteristic of non-industrialized, under-developed and decadent nations. They seldom at any time have appeared here. On the contrary, the more capitalistic this nation became, the more humanistic and downright sentimental our people and our institutions have become. Capitalism, mostly by means of industrializing the American economy, has not only produced such wealth as the world has never even been able to imagine. Capitalism has raised the living standards of plain people in America to the level of royal families abroad. It has offered better health, more leisure, greater freedom, and more choice of livelihood than ever dreamed of in the past glories which were at all possible in any other land. Long before the income tax dulled the edge of charity, rich men and rich institutions were plowing back their wealth into the general economy. Thousands of endowed libraries, laboratories, parks, hospitals and academies of learning stand as monuments to capitalism in America.

As for the welfare state, it is the thieving beggar and the highway robber which has lain in ambush for its betters. The welfare state never had anything to give that was not petitioned

How To Read The Federalist

or stolen from the producers of wealth. The welfare state never has preached strength and confidence, only weakness and fear; it has never taught independence, only dependence.

Capitalism at all times, and by its very nature, is rugged and self-reliant. Socialism, under whatever title, has at all times, and by its very nature, been sickly, fearful, and degrading to all who lived on its charity.

Again, if the truth about capitalism sounds alien and almost heretical to modern ears, the reason has been indicated. Panegyrics of this sort have been forced out of style by the proponents and the propagandists of the other side. Today, strange though it be, it is hard to imagine any intellectual of this free nation, from a college professor to a President of the United States, being so bold as to praise capitalism without a single quibble or apology. The truth has been fugitive for so many years that we are startled to see it walking by daylight in the open street.

IV

LET NOBODY DENY that the free enterprise system has its hazards. They are the same hazards as life itself sets before us. There was a time when Americans knew what to do when things went wrong. They turned to themselves and to their God. It was unthinkable, in the days when this country was growing up in the world, that the people should practice blamesgiving for their own failures or should turn to any deity for help except the One in heaven.

The anti-American press, which published and praised the slanted textbooks and their like, is luckily a weapon that soon becomes outdated. The American story is told in folklore.

There is no way to obliterate or falsify the great frontier legends and up-from-poverty biographies which typify American history. The American story lives in tradition and in the memory of man. The sneers of the intellectual and the scheming of the treacherous cannot change the facts of national life. This country was made by the early Americans who split rails and founded trading posts on their way to building fortunes—and on the way to establishing the incredible industrial complex which has come to be the support of ourselves and much of the outside world.

This is not the place to catalogue all the great tales of American ingenuity and self-reliance. Nor is it the place to recount the characteristic American trust in Providence. After all there are human problems and mortal ills for which there are no earthly cures. When misfortunes are irrevocable, a wise people will accept them and live with them. There is such a thing in life as a proper and pious resignation to the inevitable. Millions of Americans in the past grew old, ill, useless, and unemployable without holding it against God or man. In the end we all sicken and die. The social planners have never showed the wisdom to admit that man's mortality is a divine arrangement and may even have some good in it.

Anyhow, the warning which Hamilton and other founding fathers gave us against surrendering freedom in the name of safety or security still stands. Whether it is safety from foreign enemies or social security from our own fear, the warning is not a new one. It is as old as mankind itself. There is that sad and ancient tale in the Old Testament where a young man sells his

How To Read The Federalist

birthright for a mess of pottage. The American birthright of freedom is worth much more than any pottage which the welfare state can serve in its stead.

We are a country which is now old enough to know a few things about life. To our forefathers it did not seem such a bad thing to be poor so long as they were proud and resourceful. They learned and often proved that thrift is the best investment against illness and

old age, and that ingenuity can go a long way toward solving unemployment. Early Americans certainly knew and always taught their children that the More Abundant Life, the beautiful Biblical expression (which the Rooseveltian revolutionists blasphemously turned into a campaign slogan), is not within the gift of government. It flows only from Providence, and from the work of men who believe in Providence and in themselves.

A Correction and Apology

In our February issue we stated that on December 8, 1958, at the age of sixty-eight years, seven weeks, and six days, President Eisenhower had become the oldest man ever to serve as the nation's chief executive. For he was then one day older than William Henry Harrison when that President died in office on April 4, 1841.

