

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

WILLIAM SCHLAMM

looks at television

HUBERT KREGELOH

UN-tangles Christmas

and

we ask some questions about

FOREIGN AID

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

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AMERICAN OPINION

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April 5, 1959

Dear Reader:

Pardon us for living.

We have just read an article about us, by a Senior Editor of the world's largest selling magazine. From that condescending lecture we have learned:

(1) Our belief, that the Stalin-Tito break was phony, was "nonsensical" The feud between Belgrade and Moscow was not only quite genuine, but has now "been renewed in all its pristine bitterness."

(2) Our belief that the Kremlin precipitated the Hungaria Revolt for its own purposes is sheer myth. The many and very substantial bones which have been unearthed, on which the flesh of Communist purpose once clearly existed, mean nothing to our critic.

(3) Our belief that *The New Class* by Milovan Djilas, *Dr. Zhivago* by Boris Pasternak, and similar "smuggled out" masterpieces, are a part of today's increasingly subtle and confusing Communist propaganda—that belief is part of a fantasy which is "false, vulgar, and harmful." We expect any minute now to learn that Khrushchev's defamation of Stalin, far from being a cunning Communist maneuver, was due solely to Khrushchev's honest repentance over his part in Stalin's crimes. For us not to accept these internal squabbles and criticisms of the Communist world as *bona fide* is frightfully bad manners on our part.

In our article on *Dr. Zhivago* we asked if everybody had forgotten that, "while probably few of the recipients of Nobel Prizes have been Communists, almost nobody has received a Nobel Prize of late years whose words or work—whether intentionally or otherwise—had not in some way supported the Communist line or served Communist purposes." We have here

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A Review Of The News

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

March, 1959

Sunday, March 1

→ The Anglo-Soviet negotiations in Moscow, virtually broken off after Premier Khrushchev's violent attack on the Western position in Berlin, are resumed with British Premier Macmillan expressing "cautious optimism."

→ Marshal Peng Teh-huai, Deputy Prime Minister and Defense Minister of Red China, promises the Ulbricht regime in East Germany "all-out support" in the case of an "imperialist assault."

→ Archbishop Makarios, after three years in exile, returns in triumph to Cyprus, where he is certain to be elected the first President of the independent Republic on which the Greeks and the Turks have reached agreement.

→ Hugh Gaitskill, leader of the British Labor Party, urges that the West accept "straightaway" Khrushchev's proposals for "summit talks."

→ The Independent Petroleum Association of America requests a Treasury investigation of recent American oil imports from Communist Rumania.

Monday, March 2

→ The Soviet Government submits formal notes to Great Britain, France, and the United States in which it agrees to the convocation of a Foreign Ministers Conference on German problems, provided the Governments of Communist Poland and Czechoslovakia are also invited.

→ The Governments of Great Britain and Egypt wave all claims against each other arising from the Anglo-French Suez invasion of 1956.

→ Iran informs the Soviet Government that the treaty of 1921 that gave Soviet troops the right to enter Iran under certain circumstances is no longer valid.

→ An anti-American mob stones the United States Embassy in La Paz, Bolivia, and burns an American flag.

→ Dr. Francois Duvalier, President of Haiti, calls "the Caribbean an extremely explosive area" and asserts "the United States should take immediate steps to assume full responsibility for maintenance of peace" in the face of recent events in Cuba.

→ The House of Representatives passes unanimously a bill to help counteract curbs which some recent Supreme Court decisions have put on the enforcement of anti-Communist security measures.

Tuesday, March 3

→ On leaving Moscow, British Prime Minister Macmillan issues a joint communiqué with Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchev in which "early negotiations" on German problems and "limitations of armed forces and atomic and conventional armament in an agreed area of Europe" are urged.

→ President Eisenhower invites Macmillan to come soon to Washington

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and discuss the results of his Moscow trip.

→ A sixty-ton Army rocket, carrying the 13.4 pound "Pioneer IV" beyond the moon and into the sun's orbit, is successfully launched at Cape Canaveral, Florida.

→ In an open rebellion against Dr. Adenauer's decision, Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Minister of the Economy, refuses to run for the West German Presidency. This unparalleled defiance of the Chancellor's policy is considered a significant setback for Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, Minister of the Interior, who would have become Adenauer's successor had Dr. Erhard accepted the nomination for the Presidency.

→ Fidel Castro accepts an invitation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors to address its annual convention in Washington on April 16.

→ The Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs unanimously approves statehood for Hawaii.

Wednesday, March 4

→ President Eisenhower declares he observes "a lessening of the rigidity of the Soviet Union" on East-West issues. "We are taking it for the moment just as optimistically as we can," assures Eisenhower.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev arrives in Leipzig, East Germany, and promises the Soviets will sign a peace treaty with the Ulbricht regime "whether the Western powers like it or not."

→ Prime Minister Macmillan declares he intends to discuss with other Western leaders "the possibility of limiting

nuclear and conventional forces in Central Europe."

→ More anti-American violence erupts in La Paz, Bolivia.

→ In another meeting, French President de Gaulle and German Chancellor Adenauer agree on a joint Franco-German position on the Berlin crisis that opposes the Anglo-American readiness to negotiate on Khrushchev's terms.

Thursday, March 5

→ Neil H. McElroy, Secretary of Defense, declares that any hostilities in the Berlin crisis would mean general, not limited, war.

→ Khrushchev declares in Leipzig, East Germany, that, "if we negotiate reasonably," the deadline for a solution of the Berlin problem could be extended from May 27 "to June 27 or into July."

→ Adlai E. Stevenson backs President Eisenhower's position on Berlin and says: "I trust that we shall not show too much unwillingness to negotiate at the summit or any other level."

→ The Federal Reserve Banks of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Dallas increase their discount rate to member banks from 2½ to 3%.

→ Washington union lobbyists release a tabulation according to which forty-eight Senators favor a revision of the Taft-Hartley Law, twelve oppose it and twenty-four are non-committal.

Friday, March 6

→ Felix von Eckhardt, the Adenauer Government's press chief, declares in Bonn that President de Gaulle and

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Chancellor Adenauer have agreed to oppose any "disengagement" of East and West forces in Central Europe.

→ The Congressional leaders of both parties, after a conference with President Eisenhower, give "bipartisan" support to the President's Berlin policies.

→ Prime Minister Macmillan declares in Belfast, Northern Ireland, that he will urge President Eisenhower and other Western leaders to negotiate with the Soviet Union on Berlin and Germany.

→ The Soviet Government grants a payment of 1.5 million dollars to E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. in a settlement of the company's wartime claims.

→ Khrushchev sends "special greetings" from the Leipzig Fair to Alfred Krupp in West Germany and Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia.

→ Austria's two-party Government coalition that combined the Socialists and the Catholic conservatives in a joint administration since 1945 agrees to dissolve parliament and to ask for the voters' decision in May.

→ Don Juan de Bourbon, the exiled pretender to the Spanish throne, is being urged by Spain's Socialists and Liberals to break openly with Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

→ Robert F. Kennedy, Chief Counsel of the Senate Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, states that a company and a labor union involved in the rackets inquiry have offered him support for the Presidential bid of his brother, Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, if the

Senate investigation into the rackets' affairs could be "softened or diverted."

Saturday, March 7

→ President Eisenhower tells Congress he needs no additional money for missiles or conventional warfare forces to deal with the Berlin crisis.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev announces in Leipzig, East Germany, that the Soviet Union will never permit the Communist rule in East Germany to be liquidated through unification with West Germany.

→ The House Committee on Un-American Activities warns in its report on last year's operations that the shrinkage of membership in the Communist Party of the United States did not mean any loss of Communist strength and danger. The truly important cadres of the Communist Party have gone either "semi-underground" or "deeply underground" and have "greater discipline, unity of purpose, and drive than a large, loosely knit organization."

→ Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota calls for full exposure of the "bribes and deals" offered to Robert F. Kennedy, chief counsel for the Senate rackets inquiry.

Sunday, March 8

→ Several brigades of the Iraqi Army, led by Colonel Abdel Wahab Shawaf, rise against the Communist-led regime of Major General Abdul Karim el-Kassem. Shawaf is reportedly in touch with Premier Nasser of Egypt and advocates Iraq's membership in the United Arab Republic.

→ The French Communist Party scores in the country's municipal elections its

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greatest triumph since 1953. In the area of Greater Paris it rallies 29% of the total vote and more than 27% in the twelve most densely populated regions of France. The Party gains 20% over its vote of last fall, while the de Gaullist parties lose almost twenty-two percent.

→ Secretary of Defense, Neil H. McElroy, announces that United States and its allies are working out "a variety of combinations of air and ground access" to Berlin to be used in the event of a Communist blockade.

→ Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and close friend of George F. Kennan, recommends that Christian A. Herter be named Secretary of State should John Foster Dulles be forced to retire.

→ The Chiefs of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines have filed with Congress (in secret testimony) their reservations about the President's defense budget, which the chiefs of all the forces consider inadequate.

Monday, March 9

→ Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev suggests that West Berlin might be "garrisoned by Big Four or neutral troops" if it became a "Free City."

→ The Chairman of West Germany's Social Democratic Party, Eric Ollenhauer, has a two-hours talk with Khrushchev in the Berlin Soviet Embassy. Together with the F.D.P., a small neutralist opposition party, the West German Social Democrats control about forty-five percent of the West German electorate.

→ The Soviet Government decrees the formation of new "people's brigades,"

whose assignment is to "prevent public disturbances in streets, parks, trains, factories and farms."

→ Senator John L. McClellan accuses the United States Supreme Court of an "instability that threatens the very foundations of our republic."

Tuesday, March 10

→ Lincoln White, spokesman for the State Department, asserts that Khrushchev's proposal of Big Four occupation of West Berlin is "merely a variant of the original Moscow plan." Acting Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, tells a Congressional committee that he is "hopeful but not too optimistic" about a settlement of the Berlin problem through talks with the Soviets.

→ Wladyslaw Gomulka, boss of allegedly "dissident" Communist Poland, tells the opening session of his Party's Congress that "Soviet intercontinental missiles have bankrupted Western policies."

→ The Pentagon confirms that General Maxwell D. Taylor, Chief of Staff of the Army and one of the most severe critics of President Eisenhower's defense budget, will retire in June.

Wednesday, March 11

→ President Eisenhower announces that the United States will not fight a ground war in Europe, but he refuses to rule out a nuclear war if hostilities developed from the Berlin crisis. With Eisenhower's repudiation of a ground war in Europe, the Eisenhower Administration has erased the concept of NATO which was based on American participation in a "conventional" defense of West Europe against a Soviet

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attack, i.e., on permanent readiness for a ground war in Europe.

→ President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic accuses Iraqi Premier Abdul Karim el-Kassem of acting as an agent of the Soviet Union.

→ Pope John XXIII appoints United States Bishop Martin J. O'Connor, the ranking American prelate in the Vatican Curia, Roman Catholic chief of mass media (motion pictures, radio and television).

→ The Senate, by a vote of ninety to one, extends for another four years the peacetime military draft of men eighteen to twenty-six years old.

→ By a vote of seventy-six to fifteen, the Senate passes the Hawaiian statehood bill.

Thursday, March 12

→ In an emphatic move against British-American talks of "disengagement" and "thinning out of troops" in West Germany, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer solemnly declares his country's opposition to any reduction of Allied forces in Central Europe.

→ A planned meeting of NATO's Military Committee, called for April, has been canceled as a part of a "keep calm" policy ordered by Eisenhower and Macmillan.

→ As the House of Representatives approves the Hawaiian statehood bill by a vote of 323 to 89, Hawaii is admitted to the Union as its fiftieth state.

→ The United States and Canada announce St. Lawrence Seaway tolls, to take effect April 1, 1959. The fee will amount to forty-two cents per ton of

"bulk" and ninety-five cents for a ton of "general" cargo from Lake Erie to Montreal.

→ William McChesney Martin, Jr. is appointed for another four-year term as chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

Friday, March 13

→ President Eisenhower urges Congress to provide four billion dollars for "military, economic and technical aid abroad" in the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1959. He indicates that additional funds for NATO military requests will be made later in the year.

→ Dr. Willard F. Libby, member of the Atomic Energy Commission, announces that the Soviets, with a single test series last October, have doubled the amount of radioactive debris in the earth's atmosphere. The tests were the "dirtiest" ever.

→ A high-level Soviet delegation, led by Mikhail A. Suslov, Secretary of the Soviet Party's Central Committee, is welcomed in London by Labor leaders, among them Aneurin Bevan, the Foreign Secretary of a future British Labor Government.

→ The program committee of forty-one members, appointed to formulate the Republican Party's aims and principles, decides not to use "hyphenated Republican descriptions" (such as "modern Republicanism").

Saturday, March 14

→ Contrary to President Eisenhower's announced policy of never fighting a ground war in Europe again, General Maxwell D. Taylor, Army Chief of

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Staff, advises the United States Senate that the West is capable of waging and winning prolonged "conventional ground warfare in Central Europe."

→ A Presidential Committee, under the chairmanship of William H. Draper, Jr., former Under Secretary of the Army, recommends an increase of this year's military aid abroad by 400 million dollars above and beyond the President's request to Congress.

→ Diplomatic sources in Vienna reveal that the Soviets' real goal in igniting the Berlin crisis is to bring about an over-all European settlement with the West that would underwrite the present Communist governments of the East European nations and a "stabilization of the status quo in Europe."

→ In belated partial publication of a speech which Khrushchev delivered in Leipzig, East Germany, on March 7, the Soviet Premier declares that "Communism is destined eventually to triumph throughout the world and it will conquer all of Germany." He promises, furthermore, that the Soviet Union "will preserve the Communist base in East Germany under all and any circumstances."

