

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

THE SCOREBOARD For 1959

Also Articles, Letters, or Features

by

William S. Schlamm, J. B. Matthews,
Hilaire du Berrier, Walter E. Spahr,
Willis Carto and Father Hugh Halton

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AMERICAN OPINION

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May 17, 1959

Dear Reader:

We have just been told that we are extremists. And we appreciate the compliment.

A Communist insists that black is white. The let's-be-reasonable Mollifier is willing to concede that black is a dark gray, for the sake of being conciliatory. The Extremist says black is black, period.

The Communist frequently insists that two plus two equals five. The Mollifier says of course that is ridiculous and reprehensible, but let's grant, in order not to appear reactionary, that two plus two might equal four and one-half. The Extremist says two plus two can never add up to four and even one millionth more. Two plus two is *four*, and that ends the argument.

The Communist says that all things are relative. The Mollifier says well, there are some lasting principles, but we must be progressive and bend them a bit around the edges. The Extremist says there are certain eternal truths, which are not relative at all, and that no human progress is possible when they are ignored.

The Communist asks only, between lie and truth: Which serves my purpose better? The Mollifier thinks that telling the truth is desirable, but that we should consider how much will be believed. The Extremist knows that nothing else but the truth can even be considered.

The Communist says that he is an idealist. The Mollifier says well, maybe so, but that the Communist is mistaken and should be argued with until he sees the error of his ways. The Extremist says that a Communist is a Communist is a Communist, everywhere in the world; and that the only realistic goal of the rest of the world towards Communists is their complete extermination.

We are glad we are recognized as extremists. Hoping you are the same, I am

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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A Review Of The News

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

May, 1959

Friday, May 1

→ "Authoritative diplomatic sources" reveal in Paris that the Western foreign ministers are prepared to go to the Geneva conference with the Soviets committed to "a certain flexibility of negotiation."

→ The Cuban invasion force in Panama surrenders to government troops.

→ Clare Boothe Luce resigns from her Senate-confirmed post as United States Ambassador to Brazil.

→ Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery declares in London on his return from Moscow that he now sees "a gleam of light at the end of the tunnel."

→ Abdel Kader Chanderli, spokesman for the Algerian Front of National Liberation at the United Nations, asserts that President de Gaulle has adopted "a policy of war" toward the Algerian rebel movement.

Saturday, May 2

→ The Soviet press rejects the western attempt "to link the Berlin problem with that of general European security" in a "package deal."

→ Former New York Governor W. Averell Harriman announces that he will soon have "a very frank talk" with Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev.

→ A Soviet diplomat, Colonel Mikhail I. Stryguine, is hustled out of Rangoon,

Burma, by forty Soviet guards on a plane after he had tried to escape from a local hospital, allegedly to establish contacts with western diplomats.

→ President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan warns that Communism is making essential inroads in the Middle East.

→ President Sukarno of Indonesia demands that Communist China "should occupy a place in the United Nations."

→ Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the British Labor Party, protests against "even the slightest appearance that the American Government is intervening in a British general election."

→ Former Socialist Premier of France, Guy Mollet, calls for a rally of the French left behind General de Gaulle.

Sunday, May 3

→ Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, suggests that the Big Four powers "might find it useful to pass the problems of Berlin to the United Nations should they fail to reach a direct agreement."

→ Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba proposes in Buenos Aires that the United States provide thirty billion dollars over the next ten years "to make Latin America safe for democracy."

→ The retirement of General Earle E. Partridge, Commander of the North American Air Defense Command, is

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revealed as a consequence of disagreements between high Air Force officers and the White House.

→ The Association of the United States Army denounces Pentagon policies that "are leaving the nation with no choice but to show the flag or engage in thermonuclear war."

→ Thirty-five professors of law schools at Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania and Yale publish a statement in opposition to proposals before the Senate Judiciary Committee that are meant to toughen internal security laws.

→ Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and President Sekou Touré of Guinea sign an agreement "immediately to lay the foundation of a Union of Independent African States."

→ United States exports of goods and services to Western Europe dropped in 1958 to 6.8 billion dollars while Western European exports to the United States rose to 7.2 billion dollars.

Monday, May 4

→ The United States Ambassador to Moscow demands from Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev information on eleven fliers who have been missing since the crash of a United States C-130 transport in Soviet Armenia last September.

→ Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru rules out any defense arrangement between India and Pakistan.

→ British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd asserts that his Government "is prepared to be flexible about details and to be patient in negotiations" with the Soviets.

→ Sir Winston Churchill arrives for a short visit with President Eisenhower.

→ The Soviet delegation to the "nuclear disarmament conference" in Geneva expresses its "welcome" for the United States Senate Resolution that expresses the Senate's support for a controlled ban on nuclear weapons tests.

→ The Soviet Government issues a second official warning to Japan against permitting United States nuclear bases on Japanese territory.

→ A Communist-controlled strike wave paralyzes Italy's metal industries.

→ Vice President Richard M. Nixon asserts that United States aid to Socialist India could be more important than a successful outcome of the negotiations with the Soviet Union on Berlin.

Tuesday, May 5

→ President Eisenhower declares that a summit meeting is a "foregone conclusion" if there is "some progress" at the forthcoming Geneva conference.

→ Samir el-Rifal, the pro-Western strong man behind young King Hussein of Jordan, resigns as Prime Minister.

→ United States Ambassador John T. Jernegan returns from Baghdad to report directly on the steady advance of Communism in Iran.

→ John Moors Cabot of Boston, United States Ambassador to Colombia, is chosen to succeed Clare Boothe Luce as United States Ambassador to Brazil.

→ The Argentine Government is assured of 350 million dollars in United States aid during 1959.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev tells West

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German newspapermen in Moscow that his main interest in the Geneva conference will be to obtain allied agreement for a peace treaty with "the two German states."

→ Wilbur M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, and General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, the new Army Chief of Staff, testify before the Senate Appropriations Committee that the budget has been cut lower than the best military estimates.

→ J. Harold Grady, Democratic State Attorney of Maryland, defeats Theodore R. McKeldin, prominent Eisenhower Republican, in the Baltimore mayoralty race with a record plurality.

Wednesday, May 6

→ French Prime Minister Michel Debré visits Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in Bonn to strengthen the Franco-German joint position of firmness in the forthcoming Geneva conference.

→ Officials of the Nationalist Chinese Government on Taipei report "an unusual increase" in Communist military activities opposite Quemoy and Matsu.

→ Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Senate Republican leader, says the White House is "deeply concerned" over the Congressional attempts at keeping Army and Marine manpower at higher levels than President Eisenhower wants.

→ "Qualified diplomatic sources" in Tokyo assert that "neutralization" of Japan is now the primary goal of Communism in Asia.

→ According to sworn testimony before a Senate committee, the *New York Times* and two other New York papers

have paid big sums of money in "pay-offs" to various labor leaders.

Thursday, May 7

→ In a report to the nation, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter confesses to "cautious optimism" concerning the Geneva conference.

→ President Charles de Gaulle says the pacification of Algeria is now "in sight."

→ General Clyde I. Eddleman, Commander of the United States Army in Europe, asserts that Western military forces would "suffer no strategic or tactical disadvantage" if they were to withdraw west of the Rhine.

→ Colonel Arnaldo Schulz, Portuguese Minister of the Interior, reveals that a Communist-inspired attempted uprising had been suppressed in March.

→ Subsidized by Enrico Mattei, the boss of Italy's state-owned fuel trust, "Il Giorno" of Milan, one of the country's most influential newspapers, openly demands a coalition government ranging from the left wing of the Christian Democratic party to the Communists.

→ Senator J. W. Fulbright attacks America's "failure" in understanding "three world-wide revolutions while the Soviet Union, by contrast, was exploiting all three."

Friday, May 8

→ The British Government "studies" requests of the Iraqi Government to re-equip the entire Iraqi army with British weapons.

→ Secretary of the Navy Thomas S.

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Gates, Jr., whose resignation becomes effective in June, assails "the policy of concentrating on a strategic nuclear weapons build-up at the expense of the nation's capacity to deal with limited wars."

→ Donald A. Quarles, Deputy Secretary of Defense, dies of a heart attack.

→ Eighty thousand Italian bank employees go on strike.

→ Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi of Iran denies in London that a revolt against his regime "is possible."

Saturday, May 9

→ Secretary of State Christian A. Herter asserts on arrival in Geneva his hope that the Big Four conference will reduce international tension.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev declares that in any future conflagration "the Western powers will be literally wiped off the face of the earth."

→ The Soviet press declares the United States fomented and financed the Cuban-based invasion of Panama to discredit Fidel Castro's Government.

→ John Edgar Hoover ends his 35th year as head of the F.B.I.

Sunday, May 10

→ At the opening of the Geneva conference, the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko demands that the delegations of West and East Germany be admitted to participate in the negotiations.

→ Austria's Socialist Party wins a plurality in general elections but emerges with only seventy-eight to the Conservative People's Party's seventy-nine seats

in the new National Assembly. The Communists are no longer represented at all.

→ Jordan's new premier, Hazza Majalis, vows his country's "neutrality."

→ Luis Corvolan, secretary general of the Chilean Communist Party, hails Fidel Castro's regime.

→ President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan declares he is "very keen to resolve outstanding disputes with India."

Monday, May 11

→ The Western powers agree that an East German and a West German delegation shall be seated at separate tables at the Geneva conference to perform "in advisory capacities."

→ The British Government announces its approval of substantial arms sales to Iraq including tanks and jet bombers.

→ King Baudouin of Belgium arrives for a state visit in Washington.

→ It is revealed that Paraguayan exiles negotiated in Cuba, last February, with representatives of Premier Fidel Castro an armed intervention against the regime of Paraguayan President General Alfredo Stroessner.

→ French extremists in Algiers, shouting "De Gaulle to the gallows!", demonstrate against the Algeria policy of the French Government.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev declares that the Soviet Union has rockets "in the necessary quantity" and may before long reduce their production.

→ The United States Government reports that employment has reached an

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April record with sixty-five million jobs. Unemployment fell to 3,627,000, the lowest since December, 1957.

Tuesday, May 12

→ Widening their propagandistic drive to appear as the defenders of European self-determination against American "meddling," the Soviets demand the admission of Communist Poland and Czechoslovakia to the Geneva conference.

→ Harvard University and the University of Leningrad agree on the exchange of professors.

→ Representative Frank Kowalski reveals that sixty-two enlisted men are assigned to the White House as chauffeurs and messboys (and 180 enlisted men at the Pentagon in similar jobs.)

Wednesday, May 13

→ In his opening speech at the Geneva conference Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko asserts that West Germany is being turned into the springboard for the Western nuclear attack on Soviet Russia.

→ President Eisenhower expresses his hope for fruitful negotiations in Geneva.

→ French residents in Algeria shun the official celebration of last year's "uprising" that brought de Gaulle to power, while large Moslem delegations join the French army in anniversary demonstrations.

→ The State Department announces plans to create a new division, manned by forty-three new appointees, that is to study all phases of the political and economic offensive of the Soviet empire.

→ In Italy, the Segni Government reveals plans to revamp the "state industries" which, under the present setup, provide Enrico Mattei, the operator of Christian Democracy's "left wing," with immense powers.

→ Argentina's President Arturo Frondizi, bowing to military pressure, fires Rogelio Frigerio, his chief economic adviser, who allegedly sympathizes with both Peron and the Communists.

Thursday, May 14

→ Secretary of State Christian A. Herter presents in Geneva the West's plan for a "permanent settlement in Europe" that proposes "four stages": the Four Powers pledge renunciation of the use of force; Berlin is reunited by free elections; the Governments of West and East Germany form a joint committee to prepare free all-German elections; the newly elected all-German Assembly and Government negotiates a peace treaty with all Four Powers.

→ The so-called Foreign Minister of the East German Quisling regime, Dr. Lothar Bolz, assumes in Geneva an increasingly important role as "spokesman of the German Democratic Republic."

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev reaffirms that the Soviet Union will insist on its demands that West Berlin "must become a free city."

→ Peronist and Communist unions declare "a national strike" in the strategic Argentine cities.

→ Indian Prime Minister Nehru rejects Pakistan's bid for resolving the disputes between the two countries.

→ It is announced that General Nathan

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F. Twining, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, suffers from cancer.

Friday, May 15

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko asks the United States, Britain and France "to postpone German reunification" and concentrate on a Berlin settlement.

→ The United States asks the Soviet Union to extend "the cultural exchange agreement between the two nations."

→ Thomas E. Murray, former Atomic Energy Commissioner, asserts that a ban on atomic tests will have "disastrous effects on the nation's security."

→ Three hundred thousand former Sudeten Germans stage a monster rally in Vienna to claim their former homes in Czechoslovakia.

→ The Japanese Government accuses the Soviet Union of meddling in Japanese affairs.

Saturday, May 16

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev rejects the Western "package proposal" in Geneva and demands that the issues be discussed separately.

→ Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery calls Khrushchev "brilliant" and says he believes that "coexistence" is possible.

→ The Soviet Government announces its willingness to discuss the United States proposals concerning a ban and control of nuclear tests.

→ President Charles de Gaulle bars San Francisco as a site for the forthcoming "summit conference."

→ The West German press empha-

sizes that the Western "package deal" submitted in Geneva grants the East German regime veto power in the proposed "joint committee" that is to draft all-German election laws.

→ The strength of John Foster Dulles is reported waning.

Sunday, May 17

→ Two days after the Western powers submitted their "package" ("all or nothing") deal in Geneva, "authoritative United States spokesmen in Geneva assert that the United States is contemplating discarding the "package deal" for the time being and negotiating an interim arrangement concerning West Berlin.

→ Communist China's artillery bombards Matsu island for ninety minutes.

→ President Gamal Abdel Nasser proposes a "summit conference" of the "neutralist" powers—India, Yugoslavia, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic.

→ Pope John XXIII assails Communist attempts to foment a schism in the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary.

→ India's chief permanent delegate to the United Nations declares that, no matter "how deplorable the Tibetan situation might be," the relations between India and Communist China "should not get bad."

→ The nation's output of goods and services reached in the first quarter of 1959 a record annual rate of 467 billion dollars.

Monday, May 18

→ Violent reaction in France and Ger-

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many make the United States withdraw its unofficial offer to negotiate an "interim" arrangement of the Berlin situation.

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko expresses his Government's willingness to accept the Western proposal of a "mixed" committee constituted by the Governments of West and East Germany.

→ W. Averell Harriman applies for State Department permission to visit Communist China "as a newspaper correspondent."

→ Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates, Jr. is nominated to succeed the late Donald A. Quarles as Deputy Secretary of Defense. At the same time Admiral Arthur W. Radford, General Twining's predecessor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is recalled for active duty.

→ The Czechoslovak Communist Government protests against the Sudeten German rally in Vienna.

→ Two Marxist members of the Cabinet quit in Ceylon.

→ Democratic Senator J. W. Fulbright and Republican Senator George D. Aiken demand that Khrushchev be invited to visit the United States.

→ The Cuban Government decrees that no sugar cane plantation can be operated by a company that has a single foreigner among its stockholders.

Tuesday, May 19

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko suggests in Geneva that, to resolve the "Berlin crisis," either "token" Soviet forces be added to the Western

occupation troops in West Berlin or that all Western garrisons be replaced by "neutral forces" supplied by the United Nations.

→ The West German Government decides that, to prevent the presence of East German delegates, it will not participate in a "summit meeting."

→ After a four-months battle the Senate Commerce Committee approves the confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce by a vote of nine to eight.

→ Defense Secretary Neil H. McElroy announces that he has suspended "indefinitely" his plans to resign in the fall.

→ The State Department grants Vincent ("Jimmy") Sheean, a close friend of Nehru and the Premier of Communist China, Chou En-lai, permission to open a "news bureau" in Peiping.

→ James R. Hoffa, president of the Teamsters Union, threatens a nationwide strike if Congress were to place unions under antitrust laws.

Wednesday, May 20

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev tells a group of Florida businessmen visiting in Moscow that the Geneva conference "will be successful."

→ A spokesman for the Algerian rebels announces at the United Nations in New York that an Algerian delegation, headed by "the Secretary of State of the Algerian Provisional Government," Omar Oussedik, has completed an agreement with the Chinese Red Government whereby Red China will give weapons and military assistance to the Algerian rebels.

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→ The West German Government announces the arrest of several East German spies who penetrated into governmental positions in Bonn.

→ William C. Stolk, head of American Can Company, pledges that his company will enter politics to oppose "powerful forces which are seriously undermining our political and economic system."

→ The House of Representatives turns down the Administration's Housing Bill by a vote of 203 to 177, and passes legislation that exceeds the Administration proposals by more than 500 million dollars a year.

Thursday, May 21

→ In a basic concession to Soviet demands British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd declares in Geneva that his Government "will not object if a supervisory commission for an all-German election is composed of citizens from neutral countries."