We copied this item from a foreign publication in which we had confidence. But the statement was incorrect. Its originator obviously was misled by the fact that W. H. Harrison was the oldest man ever to be *elected* to the Presidency. He died so soon after his inauguration, however, that three other Presidents, younger when elected, had become older while still serving. They were—prior to Eisenhower — Andrew Jackson, James

Buchanan, and Harry S. Truman.

This is the first time in more than three years of publication of this magazine that we have had any error of date, name, or similar specific fact called to our attention. We are sure it will not be the last, and yet we think even one is too many. The next time we gather any such tidbit of information from any other periodical, we shall have it assayed, audited, and roadtested before giving it shelf room. In the meantime not only do we apologize to our readers; but for those who may be interested we append herewith a table showing the ages of all of our Presidents at the time each one ceased to be President because of either death or the expiration of his term. The table shows that, as of now, Eisenhower is the fourth oldest, not the oldest, in our list.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age On Ceasing to be President (Nearest Birthday)</i>	
George Washington	65	Abraham Lincoln 56
John Adams	65	Andrew Johnson 61
Thomas Jefferson	66	Ulysses S. Grant 55
James Madison	66	Rutherford B. Hayes 59
James Monroe	68	James A. Garfield 50
John Quincy Adams	62	Chester A. Arthur 55
Andrew Jackson 69 years, 50 weeks, 3 days		Grover Cleveland 60
Martin Van Buren 59		Benjamin Harrison 59
Wm. Henry Harrison 68 years, 7 weeks, 5 days		William McKinley 58
John Tyler 55		Theodore Roosevelt 51
James K. Polk 54		William Howard Taft 56
Zachary Taylor 66		Woodrow Wilson 64
Millard Fillmore 53		Warren G. Harding 58
Franklin Pierce 53		Calvin Coolidge 57
James Buchanan 69 years, 44 weeks, 6 days		Herbert Hoover 59
		Franklin D. Roosevelt 63
		Harry S. Truman 68 years, 36 weeks, 4 days
		Dwight D. Eisenhower (On December 8, 1958) 68 years, 7 weeks, 6 days

In Print Again . . .

A LETTER TO KHRUSHCHEV

The April, 1958 issue of *American Opinion*, in which this survey of the Cold War battle lines appeared, was sold out immediately. A sizable reprinting of just the article alone was exhausted some months ago, and orders have kept coming in ever since. We can always take a hint—if it is loud enough. So we are glad to announce herewith that reprints of *A Letter To Khrushchev* (40 pages, large clear type) are again available, at the same price as before. See table below.

AMERICAN OPINION REPRINTS

<i>Article</i>	<i>1-99</i>	<i>100-999</i>	<i>1,000 or more</i>
The World Health Organization . . . by <i>J. B. Matthews</i>	10¢ each	8¢ each	7¢ each
The Federal Reserve System by <i>Hans Sennholz</i>	5¢ each	4½¢ each	4¢ each
A Letter To The South	10¢ each	8¢ each	7¢ each
Why People Become Communists . .	20¢ each	15¢ each	12¢ each
A Letter to Khrushchev	3 for \$1.00	25¢ each	20¢ each
<i>Report of</i> AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION <i>Special Committee On</i> <i>Communist Tactics, Strategy</i> <i>and Objectives</i>	20¢ each	15¢ each	12¢ each

AMERICAN OPINION, Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Another Hard-Hitting Book From
DEVIN-ADAIR



Price

\$7.50

per copy

Reviewed in an
earlier issue of
this magazine

Order from your bookstore, *The Bookmailer*, or
direct from the publisher.

THE DEVIN-ADAIR COMPANY, *Publishers*
23 East 26th Street, New York 10, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send me.....copies of FOUNDATIONS: Their Power
And Influence, by René A. Wormser, at \$7.50 per copy.

I enclose \$.....

Name

Address

.....

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

EVERY LITERARY SEASON, another catchphrase is born that gets hold of the nation's conscious mind. Two years ago it was "the hidden persuaders" — the frightening notion that professionals, on and around Madison Avenue, have developed a new and secret technique of "selling" an audience that is blissfully unaware of being "sold" at all. But why is it that we are so permanently afraid of being had, and of being had for suckers? Primarily because, indeed, we *are*. There is no other free nation on earth that can be so easily swayed into believing what it most clearly, going by past experience, does not *want* to believe. And the reason for this, I think, is America's deep-rooted respect for expert performance: If the fellow who speaks is supposed to know, then he does know; and you simply take his word.

