

AMERICAN OPINION

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AN INFORMAL REVIEW

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AMERICAN OPINION

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May 11, 1959

Dear Reader:

We shall use this space this time simply as a blackboard, on which to post certain notices for our readers.

(1) If your editor had no other duties than to handle correspondence, he would still be unable to answer even half of the mail we receive. *We do read it all.* We'd like to answer it all. It can't be done.

(2) If you are sometimes surprised at the changes in layout inside this magazine, feel not alone. So are we. But by trial and error we are gradually arriving at a reasonable degree of standardization. Except for the fact that Mr. Schlammm's sudden transfer of his surveying operations to the European field left us without any *Review Of Reviews* at all for the time being, we would feel that this issue was the best balanced, and the nearest to what we eventually want, that we have put out so far.

(3) We shall have an excellent article about Jacques Soustelle in our next number. Also, his answers to a great many of the questions which our readers submitted.

(4) The AMERICAN OPINION SCOREBOARD for 1959 will appear in our next issue. It will give our estimate of the present degree of Communist control or influence—with comments on many of the changes in these percentages since our last annual scoreboard—for each of some 105 countries. In its preparation this year we have the help of some of the best informed observers on four continents. If you want to know what the score really is today, in the unceasing Cold War which we are steadily losing, this is the most authoritative answer in concise form.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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JUN

A Review Of The News

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

April, 1959

Wednesday, April 1

→ The foreign ministers of the United States, England, France and West Germany end their Washington meeting with a declaration that they "sincerely desire to negotiate constructively with the Soviet Union."

→ The Soviet Embassy in East Berlin warns that "incidents may occur if the United States fails to keep its planes below a 10,000 feet altitude in flights to and from Berlin."

→ The Soviet Government has halted "temporarily" the travel of foreign diplomats outside Moscow except to Leningrad.

→ Chinese Communists are carting off thousands of Tibetans to do forced labor in Red China. At the same time they are rushing Red Chinese military reinforcements into Tibet.

→ The Israeli Government radio broadcasts an order for the partial mobilization of Israeli army units.

→ Walter S. Robertson, unrelenting opponent of United States recognition of Red China, resigns as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern affairs.

→ Mayor Wagner of New York submits the largest budget in the city's history, the first to exceed two billion dollars. Pegged at 2,173,113,999 dollars, it is by 178 million dollars higher than last year's.

Thursday, April 2

→ In an address to the NATO Council, gathered in Washington, President Eisenhower declares the West must be prepared "to live in a world in which tension and bickering between free nations and the Soviets will be daily experiences."

→ Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, asserts the great powers have "a serious will to negotiate" on the Berlin question.

→ The House Committee on Un-American Activities warns that the Communists in the United States, "to a degree unmatched in Party history, are now promoting themselves as loyal to the United States, peace-loving and humanitarian in purpose, and anxious to work in harmony with Socialists, liberals and even capitalists for the good of the nation."

→ The Soviet Government takes over the construction contract the British engineering consultants, Mackenzie & Co., were holding for a new steel plant in Baghdad, Iraq.

→ President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay announces "a gradual restoration of constitutional government."

Friday, April 3

→ The NATO Council declares its support for the position of the United States, Britain, and France in West Berlin, but urges that every possible

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step be taken to settle the differences with the Soviets by negotiation.

→ On his flight from the Red Chinese aggressors, the Dalai Lama reaches India.

→ Communists and Peronistas riot in Buenos Aires in a "united front."

→ Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro announces that on his forthcoming trip to Washington he will be seeking financial aid from the United States.

→ State Department sources reveal that the Communist governments of Eastern Europe are pouring arms into the West African Republic of Guinea.

→ Senator Warren G. Magnuson of Washington State reports that the Soviets have been expanding air scouting in the Pribilof Islands of the Bering Sea.

Saturday, April 4

→ President Eisenhower asserts that "foreign aid is essential to frustrate the Communist goal of world domination."

→ The NATO Council confirms "its unanimous determination" to maintain the freedom of West Berlin and its willingness to see "outstanding issues with the Soviet Union settled by negotiation."

→ The United States tells the Soviet Union that United States military aircraft will fly to and from Berlin at whatever height they choose.

→ Six foreign ministers from Arab League nations agree in Beirut that the situation in Iraq "is a serious danger to other Arab countries."

→ Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union,

ousted from the C.I.O. in 1950, is working on plans of joining forces with James R. Hoffa's International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Sunday, April 5

→ General Thomas S. Power, chief of the Strategic Air Command, testifies before Congress that "our deterrent posture is deteriorating" and that we "are just risking the whole country."

→ The Soviet Government charges that the United States position concerning high-altitude flights of United States aircraft to and from Berlin is an attempt "to worsen or even wreck" the coming East-West negotiations on Germany.

→ Pietro Nenni, the leader of the Italian Socialist Party, joins the Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, in a head-on attack on the Italian Government's decision to grant NATO missile bases in Italy. Saragat's Democratic Socialists accuse Nenni of having "backslid by ten years."

→ The International League for the Rights of Man charges that the Red Hungarian Government has imprisoned, exiled, or executed six thousand Hungarians who had fled the country after the revolt in 1956 and had returned with the assurance that they would not be harmed.

Monday, April 6

→ British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd implicitly admits, on arriving in London from Washington, that there "was never any final agreement" at the NATO conferences in Washington concerning the forthcoming negotiations with the Soviets on Germany.

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→ According to sources closely connected with the Foreign Office in Bonn, the "tough" policy suggested by West Germany concerning negotiations with the Soviets has been supported at the NATO conference in Washington by France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Turkey. It was opposed by Britain, Canada, Norway, Denmark and Italy. The United States did "not really back either group." Greece, Portugal, Iceland and Luxembourg did not commit themselves.

→ Vice Admiral Thomas S. Combs, commander of the Eastern Sea Frontier, warns that "the darkest threat in our entire history now hangs over our heads."

Tuesday, April 7

→ Konrad Adenauer announces his readiness to assume the office of West Germany's President on September 15 and to remain, even in this position, responsible for over-all German policies. The Chancellor's decision is explained by the danger that any other candidate for the Presidency might be beaten by the Socialist candidate, Carlo Schmid. Adenauer's likely successor in the chancellery is generally assumed to be Dr. Ludwig Erhard.

→ It is revealed in Delhi that Indian Prime Minister Nehru will "discuss" with the Dalai Lama "the possibility of a return to Tibet."

→ The Department of Commerce announces that employment figures have risen in March by more than a million job holders (to 63,828,000) and unemployment has decreased from 6.1 to 5.8 percent of the civilian labor force (a drop of 387,000 in the unemployed).

→ British taxes are cut by more than a billion dollars in the budget for 1959-60.

Wednesday, April 8

→ In a broadcast to the German people, Adenauer vows that West Germany's foreign policy will not change "by one iota" when he leaves the chancellery in September to become President.

→ The chief of the Iraqi Army General Staff announces that "a civilian militia," demanded by the Iraqi Communist Party, is being "supplied with adequate arms to enable them to carry out their duties."

→ Italy's "middle-of-the-road" press demands the resignation of Italian Foreign Minister Giuseppe Pella for granting NATO missile bases in Italy.

→ Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana suggests that all of Berlin be "neutralized" under the supervision of the United Nations.

→ J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F. B. I., warns that, after receiving fresh instructions from Moscow, "the ring-leaders of Communism in the United States are now ready to go into full-scale action."

→ The State Department issues Alger Hiss a passport for travel abroad.

Thursday, April 9

→ Prime Minister Nikita S. Khrushchev accuses President Eisenhower of making "a definite contribution" to attempts at raising tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States.

→ The United States State Department releases information that it is trying "to

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mediate" the breach that is developing between West Germany and Britain in relation to Prime Minister Macmillan's efforts at "negotiating" the status of West Berlin with the Soviets.

→ Ten Democratic House members and six members of the British Parliament sign a statement that calls for "the policing of all Berlin" by the United Nations.

→ The pro-Communist Government of Iraq announces that it will not participate in the forthcoming oil conference of the Arab League.

→ The United Rubber Workers Union starts a nation-wide strike at eighteen rubber plants across the country.

Friday, April 10

→ "Diplomatic sources" in Washington (usually a disguise for straight State Department information) reveal that "the Western Allies are sharply divided on the question of whether Khrushchev is serious about negotiating a settlement of major East-West problems," Great Britain being the only power to say "yes."

→ The United States Ambassadors to all Latin American and Caribbean nations convene in San Salvador with Deputy Under Secretary of State, Loy W. Henderson, to coordinate United States policy regarding the menace of leftist invasions from Cuba into other Caribbean countries.

→ Seven "space pilots," selected by the Defense Department from among the nation's test pilots, prepare their formal training for future flights into space, the first of which it is assumed will take place in 1961.

→ The basic steel industry proposes a one-year freeze on its workers' wages and benefits as the only effective means of fighting inflation.

Saturday, April 11

→ A Soviet ship with a large number of Kurd "volunteers" bound for Iraq with full military equipment passes through Port Said, Egypt.

→ Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, asserts that "a willingness to negotiate" with the Soviets must implement a policy of firmness.

→ Harold E. Stassen, former Presidential adviser on disarmament, proposes the creation "of a wide Central European disarmament zone that would include a united Germany and small parts of France and the Soviet Union."

→ The Pentagon announces plans for the establishments of nuclear Matador bases in West Germany within three months. Nuclear Jupiter bases will be available in Italy by July 1.

→ Senator Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky is elected Republican National Chairman. At the same time, the Republican National Committee chooses Chicago as the site of the 1960 Convention.

Sunday, April 12

→ Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, interrupts his convalescence in Florida and rushes back to the Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington.

→ The British Government asserts that it will increase its attempts at convincing its allies "of the importance of

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flexibility in the Western policy approach to the Soviet Union."

→ The United States Government announces it will propose to the Soviet Union that tests of nuclear weapons "causing dangerous fallout" be banned.

→ More than 150 members of the Soviet "Bolshoi Ballet" arrive in the United States to give more than fifty performances all over the country which show the largest advance sales in ballet history.

Monday, April 13

→ West Germany's Defense Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, declares on his arrival in the United States that the Soviet Union will not risk another war but rely on political means to extend its power.

→ Vice President Richard M. Nixon proposes that the International Court of Justice be made the arbiter of disputes between the East and the West.

→ Pope John XXIII forbids Roman Catholics throughout the world to vote for candidates or parties that support the Communists.

→ The Soviet Government announces that overall Soviet production during the first quarter of 1959 exceeded that of 1958 by eleven percent.

→ The United States Chamber of Commerce calls on Congress to cut 289 million dollars from President Eisenhower's request for 3.9 billion dollars in foreign aid.

→ The Defense Department discloses that "more than 20,000 enlisted men" are serving as waiters, chauffeurs, yardmen, houseboys and servants to officers.

→ The United Steel Workers of America propose that the steel industry "freeze" prices as a contribution to "economic stability."

Tuesday, April 14

→ It is revealed that Soviet jet fighters have again buzzed an unarmed United States Air Force transport over Germany, forcing the pilot to drop below 10,000 feet.

→ The State Department announces that Acting Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, will lead the United States delegation to the Western foreign ministers' meeting in Paris on April 29.

→ Dedicating the Robert A. Taft Memorial Bell Tower in Washington, President Eisenhower says Taft was "to the people of the United States a liberal."

→ Major steel producers declare in response to a Steel Workers Union demand that a "freeze" in wages would be accompanied by one in prices.

Wednesday, April 15

→ Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, resigns.

→ Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, will officially welcome the Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting in Geneva on May 11 and expects that the United Nations "will play an important role in the Berlin question."

→ Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro begins an eleven-day "unofficial visit" to the United States.

→ The British Government confirms officially that it favors a proposal for a

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Central European zone "in which arms and forces would be limited."

→ Syngman Rhee, 84-year-old President of Korea, announces his candidacy for a fourth term beginning in 1960.

→ Panamanian Ambassador to the United States, Ricardo M. Arias, declares that a revolutionary movement against his country is being hatched in Cuba.

→ Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, nominated to serve as United States Ambassador to Brazil, concedes to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that she used "intemperate language" in accusing Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944 of having "lied us into war."

Thursday, April 16

→ At the request of President Eisenhower, Vice President Richard M. Nixon will fly to Moscow "to open the American exhibition on July 25."

→ The State Department confirms that the British Government has made "concerned inquiries" in Washington about the high flights of American aircraft to and from Berlin to which the Soviets object.

→ A glittering audience of high American society thunderously applauds the first appearance of the Moscow Bolshoi Ballet at the Metropolitan Opera in New York.

→ Spokesmen at the Arab League Oil Conference in Cairo demand that the international oil companies "remove the stench of exploitation from their contracts with Arab countries."

→ President Arturo Frondizi of Ar-

gentina announces a decree outlawing the Communist Party for the duration of the state of siege.

Friday, April 17

→ Authoritative Government sources in Bonn declare that West Germany would veto any German "reunification" plan that contemplates even a temporary or limited "confederation" of West Germany and the Ulbricht regime.

→ Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro, denying charges of Communist influences in his regime, is given a warm reception by the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington.

→ The State Department expresses "dismay" over "the timidity of certain British newspapers" in regard to high-flying United States cargo planes on route to and from Berlin.

→ Yugoslavia stages demonstrations of Slovenes against Austria.

→ Venezuela's delegation at the Arab League Oil Conference in Cairo has persuaded the Arab delegates that Arab oil is being sold at too low a price abroad and that the oil production in the Middle East is unnecessarily being increased for reasons of "exploitation."

→ The Senate Appropriations Committee, by a vote of fifteen to ten, doubles the House-approved allowance of 100 million dollars in "emergency funds for loans to under-developed countries."

Saturday, April 18

→ Christian A. Herter, a leading representative of the "liberal" wing of the Republican Party, is nominated by President Eisenhower as Secretary of

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State. Herter has been particularly endorsed by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator J. W. Fulbright.

→ The Dalai Lama accuses the Chinese Red Government of having broken all their promises to respect Tibetan autonomy.

→ Prime Minister Fidel Castro awards medals to the Cuban reporters of *The New York Times*, *Time*, *The Washington Post Herald* and several other American newspapers and broadcasting companies.

→ Poland's official Communist press hails the dispatch of Vice President Nixon to Moscow as "a sign of a more elastic policy in Washington."

→ Richard M. Nixon rules out suggestions that he might seek a third term as Vice President.

