

AMERICAN OPINION

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AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume II Number 8

SEPTEMBER 1959

50¢

AMERICAN OPINION

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August 8, 1959

Dear Reader:

The front cover of the August 5 issue of *Der Spiegel* (which some people insult by calling it the German *Time*) is a picture of our Associate Editor, William Schlam.

The news weekly gives nine pages to an interview with Mr. Schlam and a discussion of his book, *Germany and the East-West Crisis*, which was published in Germany on June 10, under the title of *Die Grenzen des Wunders—The Limits Of The Miracle*. For the record-breaking rise of the book has been far more spectacular than Mr. Schlam found it necessary to mention in his current article for our pages. Not only is *Die Grenzen des Wunders* already the best-selling non-fiction volume in Germany since the war; in both sales, and the speed with which such enormous readership has been obtained, the book probably represents the greatest success story in German publishing history.

Not even the contemptible "silent treatment" given the American edition of Mr. Schlam's work, by pro-Communist influences within most of our press, can now keep this book, coming just at this time, from having a palpable anti-Communist influence on European thought—and decisions—during the months ahead. And of course we are almost as proud and pleased as Mr. Schlam himself must be. For it was his writing for our magazine that kept him in Europe during all of 1958, and enabled him to gather the material for his own particular miracle.

Also, we are glad to have this support for our frequent assurances to our readers about Mr. Schlam's knowledge and insight. We feel that the most penetrating analyses of what is really happening in Western Europe, being published anywhere in America today, are William Schlam's *European Surveys* appearing regularly in AMERICAN OPINION.

We suggest that you turn to Page 11.

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*

June - July, 1959

June 1 - June 7

→ The Government of Iraq renounces United States military aid terminating the assistance agreement of 1954.

→ Former President Harry S. Truman suggests that Khrushchev visit Washington, "the sooner the better."

→ The Swiss Government warns the East German Communist delegation to the Geneva Conference that the conference facilities must no longer be used for Communist propaganda purposes.

→ The West German Government announces its fear that the western allies may accept in Geneva a "standstill solution" of the Berlin crisis that is "not specifically tied to Germany's reunification."

→ Abdul Haris Nasution, Indonesian Army Chief of Staff, bans all political activity in Indonesia.

→ W. Averell Harriman declares that Soviet labor camps are "things of the past."

→ Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Vice Chancellor of West Germany, arrives in Washington.

→ The United States State Department officially condemns the expulsion of Nationalist China from the International Olympic Committee.

→ The British Governor of Singapore agrees to the conditions laid down by

the pro-Communist People's Action Party for forming a government.

→ President Eisenhower declares that a "summit meeting" hinges on acceptance by the Soviet Government of Western rights in Berlin. At the same time the foreign ministers of Britain, France, and the United States indicate in Geneva that the three countries are ready "to freeze troop strength in Berlin."

→ The Organization of American States refuses help to Nicaragua, which is reported to be endangered by an invasion of rebel forces supported by Cuba.

→ Violent rioting breaks out in Ecuador.

→ The Governments of the United States and Britain express "their concern" over the intention of West Germany's *Bundestag* to hold the election of West Germany's next President in West Berlin.

→ Dr. Konrad Adenauer announces his decision not to accept the Presidency of West Germany, as his party demanded from him, but to retain the Chancellorship in the face of the fast increasing dangers for his country's position.

→ The Israeli Government protests against Egypt's refusal to permit a Danish ship carrying an Israeli cargo to pass through the Suez Canal.

→ Premier Nobusuke Kishi's pro-western Government emerges as victor in

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the Japanese elections by winning 132 of 250 parliamentary seats.

→ George Meany, President of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., declares his support for Senator John F. Kennedy's views and legislation proposals on labor.

→ Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev arrives on a "brotherly visit" in Budapest.

→ The Senate confirms the nomination of Ogden R. Reid to be Ambassador to Israel.

→ An editorial in the Moscow newspaper "Pravda" discloses "there is already an agreement on holding a summit conference between the governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and France."

→ Purshottam Trikamdas, General Secretary of India's Commission of Jurists, announces that 65,000 Tibetans have been killed by the Chinese Communist invaders.

→ Fidel Castro's police chief announces in Santiago, Cuba, that "a counter-revolutionary plot against the Government" has been smashed.

→ The United States Atomic Energy Commission raises "strenuous technical objections" to the "compromise inspection plan" offered by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan "for breaking the stalemate over an atomic test ban."

June 8 - June 14

→ The Western delegations in Geneva indicate that there is no hope of reaching even a formal agreement with the Soviet Union at the present conference. Dr. Adenauer suggests a four-week suspension of the Geneva negotiations.

→ On his return to Bonn from Washington Dr. Ludwig Erhard declares he intends to wage an open fight for the leadership of his party against Dr. Adenauer. On his part, Adenauer remains in full control of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, in spite of widespread discomfort over his determination to stay at the helm.

→ The elections in Sicily result in unbroken strength of the Communist Party that retains a controlling position in electing the next provincial government. In spite of Vatican intervention that forcefully argued against Catholic politicians who are willing to accept Communist support, Silvio Milazzo's "Sicilian Christian Social Union" wins enough seats from the Christian Democrats to form a Sicilian administration with Communist support.

→ Speaking for the British Government, David Ormsby-Gore of the Foreign Office urges a "summit conference" to break the deadlock of the negotiations aimed at banning nuclear weapon tests.

→ Senator J. W. Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, recommends a "summit conference."

→ French President Charles de Gaulle warns against efforts within his own administration "to maneuver" French policies in Algeria and announces that "steps will be taken against them."

→ The Egyptian Air Force reports that two Israeli planes violating the United Arab Republic's airspace over Sinai were driven off by an Egyptian air patrol.

→ Premier Fidel Castro declares that

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his Government will "never retreat an inch" on its Agrarian Reform Law.

→ The official Soviet Press Agency *Tass* reports that Nikita Khrushchev and the Communist leaders of East Germany have reached "complete unanimity of views" on the questions of Berlin and "reunification."

→ The House Republican Policy Committee, in an open split with the White House, endorses H.R. 3, a broad states' rights bill aimed at curbing the powers of the Supreme Court.

→ Dr. Wernher von Braun of the United States Army Ballistic Missile Agency warns against American complacency in competing with Soviet rocketry and missile developments.

→ A fifty-five-day strike of the United Rubber Workers against the B.F. Goodrich Company in Akron, Ohio, ends with a compromise.

→ The French Government publishes a decree "requisitioning" the services of 175,000 employees of the nationalized French railroads who threatened to strike.

→ General Anastasio Somoza Debayle of Nicaragua charges that Fidel Castro of Cuba "helped personally to work out a cold-blooded master plan for the rebel invasion of Nicaragua."