Hail, The Saturday Review . . .

Which, to me, explains why America, outwardly a society that despises intellectuals, is putty in their hands. Intellectuals, you see, are experts whose specialized qualification is the handling of ideas; and thus, their consensus (or what *goes* for their consensus) becomes without further questioning the axiomatic belief of the nation. Haven't the experts spoken? America's important hidden persuaders are not hidden at all. They perform in the open, over their signatures, in the appointed pulpits of "public opinion." And if I had to choose

the single most important organ of intellectual expertise, I would nominate the *Saturday Review*. [*We assume that Mr. Schlamm's new word, which we like, is pronounced "expert-eeze."* Editor]

This is not because its circulation is so spectacular (though it is large enough—not much under 200,000 copies every week); nor because it performs so well (there are commercial magazines incomparably better edited—*Time* for example). The *Saturday Review* holds, in my opinion, the strategically decisive position in our "market of ideas" because here, as in no other magazine, the intellectual performs *as intellectual*, that is, as expert; and thus, he does not argue nor try to impress—he simply *tells*. The *Saturday Review*, the country's widely acknowledged *specialized* medium of disseminating expertise on books (and ideas), achieves its power by an extraordinary act of simulation: It never admits the controversial political or philosophical character of the tenets it advocates; rather it presents them as matters of *absolutely indisputable mores*. Whether or not you want to believe something the *Saturday Review* teaches has nothing to do with their, or your own, intellectual bias, you see; it is simply a question of whether or not you want to *behave* like a well-mannered, genteel, properly combed gentleman.

There is in the whole business of United States publishing no editor so deeply involved in politics or so per-

A Review Of Reviews

sonally committed as the editor of *Saturday Review*, Norman Cousins. While his less fortunate colleagues must use disguises and pseudonyms and ruses, whenever they want to participate in the political game (or else they would be admitting their bias and so would lose circulation), Cousins gets away with openly advocating the boldest political schemes. The trick is simply to deny that there are even the slightest political contents in the most brazenly political concepts Cousins promotes (such as "atomic disarmament," or "world government," or undiluted newdealism, or "co-existence" with the Soviets). Mr. Cousins believes what he believes (and expects you to do likewise) in the way one accepts the conventional injunction against spitting on the floor, or beating one's wife, or stealing. It would no sooner occur to the *Saturday Review* to discuss "atomic disarmament" than to debate our conventional prejudice against body odor. There is nothing to dispute. The question, for the *Saturday Review*, is never whether the ideas they advocate are correct; but only how fast they can be transformed into reality.

Which Speaks Ex Cathedra . . .

The firmness of this editorial policy of Mr. Cousins' is admirable. For many years now he acts as the undisputed Beau Brummel of our intellectual fashions (and collects honorary degrees from the country's colleges on his way) without the slightest trembling of his hands, without a flicker of self-conscious uncertainty, without a symptom of anguished concern over the intellectual correctness of any position he took, takes, or will take. In a lifetime's study of prophets and pundits, I

have never seen a more self-confident sleep-walker. And in our age, characterized by a craving for conformist gentility, his very firmness, his congenital incapacity for self-doubt, makes Cousins the ideal editor of a magazine that rides herd on America's intelligentsia.

II

BUT ALL OF Mr. Cousins' self-confidence would not suffice, if the magazine were not also a true and competent sample of expertise. I could not possibly try to hide the fact that I dislike *Saturday Review*; but neither can I deny its editorial competence and professional quality. It is quite inconceivable that any one in this country who is professionally concerned with books and ideas (and, for that matter, with the theater and the arts and music) could do without the *Saturday Review*. Which means that the *Saturday Review* occupies at least as commanding a position of control over the intellectual community of this nation as *Businessweek* and the *Wall Street Journal* exercise within our business community. The men who supply professional services to America's intellectuals in the *Saturday Review* shape the country's intellectual concepts and basic political ideas at least as forcefully as *Businessweek* and the *Wall Street Journal* form the image that American business has of itself.

With Voices Like The CED . . .