→ The Department of Defense admits that a billion dollars was spent in 1958 on "goods the military did not need and could not use" and that the brand new material was ultimately sold for about eight cents on the dollar.

Sunday, March 15

→ In the second and last balloting in France's municipal elections, the Communists and the Socialists emerge as the only victors. Between them, the two

parties rally more than forty percent of the votes.

→ The Soviet Government declares it considers its nonaggression treaty with Iran still in full effect and denies the Iranian Government's right to denounce it.

Monday, March 16

→ President Eisenhower announces his willingness to attend a "summit conference" to negotiate the Berlin crisis.

→ Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, asserts that the chances of war would be diminished by negotiating "a mutual military withdrawal, however slight, of Soviet and Western forces in Germany."

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev warns President Nasser against "trying to force Iraq into union with the United Arab Republic."

→ It is revealed that nine United States Citizens are being held in prison by Cuban authorities "for investigation." No formal charges have been lodged against any of the detained Americans.

→ The caucus of the Italian Christian Democratic Party decides by a vote of fifty-four against thirty-seven, with nine abstentions, for the policy of Premier Segni. As neither the former Premier Fanfani nor eleven other members of the Left Wing within the party attended the session, it is by no means certain that Premier Segni will control his own party for very long.

→ Red China informs Japan that "politics and economy are one and inseparable" and that Chinese-Japanese trade will not be resumed unless Japan rec-

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ognizes the United States as the "common enemy of both Japan and Communist China."

Tuesday, March 17

→ The Presidential Study Committee on Foreign Aid, led by William H. Draper, Jr., submits its concluding report, which recommends a "long-range" program (for an unspecified number of years) that provides annual United States military aid abroad averaging 2.4 billion dollars and economic assistance averaging one billion dollars a year.

→ "Diplomatic sources" in London believe that Britain will consider "a new international status for Berlin" to replace the four-power occupation.

→ Harry Bridges' Longshoremen's Union in Honolulu expresses its hope that John A. Burns, Hawaii's Democratic delegate to Congress, will seek the Governorship of the fiftieth state.

→ In local elections held in ninety villages of Westchester County the Democrats make substantial gains.

Wednesday, March 18

→ The United States Army announces that it will send another Redstone missile group to West Germany early in April.

→ The Defense Department releases information that the Navy launched into space late in August and early in September three atomic devices which detonated more than three hundred miles above the earth. This "greatest scientific experiment ever conducted" was kept a secret for more than six months to avoid Soviet protests that the United States was firing atomic weapons far from its shores.

→ General Lyman L. Lemnitzer is nominated to succeed General Maxwell D. Taylor as Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

→ Two leaders of the West German Social Democratic Party, Dr. Carlo Schmid and Fritz Erler, report on their return from a visit to Moscow that Khrushchev told them "no one wants Germany reunified."

Thursday, March 19

→ British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan arrives in Washington to confer with President Eisenhower on an Allied policy combining "firmness and reasonableness."

→ Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev "accepts in advance" the forthcoming Western proposals to convene a foreign ministers' conference May 11.

→ The French Catholic Labor Federation is organizing demonstrations against de Gaulle's austerity measures aimed at a stabilization of the franc.

→ In two British by-elections Labor's vote rises sharply over that in 1955 (in the by-election of East Belfast from 30% to 42%).

→ General Lauris Norstad, NATO's Supreme Commander, expresses his concern over France's decision to keep her Mediterranean fleet under national instead of allied NATO command.

→ The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee decides to extend the non-Communist affidavit requirement in the Taft-Hartley Law to employers.

→ I. W. Abel, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America, predicts that one hundred thousand idle

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members of his union will never go back to work despite the steel industry's recovery.

Friday, March 20

→ President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan, after first conferring with Secretary John Foster Dulles at the Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington, go to Camp David in Maryland for several days of secluded negotiations. According to British sources, Macmillan will try to convince Eisenhower that the Western powers should revise their position on German reunification.

→ The House Appropriations Committee refuses to approve a supplementary appropriation of 225 million dollars, urgently requested by President Eisenhower, for the Development (foreign) Loan Fund. Eisenhower describes the Committee's action as "irresponsible" and "a long step backward toward isolating our country and weakening our national security."

→ Open warfare against the Chinese Communist overlords of Tibet has broken out in Lhasa in defense of the Dalai Lama's freedom.

→ Walter Ulbricht, boss of the Communist regime in East Germany, announces that the "peace treaty" the Soviet Union intends to sign with his "government" will have "validity for the whole of Germany—whether Bonn co-signs it or not."

→ Economics Professor Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard University recommends to the Congressional Joint Economic Committee an unbalanced budget and a "slow" inflation.

Saturday, March 21

→ President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan agree on a Summit Meeting with Khrushchev late this summer. The meeting of the heads of governments will be preceded by a Big Four foreign ministers' conference to start May 11.

→ Contradicting the President's unequivocal statement of March 11, Defense Secretary Neil H. McElroy assures the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the United States would fight a ground war in Europe.

→ The Soviets have signed in 1958 "foreign aid" agreements with eighteen "underdeveloped countries," amounting to one billion dollars—one-half of the United States "foreign aid" programs in the same countries.

→ The United States Information Agency asks Congress for \$600,000 (an increase over 1958 by \$210,000) to produce three million American books in cheap editions abroad. A sample case of past performance: 32,000 copies of "New Dimensions of Peace" by Chester Bowles.

→ The United Steelworkers of America release statistics which show that wages in relation to sales volumes of steel are 36.3% in the United States but 18.8% in West Germany, 21.8% in Britain and 18.6% in Sweden.

→ Walter P. Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers Union, asserts that "the actual figure of unemployed persons is nearer 6,500,000" than the official 5,000,000.

Sunday, March 22

→ Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro says that Cuba would not side with the

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United States if the Cold War were to become a hot war.

→ On greeting French Prime Minister Michel Debré, the president of the city administration of Constantine, Algeria, says that "deep uneasiness and undeniable dissatisfaction" has replaced the feelings the Frenchmen in Algeria had last May when de Gaulle ascended to power.

→ On concluding a congress of West Africans in Ibadan, Nigeria, an official spokesman points out that Africans from French-influenced areas of the continent lean towards the pro-Communist Left.

→ The United States Census Bureau reports that the number of city government workers has increased more than twenty-five percent in the last ten years and that their total pay has nearly doubled in the same time. There were, as of last October, 1,600,000 city employees in the United States, and the city payrolls totaled 511 million dollars.

Monday, March 23

→ President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan conclude their Camp David talks, which Macmillan calls "the best conference we ever had," while other sources notice "some divergence between United States and British officials."

→ King Hussein of Jordan arrives in Washington.

→ Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru assures the Chinese Red Government that India has no intention of interfering in the "revolt" in Tibet.

→ In spite of the Soviet participation in the latest Iraq development, the British

Government is willing to supply arms to the Iraqi Kassem Government to show its readiness "to gamble on its professed neutrality."

→ A United States note to Moscow accuses Soviet trawlers in the North Atlantic of having broken five trans-Atlantic submarine cables.

→ Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Senate majority leader, contends that the last forty years of United States economic history have "cast grave doubts" on the theory that budget deficits cause inflation.

Tuesday, March 24

→ On leaving for London, Prime Minister Macmillan asserts in Washington that the West will succeed in the "tough task" of negotiating with the Soviets.

→ Iraq withdraws from the Baghdad Pact in compliance with the established Soviet aim of destroying the pro-Western alliance in the Near East.

→ Japanese Foreign Minister Aichihiro Fujiyama outlines the changes Japan wants in her seven-year-old security treaty with the United States—all of which changes amount to farreaching reductions of United States rights in Japan.

→ The State Department's Security Chief, John W. Hanes, Jr., "hopes and expects" that Congress will pass a bill empowering the Department to deny passports to "hard-core" Communists.

→ General Curtis E. LeMay, the builder of the Strategic Air Force, declares the United States is prepared to put in the air more than one thousand jet bombers, armed with nuclear weapons, on fifteen-minute alert "in any crisis in the days ahead."

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Wednesday, March 25

→ While Prime Minister Macmillan is reported to have told Vice-President Nixon that a "summit conference" should be held even if the preceding foreign ministers' conference were to fail, President Eisenhower declares that the West is not going to be "bluffed or blackmailed" into meeting the Soviets at the summit.

→ The highest national authorities of Tibet have proclaimed it an independent country, resolved to deliver itself from Red Chinese occupation.

→ President Gamal Abdel Nasser receives from President Fouad Chehab of Lebanon a declaration of Lebanon's solidarity with the United Arab Republic.

→ With the death of the Sudan's most influential leader, Sayed Sir Abdel Rahman el Mahdi, a pro-Western antagonist of Nasser, the Sudan is reported on the brink of joining the United Arab Republic.

→ The Soviet Government announces it will take military steps to protect its southern frontiers in the face of new United States military pacts with Turkey, Pakistan, and Iraq.

→ It is openly admitted in Bonn that Prime Minister Macmillan's recent diplomatic activity in Moscow and Washington has resulted in a serious breach between West Germany and Great Britain.

→ Senator Harry F. Byrd, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, predicts the President's "balanced" budget for 1960 will run a deficit of more than four billion dollars. The Committee's staff estimates that the budget deficit for 1959, officially estimated at 11.5 bil-

lion dollars, will be more than thirteen billion.

Thursday, March 26

→ The United States, Britain, and France invite the Soviet Union to join them at a foreign ministers' conference in Geneva on May 11 to discuss Germany and to arrange a summit meeting.

→ King Hussein of Jordan, in Washington, accuses President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic of having opened the way for Soviet penetration of the Middle East.

→ The State Department has decided to renew diplomatic relations with Communist Bulgaria after a lapse of nine years.

→ An official statement of the Adenauer Government in Bonn emphasizes West Germany's "sorrow" that President Charles de Gaulle has apparently recognized the Oder-Neisse line as Germany's permanent eastern frontier — the determination of which was originally reserved for the final Allied peace treaty with Germany.

→ In a third by-election this month, the British Conservatives mark a drop from fifty percent in 1955 to forty-six percent. Experts agree that, if the trend showing in southwest Norfolk is nation-wide, the British Conservatives are bound to lose the next general election.

→ Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro charges that "Cuban millionaire gangsters of the Batista regime are permitted to buy weapons in the United States."

→ The *New York Times*, informed by "diplomatic sources" (i.e., the State Department), reveals that the United States will propose at the foreign ministers' meeting in Geneva on May 11

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"a plan for reunifying Germany without holding nation-wide elections as a first step" (i.e., some kind of "confederation" with the East German regime), and "a program for altering the situation in Berlin."

→ Larry Collins, United Press correspondent who was expelled on March 25 from Iraq, reports that "the greatest purge in the Arab world has swept Iraq, with the Communists suppressing all opposition in a ruthless drive."

→ The popular revolt in Tibet has been crushed by the Communist Chinese army of occupation. The Dalai Lama is reported still in hiding. The Indian-Tibetan border has been closed.

→ Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, in the speech delivered in Leipzig on March 7 but fully published only today, emphasizes that the real question of German "reunification" is this: "Why not unite Germany by abolishing the capitalist system in Western Germany and establishing there the power of the working class?"

→ West Germany's Defense Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, declares that "disengagement" in Central Europe "would weaken the West's defenses, leave the Soviet Army in an advantageous position and open the way for Communist disorders that could lead to Soviet military intervention."

→ The nuclear submarine "Skate" returns from an under-ice trip to the North Pole after traveling 3,090 miles, while submerged for twelve days.

Saturday, March 28

→ The Chinese Communist Government declares the Dalai Lama's Gov-

ernment of Tibet dissolved and "appoints" the Panchen Lama, the Dalai Lama's rival, as the new ruler of Tibet.

→ The State Department accuses Red China of "barbarous intervention" in Tibet in violation of a "solemn pledge" to guarantee political and religious autonomy in that country. The pledge was made in May, 1951.

→ On his arrival in Washington West Germany's Foreign Minister, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, declares "there can be no question of stages before elections" in all Germany before a unification of the country.

→ Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, declares after a long session with Nikita S. Khrushchev in Moscow that "my visit here was very useful, I am extremely satisfied."

→ India's Prime Minister Nehru has been invited by Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev to visit Moscow this spring.

→ The president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, Charles B. Shuman, announces that the Soviets are reselling United States cut-price wheat as "Ukrainian wheat" to penetrate European markets.

Sunday, March 29

→ The foreign ministers of the fifteen NATO nations arrive in Washington to review the state of their organization at its tenth anniversary.

→ Red China charges that India is aiding the Tibetan revolt. Nationalist China's President Chiang Kai-shek emphasizes the obligation of the free world to come to the help of the suppressed Tibetan people.

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→ The Soviet Government demands a "nonaggression pact" between NATO and the Communist Warsaw Alliance, with the purpose of "disengaging the armed forces (of the two blocs)" and inaugurating "an inspection system." These Soviet demands are almost identical with Prime Minister Macmillan's proposals.

→ The Citizens Budget Commission publishes a study of the fiscal situation of seventeen key cities throughout the nation. The conclusive finding: All municipalities are in serious fiscal trouble because Federal and state taxation preempt the community's taxable resources.

Monday, March 30

→ The Soviet Government, in almost identical notes to the United States, Britain, and France, formally agrees to a foreign ministers' meeting in Geneva on May 11 "to be followed by a summit meeting," particularly if the Geneva conference "proved inadequate."

→ Indian Prime Minister Nehru admits that Red China has reneged on its promise to respect Tibet's autonomy, but refuses to admit substantial numbers of Tibetan refugees to India.