→ The Bonn Ministry of Defense announces that the Soviet Union is keeping twenty combat divisions in East Germany, in addition to the 830,000 East Germans who have received or are receiving complete military training.

→ Adlai E. Stevenson announces that he will "not be a nominee" of the Democratic Party for President a third time.

June 15 - June 21

→ After receiving "a final" offer of Western concessions concerning West Berlin, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko rejects all further negotiations at Geneva for the time being. The deadlocked talks are recessed till July 13, evidently because the Soviet Union hopes to maneuver the Western powers, after a generally conceded failure of Foreign Ministers conferences, into a "summit meeting" of heads of states.

→ The Western terms on which the United States would be willing to settle the Berlin issue are reported to be: (1) the West would reduce troop strength in Berlin; (2) propaganda and anti-Communist activities directed from West Berlin by the allies would be restricted; (3) the West would recognize the East German regime "as agents of the Soviet Union" in controlling access to West Berlin. In return, the West would expect a Soviet guarantee of Western access to West Berlin. The fact that Gromyko rejected even these far-reaching Western offers indicates a considerable stiffening of the global Soviet position.

→ Graham Parsons, confirmed by the Senate to be Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern affairs, is accused by the House Government Operations Committee of having abetted, as Ambassador to Laos, the "railroading" of a Government auditor who was "close to discovering" mismanagement of foreign aid and bribery in the United States Embassy in Laos.

→ Dr. Heinrich Luebke, 64-year-old West German Minister of Agriculture, is nominated by the Christian Democratic Party to become President of the

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Bundesrepublik instead of Dr. Konrad Adenauer.

→ The Red Sea kingdom of Yemen is reported in the grip of an army uprising.

→ Impressed by the Government's determination, the French railroad unions call off their threatened strike.

→ The Moscow radio praises British Premier Macmillan's recent speeches as deeds of "positive significance."

→ The United States Defense Department discloses that two MIG jet fighters with Communist markings attacked a United States Navy Patrol plane over international waters of the Sea of Japan.

→ The Rev. Dr. Billy Graham, on his return from Moscow, declares that, though he hates Communism, he "loves the moral purity he found among the Muscovites."

→ President Eisenhower announces his eagerness to meet with President de Gaulle in an effort to resolve French-American differences over Western strategy.

→ Eamon de Valera resigns as Prime Minister of Ireland and is elected President.

→ Tens of thousands of Berliners join in a West Berlin mass demonstration to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the anti-Communist uprising of East German workers.

→ United States personal income rises to a record annual rate of 376 billion dollars.

→ Senator Paul H. Douglas tells the Senate that 721 high-ranking retired

United States officers are on the pay rolls of top defense contractors.

→ The Senate rejects the nomination of Admiral Lewis L. Strauss to be Secretary of Commerce by a vote of forty-nine to forty-six.

→ Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip begin a six-weeks tour of Canada.

→ Governor Earl K. Long of Louisiana is committed to a state mental hospital.

→ Ethel Barrymore, the American theater's first lady, dies at the age of seventy-nine.

→ Dr. Ludwig Erhard, West Germany's Minister of the Economy, declares "I cannot continue my work" unless the "insults" Dr. Adenauer was allegedly uttering "cease."

→ President Arturo Frondizi seeks support of his military ministers against a conspiracy in the Argentine armed forces to overthrow his government.

→ The House of Representatives increases the national debt limit, on President Eisenhower's request, by 7 billion to 295 billion dollars.

→ The Dalai Lama asserts that Communist China is engaged in exterminating the Tibetan race and the culture and religion of his country.

→ High officers at the United States Naval Base of Yokosuka, Japan, announce that United States patrol flights in Far Eastern waters will continue without protection by fighter cover or the arming of the reconnaissance planes themselves.

→ Britain's eighty-five provincial dailies suspend publication because of a wage dispute with the printers' unions.

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→ A high French official declares that the United States can have missile bases and atomic stockpiles on French territory provided France is given a voice in all decisions on the use of nuclear weapons anywhere in the world.

June 22 - June 28

→ On his return from Geneva, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter reports to the nation that the Soviet Union's goal is to absorb first West Berlin and then all of Germany into the Communist world.

→ Dr. Konrad Adenauer emerges from the most serious intra-party crisis of his career with unimpaired control over the West German Government. Dr. Erhard pledges his continued support for Adenauer.

→ Eastern Europe's Communist countries expect more than fifty thousand American tourists this summer to pump more than fifty million dollars into the Communist economies.

→ Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Portuguese Prime Minister, resumes total control over all national affairs, ending several months of political unrest in Portugal.

→ The Dominican Government announces that a Cuban-supported invasion force against the Dominican Republic was crushed in an "inferno of fire."

→ Prime Minister Harold Macmillan expresses to the House of Commons his "hopes" that the Geneva developments will lead to "a meeting of heads of government."

→ Dr. Klaus Emil Julius Fuchs, who passed vital atomic secrets to the Soviet Union while working in British nuclear research during and after the war, is released from prison in Wakefield, Yorkshire, and flies immediately to East Germany.

→ President Charles de Gaulle, on a state visit to Italy, bids Italy join a Mediterranean alliance to include France, Spain, and Morocco.

→ Spain receives a United States loan of 190 million dollars in return for guarantees of "serious" economic reform.

→ Sean Lemass is elected Prime Minister of Ireland.

→ India, Burma, and the United Arab Republic join a Soviet move in the United Nations to deny Nationalist China its seat in the UN Trusteeship Council.

→ The publishing house of the Communist Polish Defense Ministry puts out General Eisenhower's "Crusade in Europe" in an official Polish edition.

→ W. Averell Harriman has a lengthy conference with Khrushchev in Moscow.

→ United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld announces a new attempt to settle the dispute between Israel and the United Arab Republic.

→ The Communist Party of Venezuela wins more than one-third of the vote cast in the election of the governing council of the Caracas University.

→ A House coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats passes a broad states' rights bill by a vote of 225 to 192.

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→ The Administration asks Congress to approve permanent legislative authorization for foreign military aid instead of the present annual authorizations.

→ In spite of United States Army recommendations to keep a 1,000,000-men force, the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for Defense approves of the Administration's plea to reduce the Army to 870,000 men.

→ The retiring Chief of Staff, General Maxwell D. Taylor, announces that frustration in his efforts to modernize the Army made him decide to retire as an "obsolescent" general.

→ Italy's Foreign Minister Giuseppe Pella declares that Italy would do "everything to strengthen the West's determination to reach an accord with the Soviets."

→ Georgi P. Arkadyev, head of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations, demands that the Soviet Union be given from 137 to 183 posts of chief officials in the United Nations instead of the present 35.