Sunday, April 19

→ The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator J. W. Fulbright, asserts that the forthcoming "summit" conference might lead "to a series of similar meetings to bring about gradual readjustment of East-West differences."

→ More than one hundred Nicaraguans have been arrested in Cuba for preparing an armed invasion of Nicaragua, but are released after a few hours of detention. Ruben Miro, a Panamanian revolutionist, announces in Havana that the Government of Panama will be overthrown by May 22.

→ Terrorism flares up in Algeria as the rebels try to interfere with the municipal elections at which the moderate Moslems wish to participate.

→ Governmental forces suppress an alleged rightwing uprising in Bolivia.

→ British Labor leaders denounce "threats of war" by the United States in reference to the high-altitude flights of United States aircraft over Berlin.

→ The neutralist German Social Democrats gain 4.3 percent over their vote in 1955, and rally forty percent of the total vote in Lower Saxony.

→ President Tito of Yugoslavia discloses that more than one hundred Yugoslav Communist leaders who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union before World War II were executed by Stalin.

Monday, April 20

→ President Eisenhower, in a rare act of "personal diplomacy," sends the Soviet Premier a private appeal "to help save the Geneva negotiations on a ban of tests of nuclear weapons."

→ Prime Minister Nehru of India declares that the Dalai Lama, in exile in India, will not be allowed "to indulge in politics."

→ The Lebanon delegation at the Arab Petroleum Congress in Cairo suggests that the oil companies operating in Arab countries be compelled to put five percent of their annual profit into an "Arab development bank."

→ The Panamanian Government makes several arrests in connection with revolutionary activities allegedly financed by Cuba and by Hollywood stars. Among the arrested is Dame Margot Fonteyn, Britain's leading ballerina, who is married to Dr. Roberto Arias, former Panamanian Ambassador to England.

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→ Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro announces in Washington that the next "big stage of the Cuban revolution" will be "to expropriate land legally."

Tuesday, April 21

→ Dispatches from Beirut, Lebanon, indicate that a Communist bid for overt power in the Iraq Government is imminent.

→ The Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries and Red China agree on a meeting in Warsaw "to draft plans for the Geneva conference on Germany."

→ Communist China announces a sixteen percent increase in "defense" expenditures.

→ A third Communist cargo of weapons arrives on the Polish ship "Wroclaw" in the Republic of Guinea, Africa.

→ President Sukarno of Indonesia urges his country "to carry out socialistic reconstruction and to eliminate capitalism as much as possible."

→ Sir David Eccles, President of the Board of Trade, announces that he will go to Moscow next month to expand British trade with the Soviet Union.

→ Fidel Castro is greeted in New York by a tumultuous demonstration.

→ The United States Senate unanimously confirms Christian A. Herter as Secretary of State.

Wednesday, April 22

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko hands the United States Ambassador in Moscow, Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., a note that charges

the United States with torpedoing the forthcoming Big Four foreign ministers' conference by supplying West Germany with nuclear weapons.

→ President Arturo Frondizi of Argentina is solemnly warned by his Secretary of War, General Pacheco, and more than thirty top army commanders, that the Argentine Government must speedily eliminate Peronista and left-wing elements.

→ Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro announces that elections won't be held in Cuba before 1963 because elections before that time would "open the door to a return of the oligarchy and tyranny our revolution overthrew."

→ Iceland's Communists are gathering support for their demand to break off their country's relations with Britain and to withdraw from NATO.

→ A Vatican spokesman interprets the recent Vatican ban on voting for supporters of Communism as a measure confined to "free elections" and thus not binding on Catholics in Communist nations, such as Poland, who may go on voting for the official candidates.

→ A leftist party is being formed in Paris in support of General de Gaulle.

→ With Vice President Nixon casting a tie-breaking vote, the Senate accepts (46 to 45) a "bill of rights" amendment to the Kennedy-Ervin Labor Reform Bill as introduced by Senator John L. McClellan.

Thursday, April 23

→ Secretary of Defense Neil H. McElroy warns "that our people will have to learn to get along with less in cur-

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rent consumption. Otherwise, we may come out second best in a competition for which there is no second prize."

→ John Foster Dulles is sworn in as a Special Consultant to the President on foreign affairs (with Cabinet rank).

→ *The New York Times*, hitherto a leading supporter of Fidel Castro's revolution, publishes a profoundly disturbed dispatch from Havana according to which "Communist influence is rising throughout the country" and the government.

→ British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan hails the forthcoming "summit" conference as "the beginning of a period of negotiation" leading to "better relations between the Communist bloc and the nations of the West."

→ The new Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, has a long conference with the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, on a possible United Nations role in a "solution of the Berlin problem."

→ Senator Warren G. Magnuson of Washington State reports that the Soviet Union has charted the Pacific Coast of the United States "right up to the coastline."

→ Southern Presbyterian leaders demand the withdrawal of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., from the National Council of Churches, which last November approved a resolution demanding the recognition of Red China.

→ Liberal Democratic Senators, rallying to the support of Senator Kennedy, are mapping a fight to repeal the McClellan "bill of rights" amendment to the Kennedy-Ervin Labor Reform Bill.

Friday, April 24

→ Indian Prime Minister Nehru suggests that emissaries from Red China and the puppet Panchen Lama visit the Dalai Lama in exile and expresses his hope that the Dalai Lama will soon return to Tibet.

→ Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, asks the ranking members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to accompany him to Geneva for the forthcoming Big Four foreign ministers' conference.

→ Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, moves to take the Development Loan Fund (Foreign Aid) out of the annual appropriation battle and give it blank authority to lend 7.5 billion dollars over the next five years on decisions of the Executive.

→ Conservative forces win fourteen of twenty governorships and the mayorships of most Japanese key cities in nation-wide local elections.

→ President de Gaulle's decision to commute the death sentences of thirty Algerian nationalists provokes violent reactions among conservative Frenchmen in Algeria. Pierre Lagailarde, Deputy from Algiers to the French National Assembly, declares that "the Algerian policy conducted by the chief of state is bad."

Saturday, April 25

→ Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev rejects as "an unfair deal" President Eisenhower's recent suggestion of a nuclear ban arrangement and accepts a competitive proposal by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

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→ In the preparation of the forthcoming general elections in Singapore the People's Action Party, a barely disguised front for the outlawed Communist Party of Singapore, proves by far the strongest political force in the British Crown Colony.

→ Moroccan Premier Abdallah Ibrahim is expelled from the ruling Istiqlal Party.

→ More than half of Budapest's lawyers have been purged from the bar during the last year.

→ Fidel Castro leaves the United States while obviously manipulated rumors of an alleged assassination plot are being discarded by New York's police.

→ The Senate "softens" Senator McClellan's labor "bill of rights" by a vote of seventy-seven to fourteen and passes the Kennedy bill against the lone vote of Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona.

Sunday, April 26

→ Invasion parties sailing from Cuba land in Panama.

→ France's "grand electors" pick the Senate, France's upper chamber, that consists of 255 members. Only 27 new Senators are de Gaullists, while the Left (which held in the Senate of the Fourth Republic 116 seats) number again 115 Senators.

→ A British military plane carrying secret equipment to Australia vanishes over Soviet territory near the Turkish border.

→ The Iraqi Government announces that Iraq will double its production and its export of oil within three years.

→ Vice Admiral R. E. Wilson, Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, announces that "the reliability of the fleet in the immediate future is doubtful unless drastic steps are taken to reverse the mounting deterioration of the ships."

→ A report of the Department of Commerce reveals that the national income rose in the last quarter of 1958 to a record annual rate of 374 billion dollars.

Monday, April 27

→ The State Department announces that the United States is supplying Panama with small arms to help her repel invaders.

→ Secretary of State Christian A. Herter leaves for a conference with the foreign ministers of Britain, West Germany and France in Paris.

→ Liu Shao-chi, leading theoretician of the Chinese Communist Party, is elected to succeed Mao Tse-tung as Chief of State. Mao retains the chairmanship of the Party.

→ The Soviet delegation to the Geneva conference on nuclear disarmament adopts a British proposal "for ending the stalemate over a ban on nuclear weapons tests."

→ British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd suggests in the House of Commons that the West should consider free German elections in West and East Germany only "at a time acceptable to all concerned."

→ Ex-President Truman proposes that, "should Premier Khrushchev indicate that he, himself, would like to visit Washington, it might be well to encourage him."

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→ The foreign ministers of nine Communist nations open a meeting of the Warsaw Pact members in preparation for the Geneva conference on May 11.

→ The Argentine Government outlaws the Communist Party and its front organizations twenty-four hours after the Communist Party increased its vote in the Mendoza provincial elections by four hundred percent over the last election in 1958.

→ The Institute of Pacific Relations, listed by the House Committee on Un-American Affairs in its revised "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," loses its suit in Federal Court to regain its tax-exempt status.

Tuesday, April 28

→ Nineteen American Republics join the United States in a promise to help Panama put down a Cuban-based rebellion against President Ernesto de la Guardia.

→ Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, declares that the situation in Iraq is "the most dangerous in the world today."

→ The conference of the Warsaw Pact countries asserts that the "prospects of alleviating international tension have markedly improved."

→ The Senate confirms the appointment of Clare Boothe Luce as United States Ambassador to Brazil against vehement Democratic opposition by a vote of seventy-nine to eleven, but Henry R. Luce, the editor-in-chief of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune*, announces he has advised his wife to resign.

→ The Soviet Government warns Italy

that by permitting the United States to establish rocket bases on Italian territory she would "become a target that would be destroyed in retaliation."

Wednesday, April 29

→ It is disclosed that Secretary of State Christian A. Herter did not join the firm Franco-German position in regard to the "Berlin crisis" at the Paris conference of the Western foreign ministers, but preferred an "intermediary's" role between Franco-German policies and the British "flexibility."

→ Panamanian rebels aided by Cuban invaders plan to seize the Panama Canal area "symbolically" in a demonstration of anti-Americanism.

→ President Eisenhower declares his administration would like "to promote better relations with Iraq."

→ West German Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss asserts "emphatically" that the arming of his country is proceeding despite plans and proposals concerning the "demilitarization" of West Germany.

→ The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Valerian A. Zorin, tells the West German Ambassador in Moscow, Dr. Hans Kroll, that the Soviet Government expects the Geneva conference of the "big four" to last eight weeks.

→ Field Marshall Viscount Montgomery visits Nikita S. Khrushchev in Moscow.

→ British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan declares he is "trying to reduce world tension by open-minded and bold negotiations" that will lead "at least to coexistence."

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→ A Soviet note insists that flights of United States aircraft over Berlin in an altitude of more than 10,000 feet "violate" valid agreements between the West and the Soviet Union.

→ Major Ernesto (Che) Guevara, a close assistant to Fidel Castro and one of Latin America's most notorious Communist helpers, announces that "an armed workers' militia" is being organized in Cuba "to defend the revolution."

Thursday, April 30

→ The Western foreign ministers' conference in Paris ends with a claim to "complete agreement on strategy" for the May 11 conference with the Soviets in Geneva, but also with an admission that "the tactics of negotiation are left to be defined later."

→ Defense Secretary Neil H. McElroy admits that none of the intermediate range ballistic missiles sent to Britain is ready for immediate combat use.

→ Walter Ulbricht, Communist boss of East Germany, asserts his administration intends to take over control of Western lifelines to West Berlin "regardless of the results of coming East-West negotiations."

→ The President of the West German

Bundestag, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, declares that Germany's continued division is preferable to any reunification that could possibly be negotiated with Communist East Germany.

→ Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery asserts in Moscow that "the only way to ease tension is for both sides to make concessions."

→ The State Department announces the United States is selling fifty combat aircraft and ten turboprop transport planes to the pro-Communist Indonesian Government of President Sukarno.

→ The Communist Hungarian Government warns the United States it might have to expel the United States Military Attaché in Budapest.

→ President Charles de Gaulle uses, in a speech on Algeria, for the first time since he assumed office, the significant term of "integration" in respect to his Algerian policies, thus indicating greater firmness in suppressing the Algerian rebel movement.

→ Speaking for the Department of Justice, Deputy Attorney General Lawrence E. Walsh opposes legislative proposals submitted by the American Bar Association to revise Supreme Court decisions that endanger internal security.

Under The Counter Stuff

Two men in Odessa were discussing the scientific marvels of the modern world. Naturally the subject of the hydrogen bomb arose.

"I don't believe Russia really has it," one of them remarked.

"Why not?" asked the other.

"Because," said the first, "if we had the bomb, it would have appeared on our black market by now."

NTS Possey

EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

In this number we renew the European Surveys which proved so popular and informative during 1958. Because developments in Europe are likely to become so increasingly crucial over the months ahead, and despite our regret at losing Mr. Schlamm's brilliant touch in our Review Of Reviews, he is returning to Europe for us about the middle of May. His "surveys" for subsequent numbers of AMERICAN OPINION will be on-the-spot reports, airmailed from the particular "spot" where he happens to be.

EUROPE is getting ready for another enchanting summer of pleasures, well-being, and noisy tourism. The Berlin crisis? There is no serious person on the Continent who expects warlike trouble. Shivers are an American privilege. Europeans, at least at this point, have dismissed their anxieties; but they seem to be doing this somewhat in the spirit of the old saw on the basic difference between the Germans and the Austrians. The Germans, or so the saying went, always deem a situation serious but not hopeless; while the Austrians are always convinced that the situation is hopeless but not serious.

The Game Has Been Conceded . . .

Well, one is convinced in Europe that the situation is hopeless but not serious. To the *cognoscenti* on the Continent, the Berlin crisis has lost its bite even before it has reached its climax. The point is, in fact, that this climax has come prematurely and four thousand miles west of Berlin — in Washington. For the wise men in Europe are convinced that the Soviets have already attained what they actually

intended to reap in the Berlin crisis. This is an American assurance that the West will recognize the Ulbricht regime in some fashion; and, above all, that the United States will ultimately withdraw its military establishment from the Continent. What the smartest Europeans cannot understand is the incapacity of Americans to grasp the inescapable meaning of American policies — for instance, their President's solemn announcement that "there will never again be a ground war in Europe."