→ President Charles de Gaulle demands the appointment of a French commander of NATO's naval forces in the Mediterranean.

→ In spite of their election victory which gave them seventy-eight to the Christian Social People's Party's seventy-nine seats in Vienna's Parliament, the Austrian Social Democrats accept Chancellor Julius Raab as the leader of a new coalition government.

→ The "liberal" omnibus housing bill is passed by the House of Representatives by 261 to 160 votes in the face of Presidential veto threats.

Friday, May 22

→ Secretary of State Christian A. Herter

declares in Geneva that the United States is ready to resume at any time general disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union.

→ The French Army warns seventeen French Rightists in Algiers to behave or risk being expelled from Algeria.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev tells the West German Ambassador to Moscow, Dr. Hans Kroll, that he will sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany if no East-West agreement is reached in Geneva.

→ The Philippine Congress adjourns in revolt against the heavy tax program of President Carlos P. Garcia.

→ The Senate votes a \$35,000 limit to price support payments made to any one farmer in a single year.

Saturday, May 23

→ The Western Foreign Ministers urge secret negotiations to "break the stalemate in Geneva."

→ The Soviet Union asks the United States to abandon its program of supplying nuclear weapons to its NATO allies.

→ The Cuban Government "nationalizes" seven Cuban airlines.

→ President Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee recommends that the nation's annual educational expenses be at least doubled, to eighteen billion dollars.

→ J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I., warns that the United States Communists are emerging from the underground and are more dangerous than ever.

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→ The United States Information Agency blacklists eighty-two Hollywood movies against showing in overseas countries because of their anti-American inflections.

Sunday, May 24

→ John Foster Dulles dies of cancer at the age of seventy-one.

→ Great Britain signs a five-year trade agreement with the Soviet Union that will bring "a substantial expansion in mutual trade," including the British export of complete chemical, synthetics, tire and food-processing plants.

→ The British Government expresses its belief that it will be possible "to negotiate a supplementary agreement over Berlin with the Soviet Union in Geneva."

→ The East German delegation in Geneva informs the Western powers that the East German regime is "willing" to accept the status as "agents of the Soviet Union" in the control of communications with West Berlin.

→ Marek Hlasko, a Polish Communist writer whose "defection" has been celebrated throughout the West, is "permitted" to return to Poland.

→ General Maxwell D. Taylor, retiring Army Chief of Staff, insists that the country's air defense is and ought to remain the Army's mission.

Monday, May 25

→ The Geneva conference adjourns to enable the Foreign Ministers of all four powers to attend the Washington funeral of John Foster Dulles.

→ Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A.

Gromyko declares in Geneva that the Soviet Government "favors in principle" the Western proposal to create an "all-German committee" in preparing all-German elections.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev starts a twelve-days visit to Albania which will be also visited by representatives of Red China and all satellites.

→ French Minister of Finance Antoine Pinay invites American investments in France by offering "every desirable guarantee to foreign investors."

→ Six thousand refugee Kurds are reported fighting the forces of Premier Abdul Karim Kassem in Iraq.

→ The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church demands the recognition of Red China by the United States.

→ Assistant Chief of Naval Operations for Research and Development, Admiral John T. Hayward, warns Congress that the country will have spent by 1963 almost fifty billion dollars for a type of air defense which will by then have "faded away."

Tuesday, May 26

→ The first "secret" session in Geneva is scheduled for May 29.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev warns Italy and Greece that the Soviet Union will answer their permission for the United States to establish rocket bases in the two countries with Soviet rocket bases in nearby Albania.

→ French Premier Michel Debré admonishes the French Chamber of Deputies not to try to recapture some of its previous powers.

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→ Liberia, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea and the United Arab Republic will hold a conference early in August to consider all-African aid to the Algerian rebels.

→ The House Foreign Relations Committee cuts the President's request for 3.9 billion dollars in Foreign Aid by 267 million dollars.

→ The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approves the appointment of Ogden R. Reid, formerly of the *New York Herald Tribune*, as Ambassador to Israel, by a vote of ten to four.

Wednesday, May 27

→ At his funeral, John Foster Dulles is honored by the representatives of all nations, including the Soviet Union and Nationalist China.

→ In pursuit of Algerian rebel forces French army units enter Tunisia.

→ Nicaraguan exiles in Costa Rica, Mexico, and Cuba are getting ready for armed intervention against Nicaraguan President Somoza's regime.

→ The Congress of the Soviet Writers Union elects a close friend and supporter of Boris Pasternak, Konstantin A. Fedin, as its secretary. A dispatch from Moscow announces that publication of Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* in the Soviet Union "is not to be precluded."

→ Overton Brooks, Chairman of the House Space Committee, discloses and protests against a plan of Representative Victor L. Anfuso to take a Subcommittee to Moscow for talks with Nikita S. Khrushchev.

Thursday, May 28

→ President Eisenhower holds a conference with the Big Four Foreign Ministers in Washington and expresses his hopes that a "summit conference" will become possible.

→ The Bonn Government expresses its grave worries about Western plans, discussed in Geneva, to undertake "a token reduction" of the Western garrison in West Berlin and to end all anti-Communist propaganda there.

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev urges Greece to withdraw from NATO.

→ In the course of prolonged labor unrest the Argentine Government arrests three hundred labor leaders.

→ Two monkeys are rocketed from Cape Canaveral three hundred miles into space and then recovered alive.

→ The United States Treasury seeks an increase in the national debt limit by twelve billion dollars to 295 billion dollars.

Friday, May 29

→ After secret talks during their flight to Geneva on a United States Airforce DC-6B, the Big Four Foreign Ministers continue "private sessions" in Geneva with "hope for accord" rising in diplomatic quarters.

→ The Soviet press plays up a proposal to create "a zone of peace" in the strategic area of the Mediterranean, including Italy and Greece, that "should be freed" from atomic weapons and rocket bases.

→ Representative Victor L. Anfuso of the House Space Committee insists

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that he and some colleagues will go to Moscow for talks with Khrushchev.

→ West German Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss discloses that the East German regime has trained more than a million persons in the use of arms.

→ Jordan's Deputy Commander in Chief of the armed forces and nine other officers are arrested for an alleged plot against King Hussein.

→ The first Soviet vessel to reach the East Coast in ten years is granted permission to sail through the newly opened strategic St. Lawrence Seaway.

Saturday, May 30

→ Speaking for Britain, France, and the United States, British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd announces in Geneva that the West is ready to consider "reduction of anti-Communist activities" in West Berlin.

→ President Luis A. Somoza imposes martial law throughout Nicaragua after several days of preparations for a general strike against his regime.

→ Singapore's Red People's Action Party scores a landslide victory in elections that give the pro-Communists forty-three of fifty-one seats in the Legislative Assembly.

→ On his return to Bonn from Washington Dr. Adenauer refuses to consider a reply to Ulbricht's letter demanding "a non-aggression pact."

→ Indonesia's constituent assembly refuses to grant President Sukarno dictatorial powers.

→ Governor Earl K. Long of Louisiana enters Galveston's John Sealy Hospital for psychiatric treatment.

Sunday, May 31

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev warns the West that "to attack us is tantamount to suicide" and concentrates his fire against the Adenauer Government.

→ The Western Foreign Ministers in Geneva urge Andrei A. Gromyko to reveal the Soviet bargaining position concerning Berlin, repeating their own readiness to compromise.

→ W. Averell Harriman, in Moscow on his way to Red China, asserts that the Soviets have "a nostalgic longing to recapture the friendly relations that existed with the United States during the war years when I served as Ambassador here."

→ Senatorial elections in Algeria result in a defeat of the French Rightists and a victory of moderate Moslem elements.

→ According to testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 140,000 Christian Chinese have been killed by the Reds.

→ Strikes and demonstrations quiet down under the newly imposed stage of siege in Paraguay.

Worth Noting

General Zhukov: "Russia will not move into the final campaign for the conquest of the world until she has made sure of the manpower of China and India."

Quoted by Geraldine Fitch

We Pause To Remark

It is always of interest to learn who is really running things on the banks of the Potomac. Just because Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. has dodged a few income taxes in his time, has failed to dodge a few associations with Communists, and has committed a few other trifling indiscretions, some of our readers may be oldfashioned and reactionary enough to look at him a bit askance. But these unkind views apparently are not shared by the "Republican" administration in Washington.

For about the middle of January of this year Congressman Powell permitted himself to make a revealing boast. "Meeting in conference," he said, "with my friend, Dr. Mario Llanera, the representative of Señor Castro, I requested on last Monday, January 5, at 11:30: First, the recognition of the Castro government. Second, the offer of financial assistance. Third, the refusal of asylum in the United States to Batista. Fourth, the recall of former Ambassador Earl Smith. I am happy to say that within five days the State Department did all four of these things."

Of course, the Congressman may have been overrating his personal prowess. For it is hardly a coincidence that every one of these four things was obviously and ardently desired by Moscow, which for years has had far more influence over our State Department than even Mr. Powell.

* * *

As part of the glorious and expanding cultural exchange program between

the Soviets and ourselves, the American National Exhibition in Moscow will be opened on July 25 by Vice President Nixon. It is billed by the USIA as containing "cultural, scientific, and technological exhibits designed to further Soviet understanding of life in America."

The USIA press announcement contained the names of the sixty-seven artists whose works will be displayed at the exhibition. A routine check by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, of material already in their files, showed that twenty-two of these sixty-seven artists had between them a minimum of 465 connections with Communist fronts and causes. What a complete check on all sixty-seven would reveal, nobody knows.

And obviously, the pictures by these men have not been chosen on any such silly basis as merely "art for art's sake." The Communist *Daily Worker* has said of Ben Shahn, whose work is included: "Shahn has always considered art as a medium for the communication of ideas. . . . He is one of our finest artists and best *social painters*." (*Italics added by your editor.*) This ought to give you the key to the performance. The whole exhibit will in general help the Kremlin to convince its enslaved people that its vicious propaganda about American class struggles and class suffering is true. Here will be paintings by "American" artists to prove it—in a show paid for by your money, gentle reader.

EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Due to the activities arranged for Mr. Schlamm by his publisher, in connection with the appearance in May of GERMANY AND THE EAST-WEST CRISIS, he did not leave for Europe as early as intended. There were television appearances, radio broadcasts, and other opportunities for telling the world about his new book which no author in his right mind could be expected to forego.

So this article still had to be written in New York. And we were already to start fussing about that fact until we discovered that, in our opinion, it is probably the best EUROPEAN SURVEY Mr. Schlamm has yet written. However, when Mr. Schlamm discovered our discovery that maybe he could turn out these articles just as well in Brooklyn, he took off for Europe like a shot. And the next one will undoubtedly be datelined from some village hanging to an Alp, that we can't even find on the map. But we are sure it will be just as painstakingly done, just as penetrating, and just as sound as this one.

WHAT SOUNDED and looked to Americans like a witless vaudeville act—that inane haggling over the shape of conference tables at the beginning of the Geneva shindig — was for knowing Europeans the entire plot. There just *is* no more to it. That is *all* Geneva was about. And it is plenty.

As you will recall, the diplomatic “compromise” consisted of the Western concession to the Soviet demand of a “round table,” topped by a joint Western-Soviet decision to seat both, East and West Germany, at two separate square tables. Americans, I am afraid, laughed at this rigmarole of diplomatic burlesque. They should not have laughed. The table arrangements at the opening of the Geneva conference will go down in history as a major breakthrough of the Communist thrust into Western Europe.

The Game-Of-Germany Was Conceded . . .

What was, from the beginning, the strategic Soviet intent in producing the “Berlin crisis?” Nothing but the Communist determination to attain a Western recognition of the East German regime. Everything else — particularly the propaganda-inflated phony “demand” for a withdrawal of the measly Western garrison in West Berlin — was the characteristic routine of professional horse traders. They pretend that they are seeking what is unattainable in order to attain what they *really* want. And so the Soviets were confidently hoping that the Western powers, at the end of the Geneva palaver, would finally accept the East German regime, in exchange for a gracious Soviet “permission” to keep Western troops in Berlin. But the

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Soviets were wrong. They got what they were hoping for, not at the *end* of the Geneva conference. They got it the first day.

The crucial question before the house was whether, and for what price, the Western Foreign Ministers would admit an East German delegation into the conference room. For up to that day no Western power, and particularly not the United States, had taken any cognizance of the wretched Quisling Germans (most of them actually naturalized citizens of the Soviet Union), who are on the Soviet payroll in East Germany. Moscow had insisted on calling the Geneva conference to probe the circumstances under which the Western powers might reconsider their rigid position of the last ten years. And I am quite confident that not even the boldest Soviet diplomat thought it possible that the Western powers would ever grant the East German Quislings diplomatic *equality* with the legitimate Bonn Government. Yet this is exactly what the United States, Britain and France granted even before the Geneva conference began.

Consider what really happened. A bunch of freely admitted Soviet agents appeared in Geneva calling themselves representatives of a non-existing sovereign structure called "German Democratic Republic." And right away these characters were seated in the conference room of the world powers in exactly the same fashion and strength as were the representatives of West Germany! Their spokesman, a Soviet citizen by the name of Dr. Lothar Bolz, was addressed as "Foreign Minister of East Germany" and could speak at will on exactly the same terms as the Foreign Minister of West Germany!

In short, the Geneva conference *started* on what the Soviets had hoped might be the *outcome* of a dangerous squeeze play — the *via facti* recognition of the East German regime. Even among the village idiots of Europe there is not a single person willing to overlook that fact: No matter what euphemism the West will use to describe the sin, it *has* recognized the East German regime.

Before It Was Played . . .

There was, of course, another attitude open for Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, and all Europe expected him to follow it. True, no one in Europe was hoping for an especially convincing show of strength on the part of the Western Foreign Ministers. However, everybody expected that Herter, at his very first appearance on the international stage, would at least play the game with the modicum of prudence even a beginner is capable of. That is, that Herter would have enough sense to tell the Soviets: Look, if you *want* those so-called East Germans in on the conference, you will have to take them on your *own* staff, as your advisers or whatever title you want to give them; but our recognizing them in their own rights is evidently what you want to *achieve* in bargaining with us — decidedly not to be had before the bargaining *starts*.

Had Dr. Lothar Bolz been permitted to serve the Soviet delegation in the advisory capacity of a Soviet clerk, it would have been bad enough; for the fearful half of the West German electorate would even then have felt the shivers of suspicion that, in the end, West Germany will have to come to terms with Ulbricht. But what Herter

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permitted to happen is incomparably *worse*. For now the recognition of Ulbricht by the West is no longer a matter of apprehensive speculation but a foregone conclusion. And Germans cannot even console themselves with the thought that Herter simply committed a blunder. As it happened, the definitive and irreparable mistake of the first conference day was followed by a disclosure of a carefully prepared plan of the Western powers which has all the earmarks of deliberate surrender.

With Pusillanimous Trimmings . . .

The central part of that plan is the proposal that "an all-German committee" be set up to prepare all-German elections. It should consist (and this is not the *end* of Western bargaining with the Soviets but the Western *initial* proposal!) of twenty-five West and ten East German delegates, which thirty-five members should make *valid decisions only with a three-fourths majority*. The West, in other words, began the Geneva conference with granting East Germany a veto over all future decisions concerning the "unification" of Germany. For the "all-German" committee could not reach a decision unless at least three East Germans voted with the West Germans. This, I repeat, was the West's *starting* position! The Geneva conference, in short, was over before it began—and it ended on its very first day with a total Soviet victory.

The truly cruel and in its consequences unforeseeable part of the pathetic Western conduct was the treatment given to Adenauer's delegation. The Western Foreign Ministers had neither the gracefulness nor the wit to

think of some diplomatic formality, some saving detail, some encouraging gesture that would have impressed Europe in general, and the Germans in particular, that West Germany remains a full-fledged Western ally, all Geneva maneuvers notwithstanding. On the contrary, the European press that gathered in Geneva reported the debacle to the hilt and left no mistake that, in truth, Dr. Lothar Bolz was the star of the conference — not because of anything he said or did, but simply because the *via facti* recognition of Ulbricht by the West was indeed the great event. And, by the same token, the stature of the Adenauer regime shrank to an unprecedented low.

Consider the impossible position into which the Adenauer Government has been pushed at home! For the last ten years, the one great issue that divided the Adenauer majority and the Social Democratic minority was whether or not "reunification" should be "negotiated" with Ulbricht. The defeatist "neutralists" on the left insisted that this was the only "reasonable" policy; the mature and courageous forces in Germany, magnificently led by Adenauer, refused the mere thought of recognizing Ulbricht's Quislings. And, so long as this reflected the American position, Adenauer rallied a majority of Germans, each time, primarily because the Germans — who, more than anything else, do not want to be on the losing side ever again — remained willing to follow the American lead. But Adenauer has built on sand; at the first crucial moment the United States Government was ready, not only to grant Ulbricht *any* right to "negotiate" German unification, but to grant him a *veto* right over Adenauer's ideas.