→ The Red Chinese Government drops paratroops in the southern parts of

Tibet to capture the Dalai Lama before he can reach India.

→ Secret Congressional testimony of the Chiefs of Staff of Army and Navy, General Maxwell D. Taylor and Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, reveals that the United States is accumulating "excessive retaliatory nuclear power" and "inadequate capabilities for limited warfare."

→ The Japanese Government expresses its willingness to challenge a Japanese court decision which declares the presence of United States military forces in Japan is unconstitutional.

Tuesday, March 31

→ The Foreign Ministers of the United States, Britain, and France agree in Washington that a "summit meeting" should convene only if the Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting on May 11 were to produce "constructive proposals."

→ Soviet fighter aircraft has been repeatedly menacing United States military transports flying to and from West Berlin above an altitude of ten thousand feet.

→ Meade Alcorn, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, has decided to resign. His successor is reported to be Senator Thurston B. Morton of Kentucky.

This Might Not Be Funny

The rumor that either Fidel Castro or Mao Tse-tung is going to be invited to give the William James lectures at Harvard next year has not been confirmed.

THERE GOES CHRISTMAS?!

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

WHEREVER FREEDOM STILL STANDS, it rests on certain indispensable pillars. The most important such pillar is religion. Where men reverently worship God, Communism finds great difficulties. For it is well known that wherever Communism takes over, religion is trampled under foot and religious people are brutally persecuted.

It is a logical tactic of the Communist conspiracy to undermine all the pillars of freedom, gradually and imperceptibly, so that they can be completely toppled when the day of enslavement arrives. One of the techniques now being applied by the Reds to weaken the pillar of religion in our own country is the drive to take Christ out of Christmas — to denude the event of its religious meaning. And as in so many of their undertakings, the conspirators have been able to enlist the aid of many non-Communist allies and dupes.

For some years alert Americans have been aware of the growing movement. It has been visible in subtle and sometimes not so subtle pressures to soft-pedal the religious significance of Christmas — that significance being, of course, simply the observance of the birth of Jesus Christ. But something new was added to these pressures in 1958, and will be pushed ruthlessly in connection with the celebration of Christmas next December. American one-worlders are determined to exploit even the holiest of Christian observ-

ances to make it a propaganda vehicle for the unholyest of organizations, the United Nations. This drive is being conducted by the familiar outfits devoted to boosting this international monstrosity, such as the United World Federalists and the various "associations" and "councils" for the United Nations.

At no time since the founding of this Babel on the East River have we witnessed such a fanatical, skillfully organized, and well financed campaign to "sell" the American people on the world "parliament" as has been under way during the last two or three years. It is a campaign of deceit and falsehoods, but that does not mean it cannot be effective. The sales operation today is smooth and expert. It utilizes every advertising trick perfected by the Madison Avenue boys. The general plan is to overwhelm you with the sheer volume of praise for the United Nations, and to prevent any dissenter from being heard, by dismissing him in advance as one who hates "peace" and condones war. If this campaign is successful, and if in consequence the American public places its hopes for peace in the United Nations, there will one day — inevitably — be a terrific awakening. Moreover, it will probably be a frightfully brief awakening, preceding very final sleep.

The salesmen (and saleswomen) for the United Nations are not as easy to deal with as the man who sells brush-

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es. He goes away peacefully and pleasantly when you don't need any — but try making Eleanor Roosevelt go away. The United Nations salesmen peddle their wares under the label of "peace." It's a phony label, but this may not become clear to the customers until after they have bought the merchandise. The United Nations agents emphasize that they are not out selling because they need to make a living, but because they are idealists who are anxious to save mankind. Many people naturally hesitate to slam the door in the faces of such "altruists." Nor do these salesmen just come to your front door, to make their "sales pitch." They lurk for you along all the paths where you are likely to walk, and supplement their direct approach with indirect appeals at every turn.

Among the many sales schemes now already well launched by the UN fanatics are the following: Speakers who are pro-United Nations, for school assemblies and community adult groups; mock UN assemblies in high schools; class trips of high school students to UN headquarters in New York; observance throughout the country, in October every year, of UN Day and UN Week; displays of UN propaganda literature in public libraries; pressure on the officials of radio and television stations for free time for programs glorifying UN; demands for free space in publications of all kinds for printed UN propaganda; the placing of UN "flag ensembles" in stores, hotel lobbies, and other places frequented by the public; the display of the UN emblem on the planes of private airlines; and the setting up of UN "information booths" in department stores, supermarkets, and banks wherever

permission can be obtained. The cooperation required for many of these activities is extended, usually, by establishments whose owners or top executives are themselves one-worlders.

Of course you personally may have the same feeling towards the United Nations that you would towards costume jewelry being paraded as real pearls and diamonds. And you may have the old-fashioned idea that you are not visiting stores and banks for the purpose of being subjected to and annoyed by UN propaganda. If so, you are just out of luck. One is reminded of the old-time European revolutionist who was shouting, to a small crowd on a street corner, his defiance of the existing order. "Today," he roared, "the rich sleep in soft beds and eat strawberries and whipped cream, while the poor sleep under bridges and go hungry. But comes the revolution, it is the rich who will sleep under bridges and go hungry while the poor sleep in soft beds and eat strawberries and whipped cream!" At this point a little old lady in the front row interrupted. "But," she said, "I don't like strawberries and whipped cream." The agitator frowned for a moment. Then he thundered: "On that day, comrade, you *must* like strawberries and whipped cream!" The frequently emotional agitators for the world's greatest collection of arrogant dogooders, screwballs, opportunists, and traitors take the position that all of us just *have* to love the UN — or be tagged as enemies of "peace."

The most vicious single aspect of the current UN propaganda drive in the United States, however, is the effort being made to have this world organization intrude on the celebration of our great national and religious holidays—

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and thereby obscure the traditional meanings of these occasions. In some cases the drive appears to have even bolder objectives. One suspects, for instance, that the one-worlders hope gradually to replace Independence Day in July with United Nations Day in October as the nation's most important non-religious holiday. For several years now the UN promoters have bulldozed their way into the observance of Halloween, turning this time of innocent merriment for the small fry into a collection project for something called UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund). Most of the money collected in this way goes to Communist governments; and the chance that those governments will actually use the "fund" for children is about the same as that the money our government "loans" to Gomulka will be employed by him to distribute bibles in Poland.

II

WE NOW COME BACK TO CHRISTMAS. Certainly nobody would claim that the United Nations is a Christian organization. Yet, as we have already indicated, its promoters have brazenly latched their propaganda onto Christmas, and are urging us to buy UNICEF "Christmas cards." UNICEF offers a wide variety of these cards, and it should surprise nobody that at least one of the artists who designed them has been affiliated with an impressive number of Communist fronts. Nor should it surprise anybody to learn that all of the UNICEF "Christmas cards" omit any reference to Christ—with one exception which is even worse than the rule. For the exception is a beautifully designed

card with the Madonna holding the Infant; but to the Communists, in their description of the card, this is the "Universal Mother!"

The UN fanatics launched their assault on Christmas in 1958, but too late to get very far before the holy day was at hand. They are already busy, however, at this very moment, on efforts to poison the 1959 Christmas season with their high-pressure propaganda. What they now want to put over on the American people is simply this: Department stores throughout the country are to utilize UN symbols and emblems as Christmas decorations. Even last year, despite the late start of these promoters, one large department store (Bamberger's in Newark, New Jersey) made conspicuous use of UN paraphernalia in its Christmas decorations. By next Christmas the salesmen of this scheme confidently expect department stores all over the United States to be doing the same thing.

Judging from past experience, there is no reason to assume that the plan will not succeed unless enough people are aroused to do something about it. And the most practical thing to do is for individuals to write stores, where they have charge accounts or which they regularly patronize, expressing their vigorous opposition to any such perversion of the symbolism associated with Christmas. If enough customers make it plain that they will cancel their charge accounts, and will buy nothing, in a store which drags the Godless UN into the celebration of so holy a season, that store will think twice before supplanting its traditional Christmas decorations with a lot of United Nations insignia. The stores want to do business. If they are made to realize that

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they stand to lose an appreciable amount of business and of good will, by letting themselves be sucked into this latest and most reprehensible of UN propaganda stunts, they will stay clear of the whole crafty project.

But the time to start exerting such pressure, or voicing such objections, is now. For bear in mind that the wire-pullers behind all of this propaganda drive are tightly organized, experienced professionals. By contrast, Americans critical of the United Nations are feebly organized, if at all. They can overcome the handicaps to making their attitude impressive only through an inspired determination to act — individually or collectively — with energy, speed and courage. And such action is far more effective before the stores have committed themselves. So here are a few suggestions which good patriots, who are willing to register their earnest protests, might keep in mind.

Express your sentiments clearly but courteously. There is no point in sounding hysterical because what you are writing about hasn't happened — yet. Your letters should be short; busy executives cannot be expected to take time to read what amounts to an article. Keep in mind that some of these executives may show some of the letters they receive to members of the United Nations pressure groups, so avoid anything which might help these UN "salesmen" to dismiss the letter-writers as "crackpots." Explain briefly but politely why you feel it would be out of order to drag the United Nations propaganda into the celebration of Christmas — and why, therefore, you would regretfully stop patronizing an establishment which did so. But despite

this threat the emphasis of your communication should be on a reasoned appeal for understanding and cooperation.

Above all, do not just let "somebody else" do it, or nothing will be done. The matter is far too important for any such neglect. For the plot to associate the UN with Christmas, and have it replace the religious aspect of Christmas, is much more diabolically shrewd than may appear on the surface. It is part of a much broader plan, not only to promote the UN, but to destroy *all* religious beliefs and customs. If we allow the one-worlders to start changing Christmas, in accordance with these plans, for every inch given them they will soon take a yard. Not only have the "liberals" and internationalists, who control all but a pitifully small segment of the mass media of information in our country, fraudulently presented the United Nations as a noble institution. And not only does the general public have almost no opportunity to learn the horrible truth. But working through thousands of dupes and misguided idealists, to accomplish these ends, are some very sinister forces — amply financed, aggressive, and irrepressible — that know exactly what they want. Allow these one-worlders to get their metamorphosis of our Christmas celebration under way, and we shall wind up in due course with, instead of Christmas, something called the "United Nations Brotherhood Festival" or the "One World Peace Festival." And there will not be an ounce of real brotherhood or peace in a century of such affairs. We shall merely have taken one more of the steps, insidiously planned for us, in the bolshevization of the United States and the world.

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

Visitors

The French atomic energy commission reports that Washington and Moscow have agreed on a Soviet-American Scientific and Technical Cooperation Program for 1959. One hundred Russian scientists are being sent to America. They will participate in a program in which the Russian scientists will lecture at a number of our universities, and to groups of our industrialists. *It is also announced that the visiting Russians will be taken into our laboratories to share experiments.*

We do not know whether this news has yet been given out by anybody but the French atomic energy commission or not. If so, we missed it. But we have no doubt that the French commission is correct. Nor do we have any slightest doubt about the real explanation of so incredible a gesture of aid and comfort to our enemy who intends to bury us. If you want it straight, the word is treason.

* * *

Berlin

We do not even pretend at this stage to know what is going to happen with regard to Berlin. We had believed that the long-drawn-out period of suspense and imminent crisis might have been designed primarily by the Communists as a distraction. The attention of the American people was to be drawn from the steady parade of Communist crimes and Communist progress elsewhere in the world, by focusing that attention for months on Berlin. Then at the last, for reasons of grand strategy, the Communists in Moscow and in Washington who plan it all together — or possibly have it planned for them from Ust Kamenogorsk — might “negotiate” a less drastic surrender of American and West German interests than had been anticipated. And this may still prove to be a good guess.

But we now have reason to be more doubtful, since President Eisenhower has proclaimed in effect that we shall not give

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an inch in Berlin and will fight if necessary to retain our position. For while we have no idea who persuaded the President to encourage the American people with so firm a statement, we do know that for the past six years almost every announcement of this kind, by either Dulles or Eisenhower, has been a dependable forerunner of our doing exactly the opposite. The record is full of these backdowns on our part, which have been infinitely worse for American prestige, and for anti-Communist morale everywhere, than if we had not shouted so loud what *we would not do* — before we did it. We can only hope that Berlin will supply one of the rare exceptions.

* * *

How To Lose Friends

We have waited in vain to see anywhere in the American press the real reason why President Eisenhower was sent on that short, mysterious, and apparently meaningless trip to Mexico, back in February. He himself may have been as puzzled by it as were the American people.

But the British Press was not puzzled by it, nor the British Embassy in Mexico City. They were merely angry. For the drive by Communists within our own government to create bitterness towards America on the part of the peoples and the governments of Britain and of France has been clever, long-continued, and extremely varied in its implementation. The still smoldering resentment of the French for what we did to them in Indo-China, and the outspokenly vitriolic articles in the leading London papers over our doublecross of the British in the Suez affair, were important enough for some tiny inkling of these divisive tactics to have reached a tiny fraction of the American people. But the campaign has consisted mostly of smaller, steadily repeated, hammer blows on the crumbling rock of Western solidarity. Of these, and of the constantly recurring anger deliberately caused both the French and the British by actions and devices subtly designed for that purpose, the American public has been almost totally unaware.

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The Acapulco trip is an excellent illustration of the disingenuous methods frequently used, to create annoyances which are disastrous in their cumulative impact. For the Duchess of Kent, carrying out one of the good-will tours on the part of British royalty — which seem so important to the British, and may well be — had just arrived in Mexico City. She was to be there until February 19. All plans for the proper reception of royalty had been carefully worked out in advance. So had the plans for the glorification of her visit in the Mexican press, and for those activities on the part of the Duchess which would create the most favorable publicity and build the most possible good will. And then, *on February 18*, right at the height of what should have been the greatest attention to the Duchess and the greatest effectiveness of her visit, President Eisenhower arrives in Mexico City.