With this one statement, or so the knowing Europeans claim, President Eisenhower has actually dismantled NATO and opened, not only West Germany, but all of Europe, to the Soviet penetration. What, indeed, has been NATO's sole rationale from its inception? Nothing but the contention — promoted by no one as studiously as by General Eisenhower in 1949 and 1950 — that the only chance for a defense of Europe against the Soviets was the West's preparedness to fight, not the ghastly and inconceivable nuclear wars of the future, but the old-fashioned

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"conventional" wars of position whenever and wherever the Soviets would be probing western determination. NATO was created not in spite but *because* of the atom bomb: Precisely because the appearance of "an ultimate weapon" seemed to have outdated conventional defense, Western Europe, to be held against the Soviet expansionism, needed an immediate revival of its conventional military potentials. And if this sounds paradoxical, it is, in truth, not a bit more paradoxical than war itself.

At the bottom of this paradox lies the profound observation of Gilbert and Sullivan that "the punishment must fit the crime"—and *vice versa*. Until 1949, Western Europe was completely resigned to its forthcoming rape precisely because it was then generally assumed that no other retaliation against a Communist thrust was conceivable than the nuclear holocaust. And because it was absolutely unimaginable that the United States (which then had an atomic monopoly) would unleash the apocalyptic destruction of the planet in order to punish, say, a minor violation of West Berlin's municipal regulations, Western Europe anticipated its final ruin in a long series of such minor pranks.

For none of them, in itself, could possibly justify an American decision to drop the bomb and release doomsday; but, adding up to a clever quilt of penetration, such minor provocations would ultimately deliver the West. In this mood, Western Europe saw no way of avoiding its demise: As the crime must fit the punishment, and none of the crimes that were foreseen fitted the punishment of nuclear global destruction, the crimes would remain unpunishable and, for this very reason, unavoidable.

It is as if the courts of the land suddenly decided that they would pass no other sentence but electrocution. In that case, obviously, such minor delicts as burglary would not disappear but multiply. As it is inconceivable, in a Christian society, that a man would be electrocuted for forcible entry into a deserted garage, the seemingly "radical" determination of the courts to pass only capital punishment, and no other, would make burglary scot-free. The same principle was at work in the defeatist Western minds from 1945 to 1949: Everybody was paralyzed by the horror of a conviction that, since the bomb dropped over Hiroshima, no other warfare but the atomic was thinkable. Therefore, there could be no resistance against a slow and shrewd Communist penetration of Western Europe.

By Changing Its Ground Rules . . .

Came NATO. Its meaning: We shall pool our *conventional* military forces, including those of West Germany, to impress the Soviets that the West will use exactly the size and kind of punishment that *would* fit the crime—the atomic bomb, if the Soviets dared an all-out attack, but also the lowly bazooka in the case of a minor border incident. In other words, NATO (initiated by General Dwight D. Eisenhower) submitted in 1950 the simple but life-giving answer to Western defeatism: If the Soviets think there will be no conventional military posture left in the West, and thus no defense against "minor" aggression, they are mistaken. Keeping the atomic bomb in ultimate reserve, the West is getting ready to fight *any* kind of war necessary to repel *any* kind of attack.

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Ever since, Soviet strategy was aimed at the "neutralization" of ever wider sections of Western Europe; that is, at the destruction of NATO. And two goals remained invariably crucial for the Soviets: (a) to emasculate NATO by helping the German Social Democrats, Adenauer's "neutralist" opposition, into the saddle; and (b) to finish NATO's destruction by compelling the United States to withdraw from the Continent altogether. Some of the best minds of Europe are today of the opinion that the Soviets, unnoticed by an American public opinion that is completely fascinated with phony bubbles of the "Berlin crisis," have already achieved what they wanted — weeks before the "summit conference."

From the beginning of the artificially produced "Berlin crisis," i.e., since last November, American policymakers and American public opinion have been feverishly concerned with just one question: Whether the Soviets will get away with their insolent demand that the United States withdraw its troops from West Berlin. And the gallant West vibrates with the resolution "to stay in West Berlin." Personally, I can't recall a phonier gesture of determination. For the truth is that the Soviets *never* demanded an American withdrawal from West Berlin. They are, in fact, vitally interested in seeing American troops *stay* in West Berlin. Admittedly useless in the case of a serious conflagration, this isolated contingent of five thousand basically helpless men remains a most valuable hostage in Communist hands. The Soviets smartly calculate that, as long as the American people are kept in a state of tense worries over the fate of those hapless soldiers, American public opinion will remain nervously

conditioned to approve a "face-saving" compromise in the Berlin area.

In other words, to repeat a metaphor which I have used before, we are playing chess while the Soviets are playing football. They mean to make us recognize Ulbricht (which, as I shall show later on, would help to bring the German Social Democrats to power in Bonn); and to make us resolve never to fight a ground war in Europe again (which would mean the American withdrawal from, and the destruction of, NATO as a military alliance.) And we mean "to stay" in West Berlin. Thus, the Soviets are winning. For we shall indeed "stay" in West Berlin, much to the Soviets' satisfaction; also, we shall deal with Ulbricht on a governmental level, and repudiate the basic reason for NATO's existence.

By Changing Its Objectives . . .

Americans simply do not realize what Europeans consider at this point as irrefutable fact — namely, that the new American Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, has changed sides in the long-lasting duel of wills between Adenauer and Macmillan. So long as John Foster Dulles represented the American position, Europeans had not the shadow of a doubt that he was firmly allied with Adenauer's "rigidity," which immovably opposed Macmillan's "flexibility" in satisfying Soviet wishes even before they were uttered. But at the recent Paris conference of the western foreign ministers, Herter established himself, rather clumsily, on the sidelines as an umpire: While the last two principled continental regimes, de Gaulle's and Adenauer's, opposed the British line of unprincipled "flexibility," the representative of the United States

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sought to "mediate" between his three allies. And to mediate between Adenauer's and Macmillan's position is like mediating between Christ and Judas.

Adenauer's (and de Gaulle's) position is simply that to recognize the Ulbricht regime is to sacrifice the Adenauer regime. That de Gaulle's France so fully understands and supports Adenauer is by no means surprising. General de Gaulle (who, unlike General Eisenhower, has an ingrained sense of strategy) knows that a Western Europe without the military potential of Germany is a Western Europe without depth and, thus, indefensible. Besides, no one knows as well as de Gaulle that France, outside Germany the only other continental power of military potential, will for the next few years be entirely preoccupied with its mortal dangers in North Africa; so that France, more than any other European power, must insist on the German contribution to the defense of Europe—a contribution that can be replaced by nobody else, decidedly not by France. Finally, and for all these reasons, de Gaulle understands that even a "via facti" recognition of the East German regime will deprive him, France, and Europe, of the West German support.

And By Calling Plays That Help The Other Side . . .

Why? Why is it that no sensible European would fall for the weasel words which have so easily captivated American public opinion—namely, that we would be dealing with the Ulbricht regime "merely as agents of the Soviet Union?" The reason is, simply enough, that Europeans are too close to the area of decision to be impressed by a shyster lawyer's legalistic trimmings of an out-

right sellout. Whether or not we call the Ulbricht regime "agents of the Soviet Union," the only decisive fact would be that we *recognize* its governmental authority over Germany's occupied eastern territory. And once we have done that, we have pulled the rug from under Adenauer.

For the essential fact that has kept the "neutralist" Social Democrats from winning power in Bonn was Adenauer's believable claim that he represents and protects Germany's integrity. But even at the time of Adenauer's greatest triumphs, the German Social Democrats, allied with the F.D.P., got forty-five percent of the West German vote. By granting Ulbricht's Quisling regime governmental authority (under whatever pretext), the United States would be suddenly underwriting the Social Democratic contention that Germany's "reunification" must be "negotiated" between Bonn and Pankow. Because of this contention, the German Social Democrats have never succeeded in overthrowing Adenauer. But once this contention is confirmed and supported by the United States, nobody and nothing could prevent the "neutralist" German Social Democrats from ascending to power in West Germany.

This is the core of the German problem, the European problem, the Western problem—this, and not the phony issue of whether or not five thousand American soldiers will remain in West Berlin. And knowing Europeans have no longer any illusions in that one decisive respect: They anticipate Macmillan's success in "flexibly" dissolving Adenauer's firmness. In fact, they assert that this success has already been accomplished at the Paris conference of the western foreign ministers. A new era, they insist, has begun with the

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emergence of Christian A. Herter — the post-Dulles era of German “neutrality,” European “neutrality,” and American “disengagement.”

The Concession Has Even Been Announced . . .

And no one can say that President Eisenhower did not give fair warning to the world. Unless one is impudent enough to assume that the President of the United States did not know what he was saying, Eisenhower's solemn declaration of March 11, 1959, was a historical announcement of the greatest magnitude. For, when he said that we shall never again fight a ground war in Europe, he gave notice that, militarily, NATO is no more—that only crimes that fit the ultimate punishment will be prosecuted, and that all other crimes can be safely committed. The Soviets are pretty fast in grasping their chances and reaping the easy harvests. They could not have possibly misunderstood the new Eisenhower doctrine.

Europe, at any rate, already acknowledges the anticlimactic end of the “Berlin crisis,” even before the “Big Four” sit down in Geneva to finish and sign the balance sheet. This will be an unrestrained vacation year in Europe; for everybody knows that not a shot will be fired around Berlin or anywhere else. Europe is getting ready for the Herter era of neutrality.

So That Even Our Players Who Still Try Hard . . .

Adenauer, to be sure, has not given up. His decision to take over the German Presidency, and let Erhard handle the nettles the United States will drop into the West German Chancellor's

lap, is an almost desperate last attempt at defending West Germany against the triumphant onslaught of the “neutrality.” Had Adenauer not reached for the Presidency, the Social Democrat Carlo Schmid would have been elected President; and with this office in their hands, the Social Democrats would have precipitated their conquest of governmental power in West Germany.

Even so, Adenauer's chances are getting chokingly slim. In the first place, though Dr. Erhard is unmatched in the whole world as an effective economist, he has neither political experience nor, alas, political acumen. Erhard is Adenauer's successor exactly in the sense in which Herter succeeds Dulles. It is the same regime all right—and yet, something intangible but crucial has happened to it: The knowing “rigidity” of a principled man of incomparable experience is being replaced by the “flexibility” of a good but untried friend of his. However, Erhard will at least remain under Adenauer's authority—while Herter will have nobody to reprimand him but Eisenhower.

Yet even if Dr. Erhard turned out to be a veritable tower of strength, he could not undo what the cooks of Geneva are preparing for the “summit” menu. It has been agreed in Paris that the *cuisine* will be British—and so the Continent has anticipatory bellyaches. Europe, it seems, is going to suffer the ironical fate of being tranquilized and delivered to the East by a “conservative” British regime—by Churchill's party. And the United States seems to be committed to seconding the British initiative.

Are Doublecrossed And Confused . . .

For the remainder of this year I shall

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travel all over Western Europe and report to the readers of this department the changing beat of European history. Obviously, I do not know yet what I shall find. But one thing I know with unequivocal clarity: that Europe, at this point, no longer believes in an American determination to win the cold war. This recognition is as simple as it is crucial. Unnerved by its own anxieties, Europe was in recent years much too much, and almost foolishly, scared by John Foster Dulles' alleged "brinkmanship" — his unfortunately exaggerated intent to call Soviet bluffs. Now Europe is scared, and with much more reason, by Herter's apparent intent to *fall* for Soviet bluffs. Responsible Europeans begin to feel nostalgic for the days when they were free to complain about American "warmongering." Europe is now approaching a period of American peacemongering—and Europe is shaking in its elegant boots.

Speaking of boots, Italy is caught in a strange secondary whirlpool of the "Berlin crisis." While the State Department was putting the screws on West Germany to get ready for a "rapprochement" with the Soviet Union and the Ulbricht regime, American diplomacy—never blessed with consistency or even a sense of direction—was pushing the conservative Segni Government into a rather conspicuous firmness vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. And the undesirable result may be a precipitated end of the Segni Government.

The announcement of Italy's willingness to grant missile bases to the

United States at the very moment the United States begins to negotiate the *dismantling* of American missile bases in Central Europe (one of the main points in Macmillan's "package" proposal for Geneva) was without a doubt what diplomats call a *gaffe*—an unreasonable blunder. Segni's chances to survive this summer are centered on his capacity to ride herd on the left wing of the Christian Democratic Party. And this capacity, in turn, depends on Segni's possibilities of making Nenni's Socialist bait look utterly unappetizing. For, the moment the leftwing Christian Democrats feel again tempted by the "opening on the left," the Segni regime collapses. The announcement of Segni's granting the United States missile bases in Italy, at a time when the stage is being set for "disengagement" talks in Geneva and at the "summit," was exactly the thing Nenni was praying for. Now he is back in circulation as the vital protector and guarantor of Italy's participation in the forthcoming European era of "peace." No Italian Government, I am afraid, can survive the suspicion that it is willing to take on the Soviet Union singlehanded.

Of course, Italy does not really matter at this point. The area of decision—for Europe and the West—is Germany. And so, my next several reports from Europe will center on the fantastic diplomatic intrigue that began with the manufactured "Berlin crisis" and seems to be ending with the "neutralization" of West Germany.

A Horseless Tale

A friend of ours, noting a marked similarity between the recent-months wobbling of the British Prime Minister and the recent-years wobbling of Senator Wayne Morse, has asked an intriguing question: "Do you suppose Harold Macmillan was kicked in the head by Khrushchev during their springtime 'togetherness' in Moscow?"

WORLD GOVERNMENT VIA NATO

by

ELIZABETH H. OSTH

MR. NIXON now advocates bringing the Hague corpse back to life. He wants this world court given even greater power than Warren's Wonderboys already claim over life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in these not-so-United States.

Mr. James Avery Joyce (*Revolution On East River*) and his fellow liberals openly boast of how the United Nations is daily stealing pieces of American sovereignty.

The International Labor Organization expects soon to be able to issue orders from Geneva, telling a plumber's helper in Dubuque, Iowa, how long he must pay union dues as an apprentice before he can unplug any stopped-up sinks on his own.

We have lost sight of just what dream for the absorption of the United States into a United Something Else Mr. Herbert Agar is now pursuing from his London base. But on all sides the American people are beset by internationalists with picks and axes, hacking away at the framework of American independence. It doesn't seem to bother the misguided or opportunistic politicians supporting all of these schemes that, somewhere behind the scenes, the driving force of all of them is a Soviet purpose. It is the Communist desire to have Americans become accustomed to surrendering their liberties on the easy installment plan.