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And Disastrous Results . . .

As I said, the consequences of this collapse are unforeseeable. For the moment, the horror, the anger of the West Germans over the Western breakdown is so great that, if anything, they seem to be more strongly united behind Adenauer than ever before; even the Social Democrats do not dare take advantage of the national catastrophe. But this may change fast, and certain signs of deterioration are already appearing.

For one, the backstage quarrelling over whether Dr. Erhard or Dr. Etzel should succeed Adenauer implied much more serious conflicts within the ruling Christian Democracy than met the eye. I most certainly do not mean to say that Dr. Erhard himself is an appeaser; but, whatever his own convictions may be, there is little doubt that those Christian Democrats who advocate "a rapprochement" with the "neutralist" Social Democracy have been backing him against Adenauer's first choice, Dr. Etzel.

Furthermore, the domestic opposition against Dr. Adenauer is speedily recovering from the shock produced by Adenauer's decision to assume the Presidency in September but to govern until then. A grave constitutional issue has been raised which, it seems, has been inadequately considered by Dr. Adenauer. The West German Constitution, on more careful reading, prescribes that the person elected President next July must give up his political partisanship immediately, and not two convenient months later; which means that Dr. Adenauer will not be free to retain the chancellorship until September. And thus, Dr. Erhard will have to take over in July — under those most distressing, humiliating, and confusing

circumstances created by the West's Foreign Ministers in concern with Dr. Lothar Bolz.

Now the German resilience remains one of the marvels of the world and "the German economic miracle" of yesterday may of course be restaged as a moral miracle of tomorrow — a stubborn West German determination in the face of the despicable "compromise" with Communism that is so visibly being promoted by the West. But I doubt it. There is all over West Germany an apprehensive hush, a dispirited caution, a sudden wait-and-see anxiety that forebodes an inexorable if not dramatic decline. This nation, historically so prone to think itself "betrayed," has this time plenty of reasons to find itself forsaken. As usual, it might escape *nach vorne* — running right into the fire.

The historic upshot of the Geneva conference, it seems to me, will be a completely changed European climate in which the West, having asked for the trouble, will now have to worry about the spectre of a Soviet-German *rapprochement*. The age of Adenauer is coming to an end. The age of German "neutralization" is beginning.

While The Soviets March On . . .

Khrushchev himself is so confident of his triumphal progress in Central Europe that he discarded the Geneva conference even while it was going on, and turned to a second phase of his strategic campaign. The obvious impact of his state visit to tiny Albania was to ignite the next bush fire in Europe — this one aimed at the NATO nations in the Mediterranean, Italy and Greece.

The Western press is congenitally inclined to deny the reality of a political

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crisis in a nation that, for the moment, seems to have "a stable government." And because our press goes exclusively by formal tokens, such as resounding governmental announcements, very few Americans realize that Italy is moving into a storm center. For, while the Segni Government quite courageously continues its unimaginative policy of staying alive, and little more, the country continues to be torn by the perilous and ancient schism of Italian society — the futile and yet deadly division between "anti-clericalism" and political allegiance to Church discipline. Very few elements of conflict (not even the appalling poverty in Southern Italy) contribute so much to the hopes of the Italian Left as this ancient dilemma.

Having tried for the first few months of his reign to promote "good will" on all sides, including the extreme Left, Pope John XXIII had finally to face the elementary fact of Italian political life (namely, that there just is no competing force to check Communism other than the Church) and to take his chances with issuing a new injunction against Catholic support to the Left. This injunction may have come too late; and then again, it may save the day. But in any case it will deepen the rift between Right and Left in Italy — and it seems to supply Nenni with just the tonic he needed to mount his next assault against the conservative government.

The Sicilian elections in early June will prove mathematically how well a Church injunction transforms into Italian politics. But whatever its outcome will be, the Segni Government has already lost the reluctant support it received, during its honeymoon, from the Left Wing of the Christian Democ-

racy. Without that support Segni cannot continue even a precarious existence for another day. And even if that support is extended for yet a while, but with an unmistakably growing determination of the Left Wing to catch Segni unawares, his regime must wither. For the next few weeks it may be simply too hot in Rome to bother one way or the other. But with the first cool breezes of early fall the Left-Wing Christian Democrats will get ready, more likely than not, to try again.

To The Game-of-Italy . . .

As usual in Italy, the center of the leftist intrigue is Signor Enrico Mattei, the infinitely powerful boss of the state-owned oil and fuel syndicate. Segni's Government (and this may be one of its rare historic achievements) was the first Italian Government to put the finger on Mattei, to name names and quote figures: It has disclosed, a few weeks ago, to what extent Mattei, formally a Christian Democrat, finances and directs the "neutralist" Italian press. Though no Sicilian, Mattei is now hell-bent on "vendetta"; and it is more than unlikely that any Italian Government can survive Mattei's wrath. In cahoots with President Gronchi, with the Fanfani wing of the Christian Democracy that has merely gone underground, and deeply allied with Nenni, Signor Mattei is one decisive trifle too powerful.

He also is (as I reported here a year ago) a personal friend of Anastas Mikoyan. Khrushchev, at any rate, was competently advised when he decided to concentrate his fire on Italy; he seems to be figuring that the moment is auspicious, internationally as well as domestically. In terms of international prospects and risks, Italy has just re-

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ceived, in Geneva, a post-graduate lesson in what constitutes the rewards of "rigidity": the profound humiliation of deserted West Germany is most certainly no inducement for Italy to raise its Western bet. And domestically, to the realistic observer, all signs seem to be pointing to a break between Segni and the Left Wing of the Christian Democracy.

This, at any rate, determined Khrushchev's timing. His Albanian blasts against Italy's (and Greece's) NATO loyalty may have opened the second phase of the great strategic Soviet drive into Western Europe—the "neutralization" of the Mediterranean.

And The British Government Wears Out Its Knees . . .

As there is, to my knowledge, not a drop of Irish blood in my circulatory system, I am as free of an anti-British bias as any intelligent and lively person can be. And yet, I notice some hot flushes going through my typewriter each time I get ready to report on British policies. The reason, I guess, is the corrupting misnomer of the current official British attitude: An allegedly "conservative" government sponsors and promotes policies which would create a troubled conscience in a cabinet of Labor extremists. And while I oppose socialism on serious intellectual grounds, I simply despise people who violate the elementary decencies of human conduct and disguise their real convictions. Which tells you, quite

frankly, how I feel about the Macmillan team.

That the British Government was coaching Mr. Herter into the Geneva surrender is by now public knowledge. Less known, in America, is the accompanying promotion job the "conservative" British Government is pressing at home to create "a friendly climate" of British trade with the Soviet Union—and, you can believe me, they are determined to trade very strategic goods. Now if a Labor Government were to sponsor illusions about the blessing of British-Soviet trade, and at a time of economic depression on the British isles to boot, it would be bad enough. But it would be understandable. Yet here is a "conservative" Government in power, and it lives under conditions of an economic prosperity that Britain has not known in several decades. And this is the Government that out-Barnums Barnum in fooling the British public about the wholesome prospects of the new trade agreement that will result in nothing but an important increase of the Soviet Union's military potentials.

There is, it seems, no limit to the resolution of the British "conservatives" to emasculate and to deliver the West. One begins to feel profoundly nostalgic for the days of Macdonald, Stanley Baldwin, Neville Chamberlain and the disarmingly naive Major Attlee. Macmillan's cast of characters is truly frightening. They ooze charm and cynicism. It's a loathsome and deadly concoction.

The Kiss Of Mitchell

So far we have been for Lewis Strauss, in the row about his confirmation, just on general principles. But now we have read that James Mitchell is for him, we are much more doubtful and less enthusiastic. Editor

THE HUNDRED-YEAR HOAX

by

WILLIS A. CARTO

CYBERNETIC WARFARE is one of the methods developed by the Communists for breaking down the foundations of society so that they may capture the State. It may be defined as the science of control of human beings through the manipulation of words and symbols. It is a development of the famous Russian experiments, in which Ivan Pavlov controlled the behavior of dogs by a deceptive use of sights, sounds, and smells.

A recent report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Language As A Communist Weapon*, is the finest exposition in print of this technique. In this report Dr. Stephan T. Possony explains in some detail exactly how the Reds use words as a weapon of first importance in their mission of destruction. And Herbert Philbrick has also explained this diabolical and little-known science in his speech, *How The Communists Control Thought And Attitudes*, which has been widely circulated as a reprint.

Karl Marx himself stumbled upon the first seedling of Cybernetic Warfare, and the original hoax that he planted has flowered and flourished to this day. It has grown to become perhaps the biggest asset of the Communists. It is a hoax on such a grand scale that even now—more than a century since its inception—it is recognized by only a handful of anti-Communists. For Karl Marx invented the word, "capitalism!" It is first found in his primary

study, *Das Kapital*, and was given to a confusable world sometime between the years 1842 and 1852.

The result has been something like that of letting a fox make up the rules for behavior in a chicken house. This verbal poison has created the phoney but fatal dichotomy, "communism vs. capitalism." It has inverted the base of scholarly economics. It has put anti-Communists, conservatives, and patriotic nationalists on the defensive, and the Reds and their sympathizers and internationalist front men on the offensive, for a hundred years. It is a hoax of such aplomb, sophistication, malignancy and dimensions that it makes Adolph Hitler, who explained the theory of the Big Lie, appear naive.

II

IF ALL THIS SOUNDS QUEER, it may be even more startling to realize that Adam Smith—supposedly the classical apologist for capitalism—never even used the word. His book, *The Wealth of Nations*, was written in defense of *laissez-faire*, and against mercantilism. The term, "capitalism," did not even come into the language until at least fifty-two years after Adam Smith died in 1790.

What is the significance of all this? Mainly that Karl Marx knew more about teaching hatred than he did about anything else. He realized that people do not hate as well, and cannot as easily be stirred to hatred, until they

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have a name against which to give that hatred direction. By supplying a name, "capitalism," to what was in reality merely the accepted, normal practices of commerce and economic expansion which were then undergoing changes from the feudal period, Marx took his first great stride towards his admitted goal of a wrecked civilization. He set up a straw man, not only so that he could knock it down, but so that all of his rabble-roused following could vent their bitterness on it.

During Marx's day the European world in general and England in particular were in the midst of growing pains brought on by a fabulous economic upsurge. Politically, the process boiled down to the up-and-coming industrialists taking State power and privilege away from the old landed aristocracy, who were not at all happy about it. The aristocrats fought back, and one of their main propaganda weapons was the spate of tearful stories about the wretched life of the factory workers, many of whom had left farms to take jobs in the swelling cities. In *Capitalism And The Historians*, F. A. Hayek describes this struggle, and also shows how many of the alleged evils of the period have been exaggerated out of all proportion to their actuality. But the damage had been done. Marx and his followers, seizing upon this propaganda weapon as their own, went to work. Over the years they have created a strong and almost universal impression that life in olde England was considerably less than merrie.

Regardless of how little Marx's charges against the infant Industrial Age then beginning may have been justified, most people have thought that they were. And this is all that has

mattered. For Marx took the witches' brew of transition, anger and confusion and gave it a name, "capitalism." *Let us repeat that, by so doing, he did not define any generic "system" at all, but instead gave the contemporary economic development of European civilization a bogey-name of his own choosing. Moreover, he endowed this name with an aura of evil and guilt which it has not lost to this day.*

Albert Jay Nock hit home on this point—as he did on so many others—by saying, in *Our Enemy, The State*: "Collectivism has even succeeded in foisting its glossary of arbitrary definitions upon us; we all speak of our economic system, for instance, as 'capitalist,' when there has never been a system, nor can one be imagined, that is not capitalist."

III

AS IF THIS WERE NOT BAD ENOUGH, the "alternative" of "communism" which Marx offered to his dirty word, "capitalism," was really nothing more than a moth-eaten theory which had been discredited before the Pyramids were built. The only solid truth about communism is that it won't work; and that it cannot be made even to seem to work (except occasionally in the most primitive and isolated of societies), unless it is imposed and maintained by extreme violence, bloodshed, and terror. This has been proved time and time again. Dr. Bela Hubbard has made an excellent study of some of the known abortive attempts to set up communism, in his book, *Political And Economic Structures*.

Corroboration of the thesis that communism is impossible in practice came recently from an expert, if surprising,

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source. According to Victor Riesel, Nikita Khrushchev uttered this gem in his marathon seven-hour speech to the Twenty-first Communist Party Congress: "The socialist principle of distribution according to work is based upon the impossibility of equalizing distribution in the period of socialism."

This, of course, is a far cry from "distribution according to need," the very core of socialism as revealed by Prophet Marx. And note the word, "impossibility!" It seems that Nikita is trying not only to de-Stalinize Russia but to de-Marxify it as well.

Actually, of course, the Reds recognized decades ago the "impossibility" of communism coexisting with human nature. They have abandoned almost all but the pretense and facade of communism. In practice, what is now hanging onto the name of communism is simply the most brutal, degrading tyranny and murder-machine the world has ever seen. And it is urgently necessary for humanity to realize that this course of events in Russia is *not* a "perversion" of communism, but is instead the normal and inevitable result of trying to make the unnatural theory work—of trying to force it to be operational.

Perhaps the most important single result of the general acceptance of Marx's sham antithesis, "communism vs. capitalism," is that it has led anti-Communists to take sides in the argument as if it were real. Merely by doing so they have accepted as truth the fundamental falsehood of Communism: namely, that it is anything more than a screwball theory and that it can ever be made to function as an eco-

nomie system. Just arguing with the Reds on their own phoney issue of "communism vs. capitalism" has given them an intellectual prestige which is totally undeserved.

Still another of the many negative effects of the manufactured dichotomy has been to teach people to think in terms of *systems* rather than *people*. This has helped to create the widely accepted but essentially communist fiction that the only difference between our Western Culture and certain others is a *system* with a name, and not our own peculiar, ancient, mores and institutions. This intellectual curse has helped the Communists and their "liberal" allies and dupes to dehumanize history, knocking cultural individuality out of it; to reduce the story of civilization to an equalitarian, mechanistic, and essentially atheistic environmentalism and economic determinism. The much-touted historian, Arnold Toynbee, is one example of a contemporary pedant who thinks and writes in terms of systems, classifications, and soulless environment rather than of men.

But the very premise from which the whole philosophy has proceeded was a fraud. For by "capitalism" Marx meant nothing more specific than the economic world of man; and by "communism," as an alleged cure for an alleged disease, he meant nothing but an unworkable, inhuman theory, doomed always to inevitable failure. But thus did he set up a dichotomy which, although it had no substance of meaning, contained emotional and psychological sources of infinite strife and bloodshed.

An Editorial

Dr. Frederick Schwarz has said, with regard to the Communist threat to the United States, that our complacency in the face of a known deadly peril amounts almost to insanity. William Schlamm has written that the epitaph for our society should be: "This civilization died because it didn't want to be bothered." And Clemente Rojas has prophesied that the non-Communists of the western hemisphere are destined "to weep like women for what they didn't know how to defend."

The clearest proof of the correctness of all three of these assertions is our attitude towards the Communists in our midst. Congressman Francis E. Walter, in a report published on March 3, 1958, said: "There are at this moment the equivalent of some twenty combat divisions of enemy troops on American soil . . . troops that are loyal only to the Soviets." And these are not the riff-raff and screwballs who more or less openly belong to the Communist Party, and many of whom actually believe in communism. These are the crypto-Communists, the power-hungry, opportunistic, pragmatic, amoral members of the Communist conspiracy, who believe in nothing but the satisfaction of their personal desires; who serve as college presidents, as high-ranking members of our religious hierarchies, as labor leaders, as government officials, and in positions of influence everywhere in our national life.

If every one of these Communists in

the United States wore a Soviet Army uniform all of the time, you can imagine how quickly we would round them up and ship them off to Russia. Yet they are infinitely more dangerous enemies, simply because they do not wear that uniform. Not only should the United States put every known Communist in this country in jail tomorrow, and bring him promptly to trial for treason. It should declare a sufficient moratorium on other congressional activities for both houses to devote their major efforts to the discovery and exposure of the hidden Communists who constitute this secret army of occupation. It should see that the enemies thus exposed are put on trial, just as fast as their traitorous activities can be revealed, and with full use of all the information an enlarged F.B.I. could supply.

Before you let some half-baked "liberal" tell you that this is "hysteria," stop and think of the ecstatic shout of relief that would go up from hundreds of millions of enslaved human beings all over the world, who would see some possibility of hope in their own lives again. For the United States *not to do this*, not to defend its very existence against vicious destruction by internal treason, is the greatest idiocy committed by any nation in all human history. And it is a betrayal of a whole humane civilization which has cost countless lives, infinite labor, and measureless sacrifices over centuries in the building.