→ Hawaiians give a 16 to 1 vote of approval to make their islands the fiftieth State.

→ Secretary of Defense Neil H. McElroy concedes that the United States is considerably behind schedule in perfecting a combat-ready intercontinental missile, as the Atlas has failed in five consecutive test firings.

→ About thirty-five retired Foreign Service officers, mostly former United States Ambassadors, express in a report to the Senate highly critical views of United States foreign policy.

→ Pope John XXIII pledges the full support of the Catholic Church for the regime of French President de Gaulle.

→ Cuba's representative at the United Nations announces his country will ask for United Nations action in support of rebels in the Dominican Republic.

→ Honduran troops clash with rebels intent on invading Nicaragua from Honduras.

June 29 - July 5

First Soviet Deputy Premier Frol R. Kozlov arrives in the United States to open the Soviet exhibition at New York's Coliseum and to engage in private negotiations with Administration leaders. He is most cordially received by President Eisenhower and important business leaders on his tour throughout the United States.

→ Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, declares in his official evaluation of the Geneva Conference that the Western powers have been forced to recognize the *de facto* existence of Communist East Germany.

→ Israeli Premier David Ben-Gurion defends his Government's decision to sell Israeli-manufactured arms to West Germany.

→ The State Department releases cables that former United States Ambassador Lawrence A. Steinhardt sent in November 1940 to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, according to which former Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov negotiated in 1940 with the Hitler regime "territorial acquisitions" of Finland, the Black Sea area, eastern Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and undisclosed areas in the Far East.

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→ Senator John F. Kennedy urges a United States foreign policy in Africa that would support Algeria's "independence" from France.

→ The United States Government rejects a Soviet protest against the holding of West Germany's Presidential election in West Berlin.

→ President Syngman Rhee, eighty-four years old, accepts his party's nomination to run next year for his fourth successive term as Korean President.

→ A Supreme Court decision of eight to one voids the Government's security program covering the security check-up on three million defense-plants workers.

→ In Iceland's general elections the Communist Party loses twenty-five percent of its former vote.

→ Enrique de Marchena, permanent Dominican delegate at the United Nations, charges that Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba is "part of a continental conspiracy organized by Communism."

→ Britain's percentage of unemployed drops to 1.9, the lowest since 1945.

→ The Supreme Court decides by a vote of five to four that all Government officials are absolutely immune from libel actions for public statements on policies committed to their charge.

→ The Italian Defense Minister announces that the Italian Navy will build an atomic submarine with United States help.

→ Fidel Castro declares that Cuba would never accept any "interference" in her domestic affairs by any international organization or any nation.

→ President Charles de Gaulle an-

nounces in Djibouti, French Somaliland, that regardless of what Britain, Italy, and the United Nations may do in neighboring Somali territories, France "will not abdicate her responsibilities here."

→ Pierre Guillaumat, French Defense Minister, asserts that France "will soon enter into the ranks of the military nuclear powers."

→ The Saar region, ceded to West Germany by France, is integrated into the West German economy by the introduction of the Deutsche Mark to replace the French franc as legal currency.

→ According to a study published by the United States Department of Labor, the buying power of wages earned by the average American worker in 1959 in a forty-hour week is three times as much as the average American worker earned at the turn of the century in a seventy-two-hour working week.

→ The pro-Communist Dr. Francisco de Venanzi is elected rector of the Central University of Caracas, Venezuela, with Communist support.

→ The American Jewish Congress displays a series of photographs which show the desecration of Jewish cemeteries and synagogues in the Soviet Union within the last year.

July 6 - July 12

→ The Soviet Government "assures" British Premier Harold Macmillan that Western occupation rights "will remain intact during the period of an interim agreement" between the Soviets and the Western allies.

→ Pro-Communist President Sukarno of Indonesia dissolves the Constituent As-

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sembly, abolishes the 1950 Constitution, and establishes full dictatorship over the country.

→ Premier David Ben-Gurion of Israel resigns but will continue a caretaker government until general elections are held.

→ An air battle over the Taiwan Strait indicates that the Chinese Communists are preparing another move against Formosa.

→ Washington's Population Reference Bureau publishes an authoritative estimate that Soviet Russia's male losses in World War II were not seven million, as generally assumed, but between fifteen and twenty million men.

→ W. Averell Harriman reports that Khrushchev, at an intimate dinner in Moscow, threatened rocket war against the United States. "Our rockets carry warheads many times larger than yours," said Khrushchev, and added that the days of Western occupation of West Berlin were numbered. "If you want war, you can have it, but it will be your war. Our rockets will fly automatically."

→ Dr. Heinrich Luebke, Adenauer's candidate, is elected President of the West German *Bundesrepublik*. He will assume office in September.

→ President Nasser insists in negotiations with United Nations Secretary General Hammarskjöld that Egypt remains "in a state of war" with Israel.

→ Diaz Lanz, Commander of Fidel Castro's Air Force, escapes to the United States and discloses that Castro's regime is top-heavy with Communists.

→ Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the

United States Supreme Court, shouts at a Washington cocktail party to newspaperman Earl Mazo: "You are a damned liar."

→ Admiral Arthur W. Radford, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and currently director of the Philco Corporation, reassures a House Committee that retired military officers now working for defense contractors "wield little influence on the Pentagon in obtaining military contracts."

→ The Department of Agriculture estimates that 1959's corn crop, surpassing 4,200,000,000 bushels, will be the biggest in United States history.

→ Twenty-one Asian and African nations notify the United Nations that "the situation in Algeria has become a threat to international peace."

→ Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of Mohandas K. Gandhi, warns against political recognition of Red China.

→ The Social Democrats and the Peoples Party in Austria agree on continuing the two-party coalition led by Chancellor Julius Raab. The Socialist Dr. Bruno Kreisky succeeds Dr. Figl as Foreign Minister.

→ Jayaprakash Narayan, leader of India's Socialists, takes sharp issue with Nehru's "neutralism" in regard to Tibet, and demands that the Communist aggression against Tibet be investigated by the United Nations.

→ The Senate Labor Subcommittee votes an increase of the national minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour.

→ The Big Four Foreign Ministers arrive in Geneva to resume the deadlocked conference.

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→ At the close of his tour through the United States, Frol R. Kozlov, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister, asserts that the grandchildren of present-day Americans will live in a Socialist society.

July 13 - July 19

→ W. Averell Harriman, on his return from extended talks with Khrushchev, proposes that the "Berlin crisis" should be solved by limited Western acceptance of the East German Communist regime without giving it diplomatic recognition." He also stresses the importance of inviting Khrushchev to the United States.

→ In Geneva, Gromyko insists on a Berlin settlement being conditional on a Western willingness to accept an "all-German commission" whose job it would be to negotiate a reunification of the two German states."