The latest of these organized assaults comes on behalf of an ambitious and

deceptive futility called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is not enough for the NATO enthusiasts that the United States has — in the words of Senator Taft—already rescinded its Declaration of Independence when we signed the NATO Charter. On March 5, 1959, that former Rhodes scholar and present disciple of George Kennan, Senator J. W. Fulbright, placed an article in the Congressional Record revealing the next long step planned by the NATO boys. It appears that, through NATO and as a part of NATO, we are now to be taken into a political and economic combination — not just a military alliance—with Britain and certain other lucky recipients of the Fulbright favor.

Committees Within Committees...

As is usual for any project of the one-worlders, they work through a plethora of confusing names. First, it seems, there is an *Atlantic Union Committee*, which has been in existence for some time in the past, and we are afraid is likely to remain in existence for an equal time in the future. Then there is a *United States Committee for the Atlantic Congress*. This refers to a veritable parliament, which is to start parliamenting in London on June 5, 1959. It will be opened by Queen Elizabeth. All NATO countries are expected to participate. President Eisenhower and the heads of other NATO nations will be patrons of this Congress. And

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it even accounts for the appearance of this article at this particular time.

Mr. Lewis Douglas, former U. S. Ambassador to Great Britain, is Honorary Chairman of the *U. S. Committee for the Atlantic Congress*. But we suppose his is a sedentary and semi-permanent chairmanship. For General Chairman of the group actually going to the Atlantic Congress from the United States is none other than Mr. Eric Johnston. And Monsieur Paul Henri-Spaak, who is now Secretary General of NATO, thinks this is quite fortunate. For just whom it is fortunate M'sieu Henri-Spaak did not specify. We may enter what he would consider a dissenting opinion, in due course.

For while Lewis Douglas contends that the Americans participating in the Congress will not be committed to an official policy — and we think that's generous of him, since the American people didn't have a word to say about choosing them — some of us have an unkind suspicion that, *unofficially but officiously*, these participants will strongly commit themselves to assisting in the formation of a partial world government made up of NATO countries. But Mr. Douglas, or at least Senator Fulbright, does enlighten us further. The purpose of the Atlantic Congress, so the article in the Congressional Record says, is "to bring together the ablest and most distinguished citizens representative of the principal aspects of national life in the NATO countries to consider ways and means of further developing cooperation, particularly in economic and political affairs, between the North American and European member countries of NATO and between those countries and the underdeveloped countries outside the area of the North Atlantic Treaty."

We shall comment on the purpose only to the extent of repeating one observation already made. All Americans who have been keeping tabs on subversive activities well know that one major aim of our enemy is to have us surrender our sovereignty as an individual Republic to the control of foreign governments, through international organizations. Mr. Khrushchev probably has that objective chalked up as a reminder on the mirror before which he shaves every morning. But it is the amazing self-flattery of these one-worlders that primarily concerns us here. The chief province of this article is a look at these more or less self-described and self-selected "ablest and most distinguished citizens representative of the principal aspects of national life" in this particular NATO country, the U. S. A.

II

A Whole Team Of Left Fielders....

Leading the parade for our scrutiny and applause is Elmo Roper, formerly Chairman of the Board of Directors of the notorious Fund For The Republic, and now President of the *Atlantic Union Committee* itself. He has many similar claims to fame. The most recent, perhaps, is that he signed the appeal of the *Committee For A Sane Nuclear Policy*, not only for their statement in the Chicago *Sun-Times* but for the one in the *New York Times* as well. Mr. Roper evidently wanted to make clear that the let's-surrender-to-the-Soviets-and-stay-alive proposals had his full approval. Mr. Roper has a right to believe that Khrushchev would make a wonderful neighbor, Rotarian, and friend, if he wants to—and it is, in our opinion, no sillier than some of

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the things he does profess to believe. But we certainly dispute the point that he is truly representative of any of the principal aspects of our national life.

We file the same objection with regard to Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, our former Ambassador to Denmark, but more revealingly identified as one of the founders of the Americans For Democratic Action. And with regard to William Benton, who headed the Voice of America at a time when it would have been better described as the Voice of Collectivism. And about William H. Draper, Jr., Judge W. St. John Garwood, Walden Moore, Dr. Franklin D. Murphy, Edmund Orgill, Lithgow Osborne, and Adolph W. Schmidt. Just whose views and whose interests will these people represent at this Atlantic Congress?

If some of these characters are not so clearly among the "ablest and most distinguished citizens," as to enable you to recognize them and their niches in the leftwing hagiarchy, permit us to "make like guides" as we turn the flashlight on some others. There is Robert McKinney, for instance, a Santa Fe editor and publisher. He was an ardent supporter of Adlai Stevenson for the 1956 election, and chiefly famous for the nastiness of his attack on Eisenhower—until he was appointed by Eisenhower as a delegate to the International Atomic Energy Commission.

Then there is Wayne Hays, Congressman, who so obstructed the proceedings of the Reece Committee, which was attempting to investigate tax-exempt foundations, that the Committee had to give up. He accomplished this by an unceasing verbal rowdyism that made orderly procedure by the Committee impossible. Considering the support of world government by most

of these foundations which Hays was defending from investigation, it's easy to see why he is going on this junket to England.

Next is Thomas K. Finletter, highly touted by the *Americans For Democratic Action* and a member of the *Council of Foreign Relations*. The strong dislike for the latter organization, on the part of many patriotic Americans, stems from many reasons. One is its function as a propaganda agency for one-worldism. There is no surprise, therefore in finding another member of the *Council*, Mr. Ernest A. Gross, who also is or has been a part of the United States delegation to the United Nations, now packing his toothbrush for the London trip; or Mr. Albert J. Hayes, who has been a vice-chairman of the *Americans For Democratic Action*; or Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, who was another of the founders of the *ADA*; or Mr. Paul Nitze, formerly of the State Department and eternally of the let's-have-more-foreign-aid brigade; or that outstanding spokesman for American capitalism (with modifications, of course), Dr. Alfred C. Neal. We trust that nobody will misunderstand the kind of "American capitalism," or the particular aspects of our national life, of which these men will be representative. You couldn't find an ounce of old-fashioned Americanism in a carload of the stuff.

III

With Worse Still To Come....

The above names are enough to warn us that this forthcoming Atlantic Congress will be out to pluck all the feathers it can from the American eagle. But when the names of Jacob Javits, Dr.

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Mordecai Johnson, and Eric Johnston are included, patriotic Americans need to be quite alarmed as to whether the eagle will survive at all.

The Communist connections and associations of Jacob Javits had become such a subject of public comment that in 1956 he requested hearings on the subject before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. They were held. A transcript of a significant part of those hearings can be found in *For The Skeptic*, just published by *The Bookmailer*. We believe any reader of that transcript will agree that Javits' own testimony confirmed all the important statements as to his familiar association with Communists, and as to his having sought Communist support and guidance in his career. Actually, the hearings seem to us to have been a waste of time. In view of the public record, an investigation of whether the Communists approve of and applaud Jacob Javits is like holding committee hearings to determine whether or not Fidel Castro wears a beard.

The fact that Dr. Mordecai Johnson has been on the National Committee of the *American Civil Liberties Union* may not seem, to some of our readers, to be any disparagement of his judgment or his character. But they may feel quite differently about some other parts of his record. According to the 1948 Report from the California Legislature, for instance, in 1946 he was a speaker at the *National Committee To Win The Peace*, a Communist front designed to soften the foreign policy of the United States in order to give Soviet Russia a free hand in China and Central Europe. Mordecai Johnson was one of two chairmen of the *National Council Against Conscription*, a Red front launched in November of 1946. He

sponsored the Communist *National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax*; was affiliated with the Communist organization, *Southern Conference for Human Welfare*; and was a sponsor of the *American Pushkin Committee*.

In March of 1957, before the Louisiana Legislative Committee looking into subversive influences in racial unrest, Manning Johnson stated under oath that Howard University, of which Dr. Mordecai Johnson is President, "has been for years a hot-bed of Communism." The witness went on to tell, under oath, of Mordecai Johnson's pro-Communist leanings as far back as 1928. We wonder just which principal aspect of our national life Mordecai Johnson is going to represent in London.

Including Eric The Showman....

As to the ubiquitous Eric Johnston, his most recent claim to the headlines came from his part in seeing that the Communist butcher, Mikoyan, was given so hearty a welcome as our guest. L. E. Dobriansky, Professor of Soviet Economics at Georgetown University, wrote to President Eisenhower: "If our people were to depend on the naive and dangerously misleading statements of such uninformed persons as Cyrus Eaton, Adlai Stevenson, Eric Johnston, and other inadvertent tools of current Moscow propaganda, public opinion in this country could itself rapidly become a captive of Moscow."

Before that, the reader may recall, Mr. Johnston was acting as circus ringmaster for the huge spectacles arranged on behalf of foreign aid. You will usually find him promoting more friendly relations with Russia, cultural exchanges — and Eric Johnston — at every opportunity. A couple of years ago he got into the news through what

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turned out to be a rather bad piece of judgment; namely, a testimonial he gave to Dave Beck, at a dinner in Beck's honor. According to the *Brooklyn Tablet*, Mr. Johnston climaxed his adulatory remarks for Mr. Beck by reciting a poem as follows:

"If I had a ticket to Heaven,
And you didn't have one, too,
I'd throw away my ticket,
And go to Hell with you."

There are any number of Americans who have no slightest objection to Eric Johnston going to Hell if he wishes, with any individual of his choice; but they do object to his activities which seem to them likely to take the whole American nation with him. Paul Henri-Spaak to the contrary, they *do not* consider it fortunate that Eric Johnston is Chairman of any group representing our country in any international discussions of any kind. They consider it even more unfortunate that Estes Kefauver, Jacob Javits, and Wayne Hays are to be Co-Chairmen of this expeditionary force. And most unfortunate of all that there is going to be any such Congress in the first place.

To Pyramid Government On Top Of Government....

If our comments concerning this Carnival of the Bigger Bureaucracy seem unduly *ad personam*, it is because the personalities are the essence of the plot. The men we have listed have never been elected by the American people to represent them at any such meeting. So far as we know, they have not even been appointed by any-

body who had the slightest legal authority to designate spokesmen for the American people. They are totally unauthorized delegates to an equally unauthorized "Congress."

Yet this motley bunch of leftwingers, liberals, and America-lasters is going to take it on themselves, through these highly publicized discussions with like-minded busybodies from other countries, to "explore and report to what extent their peoples might further unite within the framework of the United Nations, and agree to form, federally or otherwise, a defense, economic, and political union." The language is that of Estes Kefauver, in a resolution he introduced a couple of years ago, but its purport is the purpose of the party.

Of course every decibel of the loud noise this gang will make will fit right into the symphony of the current Communist propaganda, as some of them, at least, must be smart enough to realize. And it is time for American patriots, who have not yet been frightened out of their wits by the Frankenstein's monster we have created in the guise of government, to do some blunt speaking. We not only don't want any part of any Union in which Paul Henri-Spaak and Aneurin Bevan and some Soviet stooge from Iceland or Norway is going to decide the laws under which we live; but if we ever were going to consider any Union with other nations, we certainly would not want the arrangements planned for us by the self-glorifying collection of pink-tinted characters which is going to London in June.

We had originally hoped that the Hungarian Revolt would encourage rebellion among some of the larger Soviet satellites, such as the United States. The hope did not materialize.

DR. R. P. OLIVER

BULLETS

The Russians claim that we are endangering the peace by not living up to their treaty violations.

Harold Coffin

"George Washington could broad-jump twenty-three feet, a record in those days," a historian tells us. Today we have politicians who can sidestep that far.

*Anonymous, To Sullivan Brothers,
To Us*

Wife to husband: "Of course I spend more than you make, dear! I have confidence in you."

Dick Turner

Santa Claus never lets a fellow down. I know a boy who asked for a soldier suit, and fifteen years later he got it.

Jasper (Alabama) Mountain Eagle

Brains are what a man looks for in a woman after he has looked at everything else.

Frank Kiernan

Men are peculiar. A fellow who hadn't kissed his wife in five years shot a fellow who did.

Killed Him, Too

The Armistice was signed on the eleventh of November in 1918 and since then every year there have been two minutes of peace.

*Schoolboy's Examination Paper,
Quoted In SHIELD*

We should all be interested in the future because that is where we are going to spend the rest of our lives.

Charles F. Kettering

Diplomacy is letting someone else have your way.

Anonymous

For he cannot read his tombstone when he's dead.

Berton Braley

I would as soon write free verse as play tennis with the net down.

Robert Frost

I never mind it when a woman looks poured into a dress, provided too much hasn't settled to the bottom.

Oren Arnold

It's better to give than to receive. Besides, its deductible.

Unde Mat

Don't marry for money. You can borrow it cheaper.

Probably From A Guy Who Did

A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion.

Francis Bacon

Fly the pleasure that bites tomorrow.

George Herbert

Conceit causes more conversation than wit.

La Rochefoucauld

We live under a government of men and morning newspapers.

Wendell Phillips

Boast not thyself of tomorrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.

Proverbs, XXVII, 1.

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

The Shape Of The Thing To Come

The "thing" we are talking about is the summit conference (s). We see predictions blooming, all around us, that the initial summit conference in the new series will not only be elongated, leisurely, and comfortable, as befits a meeting of good friends; but that it is likely to become a recurrent phenomenon, fading out and then on again, like the proverbial course of true love.

Of course, even as complacent, easy-going, and bent on suicide as are the American people, they must be given some reason which at least sounds plausible for this cuddling up to the Russian bear on the part of our astigmatic lambs. And further predictions are now unfolding, here and there, as to a new "line" which the Soviets have discovered—or, more accurately, have manufactured—that will really do the job. It will make the British people and the American people, in particular, practically demand that their top lambs sleep in the same room with the Russian bear, for the protection of all three.

While in its essence completely typical of Soviet deceptive maneuvers for forty years, this new gambit is—as have been so many of the others—just clever enough, fresh enough, and daring enough to cause its basic similarity to all the tricks of the past, which came out of the same hat, to be overlooked. Once again enough conservatives will go tumbling all over themselves, on the heels of the liberals, to argue that this new development really does change the situation. Therefore (we shall hear on every side), our government and our people should once more listen attentively to, and "consider on their merits," whatever proposals may be introduced by the Kremlin's spokesmen into the fraternal festivities at the summit.