LOSS OF TREASURY GOLD SINCE EARLY 1958

by

WALTER E. SPAHR

Mr. Spahr, Professor Emeritus of Economics of New York University, is Executive Vice President of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy. He has been, for many years, one of the most highly regarded authorities in America on money and on the fiscal policies of our government.

Withdrawals since February 19, 1958 . . .

Foreign withdrawals of Treasury gold, which have been attracting considerable attention, began during the week following February 19, 1958. On that date Treasury gold stood at \$22,785,000,000. For the week ending December 31, 1958, the Treasury's gold was down to \$20,526,000,000, a decline of \$2,259,000,000 in forty-five weeks. For the week ending May 13, 1959, the Treasury's stock was \$20,251,000,000, down \$2,534,000,000 during the sixty-four weeks since February 19, 1958.

No net exportation of gold; an increase in earmarking . . .

There has not been any net exportation of gold during this period; each month February, 1958 — March, 1959 (latest data available) has shown a net importation of gold — \$234,600,000 for that period.

Gold earmarked for foreign and international accounts increased \$2,594,300,000, February, 1958, to March, 1959, inclusive, standing at \$8,664,300,000 on March 31, 1959—an all-time high level. Gold held under earmark for foreign account (at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York) is not included in the

gold stock of the United States. Earmarked gold can arise either from withdrawals of Treasury stock by foreign central banks and governments or by certain international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund; or from gold exportations to the United States with instructions that it go into the earmarked fund.

Comparison with past withdrawals . . .

The withdrawal of \$2,534,000,000, during the sixty-four weeks since February 19, 1958, amounts to approximately 11 percent of the \$22,785,000,000 of total gold stock for the week ending on that date. That is a relatively heavy percentage of withdrawal as compared with above-average withdrawals in preceding years or periods. The withdrawal for the year 1958 (\$2,259,000,000) was approximately 9.9 percent of Treasury stock for the week ending February 19, 1958, and approximately the same percentage if computed against total gold stock at the end of the year plus gold withdrawn. (Total gold stock is slightly larger than Treasury stock.) The preceding relatively heavy percentages of withdrawals (exports and earmarking), based upon total gold stock

Loss of Treasury Gold Since Early 1958

remaining at the end of the year plus gold withdrawn, were 7.0 in 1950; 6.7 in 1928; 6.0 in 1944; 5.5 in 1933. The average of the yearly withdrawals for the thirty-six years, 1922-1957, was 1.3 percent. During twenty-three of these thirty-six years, there were additions to the nation's (or Treasury) gold stock.

Ratios of Treasury gold stock to nongold money and deposits . . .

The ratio of our Treasury gold stock to all our nongold money and bank deposits stood at 7.85 percent on March 25, 1959. This compares with 10.4 in January, 1953; 9.6 average for 1933, the first year we were off the gold standard; 8.6 average for the period 1915-1932, a gold standard period following the creation of the Federal Reserve System, during which the range for the yearly averages was from 6.7 to 10.9 percent. The highest ratio was 24.6 in 1941.

Foreign short-term dollar claims on our gold . . .

As of February 28, 1959, total foreign short-term dollar claims stood at \$16,606,000,000, the peak in our history. Of these only official claims (\$8,746,000,000) and those of international institutions (\$1,541,000,000) are directly convertible into dollars — a total of \$10,287,000,000 as of February 28, 1959. Foreign gold withdrawals in 1958 amounted to 14.6 percent of the average monthly total foreign short-term dollar claims of that year (\$15,520,330,000) or 12.3 percent of those claims at the end of the year plus gold withdrawals for the year.

Those foreign short-term dollar liabilities are potential claims on our Treasury gold stock of which only a relatively small percentage is in general

ever exercised. For the thirty-six years, 1922-1957, the average percentage of gold withdrawn amounted to 3.5 percent of foreign short-term dollar claims at the end of each year plus the gold withdrawals for the respective years. The range in yearly ratios of gold withdrawals to foreign short-term claims, so computed, for the years 1922-1957, was from zero, which occurred in twenty-three of the thirty-six years, to 37.1 percent in 1933. This 37.1 percent requires interpretation. In that year, foreign short-term dollar balances were at the lowest level for any of the years 1922-1958—\$392,000,000 (end of year). That 37.1 percent withdrawal involved only 5.5 percent of our total gold stock for the same year. The withdrawal of gold in 1958 amounted to 12.3 percent of total foreign short-term dollar claims at the end of that year plus gold withdrawals for the year and involved 9.9 percent of our Treasury gold stock at the end of the year plus gold withdrawals for the year.

Thus we have 12.3 percent of claims exercised and 9.9 percent of gold stock withdrawn in 1958 as compared with an average of 3.5 percent of claims exercised and 1.3 percent of gold withdrawn during the period 1922-1957.

The comparison involved is therefore unusually unfavorable to the year 1958 as compared with the period 1922-1957. There are valid grounds for concern regarding, and for careful scrutiny of, these developments of 1958-1959.

Surplus gold stock still available for withdrawal . . .

For the week ending May 13, the Federal Reserve banks had a surplus above their legal reserve requirements of \$8,560,000,000 in gold certificate re-

Loss of Treasury Gold Since Early 1958

serves. The U. S. Treasury, on May 12, had a free gold balance of \$394,402,711, thus giving a surplus of gold available for foreign withdrawals equal to \$8,954,402,711.

Since the Federal Reserve banks can, by paying tax penalties, go below their minimum reserve requirements of twenty-five percent if necessary, an even greater amount of gold could be paid out.

Of the total foreign official short-term claims of \$10,287,000,000, as of February 28, 1959, which could be exercised, the principle of probability indicates that the prospects of a large percentage of such claims being exercised over a considerable period of time are relatively small unless our government persists in pursuing an inexcusable course of piling up additional foreign claims against our declining stock of gold. If we were to lose the highest percentage ever recorded, 1922-1958, the 37.1 percent of total claims in 1933, and apply it to the exercisable claims of \$10,287,000,000 in February, 1959, the additional amount to be demanded would be \$3,816,477,000 to cover which we have a surplus of \$8,954,402,711, and even more if the reserve requirements of the Federal Reserve banks are breached.

These facts do not mean that we could lose approximately \$4 billion or \$8 billion more of gold without experiencing serious consequences. Psychological reactions are important factors; and public reactions to a persistent and relatively heavy loss of gold are highly unpredictable. At some point in such withdrawals confidence in the future value of the dollar could be seriously impaired and the dollar could suffer a heavy discount in foreign exchange be-

cause of the expectation that the Federal Reserve banks and Treasury would in due course reach the end of their capacity to pay out gold at the standard rate. Placing an embargo on further exportation of gold could be expected to precipitate a sharp discount in the value of our dollars in foreign exchange; and this depreciation could be expected to bring domestic depreciation at closely-related rates. Maintenance of the value of our dollar in foreign exchange requires unhesitating redemption at par even if this involves impairment of the minimum Federal Reserve bank gold certificate ratio. There is, therefore, genuine danger in pursuing with recklessness the course now being followed by our government. Piling up further foreign claims against our gold stock is inexcusable, particularly since there is no valid defense for permitting redemption of foreign claims in gold while our people are denied the right of redemption.

Various attempts have been made to demonstrate that our gold supply is already inadequate or presently in danger. Such attempts are not in accord with facts. Much of this effort comes from those who are attempting to obtain another devaluation of our dollar, and a common device employed by those people is to offset all foreign short-term dollar claims against our gold stock and to treat potential claims as though they would prove to be actual claims. Such a procedure cannot be defended. If that procedure were applied to insurance companies or banks, for example, it could be demonstrated that all of them are in fact, bankrupt. The principle of probability based upon the lessons of experience is the only principle that is permissible if one's pur-

Loss of Treasury Gold Since Early 1958

pose is not to mislead. Every object of value is supplied in the light of the principle of probability; and we are faced with the principle of probability in respect to the future exercise of potential claims against our Treasury's stock of gold.

Attempts to explain the Treasury's loss of gold . . .

The attempts frequently made to state the reasons for the Treasury's loss of gold rest largely upon conjecture or guessing rather than upon adequate evidence. Foreign central banks and governments and international institutions which have dollars and choose to convert some of them into gold may do so; and they are not required to explain their actions and, apparently, ordinarily do not do so.

The common allegation that the gold withdrawals of 1958-1959 are evidence of a flight from the dollar needs to be offset against the fact that while some dollars have been converted into gold the foreign short-term dollar claims have been climbing to a record height.

A frequent explanation, that a major cause of the conversion of non-gold dollars into gold is to be found in the relatively sharp drop in exports as against imports, fares no better in the light of mounting foreign short-term balances while Treasury gold is being drawn down.

The point is that the official foreign holders of dollars may choose to convert a portion of their dollars into earmarked gold for any number of reasons that seem satisfactory to them, without explanation to us and without any official data as to reasons being available to us. We may notice at some subsequent date that a central bank's reserves in

gold have increased or we may trace some other manifestation of the use of the earmarked gold; but in general we do not have access to data that would explain why the Treasury's gold stock declined and the volume of gold earmarked for foreign account increased in approximately the same amount. Gold is the most marketable monetary commodity in international exchange; and it may be utilized for an endless number of reasons. When we cash a check at our bank we are not required to explain what we propose to do with the money received. Foreign official drafts against our gold stock fall in the same general category.

Piling up of more foreign dollar claims against our gold stock and dissipating the stock itself . . .

Our Federal government, in various ways, continues to pile up more foreign dollar claims against our declining gold stock and is making further commitments and proposals to dissipate still more of the Treasury's gold stock—for example, to subscribe another \$344,000,000 of gold to the International Monetary Fund and to provide it with \$1.375 billion, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development with \$3.175 billion, additional potential dollar claims against our Treasury's gold. Foreign aid and other programs are also providing still more dollar claims against our gold stock. To these are added such proposals as that to create an International Development Association to finance projects which, apparently, good banking procedures could not support.

The picture is one of the prodigal and reckless spender and dissipator

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who, even though his ultimate reserve is falling rapidly, and the potential claims against that reserve are relatively heavy and rising, nevertheless continues his foolish practices with unrestrained abandon.

Pursuit of this course by our government would appear to be inviting extremely serious trouble for this nation. It seems to reflect a remarkable degree of irresponsibility on the part of those government officials responsible for such

policies and programs, and a failure on their part to understand that it is sound fiscal and monetary practices which induce gold to flow to, and remain with, a nation. The revival of an improved quality of fiscal and monetary management in West Germany, and more recently in France, provides illustrations of this elemental principle; and our government should heed the very important lessons which should be obvious to competent and responsible people.

The Game Of Darts

Always be mistaken at the top of your voice.

James E. Christofer

About Time Magazine: "Misinformation trimmed with insult."

Dr. Jacques Barzun

He managed to condense a great many words into a few thoughts.

Lewis F. Presnall

*The man recovered of the bite,
The dog it was that died.*

Oliver Goldsmith

Oh yes, we met last year at the Vanderbucks—I can't remember your name but I never forget a dress.

King Features

On family stone in cemetery in Elgin, Minnesota: "None of us ever voted for Roosevelt or Truman."

Sixty-six Ninety-nine

You can't buy happiness—at least not with today's money.

Frank G. McInnis

The man who delighted in chasing girls now has a son who can't find any who will run.

J. C. Salak

Toastmaster: And now the speaker we are all eagerly awaiting—the last one.

McFeatters

Sweet young thing: "If people ask what I see in you, Herbert, what shall I tell them?"

Walt Goldstein

BULLETS

To be ignorant of one's ignorance is
the malady of the ignorant.

Bronson Alcott

* * *

I don't like money actually, but it
quiets my nerves.

Joe Louis

* * *

When I was young my father said
That one should try to get ahead.
Today I tell my young son, Steven,
That he'll do well if he stays even.

New Orleans Item

* * *

As employment increases, unemployment
is expected to decrease.

U. S. Department Of Labor

* * *

Resistance to tyrants is obedience to
God.

Thomas Jefferson

* * *

Have wife, must travel.

A Sullivan Bros. Version

* * *

Never underestimate the power of
stupid people in large groups.

Jack Jarvis

* * *

In foreign lands they do not love us.
Instead of hugging us they shove us.
But one with even slight acumen
Can see that that is only human.
For being host and guest soon ends
The friendship of the best of friends.

Richard Armour

* * *

These days our kids know the value
of a dollar, and it makes them mighty
discouraged.

Uncle Mat

Wife to interior decorator: "Of course
my husband wants genuine antiques,
but they've got to be up-to-date and
modern."

Nuggets

* * *

He who allows oppression shares the
crime.

Erasmus Darwin

* * *

The trouble with fiction is that it
makes too much sense. Reality never
makes sense.

Aldous Huxley

* * *

Bus conversation, overheard: "They're
starting out with just what they have to
have—bed, stove, and television set."

Ohio State Journal

* * *

Sign on convention rostrum:

Caution—Engage brain before start-
ing mouth.

Sixty-six Ninety-nine

* * *

Success is counted sweetest by those
who ne'er succeed.

Emily Dickinson

* * *

Young men think old men fools, and
old men know young men to be so.

Metcalf

* * *

To deny the freedom of the will is
to make morality impossible.

Froude

* * *

Howe'er it be, it seems to me,
'Tis only noble to be good.
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.

Tennyson

* * *

Watchman, what of the night?

Isaiah, XXI, 11

THE SCOREBOARD

Basic Communist strategy for conquest of the world, as laid out thirty-five years ago and relentlessly followed ever since, consisted of three steps: (1) Take eastern Europe; (2) next take the masses of Asia; (3) then take the rest of the world, including the United States. The Communists completed their first step in 1950; the second step is now at least three-fourths accomplished; and they have gone more than one-fourth of the way towards carrying out their third step. Which means that the Communists have now covered well over two-thirds of the total distance to their final goal of world-wide dominion. And the momentum and the speed of their progress are steadily increasing.

BETWEEN 1937 AND 1957 the expansion of Communist power in the world was approximately eight hundred percent — whether you measured that growth in the number of Party members, in the number of enslaved subjects, or by whatever unit of comparison. But during the past two years the rate of expansion has markedly increased.

For a decade after World War II the Communists *averaged* adding to their empire seven thousand newly enslaved subjects every hour, twenty-four hours of every day, 365 days of every year. But by 1958 that rate of conquest had come up to about twelve thousand new slaves per hour. And the once free peoples of Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco, Tunisia, Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, and other nations now slipping into Communist police-state rule, would gladly bear witness to both the truth and the horror of this record. How free the status of their former "colonialism" would seem to many of them today!

But the most ominous part of the Communist advance is also the most

difficult to appraise. That is the rise of Communist influence in countries which are still considered to be clearly in, and on the side of, the remaining "free world." That there are ways of estimating how far the insidious tide has risen, however, even in these areas where much firm dry land still remains, has been decisively demonstrated by our experience in putting together the scores in this tabulation.

For several different scholars on four different continents, each of them a serious long-time student of the methods, purposes and progress of the Communist conspiracy, compiled his scoreboard independently of all the others. Each one made his own estimates as objectively and conscientiously as he knew how. And the resulting figures from these different experts, for all but one or two of the 105 countries listed, were so close as to be startling — and convincing. Believing therefore that our composite appraisals are dependable, significant, revealing — and frightening — we present *The American Opinion Scoreboard for 1959*.

The American Opinion Scoreboard

In the following tabulation we have undertaken to estimate the present degree of Communist influence or control over the economic and political affairs of almost all of the "nations" of the world. (The omissions have been due to lack of size, importance, or autonomy.) The chief source of such control or influence may be Communist-run labor unions (as in Bolivia), or Communist sympathizers in government (as in India), or powerful Communist political parties (as in Italy), or highly successful Communist agitation and propaganda (as in Mexico). The total extent of Communist control or influence over any country, however, is due to the impact of all Communist pressures, direct and indirect, visible and undercover, working together. In most cases, of course, that total cannot be measured with exactness. But

we believe the estimates given below to be conservative, as of June 1, 1959.

It is only when this scoreboard is compared with any similar one, which might have been compiled as recently as 1952, that its significance becomes so shockingly apparent. Each change since the 1958 Scoreboard — if sufficient to change the whole bracket shown against any country — is indicated by a star, and itemized on the last page of this insert.