Of course the presence of the actual head of state of Mexico's huge and powerful neighbor completely overshadowed the visit of the Duchess of Kent — in publicity and in the attention required of the highest officials of the Mexican government. Even the Mexican Foreign Office was almost speechless with anger, simply because of the complications thus caused them. But this was a minor and incidental achievement of the boys in Washington who had "planned it that way," compared with the affront to the British and the damage which the British felt had been done to their prestige and purposes.

A correspondent of the *London Daily Express* wrote that he had never seen any embassy so angry as was the British embassy in Mexico City over the President's move. An official of the embassy so far dropped usual diplomatic reticence as to describe Eisenhower's visit as in ghastly taste. And the *Daily Express* openly accused President Eisenhower of trying to steal the limelight from the Duchess during her trip to Mexico. Frankly, we doubt if Eisenhower even knew who the Duchess of Kent was, and much less that she was in Mexico City. He simply does, too willingly, whatever the leftwingers who run the Executive Department of our government tell him to do.

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But we are equally sure that they knew exactly what they were about, and that the British resentment was fully justified.

* * *

How To Lose A Continent

Such irritations as the Acapulco awkwardness have become simply incidental in the more substantial drive for our estrangement from the French. At the very time when the majority of the French people have, at long last, under the leadership of de Gaulle and Debré and Soustelle, begun to show some firmness towards the Communist enemy which had both surrounded and infiltrated them; at the very time when de Gaulle's willingness to stand shoulder to shoulder with Adenauer would offer the best hope in years of some realistically firm opposition to Communism in Western Europe; at that very time the Kremlin's busy helpers within our government are doing everything they can — or dare — to help the Communists make trouble for the French in all of the northern half of Africa, and to undermine de Gaulle's position at home by doing so.

In Morocco, for instance, our government is supporting and encouraging the demand of King Mohammed V for the departure of all French troops. But, except for the French troops in the school-bases, which are helping to train the king's own soldiers and whose presence under Moroccan and French flags together would probably be welcome, the only French troops in Morocco are those guarding *our four bases* for our Strategic Air Command (at Tangiers, Ben Guerir, Nouaceur and Port Lyautey). The French are positive that departure of their troops under these "nationalistic" pressures would establish the precedent for pushing the United States out also, at an early date. And there would go our bases.

In Libya, with our Wheelus Base and Benghazi Base, it is the same story. In Tunisia, Bourguiba has certainly received no discouragement from us (to put it mildly) in his drive to run the French out of their big naval base at Bizerta. The French resent our attitude for two reasons. They do not think our intention or expectation of supplanting them at Bizerta is the

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stuff on which friendship is built; and they know our days there would be numbered too. The anti-Western campaign uses the strategy of blasting one "enemy" at a time, thus making it the full target of its concentrated hate and giving the impression that once the immediate, all-important concession has been granted, everything will be alright. The French, from long experience with the phony "anti-imperialism" slogan of the Communist imperialists, know better. And, if you want it straight, so do the agents of our government who are sniping at the French.

In an earlier issue we discussed the moral support given by our government to those two Communist troublemakers further down in Africa, Kwame Nkrumah and *his* satellite, Sekou Touré; and the more than moral support given them by Mr. Irving Brown of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., with the obvious blessing of our government. Considering the course taken by Sekou Touré, the French had plenty of reason to resent the whole affair, as they do and should resent all of Irving Brown's promotion of leftwing labor movements all over French North Africa. And the help we have given the murderous and Communist-controlled Algerian rebels in so many ways, ranging from Senator Kennedy's speeches to our sending them arms through Tunisia, are certainly not designed to endear us to the French or to the vast majority of pro-French Moslems in Algeria. For the French see their sons, and the Moslems see their whole families, being constantly tortured and murdered by the terrorist F.L.N., in a continued campaign of atrocities as cruel and massive as the Communists have ever carried out.

But the most important immediate opportunity for the boys in Washington, who are so inclined to get up the hackles of the French and sow resentment and discord, is through criticism of de Gaulle's intention to draw the French Mediterranean fleet out of NATO. In our opinion, and to put it bluntly, de Gaulle would be a traitor to France if he took any other course. For France is literally at war right now, on behalf of the French Republic and its millions of loyal Moslem subjects in

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Algeria, against a Communist-led enemy determined to separate all Algeria from France—and to establish there a terroristic Communist dictatorship. If that war should spread to the whole Mediterranean area, control of the French Mediterranean fleet by NATO would mean, in effect, its control by the United States Government. And the United States Government has made clear, by word and deed, that it is actually on the side of France's enemy, the Algerian rebels.

De Gaulle can foresee that France's own fleet, as a part of the NATO naval forces commanded by Washington, could be and probably would be used to shut off France itself from Africa, and to assure the success of the Algerian rebels. There would not even be anything new in this, since it is exactly what Washington did with *our own* Seventh Fleet during the Korean War. That fleet was used to protect the Chinese Communists on the mainland from any attack by Chiang Kai-shek's troops across the Formosa Strait. We safeguarded the flank of our enemy, the Chinese Communists, from any assault by our most powerful ally in that part of the world, Chiang Kai-shek, who had at least half a million troops just begging to get into the fight on our side. We thus arranged that the Chinese Communists would be free to use their forces to massacre our soldiers in Korea. The French already have enough trouble with the Communists, both internally and externally, not to want to be handicapped by that kind of "brilliant" generalship. So de Gaulle has correctly said "nothing doing." Naturally, it takes a lot of courage for the mere President of a European nation, like France or West Germany, to do anything which might displease so really important a world statesman as John Kennedy. But there are times when true patriotism makes even *lese majesté* necessary.

Of course what makes every current cause for friction, between the French and ourselves, rankle even more, is the still continued resentment of our actions in Indonesia some four years ago. A group of Americans sent by our government into that area, supposedly to erect a barrier against Communism,

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chose as their first step in this undertaking to make the natives like America, by encouraging the agitation of those who hated France. The famous French journalist, Raymond Cartier, wrote *at that time* of these men committing excesses capable of opening a crisis in Franco-American relations which would reach far beyond the boundaries and events of Indo-China. "No Frenchman in Indo-China," he wrote, "doubts that the tracts inciting the population to massacre them [the French] were drawn up in the bureau of Colonel Lansdale . . . the American team has set itself the task of building Vietnamese inner solidarity by cultivating nationalism and exciting all the animosities fatally created by a century of unequal living together."

In connection with Dienbienphu; in connection with that infamous Geneva Conference at which the Chinese Reds were allowed to have a say in the sell-out of North Vietnam to the Communists; in connection with the Americans' brazen substitution of our paramount influence for that of the French in Indo-China, and then making a bigger mess of the whole situation than the French had ever made; in connection with all these follies—and worse—of our government (in which the American people have had no part and of which they have had almost no knowledge), the truly patriotic and anti-Communist French who are largely in power today have the bitterest of remembrances.

But many of these same officers and leaders were themselves in Indo-China during the years of crisis there. Bitterest recollection of all is of the tracts, which they were utterly convinced had been prepared in Colonel Lansdale's office, advising the natives to "spit in the face" of Frenchmen. And those Frenchmen know, to a man, just where Colonel Edward Lansdale is today. He holds an important job in the office of Neil McElroy, our Secretary of Defense. They remember that, entirely aside from the cruelty and the injustice to France promoted by Lansdale's group, these policies failed utterly and tragically in their avowed purpose of stopping the Communists. The French

(Continued on page 29)

BULLETS

Progress consists, not in the annihilation of yesterday by today, but in keeping that essence of yesterday which had the strength to create this better today.

Jose Ortega y Gasset

Without a doubt the Communists know what Uncle Sam stands for — they're just not sure how much.

D. O. Flynn

Tact is the art of making a point without making an enemy.

Quoted by Ken Robertson

Socialism is Communism that's house broken.

Paul Harvey

Many a man's wallet would be flatter if it weren't so full of credit cards.

Uncle Mat

To negotiate is to surrender.

Jacques Soustelle

By the time you have money to burn the fire has gone out.

And Temptation With It

I'm a self-made man, but I think if I had to do it all over again I'd call in someone else.

Roland Young

Democracy is ever eager for rapid progress, and the only progress which can be rapid is progress down hill.

Sir James Jeans

If you are troubled by the noise in your car, let her drive.

Some Heartless Husband

If Adam came on earth again the only thing he would recognize are the jokes.

Thomas Dewar

We are served worse by many servants than by a few.

Aristotle

Photographer: "Please look pleasant, lady, and in a few minutes you may resume your natural expression."

She Did, Too

In the spring a young man's fancy turns to thoughts of income taxes.

Or They Better Had

Wife to thrifty husband: "I wish you had the spunk the government's got. They don't let being in debt keep them from spending."

B. Tobey

Truth is stranger than fiction. But stranger than either is the current twist-ory put out by our State Department.

Our Own Observation

Hollywood bedtime story: There was a mama bear, a papa bear, and a baby bear by a previous marriage.

Sidney Skolsky

Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought.

Shelley

"Disengagement" is just a new word for "betrayal."

Elenore M. Drouin

If ignorance is bliss, why aren't there more happy people?

Atlas News

A rich man is nothing but a poor man with money.

W. C. Fields

He that walketh with wise men shall be wise; but a companion of fools shall be destroyed.

Proverbs XIII, 20

Some questions about **FOREIGN AID**

We print below a letter which we have written to President Eisenhower. We signed our name and address to the original. If you share our feeling of puzzlement and frustration over foreign aid, we suggest that you write the President a similar letter in your own words. Or simply put this one in an envelope and mail it to him.

Dear Mr. President:

We are confused.

You say that unless we continue to spend billions for foreign aid we may become the richest nation in the graveyard.

This means that Khrushchev and his fellow Communists will bury us. For we have no other enemies. Foreign aid, as a measure of defense, means defense against the Communists. We do not have to protect ourselves from anybody else.

It seems clear, therefore, that the purpose of all foreign aid expenditures should be, directly or indirectly, to weaken the Communists or to strengthen their opposition. In view of this plain application of common sense, we wish you would have somebody answer the following questions.

1. Wladyslaw Gomulka was "Deputy Prime Minister" in the original Lublin Gang which took over Poland for Stalin. Despite the deceptive ups-and-downs of internal Communist politics, Gomulka is today just as faithful an agent of the Kremlin as he was then. He has recently and loudly reconfirmed the complete subservience of his government to Moscow. Yet

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huge sums of our foreign aid have gone and are going to Gomulka. How does that help in our fight against Communism?

2. In the small country of Laos there has been for years an armed Communist group known as the Pathet Lao. Its leader, and the best-known Communist in Laos, was and is Souphannou Vong. In 1957 Souphannou Vong forced a "coalition government" on Laos, in which he became "Minister of Planning, Reconstruction, and Town Planning." Some of his Communist troops were integrated into the Laotian Army and the remainder (supposedly) disbanded.

According to the *New York Times* (November 21, 1957), our foreign aid is the sole support of the Laotian Army and "underwrites virtually all of the country's economic development." We allocate to Laos more than twenty dollars of foreign aid per inhabitant per year—the largest amount, *per capita*, that we send to any country in the world. The primary responsibility for the distribution of this "military, economic, and technical assistance" is with the *Ministry of Planning, Reconstruction, and Town Planning*. In plain language, we turn more than forty million dollars per year over to the chief Communist trouble-maker in Laos, to be used by him to keep Laos from going Communist. How does that make sense?

3. The whole program is full of even more important extensions of aid which are just as peculiar. They merely take more space to present than the two simple illustrations we have selected. Where our money is not turned over directly to open and active Communists, much of it is given to socialist governments to enable those governments to intensify, in their respective countries, the poisonous atmosphere in which Communism thrives. In Bolivia, for instance, since 1952 the nationalization of the tin mines, the destruction of capital, and "agrarian reform" (the seizure of farms from the owners to give the land to the workers) have produced such chaos, suffering, and regimentation by force as to have made the present

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tight Communist grip on the country almost inevitable. Yet, during the very years this was happening it was our heavy foreign aid which kept Paz Estenssoro's government in power (as he himself has admitted) and enabled him to carry out these policies. How does the promotion of socialism wherever possible help us to improve our chances of survival against our enemy, the Union of *Socialist* Soviet Republics?

4. Where—as in Iran—direct financial support of known Communists or enthusiastic fellow travelers is not feasible, the sheer waste of our money is often so incredible as to make wastefulness itself an apparent objective. How does such reckless squandering of our money, as to cause us to look ridiculous even to our friends, aid anybody but the Communists?

5. Achmed Sukarno of Indonesia once led a mob which burned in effigy, as an "imperialist," the then President of the United States. In the years from that time to the present he has never passed up an opportunity to express his hatred and contempt for the United States, or his admiration for the Soviet regime. He has made it unmistakably clear by both word and deed that he is and will be one hundred percent on the Communist side, in the present Cold War and in any hot war which might develop. Yet we have been rushing arms out to him, in our flying box-cars, to enable him to suppress a clearly defined anti-Communist revolt in Sumatra and the Celebes. What kind of aid to our side, or weakening of the enemy, is that?

6. There are people who contend that these uses of our money are not the result of misguided idealism, or of faulty strategy, or even of innocent stupidity. These people say that the actions indicated here, as well as a careful study of the whole foreign-aid operation, show that the effective motivation behind the program is an intention to help the Communists. They know that the Communists have been winning the

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world almost entirely by deception. And they point out that the most successful form of this deception has been the persuasion of the American people to do exactly what the Communists have really wanted us to do, but to do it *under the guise* of fighting Communism.