→ President Eisenhower announces that Secretary of State Herter has the authority to come to terms in Geneva with the Soviet Government on holding a "summit meeting."

→ In addition to direct United States loans of 190 million dollars, Spain is to get another 210 million from various banks.

→ President de Gaulle installs the Senate of the new French Community, which includes forty-three million Frenchmen and thirty-nine million black people of France's former African colonies which are now autonomous republics.

→ Fidel Castro removes Cuban President Manuel Urrutia from office and appoints pro-Communist Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado to succeed him. Castro's

former chief of air force, Major Pedro Luis Diaz Lanz, testifies before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that Cuba's No. 1 Communist "is Fidel himself."

→ The United Steelworkers of America walk out on a nationwide steel strike. More than two dozen steel firms with almost ninety percent of the nation's steel capacity close down.

→ The United States Court of Claims rules as "honest" the much disputed Dixon-Yates contract, which caused the greatest political ruckus in Congress since Teapot Dome.

→ Primary elections in Virginia indicate that Senator Harry F. Byrd's famous "organization" is losing its grip on the electorate.

→ President Juscelino Kubitschek's Social Democratic Party nominates Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott, Minister of War, as its candidate for Brazil's Presidency.

July 20 - July 31

→ Vice President Richard M. Nixon arrives in Moscow, ostensibly to open the United States exhibition on the Moscow Fair, actually to prepare Khrushchev's meeting with Eisenhower that is to "settle" the "Berlin crisis." While Nixon proves anxious to use all opportunities to interpret American positions to the Soviet people, Khrushchev's propaganda machine manages the Nixon visit to have it appear in the Soviet Union and in Europe as an admission of American weakness, and as evidence that the United States is anxious to come to terms with Moscow.

→ At Geneva, the Big Four Conference

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realizes that it has been superseded by Nixon's Moscow talks with Khrushchev. A joint Polish-Soviet statement pledges that both states would back East Germany in attempts to force the West out of West Berlin, unless the "abnormal situation" in the city was ended, and warns that the Western position in Geneva might lead to "a new aggravation of the situation, pregnant with danger to the cause of peace in Europe."

→ West German officials in Bonn declare themselves pessimistic about the trend of the Geneva conference. They feel that "the Soviet Union is showing an unyielding attitude."

→ Indonesia's Parliament approves President Sukarno's dictatorial decree and reduces itself to be "an assistant of the President-Premier."

→ President Gamal Abdel Nasser complains that his recent efforts to be friends with Premier Abdul Karim Kassem of Iraq have met with silence.

→ French armed forces begin what is described as the biggest offensive of the Algerian war in the mountainous Kabylia region east of Algiers.

→ United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld offers to send United Nations "watchdog units" to West Berlin.

→ More than thirty thousand participants of the Seventh Communist World Youth Festival, coming from both sides of the Iron Curtain, gather in Vienna, Austria.

→ On a flying visit to West Berlin, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter assures the West Berliners that the United States has not forgotten "its binding

commitment" to save them from Communist slavery.

→ The Bureau of Labor Statistics announces that the United States consumer price index has reached an all-time record high of 124.5 (1947-49 average: 100).

→ The Big Three aluminum companies line up with the strike-bound steel industry and expect the country's aluminum production to be halted on August 1.

→ Congress passes Mutual Security (Foreign Aid) authorization for 1960 which falls 353 million dollars short of the 3.9 billion dollars sought by Eisenhower.

→ A "scientific survey" by the *New York Times* results in a finding that "ten years from now the Soviet Union will lead the United States in many broad areas of science and will be far ahead of this country in terms of trained manpower."

→ Douglas McKay, Eisenhower's first Secretary of the Interior, dies at the age of sixty-six.

→ Bernard Goldfine is directed by Federal Court to answer Congressional questions connected with the Sherman Adams affair.

→ More than one hundred books are removed from the book show at the American National Exhibition in Moscow on Soviet insistence.

In the Cold War, the conference table is a far more deadly threat to the United States than nuclear fission.

Frank E. Masland, Jr.

EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLANN

THIS IS THE PEAK of the tourist season, Europe is brimful of United States dollars and United States sightseers, and the greatest sucker of them all is Mr. Richard Nixon. What makes his travel experience doubly harassing is the hearty tone of his utterances. It is as if Mickey Rooney were once more wisecracking on walking his "last mile." Like Mickey Rooney, Mr. Nixon is a genuine All-American Boy — and just like Mickey Rooney he is getting pretty poor scripts.

Mr. Nixon's script for his guest performance in Moscow was of course written by the State Department which, as should be generally known by now, dabbles in literary and political "surrealism." At the State Department they live in a never-never-land of genteel commonplaces, and they remain intellectually committed to a "story line" that culminates in a happy ending between the Beauty and the Beast. Hollywood would never buy such a plot, but the American public still seems to be lapping it up from the State Department.

Nixon To The Rescue . . .

Mr. Nixon, at any rate, was putting his entire wholesome vitality into the part. And the Europeans did not know what was happening to them. The day Mr. Nixon arrived in Moscow, you will remember, the Geneva Conference seemed finally shipwrecked. Even Mr. Herter, whose reputation as a fighter

had reached an ultimate nadir in Europe, was warming up his plane to take him home, out of the quicksand of Geneva. Everybody in Europe, including its heartbroken "neutralists," had understood by then that the western powers simply could not go on pretending the possibility of a rapprochement with Gromyko. And at that moment Mr. Nixon landed in Moscow.

True, his junket was prepared a long time ago, had no visible connection with the Geneva breakdown and, besides, Richard Nixon was his usual spirited self in arguing the American position. But what he had to say was of no importance — neither for the Russians, who were going to get it in a version suitably garbled, nor for the Europeans who, at this point, are unspeakably tired of all varieties of academic debate. What Europeans (and I think, Russians, too) are craving is some kind, *any* kind, of *action*. And America's action, at this climactic moment, consisted of a high-level pilgrimage to Moscow; and, when all was said and nothing done, of an authoritative American confession that the United States desires nothing more than "coexistence" with the Soviets.

This, I contend, will remain the only tangible result of Nixon's visit to Khrushchev's playgrounds. Maybe the State Department didn't notice, or didn't explain to the Chief Executive, the sudden switch in the international weather — a switch that was turning a

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preconceived, non-consequential tour of rather fatuous handshaking into a first-rate diplomatic act of unfortunately historic importance. But the State Department *should* have understood that sudden mutation of the long-prepared exercise of Mr. Nixon's public-relations facility. And, in order to save its own Secretary's face, it should have advised Mr. Nixon to postpone his trip — at least until Mr. Gromyko would give evidence that he was ready to unfreeze in Geneva the Soviet Union's crudely insulting rigidity.