A recent issue of the *Saturday Review* very tellingly combined these two main bodies of American awareness, business and intelligentsia. On January 17, the magazine devoted a majority of its pages to "The American Economy 1959"—"a new concept in economic re-

A Review Of Reviews

porting prepared and presented in association with The Committee for Economic Development." Now the CED is one of the most influential key-groups in United States business. It consists of 150 leading executives and economists whose organized "advice" was (as its present chairman, Donal K. David, also Vice-Chairman of the Ford Foundation, puts it) "instrumental—to name only a few instances—in the creation of the World Bank, the implementation of the Marshall Plan, and the passage of the Employment Act of 1946. It . . . had considerable effect upon both public and private attitudes toward the fiscal, monetary, and debt management policies of the country." And this is a rather coyly modest self-evaluation of the influence the CED has been wielding in this country for the last fifteen years. Its impact on governmental policies and public attitudes, in my opinion, by far exceeds that of the "National Association of Manufacturers," the country's Chambers of Commerce, and all other legitimate representations of United States business. All the President's "economic advisers" are either friends or products of CED, and CED's word is practically gospel with Congress. (Its great public relations expert, and first chairman, is none other than the ubiquitous Paul Hoffman.)

So CED and *Saturday Review* went together and produced a special issue that, for a long time to come, will serve, here and abroad, as a prime source of notions concerning United States business. Guest editor for this issue was T. V. Houser, Chairman of the Research and Policy Committee of CED and a former board chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Co. The contributors include:

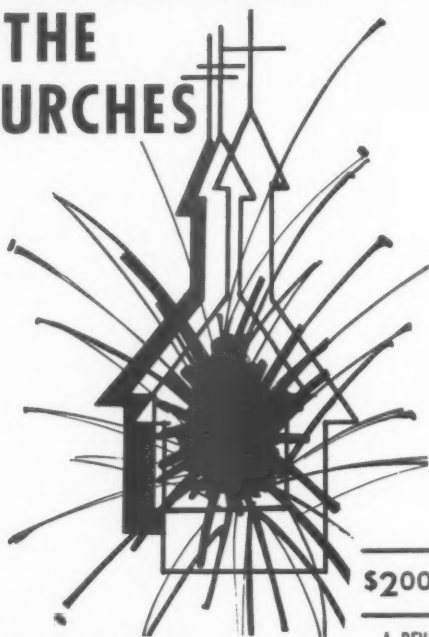
a Ford Vice-President; the President of Hart, Schaffner and Marx and Special Assistant to President Eisenhower, Meyer Kestnbaum; several former Cabinet members of the Eisenhower Administration; several deans of Graduate Business Schools and heads of University Economics Departments; the Treasurer of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey; a former President of the United Fruit Company; and, altogether, a stellar cast of United States businessmen. The net effect of this special issue, I can assure you after careful perusal, is the unshakable conviction of the reader that not only is Socialism on the march in the United States, but that United States business really has no objection to it.

Amplified By Mr. Cousins . . .

Take the "Editorial Footnotes" in which Mr. Cousins summarizes his magazine's axiomatic beliefs concerning the subjects of this special issue. "Such military security as we may devise depends more on arms control than on arms supremacy." Which, of course, is the succinct condensation of the "disarmament" propaganda carried on by the world's Left and by this country's pressure-group of nuclear scientists. "Both business and labor unions have benefited from governmental encouragement." Which, no doubt, is the central tune of all New-Deal propaganda. "If we are to have a university plant servicing social and political operations at the level we now demand of it, the Federal Government must take proper part in supporting that plant." Which, quite openly, is an unreserved endorsement of Federal control over education.

In the articles, contributed by all

COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES



First Edition
SOLD OUT!

Second Edition
JUST ARRIVED!

EDGAR C. BUNDY

Now You Can Order
in Quantity
Lots

ONLY \$2.00 PER COPY

PAPERBOUND COVER

NEW DESIGN

Order Now From:

CHURCH LEAGUE
of AMERICA

1407 Hill Avenue
Wheaton, Illinois

\$2.00

NOT a reprint — complete and unabridged.
Printed from the original plates of the hard-cover edition
available for \$5.00

A DEVASTATING INDICTMENT, FULLY DOCUMENTED!

COLLECTIVISM
IN THE CHURCHES

by
EDGAR C. BUNDY

"If the 'liberal' theologians continue on their present track they will soon (earn) the distinction of being the group most responsible for delivering America into the hands of the enemy. COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES will show you how far they have already gone."

Edwin McDowell,
American Opinion

"Without hesitancy, Dr. Bundy calls names of Council leaders whom he charges with Communist propaganda. The book contains a great deal of documentation to support the charges."