The Kremlin's biggest concern now is to keep the remainder of the free world, and especially the people of the United States, from realizing the speed and certainty with which the Communists are completing their conquest of the planet. We intend to publish a revised scoreboard once a year until the conspiracy is entirely successful or has been entirely destroyed.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

As A Percentage Of Total Control

1. Aden	20 to 40%	19. Chile	40 to 60%
2. Afghanistan	80 - 100	20. Communist China	100
3. Albania	100	21. Nationalist China	0 - 20
4. Argentina	40 - 60	22. Colombia	20 - 40
5. Australia	0 - 20	23. Costa Rica	20 - 40
6. Austria	20 - 40	24. Cuba	70 - 90★
7. Belgian Congo	20 - 40★	25. Czechoslovakia	100
8. Belgium	20 - 40	26. Denmark	20 - 40
9. Bolivia	70 - 90★	27. Dominican Republic	0 - 20
10. Brazil	40 - 60	28. East Germany	100
11. Britain	40 - 60★	29. Ecuador	20 - 40★
12. British Guiana	80 - 100	30. Egypt	80 - 100
13. Bulgaria	100	31. El Salvador	20 - 40
14. Burma	60 - 80	32. Ethiopia	60 - 80
15. Cambodia	80 - 100	33. Finland	60 - 80
16. Canada	40 - 60★	34. France	30 - 50★
17. Central African Federation	20 - 40★	35. French Equatorial Africa	20 - 40
18. Ceylon	60 - 80	36. French Togoland	40 - 60

The Scoreboard

37. Ghana	80 to 100%	72. Outer Mongolia	100%
38. Greece	40 - 60	73. Pakistan	30 - 50★
39. Guatemala	60 - 80	74. Panama	60 - 80
40. Guinea	80 - 100★	75. Paraguay	20 - 40★
41. Haiti	20 - 40	76. Peru	20 - 40
42. Honduras	40 - 60	77. Philippines	20 - 40
43. Hungary	100	78. Poland	100
44. Iceland	80 - 100	79. Portugal	0 - 20
45. India	60 - 80	80. Romania	100
46. Indonesia	80 - 100	81. Saudi Arabia	60 - 80
47. Iran	20 - 40	82. Sierra Leone	30 - 50★
48. Iraq	80 - 100★	83. Singapore	70 - 90★
49. Ireland	0 - 20	84. Somalia	40 - 60
50. Israel	40 - 60	85. South Korea	10 - 30★
51. Italy	40 - 60	86. South Vietnam	40 - 60
52. Japan	20 - 40	87. Soviet Union	100
53. Jordan	20 - 40	88. Spain	0 - 20
54. Kenya	20 - 40	89. Sudan	50 - 70★
55. Laos	80 - 100	90. Sweden	20 - 40
56. Lebanon	60 - 80★	91. Switzerland	20 - 40
57. Liberia	30 - 50★	92. Syria	80 - 100
58. Libya	60 - 80	93. Tanganyika	20 - 40
59. Luxembourg	20 - 40	94. Thailand	40 - 60
60. Madagascar	20 - 40	95. Tibet	80 - 100
61. Malaya	40 - 60	96. Tunisia	80 - 100
62. Mexico	40 - 60	97. Turkey	0 - 20
63. Morocco	60 - 80	98. Uganda	20 - 40
64. Nepal	60 - 80	99. Union of South Africa	0 - 20
65. Netherlands	20 - 40★	100. United States	30 - 50★
66. New Zealand	0 - 20	101. Uruguay	40 - 60
67. Nicaragua	20 - 40	102. Venezuela	80 - 100★
68. Nigeria	30 - 50★	103. West Germany	0 - 20
69. North Korea	100	104. Yemen	80 - 100
70. North Vietnam	100	105. Yugoslavia	100
71. Norway	50 - 70★		

Footnotes On Changes

Obviously there have been changes in the degree of Communist influence in practically every country. But the changes shown, and discussed below, are only those which moved our estimate into a whole new bracket from the one given last year.

7. Belgian Congo. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. This change reflects the long reach of the

agitation against "colonialism," sparked by Kwame Nkrumah.

9. Bolivia. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 70-90%. The Communists have steadily tightened their grip. They now own Bolivia, to whatever extent they wish to show their hand.

11. Britain. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 40-60%. Thanks to the "let's surrender" crusade of Ber-

Footnotes On Changes

trand Russell, the pusillanimous appeasement policies of Harold Macmillan, and other factors, the Communist influence in and over Britain has markedly increased during the past twelve months.

16. Canada. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 40-60%. The erosion of resistance to Communist men and measures is subtle, gradual—and deadly.

17. Central African Federation. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. This is simply due to the Communist forces now increasingly at work all over Africa.

24. Cuba. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 70-90%. Last year the potential Communist take-over of Cuba was merely casting its shadow before it. This year it is an accomplished fact.

29. Ecuador. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. It is no secret that the situation in most of Latin America has rapidly grown worse since June 1, 1958.

34. France. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 30-50%. This is the one improvement noted on the whole planet. In our opinion much credit must go to de Gaulle and even more to Jacques Soustelle.

40. Guinea. 1958: (As part of French West Africa), 40-60%. 1959: 80-100%. Sekou Touré has now made the break with France complete; the break with civilization, and absorption of his country into the Soviet barbarism, all but complete.

48. Iraq. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 80-100%. This "swing" is drastic, but so were the developments. Our estimate last year was undoubtedly too conservative. The violent seizure of Iraq by the Communists was more sudden and complete than anything we had anticipated.

56. Lebanon. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 60-80%. Lebanon was just one more victim of a "Murphy good-will mission" — as well as of other forces. Under the guise of protecting and helping Lebanon, our government made Rashid Karami, the leading Communist of that small country (and the man most approved by Nassar), its Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Minister of National Economy, Minister of Defense, and Minister of Information. With just one more blow of our helping hand the Communist control of Lebanon could move into the highest bracket.

57. Liberia. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. The change is merely another indication of the rising tide in Africa.

65. Netherlands. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. Whether or not our estimate in 1958 was too low, we don't know. We are sure this one is not too high.

68. Nigeria. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. Just another case of crumbling before the African "wave."

71. Norway. 1958: 40-60%. 1959: 50-70%. The change is partly the recognition and result of a continuing process; but it is partly just to make our estimate of Norway more realistic than that of last year.

73. Pakistan. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. Sad, unfortunate, not translatable into specifics—but true.

75. Paraguay. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 20-40%. General Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay, is one of the few firm anti-Communists still remaining as heads of Latin American governments. But of late months he has had to give considerable ground to "liberal" pressures.

82. Sierra Leone. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. More washing from the African wave.

83. Singapore. 1958: 60-80%. 1959: 70-90%. The last elections show that Singapore is already "beyond the point of no return."

85. South Korea. 1958: 0-20%. 1959: 10-30%. The tremendous Communist efforts have gained footholds that cannot be ignored.

89. Sudan. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 50-70%. This heavy gain in the strength of the Communists is largely due to the help and encouragement given them by that sterling non-Communist (!), G. A. Nasser.

100. The United States. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 30-50%. We were worried about defending our own conviction that Communist influence, over everything of political or economic importance done in or by the United States, now amounts to more than thirty percent of total control. Then we got the surprise of our lives in the far higher estimates from some of our experts.

We have kept this bracket, with fifty percent as the top limit to our appraisal, nevertheless. We are aware that the actual number of Communists and Communist sympathizers within our borders has little bearing on the case. For the Communists have taken over some countries completely with as little as one percent of the population as active agents. We agree with our experts that the Communist influence inside our government itself today is overwhelming. We know that this influence is almost as extreme within our educational, religious, and labor organizations. But we feel that there are still tremendous layers of Americanist strength not yet rotted by all of the infiltration, indoctrination, and political sabotage to which we have been subjected.

Here is a *fact*, however, which good Americans should note with alarm and anxiety. These men are the best informed authorities we know. Several of them, in or from Europe, Asia or Australia, are able to look at our situation more objectively than we can. They agree closely with us, and with each other, concerning every other country. And these men believe that the degree of Communist influence in the United States today amounts to *between 50% and 70% of total control*.

102. Venezuela. 1958: 20-40%. 1959: 80-100%. As in the case of Iraq, our 1958 figure was too low. And perhaps in the case of Venezuela we should have been more aware of the nearness and force of the coming storm.

SOUSTELLE AND ALGERIA

by

HILAIRE DU BERRIER

The author of the following article was born and raised in North Dakota. But he has served as a war correspondent, a pilot, and in many other capacities, in Ethiopia, Spain, China, and Indochina. He spent almost three years during World War II as a prisoner of the Japanese, eighteen days of that time in the torture chamber, because of his espionage activities as part of a French Resistance Group known as Réseau Mingant. For the past several years Mr. du Berrier has lived in Paris, as a free-lance writer for various publications in both the English-speaking and French-speaking countries. We consider him one of the best informed authorities in the world on the events and personalities of the Cold War, and especially so wherever "colonialism" is a part of the picture.

JACQUES SOUSTELLE was born in Montpeller, in southern France, on February 3, 1912. His parents were poor, and Protestants, both of which circumstances were handicaps in the circles where he was to make an early mark. But in 1929, through a combination of tireless energy and a knack for intense concentration, the seventeen-year-old boy took first place in the hardest examination in France's educational system. He thereby became the youngest student ever to enter the nation's *Ecole Normale Supérieure*. Three years later he emerged from this school at the head of his class, and as a professor of ethnology with a degree in philosophy at the age of twenty.

It was probably from his soft smile and quiet manner that Soustelle was given, by his associates, the nickname of "the cat." For there is a shyness about him, especially in the presence of people who, he senses, may not like him, which has lasted to this day. There is no relaxed, half-way point between

the warm smile among intimates and the set front at public gatherings or before the microphone. And this shyness during his youth may have helped to account for his concentration on work and his remarkable scholastic record. For he was a Doctor of Letters at twenty-four and Assistant Director of the *Museum of Man* at twenty-five.

And yet, strange to say, Soustelle is more interested in human beings, and especially their cultures, than in anything else. He early became particularly interested in the Indian civilizations of Mexico and Central America. In 1932, he went to live among the Otomis and the Lacandons — the latter being an almost extinct offshoot of the Mayas who now inhabit the border region between Mexico and Guatemala. Winning the complete confidence of these primitive people, Soustelle painstakingly gathered the material not only for the thesis for his doctorate, on *The Family Life Of The Otomi-Pama Tribes Of Central Mexico*, but also for



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Mexico, Land Of The Indians, The Material Culture Of The Lacandon Indians, and other books that followed.

For Jacques Soustelle has always been an intellectual, and so regards himself even now. Besides French, and excellent English, he also speaks Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Aztec, Maya, German and — sufficiently to express himself — Arabic and Russian. He has written *Chilean Folklore*, and *The Cosmological Thinking Of The Ancient Mexicans*, besides the books already mentioned; and a mountain of scientific articles for learned journals. And he himself has said, in a letter “from one intellectual to another”:

“... Even in action I remain the professor, a teacher, a writer. I am convinced that we have a role to play in public life, even if it is only in trying to substitute for the vague, impassioned images, which are the usual instruments of politics, the ideas of probity and precision and balance to which we are held by our profession. It seems evident to me that if intellectuals wish to manifest themselves as such in the political domain, their action can only be justified by their comporting themselves in that circumstance, and more than ever so, as intellectuals.

“This is to say, with the painstaking striving for honesty and clarity which is in a way our mark. Also it seems to me that the intellectual in taking a position is duty-bound, more than any other, to be scrupulous, both in what concerns his knowledge of facts and the interpretation he gives them. I have always believed that it is our duty, we who claim to make a profession of thinking clearly, to enter frankly and without hesitation into the battle of ideas.”

Soustelle, with his young wife, was again in Mexico in 1939 when war was declared. He went home to be mobilized and soon afterwards was sent back on a mission to Central America. It was there that de Gaulle's appeal for followers reached him. Through 1942 he ran the Free French Information Service, and in 1943 became chief of de Gaulle's Intelligence in London. When de Gaulle's government fell at the end of the war, Soustelle returned to the classroom. His re-election to the French Assembly in 1951 went unnoticed; and in comparative oblivion he might have remained had not Pierre Mendes-France — apparently badly misjudging his man — decided on January 26, 1955 to make Jacques Soustelle Governor-General of Algeria.

Soustelle's sympathies when he took on this responsibility were, as always, for the underdog. He went to Algeria hoping to satisfy the aspirations of the rebels, known as the FLN. But intellectual honesty and an insistence on knowing the facts remained keys to his character. And he soon found that the real underdogs were not the Communist-inspired FLN, nor even so much the French settlers in Algeria whom the FLN rebels were murdering at every opportunity. The people who most needed help and protection were the great mass of the Algerian Moslems themselves, whom the FLN terrorists were ruthlessly massacring and torturing, in order to keep them frightened into an appearance of supporting the “civil war.” These were exactly the tactics the Communists had used in China as far back as twenty-five years before.

Soustelle found out how the vast majority of the Algerian Moslems felt — something they have proved over and

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over since then—simply by talking to them. He found out the real nature and purposes of the rebels, simply by getting the facts. By and large, the American press, left-slanted or indifferent, has not been willing to do either.

II

ON MAY 28, 1957, forty-seven Algerian cutthroats under a leader named Amirouche rode into a village called Melouza, killing and mutilating the entire male population to the number of 303. Many of the victims were small boys. This was typical of the campaign of terror in which the FLN has consistently killed far more peaceful Algerian Moslems than it has French settlers, police, or soldiers.

But the sympathies of the American press were with Amirouche and his forty-six companions, rather than with the 303 Algerians who were murdered. Jacques Soustelle, for being the champion of the 303 victims, was regarded as our enemy. The French Army, defending the helpless ninety percent in Algeria against the ten percent perpetrating the terror, saw the weight of France's principal ally, the United States, constantly thrown behind the ten percent. In July, 1957, at a Congress of World Labor Unions held in Tunisia, "spokesmen for American labor" expressed "American labor's" support of the terrorists. (As if they could!) And to top it all off Senator Kennedy, seeing an opportunity for grabbing both news space and labor support, chose that occasion also for encouraging the rebels.

To the French there was, unfortunately, nothing new about any of this. It was Indochina all over again, even to the part played by that world states-

man, Senator John Kennedy. America's intervention in Indochina had taken the form of encouraging the natives to hate the French, and the native states to refuse to fight the Communists until freed from French direction. "Give the Indochinese their independence," Senator Kennedy had thundered at that time, "and they will form a crusade against Communism." It is not true to say that the Kennedy brat knew no more about the people of Indochina than about those of Mars, for he was reasonably sure that the Indochinese actually did exist. As to the program advocated by this most left-wing of Democratic Senators, which was actually being carried out by a supposedly Republican government, the results speak for themselves. Today Laos is "neutral," Cambodia has swung towards Peking, North Vietnam is a Communist state, and the dictatorship of South Vietnam has become a quicksand for American money and prestige without embarrassing Communism in the least.

This, in essence, is what went through the minds of the French army, navy and airforce personnel in Algeria in July, 1957, against the background of comrades lost and natives massacred. Senator Kennedy had turned his attention to North Africa and "now we are going to have a repetition of Indochina." And their sentiment was increasingly shared back home, in all of France.

By January of 1958 French public opinion was solidly behind the army's belief that France was being betrayed by its own government through that government's fear of offending America. The French army, given the difficult task of restoring order in Algeria, was

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prevented from making a move that could possibly achieve that purpose. (Just as Chiang Kai-shek had been prevented three different times in 1946 from wiping out the Chinese Communists, through pressures put on him by the American government through George Catlett Marshall.) French civilian and soldier alike sat fascinated and almost hypnotized by the newsreel aspect of developments, each more alarming than the last, which unfolded before their eyes. In December, 1957, an impassioned American plea for allied solidarity was accompanied, almost simultaneously, by a delivery of arms to Tunisia; arms so certain to pass directly into the hands of FLN that the American government refused to release the serial numbers. And then came Sakiet.

There were some three hundred FLN soldiers based in a deserted mine on the outskirts of the Tunisian frontier village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef. This was a sanctuary to which they supposedly could not be pursued, allowed them by the same Tunisian government that supplied them arms bought from America. (Remember the Yalu River bridges, and the sanctuary of the Chinese Communists in Korea!)

These rebels not only strolled openly through the town and manned anti-aircraft guns against French planes. On January 11, 1958 they launched a pre-dawn raid across the border into Algeria, fought until early afternoon, and then returned to Sakiet, bearing their prisoners with them.

The intelligence reports of Algerian-born General Jouhaud, of the French airforce, were precise. He had exact information about the gun emplacements and rebel movements in Sakiet.

A final warning was issued, after which another French plane was shot at and hit. And so, on February 8, 1958, Sakiet was bombed.

The American press immediately raised a huge cry against France. Tunisia squashed reports of the three hundred FLN soldiers who were killed in the mine, but set up a bombed-town scene in the village itself, and imposed on an American Red Cross observer for the kind of report it wanted. And New York's two leading newspapers, despite all of the fact-finding facilities at their disposal, answered the public demand for news with vague references to "an *alleged* FLN base in Sakiet."