In other words, the United States has demonstrated once more that it has no sense of power politics. In Europe, it had become increasingly clear by July that the Soviets were determined to squeeze the last drop out of the shriveled lemon of western diplomacy. The Soviets, that is, had taken due notice of Macmillan's general flabbiness, of de Gaulle's preoccupation in Algeria, of Adenauer's serious troubles at home and, above all, of Eisenhower's intellectual loneliness and disorientation since the death of Dulles. And so they immediately increased their ante at the poker game in Geneva. Originally the Soviets were ready to pay for the admission of the East-German Quislings to the council of world powers with some kind of "reasonableness" in the artificially inflated "Berlin Crisis." But that admission they got conceded even before the Geneva Conference began. And thus, never slow in recognizing their chances, they immediately proceeded to the next peak on their climbing to the "summit conference" — the attempt to extort from the western powers the admission that *they*, and *not the Soviets*, were begging for the ultimate palaver.

For one must recall that, until a few weeks ago, Khrushchev seemed to the whole world to retain a mendicant's attitude in his stereotyped requests for a "summit conference." Of course, those who understand the nature of the enemy never doubted that Khrushchev was seeking a situation of unilateral advantage for the Soviet Union: *Any* "summit conference," simply because western heads of state cannot afford to return home empty-handed, is bound to end with a success for the Soviets who, after all, hold the key to *any* agreement. Just so, as long as Khrushchev remained the only anxious proponent of the ominous meeting, the West retained a few last chips for the bidding: The West could at least make the Soviets pay something for the realization of Khrushchev's heart's desire.

Of Soviet Plans . . .

And these chips have been thrown away on Richard Nixon's trip to Moscow. As usual, the unbelievable happened. Unquestionably on Eisenhower's direct orders, and in a language prescribed by State Department technicians, Nixon announced on his very first day in Moscow that the President of the United States was anxious to visit the Soviet Union. This carefully considered admission, advanced at the very moment when the Geneva Conference was dissolving on account of Soviet arrogance, exploded over Europe with the bang of a historic detonation.

For what could it mean, what was the only conceivable interpretation? Simply that now the United States was begging for a "summit conference." Now it will be Khrushchev's amusing game to play coy and to get some extra payments for agreeing to a meeting

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which he, only the day before, was willing to pay for. And how will Europe explain the turnabout of America's position? With the very fact that the Geneva Conference had reached a dead end. The Soviet arrogance that had made even Messrs. Herter and Selwyn Lloyd stop their appeasement minuet made Messrs. Eisenhower and Nixon willing to ask for the "summit conference."

It is, of course, always possible that neither Nixon nor Eisenhower had any such thing in mind when Nixon uttered the polite phrase that is destined to go down as one of the major blunders in diplomatic history. But that plea of ignorance will never be accepted in Europe. Europeans simply refuse to believe that American statesmen do not know what they are saying. Europeans are particularly unprepared to believe that, at a climactic moment of the East-West conflict, the Vice-President of the United States could announce the intentions of the President, and in the enemy's capital to boot, the way one exchanges pleasantries at a bar. Europeans must have understood the Nixon statement as a declaration of a new United States policy — a policy that is in desperate search for a fast arrangement with Khrushchev. And Europeans will act accordingly of course. They will scramble for the exit.

* * *

Driving Even West Germany . . .

First to do so, quite unavoidably, will be the Germans. Adenauer's star has lately gone into a serious decline anyhow. When he reconsidered his hasty decision of last April to give up the Chancellorship and to accept the Presidency, he merely repaired the latest and perhaps greatest mistake of his

admirable career. As I have pointed out (in my *European Survey* of the July-August issue), even before Adenauer's reconsideration his presumptive successor, Dr. Erhard, would have (quite likely unjustly) been looked upon as an opponent of Adenauer's "rigid" anti-Communist course. Adenauer could not permit that to happen, particularly not after Dulles' death, when the whole western situation seemed to be deteriorating. But in repairing a mistake that simply had to be repaired, Adenauer made irreconcilable enemies in his own party; and according to recent public polls in Germany, he lost for the first time in ten years his formidable grip on the German people. A majority of Germans disapproved of his conduct last July, while only about one-third granted the righteousness of his decisions.

Now this does not mean that the German Opposition is in. The same public polls establish that the German Social Democrats remain still far below the margin of electoral power. But Adenauer's decline in popularity coincides with new German doubts as to the determination of the United States. And not even the Germans are sturdy enough to compensate, in a moment of greatest international jitters, for both: a fissure in national leadership and a collapse of American impressiveness.

As it happens, I am at this moment involved in a great national debate in Germany. My book, *Germany and the East-West Crisis*, has been published in Germany on June 10 (under the title *Die Grenzen des Wunders—The Limits of the Miracle*) and has in six weeks become the most explosive German non-fiction bestseller since 1945. Conservative experts estimate that more

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than 150,000 copies will be circulating in Germany by January 1, 1960. (In American orders of magnitude, this would be equivalent to a United States circulation of 500,000 copies.) I am naturally very happy about this breakthrough, but I mention it here not merely because of an author's pride. I mention it for two much more important reasons.

For one, an American book that has produced this kind of upsurge in Germany was never even reviewed by America's metropolitan press. The *New York Times* (which I happen to know, had a substantial review all set up for the day of the book's United States publication, May 29) finally decided to give me the old treatment which Liberal Supporters of Freedom so incorrigibly believe in — that is, the abuse of their control over our "communications media" in order to destroy opponents by a conspiracy of silence. And now that my book, in the face of this conspiracy, is very much on the international map, I think I should take advantage of my advantageous position and inform Americans how their "respectable" press misbehaves.

The other reason is even more important. During the last six weeks I have been participating in a nation-wide German debate that, in heat and fire, has few precedents in recent German history. The press, the radio, the German TV, German lecture platforms and *Bierstuben* discussions are contemplating the attitude and the propositions of *Die Grenzen des Wunders*. And the tenor of all these excited conversations, I am sorry to report, is an overpowering German reluctance to acknowledge the fated exposure of Germany. The tremor with which Germany's public

opinion is responding to *Die Grenzen des Wunders* — and knowing Germans assure me there has been nothing like it in many years — is a token of Germany's fundamental disorder. It is an intellectual disorder born of an atrophied courage.

Into A Decisive Indecision . . .

The Germans seem desperately determined not to look at the map. They refuse to notice that Germany lies across the only path the Soviets could take into Western Europe. It happens to be Europe's "heartland" and, at the same time, its decisive borderland. But the Germans are resolved to hope that, somehow, their country can be spared the choice between resistance and surrender. Consequently, when a book spells out that choice, and amasses evidence of its inevitability, the Germans respond as if each of them had been personally addressed, and in an almost private area. That my book has stirred up this sort of national debate is all to the good; but that this debate is being carried on without the guts either to accept resistance or to recommend surrender remains deeply disturbing.