These people say that our sending millions to outright Communists like Gomulka and Souphannou Vong is willful treason, and cannot be anything else. They believe that the American people are as hypnotized as the proverbial bird in the presence of the snake. They say that the Communists, with their stupendous and unceasing propaganda, with their influence over our mass media of communication and information, and with the help of their highly placed secret agents within our government, now have the American people so mesmerized that the most brazen treason can be carried out right before our eyes—and passed off as nothing worse than poor judgment. These observers say that anybody who will simply shake his head, until it is clear enough to distinguish black from white, will see that no other explanation but calculated treason even makes sense. And they say that you must be the most completely mesmerized American of us all. How do we answer them?

We are badly confused, Mr. President. We hope you are not the same.

Sincerely,

A Million Disturbed Patriots,
From Maine To Hawaii

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If You Want It Straight . . .

(Continued from page 23)

want no more of Lansdale or of any similar policy of having the American government take command of their struggle with the Communists. And who can blame them?

* * *

No Truce In Korea

That the Communists have continued to build up their military strength in North Korea, in complete violation of the truce terms to which they agreed, is no surprise to anybody familiar with Communists. That they have done so without the slightest objection by our government, and apparently with its blessing, is no surprise to anybody familiar with our government. And the current Communist activities *inside* South Korea, which are so exactly in line with usual Communist procedures everywhere, would not surprise anybody but for one reason: We have all been looking at Beirut or Havana or Berlin or somewhere else, while the Communists made hay in Seoul and Pusan.

For decades the Soviet military, economic, and diplomatic threats hanging over Finland, always being used to support the Soviet's agents and sympathizers within Finland, wore down the original firm and courageous Finnish opposition. Until today Finland is almost a Soviet satellite, and the government of Finland practically takes its orders from the Kremlin. It can be said truthfully that Finland was conquered by attrition. And exactly the same process is now at work in, and on, South Korea. But there are two differences. South Korea had never been allowed to become firmly established as a nation before the Communist pressures began. And the tempo of Communist advance has now become so much more rapid, through both momentum and experience, that processes of betrayal which once took ten years can now be accomplished in two or three.

The pressures on South Korea begin with the constant threat by the Communists, now so heavily armed and equipped, simply to sweep down across the 38th Parallel again and over-

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run the South at any time. Seoul itself is only seven minutes away, for jet bombers from the newest Communist airfields. All of South Korea lives and exists under the dark shadow of murderous invasion by Communist hordes. This threat is a powerful factor in enabling Communist agents and sympathizers within South Korea to take a more brazen course, and to intimidate their opposition. Not only do infiltrators from the North make all of the trouble they can, and not only do their allies and agents carry that trouble right into the high levels of the South Korean government, but what is even worse, the Communists are visibly gaining support from some of the more opportunistic South Koreans, whose patriotic courage is gradually failing them under all of the pressures for the present and dangers for the future.

Because of the greatly stepped-up campaign of infiltration and subversion which the Communists have been carrying on for the past several months, a much needed National Security Law was brought forward in the Korean Assembly. Whereupon the so-called Democratic Party of Korea embarked on a program of obstructionism and villification which for a while bogged down all normal and necessary government procedures. If the leftwingers in our own country, who are now promoting the Communist "Operation Abolition" to get rid of the FBI and our internal-security committees, should stage a week's sit-down strike on our Senate floor, the situation would be comparable to what Syngman Rhee has had to face in Seoul.

Although every election held in the Republic of Korea in the eleven years of its existence has been under United Nations observation, and the essential honesty and impartiality of these elections have been certified to the United Nations by its own committees or commissions (which were certainly hostile to Syngman Rhee), the Korean Democratic Party has been casting slurs on the elections — and going much further. On February 4 of this year a leading member of the Korean Democratic Party wrote, in an editorial in his "opposition" newspaper:

"A true majority is not, of course, expressed solely by elec-

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tions. If elections are not capable of determining a true majority, there may be another way of doing it. This way is that in which a true majority is decided by force, and that is what we call a revolution The general understanding of the political crisis that Korea faces today may have to start from this point."

This, as the Korean Foreign Policy Association has stated, comes very close to open advocacy of revolution. It is clearly the purpose of leading elements within the Korean Democratic Party to supplant the truly republican government of Syngman Rhee, and his approximately two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, with a pro-Communist clique. This would, of course, be only a forerunner to the eventual "unification" of North Korea and South Korea under a Communist dictatorship, with the full terror of Communist vengeance and suppression let loose on millions of South Koreans — after the unsurpassable bravery and suffering which they have gone through over the past decade to save their country.

To bring about this increasing Communist influence within South Korea, and ultimate absorption of South Korea by the total Communist tyranny, the Korean Democratic Party has and uses many tricks, many methods, and many pressures. The threat of civil war and its resulting chaos and misery is a powerful lever. It is made more powerful by the certainty that Communist troops and tanks and planes would pour across the border to take part in that civil war.

These threats, however, are kept in the psychological background, always understood but seldom stated. While in the foreground of the Korean Democratic Party's effort to persuade, frighten, and coerce more and more of the South Koreans into a resigned acceptance of its program, is a trump card which the Party leadership keeps sticking just slightly out of its sleeve for everybody to catch a glimpse of, and keep in mind. This trump card is *American support*. For the Korean Democratic Party, in its efforts to overthrow that determined anti-Communist and our great friend and ally, Syngman Rhee, is convincing more

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and more of the people of South Korea that it has the backing of the United States Government. And, on this score, the Party does not have to convince us. We would find any other course, on the part of Moscow's agents along the Potomac, to be utterly incredible in the light of what they are doing everywhere else in the world.

WE PAUSE TO REMARK . . .

In many respects the *U. S. News and World Report* is, in our opinion, by far the best of the news weeklies. Or was. We have praised it in the past, and hope we shall be able to do so in the future. But even the *U. S. News and World Report* appears to be accepting uncritically, at face value, entirely too much of the deceptive and disingenuous interpretation of events put out by agencies of our government. For instance, on Page 68 of the January 2, 1959 issue, this weekly said: "New nations of West Africa will be looking over what the Communists have to offer in the way of trade and development deals. But, Ghana and Guinea won't stray too far. They know their bread is buttered in the West."

You need only to read the pages of *U. S. News and World Report* itself, since then, to see how completely wrong that statement has proved to be. But the point is that, for anybody who took the trouble to look into the background of Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, and what had really been happening in Ghana and Guinea — instead of swallowing some bilge from our State Department — the statement was utter nonsense in the first place. This is not hindsight on our part. For in our own February issue, which went to press the first week in January, we gave the known facts to show that Nkrumah and Touré were, and would be, working for Moscow, with Moscow's energetic help, and under Moscow's direction.

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The *U. S. News and World Report* has far greater facilities for getting at the truth than we do. But we are emphasizing this relatively minor point because it is a clear-cut illustration of the shallow reporting and non-perceptive editorializing which is creeping increasingly into the pages of that magazine. Its readers have the right to expect — and have been led to expect — something much better.

* * *

There is at least an occasional bit of humor in the news these days, if your stomach can ignore its grim background and tragic significance. But for the pity we must feel for the victims of Communist tyranny, for instance, few scenes would be funnier than that of the anti-Communist delegation from Tibet seeking the aid of J. Nehru. It's something like a flock of lambs going in a delegation to ask a lion to protect them from other lions. We are sure that Nehru will give his moral support to these Tibetans, in their struggle against Peiping's enslavement, on the same day that Lester Pearson votes against Soviet interests and that Eleanor Roosevelt begins speaking for free enterprise on behalf of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Come to think of it, there are a number of other things we expect to happen that same afternoon. Khrushchev is going to invite Mikolajczyk to replace Gomulka as the boss of Poland. Fidel Castro is going to hold an honest election in Cuba. Gamal Abdel Nasser and Romulo Betancourt will confess that they are Communists. The Eisenhower administration is going to reduce taxes. Harold Macmillan is going to thumb his nose at Khrushchev. Something important will happen somewhere in the world that Allen Dulles and his CIA can claim to have had some inkling of in advance. Walter Lippmann will make sense. And the TVA will make money.

That very same afternoon, Dean Erwin Griswold of the Harvard Law School is going to criticize the Supreme Court and come out for state's rights. His boss, Nathan Pusey, will establish a chair at Harvard in honor of the late Senator Mc-

We Pause To Remark . . .

Carthy. And their final boss, the Harvard Board of Overseers, will hold one meeting without glorifying J. Robert Oppenheimer, Owen Lattimore, or Ralph Bunche. The NAACP is going to throw everybody with a Communist-front record off its board of directors. The Fund For The (Soviet) Republic is going to become The Fund For The (American) Republic. The National Council of Churches is going to elect Billy Graham or Billy James Hargis or Carl McIntire as its head. The Americans For Democratic Action is going to endorse Barry Goldwater for President. The Supreme Court of the United States will resign in a mess — pardon us, we mean *en masse* — so that some experienced lawyers can be appointed to the highest bench. And the Disunited Nations will disband.

On that glorious day Nelson Rockefeller is going to become a Republican; Lyndon Johnson is going to become a statesman; John Kennedy is going to get a haircut; and Hubert Humphrey is going to wipe that silly grin off his face. Adlai Stevenson will split an infinitive, Alfred Gruenther will split his openers, and Kwame Nkrumah will split his breeches (which means a lot, for they certainly are too big for him now). And on so rare an occasion, Karim Kassem will *not* split somebody's throat.

By late afternoon of that same day the truth will prevail and the millenium will practically have arrived. Stuart Symington will apologize for the Moss he threw at McCarthy. Paul Hoffman will explain how he could give a thousand dollars to the extremely leftwing Committee For An Effective Congress, while claiming to be a conservative Republican. Estes Kefauver will put on some dignity. Marilyn Monroe will put on some clothes. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. will pay all of his income taxes. Milton Eisenhower will spend a day at whatever college he is then president of; Harry Bridges will move to Russia; and Walter Reuther will move to have the United States return to the gold standard. Drew Pearson will drop his pose of being civilized; Harold Stassen will drop his candidacy for office; Paul Douglas will drop his halo; and Achmed Sukarno will drop dead (thereby saving the lives of thousands of good Christians

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in the Moluccan Islands and millions of good Moslems in Sumatra and Celebes).

* * *

Of course, since the above paragraphs were first written, the Dalai Lama of Tibet has himself arrived in India, asking political asylum. And that does add complications. For with all the pretenses Nehru makes to being civilized, he has to go through the motions of a cautious hospitality. But if the Dalai Lama (with whose brother your editor once had the pleasure of having dinner in Tokyo) should ask our advice, it would be to get out of India, not only as quickly, but even as quietly or secretly, as possible. For the chances of both himself and the earlier delegation meeting with a fatal "accident," before leaving India, or on their way out, is not to be ignored. It could even occur on the tenth anniversary of that day in 1949 when a planeload of American correspondents so conveniently and fatally crashed near Bombay. The correspondents were on their way home from Indonesia to tell the American people the truth about J. Nehru's good friends, Achmed Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta!

The Game of Darts

The bride-elect and her mother were in the deceiving line.
Clovis (N.M.) News

Soon there may be more people in the United States Department of Agriculture than there are living on farms—more people farming the farmers than there are farming the land.

Tom Anderson, In FARM AND RANCH

Alexander Wiley offers living proof for the existence of God. For how else can we explain the fact that the United States has flourished for over 175 years despite the presence of men of Wiley's calibre in the United States Senate?

The Princetonian (Quoted by John S. Knight)

Woman, to postal clerk: "It's fragile. Throw it underhand please."
Bob Barnes

CONFETTI

An elderly lady drove her car into a garage and asked the mechanic to repair it. Asked what she thought was the trouble, she said:

"Well, my husband told me it could be fixed up fine if I just got a new head for the driver."

* * *

Love-sick porcupine as she backed into a cactus: "Is that you, dear?"

* * *

The crystal gazer was famous and charged rates accordingly. One day he had a nervous visitor and informed her that his charge was twenty-five dollars for two questions.

Madam: "Isn't that a lot of money for only two questions?"

Crystal gazer: "Yes, Madam, it is. And now what is your second question?"

* * *

A burglar's wife was being vigorously cross-examined by the prosecuting attorney.

Attorney: "Madame, are you the wife of this prisoner?"

Witness: "I am."

Attorney: "You knew he was a burglar when you married him?"

Witness: "I did."

Attorney: "May I ask how you came to marry such an individual?"

Witness: "You may. I was getting old and had to choose between a burglar and a lawyer."

* * *

Ruth rode on my motor bike
Directly back of me.
I hit a bump at sixty-five
And rode on Ruth-lessly.

* * *

An editor who was noted for his caustic wit received a lengthy poem, written on perfumed paper and tied

with pink ribbon, from a woman contributor. The title of the poem was "I Wonder Will He Miss Me?"

The editor returned the poem with a note saying:

"Dear Madam, if he does, he should never again be trusted with firearms."

* * *

From a high school paper:

Recent research from a prominent institute reports that parenthood is hereditary. If your parents didn't have children the chances are you won't either.

* * *

"Shall I boil the missionary?" asked the cannibal cook.

"Boil him?" cried the chief. "Are you crazy? That's a friar!"

* * *

An adoring grandmother willingly consented to baby-sit for her small grandson and tucked him cozily into bed.

"Now there," she said. "Let's have a bedtime story, shall we? Fuzzy Wuzzy was a bear. Fuzzy Wuzzy had no hair. Fuzzy Wuzzy wasn't fuzzy, was he?"