It was the bombing of Sakiet, and America's reaction to that retaliation by the French airforce in protection of their own, which lighted the fuse to the important explosions and events that followed. One such event was the bursting onto the scene, in mid-April of 1958, and onto the consciousness of an American public totally unprepared for him, of M'sieu Jacques Soustelle. That such was the case was inexcusable, and a disgrace to American journalism. For had our press told the truth about the extent to which France was smoldering, neither the blow-up nor the disastrous results of our inane policies (or worse) would have come as any surprise.

III

OUR STATE DEPARTMENT's sending of Mr. Robert Murphy to France on his "good offices" mission only hastened the coming break. For, as the editor of *American Opinion* pointed out in another connection some months ago, the invariable result of Mr. Murphy's expert "trouble-shooting" expeditions over many years has been tragedy for

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our anti-Communist friends. But the French, with their bitter memories of Indochina, did not need any coaching on this subject. In France the Murphy mission met with the approval of only the extreme Socialist left and the Communists themselves.

Behind the sound-proof wall of diplomatic usage French indignation was solid and unyielding. Because of the smothering cover of courtesy at the top level in Paris and the blackout of dependable news in America, a feeling persisted in Washington that with just a little pressure Paris would give — that is, would follow the policies of appeasement and withdrawal planned for France by our State Department (exactly as Paris had yielded step by step to the pressures from Washington, in the sell-out of Indochina). To provide that pressure, in mid-April President Eisenhower wrote a personal letter to Premier Gaillard. And instead of giving way, Paris exploded. Such a letter could not be kept secret. The result was the spontaneous combustion of a whole nation.

It might have been any one of a hundred deputies who took the cue, when the Eisenhower letter landed within the already overcharged atmosphere. For — again except for Mendes-France's extreme Left and the out-and-out Communists — the sentiments of France's deputies on April 15, 1958 reflected the mood of France. But it happened to be Jacques Soustelle, the mild-mannered intellectual, who in the emotion of the moment rose to his feet. "Is French policy made in Washington or in Paris?" he demanded. "If it is made in Washington, what are we doing with these baby's toys of sovereignty?"

In retrospect, the only strange event of the day is that the Gaillard government did not fall before Soustelle's attack by a larger vote than 321 to 255. But American reaction was immediate and violent. Soustelle was blasted as the unleasher of a storm which he himself had conjured, rather than regarded as the patriotic standard-bearer of a people and an army that had had enough. "Anti-American! Cabinet-wrecker!"; thus *Time Magazine* screamed at him in its issue of April 28. And *Time*, of which 1,800,000 copies were distributed free in fifty-six countries in 1958 by the *United States Information Service*, is regarded abroad as the voice of America's State Department.

As though to justify French fears and support Soustelle's allegation, a "high diplomatic source" (assumed to be Robert Murphy) soon let it be known that the United States had decided to give top priority to keeping North Africa loyal to the free world (!); and that to achieve this it might be *necessary* for the French government to enter into direct negotiations with the Algerian rebels!! On April 25 the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Washington was preparing to back the rebels, even to the extent of forcing France to accede. Or, as *Time* then arrogantly put it, the United States had finally "dropped a strong hint that it was not prepared to play make-believe with France much longer."

This condescending attitude on the part of the United States government; the obvious intention of our State Department to go right on running stiff-arm interference for the Communists in their phoney but vicious game of "anti-colonialism;" these considerations and

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the American press attack on Soustelle all became strong political winds in his favor. And in proportion as both Frenchmen and Algerians turned to Soustelle as a leader, the more our press magnified him as an enemy of America. The violence and extent of this campaign have been significant, revealing, and frightening in their implications.

Prior to the Gaillard crisis it was quietly assumed by many well-informed Frenchmen that Jacques Soustelle was a leader of the future. It certainly took no very astute newspaper man to sense the terrific expansion of this sentiment after April 15. Since the early spring of 1958 there has descended on him a mountain of correspondence: from grass-roots Frenchmen; from mothers of young soldiers who have been taken prisoner by the FLN and brutally executed, often on Tunisian soil; from the parents of soldiers now in uniform; from former settlers from Morocco and Tunisia who had been driven from properties their families had worked on for three generations; from small exporters across France who had been forced to the wall by South Vietnam's new import list, barring all but American goods from the market that had supported these exporters; and especially from the unorganized ninety percent of the Algerians, whom our press has ignored in favor of the armed rebels. With Soustelle largely running the campaign, de Gaulle was carried into the presidency in December by 78.5% of the electoral vote! And Soustelle's party, the UNR, had put more deputies in the assembly than had ever sat there before under the banner of a single party.

Equally as clear as the strength of

Soustelle's following has been the firmness of his anti-Communism. From his part in keeping the French government from yielding to the United States and recognizing the FLN, Soustelle became the man the Communists were out to get. At the same time he has not hidden the fact that he is out "to get them"; to drive the Communists from the mayoralties and other positions of political power all over France. The Communists were so fearful of Soustelle's rising power that in May, 1958 they began moving their secret files and archives, which were in France, to Italy. They set off the usual smear campaign against him, at home and abroad. And they organized an assassination campaign which culminated in the attempt of September 15, 1958, with Algerian agents carefully put in place to do the actual shooting — from which Soustelle was extremely fortunate to escape with only a bullet-grazed forehead.

Yet our press, with the visible blessing of our government, has been vicious in its opposition to this strong anti-Communist, who so obviously may become the head of one of our strongest anti-Communist allies. It is shocking for an American to reflect that when the present French cabinet was being formed, Frenchmen high in politics felt compelled to ask Americans (this writer among others) what America's reaction would be if Soustelle were made Premier or Minister of Foreign Affairs. Their resentment at having to ask that question, at America's meddling and pressures which made it necessary, is easy to understand.

The Soustelle story, the lies about him and about the whole Algerian rebel movement, the policies of our government with regard to French af-

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fairs during the past several years, and the praise for these policies by so many of our newspapers and magazines, have only one possible explanation. Within both our government and our press there are now powerful forces at work to estrange America from the real anti-Communists among our allies, and to help the Communists themselves everywhere in the world, in all of their schemes and operations. If the great body of loyal Americans in both press and government, instead of getting their hackles up when being told this obvious fact, will get busy, recognize and throw out the traitors and their opportunistic colleagues, and really start fighting Communism, men like Soustelle can help us mightily to restore some sanity, order, and real peace to the world once again.

IV

IN MAY, 1958, the Kennedy brat had the incredible effrontery to shout that France must stop de Gaulle. This was about on a par with the scream of the strident-voiced blonde, employed by our airforce, in a Paris cafe: "Why shouldn't we tell them who they can have for president? We have bought this country!" But the blonde was not seeking to make political hay for herself with the extreme Left, as Kennedy clearly was.

As has so often happened, however, Kennedy's play to the left was exactly in line with the signals called from our pseudo-Republican administration. Our government all but served notice on France that America would not tolerate the rise of de Gaulle and Soustelle to power, and that France therefore was under orders to reject them. And our press and radio went all the way in

unbelievable smear, distortion, disparagement, and attempts to confuse. Nevertheless, de Gaulle went on to become the most powerful president France has had in its history as a republic. And Soustelle, while probably denied the premiership because of that very opposition from America which we have been discussing, became a powerful figure in the new French government, the backbone of that government's resistance to Communism, and the most likely "strong man" of any future that France may have as a rejuvenated bulwark of strength against Moscow's imperialistic advances.

Since Soustelle came to prominence and leadership against the background of the Algerian problem, it is well to turn to that setting, in which to try to appraise his judgment, his ability, his humanitarianism, and his sincerity. And there is probably no better way to do this than to let him speak for himself, after some brief introduction, about this very question of Algeria and its future.

Typical of the slurs and the character assassination by inuendo conducted against Soustelle in our press was a long article by Edward M. Korry in *Look Magazine*. At one point Mr. Korry said: "Soustelle had come to carry out a program of long delayed reforms. I first met Soustelle in Algiers at that time. Stymied and isolated, he was stalling for time, convinced he could eventually win over the settlers. But in the end, he was the one who capitulated. The turning point came on August 20, 1955, when the Algerian nationalists massacred scores of Frenchmen near Constantine and transformed the revolt into full-scale civil war.

"For the first time in his life, Soustelle saw the conflict in human terms,

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in slit throats, and mutilated bodies of men, women, and children. The experience transformed him. From that day on, he championed the cause of the French settlers. Little by little Soustelle the intellectual evolved a theory to justify their views. The Algerian conflict was all part of an international plot, he said, directed by Egypt's Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser with the help of Moscow. And he coined a phrase that became the motto of the bitter-enders: "To negotiate is to surrender!"

During all of 1958 *Look Magazine* presented Fidel Castro as a hero and Jacques Soustelle as a scoundrel. Which, to the correctly informed, tells a great deal about Castro, Soustelle and *Look*. Any thought that the Algerian conflict is *not* part of an international Communist plot, for instance, is too naive for serious consideration. Today, isn't the Moscow-supported FLN government actually situated in Cairo? Yet *Look* satirizes Soustelle for "evolving" any such "theory." And the article, aside from appearing to condone the throat-slitting and body-mutilating of the terrorists, overlooks entirely the matter of some eight million Algerians who have wanted no part of the FLN and whose only protection against having their own throats slit was from those "bitter-enders."

Describing the rebels as "nationalists" is exactly what Moscow has wanted. "Nationalism," even of the Mau-Mau type, must be encouraged as "the wave of the future." And giving the FLN respectability, by describing their stepped-up terror as "full-scale civil war," is exactly what their leader, Ferhat Abbas, has wanted. As to Soustelle's seeing the conflict for the first time in human terms, he is primarily a sociologist who

had never seen it in any other light. And as for his "capitulating" to the French settlers — which was purely unsupported mindreading on Mr. Korry's part — Soustelle's mind was changed for him primarily by the Algerians themselves, as any journalist not trying to build up a case against "colonialism" could easily have found out.

For the plight of the Algerian populace was that mere non-cooperation with France, on their part, would not satisfy the FLN. The rebels have demanded active collaboration with themselves, under threat of a fate that would make death seem preferable. It has been the rebels' aim thus to create an impression of support that would dignify their terrorist raids with the name of civil war. Had the native population given that support, the revolt would have been successful. The FLN's reply to the natives' refusal has been to step up their atrocities, while going to great pains to deny them to the outside world. In this endeavor they have followed the time-worn Communist tactic: Always accuse your enemy, as loudly and brazenly as possible, of the very crimes which you are yourself committing. The offices of American congressmen and editors have been swamped with anti-French propaganda, often bearing photographs of natives *which the FLN itself had mutilated*. One whole book of lies about French "atrocities" in Algeria, written by an out-and-out avowed Communist, has been given wide circulation — and favorable newspaper reviews — all over America. (*Including a quite "sympathetic" full-column review on the editorial page of the Boston Herald.* Editor.) While the carefully prepared and exact documentary of the massive

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cruelties and typically Communist terrorism of the FLN, meticulously assembled by the French government, has been barred from the United States mails—in effect, by a request from our government to France not to circulate it here.

This is all just a part of the misinformation and misinterpretation, planted in and by the American press — with the tremendous help of *L'Express*, the slick and slanted French magazine which is the voice of the Mendes-France socialists of the extreme Left — with which Soustelle and his associates have had to contend. Against this barrage of smear and trouble-making he has maintained dignity, intellectual honesty, patriotic determination, and unrivalled industriousness that is a lifelong habit, and a firm humanitarianism.

"If a just policy exists for Algeria," he has written, "it is integration. The equality of rights between Europeans and Moslems requires the renunciation of all racial discrimination, under whatever pretext it may exist. This moral aspiration carries with it a social aspiration as well; the raising of living standards of the groups until now disinherited. This can be done only by the renunciation of their privileges by those who have until now occupied favored positions, and by a great effort on the part of France. Naturally, one cannot reduce integration to a formula that simple, but it is from this initial willingness that the rest must start."

In his memoirs, *For And Against All*, and *Loved And Suffering Algeria*, his policy towards Algeria is set forth with clarity and sincerity. And that

policy is a far cry from the "all or nothing," and "keeping Algeria at any price," to which it was reduced by the *New York Times* of June 15, 1958. In fact, Soustelle himself has once complained of the way his words are so widely twisted: "In twenty speeches and a hundred articles I have tried to make it clear. Yet there are those who pretend not to understand or who confound integration, which I foresee, with assimilation, which I reject."

As early as June 28, 1955, Soustelle summed up the objective which he has supported ever since: "The ethnological, linguistic, and religious identity of Algeria must be and shall be respected, without hindering her taking her place as a true French province in the domains of society, politics, and administration." In such a discussion the question of sovereignty is important. "French sovereignty in Algeria," he wrote, "does not signify the sovereignty of Frenchmen of Algeria, nor of Europeans over Moslems. It signifies that Algeria is a land of French sovereignty where all inhabitants are French citizens with equal rights, participating along constitutional forms in the exercising of French sovereignty."

It is a bold ideal, and a costly but courageous undertaking. Besides all of the normal political and economic obstacles to its achievement — which Soustelle's inspired leadership and determination might be able to overcome — there are three abnormal difficulties to be faced. They are the opposition of the Communists, of the United States Government, and of Senator John Kennedy. Or is that only one?

ANSWERS BY SOUSTELLE

To Questions From Our Readers

Question: According to *Look*, November 25, 1958, you are "the most dangerous man in France." Why do you feel that such an article was written in the United States?

Answer: I am still wondering why. It's a fact, though, that many articles in the—theoretically—anti-Communist press in the States do their best to slander men and movements who are painted as "dangerous." Dangerous for whom? It is enough to cast a glance on the French leftist press to understand that I am dangerous...only for the Communists.

Question: In your opinion is General de Gaulle the most effective leader for France? Why?

Answer: Yes. Because his personal prestige and the faith a large majority of the French put in him enable him to unite a traditionally divided country.

Question: Is the press in France controlled by the government? If so, is control a temporary measure?

Answer: No. During the events of last May the government of M. Pflimlin controlled the press. General de Gaulle's first act was to free the press by suppressing the Censorship. Freedom of the press is by itself a good thing; at the same time it is true that some irresponsible or Communist-inspired newspapers do a lot of harm to France and to the free world.

Question: How long, Mr. Soustelle, have you been helping the de Gaulle Government?

Answer: I have been one of de Gaulle's followers and advisers for the last nineteen years, and a member of his government both in 1945 and 1958.

Question: As a possible settlement to the Algerian situation, would you accept the division of the country with forced separation of the nationalists and colons?

Answer: Partition of Algeria would be what I call a formula of despair. I doubt that a divided Algeria could survive and very much fear that such a division would only lead to a hopeless and atrocity-filled civil war.

Question: Would you favor leaving French troops or even reinforcing these troops in the Western Zone of Berlin if the United States dishonors its commitment and withdraws its forces?

Answer: I prefer not to take into account a hypothesis which casts such a grave doubt on the intentions of the United States government.

Question: Do you favor further withdrawal of or limitation of command of French troops or air and sea forces assigned to the NATO command?

Answer: I am in favor of a thorough reappraisal of the NATO framework of command.

Question: What is the attitude of the French Government toward Algeria? Their attitude towards Tunisia and Indochina appears to me to be different.

Answer: The attitude of the French

Answers By Soustelle

Government toward Algeria and toward Tunisia is different because these two countries are different. Algeria is and for 129 years has been a part of France, and never was nor is a separate nation or state; while Tunisia is a state which was linked to France by a treaty of protectorate.

The Algerians, both of metropolitan or of local origin, are French citizens, with the same rights, and with their own members of Parliament. France cannot let a foreign-led gang of terrorists separate that province from the metropolitan territory any more than any other part of France; nor would the United States yield Texas or Hawaii to an armed minority of killers.

Question: What reasons can you give for the increase in the number of Communist seats in the recent election? (This question referred to the municipal elections in March. Editor)

Answer: The increase in Communist seats in the recent municipal elections reflects a certain amount of dissatisfaction caused by the "austerity" decrees. It has no direct effect on Parliament and even less on government.

Question: What provisions are contained in the new French Constitution that would lead to a more stable government in France?

Answer: The whole constitution makes for a stable government, because it does not allow the Assembly to overthrow the Cabinet except under very strict conditions, and then makes it possible for the President to dissolve the Assembly and call for new elections.

Question: We would like to ask if you think or believe our Government is crazy?

Answer: No answer.

Question: Do you believe in coexistence with Soviet Russia? If not, how do you think we can solve the Berlin situation where we are now coexisting with the Communists?

Answer: We Europeans have coexisted for centuries with the Turkish empire, which sometimes threatened our very existence, until it eventually collapsed. The Berlin situation is an uneasy compromise, as is the whole situation of Germany. We must not permit it to be transformed into a Russian domination, nor can we abandon the free people of West Berlin.

Question: Why is the French Government asking for complete control of the French fleet now under NATO?

Answer: The French Government has asked for complete control of its Mediterranean fleet because we feel that we have heavy responsibilities of our own in that sea, which it is to the ultimate advantage of the free world that we should discharge.