Dr. J. M. Crowe,
SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD,
The Southern Baptist Convention

"I make the challenging statement that to a shocking extent our churches are being used to further the Communist purpose. . . . And for detailed confirmation with documented evidence of this fact I refer you to a 354-page book, COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES by Edgar C. Bundy. Wheaton, Ill."

Otto Garr Tague,
Cincinnati Enquirer

"Major Bundy has done brave service in attacking the New Pharisees, the New Sadducees, of the entrenched ecclesiastical hierarchy. His strong documented, devastating book should hasten the day of Lucifer's defeat and God's victory."

E. Merrill Root in *National Review*

"In this most provocative work the spotlight is focused upon the left wing collectivistic, socialistic ecclesiasts which seemingly dominate in many ways the National Council of Churches . . . Mr. Bundy has an outstanding background which has prepared and qualified him for setting forth these significant facts."

Dr. Albert J. Lindsey, Pastor
First Presbyterian Church, Tacoma, Washington

"This is a most important contribution in the battle to save our Republic."
Mrs. Ray L. Erb, *National Defense Chairman*
The Daughters of the American Revolution

"This reviewer cannot escape the conclusion that there is tragic justification for the title, COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES."

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Editor,
Christian Herald

A Review Of Reviews

those economic celebrities, you will find statements like these: "...a restraint or imposition by government on a completely free economy. I regard this as highly desirable"; "in our cold war strategy . . . economic aid to underdeveloped countries seems to me the key weapon"; "I believe that too much of our (foreign) aid has been power-directed. Nor am I suggesting that political strings be tied to our aid, for nothing would more disserve our interest"; "if we are going to manage our land and water resources . . . we simply cannot evade the cycle of enlarged governmental services." And so on.

And Doubted Only By Crackpots Who Think 2 and 2 Make 4 . . .

I do not intend to "expose" the meaning of such revelations, for their meaning is quite unequivocal. What I have wanted to emphasize is: (1) the "naturalness" with which celebrated leaders of United States business embrace New-Deal concepts; and (2) the effectiveness with which the *Saturday Review* makes use of their credentials to secure its own stature as *the* American magazine of intellectual expertise. Surely, now that "even" United States business has endorsed the *Saturday Review's* authority in passing definitive and indisputable judgement on everything under the sun, surely no one will ever again dare challenge that authority. And if someone dares (as I do, for example), then he is simply a crank.

III

I HAVE CAREFULLY gone through the last two months of *Saturday Review* (January and February), and I do not propose to analyze here the nature of the literary and art criticism offered

in these eight issues. What seems essential in this context is not a specific bias, applied by a specific writer to a specific book, but the *cumulative* effect the magazine must achieve on the steady faithful. (And these faithful include, among others, all faculties and all student bodies of all English Departments in almost all United States colleges.) I am referring to what the author of *The Hidden Persuaders* calls the "subliminal" effect—the immense influences on the subconscious mind of statements tossed suddenly, casually, and inconspicuously all over a seemingly harmless message. In the case of the *Saturday Review's* open persuaders, the subliminal effect is easily their greatest. What a steady reader of this magazine will recall at the end of a year is not this or that evaluation of this or that book, but the *tone* of a year's intellectual expertise — the melody rather than the words. This is true for all continuous efforts of journalism. It is doubly true in the case of the *Saturday Review*, a skillfully managed endeavor to *shape* opinions rather than argue them.

These Echoes, For Example . . .

The following excerpts, therefore, will not even be connected by us to the books from the reviews of which they have been pulled. They are typical capsules of powerful concentrates which the *Saturday Review* deliberately drops into its readers' minds — to repeat, *suddenly, casually, and inconspicuously*. This "subliminal" job — Mr. Cousins' extraordinary feat of making disputable opinions appear to be completely self-understood verities, simply tenets of conventional decency — is the *Saturday Review's* outstanding contribution to our age.

A Review Of Reviews

"The outside world was from the start our second West." (Which takes care of "isolationism," and the uncouth opponents of Foreign Aid.)

"The concept of collective security through the United Nations can be made to work effectively in preserving the peace." (The same.)

"The powerful reason for . . . revolutionary limitations on national military power . . . is the simple fact that there is no longer any sane alternative to peace." (And there goes any attempt at resisting the Soviets.)