The common denominator of all the verbal ado is the general German (and general western) readiness to deny the seriousness of the Communist intentions. The Germans realize that their situation would be altogether serious *if* the Soviets intended further expansion into the West. They also realize that, unless they accept total surrender, their only hope would be a western readiness for an ultimate effort of resistance. But for this they are just as little prepared as are Americans. Consequently, the Germans — who are constitutionally given to a strong desire for logical

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coherence — try to persuade themselves that the Soviets (and never mind the demonstrable evidence to the contrary) do *not* intend further expansion. The prevailing German obsession is therefore with the *status quo*. By this the Germans understand a prolonged separation of Communist East Germany from West Germany — a separation somehow underwritten by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Naturally the Soviets are paying no attention to such pious (though by no means very noble) wishes. They insist on increasingly fast movements through which Bonn will be thrown against the harsh reality of Pankow and, ultimately, into a torrent of national passion that would make "reunification" (on Ulbricht's terms, of course) inescapable. This would mean, in the context of European geography, the end of NATO and the withdrawal of the United States from the continent. The Geneva Conference was a crucial first step in this direction. Eisenhower's solemnly pronounced willingness "to visit" Khrushchev is a next and even more crucial step. The forthcoming "summit conference" may be the next step to the last one. And the last step may indeed be the *last*—with a tragic finality that seems to be incomprehensible to the "western" mind.

Some Germans — first of all Adenauer, who is reported to be deeply discouraged by recent developments — have a premonition that 1959 may prove a more important year in their history than 1871, 1914, 1933 and 1945. These Germans, I am afraid, are right. Late this fall, when the tourist season closes and everybody goes home, the Germans may discover that their home is already lost.

While Macmillan Out-Bevans Bevan . . .

Anybody who has some pity to spare is strongly advised to consider the British Labor Party. The poor chaps are up against the unfairiest competition and, consequently, are falling apart at their seams: The position of the "conservative" Government makes it absolutely impossible to stay to the left of Mr. Macmillan and still remain this side of the bughouse. And yet, the British Labor Party must try to do the impossible. Which unavoidably means that many a solid British Labor man begins to talk incoherent rot.

For example, Mr. Cousins — one of Britain's most experienced union leaders — who controls one-sixth of the delegates to the Labor Party's next convention, has now proposed that Great Britain not even wait for an "atomic disarmament" agreement but immediately dismantle its own atomic weapons and deport all United States military units on British soil. This is the kind of symptoms that normally makes one call for an ambulance. In Great Britain, however, under the present circumstances, it only makes one call for elections. The British Labor Party it seems, is getting ready for an election campaign that will be sheer malice in wonderland.

All stops are pulled. True, Mr. Gaitskell proposes to wait a while yet with the unilateral atomic disarmament; but Mr. Bevan, the presumptive Foreign Minister of a future Labor Government, has just announced his complete support of Khrushchev's position in the German question. Of the 410 resolutions offered to the forthcoming Labor Convention, no less than 140 deal with the unilateral British renunciation of

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atomic weapons. Not even in the days of the Oxford Oath has Britain seen a similar orgy of pacifist foolishness.

And the so-called British Right (semantically something like "rigid water" or "fluid air" or "white blackness"), if anything, surpasses the hysterical irresponsibility of the Left. The *Sunday Express*, for example, which proudly calls itself a conservative newspaper, said the other day that Khrushchev "is in spite of all his faults the best Soviet leader we shall probably see in our lifetime and we should be grateful for him"; but that because Great Britain follows Adenauer's lead (!) we are losing a magnificent chance to arrange matters with Khrushchev who is "just about the world's most lucid hope today." Now what, indeed, are British Labor readers supposed to say amidst this mad scramble that is making the Queen's English the language of decadent shame?

And The Darkness Of Coming Surrender Is Broken Only By Few And Flickering Lights Of Hope . . .

It's not even two months yet that I have been getting re-acquainted with Europe, but a whole historic period

seems to have been pressed into these short weeks. For two months the continent has been fed, day after day, the witches' brew of Geneva — a deadly concoction of two parts defeatism and one part poisonous promise. And wherever I go, I find the people — amidst the trimmings of plush prosperity — staggering from a drunkenness that combines hopeless morbidity with illusions of a miraculous salvation. One eats well here and drinks even better; but the days are smelling of decay and the nights are tortured by stark dreams. It is "surrealism," all right, if not the same that prevails at the State Department in Washington. Yes, sometimes even I feel that we ought to be grateful for Khrushchev; sometimes I think he has not grasped the feebleness of the western structure. But then I recall the existence of the Strategic Air Command —and I comprehend Khrushchev's hesitations. Next time you pray, give thanks for those American officers who keep resigning from their positions of command rather than submit to the decimation of our armed forces—a decimation that remains the stated policy of a tragically inadequate national Administration.

The Game Of Darts

Dear Mr. Editor:

Can't you undertake a petition to keep Mr. Charles Bohlen in exile?

A Subscriber

* * *

In England, the position of the "conservative" Government makes it absolutely impossible to stay to the left of Mr. Macmillan and still remain this side of the bughouse.

William Schlamm, In This Issue

* * *

God helps those who help themselves, and the government helps those who don't.

General Practitioner

WE PAUSE TO REMARK

VAST NUMBERS of the American people are sure that the proposed visit of Nikita Khrushchev would promote "peace." And they couldn't be more right. Khrushchev is certainly coming over here to advance the cause of peace. There is nothing the Communists—in Moscow or Washington—want more than peace. The only trouble is that the uninitiated American people have not yet learned the meaning of the word. But Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev have all made it crystal clear that peace, to them, means only one thing. Peace is a "state of affairs under which there is no opposition to Communism." We can have complete peace at any time, simply by surrendering to Communist enslavement. We don't even have to do it on the installment plan, as seems preferred by our government.

* * *

In a speech of May 21, 1959 to the National Press Club, Roger Blough quoted a "Report of Officers" of the Steelworkers Union that during 1958 ". A laid-off American steelworker, under Supplemental Unemployment Benefits, was receiving more income than a fully employed steelworker in any other country, even taking into account the differences in the cost of living."

What we thus pay steelworkers for not making steel is on the same level with what we pay wheat farmers for not raising wheat. But there is one place, unfortunately, where this increasingly

ubiquitous pattern does not yet reach. Just think how helpful it would be if our legislators were paid for *not* passing laws. The only consolation we can find in the actual situation is the one arrived at unintentionally, which we have often mentioned before. As extensive as government has now become in meddling in everything we do, let's thank our lucky stars that we are not getting all of the government we are paying for today.