Question: Will the Fifth Republic of France have a gold backed franc?

Answer: The "heavy franc" is defined by a fixed relationship with gold.

Question: Will France declare all Communists traitors? If not, why not?

Answer: Article 4 of the new constitution holds that all parties, in order to be allowed to exist, are subject to certain duties with regard to democracy and the nation. Laws have to be evolved to implement that constitutional provision.

Question: Will de Gaulle fight if attacked by Russian Communists?

Answer: Why, sure!

Answers By Soustelle

Question: You have been quoted as saying: "France is between two giants—Russia, a giant without a heart, and the United States, a giant without brains." In what way would you say the American foreign policy should be conducted if, to paraphrase you, the United States had brains?

Answer: Although I do not take the above quotation as a genuine expression of mine, I wish to answer the second paragraph. It seems to me that, the United States policy being founded on the necessary solidarity of the free world, it should take that necessity into account not only in western Europe but also in the Middle East and Africa.

Question: Would you be prepared to meet a delegation from the FLN and the so-called Algerian Government in Exile to discuss an armistice and constitutional reform leading to independence within a federal status with France, such a meeting to be held in the United States Embassy in Paris? (*This question came from a member of the British House of Commons, as Mr. Soustelle knew.* Editor)

Answer: If empowered by the government to do so, I would meet a delegation from the FLN to discuss a cease-fire. My government's unequivocal position is that no negotiations of a political nature could be held with the so-called "Algerian Government." I do not see any reason why such a meeting should be held in any embassy.

Question: What message from your wide experience can you send which, if widely circulated, might cause a flood of letters to our President and other officials, demanding that we recognize

our friends and treat them as friends and refrain from treating as friends those people who have chosen to be our enemies?

Answer: I would not wish to seem to be interfering with the internal policy of the United States.

Question: Mr. Jacques Soustelle, would you truly help us fight Communism and thus help save Berlin and eventually all Germany and Western Europe? We would truly love you and France for this and pray for many more like you.

Answer: I am glad to have this opportunity to tell a real American citizen that not only myself but many Frenchmen, especially the young generation, are prepared to resist any communist or other totalitarian domination. The fight we have led in Algeria for five years has prevented Communism from rooting itself in North Africa, from where it would have jeopardized the safety of continental Europe. We have shown that we are determined not to yield to any pressure, propaganda, or terrorism, and we will fight on.

Jacques Soustelle

There were far too many questions for Mr. Soustelle to be able to answer them all, without an utterly unreasonable demand on his time. And there were many he did answer which we have not published because they overlapped others, or no longer are as timely as when asked—and because of our own space limitations. But we do believe our selection, and the graciousness and frankness of Mr. Soustelle's replies, will have helped our readers to know better both the man and where he stands.

We Pause To Remark

In December, 1957, a French patrol in Algeria seized a number of papers from a Fellagha unit. Translated, one of these papers read as follows.

Army Of Liberation—Forces Of National Liberation

Command Headquarters of Mintaql in the Department of Oran

From Captain Jabor to the Lieutenants Driss and Lakhdar:

I am sending with Lieutenant Mourad an American journalist. Here are some instructions so that you will make no mistakes in your conversations with him.

This journalist is an American and a colonialist. He is a big journalist with an important job and he has great influence on the American people and his government.

In reality he is against our revolutionary movement; he continues to believe in the French, consequently you must know how to talk to him.

He believes that we are fighting for religious ends. Tell him that we are fighting for independence and against colonialism, that we will not infringe on his beliefs and politics. Say that you are against Communism, that Communism has no influence on the Algerian people. He believes that the Algerian people are with France; you must convince him that they are with us, that the people are the FRONT and that they only say they are with France under pressure. Show him that all the people work; for example, set up guard drills for him, organize activities, even the women. Show him!

If he asks you any questions on how our government shall be formed in the

future, tell him that it will be exclusively Algerian, not Arab or Moslem. Tell him our people shall have liberty of action and shall elect their leaders, that our government will be republican and democratic and that we are not against anyone but against colonialism.

This newspaperman does not have much time. If he goes as far as Outpost 2 see that he does not stay there long. Let him live with the men, but before he meets them tell them how to speak to him and give them lessons on how to act.

The subject of all this solicitude, the newspaperman who was taken on this carefully stage-managed tour, was Joseph Kraft, of the *New York Times*. For the highly favorable report, "I Saw The Algerian Rebels In Action," which he then wrote about these FLN terrorists, published first in the *Saturday Evening Post* and then widely reprinted elsewhere, Joseph Kraft was recently awarded a prize by the Overseas Press Club of New York. At the very moment he was being thus honored, for helping to promote the pretense of the Algerian rebels that they have nothing to do with the Communists, Russia was recruiting Moslem "volunteers" in the Caucasus to aid these rebels, Communist Czechoslovakia was furnishing them arms, Chou En-lai was vowing the support of 650 million Chinese, FLN emissary Omar Oussedik was negotiating for arms in Peking, and twenty young Algerian rebel pilots were already in training in Red China. As Bob Morris has so aptly put it, "no wonder we are losing."

AN INTERESTING LETTER

Oxford University, England
8th May, '59

The Editor
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
Independence Square
Philadelphia 5, Pa., U.S.A.

Sir:

On the premise that the Post for which I have much admiration and affection is dedicated to the pursuit of truth, not to the promotion of a smear, I venture to suggest a misstatement in your issue of 18th April. In his Princeton romance ('Bright Young Boss of Princeton') your contributing editor, Mr. Harold H. Martin, wrote that 'Halton, on the eve of his departure,' observed that 'three individuals in his opinion deserved the title of anti-Christ: Martin Luther, Margaret Sanger, and Robert Goheen.' Neither on the eve of my departure for Oxford not at any time have I conceived or expressed, publicly or privately, such a curiously amusing trinity. However, several months before I said 'Farewell, Sweet Princeton,' a member of the University, in an abortive effort to embarrass me, did invent this howler and inserted it in that section of the gilded press known as THE DAILY PRINCETONIAN. I dealt with the calumny publicly at the time. I think it a pity that Mr. Martin, neglecting his home-work, fell for such obvious nonsense. This kind of irresponsible journalism which you, sir, must deplore does monstrous disservice to the POST and its readers.

I should be delighted to offer you or Harold H. Martin \$1000. for any evidence, suitable for a court, that I made such

An Interesting Letter

a statement. Did I write it or say it? Where and on what date? Name one person who heard me say it. Produce one document in which I wrote it. The alternative ought to be an apology given the same prominence in the *Post* as the original untruth. Even Savonarola has a right to his reputation.

'Anti-Christ,' in my judgment, is the kind of strong expression one ought to reserve for Godless intrinsic evils like Communism, say. Perhaps this is why I took such a firm position on the appearance of Alger Hiss at Princeton in April 1956. *Less than a fortnight after I affirmed that the convicted, unrepentant perjurer stands outside the tradition and has nothing to say to a community engaged in the quest for truth, the Board of Trustees of Princeton University voted my censure.* Robert Goheen is certainly not anti-Christ; but he is, like so many presidents of private schools, a puppet of Trustees. When they pull the strings, he could dance all night. Had he not promised to implement the Trustees' arbitrary decision, dictated in part by the effect of my action on Annual Giving, he might not have been invested as President of Princeton. He knows it, I know it, and that is all that really matters.

The issue at Princeton was and is primarily academic, not religious. When I quote a Princeton professor who has conditioned uncritical undergraduate minds for twenty-five years with the false teaching that Christianity is an opiate and a dream and God a myth and an illusion, and when I quote a Princeton Professor of Art and Archaeology for thirty-eight years who thinks that St. Thomas Aquinas is the Mother of God, I expect President Goheen and the Trustees to come up with a more brilliant or witty expression than academic freedom or an angry insistence that Mrs. Goheen and the children are Catholic. I think it disgraceful that Princeton and the President (and now Mr. Martin) have introduced the quite irrelevant religious belief of Dr. Goheen's family. *I'm concerned with ideas and consequences.* If the President's wife is

An Interesting Letter

Catholic, this is a purely personal matter; if, as heiress to Hercules Powder, she's loaded, I say more power to her; but in the Princeton academic context both blessings are irrelevant. Though perhaps the Trustees are delighted that the President, even as a poor young scholar, was not intolerant of wealth. I could be just as irrelevant and insist that my brother doesn't like very dry martinis, and that my great aunt, who may have been in her heart of hearts a Methusalite, adored kippers. I believe my mother's stole is Russian, her wrist watch conceived by a Calvinist in Genève, and the whole family eats Jaffa oranges from Israel. So what?

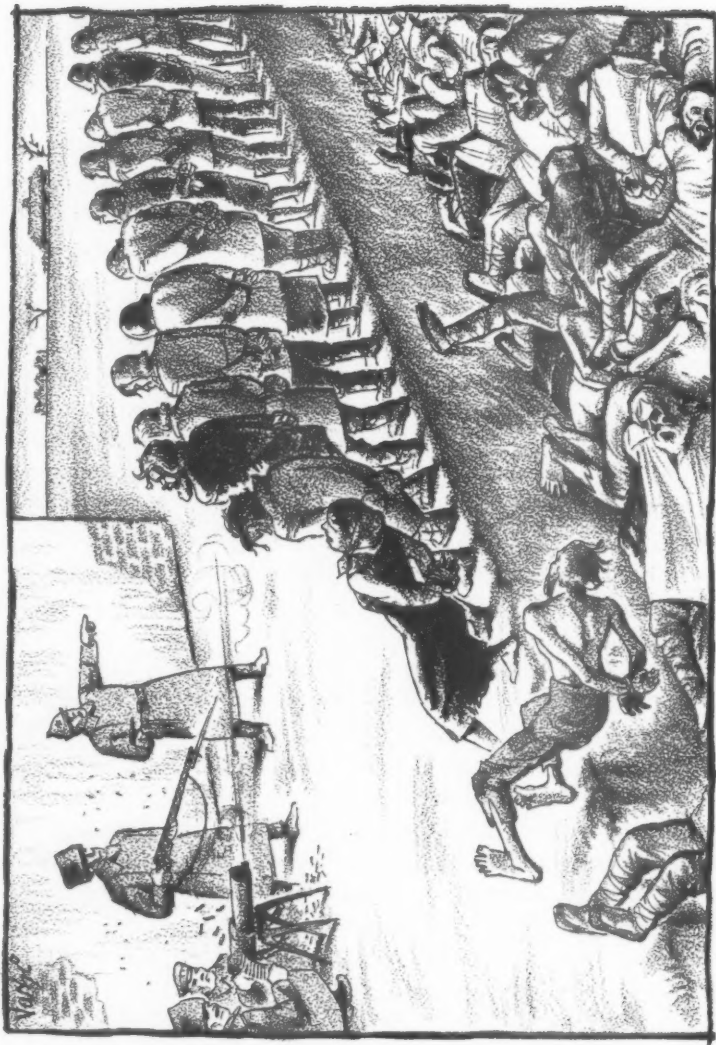
I exposed intellectual mediocrity, moral and political subversion, and intolerable nonsense in the groves of Princeton's academic Wonderland. This was my sin for which the University had no absolution: I put Truth before Togetherness. Less than 72 hours after the announcement of my honorary degree in reverse, I issued 24 pages of summary documentation to more than 45 members of the press. Within 6 months a half million copies were in print. Shame on Mr. Martin for a third-rate research job. A freshman at Princeton would be advised to go to Yale for less than that.

I did learn from the essay in the *Post* that Dr. Goheen's father 'believed that thoughts could be transmitted to the subconscious mind during sleep, and (that) he would sometimes pass through the children's ward in his hospital, gently admonishing the sleeping youngsters not to wet the bed.' If it isn't too late, would somebody at the *Post* be good enough to read this letter, gently, over and over again to a nodding Harold Martin? Had he matched 'Savonarola's zeal for reform' with a similar enthusiasm for accurate reporting, he too might have been spared embarrassment.

(Signed) *Father Hugh Halton, O.P.*

Father Hugh Halton, O.P., M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon)

In Place Of A Thousand Words



Coexistence, Final Stage

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

Our title for this feature is, admittedly, something of a misnomer this month. The book reviews have not been floated in a running stream of comment concerning the present state of production or criticism in this best of all possible writers' worlds. If the same contributor, kindly pinch-biting herewith, begins turning out this section regularly for us, we are going to have to change either its form or his. Postponing that day of decision, we offer you this time simply some excellent book reviews, by the one and only Dr. J. B. Matthews.

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM. *Germany and the East-West Crisis: The Decisive Challenge to American Policy*. Pp. 237. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1959. \$3.75.

William S. Schlamm's qualifications for writing this book are of the highest order. Equally at home in the cultures of the Old World and the New, Mr. Schlamm has brought insights gained from first-hand experience to the writing of *Germany and the East-West Crisis*. His career as editor and journalist in both Central Europe and the United States has extended over a whole generation and is matched by few, if any, of his contemporaries in the field of social and political criticism.

In addition to its profound analyses of the world crisis toward which we are now drifting, Mr. Schlamm's book possesses the timeliness of tomorrow morning's newspapers.

Anyone who wishes to invest with new meaning the day-by-day headlines of the news dispatches out of Geneva, Berlin, and Moscow will make haste to buy and read this impassioned plea from the pen of William S. Schlamm.

It is the perfect antidote to Walter Lippmann, George F. Kennan, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. For a brand new and winning American policy *vis-a-vis* the Communist threat, time is running out; and, Mr. Schlamm laments, it may already be too late.

Mr. Schlamm makes it eloquently clear that the so-called free world confronts the daily peril that Washington, with its ignorance of Communist strategy, may enter into some binding agreement with the Kremlin which will amount to the ultimate error.

Basic in Mr. Schlamm's program for the survival of the West is that the United States shall not for any *quid pro quo* barter away all or any part of the strategic advantage accruing from the unconditional possession of its nuclear weapons. From that proposition, it naturally follows that the West must become "*believably* willing to fight a war if there is no other way to stop and turn back the advance of communism." Corollary thereto is a complete about-face by Mr. Eisenhower: there must be no more speeches in which he says that "war is unthinkable."

Mr. Schlamm notes the existence of

A Review Of Reviews

a "massive conspiracy of the world's nuclear scientists" aiming at atomic disarmament by both sides in the Cold War. No other propaganda campaign in Soviet history has ever been so intensively and extensively conducted by Soviet agents.

On January 13, 1958, Professor Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winner from the California Institute of Technology, handed the secretary-general of the United Nations a petition signed by 9,253 scientists of forty-four nations, demanding the cessation of all nuclear-weapons testing. At the head of this impressive procession was the venerable medical missionary, Albert Schweitzer. Full Soviet approval of this propaganda project was indicated beyond any doubt by the fact that the largest single bloc of signers among the 9,253 scientists was that of Iron-Curtain Rumania which numbered 2,749. The Soviet Academy of Sciences was represented by 216 signers.

In the United States today, this massive campaign is carried on by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, among whose leadership we find Professor Linus Pauling. This Sane Nuclear Policy Committee is a united front organization composed of pacifists, assorted socialists, clergymen, social workers, liberals, fellow travelers, and Communists. The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has branches in all the major cities of the United States, with more than seventy neighborhood committees in New York City alone.

Anti-Communists, Mr. Schlamm points out, fear the negotiation of an East-West pact which calls for atomic disarmament on the ground that the Communist governments could not be

trusted to live up to such an agreement. On the contrary, Mr. Schlamm believes that such an East-West treaty could be the exception to the rule of Soviet violation of its solemn treaty obligations and that, for once, the Soviet government would observe its treaty commitments to the last jot and tittle.

By the faithful honoring of an atomic disarmament treaty, and with the West's atomic hands tied, the Soviet imperialists would be freed of all the restraints imposed upon them by the West's nuclear weapons; and all of Europe would then sink "unavoidably under the gigantic weight of a 'conventional' Soviet army." Mr. Schlamm states that Soviet superiority in battle-ready divisions on the European continent is at the ratio of 24 to 1. The present balance of power which is the sole deterrent against the ambitions of the Soviet imperialists is a balance which would disappear in the twinkling of an eye, if and when nuclear weapons were outlawed by an East-West multilateral treaty. Khrushchev, or his successor, relying on his gigantic superiority in "conventional" military power, would be in a position to blackmail his way across Europe to the shores of the Atlantic—NATO or no NATO. Mr. Schlamm demolishes the NATO concept of Western defense, with or without the outlawry of nuclear bombs.

Starry-eyed liberals have spent a large part of their time and writing during the past forty-one years in expectations and predictions that the Soviets were about to have a change of heart with respect to the fundamentals of expansionism and world conquest. It has never been difficult for the Communist conspirators to feed the liberal illusion that the Soviet change of heart was just

A Review Of Reviews

around the corner. With the Soviet signature on an atomic disarmament treaty, the pious pacifists and the not-so-pious scientists-turned-politicians could be expected to proclaim to all the world that the day-dream of peaceful coexistence had finally become a reality.