Of course it is known in advance that these proposals will be for closer "cultural exchanges," for increasing "disengagement," for a more "peaceful" coexistence, and for a gradual

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yielding to Soviet demands and Soviet aggression which makes such "peaceful" coexistence possible. In order to understand the "changed situation" which is expected to justify all of this thick new slice of the same old bologna, we need to go back and creep up on it, in the tracks of its own development.

A Synthetic Feud

For a couple of years now, in revelations of inner wisdom given us by the profound thinkers, there has been a steady build-up of a supposedly growing rivalry between Moscow and Peking. Chou En-lai, we have been told, was jealous of one of the Kremlin's other pets, named Tito. Khrushchev has frowned, so you could hear him do it, on Mao's plans to commune-ize China. The term "junior partner," instead of satellite, has been increasingly employed to designate the so-called "Chinese People's Republic." Moscow has been worried about Peking's possible plans for territorial expansion, in future ways and directions that might bring Red China into conflict with Russia's own interests. It would not even surprise us to be told that Madame Sun Yat-sen, becoming a patriotic Chinese again after all these years of treason, had kicked Voroshilov on the shins and gone back home to Canton. But of course we wouldn't believe it.

In fact we wish we could believe that there was even an ounce of truth in a trainload of this propaganda. For the theme of Moscow-Peking friction has now been picked up, accepted, and further promoted, by many solidly anti-Communist writers and observers, who are friends of ours. And we do not like to be disagreeing with such fellow toilers in the same vineyard, for two reasons. One is the waste of energy and time which should be going into a united fight against the Communists. The other is our awareness that—highly absurd and improbable as it seems to us—we *could* be wrong and the others right. It's disturbing for us to find most of the regiment except ourselves out of step, especially when the regiment consists of men who usually march unerringly to the anti-Communist tune.

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Nevertheless, we have to present actions and actors to our readers the way we see them. Especially, when it seems to us that the Communists are planning to make extremely good use for their purposes out of just another cunning bamboozlement of the West, we must say so. And having looked, as objectively as we knew how, at this product of their propaganda machine, we can find absolutely no substance to the deceptive froth. We believe that the now much publicized ill feeling between Soviet Russia and Communist China is just as phony as has been the "break" between the Kremlin and Tito, and is likely to serve Communist needs and aims every bit as well.

That Doesn't Fit The Facts

We consider Rodney Gilbert one of the best informed men in America on the whole situation in the Far East. And in the pages of this magazine, only a few months ago—in an article on this very subject—he pointed out the absurdity of the view that the Peking regime enjoyed, or would even dare think about, the slightest independence of Moscow. He showed that with just Russia's control *over the arms and the training, and hence over the armies*, of the Chinese Communists, its control over the bosses of those armies was complete. Gilbert was convinced, and convincing, that the Kremlin could if it wished remove by telephone any Chinese big shot who showed incipient delusions of autonomy, and replace him with any subservient puppet Moscow selected—and would not hesitate to do so.

Geraldine Fitch, from observation and contacts given her by long residence in southeast Asia, has just pointed out how thoroughly Russia has Communist China bound hand and foot industrially. There is plenty of evidence and information available to show that resentment is smoldering and rebellion rampant throughout the whole mainland, so that Mao's gang could not even maintain its control without the assurance of Russian armed support if needed. And there are many general considerations to back up these specific arguments.

In the first place, as has been proved over and over, the

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whole Soviet world-wide empire is so monolithic in command that it can allow the *appearance* of all kinds of splits and schisms and pretenses of regional autonomy. It can do so without weakening one iota the effectiveness of its rigid control over those very agents who pretend to be independent, and with full confidence that the actions of those agents will add up to solid gains for the Kremlin in the long run. In fact, it is only because of this absolute assurance of unqualified control that the Kremlin dares permit any question of its authority to arise. From the whole world's total experience with the Communists over four decades, you can be sure that if there really were any weakening of the Soviets' dominion over their Chinese satrapy, it's the last thing they would allow to be known or suspected; and today the whole Communist-influenced "liberal" press of America and Europe would be repeatedly emphasizing how loyally subservient Peking was to Moscow.

Is Inconsistent With Communist Doctrine

In the second place, the whole idea is based on one of the most obvious fallacies that anybody could accept with regard to the Communist mentality. It disregards the visible fact that when a Chinese becomes a Communist, and especially a hard-core enough Communist to rise high in the ranks of the hierarchy, he ceases for practical purposes to be Chinese. His whole loyalty from then on is to international Communism and to its Kremlin masters, not to his own country.

Communism does not permit any divided loyalty or competing loyalties. When a Protestant or a Catholic or a Jew or a Moslem becomes a dedicated Communist, he is no longer a Protestant or Catholic or Jew or Moslem at all, even though he may pretend to be a more faithful one than ever before, in order better to serve Communist purposes. And the same thing is true with regard to national loyalties. Right in the United States we have seen case after case where native-born Americans, once they have become Communists, have not hesitated to betray their own country for the sake of promoting Com-

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munist plans to take us over. They no longer even thought as Americans.

An important part of the whole Communist "religion" is internationalism—the concept of an international Communist sovereignty which makes treason to one's own country become merely a higher loyalty to an overriding world government. We simply cannot follow the thought that Mao Tse-tung or Chou En-lai or Liu Shao-chi might meditate plans to buck this monolithic Communist command, for the sake of the greater glory of the Chinese People's Republic. It is, in our opinion, as undiscerning from the point of view of psychology as it is unrealistic with regard to military and political considerations.

"National Communism," or Titoism, or whatever else this fraud is sometimes called, is such a categorical contradiction in its own terms that only a West just panting to be deceived could ever have been gullible enough to pronounce the phrases a second time. As a general rule, the chief Communist aim in perpetrating this fraud has been to give some semblance of plausible reason for the pouring out of American millions to Communist governments, like that of Tito or Gomulka. But it can be helpful to the Communists in carrying out other objectives as well.

The spirit of nationalism is fostered by the Communists in "colonial" countries which they have not yet brought under their control. It is an important part of the tactical campaign by which they drive out the Western powers and impose on those countries the rule of their own native puppets. But as soon as this has been accomplished, the reverse trend begins. The Communists do everything they can to destroy any nationalistic spirit or traditions that stand in the way of the international Communist hegemony. With this ultimate purpose and problem in mind, Moscow selects as its instruments, then supports, and maintains in power, only those native leaders whose loyalty to the international sovereignty is unquestioned. It must be unquestioned by Moscow at the very time such re-

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gional viceroys, as Tito already is and Romulo Betancourt visibly aspires to be, are spouting for non-Communist ears about the "neutralism" of Yugoslavia or the inappropriateness of orthodox Marxism to the needs of Venezuela.

It seems to us that, to expect these important agents of the Kremlin to have any dreams for their own countries, except to make such global subdivisions more secure and valued parts of the Communist empire, or to have any ambitions for themselves except to rise higher within the top Communist councils, is to lose sight of the unmistakable Communist orientation. As for Mao Tse-tung or Chou En-lai—or Achmed Sukarno or Fidel Castro or Josep Broz Tito or Wladislaw Gomulka—beginning to think of themselves as rivals of the Kremlin, rather than as its servants, that will happen at just about the time shrimps learn to whistle.

May Be The Key To The Newest Maneuver Of Deception

The only real question over the past year or two has been as to *why* the Communists were trying so hard to get this particular nonsense about Red China accepted by the West. And that reason is now at last becoming clear. It is a brilliant and audacious conception. The Soviets managed, through the pretended independence and "neutrality" of Tito, to have the United States give him over a billion dollars. That was, in theory, to enable Tito to defend himself against the Soviets, and maintain a united front with the West against a common Soviet danger. The present maneuver is a reverse of that play—a "switch" on the theme—which is much bolder, and has far greater potential advantages for the Kremlin.

For now the Communists expect us to make concessions to the Soviet itself, and to *buy* Soviet friendship with those concessions, for the sake of a joint Soviet-West front and defense against the threat of rising Chinese might and aggressiveness. Mr. Khrushchev is supposed to have confided to Mr. Chamberlain (pardon us, we mean to Mr. Macmillan), in a sudden burst of unpremeditated frankness, that what both the

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West and the Soviets should really be worrying about, instead of the danger from each other, was the danger to both from the awakening hordes of China and their power-drunk leaders.

Of course the pretense that a man like Khrushchev could inadvertently let slip any such revelation of inner worries would not fool a moronic child who was spending his third year in the first grade. This kind of play-acting, to make an idea that Khrushchev wanted planted appear as a confession forced out of him by sheer anxiety, would be an insult even to Ed Sullivan. But Messrs. Macmillan, Eisenhower, and their respective coteries of advisers are so eager to be fooled by the Kremlin that it would be unreasonable to expect them to show the intelligence of a moronic child. They will believe, or will pretend to themselves and everybody else to believe, that the Soviet Union actually is afraid of being turned on—not by the Chinese people in revolt against Communism, which really is a possibility, but—by the Frankenstein's monster of Chinese Communist power which the Soviets have created.

And apparently the forthcoming summit conference will serve as the occasion when this theme is to be brought into play as a diplomatic weapon of far-reaching persuasiveness. For you can be sure that Messrs. Macmillan, Eisenhower & Company will be easily convinced that our danger from the same monster warrants our keeping the Soviet Union strong and *happy*, to help to protect us. From this theme of our joint interest will probably be launched, in successive summit conferences, the climactic moves in that greatest "peace offensive" of all time, as prophesied by Manuiski nearly thirty years ago. His statement, made in 1930 at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow, is worth repeating again. For it will explain much that you see taking place now, and more that you will see in the next year or two ahead. Although the war which he visualizes should not be misunderstood as necessarily a clearcut external war, but is more likely to be an internal smashing of enemies, with every possible confusion and cruelty used to forward Communist purposes and to strengthen Communist power—

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nevertheless we have clearly arrived at the preparatory stage which he foretold.

"War to the hilt between Communism and Capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in twenty or thirty years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The Capitalistic countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fists."

Kipling was undoubtedly correct when he wrote: "In vain in the sight of the Bird is the net of the Fowler displayed." And birds do not actually have more sense than the anti-Communist peoples of the West. It is just that they have more concern for their safety and their future. But there are many signs that, despite the folly and the treason of their governments, the *people* of the West are slowly awakening to the danger. And there is still a chance that they may awaken in time.

* * * *

About Christian A. Herter

Because our magazine is published in Massachusetts, of which the Hon. Christian A. Herter was governor for four years, many readers have asked us for the "inside dope" on our new Secretary of State. We are sorry not to have any. And we are even more sorry that the information available on the public record is so discouraging.

For example. From the time Earl Browder and his co-workers laid the foundation for our foreign aid program, back in 1943 and 1944, probably no other American has supported that program earlier, more enthusiastically, or with more extravagant proposals, than Christian Herter. As *Coronet Magazine* gloatingly reported in August, 1957, "nothing, per-

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haps, helped as much to put across the Marshall Plan after World War II as the junket of a House Committee headed by studious Representative (now Under Secretary of State) Christian Herter of Massachusetts."

The Marshall Plan was inaugurated during the Truman Administration, largely by leftwing Democrats led by Dean Acheson. Christian Herter helped mightily to push it through Congress. By enabling socialist governments to stay in power and to become more socialistic, the Marshall Plan was the most effective single force in bringing about the continued advance towards socialism in most countries on this side of the Iron Curtain, instead of a reversion to the "normalcy" of conservatism which is to be expected after the turmoil of any great war. It did some good, in some places, of course. The Communists believe in using dark gray instruments, not solid-black ones. But a case history of what the Marshall Plan did to the economies and political developments in, say, Belgium or England, will clearly reveal that the Leftists accomplished exactly what they had planned with this brilliant maneuver.

None of these facts bothered Herter. For he was the most "modern" of "modern Republicans" before the term had even been invented. When the Marshall Plan, which had been presented by Messrs. Acheson and Herter as a temporary measure, was metamorphosed into the permanent and more ambitious "Mutual Security" program, it had Mr. Herter's full blessing. In fact, on March 15, 1956, he made a most revealing speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. He insisted that our foreign aid billions should be given away without any strings attached whatever, and that "we should not demand any *quid pro quo* for our assistance." He then proposed that "we should offer to coordinate our aid with whatever assistance the Soviet Union is able to provide. . . . We should . . . be willing to work out both with the Soviet and with the recipient country a program to which both the Soviet and ourselves can each contribute."

(On Page 55 of Earl Browder's *TEHERAN*, in the midst of

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a long discussion setting forth the glories of the American foreign aid program he was there proposing, this top American Communist had written: "Here, further, there is raised the whole question of the possibility of economic participation by the Soviet Union in such a program together with the capitalist lands." The Communists always look a long way ahead.)

Mr. Herter has defended our foreign aid program — past, present, and future — with all of the usual sophistries. Typical of his approach was his statement on April 1, 1957: "About twenty billion dollars of this has been in the form of loans. We have every reason to believe this twenty billion dollars will be repaid." We wonder how much of his own money Mr. Herter personally would be willing to lend these same debtors on the strength of that expectation.

Christian Herter could hardly get to Washington fast enough, as the new Secretary of State, to give a luncheon for Fidel Castro. As *National Review* points out, he "opened his secretaryship with a miserable and dangerous capitulation," by agreeing to the Soviet demand that the United States will not fly planes at an altitude of more than ten thousand feet over the corridor to Berlin.

In the foothills of the "summit conference," Herter refused to support the honestly anti-Communist stand of Adenauer and de Gaulle, but made himself an "intermediary" on behalf of the "flexible" views of Macmillan. A photograph of Herter practically straining a gut to shake hands with Gromyko was one of the first useful pieces of Soviet picture propaganda to come out of the present show in Geneva. It was reinforced by the UPI announcement on May 11 that "Secretary of State Christian Herter will hold a man-to-man session tomorrow with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Herter will be Gromyko's guest at luncheon in the Soviet headquarters."

By assenting to the arrangement whereby the East German delegates as well as the West German delegates are allowed to sit as "advisors," at small tables adjoining the main table of the four

(Continued on Page 48)

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

At least one of our editors, Dr. Hans Sennholz, and undoubtedly many of our readers, are vigorously opposed to the point of view expressed in the following article. But this is the tenth of Mr. Alexander's twelve essays, based on the continuing validity today of the fundamental principles set forth in the Federalist Papers, which we are running as a complete series in AMERICAN OPINION. And clearly we should not impose an editorial gag on a writer whom we regard so highly, at the one point out of twelve where he becomes "controversial."