* * *

We are indebted to Fulton Lewis, Jr., for having noted a coincidence at which the solid citizens of our newest state were not amused. On July 3, Robert Kennedy—the Labor Rackets Committee Counsel who once ingratiatingly asked one of the labor lords he was supposed to be investigating, "How are we doing?"—was making a speech to a Texas audience, where even run-of-the-mill Democrats don't like high and mighty labor bosses. So he virtuously warned his listeners about the dangerous alliance between Jimmy Hoffa and Harry Bridges.

But on the very same day his brother, Senator John F. Kennedy, was in Hawaii, carrying the campaign torch for the election as governor of Harry Bridges' favorite candidate, Jack Burns. The good people of Hawaii should not have been surprised, however. When it comes to the hypocrisy of the Kennedy Brothers Political Act, this was not even par for the course.

A NOTE ABOUT FUCHS

by

COLM BROGAN

28 Ridgmount Garden
London, England
26 June, 1959

Dear Bob:

Today I had a meeting with a monocled and utterly phoney "Count," who has just served eight years in Wakefield prison for false pretenses. He told me that for the last five years he worked with Klaus Emil Fuchs (now released) in the prison library. There is a central library service for all the English Prisons, which will get a prisoner any book he needs for study, whether of a quite modest or of a highly specialised nature. Fuchs was provided with a stream of new books on nuclear physics. In addition, the "Count" taught Fuchs French in exchange for Fuchs' teaching him German. It may be coincidence that the French are streaking ahead in nuclear physics. To help Fuchs get on with his French studies the Governor of the prison kindly arranged for a supply of Linguaphone records. In addition, the "Count" asserts that Fuchs, in the discussion meetings, turned the whole prison population into atheists. Fuchs told the "Count" before he left that his mind was working on the possibility of space stations, and that he hoped to put his theoretical speculations into practical effect. He is now in East Germany. The "Count" also said that Fuchs was so dirty as to be physically repulsive. Crossed in argument, he would break into a guttural half-German and dribble at the mouth. He had never heard of washing.

I am sending you this story with two caveats. One, the "Count" is a self-evident scoundrel, and would lie to any extent he found profitable. Two, I don't believe that anybody could keep fully up-to-date with the wildly changing world of nuclear physics from books alone. He would also need a mass of periodical literature in a number of languages, not to mention laboratory experience, to find out about the experimental failures which are of great though negative value. Nevertheless, much of what the "Count" said would hardly be invented, it is so easily checked. Fuchs must certainly be far behind in his homework, but by no means so far behind as we have been soothingly told. The "Count's" story of Fuchs' atheistic campaign had the

Another Interesting Letter

complete ring of truth. And all this was being allowed in the name of reformist rehabilitation.

I asked the "Count" why the Governor didn't move out of his house and give it to Fuchs. The "Count" said: "He damned nearly did."

As you often quote—no wonder we are losing.

Regards.

(Signed) Colm

ANOTHER INTERESTING LETTER

WE, THE PEOPLE

National Headquarters
111 N. Wabash Ave.
Chicago 2, Illinois
July 15, 1959

Mr. Henry T. Heald, President
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Heald: (An Open Letter)

In your letter of July 10, you say that we were misinformed that the Ford Foundation sent the U.S. Governors to Soviet Russia to be scolded by Khrushchev. You also speak as if The Ford Foundation does not spend money to send anyone anywhere for Communist purposes.

Do you deny that The Ford Foundation is spending money to send 40-year old Clinton Jencks to the University of California on a Ford Foundation Educational Award? This grant will enable Jencks to study toward a master's degree this fall — Jencks who was convicted in 1950 for filing a false non-Communist affidavit—Jencks who appealed to the Supreme Court which two years ago reversed his conviction — Jencks who was identified as a Com-

munist Party member before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1952 — Jencks who invoked the 5th Amendment repeatedly when questioned in 1957 regarding his Communist activities. Surely, The Ford Foundation could find a person better qualified than Clinton Jencks for this Educational Award.

Congressman Wint Smith of Kansas says, "At the risk of being considered old-fashioned, or conservative—I think that all such foundations that seem to delight and search for students of Jenck's type—should be denied the privilege of a tax exempt status under our income tax laws."

Please send us a list, if any, of known anti-Communists to whom you have given educational awards. We will be delighted to learn that The Ford Foundation is not entirely one sided in favor of pro-Communists. If such is the case, we shall announce it at the 5th National Constitution Day Convention to be held in Chicago, September 19 and 20, 1959. What is your record?

Sincerely yours,

HARRY T. EVERINGHAM,
Exec. Vice-President

BULLETS

The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart; his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords.

Psalms, LV, 21

* * *

Not knowing how to spend our time, we take what satisfaction we can in spending our money.

John Ise

* * *

President Eisenhower proposed to Congress that military aid for our Allies be put on a permanent basis. The question is: Will our allies be permanent?

H. Lasell

* * *

People who live in glass houses make interesting neighbors.

Dan Revello

* * *

Hollywood child: "I have three daddies by my first mama, and three mamas by my fourth daddy."

Automotive Dealer News

* * *

Some people think it's a recession when they can't afford a new car to tow their boat.

Steve Still

* * *

As I watch the American nation speeding gaily and with optimism down the road to inevitable destruction, I seem to be contemplating the greatest tragedy in the history of mankind.

Quoted From "A Harvard Professor"

* * *

Nowadays we know the price of everything and the value of nothing.

Oscar Wilde

* * *

Even one frankfurter can give a nation indignation.

Boris Brasol

You cannot further the brotherhood of man by inciting class hatred.

Abraham Lincoln

* * *

I am a great believer in luck, and the harder I work the more of it I have.

Stephan Leacock

* * *

If I built a better mouse trap
To place within my house,
No doubt old Mother Nature
Would breed a smarter mouse!

F. G. Kernan

* * *

Groom to friend, at wedding: "I just couldn't afford to go steady with her any more on what I'm making."

Saturday Evening Post

* * *

It's a wonder Castro hasn't offered to sell us the Panama Canal.

*Precinct Pete, In The
AMERICAN STATESMAN*

* * *

Auctioneer: "Sold—to the lady with her husband's hand over her mouth."

Lichty

* * *

Remember back to the good old days, when the dollar was worth sixty cents?

Precinct Pete, Again

* * *

A man doesn't bend with the wind, like a tree. He bends into it.

Roy Fair, Quoting His Father

* * *

Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

Galatians, V, 1

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

The Communists Run Scared

There are very few straws in the winds blowing today which would give any encouragement to an Americanist, anywhere in the world. Most of those that slap or scratch our faces have the smell of some further Communist advance too unmistakable about them. We should take such satisfaction as we can, therefore, from one of the exceptions.