There was no answer as the small boy looked at her steadily.

"Well, darling, was Fuzzy Wuzzy fuzzy or wasn't he?" she asked.

"Grandma," the boy said, "you are drunk."

* * *

And We Barely Remembered

Quite a few of our readers figured out, correctly, that there was only one place in the world where the facts, given in our puzzler in this space last month, could have been true. In the beginning the hunter was standing at the North Pole. The color of the bear he shot, therefore, was indubitably white.

SOME TRUTHS ABOUT BETANCOURT

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

ON MARCH 26, 1959, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released a "study of the manifold activities of the Communist international conspiracy in Central and South America."

The senate subcommittee noted that "Communist Party membership in the twenty Latin American countries is estimated to have increased by about five percent in 1958." The estimated total at the end of the year was in the neighborhood of 229,000. This means that there were more than two million Communist sympathizers and fellow travelers.

The largest single gain in membership was that of the Communist Party of Venezuela, whose year-end total was between 30,000 and 50,000. In the Venezuelan election of December 7, 1958, the Communist Party polled 160,719 votes, winning two seats in the upper house of the congress and seven seats in the lower house.

In Argentina, the Communist Party polled 191,538 votes in the election of February 23, 1958. In this election, the Party threw its support to Arturo Frondizi, who became the successful candidate for the presidency. Frondizi's overwhelming victory at the polls was attributed to the Peronistas and the Communists. With the possible exception of Bolivia, Argentina is, both politically and economically, the most unstable country on the South American continent. From the viewpoint of the Peronistas and the Communists, however,

President Frondizi has defected from the Marxist camp to that of the New York bankers and is, therefore, the most likely casualty of the next Latin American coup d'état.

Throughout 1958, the economic and political deterioration in Argentina proceeded at an accelerated pace—a fact well known to the press of the world. Costly strikes, thousands of arrests, and finally the declaration of a state of siege, have crippled the economy beyond repair. During the author's visit to Argentina during the latter half of 1958, almost all of the newspapers headlined rumors of an impending coup d'état, every hour on the hour. The correspondent of a leading Swiss newspaper cabled his editor the following terse comment on the situation as he saw it: "Everywhere one finds the flame of rebellion: in the army, in the unions, in the police force, among the students, and in the parties — not excluding the ranks of the Government party." (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, October 5, 1958).

In Latin American politics, the Marxist orientation of the universities — students and professors — has become a tradition. The Communist-organized World Youth Festival, which is the big event scheduled for Vienna this summer, has received the official support of the National Union of Students of Brazil that claims 100,000 members; of the University Federation of Argentina; of the Asso-

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ciation of University Students of Guatemala; and of the Federation of Chilean Students. Other student organizations of Latin America are certain to follow suit. Parenthetically, it may be noted that Romulo Betancourt and Fidel Castro began their Communist careers while they were university students.

The most impressive electoral showing in Latin America during 1958 was that of the Communist Party of Chile. Its candidate for president on a Communist-Socialist coalition ticket, Salvador Allende, received 356,499 votes, which represented twenty-nine percent of the total vote. This was barely short of the necessary vote to elect Allende, but it was enough to seat nine members in the upper house of the Chilean congress and twenty-one members in the lower house.

The outstanding events of 1958 were, of course, the revolutions which overthrew Perez Jimenez in Venezuela and Fulgencio Batista in Cuba. While Washington whistled in the dark and pretended not to see, Romulo Betancourt and Fidel Castro established Communist beachheads in Venezuela and Cuba.

Recent issues of AMERICAN OPINION have dealt fully with the Communist seizure of Cuba. It should be noted, however, that the acts and pronouncements of Fidel Castro day by day add cumulative evidence which proves that Castro's revolution is guided by agents of the Kremlin.

On March 16, Castro made the following statement: "Within a short time we will have reduced the rich to the middle class and elevated the poor to the level of what today is called middle class." This announced objective of Fidel Castro further stamps him

as a loyal leader of the international Communist conspiracy.

If the situation in Cuba were not so serious, so fraught with dire consequences, it should be treated as comic opera. On April 4, President Eisenhower chose to speak to the world from the platform of Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania. A major portion of his address was devoted to the Communist threat in Vietnam which, as he correctly noted, was about as far from Gettysburg as any spot on the world's map. Neither in his Gettysburg speech nor in any other public pronouncement has the President dealt with the menace of Communism in Castro's Cuba, which is only ninety miles from the shores of Florida.

II

WHICH BRINGS US TO BETANCOURT

But this brief look at some of the other countries and developments in Latin America is simply by way of introduction to a longer look at the Marxist leader about whom we should be most urgently concerned. For in the Venezuelan elections of December 7, 1958, Romulo Betancourt was elected president by a substantial majority. Betancourt's life story and published views throw important light upon the ideological basis of the present Venezuelan government. For Betancourt is a power-hungry demagogue who imagines himself to be a modern Simon Bolivar. (The latter was also a Venezuelan).

Ernesto Romulo Betancourt was born to Luis and Virginia Betancourt in Guatire, Miranda, Venezuela, on February 22, 1908. He was educated in the Liceo Caracas and the Law School of the Central University of Venezuela.

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He holds decorations from Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Chile, and Sweden.

In 1928, when he was only twenty years old, Romulo Betancourt embarked on his career of Communist activity. In that year, he became a Communist agitator and organizer of student strikes and demonstrations against the regime of President Juan Vicente Gomez.

It was in the 1928 student revolutionary activity that Betancourt first became associated with Gustave Machado, the leader of today's Communist Party in Venezuela. There was, however, no formally organized Communist party in Venezuela in 1928, although there were individual Communists such as Ricardo Martinez and Romulo Betancourt. The party was not officially organized until 1931.

Because of his revolutionary activity against the Gomez regime, Betancourt was exiled and took up residence in Costa Rica. There he took an active part, with Manuel Mora, in founding the Communist Party of Costa Rica, in 1930.

In a letter to Valmore Rodriguez, dated January 27, 1932, Betancourt wrote:

"You know that I have acted as director of the Communist Party. I wrote editorials in the newspapers and was a member of the executive committee, and directed the Popular University."

Concerning Betancourt's connection with the Communist Party of Costa Rica, Robert J. Alexander writes: "One of the early leaders of the Costa Rican Communist Party was a young exile from Venezuela, Romulo Betancourt. A student leader in his own country,

Betancourt had been exiled by the tyranny of Juan Vicente Gomez and had sought refuge in the little Central American republic. A few years older than Mora, he quickly took a leading position among the Costa Rican Communists." (*Communism in Latin America*, page 385).

Robert J. Alexander and Romulo Betancourt are close personal friends. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that the former would have any bias against Betancourt. Alexander interviewed Betancourt in order to get material for his book.

While Betancourt does not state categorically that he was a member of the Costa Rican Communist Party, he implies as much in his recently published book, *Venezuela: Politica y Petroleo*. He tries, however, to pass it off as a juvenile indiscretion, in the following paragraphs:

"We (the youthful exiles) surrendered ourselves wholly to the passionate examination of the doctrinal roots of the various political theses. We devoured, more than read, books of history, of economics, of social science. On the majority of the exiled students this phenomenon, common to American youth of the decade of the thirties, operated: with the fervor of neophytes we absorbed what was written in the classics of socialism. We even believed, for a moment, that in Russia they were creating a type of social organization of universal application. We began to dream of a revolution like the Bolshevik, with our czar of Maracay being shot at dawn.

Despite the fact that we were young enough, because the majority of us had just passed twenty, we resisted the temptation to surrender our political will to Soviet direction, then so attrac-

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tive to youth throughout the world. That is to say that, as we drew near to the Communist core, the basic Venezuelan and American sentiment of our group was strongly repulsed. We met up with a group tending toward foreignization, deaf and blind to the vital needs of our peoples, bowing down in a kind of servile and affected piety before the imperious directives of the Comintern bureaus. The small group of our fellow countrymen already organized in embryo at that time, which was later to become the Communist Party of Venezuela, proceeded to deepen the abyss between our groups and theirs, unleashing against us a campaign of abuse in which they still obstinately persist with extraordinary tenacity twenty years after having launched it.

"But we did not fold our arms in rejecting the imported formulae and slogans, in order to face up to Venezuelan realities and those of Spanish America in general, with the intention of helping to modify and remake them. On the contrary, we began to construct a system of ideas and plans in order to present them to Venezuela as a way to the solution of her basic problems. We defined ourselves and proclaimed ourselves defenders of economic nationalism, of agrarian democracy, and of social justice, debating ardently the possible means whereby the country could restore and consolidate a regime of public liberties. That was the step which we logically considered as a prior necessity if we were to get our national-revolutionary message across to the people." (*Venezuela: Política y Petroleo*, pages 69-70).

In the foregoing statement concerning his youthful enthusiasm for Communism, Betancourt alleges that the Communists unleashed "a campaign of

abuse in which they still obstinately persist." This campaign, according to Betancourt, was directed against him and his group of youthful exiles. The record belies this allegation. At no time has Betancourt been the target of a real Communist smear campaign. He has been criticized, yes; but not villified. On the contrary, the Communists, in 1945, described Betancourt as a man "of strong character, very dynamic, politically capable and a talented economist."

Again, the Communists put their seal of approval upon Betancourt's Venezuelan administration (1945-1948) by saying: "The new program offers certain advantages which the people of Venezuela must be quick to grasp and retain."

Today, in 1959, the Communists of Venezuela are certainly *not* persisting in any "campaign of abuse" against Betancourt. They are well on the way toward forging a popular-front regime and Betancourt is not doing anything in any way toward hampering the Communists in achieving their objectives.

If one may take Betancourt at his own word, his only objection to the Communists in his early exile in Costa Rica was his aversion to taking and acting upon "imperious directives" from the Comintern. He did not object to Communists on the ground of their ideology.

According to his own account and according to Communist sources, Romulo Betancourt was not expelled from the Costa Rican Communist Party. He simply quit the party in 1935, having been a member and leader for five or six years. His differences were so slight that he was not compelled to go through the regular procedure of expulsion and castigation, which is the lot of all but a few who desire to leave the party.

Some Truths About Betancourt

III

AS HE DESCRIBES HIMSELF

In his book, *Venezuela: Política y Petroleo*, Betancourt today pictures himself as an anti-Communist. Before taking him at his word, however, it will be necessary to examine his claim. First, let us read his statement:

"During the three years when I worked underground (in Venezuela), I wrote more than six hundred articles which, as editorial notes without the signature of the author, were published in the paper *Ahora* of Caracas. In these pieces, I popularized our party thesis on the basic problems of the nation. My comrades in the partisan commando, who were in exile, carried on similar work and shared with me the perils of persecution.

"On the other front, we competed with the Communists, aggressively challenging their influence on student youth and on the masses of the workers, and especially on the organized labor movement. We spread by all possible means our political thesis that in a country semi-colonial from the point of view of its economy, with its autonomous development blocked by foreign finance capital, without a vigorous development of national industries, and with a proletariat numerically and organizationally weak, the leading of a people in the struggle for political democracy and national liberation could not be effectively fulfilled by a party of restrictive working-class composition and orthodox Marxist affiliation. We repeated tirelessly that, besides its congenital weakness as a party of one single class and subjected to an inflexible ideological canon, the Communist Party had another Achilles heel: its slavish adaptation to the changes of

Russian foreign policy. We brought together workers and peasants, students, professionals and intellectuals, farmers, merchants, and medium sized industrialists, in a belligerent and disciplined party, which daily waged a struggle against the anti-historical forces opposed to national progress. Our objective was to form a vast resistance front against the deforming imperialist penetration and against the undigested remnants of feudalism, which on the political and economic fronts blocked collective progress. We did not deny but admitted the doctrine of the party and its daily conduct, the characteristics of the workers and peasants as the most revolutionary and coherent sections of the nation; and we strove successfully to incorporate them in our ranks and help them to organize in their labor unions for economic struggle. But, at the same time, we rejected the Communist formula of 'revolutionary gymnastics,' of permanent guerilla warfare in labor relations, and the artificial exacerbation of the class struggle, because we considered that such extreme and adventurous tactics robbed the national democratic front of allies without benefitting the workers, and damaged the feeble native industries. Finally, we avoided anything that might mean subordination of specifically Venezuelan interests to those of a foreign power and, admitting the obvious reality of our economic connection and geopolitical coincidence with the United States, rejected energetically the colonialists' thesis which confuses cooperation with dependency. We never encouraged in our ranks chauvinistic nationalistic hatreds against other peoples. On the contrary, concern for what was universal and our Americanist tendencies were and are the active elements of our

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ideology and our mystique. We defended and still defend the old and nevertheless typical Bolivarian ideal of a federated Spanish American pact, preceded by sub-regional agreements." (*Venezuela: Política y Petroleo*, pages 95-96).

In that marathon of a paragraph Romulo Betancourt has very explicitly adopted the current Communist line, even while professing to set forth a program in opposition to it, or in competition with it. It must be borne in mind that the views expressed in the long paragraph above are of recent date (1956), and that Betancourt has not disavowed these views at any time or place since 1956.

The device by which Betancourt seeks to beguile his readers into believing that he is now an anti-Communist, or at least in competition with the Communists, is a simple one — much too simple and far too obvious. On the one hand, he sets up a Communist straw man and, on the other hand, he proceeds to knock it down with a club which might just as well have been made in Moscow as in South America.

Betancourt describes the Communist Party as "a party of one single class." There is no such communist party, and there has not been any such party for many years. Dogmas such as the dictatorship of the proletariat were dropped from the Communist manuals of the non-Communist countries many years ago. They passed out of use with the coming of the Yenan Way or the Popular Front.