Actually, we invited Dr. Sennholz to make a parallel presentation of the opposing, "free-trade" argument, in this same issue. He complied, and we have the article. But in the meantime we have received from Dr. Sennholz an essay on an entirely different subject, which we wish to publish without delay. And we feel that two Sennholz in one issue would be too Sennholz indeed. So, at the risk of bringing the wrath of all libertarians down on our bowed and bloody heads, we leave Mr. Alexander in command of the field. We haven't even censored the language he wields as a weapon.

Ordinarily, we pay no attention to the two-sides-to-every-argument theme, anyway. To us, its fallacy is best illustrated by the minister who preached a superb sermon and then said: "Now, that is the Lord's point of view. In order to be fair, for the next half hour, I'll speak on the same subject matter from the point of view of the devil." But when it comes to the one lone subject of tariffs, we suffer from intellectual and editorial schizophrenia. We are like the Roman who preferred to philosophize with the Stoics and to dine with the Epicureans. In the matter of economic theory we side completely with Dr. Sennholz and the believers in free trade, without tariffs or any other governmental brakes, controls, or limitations. But as a practical matter, in a world so hamstrung by governments and slave labor and conspiracies that economic principles get bent beyond recognition before becoming operative, the free-trade principle can be used too extensively and too long as a one-way street for us to accept the perversion. There is too visible an effort today, on the part of the enemies of all freedom, to use something called "free trade," but which isn't free trade at all, as one of the weapons with which to weaken the United States. So we become like F. P. A.'s "wobbly gink, who knows not what to think" — on this one subject only, we assure you. On all others we are as positive as a direct current. And about as unpopular.

All right, Mr. Alexander, at last the floor is yours.

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OUR FOUNDING FATHERS had the daring thought that the Federal government could be entirely supported by taxation, not of Americans but of foreigners. Alexander Hamilton expressed this idea in several places, notably in *The Federalist Paper Number 12*, writing that:

"... national revenue is derived from taxes of the indirect kind. . . . Duties on imported articles form a large branch of this latter description. In America, it is evident that we must a long time depend for the means of revenue chiefly on such duties."

Hamilton had in mind that overseas merchants would be quite willing to pay a sort of admission tax in order to enter the American market. He was right in this. We had, and still have, a vast territory under development, an expanding economy and fast-growing population. It is true that our own industry would be protected by Hamilton's tariff schedule and that the United States would aim at the ideal economy, one which contains both producers and consumers. But the time has never come when American manufacturers would supply all and every demand and desire of the purchasing public. There was in Hamilton's day, there always will be, an opportunity to sell special items to the American consumer. For this privilege — and, in Hamilton's mind, it was a privilege — the foreign producer could and should pay.

Hamilton saw further than this. He thought that the lure of profit would bring imported goods to American wharves; he was also thinking that tariff-for-revenue would enable the American nation to retain its economic integrity and its all-important concept of State sovereignty. For economic integrity, it was necessary that the American profits-maker retain nearly all of what he made so as to re-spend it in the home market. The meaning of economic integrity is self-containment. For State sovereignty, it was necessary that the States have prior access to the home sources of taxation. It was unthinkable that the Federal government would ever usurp these domestic sources of revenue.

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Being a political philosopher and not just a dry-bone economist, Hamilton was looking into the nature of the American people when he reached these conclusions. He wrote: "The genius of the people will ill-brook the inquisitive and pre-emptory spirit of excise laws." The America which he knew, and which had fought a war against unjust taxation, was not going to countenance Federal snooping into the private matter of personal wealth. And the idea of the Federal government pre-empting profits by means of an excise tax or of confiscating wages under a "withholding" tax, would have seemed too much like the hated Stamp Act of King George III to be acceptable to Americans of the Eighteenth Century.

II

HAMILTON SAW SOMETHING ELSE. People might readily consent to pay the neighborhood tax collectors for building roads and bridges, and to give money in support of the State legislatures which had existed as colonial legislatures from the very beginning. But for a distant, impalpable Federal government to raise revenue by real estate or personal property taxes would go hard. "The pockets of the farmers . . ." Hamilton predicted, "will reluctantly yield but scanty supplies (of taxes) in the unwelcome shape of impositions on their houses and lands." The businessman, too, would be a tough one to take Federal taxes from; because "personal property is too precarious and invisible a fund to be laid hold of in any other way than by the imperceptible agency of taxes on consumption."

All circumstances considered, the first Secretary of the Treasury expected that the State governments would be supported by moderate taxes on the people, but that the Federal government would be supported by foreign trade, of which a great deal would travel in American bottoms and be defended by the even-then famous American Navy.

This arrangement was invincibly logical. The main purpose of the Federal government was to deal with foreign affairs, including war and commerce. Another purpose, of

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course, was to watch over interstate commerce and try to prevent States from carrying their old rivalries to extremes. In no sense whatever was the Federal government to become a rival itself of the States, or to do anything to compromise the jealously guarded rights of State sovereignty.

It is trite to say that times have changed since Hamilton's day and that the industrial revolution, mass education, rapid travel and communication have made national life much different. But these changes are in the nature of progress and are to be welcomed. What is much less progressive and welcome are the fundamental changes that seem to have taken place in the American people and their Republic.

It is just as well to write "seem to have taken place" because the Founding Fathers would undoubtedly hope that the alterations are neither real nor permanent. There are some things of the heart and spirit which much be imperishable, or else we are without any hope at all.

Moral factors are always superior to economic ones, and the American Constitution is primarily moral. More than a century and a half after The Federalist Papers, the moral principles of protective tariff and of a Federal government limited to what it collects at the ports are still worth exploring.

III

A TARIFF WALL protects much more than the manufacturer. Without exception, the livelihood of every American is at stake, for the simple reason that management and Labor are part of the same production unit. Hamilton saw this so clearly that he predicted, with his heart if not his head, that working people would naturally elect businessmen to represent them in Congress. Writing in *The Federalist Number 34*, he said:

"Mechanics and manufacturers will always be inclined, with few exceptions, to give their votes to merchants, in preference to persons of their own profession or trades. Those discerning citizens are well aware that the mechanic and manufacturing arts furnish the materials of mercantile enterprise

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and industry. Many of them, indeed, are immediately connected with the operations of commerce. They know that the merchant is their natural patron and friend; and they are aware, that however great the confidence they may justly feel in their own good sense, their interests can be more effectually promoted by the merchant than by themselves."

The price of goods comes down at last to the price that is put on human labor. By the mid-Twentieth Century, according to a United Nations report, human slavery still existed both in communist Asia and backwoods Africa. The Soviet State used war prisoners and political culprits with complete heedlessness, while several African tribes still bought and sold workers. These are extreme examples, but they make the point. Cheap goods can be produced with cheap labor.

Actually low-cost labor in industrialized nations is much more of a threat to the United States than slave labor in backward nations. In a typical year of the period after World War II, a Japanese chemical worker would get an average of 26 cents an hour against \$1.83 for an American chemical worker. Between the middle of the Truman age and the middle of the Eisenhower era, the differential between Jap and American textile wages had caused United States cotton cloth shipments to drop from 1480 million square yards to 542 million square yards.

It doesn't take any special knowledge to see that low-wage foreigners can dispossess Americans of their jobs unless the Federal government protects its own people with tariffs. Foreign competition will inevitably reduce our way of living to bare subsistence if we allow it to happen. If the Federal government doesn't have a clear duty to defend the States from this sort of invasion, as well as from a warlike invasion, the Federal government would not be of much use. This is not economics; it is straight morality.

Despite all the changes in the world since the Eighteenth Century, the plain facts of national existence and prosperity have altered very little. Our foreign trade should have as its prime purposes the improvement of our economy and the

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financial support of our Federal government. We should enter into an exchange of goods to obtain any essential raw material for food or manufacture, or to obtain fabricated goods not available at home. If we can make money at the ports of entry, we should do that too.

Social welfare of other nations has no place in this picture. Nothing could be more preposterous than to falsify the facts and to invent reasons for dropping the protection of tariff walls. Yet, this happened. Between 1934 and 1955, our tariffs went down fifty percent or seventy percent, depending on how the calculation is made. The excuse was that what's good for the world is good for us. But the real reason was a global share-the-wealth scheme to equalize and internationalize the earth.

The tremendous American economy has been able to withstand this weakening wound in its side, and that is a tribute to our vitality. But it does not set the matter right. What's more it does not by any means prove that this sort of folly and falsification has made no difference in the American people and their Republic. It made a huge difference in the very area of Hamilton's discussion. The "genius" of the people has been affected; and State sovereignty has been nearly demolished.

In the matter of American "genius" we have been hurt because we have been taught to believe in lies. It is nothing but a lie to shift the tariff argument to grounds of international welfare. The American people have given enough charity in their time to deserve better treatment than this by their own leaders.

Another lie is the contention that the way to end poverty and other economic ills is to enter "free trade" agreements. We do have free trade within the American union, between our own States, for exactly the reasons that we cannot have it world-wide. If all nations had a common currency, a common standard of living and reasonably prevailing wage rates, then free trade might occur — with a number of other improbable if-clauses.

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IV

ALTOGETHER, it may be that the worst effect of the abandonment of Hamilton's ideas on tariff has been the moral effect. The nation has been done some deep damage by absorbing this continuous diet of lies. To accept falsehood, for whatever reason, is like feeding on slow poison.

Besides, there is something unnatural, almost perverted, in the whole line of thought which puts foreign nations above our own. The United States of America was certainly not established on principles of selfishness and disregard for human values. On the contrary, we evolved quite a number of national documents which are human documents — such masterpieces of religious philosophy as Lincoln's addresses, such lyrical gems as the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, as well as the Declaration of Independence and the preamble to the Constitution. For the greater part of our history, the United States has been an inspiration to every kind and condition of liberty-seeking people.

But none of this is to suggest that the United States was ever in its best moments careless or indifferent as to its own continuance. The notion of putting America anywhere except first is the beginning of corruption. The argument for reducing or abolishing tariffs has the same weight as one to abolish our national military defenses — and let the world have its will of us.

This moral degradation must be one of the reasons why the Americans in the Twentieth Century have permitted things that those of the Eighteenth Century would not. Hamilton knew that his countrymen simply would not allow excessive taxation and that was a main reason for looking to tariff-revenue. He could not have imagined a time when taxes would take up to ninety percent of a man's income.

State sovereignty was a subject which Hamilton seems to have miscalculated very badly — unless he was writing with tongue in cheek, which may very well be. Anyhow, he tells us in *The Federalist Number 17*, that:

"It will always be far more easy for the State governments

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to encroach upon the national authorities, than for the national government to encroach upon the State authorities. The proof of this proposition turns on the greater degree of influence which the State governments, if they administer their affairs with uprightness and prudence, will generally possess over the people."

If Hamilton is serious here, then he did not foresee that the Federal government would in time usurp many of the States' rights. If he was propagandizing a little, then he was warning the States never to give up their powers—the greatest of which is the power to tax.

It is in the field of taxation that the States lost their battle and their sovereignty. Long before the middle of the Twentieth Century, the States had allowed the Federal government to tap the main tax sources—income and excise tax—so that only real estate was left exclusively for the States. The result has been that the Federal government grew and grew while States diminished.

Is there no remedy? If there is one, Hamilton has offered the one enduring pattern. He pictured a Federal government no bigger than could be supported by taxes on imports.

The Game Of Darts

An old country doctor parked his Model T on the street. When he returned a number of youths were standing around laughing at the old bus. The doctor climbed into the seat and said mildly, "The car's paid for boys." Then, looking deliberately from one boy to another, he added: "You're not — and you're not."

Another Sullivan Steal

It takes the wool of twenty sheep to clothe a United States soldier — and the hide of ten taxpayers.

Charles A. Knouse

Written to a newspaper editor: "Let me paraphrase the epigram erroneously attributed to Voltaire. While I violently disagree with that which you say you think, I not only defend your right to think but express the hope you will do so."

Frank E. Masland, Jr.

Government Take-Over of Apprenticeship?

by

DON KNOWLTON

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION — that arm of the United Nations so enthusiastically supported by both our Department of Labor and our labor unions — has become an ardent exponent of State Socialism and is dedicated to government control over the affairs of men. In a far-reaching statement of overall philosophy, the ILO has proclaimed the desirability of government take-over of production, distribution, finance, and every phase of economic life, including employment. The ILO calls this "establishing social justice."

Many of the theories of the ILO have been supported by our government representatives who attend its annual conferences, most of whom are U. S. Department of Labor men. It is therefore not merely coincidence that, under the guise of helping both the working man and employers, the U. S. Department of Labor is promoting a plan for government take-over of apprenticeship in the United States.

The machinery of this plan is as follows:

1. *The U. S. Department of Labor has as one of its divisions the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship, operating (presumably) with the advice and guidance of an overall national joint labor-management apprenticeship committee.*

2. *The objective of this Federal Bureau is to promote the establishment of national apprenticeship training standards for every industry in the country;*

with the assistance (presumably) of national joint apprenticeship committees for each industry, in coordination with the overall joint committee.

3. *Each State in the Union is supposed to set up a so-called joint Apprenticeship Council, attached to the State government, for the furtherance of the apprenticeship standards determined by the various national joint apprenticeship committees.*

4. *In various important industrial localities in each state there are to be established local "joint" apprenticeship councils which will actually administer the machinery of apprenticeship in accordance with the national standards, with the aid and under the guidance of the Department of Labor.*

5. *Under this system, a young man desiring to become an apprentice does not go to an employer, but to the local apprenticeship council. The council then places the young man as an apprentice in a plant which has agreed to subscribe to national apprenticeship standards for the industry concerned. When the young man finishes his apprenticeship training he is "graduated," not by his employer, but by the council; and he receives his apprenticeship certificate, not from his employer, but from the United States Government.*

The plan has a very plausible ring to it, and "do gooders" think it is wonderful. Here is the Federal Government stepping in to help labor and management solve a mutual problem.

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A look below the surface, however, reveals serious dangers and discloses an underlying purpose which is alarming.

II

CONSIDER THE MATTER FIRST at the Washington level. How do the national committees determine what are to be the apprenticeship standards for each industry? The answer is that although the committees are presumed to be composed of representatives of management as well as labor, the unions, for all practical purposes, set the standards.