"All Americans, beautiful or ugly, should be at liberty to carry their particular image of America abroad—whether the State Department approves of that particular image or not." (To clarify who is meant by "beautiful or ugly," this is followed in the same issue by the assertion: "Until the courts intervened, we consistently refused permission to Paul Robeson and other Red or pink artists to go abroad.")

"Education and business interests and social status are, after all, lasting powers in our American society." (That will teach you to use the term "American freedom" warily.)

"The open society of today . . . means . . . a mixed economy, the middle road. The Government makes plans for full employment, for the control of inflation, for conservation, social security, health services, education for all, development of atomic energy, allocation of airways and radio waves, and a wide variety of regulations, subsidies and special services." (This, you see, is an *open* society, as everybody but us cave-men agrees.)

The Russians are "now following a number of the patterns which characterize the West." (Therefore: What's

all the fuss about?)

"We should . . . welcome sound technical aid to underdeveloped nations, no matter from which side of the Iron Curtain it comes."

"We should promote negotiations on all levels, the rule of law, the World Court, a stronger United Nations." (And that's all there is to foreign policy—unless, of course, you are a Neanderthaler.)

"A world-wide anti-democratic trend that had little or nothing to do with the intimidations and seductions of the Kremlin." (Which takes care of the McCarthy craze to suspect Communism of intents and powers to penetrate.)

"Portraits of Kuomintang officials, fiddling with banknotes while Chungking burns, carry authority." (And so does the *Saturday Review* whenever it takes a crack at America's staunchest allies, Chiang Kai-shek, and the Governments of Korea, West Germany, and Spain.)

Make Continuous Impact On An Audience Held Captive By Competence . . .

These excerpts, as I said before, are characteristic and essential in themselves — *not* as yardsticks of the magazine's specific criticism. The criticism, measured by professional standards, performs indispensable services. Several special features of the *Saturday Review*—its section on recordings, for instance, or "SR Research, Science & Humanity"—are unique and invaluable media of information absolutely vital to thousands of professional people. And this, to me, is the truly alarming state of affairs: that the methodically operating propagandists of the Left

A Review Of Reviews

have, for all practical purposes, an uncontested monopoly on the professional life of our intelligentsia. A society that permits the legitimate concerns of its intellectual segment to be managed, rather accidentally, by self-appointed operators, has but negligible chances for survival. To me, the real measure of our peril is the fatuous conviction, prevailing in our business community, that attention to intellectual needs and intellectual curiosity is none of our business; that, in fact, it *ought* to be left to the "screwballs."

But those who readily fill the void are anything but screwballs. The competence of the men who produce the *Saturday Review* easily matches, in

their field, the competence of Charlie Wilson in his. In these years of ultimate decisions, when the United States will have to pass the great test of survival, the nation's adequate—nay, its only—tools for digesting data vital to the human mind are in the hands of our society's sworn detractors. What, indeed, is a *conservative* intellectual supposed to do—turn for extensive week-by-week criticism of new books to the *Wall Street Journal*?" Norman Cousins has a captive audience that decidedly includes even me. He makes the most of it. For he, unlike those American millionaires who subsidize the degradation of their society, is a man dedicated to his own cause.

We invite your subscription to

MODERN AGE

A Conservative Quarterly Review

Edited by

RUSSELL KIRK

Three dollars per year

One dollar per copy

Address: FOUNDATION FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, INC.

64 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

American Opinion
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

Please enter my subscription to AMERICAN OPINION for one year, for which I enclose \$ 5.00

Please enter subscriptions for the names and addresses listed below, at \$5.00 each \$

To enable you to reach as many opinion-molders as possible, by your own selection of names from your own list, I am covering the cost for you to enter such subscriptions at \$5.00 each, by enclosing an additional \$

The total of my remittance is \$

Sincerely,

(Name)

(Address)

Additional Subscriptions

(Name)

(Address)

(Name)

(Address)

ORDER BLANK

You may order the books reviewed or advertised in **AMERICAN OPINION** from **THE BOOKMAILER**—the Complete Bookstore-by-Mail representing all United States publishers. You pay only the bookstore price. **THE BOOKMAILER** pays the postage, anywhere in the world.