Betancourt further describes the Communist Party as a party of "orthodox Marxist affiliation." The Cold War which is being fought in many parts of the world today is not a war of ideolo-

gies. It is a power struggle, a war of survival versus conquest. Orthodox Marxism is not a test which one must pass in order to be admitted to membership in the international Communist conspiratorial apparatus. Orthodox Marxism went out at about the time the Charleston and the Black Bottom left the dance floor.

Over against his imaginary communist party, Betancourt sets his own party as one "bringing together workers and peasants, students, professionals, and intellectuals, farmers, merchants, and medium sized industrialists, in a belligerent and disciplined party. . ." That is not only the Betancourt party; it is also the Communists' party.

Betancourt writes: ". . . we rejected the Communist formula of 'revolutionary gymnastics,' of permanent guerilla warfare labor relations, and the artificial exacerbation of the class struggle. . ." Betancourt is not alone in rejecting that kind of formula; the Communists have joined him in its rejection. The tactics of present-day Communism are identical with those advocated by Betancourt.

IV

AND HIS PART IN THE NIXON AFFAIR

May 13, 1958, was a day of infamy in the annals of United States relations with the republics of Latin America. It was on that day that Vice-President and Mrs. Nixon were besieged by a well organized Caracas mob, whose stoning and spitting were the result of explicit instructions from Moscow. Nothing like it had ever happened before in the history of our country. The carefully calculated humiliation of the United States government was shown in the motion picture theatres throughout Latin America.

Some Truths About Betancourt

During that evening of May 13, 1958, Romulo Betancourt made a speech on radio and television; a speech which was later distributed in print to the whole world. Betancourt's speech proved to the world that in Venezuela, under his government, no indignity committed by a bunch of Communist hoodlums would ever result in any rebuke, however mild, to its perpetrators.

Several statements in the Betancourt speech call for comment. Mr. Betancourt declared that he had "devoted thirty years of his life to the struggle for freedom and democracy for his country." The publicly recorded fact is that Romulo Betancourt spent at least seven of those thirty years—1928-1935—as a roving Communist agitator and conspirator, during five of which he admits that he was a card-carrying member of the Communist Party. His statement on the Caracas radio and television was tantamount to a declaration that Communist agitators and conspirators are "devoted to the struggle for freedom and democracy."

In his speech, Betancourt described the Caracas mob as made up of "small groups of irresponsible people" and "small groups of rioters." At no point in his speech did he make any reference to Communists, despite the clear evidence that the attack upon the Nixons was organized by Communist agents, with the Venezuelan police standing by in deliberate indifference to what was going on before their eyes. If there were the slightest truth in the widely held myth that Romulo Betancourt is an anti-Communist, the evening of May 13 would have been an ideal occasion for him to have delivered a ringing declaration against the agents of Moscow.

Although the Caracas police share

with the Communists the responsibility for the attack on the Nixons, not one word of Betancourt's speech was in the nature of an acknowledgement of this responsibility; or of that of the Venezuelan government, in which Betancourt himself was, at the time, unofficially the key figure. The Venezuelan Minister of the Interior, the Chief of the Security Police, and the Chief of the Caracas Police were all members of the *Accion Democratica* and were all Betancourt men.

Furthermore, Betancourt did not give the slightest hint that any of the mob would be punished according to law. On the contrary, he devoted a large part of his speech to a whitewash of the culprits, on the ground that reprehensible United States policy toward Latin America in general and Venezuela in particular was at the bottom of the whole affair.

José Figueres, ex-president of Costa Rica and very close friend and collaborator of Romulo Betancourt, testified on June 30, 1958, before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States House of Representatives. In his testimony, Figueres referred to the barbaric attack of the Communist-organized mob on Vice-President and Mrs. Nixon. A Spanish translation of Figueres' testimony was published in the July-August issue of the new left-wing magazine *Combate*.

As Romulo Betancourt had done on his radio and television broadcast of May 13, Figueres omitted the word Communist entirely in his remarks. So far as Betancourt and Figueres are concerned, the Communists had nothing to do with the attack upon the Nixons. According to the ex-president of Costa Rica, the sole responsibility rested upon

Some Truths About Betancourt

"a few Venezuelan zealots," who were justifiably angered by the foreign policy of the United States government.

Figueres declared in his statement, which was devoid of any hint of the real meaning of the horrible incident:

"But I must be frank, and even brutal, because I believe that the situation demands it: people cannot spit on a foreign policy, which is what they meant to do. And, after exhausting all other possible means of conviction, spitting was the only thing left for them to do."

Figueres' justification of the barbaric deeds of the Caracas mob, led by Soviet

agents, is a fair measure of his mental processes. Betancourt's alliance with Figueres, his sponsorship of Fidel Castro, his own speeches and actions, his record throughout the past and his announced plans for the future, all show clearly the kind of man who is now ruling our neighboring country at the top of the South American continent. That South America is now well on the way to becoming "the lost continent" to the anti-Communist world, Moscow is well aware even if Washington is not. And we are sure that the Communists are counting on Romulo Betancourt's help in their plans to take it over.

The Game of Darts

Khrushchev: "If there's one thing we detest, it's other countries interfering with our interfering in the affairs of other countries."

The Herald (Dominican Republic)

Time Magazine, which usually doesn't like Taylor Caldwell, the great novelist and noted anti-Communist, surely didn't help her wonderful new bestseller, "Dear And Glorious Physician," by listing the price at \$2.00 more than it is.

Lee Mortimer

Reader, suppose you were an idiot. And suppose you were a member of Congress. But I repeat myself.

Mark Twain (Quoted By Don Bell)

Eleanor Roosevelt, speaking of radio and television: "Nobody wants me to be on a steady program." Now if she would go a step further and learn that the public also is not interested in her spouting off periodically it would be a big relief.

The Palladium—Item

Want the facts or do you want to keep feeling good?

Granville King (Let's Have Better Mottoes Association)

We believe that a Communist in our government in Washington is less likely to run into trouble with his superiors, over something he does, than a Communist in the government in Moscow. In Moscow a government agent must be good; in Washington it is frequently sufficient for him to be a Communist.

An Anonymous Observer

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

FOR THOSE HAPPY PEOPLE who don't take politics very seriously, the great event of 1959 may well prove to be the collapse of American television. And those who still believe that politics is our fate will not necessarily disagree. For, while the Administration insists on bungling the "Berlin crisis," even the cumulative blunder in Europe cannot do more damage to the fibre of America than the fatuity of the entertainment industry which has attained a monopoly on American imagination.

The effect of TV on the American character assuredly outweighs all other influences. With infinitesimally few exceptions, all American homes are, for several hours every day, wired to TV's increasingly imbecile radiation. Knowing statisticians estimate that "the average American" (between six and ninety) spends an average of twenty hours a week staring at the TV screen—one-half as much time as he works for a living, two-thirds as much as he passes in schools, twenty times more than he meditates in church. And I would have to use astronomical figures if I were to estimate the ratio between the time spent in front of TV and the time "the average American" wastes on considering his society's, and his own, political fate.

Through The Shimmering Glass . . .

This month, I propose to take a look at the world of TV—which, *alas*, is for most Americans the world they live in.

For we had better get used to the fact that TV supplies most of the visual, intellectual, moral, and emotional stimulation of our age. What people think, believe, desire, dream, and reject comes to them from the TV screen—most certainly not from the printed page, from human conversation, from moral instruction or even from the movies. If you made the superhuman decision to see all movies Hollywood produces in a year, you could do it in about 450 hours, or eight hours a week. But, altogether, the competitive TV networks and the affiliated and independent TV stations pour every year almost 200,000 hours of diverse "entertainment" into America's bloodstream. "The average American" (and I put this term in quotes because I have never met that appalling character in the flesh) absorbs of this ocean only about one-half of one per cent (namely, one thousand hours a year); but the sum total of the "entertainment" TV offers is four hundred times the output of Hollywood.

For professional reasons, as well as because I find the medium weirdly fascinating, I am a veteran of twelve years of TV viewing. And I had dire premonitions, expressed in print, even back in 1948. But TV's intellectual and artistic débâcle in 1959 is worse than the gloomiest prophet could have expected then; and even the professionally optimistic executives of the industry itself no longer hide a panicky concern. No cautious man would ever say that, in

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1959, TV has reached bottom; for we have not seen the TV of 1960 yet. But there can be no doubt that this country is submerged, for eighteen hours a day, in a flood of scandalous inanity. With an exemplary devotion to my duties as a critic (even if I say so myself) I have faced the monster for the better part of a whole week—and here is a bowdlerized version of my notes.

On Sundays . . .

What has become of the sabbath! On this biblical day of rest and of restoration, all stops are pulled; the dikes burst, and the TV avalanche comes down on the American family. The Sunday morning hours, to be sure, are reserved for religious services; but I hope I can assume that those Americans who feel a need for communion with the spirit prefer the four dimensions of the church to the two-dimensional cheapness of TV. So that, without much doubt, Sunday's religious TV services are the least popular product of the industry. The real Sunday specialty on TV are the "forums" and the "documentaries"—and they remain, to me, the most objectionable of all TV fare.

American TV journalism, quite rightly personified in Edward R. Murrow's voice of doom and in his jerky leftism, would clearly justify a suspicion that a conspiracy is at work. From Eric Sevareid to Chet Huntley, from Brinkley to Cronkite and Howard K. Smith and Bob Trout and John Daly—there is not a single celebrated American TV commentator whose leftist bias would not show. And yet, after careful consideration I have arrived at the conclusion that there might not be a single Communist in the bevy. Rather, they all are touchingly primitive copies of

Adlai Stevenson—namely, of what intellectually underprivileged and sinfully overpaid dummies ecstatically admire as a "sophisticated egghead."

A telling case in point was a recent two-part "Small World" program in which Mr. Murrow paraded Noel Coward from Jamaica, Miss Siobhan McKenna from Dublin, and James Thurber from New York. Noel Coward, a generation ago "the cat's pajama," had apparently chosen to act as a mere *agent provocateur* in a seemingly harmless discussion of humor; while James Thurber, whose talent is as genuine as it is warped by political gall, played the straight man. Miss McKenna, who manages to speak learnedly of humor without a trace of it in either her eyes or in her soul, shall be dismissed here in a spirit of gallantry. But what Coward and Thurber and Murrow kept doing, on two Sundays, and before millions of docile American patriots, merits attention.

They Even Call It Humor . . .

The subject, as I said, was humor. But they discussed practically everything else. Without the slightest reason, and with a sadistic grin on his expensive face, Mr. Coward would suddenly say: "Ah yes, everything the Russians do is extraordinary!" And he meant it as a compliment, I assure you. Or Mr. Murrow would say: "Herblock draws with the best of them"—meaning that new-deal propagandist who draws with the foam around his mouth rather than with ordinary ink and who, on the whole, is about as much of a genius in art as Murrow is in writing. Or Thurber would say: "There is no humor in America because everybody is politically afraid"—an embarrassing hiccup

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from the bygone years when our intelligentsia wallowed in "Anti-McCarthyism."

The somewhat ghastly net impression of this "sophisticated" program was this: "Big name" television is regimented to a complete conformity. The leftist accents are mere reflexes. Eric Severeid, or Howard K. Smith, or Chet Huntley, and others like them do not seem even to be aware that they express an opinion when they slant something in an absolutely outrageous fashion. They articulate (and articulating is their business) what is *axiomatically* accepted in their circles. I have found the same undertone in as supposedly innocuous a program as "The Last Word," a weekly panel discussion of the American vocabulary. Mr. Bergen Evans is host and Mr. John Mason Brown is a regular panelist—and you can hear from both, with a naive ignorance (or maybe a disingenuous ignoring) of what they are doing, every Sunday, some outlandish stabs against what you and I would consider fundamental tenets of a sane society. The point, I repeat, is *the innocent naturalness*, the "Doesn't-everybody-think-so?" air of the untiring performance.

Or Escapism . . .

After 8:00 P.M., the Sundays are turned over to Ed Sullivan and Steve Allen. The amazing fact about Mr. Sullivan, it seems to me, is his undying gusto. Each time this best-paid *amateur* of all human history introduces a professional juggler, or a full-time comedian, or a singing doll, Sullivan acts, rather persuasively, as if he had just discovered an unknown Michelangelo. It is, I guess, his own incapacity for ever being jaded that makes his pro-

gram endurable. Now Steve Allen, who runs with the "sophisticated" crowd, is a professional; and, at times, he is genuinely zany. But though he can occasionally produce a real belly-laugh, his program, on the whole, is a bore—mainly because his is the inbred type of television: He is the entertainer who self-consciously sees in a mirror an entertainer who sees in a mirror an entertainer who, and so on *ad absurdum*.

And with this we have touched one of television's bleeding wounds: The industry is no longer concerned with the world, but only with itself. It is as if American newspapers should fill their pages with shop-talk about the limited wonders of newspaper-making. Television was born with one and only one promise: That the miracle of electronics could bring the whole world, the real world, the throbbingly pulsating world, into the living room. Whenever TV was great in the past, it was approaching this *one* goal—to expand our puny private dimensions into an awareness of the world's complex reality. Whether it was a memorable report on an exceptional ball game or the unforgettable newsreels about the Hungarian revolution, whatever I can remember of years of TV consummation was always in the realm of urgent *reality*.

This year's TV *débâcle*, it seems to me, is the reward for the industry's accelerated march into meaningless escapism. TV, mind you, does not try to escape from excitement, thrills and kicks; on the contrary, it seeks them more than ever—provided they have nothing to do with the reality that surrounds us. Excitement, at this point, is being catered to in the interminable "Westerns" that crowd TV every night of the week—completely stylized tales

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of make-believe "morality" and a tongue-in-cheek "toughness."