Now in the first place, the idea of an absolutely uniform apprenticeship system for an entire industry is today ridiculous. The training required for one division of an industry may be quite different from that required in another branch of the same industry. But what is far more important, the standards set by the national committee, under union guidance, prescribe a term of training which is far longer than is necessary under today's conditions.

For example, the labor unions say that a plumber's apprentice shall serve a four-year course; whereas the fact is that by modern teaching methods, as used in a well-run plant, a plumber's apprentice could probably be taught everything he needs to know in a small fraction of that time. In plants building capital equipment, apprentices, under proper direction, can be taught in a year more than they would be taught in two or three years under a course prescribed by a national committee.

And are the unions the proper authorities to prescribe the nature and terms of an apprentice training course? With technology moving as rapidly as

it is today, who are the people that really understand what apprentices have to learn in order to enter various industries? Obviously the practical production men in industrial enterprises — in short, the employers.

The fact is that the unions are using the Federal Apprenticeship system to further their own ends as to union membership. For under this setup, union membership is a prerequisite of apprenticeship training. If this system spreads — and it is spreading today — the result will be a wasteful slowing down of apprenticeship learning, the freezing of standards under an inflexible system, and an increase in the cost of training men.

III

SO MUCH FOR THE immediate practical dangers of this plan. Now consider its underlying purpose.

Although national apprenticeship committees "deliberate," the authoritative voice in this picture is the U. S. Department of Labor. In the functioning of the state joint apprenticeship councils, representatives of the U. S. Department of Labor are always on hand to steer courses of action.

As to the local joint apprenticeship committee, which is the actual administrative body, William F. Patterson, of the U. S. Department of Labor, states in a book entitled *Educating For Industry*, of which he is co-author:

"In the spirit of freedom which distinguishes this branch of education, the local joint apprenticeship committee recognizes nominal supervision by the top national joint apprenticeship committee of the industry which the local joint committee serves. The top national joint apprenticeship committee creates national policies, issues national stan-

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dards, and undertakes to forsee the basic problems in the field of manpower control for the entire industry."

Note the words "manpower control"—and bear in mind, again, the dominating influence of the Department of Labor. Manpower control is what Government wants. In the spirit of freedom!!

The Department of Labor maintains an unceasing campaign to sell the plan to industrialists. At one time they had over six hundred representatives of the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship operating throughout the country.

A number of industrialists have been beguiled into signing up. This is partly because they can turn over to Government a responsibility that should be theirs, and partly because yielding to Government and union pressure "avoids trouble." On the other hand, some employers say that rather than be a target for this scheme they will not have in their plants any formal apprenticeship training whatever. Either way the results are bad.

And while the labor unions assume that they are using government to further their own ends, government is using labor's support and influence to promote a system which would lay the foundation for government take-over of employment placement throughout the country. The unions think that the Labor Department will continue, as in the past, to be dominated by the unions. But, in the light of all history of government power, this is merely wishful thinking. And the underlying idea here is that eventually *government* should be empowered to tell employers whom they hire, how many they should hire, and how they should be trained.

This objective is in effect clearly revealed in the book from which I have

previously quoted, jointly authored by William F. Patterson, of the U. S. Department of Labor, and Marion H. Hedges, Director of Research, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. They say:

"The shape of things to come . . . is clearly outlined. The materials are at hand; the tools are forged . . . , to create a smoothly working national system of apprenticeship training."

IV

Now LET US hark back to the International Labor Organization. The ILO proposed some years ago that private employment agencies should be outlawed and that all employment placement should be handled by government. At its 1955 Annual Conference the ILO enacted a convention proposing that a government-run apprenticeship system should be established for all young workers on farms, to be put into effect by means of "laws and regulations." Drafted as an international law subject to treaty ratification, this document assumed that the farm workers thus apprenticed would belong to unions. It also provided that the government would supply public school textbooks, determine examination requirements, and select the teachers. This was a blueprint for indoctrination. It gives rise to speculation as to whether, under our own Department of Labor's apprenticeship system, an apprentice whose thinking was not "right" could succeed in getting a diploma from our government.

Not only does our Labor Department's national apprenticeship plan reflect ILO socialistic philosophy; it also utilizes the mechanics which the ILO has found so well suited to its purposes. The ILO is set up on what

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is known as a tri-partite basis. Each country sends to ILO conferences delegations representing labor, employers, and government, respectively. As to all questions on the agenda, this tri-partite representation engages in discussion and debate. Then conclusions are reached. But in nine cases out of ten government joins with labor — or vice versa—; the government-labor coalition outvotes the employers; and the conclusions arrived at are those desired jointly by labor and government over the opposition of employers.

By this method the employers are hoodwinked. The fact that they have strenuously opposed the objectives of the labor-government coalition never seems to come out. What is publicized are the *findings* to which presumably the employers have subscribed, since they were a party to the Conference.

The unions have been enthusiastic over the use of this tri-partite principle, because it has seemed to them a method of gaining their own ends with the support of government. But inherent in the tri-partite principle is the reverse possibility — one that the socialists recognize and are using to the fullest extent. If unions can, by government help, achieve their ends, *government* can likewise, by union help, achieve *its own ends*. When there is a group composed of labor, management, and government, and there is disagreement between labor and management, which is usually the case, then *government can step in and become the controlling and decisive factor*.

An example of the end result of this philosophy is "co-determination," which is now in effect in the West German steel industry. The arrangement is that the board of directors of a company consists of eleven men; five elected by

the stockholders, five representing the unions, and an eleventh man named by the aforesaid ten, or selected, if need be, by a conciliation committee. But in the event of a deadlock over the choice of the eleventh, the *matter goes to a Federal court*. This means that in case of disagreement between management and the union, which is normal in many situations, *government* can step in and take over.

V

NOW LET US look at the setup of the state and local apprenticeship boards under our own Department of Labor system. Each board is in theory "tri-partite" — composed of representatives of labor, employers, and "public." Who represents the public? It is easy for the government to pick "public" members who, because of political or union sympathies or sheer innocence, will follow the lead of the Department of Labor. The assumption will be that the employers agree with the determinations of the boards, because they sit in on the discussions. But a coalition of the labor and "public" members, under the guidance of the Department of Labor, will decide the issues. By such insidious means does creeping socialism extend its hold. This is not mere theory. The whole Federal apprenticeship system has already been extended to an alarming degree and, if not checked, will continue to spread. One means being used to strengthen the system is to reinforce the official standing of State apprenticeship councils. To do this a bill is introduced in the State Legislature by which the state apprenticeship council is set up as a legal agency of the state, operating on state appropriations, which thereby indirectly supplement the Federal appropriations.

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This gives the State council a weight which it did not previously possess. Although it professes to have no powers of compulsion, nevertheless the State council, in collusion with the U. S. Labor Department, can accomplish a great deal by indirect means. There are various devices that can be used. For one example, a company may be warned that it will be very difficult to get approval of G.I. benefits for apprentice training unless that company has signed up for the National apprenticeship program. This has been and is being done. Or a company may be warned that the employment of high school graduates of sixteen or seventeen years of age, as apprentices, may be ruled in violation of State regulations regarding the employment of minors — unless the company will sign up for the Federal apprenticeship program. This has been written into at least one state labor law, even though the apprenticeship council has merely been appointed temporarily by the Governor and is not a legal body.

Over twenty states have already passed legislation officially legalizing State joint apprenticeship councils; and bills to this effect are regularly introduced into the legislatures of states that thus far have not passed them. These bills are, usually, practically identical in provisions. The one introduced into the Ohio Legislature at its 1955-1956 session represented itself to be "a bill to establish a voluntary apprenticeship program." Section 3 of the bill stated, in part: "The council may establish standards for apprenticeship programs which are voluntarily submitted under this act; and may formulate policies and *issue rules and regulations* as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act." In view of the words

above italicized, the word "voluntary" is, to say the least, equivocal.

A Swedish friend of mine told me that in medieval times a king of Sweden, wishing more territory, invaded the country across the Baltic, which was then still occupied by pagans. His excuse was that he was going to convert the pagans to Christianity. When his army entered a town they lined up all the inhabitants in a single file and marched them to a parting of the ways. To the right stood a priest with a Bible, and to the left stood an executioner with an axe. Each inhabitant, when he got to the dividing point, took his choice. "Would you believe it," said my friend, "when I tell you that 99% of them *voluntarily* embraced Christianity?"

One year, when the apprenticeship bill was up for consideration by the Ohio Legislature, the question was asked as to whether it was being promoted by any special interest, or merely by a group of "good people" who had the public interest at heart. The answer was that it was a spontaneous effort by the "good people." Whereupon one State Senator asked: "If that is the case, why are there twenty-two representatives of the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship present in this room today?" That question probably had much to do with the defeat of the issue in Ohio for that particular year.

In the meantime, while the legislative battle goes on, every effort is being made by the Department of Labor and the unions to indoctrinate young men with the "advantages" of the system. Recently I saw a film on the national apprenticeship system, prepared and put out by the U. S. Department of Labor. It was an excellent illustration of the propaganda being used.

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This film told the story of a young man who got his apprenticeship training by going to a local joint council and putting himself under their direction and supervision. The young man subscribed to a course of apprenticeship training prescribed by the council. He went to a school which was conducted by the union. He joined the union as a condition of becoming an apprentice. A union agent got him his apprenticeship training job; and then followed up to see that, on the job, he was given the kind of treatment prescribed by the union. When his education and train-

ing period was completed he got an apprenticeship certificate, not from the employer, but *from the government of the United States*. This young man was, in fact, not an apprentice to an employer, but to the government.

Remember that the international socialists want government control over employment, government control over wages and collective bargaining, government control over production and prices — and finally nationalization of industry. Remember further that long journeys start with short steps, and that *one step leads to the next*.

About Christian A. Herter

(Continued from Page 34)

Foreign Ministers, Herter has already given the East German puppet regime the *de facto* recognition which the Soviets wanted. And when he made clear that, in this whole circus, we should deal with the Soviets by offering concession for concession, he was taking exactly the cue which the Kremlin had provided for the occasion. We are very sorry but very certain that Christian Herter will take the lead in more brazen fraternization with the Communists, and more disastrous appeasement of the Communists, than this country has seen since World War II.

On December 11, 1956, Mr. Herter was publicly praised by the Americans For Democratic Action. As we are sure he should have been. For the sad truth is that, ideologically, Christian Herter belongs in approximately the same circle with Hubert Humphrey, John Kennedy, and Estes Kefauver. And the sadder truth is that, otherwise, he could never have been appointed, by the forces which now control the Eisenhower Administration, to the job he now holds.

The Currents of American Economic Thought

by

HANS SENNHOLZ

WE FREQUENTLY ASK ourselves the question: How is it possible that the United States, this former bulwark of capitalism, has turned so rapidly towards interventionism? What are the forces that continue to guide it further and further along the road to socialism? The answer, of course, must explain the rapid change of the prevailing political and economic thought in the United States. It must, above all, demonstrate how "new thought" began to encroach upon the minds of the majority of the citizenry until it affected local and national elections and, finally, succeeded in shaping our policies.

Political and economic thought usually is divided into various systems whose advocates are grouped into "schools of thought." These are comprised of men and women who, though they may differ in some detail, basically agree on fundamental issues. We may speak, for instance, of a "Marxian School," which identifies all followers of Marxian doctrines and, especially, all Marxian writers and authors. Or, we may think of a "capitalist school of thought," which comprises men and women who adhere to the principles of individual freedom and free enterprise.

If one person embraces fundamental ideas of different schools of thought, even though they stand in conflict with each other — such as the Marxian and the capitalist schools — we may consider him an "eclectic." Many people,

especially those who are little interested in political and economic matters, are eclectics. They may, for instance, adhere to the exploitation theory taken from the Marxian system, and simultaneously defend the competitive system which is identical with capitalism.

Although eclecticism is probably the prevailing mode of thought in the United States, and consequently shapes our policies, it is itself formed by various contending systems that strive actively and continuously to supplant it. In the realm of economic thought several schools have effectively exerted their influence on American thinking and policy.

More than two generations ago capitalistic ideas and doctrines were still accepted without question or hesitation. American free-enterprise economists, such as Amasa Walker, Francis A. Walker, and William Graham Sumner enjoyed not only nation-wide recognition but also acceptance and fame in Europe. It is true, there was no uniformity of thought. They frequently disagreed on the great economic problems of their time, notably on the tariff and on monetary matters. But they unhesitatingly agreed on the desirability of individual freedom and free enterprise.

The New Era

During the 1880's, however, a new era in American economic thought became clearly visible. Henry George's

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Progress and Poverty, which had appeared in 1879, aroused great interest and stimulated ardent debates. As the most popular book on economics ever published up to that time, it exerted considerable influence on public attitudes.

George's book and other writings denounced laissez-faire capitalism for fostering landed monopolies. As the country is settled and land passes into private ownership, Henry George reasoned, landowners become wealthy through the mere possession of land in growing communities, while wages and return on capital decline. As the increased value of the land is attributable to the activity of the community, it should be confiscated through taxation and thus returned to the community.

His hostility towards profits on land naturally bred a general hostility towards all "unearned increments," and thus towards the very profit system itself.

Another school of thought that was to become even more powerful and influential, because it invaded the American colleges and universities, was an offshoot of the German Historical School. In 1885 the American Economic Association was founded and fashioned after the model of the German *Verein für Sozialpolitik*, which aimed at replacing the abstract deductive economics of the English Classical School with historical investigation. It stood for a broadening of the functions of the state, for labor regulation and legislation, and other interventionist programs.

The American Economic Association, which was founded by university professors such as Ely, Patten, Adams, and Seligman, became the center of the

"new thought." Its statement of principles, as prepared by Professor Ely, is very revealing. Their tenor sounds "modern" even today, some seventy-four years later. These principles were stated as follows:

"1. *We regard the State as an agency whose positive assistance is one of the indispensable conditions of human progress.*

"2. *We believe that political economy as a science is still in an early stage of its development. While we appreciate the work of former economists, we look not so much to speculation as to the historical and statistical study of actual conditions of economic life for the satisfactory accomplishment of that development.*

"3. *We hold that the conflict of labor and capital has brought into prominence a vast number of social problems, whose solution requires the united efforts, each in its own sphere, of the church, of the state, and of science.*

"4. *In the study of the industrial and commercial policy of governments we take no partisan attitude. We believe in a progressive development of economic conditions, which must be met by a corresponding development of legislative policy.*"

In spite of their ambiguity these principles clearly indicate the transition in social and economic thought that was taking place during this period. Its authors and sponsors became a real force in determining national policies. Especially did they exert their powerful influence towards government regulation of monetary matters, of big business, and of the railways.