(No. of copies)

<i>Inside the State Department, Barron</i>	\$3.00
<i>Out Of Bondage, Bentley</i>	3.50
<i>Billions, Blunders And Baloney, Castle</i>	3.50
<i>Witness, Chambers</i>	2.95
<i>Walter Reuther, Dayton</i>	4.50
<i>Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse, Draskovich</i>	5.00
<i>The Secret War For The A-Bomb, Evans</i>	3.95
<i>While You Slept, Flynn</i>	3.00
<i>The Road Ahead, Flynn</i>	2.50
<i>The People's Pottage, Garrett</i>	3.00
<i>The Road To Serfdom, Hayek</i>	2.75
<i>Economics In One Easy Lesson, Hazlitt</i>	2.50
<i>One Man's Fight For Freedom, Heinsohn</i>	3.00
<i>Prejudice And The Press, Hughes</i>	6.00
<i>The Conservative Mind, Kirk</i>	6.50
<i>America's Retreat From Victory, McCarthy</i>	2.75
<i>Human Action, Mises</i>	10.00
<i>The Admiral's Log, Moreell</i>	2.00
<i>Advance To Barbarism, Veale</i>	4.50

Or any other book, published in the United States,
which you have seen reviewed or advertised.

Total number of books ordered	Total price \$
-------------------------------	----------------

THE BOOKMAILER,
Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York 16, New York.

Please send the books checked above to:

Name

Street

City Zone State

Enclosed find \$.....

CAXTON BOOKS

SPRING and SUMMER 1959

THOMAS, SEWELL SILHOUETTES OF CHARLES S. THOMAS

A vigorous account of an ardent "Johnny Reb" from Georgia who went West and eventually became the governor and later a senator of his adopted State, Colorado.

230 plus pp., 8 vo, 44 illustrations - - Thomas \$7.50

MARTIN, WILLIAM (as told to Molly Radford Martin)

BILL MARTIN, AMERICAN (Ab)

A life story told by a Swiss-born American who made his own way from the age of fifteen. The account, taken from wire recordings, covers the high points of Bill's adventures from childhood through World War II and a return visit to Switzerland after thirty years. This is a lean, spare narrative, a modern-age account of an immigrant boy who became a real American.

263 pp., large 12mo - - Martin \$5.00

MESSINESI, X. L.

MEET THE ANCIENT GREEKS (Misc)

This fine book contains important background material for anyone interested in the ancient Greeks, from whom we have inherited the traditions of freedom, liberty, and the dignity and importance of the individual. For more than two centuries this tiny country produced the most superior race of men known on earth, great poets, dramatists, sculptors, architects, philosophers, scientists, soldiers, sailors, and statesmen. The author, present AP correspondent in Athens, gives an interesting and accurate description of Greece as it was more than two thousand years ago.

June 21 - 253 plus pp, large 12mo, 32 pages of illustrations from photographs - - - - - \$5.00

YAGER, ROSEMARY THE FOUR BRONZE HORSES (J)

Here is the story of the famous four bronze horses that now stand on their pedestals above St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, Italy. The account begins long ago in the Hippodrome of Corinth during a colorful Olympiad in the year 296 B.C. From historical records, travel diaries, and other sources, the author recounts their journeys from Greece to Venice, including their sojourns in Rome and Paris and the dangers they faced in World Wars I and II.

Illustrated with wood-block engravings by Charles H. Joslin and colored photograph for dust jacket and frontispiece from Free Lance Photographers Guild.

224 pages, large 12mo, 7 full-page and 14 spot drawings from wood-block engravings; frontispiece from colored photograph - - - - - Bronze \$4.00

CHINDAHL, GEORGE L. A HISTORY OF THE CIRCUS IN AMERICA (A)

A scholarly survey of the origin and development of the circus in the United States, Mexico, and Canada, with forty-four illustrations, a list of 1,100 circuses, an annotated bibliography, and an index.

Ready—279 pp., large 12mo, 44 illustrations from photographs

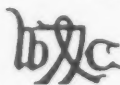
Circus \$5.00

LEFEVRE, ROBERT THE NATURE OF MAN AND HIS GOVERNMENT

A philosophical interpretation of the nature of government, written by an ardent spokesman for freedom, whose dissection of the function of government is concise and revealing.

July 21—87 pp., large 12mo paper bound - - - - - Government \$1.00

PLEASE WRITE FOR FREE TRADE LIST 93AL and CATALOG 94AL



CAXTON
of Caldwell, Idaho