About ten years ago, I remember, the rage on TV was the "Suspense" type of weird story. Now that type of story, too, was an escape from the excitement of the world we live in; an escape into the substitute excitement of an eerie plot. But "Suspense" of ten years ago had at least the quality of incessant experiment, an artistic realism, a zest for the unexpected. Where is it all gone?

Significantly, the only old-time program that is still on the air is "What's My Line?"—a phony marshmallow of a program, nauseatingly "cute" and predictable to the point of distress. Four "celebrities" (what turns a cloying Miss Arlene Francis into a celebrity?) make like teenagers in an artless parlor game of guessing a person's occupation. If I tried hard, I could not think of a more boring pastime. And yet, the program is still on, after ten years, and in a choice spot.

* * *

And On Week Days . . .

At this point, I must dutifully inform my readers that we are venturing from the peace of Sunday into the weekday routine of TV. And this proves, believe me, to be a strolling through the most barren desert. There is, to anticipate my findings, not a single program on the air to which you can turn regularly with a sense of decent expectations—in tens of thousands of entertainment hours, not a single hour of real magic!

Monday night: Innumerable "Westerns"; the rather tortuous "family humor" of the "Danny Thomas Show" and "Father Knows Best"; the downright feeble-minded "Arthur Murray Party."

Tuesday night: "Westerns"; the tired (and dying) "Dragnet"; "To Tell The Truth" (a pretty mediocre "panel" show that keeps itself, but not the audience, hilariously amused with catching two liars among three embarrassed contestants); the repetitious "humor" of Arthur Godfrey, Red Skelton and Garry Moore.

Wednesday night: "Westerns"; "Keep Talking" (an absurdly inane "parlor game" type of program); the venerable "Milton Berle Show"; Garry Moore's "I've Got A Secret" (another panel of "celebrities" playing the kind of parlor game no teenager would play a second time); and "The Circle Theater" (one of the last and one of the least admirable of the many "life theater" shows that only a few years ago brightened the TV screen).

Thursday night: "I Love Lucy" (still funny in spots); "Westerns"; "Behind Closed Doors" (purportedly the exploits of anti-Communist secret agents abroad, actually an appalling distortion of the real battle in the world); "Playhouse 90" (still the most ambitious "theater" show on TV, but scheduled for extinction); "The Groucho Marx Show" (a sadly diluted version of the American "Marxism" that once was great humor); "The Masquerade Party" (quite likely the *most* stupid of all "panel" parlor games on TV).

Friday night: "Your Hit Parade" (being just what it says, i.e., hardly bearable); "Westerns"; "Ellery Queen" (a well-produced, badly written and rather boring "detective" show); "The Phil Silvers Show" (still the funniest show on TV, though Bilko begins to get on my nerves); "Lux Playhouse" (the most artificial and dehydrated of all the "theater" shows TV introduced

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years ago, and hence still alive); "Boxing Bouts" (excellent, if you like boxing).

Saturday night: "Perry Mason" (again, a well-produced but badly written "detective" show); "Perry Como Show" (the most consistently innocuous, soothing, unobjectionable show on the air); "Westerns." And early to bed.

There Is The Same Flight From Reality . . .

We have reached a point, where, without any doubt, the most commendable and most exciting part of the TV menu consists of the old movies: After ten years of exploring unlimited new frontiers, TV retreats to the ghost towns of discarded Hollywood productions. No one could escape farther from reality. These old movies and the late-night "conversation" programs (Jack Paar, Mike Wallace, Alexander King) are all the nervous appeal a tranquilized TV industry has nowadays to offer. Why? I think I know the reason.

We have been moving during the last few years towards some kind of tragic global decision. In such a situation, the small sensitive minority within a busy people develops a special sense of urgency, but the overwhelming majority craves "normalcy" more than ever. And our civilization, in particular, hates "tragedy," loathes conflict, worships "happiness." It is, let us face it, a Pollyanna civilization. It has never known a President more akin to that spirit than Eisenhower. And the TV industry is its faithful servant.

The more disturbing reality has been getting, the more tepid and "escapist" became American TV. Anything was permissible that had no bearings on the world around us. Thus nothing was

permissible that was bearable for the sensitive. Emptiness became the essence of the regular TV production—not because some conspirators deliberately falsified reality, but because the whole industry was determined to escape from it. And in a vicious circle without end the enforced vacuity of TV makes its articulate "star commentators" even more contemptuous about the cowardly civilization they are supposed to serve: The more TV, as a whole, engages in escapism, the more frankly do the Murrows spit in society's face.

In this sense, TV presents the most serious indictment against our civilization; but the painful and grotesque caricature of reality that becomes visible on the TV screen is merely a symbol of the escapism that permeates *all* of American life. The well-edited national magazines, the reputable newspapers of the nation, the public utterances of our statesmen, even the sermons of our preachers, are all a desperate exercise in irrelevancy, "optimism" and self-deceit.

Which Is What The Public Wants . . .

And I don't mean to say that "the people" are being misled by their "elite." On the contrary, in this one respect the leaders of the nation do exactly what "the people" *want* them to do. Reckless thoughtlessness in the face of approaching disaster is an elementary feature of all democracies and of most republics (beginning with those of ancient Athens and Rome). My basic objection to American TV is not that it disappoints their audiences but that it speaks after their mouths.

Which makes my criticism fundamentally ineffective: What chances are there that an entertainment industry which satisfies public cravings may

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mend its ways? And yet, the bosses of that industry—who, with their spectacular success, have proved their alertness—ought to understand their immense responsibilities. In their hands is a greater power of arousing this nation than in those of all other “opinion-makers” combined. If they get scared by such a power, because they are scared of reality, then TV may yet prove the grave digger of free society.

The universal flight from the reality of rising conflict, hardly noticeable in America’s politics and work-a-day life, creates a thick fog of inanity in mass entertainment—simply because the visual arts, particularly when produced in TV’s horrifying volume, must *express*

the very vacuity that is merely *implied* (mainly with acts of omission) on the printed page. When an editor doesn’t want to look at the facts, he changes the subject. But once TV has been denied its only legitimate subject—i.e., reality—the TV producer must still *show* sixty minutes of every hour; and so he will inescapably show a silly quilt of “unconcerned” irrelevancies. The point is he must *show*.

American TV mirrors a society in absurd flight from experience. After a good look at the TV screen, I can suggest an epitaph for our society: “This civilization died because it didn’t want to be bothered.”

A Letter To The Reader

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

italicized certain words above, in order to emphasize our express provision for: (1) enough exceptions, by the Nobel Prize Committees, to supply the necessary “protective coloration”; and (2), books which the Communists desired to see sell, because of their support of Communist purposes current at that particular time, whether or not the authors had intended such support.

Our critic metamorphosed that statement into the following: “It is contended, for instance, that *no* [our emphasis] writer who has not in some way supported the Communist line has in recent years won a Nobel Prize. The names of T. S. Eliot, William Faulkner, and Winston Churchill are

sufficient refutation of that exaggeration.” *We did not exaggerate*, as a record of all Nobel Prize awards will clearly show, and the names given do not refute anything.

“Moreover, AMERICAN OPINION insists [our critic continues], no one could have achieved near-unanimous critical acclaim and vast circulation if he were genuinely anti-Communist—that kind of success is impossible without the connivance of the Kremlin and its servants.

“Myth, pure myth. It conveniently slurs over the fact that a good many books not beloved of the Kremlin—*Out Of The Night, I Chose Freedom, Witness, Assignment In Utopia*—have done quite well.”

A Letter To The Reader

If this was the best our critic could do on this point, he would have been better advised to skip it. We slurred over nothing, conveniently or otherwise. For one thing, we certainly made clear that we were talking about the situation *today*—not when *Assignment In Utopia*, or even *Witness*, was published. We also emphasized twice that the basis for our comparison—and the result of powerful leftwing promotion—was the 160,000 copies of *Dr. Zhivago* which the publishers boasted they had sold *in one month*. When Mr. Lyons names for us any truly anti-Communist book which has sold even in the same league with those figures, we'll apologize to him on bended knee.

The whole diatribe is full of similar distortions by omission, commission, and misquotation, of what we really said. The changes are usually slight and sly; their effect is cumulative. The argument is cleverly advanced, and the writing is cute. In fact, the whole piece is one of the "cutest" we have read in a long time. It is a sample of what Molière, if he were living today, undoubtedly would call "*la composition précieuse*." Nowhere does Mr. Lyons deign to voice mere disagreement with our analysis or conclusions. From the title with which he begins his article, to the phrasing of its last paragraph, he holds up to ridicule as "folklore of the right," and scorns as "exercises in self-delusion," the opinions of those who do not agree with Eugene Lyons. The result is to give not just an unchivalrous, but a decidedly *unfair*, impression of what the opposition said. So, for anybody who would like to read our actual statements and arguments about *Dr. Zhivago*, and who missed it in our February number, we

shall be glad to send a free copy on request.

Because it seemed to us that this critic had laid himself wide open, we planned to write a devastating reply in a twenty-page *tour de force*.

It is no surprise that Eugene Lyons liked *Dr. Zhivago*, and resented our criticism of it. For Pasternak has the same love for socialism and its "ideals," combined with dislike for the tyrannies that accompany socialism in practice, which appears to have activated Mr. Lyons' thinking and writing all of his life. We were going to point out, therefore, that while Eugene Lyons is an earnest and sincere anti-Communist, his long-continued personal distaste for capitalists and capitalism had led him into quite an erroneous assumption. It is that an almost universal similar distaste has made the Communist advance possible through ideological programs rather than through conspiratorial methods.

We were going to call Mr. Lyons a Bourbon of the intelligentsia, who had learned nothing and forgotten nothing about the Communists since he broke with them a quarter of a century ago. He had then already learned that "divide and conquer" is a formula which the Communists use unceasingly. But it seems never to have occurred to him that, as more of the world came under their sway, "divide and keep conquered" became an equally important plank in Communist strategy. It is precisely because the thought of a *simultaneous* revolt of the enslaved satellites is so continuous a nightmare in the dreams of the Kremlin gangsters that they precipitate separate revolts to destroy the danger piecemeal. Mikolajczyk

A Letter To The Reader

himself has pointed out—in the pages of our magazine—that the Poznan and Warsaw uprisings of 1956, through bringing the Polish “underground” prematurely into the open, had destroyed the potentially effective opposition to the Soviets in Poland for years to come. But our contention, based on tangible evidence, that the same consideration was true with regard to the revolt in Hungary, is so far beyond Mr. Lyons’ conception of Communist strategy today that he considers it absurd.

His patronizing dismissal (as old wives’ tales) of our carefully reasoned arguments, and his presumptuous according to himself of the right to speak *ex cathedra* from the pulpit of pontifical omniscience, seemed to us revealing as well as annoying. With these thoughts in mind, we intended to raise the question of whether this critic any longer knows what he is talking about—as a result of being too positive that he already knows it all, and consequently too unwilling to learn anything more. In fact, being more “cute” than Mr. Lyons himself, we were going to make a monkey out of him.

Except for the two or three paragraphs above, into which we have condensed those whole twenty pages, we have decided to do no such thing. For two reasons. Although his article did not contain a single friendly word towards us, we still do honestly like and admire Eugene Lyons. Also, from the day we began publication, we have done all we could, as a practical matter and in our small way, to *help* other persons, groups, and *periodicals* in the anti-Communist cause. So, although we have put too much work and study into

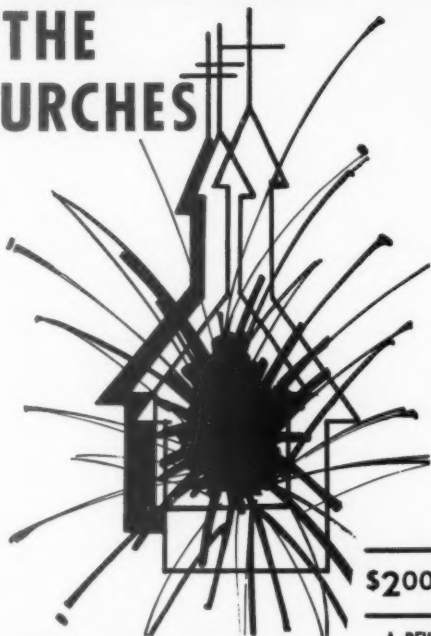
our part of the fight against Communism to allow any such disparagement of our conclusions to go unanswered, we have no wish to carry this argument beyond the minimum needs of the self-defense which has been imposed on us. What’s more, we can certainly be wrong about anything or many things in this purposely confused struggle. So we have no wish to “make a monkey” out of Mr. Lyons, and we shall actually welcome his disagreement or arguments, about anything we have written, if he will just leave all of that condescension in his other fountain pen.

The second reason is that the April issue of *Reader’s Digest* contains a long article glorifying Fidel Castro as the “liberator” of Cuba. Much of the *twist* in that article is so slanted as to be, literally, incredible for a magazine like *Reader’s Digest*, with its power to get at the real truth, to have published. And it is equally incredible for the article to have appeared without the approval of the Senior Editor of the *Reader’s Digest* who is their expert on Communism, Mr. Eugene Lyons. Unless the Communists take us over and silence all observation and all truth, therefore, far sooner than even we expect, current history may very soon make monkeys out of both the *Reader’s Digest* AND Mr. Lyons without any help from us. We hope it will not, and that our fears of the Communist control of Cuba through Castro are exaggerated. But we can see no basis for the hope.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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"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

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(N. Y. City residents add 3% sales tax)