Institutional Economics

An even more influential school of thought, that is traceable directly or

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indirectly to the German Historical School and its American offshoot, is the so-called "Institutional School." Its founder, Thorstein Veblen, levelled devastating charges at the market economy. Although he differed essentially with the analytical approach applied by Karl Marx, he concurred with Marx in most of his conclusions.

Veblen's popular book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, derided the capitalist economy as being ridden by conflict. Property rights, Veblen argued, enable predatory groups to seize the production surplus and live in leisure. Plants and machines fall under the influence of moneyed interests who control production as absentee owners. They reap profits by restricting production and by price fixing. And through their greed and speculation they throw the national economy into turmoil and depression. Their interests and practices clearly conflict with the common good.

Although many differences may be found among the writers commonly classed as institutional economists, they usually are in full agreement on the following basic principles. They believe that "social forces" and "group behavior," rather than individual motivation and action, should be the object of economic analysis. They reject theoretical deductions and economic laws on the grounds that human behavior is changing continuously and that economic knowledge is relative to time and place.

Institutional economics rose to its zenith during the 1920's and 1930's. Writers such as Commons, Mitchell, Atkins, McConnell, J. M. Clark, W. H. Hamilton, and Sumner Slichter received enormous attention, and many others gained recognition. When F. D. Roosevelt became President in 1933, he

took with him to Washington several advisors who adhered to institutional economics. They shaped the policies known as the "New Deal."

Two factors probably contributed to the subsequent decline in the popularity of the institutional approach, although they did not silence its voices entirely. One was the dismal failure of the New Deal policies. Instead of reviving the American economy, the New Deal continued to hold the economy in the grip of deep depression and unemployment. By 1937, President Roosevelt abandoned his "institutional" experiments in order to apply "Keynesian economics."

The second factor was the development of two new schools of thought. In 1933, E. H. Chamberlin and Mrs. Joan Robinson published treatises on the "imperfect" and "monopolistic" nature of competition. And in 1936, John Maynard Keynes published his opus magnum, *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. These new publications were to bring significant changes to economic thought. But the accomplishment of these changes was being made easier by an underlying trend, which we must look at first.

Socialism

For there is still another school that is radically opposed to capitalism and the market economy. This is socialism proper. It is true, the soil for orthodox Marxism was never very fertile in America, because the living conditions of the American workers continuously improved. Wages rose rapidly, consumer prices declined, and many a worker rose from rags to riches. This made it rather difficult for the socialist writers such as Lerner, Lange, Bergson and Sweezy, and the *Socialist Party* of Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas,

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to defend the Marxian Doctrines of class struggle, exploitation, and the workers' impoverishment. And yet, they devised a very clever line of attack. "The open frontier," they said, "offered refuge to the workers from capitalist exploitations and thus tended to keep wages high in the cities. The open frontier protected capitalism from its own destruction. When the West was finally settled, American capitalism began to evidence the very symptoms it brought forth in Europe."

At this place we need not explode socialist contentions. But it should be pointed out that throughout most of United States history the open frontier constituted a continuous drain on the capital and resources that were accumulated in the East. This drain actually tended to reduce the standard of living in the cities of the East rather than increase it. When the West was largely settled, towards the end of the last century, the American standard of living rose more rapidly than ever. It was the spread of ideas hostile to capitalism, not the disappearance of new lands to settle, that caused this nation gradually to embark upon interventionism and to develop symptoms of socialism.

While Marxian socialism was failing to make appreciable inroads in the United States, another brand was eminently successful. Coming mainly from England, Fabian socialism has entered this country in force. Under the new and attractive name of "economic planning," and propagated by clever men—such as Harold Laski, Walter Reuther, and many others who call themselves "liberals"—it has pushed this nation a long way towards a "planned economy."

In January, 1947, the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) became the

central organization that now unites the various American forces striving for "central planning." It has brought together the powerful figures in education, politics, and the labor unions. Its influence is felt in the Republican as well as the Democratic Party.

It is peculiar to ADA that it allegedly aims at "defending" capitalism. It does not openly advocate socialism. It merely advocates a great number of political measures that add up to the complete realization of socialism. For instance, the ADA proposes "bold long range programs for the development of our resources, rebuilding of our cities, elimination of our slums and provision for full and equal opportunity for health, education and security." Above all, it demands the immediate application of government "price, allocation, inventory and credit controls." Defined in any honest terminology, however, these government controls constitute the very substance of socialism.

The "Monopolistic Competition" Theorists

Ever since Karl Marx proclaimed that capitalist competition inevitably leads to a monopolization of production and wealth on account of the exploitation of the workers by capitalists, other socialists, Historicists, and Institutionalists have questioned the desirability of competition. But it was only after the sway of Institutionalism during the 1920's and 1930's that these writings gained wide recognition with economists.

In 1933, Edward H. Chamberlin published *The Theory of Monopolistic Competition* which had been previously submitted as a doctor's thesis at Harvard. In this thesis he argued that

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most situations in a market economy are composites in which both monopoly and competition are combined. The correct procedure for market analysis is to start from monopoly, for pure competition is found only under the dual prerequisite of a large number of producers and a perfectly standardized product. "Monopolistic competition" keeps prices higher than pure competition and the volume of output is likely to be kept smaller. Unemployment may be the result.

Joan Robinson of Cambridge University was even more critical than Chamberlin. According to her famous book, *The Economics of Imperfect Competition*, published also in 1933, every seller has a monopoly of his own product. As sellers, businessmen reap monopolistic gains through production restrictions and price increases. As buyers of labor, businessmen do not pay the full market value of the product of labor — they "exploit" their workers.

After these publications by Chamberlin and Robinson there followed a great many studies that endeavored to apply the new approach. Numerous economic textbooks and treatises began to emphasize the "managerial" nature of prices. Price and production policies were found to be dictated by a small number of concerns (an oligopoly). Naturally, such studies tended to arouse a public attitude against the large corporations and their price policies. The courts, and above all the anti-trust department of the U. S. Justice Department, became more critical and hostile towards business combinations and consolidations. Also, Congress has been considering government control over the prices of the products of our leading corporations. Today, the imposition of such controls is imminent.

Keynesian Economics

The last twenty years of American economic thought have been under the extraordinary influence of the British economist, John Maynard Keynes. He discovered no new theory, and whatever he expressed was stated by others before him. And yet, he became the most influential economist of the mid-century. His fame probably rests on the fact that he explained the Great Depression by placing the sole responsibility with businessmen and the capitalist system, and by promising salvation through government spending and credit expansion. As such a "scientific depression analysis" came at the very moment of greatest embarrassment to governments, it was more than welcome to those who were operating with budget deficits and expanding credit. They proclaimed Keynes their high priest and hero.

Armed with a new terminology, Keynes applied the "national income approach." That is, he worked with national aggregates without much consideration of individual motivation and action. He denounced the gold standard, which most governments had already abolished; and he praised fiat money and credit. The goal of government policy, according to Keynes, is full employment. Because saving does not govern investment, he condemned it. Instead, he relied upon both private and government spending and, above all, on pump-priming and credit expansion in order to achieve full employment. In other words, he advocated inflation as a cure for unemployment and depression.

Because of its numerous shortcomings, Keynes maintained, the private enterprise system is not to be relied upon for full employment. Therefore,

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in order to save capitalism from its own destruction, individual initiative is to be limited to a narrow scope. At the same time governmental functions are to be extended and more social controls imposed.

The influence of Keynes on American thought and policies is tremendous. Our monetary policies of inflation and credit expansion, budgetary deficits and contracyclical credit policies, the growth of governmental power and controls, are all motivated or, at least pervaded, by Keynesian economics. Most of our academic writers with national fame and recognition, such as P. A. Samuelson, W. Fellner, A. H. Hansen, S. E. Harris, J. K. Galbraith, and many others, thrive on Keynesian economics and its national income approach. Most institutional economists, socialists, and monopolistic competition theorists now endeavor to enrich their own theories with some Keynesian thought. And this is true even though every self-respecting academic writer usually manages to find fault with some one or another insignificant aspect of his master's system.

Today, most of the elementary college textbooks used in American universities and colleges are permeated with Keynesian economics. Among them are those by R. T. Bye, A. M. Meyers, L. Tarshis, P. A. Samuelson, T. Morgan, G. Soule, D. Dillard, and others.

Finally, we must mention a special school of thought that is thriving on the Keynesian system: *Econometrics*. This school endeavors to apply the mathematical treatment of statistics to the quantitative relations among economic phenomena. Some of its representatives are W. Leontief, G. Tintner, L. R. Klein, and the writers associated with the Cowles Commission. Much of

their work is unintelligible to those economists who lack sufficient knowledge in advanced mathematics.

The Remnants of Capitalism

The student of contemporary American economic thought cannot help being impressed by the powerful array of forces that are eager to change our economic system. He perceives immediately that it is rather unrealistic to raise the question why this country has embarked upon interventionism and socialism. Instead, he ponders the difficult question as to why "central control" has not yet been realized in all phases of our economic life, and why we continue to enjoy a small margin of economic freedom.

One important reason, probably, is the incredible productivity and superiority of the individual enterprise system. In spite of the many mutilations perpetrated on it and obstacles placed in its way, this system continues to operate, though wearily and irksomely, and to yield its rich results. It is the American businessmen and capitalists who deserve our recognition and gratitude for their great adaptability and ingenuity in overcoming the ever increasing number of government restrictions, controls, taxes, and union obstructions.

Another factor that has effectively parried the onslaught of collectivism in the United States is the living memory of capitalism. People are proud of their "American way of life," their individual rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, their protection of liberty and property from government power and arbitrariness. As long as people remember these rights, all of which are the achievement of the natural-rights philosophy and of cap-

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italism, the advance of collectivism must necessarily be slow. It takes many years for these freedoms to be eroded by interventionist legislation and juristic "reinterpretation." This is why socialism in the Western democracies differs radically from the socialism behind the Iron Curtain where capitalism never existed.

Finally, there are the remaining defenders of capitalism, who have labored diligently to stem the rising tide of collectivism. It is true that, as in the case of all other schools of thought, they may disagree on certain aspects of economic theory, or on the strategies of defense and counterattack. But they are in general agreement on the desirability of individual freedom and free enterprise. They generally deny the existence of inherent conflicts between the members of society, especially between capital and labor, employer and employee. Standing on the basis of the Classical theory and following it in social philosophy and scientific method, they believe that individual motivation, action and reaction govern social and economic phenomena. Because of these beliefs they are staunchly opposed to governmental intervention that runs counter to, or that is predicated on

changing, the basic nature of man.

It is significant that the scholarly opponents of socialism in the United States, almost without exception, were influenced by the marginal utility analysis as developed by the great Austrian scholars Menger, Böhm-Bawerk and Wiser. Men such as J. B. Clark, Irving Fisher, T. N. Carver, F. W. Taussig, and F. A. Fetter were great original thinkers and ardent foes of collectivism who made skillful use of Austrian analysis. They were followed by men such as L. Mises, F. H. Knight, F. A. Hayek, G. Haberler, Y. Brozen, H. Hazlitt and many others.

The younger generation of free-enterprise scholars and writers is building on the foundation laid by these men. In general, they are associated with a small number of journals, such as *American Opinion*, *The Freeman*, *Human Events*, *National Review*, *Modern Age*, *Christian Economics*, *Faith and Freedom*, and some others. Although they may not yet possess the strength that is necessary to repel and rout the army of collectivism, they are carrying the light of freedom into the future. Their victory is certain as soon as human reason again prevails over envy, resentment, and wishful thinking.

The Game Of Darts

The best lack all conviction and the worst are full of passionate intensity!

To Chief Justice Earl Warren:

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CONFETTI

Two women who had not seen each other for a long time met on the street.

"Gracious, Dorothy," said the first, "I haven't seen you for seven years. You certainly look a lot older."

"You, too, Eleanor, dear. I wouldn't have recognized you except for the dress and hat."

* * *

A frightened householder reported to police that he'd been struck down in the dark outside his back door by an unknown assailant. A young policeman was sent to investigate and soon returned to headquarters with a lump on his forehead and a glum look on his face.

"I solved the case," he muttered.

"Amazingly fast work," his superior complimented him. "How did you accomplish it?"

The young cop explained: "I stepped on the rake, too."

* * *

An eight-year-old lad was asked by his mother what he had learned at Sunday school.

"Well," he said, "our teacher told us about when God sent Moses behind the enemy lines to rescue the Israelites from the Egyptians. When they came to the Red Sea Moses called for the engineers to build a pontoon bridge. After they had all crossed, they looked back and saw the Egyptians coming in tanks. Moses radioed headquarters on his walkie-talkie to send bombers to blow up the bridge and so he saved the Israelites."

"Bobby!" his mother exclaimed. "Is that really the way your teacher told you that story?"

"Not exactly," Bobby replied. "But if I told it her way you'd never believe it."

The lady said she wanted to buy a dog. She spent two hours of the kennel owner's time, looking at and discussing one dog after another. But she turned down each one, claiming that they were all too expensive.

"Well, Madam," the kennel owner finally said, "let me suggest that perhaps you should look up a used cur dealer."

* * *

He: Ah, what is home without mother?

She: I am, tonight.

* * *

A truck driver pulled up alongside one of those tiny foreign sports cars stalled on the highway, poked his head out, and asked:

"What's sa trouble, pal? Need a new flint?"

* * *

"I'd like to go to the mountains this summer," said the dominating woman to her meek husband, "but I'm afraid the mountain air would disagree with me."

"My dear," said he, "it wouldn't dare."

* * *

Little paycheck, in a day,
You and I will go away,
To some gay and festive spot.
I'll return but you will not.

* * *

One of Hollywood's most famous and most married stars met, at a cocktail party, a young lady who latched onto him at once.

"Don't you remember me?" she asked. "Why, ten years ago you asked me to marry you."

"Really?" the star replied. "And did you?"

* * *

Woman, fishing: "Have you another cork, dear? This one keeps sinking?"

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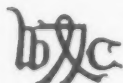
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