Mr. Schlamm is fully aware that one of the most exasperating phenomena of the present period is the fact that the operating personnel of the Communist-line apparatus includes men and women of good will. Their influence in the formation of pro-Soviet public opinion is directly proportionate to their reputations for piety, or so the Communist high command believes and hopes. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, their motivations—good, bad, or indifferent—are wholly irrelevant.

Many anti-Communists shy away from mentioning the names of allegedly innocent non-Communists who support the objectives of the world conspiracy. The shyness of such anti-Communists is due in many instances to their failure adequately to comprehend the seriousness of the Communist threat which, in Mr. Schlamm's view, is second to none in the history of the human race. Rejecting this softness of method, Mr. Schlamm does not draw back from the unpleasant necessity of describing the roles of Albert Schweitzer and John C. Bennett as leading figures in the undermining of the morale of the West. In fact, he dedicates a chapter of *Germany and the East-West Crisis* to the Rev. Prof. John C. Bennett, Dean of Union Theological Seminary and representative spokesman for a large section of the Protestant clergy in the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches.

Mr. Schlamm challenges Professor

Bennett on the latter's home ground; namely, that of the moral imperative. With respect to the hierarchy of moral values, Professor Bennett is a highly disturbing reflection of a strong trend in Protestant Christianity. In a recent address to the International Congregational Council, Professor Bennett said: "We should put the prevention of general war ahead of the defeat of communist power, and a real acceptance of coexistence ahead of victory in the cold war." Concealed in this proposal of the eminent theologian are an announcement of surrender to moral defeatism and the acceptance of world conquest by the Soviet imperialists. Professor Bennett's intentions are beside the point; what counts is what he said. Mr. Schlamm is entirely correct in saying that the National Council of Churches, for which Professor Bennett speaks, is "without much doubt one of the three or four most powerful political lobbies in the nation."

Such are some of the obstacles which lie athwart the path of the West's ultimate victory over the Communist East. Mr. Schlamm's prescription for the dangerously ailing West must be filled without delay or the patient will be beyond help.

If, in some way, Mr. Schlamm's historic document could receive the attention it merits, it might make all the difference in the world.

JULES DUBOIS. *Fidel Castro*. Pp. 391. Indianapolis, New York: The New Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1959. \$5.00.

Fidel Castro by Jules Dubois will come as a shock to those who think of the Chicago *Tribune* as a journal of

A Review Of Reviews

solid conservatism. Jules Dubois is the great newspaper's Latin-American correspondent.

As a press agent for Cuba's new dictator, Dubois is second only to Herbert L. Matthews of the *New York Times*. When he was in New York some weeks ago receiving the plaudits of a Spanish speaking mob, Castro bestowed a medal upon Dubois — a dubious honor for services rendered.

The Dubois book was obviously thrown together in great haste for the purpose of capitalizing on Castro's current publicity. Unfortunately for Dubois' purpose, every day's news out of Cuba makes his book more and more ridiculous.

To a large extent, *Fidel Castro* is a compilation of quotations from speeches, manifestoes, and proclamations of the author's hero. Page after page is filled with the oratorical ranting of the youthful demagogue. To be exact, there are 161 full pages of quotations.

For every misdeed, outrage, and brutality which Castro has perpetrated, Dubois has a ready excuse.

When Castro exhibited complete contempt for his own earlier commitments to constitutional processes, Dubois offers "the lack of sufficient sleep" as an alibi. For his singular originality, Dubois deserves a medal. The judgments against Batista might have been softened if his sleeping habits had been investigated.

In another instance, Dubois quotes Castro as saying "we executed a ranch foreman who had accused tenant farmers and peasants of being pro-rebel, and who had increased the holdings of his landlord from ten acres to four hundred acres by taking the land of those he denounced." There are two things

wrong in this picture. In the first place, "tenant farmers" do not own the land on which they work. It is, therefore, impossible for a landlord to increase his "holdings" by taking what already belongs to him. In the second place, a landlord who owns only ten acres can hardly be described as rich. Nevertheless, Dubois comments on Castro's action, as follows: "Thus Castro was to become the Robin Hood of the Sierra Maestra and was to pursue later the same policy of taking from the rich to give to the poor." Taking from the rich to give to the poor and executing the hired help of the so-called rich may better be described as grand larceny and murder, which are typical acts of the Communists. Comparisons with Robin Hood do not acquit Castro of his crimes.

Kidnapping, which is punishable by death in the United States, is downgraded by Jules Dubois to "a psychological *faux pas*" — when United States military personnel and civilians are snatched by Castro. Furthermore, the kidnapping was a "stunt" of Brother Raul which, according to Dubois, relieves Brother Fidel of all responsibility for the crime.

With respect to the all-important question of whether Fidel and Raul Castro are Communists or not, Dubois says that he asked both of them and both categorically denied that they are Communists; and that is the sole evidence which Dubois presents. Most certainly Dubois is not naive; but with equal certainty he is relying on the naivete of his readers when he asks them to accept the denials of the Castro brothers as competent evidence. When Dubois questioned Raul Castro about his participation in a Communist Youth

A Review Of Reviews

Congress in Vienna and about other trips behind the Iron Curtain, Raul answered that he liked to travel.

Dubois' treatment of the case of Ernesto De la Fe reveals much with respect to the question of Communists in the Castro reign of terror. In the summer of 1954, De la Fe resigned from the Batista cabinet over the issue of Communist infiltration of the government, the labor unions, and other institutions of Cuban society. Before the end of that year, De la Fe had assumed the duties of secretary-general of a Latin-American anti-Communist organization. This reviewer has ample documentary proof of the foregoing statements concerning De la Fe. Dubois states that a Cuban newspaper columnist was arrested and "almost tortured to death" while De la Fe was a member of Batista's cabinet, implying that De la Fe was in some way responsible for the atrocity. Dubois says that De la Fe had "lately" become secretary-general of an anti-Communist organization. Admittedly, the word "lately" is somewhat ambiguous, but hardly enough so to cover a period of more than four years. On June 1, 1959, one of Castro's military courts sentenced De la Fe to a prison term of fifteen years. Such is the fate of Latin America's most distinguished anti-Communist under the Castro dictatorship.

LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH. *Torch of Liberty*. Pp. 448. New York: Dwight-King, Publishers, Inc., 1959. 5.00.

This is a unique book whose extraordinary character is due to the uniquely successful nature of the organization whose history it purports to trace. It is

a book about a Communist organization, written from the Communist viewpoint. Nothing like it has ever before been published.

The author, Louise Pettibone Smith, is Professor Emeritus of Wellesley College. From 1915 until 1953, Professor Smith was a member of the Department of Biblical History at Wellesley. *Torch of Liberty* is her account of the first twenty-five years of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as seen through the eyes of one of the most active Communist collaborators in this country. For the past eight years, Professor Smith has served as honorary co-chairman of the ACPFB, and has travelled widely throughout the United States to promote the interests of this unique Communist apparatus.

No other unit of the Communist network has a record of comparable effectiveness. Few Communist organizations last longer than five years. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has passed its twenty-fifth birthday and is still going strong.

On April 22, 1953, the Attorney General of the United States filed a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order to require the ACPFB to register as a Communist-front organization. More than four years later, the Subversive Activities Control Board issued a "recommended decision," written by Hearing Examiner Edward M. Morrissey whose conclusion reads as follows: "... the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party of the United States. . ." Mr. Morrissey's conclusion, based on the voluminous testimony of many witnesses, was one which

A Review Of Reviews

could have been reached by any unbiased citizen twenty years earlier. The Dies Committee, in fact, received and published testimony in August, 1938, naming the ACPFB as a Communist organization.

Despite the Dies Committee evidence, or perhaps because of it, President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent the following greeting to the ACPFB on March 2, 1940: "On the occasion of its Fourth Annual Conference, I am glad to greet the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born . . . Every American wishes it success." In pretending to speak for "every American," Roosevelt told a deliberate lie.

On October 28, 1944, more than ten years after the ACPFB was launched on its subversive course, the organization received messages of greeting from General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vice President Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, and United States Senator Robert F. Wagner.

In her *Torch of Liberty*, Professor Louise Pettibone Smith records these

and other long forgotten facts which go far toward indicating the route by which we have travelled in reaching the present precarious position we occupy *vis-a-vis* the international Communist threat.

In the course of its twenty-five-year history of subversion, the ACPFB has received the public support of nineteen United States senators and thirty members of the United States House of Representatives. Among the individuals who have been affiliated with the organization, there have been 302 educators including 33 presidents of colleges, universities, and theological seminaries. Protestant clergymen affiliated with the ACPFB number 205; writers 105; labor union officials 102; and lawyers 168. This is a record unequalled by any other Communist organization.

The names of several hundred of these affiliated individuals are listed in Professor Smith's *Torch of Liberty*. The book is obviously an important addition to the original sources of the Communist movement.

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COMMITTEE AGAINST SUMMIT ENTANGLEMENTS

385 CONCORD AVENUE

BELMONT 78, MASSACHUSETTS

June 17, 1959

Dear Fellow American:

The first formal mailing by this committee was sent out on May 28. The response, immediate, enthusiastic, and widespread, is now beginning to gather real momentum.

As stated in our first letter, we are appealing to every man and woman who believes in the inevitably disastrous results, for our country and for the remaining free world, of "summit" concessions and entanglements.

The fifty thousand petitions we have mailed out to date should serve only as seed corn. With the help of every patriot we can reach directly, in sowing these petitions far and wide, we can harvest such a crop of signatures as it will be impossible to ignore. And we can present a powerful front of

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Robert Welch

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W. J. Bryan Dorn
Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd
Franklin Farrel, Jr.
Dorothy B. Frankston
J. H. Gipsen, Sr.

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Now is the time to make your own opposition visible and effective. Put these petitions into the hands of as many others as you can, and urge everybody to get them filled out with signatures and mailed back to us as promptly as possible. We'll see that they reach Washington in a dignified and respectful manner, but with dramatic impact.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

Kenneth W. Colegrove
 Martin J. Condon, III
 W. J. Bryan Dorn
 Pierre S. du Pont, 3rd
 Franklin Farrel, Jr.
 Dorothy B. Frankston
 J. H. Gipson, Sr.
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 Gordon H. Scherer
 T. G. W. Settle
 Wint Smith
 Robert B. Snowden
 Suzanne Silvercruys Stevenson
 George H. Williamson

CONFETTI

We have just heard about a family in Texas that is having a terrible time getting any water for the household. They keep digging wells, but no matter where they dig nothing comes up but oil.

* * *

The following inscription is said to be on a cemetery stone, which is said to be in Aurora Falls. We don't know where Aurora Falls is, and we guarantee nothing, but we do like the epitaph:

"Sacred to the memory of Jared Bates. His widow aged 24 lives at 7 Elm Street, has every qualification for a good wife, and yearns to be comforted."

* * *

And then there was the woman who bought fifty pounds of steel wool? Says she's going to knit a stove.

* * *

Message inside a Chinese fortune cookie: "Please disregard previous cookie."

* * *

Doctor, to patient's wife: "I don't like the looks of your husband."

Wife: "I don't either, but he's all that was available."

* * *

A bewildered man entered a ladies specialty shop and told the salesgirl:

"I want a corset for my wife."

"What bust?" the girl asked.

"Nothing," replied the man. "It just wore out."

* * *

One blistering hot day when they had guests, a mother asked her four-year-old son to say the blessing. "But, Mother, I don't know what to say," he protested.

"Oh, just say what you've heard me say," she told him.

Obediently he bowed his little head and said: "Oh, Lord, why did I invite these people here on a hot day like this?"

Lost in one of London's famous fogs, an American tourist finally heard footsteps. He called out: "Could you please tell me where I'm going?"

"Into the canal," replied an unhappy voice from the mist. "I've just come out."

* * *

An actress at a cocktail party, seeing an authoress whom she disliked, went over to congratulate her on her latest book.

"I enjoyed it, my dear," the actress cooed. "Who wrote it for you?"

"Darling!" the authoress cooed in return. "I'm so glad you liked it. Who read it to you?"

* * *

A fellow who owned a ranch out west was thrown from a horse, which resulted in a trip to the hospital. A few days later one friend asked another: "Did old Bill finally get all right?"

"Well, no" replied the second. "He ain't all right, but he's back like he used to be."

* * *

Two fleas had just finished a hard day at the circus. Said one: "Shall we hop home, or take a dog?"

* * *

Capper's Weekly tells about the missionary who was traveling alone through the jungle when he met a huge lion. Flight was hopeless. He fell to his knees in anxious prayer. A few moments later he was greatly comforted to see the lion on its knees beside him.

"Dear Brother," said the relieved missionary, "how delightful it is to join you in prayer when a moment ago I feared for my life."

"Don't interrupt," said the lion tersely. "I always say grace before a meal."

Please, Mr. President, Don't Go

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Cut or fold and tear, along this line

These pocket petitions are issued by the

Committee Against Summit Entanglements

The Committee respectfully petitions the President of the United States not to attend a "summit conference" with the tyrants of the Kremlin, for the following reasons.

1. It will further increase Soviet prestige.
2. It will further discourage, and weaken the will to resist, of anti-Communists everywhere.
3. It will play right into the hands of all of the appeasement-minded politicians, and weaken the position of the firm anti-Communist statesmen, in all the governmental circles of the remaining free world.
4. The results of the last "summit conference" have proved to be huge gains for the Soviets, and huge losses for the anti-Communist forces. We should be guided by this experience.
5. Experience has further and fully demonstrated that any agreements which the Soviets do make will be ignored or broken, as soon as it suits their convenience.
6. The only questions raised or discussed will be as to *how far* we will give in to Soviet demands. Under such conditions we have all to lose and nothing to gain.
7. The President of the United States is seriously handicapped, in bargaining in any such conference with a man like Khrushchev. The President's commitments are not final, but must later be ratified by the Senate, as is well known to the Soviet Premier, who can himself speak with dictatorial authority.
8. It is an unconstitutional way for an American President to conduct foreign affairs. Treaties must be entered into with the *advice* and *consent* of the Senate. Even if retroactive consent is later obtained, both Senate and Executive are violating the Constitution as to the *advice* of the Senate during the negotiations.
9. Syngman Rhee is correct that "what is morally wrong can never be politically right." It is morally wrong to fraternize with murderers.
10. And Jacques Soustelle is correct that, when dealing with the Soviets, always or on any issue, "to negotiate is to surrender."

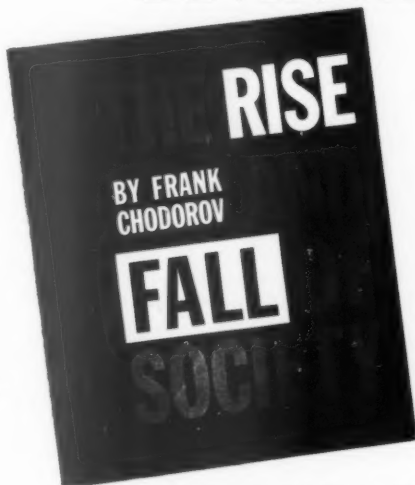
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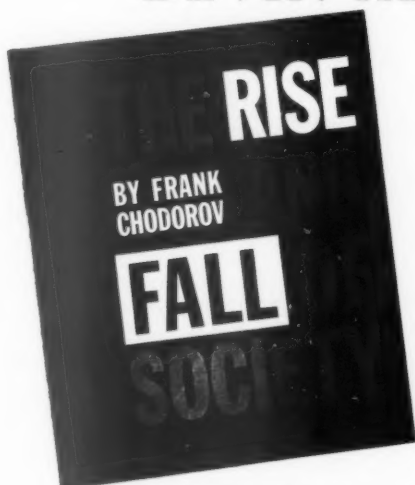
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The Untold Story of Panama

United States citizens have on their hands a continuing struggle to keep control of the lifeline of their national defense and the backbone of their ocean commerce—the United States-built and United States-owned Panama Canal.

Nasser set a pattern for canal seizure at Suez in 1956. Although legally inapplicable to the Panama Canal, the Nasser example of expropriation delighted Panamanian radicals.

Seriousness of the situation at the Isthmus was brought home to the United States by the Nixon incidents in Lima and Caracas in May, 1958 and by almost coincident outbreaks of wild disorders in Panama, with defiant challenging of United States sovereignty over the Canal Zone, preceded by a Panamanian flag-waving "invasion" of the Zone heralded to the world as "Operation Sovereignty."

The mounting crises since 1956 demand that the whole story of Panama be told. For, without knowledge of that history, neither North Americans nor Panamanians can reach sound and just conclusions as to their rights, responsibilities and obligations when the recurring problems of the Isthmian area demand solution.

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