And it is obvious, from the straws borne on one quartering wind, that the Communists today are deathly afraid of the rise of another McCarthy. There is no other way to account for the renewed smear barrage against a man who is dead and beyond the power to harm them. Their clear objective is to warn any other patriot against picking up McCarthy's torch, and beginning anew the exposure of traitors in our midst.

For a while after McCarthy was humiliated and hounded to his death, the Communists were content to have their stooges and dupes in the liberal press of America merely keep alive the epithet, McCarthyism, which had been invented by *The Daily Worker*. Now they have returned to the attack against the man himself, as if he were still alive and committing the unpardonable sin of calling Communist Annie Lee Moss a Communist.

Most important and heaviest battery fire in the current barrage is the book, *Senator Joe McCarthy*, by Richard H. Rovere. Rovere was formerly Associate Editor of the Communist *New Masses*, and was so firmly oriented towards Moscow as to have supported the Stalin-Hitler pact. The whole book bulges with the kind of falsehoods and malicious bilge which you could expect from Rovere's previous writings on the same subject. Nevertheless the "liberal pack" is now so easily and completely herded by their Communist starters along any desired path that we have the disgraceful exhibition of serious and even glowingly favorable reviews of Rovere's rank fantasy

If You Want It Straight . . .

being given important space throughout practically the whole American press. And of course the Kennedy brat, at long last finding the courage to join the jackals picking at the corpse of McCarthy, saw just the chance he needed to wipe out a question mark left by his previous record in the minds of his pro-Communist backers. His excited praises of Rovere's necropsy have been making front pages from Maine to Hawaii.

Now any good Americanist who is reasonably well informed about the past actions of Richard H. Rovere and Senator John F. Kennedy would consider it an honor to have either one as an enemy. We have hundreds of personal friends — Catholics, Protestants, and Jews — who will think more of McCarthy, not less, after this vile attack. The only really disturbing feature of the whole episode, therefore, is the further revelation of how indiscriminating and even pussillanimous so much of the American press has become, in its willingness to transmit pro-Communist propaganda. But the essence of the whole story is the limit to which the pack is willing to go, to convince any would-be new McCarthy that not even his death would keep the hounds from sniping and tearing at his body. Which shows, as we said in the beginning, how frightened the Communists behind the scenes must be of any such leader coming onto the stage. We can only hope that their fears are justified.

Some More Bright Young Men

The cravenness of our press under left-wing pressures, however, is shown as much by omission as by commission. For one of the most sinister inroads by the Leftists into our whole system of government, since the conversion of America into a collectivist state began, is the new "Intern Program" of legislative consultants. And nowhere, in our newspapers and magazines of large circulation, have we seen even a word about this dangerous development.

The scheme is very simple—and very appealing to unwary legislators or those who, not so unwary, actually favor all of the

If You Want It Straight . . .

help they can get in the promotion of socialism. As Ralph M. Brown, Democrat, Speaker of the California Assembly, described the California version in his recommendation, the plan calls for an elimination of "high-priced consultants" to members of the Legislature, especially those serving on interim committees; and the substitution therefor of "interns," one half of whose monthly salary is paid by the Ford Foundation! These "interns" are graduate students from various colleges in the fields of political science, journalism, or law. They are selected by a "screening committee." Just who selects the "screening committee" is naturally left unstated, but obviously its composition must be satisfactory to the Ford Foundation. And it should come as no surprise to anybody that Dean McHenry, organizer of the Americans for Democratic Action in Los Angeles, is a typical member of the "screening committee" for California.

This "Legislative Intern Program" was inaugurated in the California Assembly in 1957. Eight graduate students from five California universities were employed for ten months by Assembly interim committees. Five of these interns were subsequently assigned as legislative aides in the Assembly during the 1958 sessions of the California Legislature. And let us repeat, one half of their salaries in all of these cases was paid by the Ford Foundation. The 1958 report of the Ford Foundation showed that it had made the University of California at Berkeley a grant of \$200,000 for the program during the past year. There is no "camel's nose in the door" about this arrangement. Here we have lobbying de luxe, given official blessing, with the collectivist camel right inside the tent.

This California program, however, "is patterned after the Congressional Intern Program in Washington, D.C." Again it should come as no surprise to anybody to learn that the national program was highly praised by Senator Thomas Kuchel, on June 1, 1959; or that other foundations besides Ford are helping to finance this wonderful method of promoting left-wing legislation—and of course of protecting themselves. The next

If You Want It Straight . . .

time Messrs. Carroll Reece and René Wormser make a heart-breaking effort to have a Congressional Committee learn something about the operations of these incredibly arrogant, powerful, leftist, and un-American foundations, the "defendants" will not even need the disgraceful antics of a Wayne Hays to bog down the Committee's chance of orderly procedure and to protect them from exposure. They will have too many of their own men, on their own payrolls, actually helping to write the legislation concerning themselves and their enemies. So that they can continue with even less fear of molestation by boorish and vulgar taxpayers, and even more assurance of success than before, to carry out the visible objective: "So to change the economic and political structure of the United States that it can be comfortably merged with Soviet Russia."

Written In Sorrow

Nikita Khrushchev, as Eugene Lyons pointed out in *The Reader's Digest* just two years ago, "achieved his present status by the unlimited use of brute force. This has been his speciality for nearly twenty years. He reached the Kremlin pinnacle in the only way that the Soviet pyramid of power can be scaled: over piles of corpses." In Khrushchev's case it seems entirely probable that the piles due directly to his personal orders were larger, and the coldblooded brutality with which he converted the living to corpses was more passionless, than for any other human being (if he can be called one) who ever lived.

"For under the effervescent exterior of Nikita Khrushchev," to quote Lyons once more, "is a man utterly ruthless and unscrupulous, a tyrant cut from Stalinist cloth to the Stalinist pattern. He has Stalin's genius for intrigue, blackmail, and murder." In fact, it was Khrushchev's terrific zeal and utter lack of conscience in killing off those who deviated in the slightest degree from the then current Stalin line, at any time from 1929 on, which first brought him to Stalin's favorable attention.

It was the unrivalled blood-letting of Nikita Khrushchev,

If You Want It Straight . . .

as Party boss of Moscow Province from 1934 through 1937—plus his uninterrupted exaltation of Stalin and of Stalin's reign of terror—that brought him, at Stalin's hand, an alternate membership in the Politburo, and made him First Secretary of the Ukraine. And it was in this position for twelve years that, both before and after the German occupation, Nikita Khrushchev eradicated enemies and liquidated opposition on a scale which, for combined numbers and cruelty, has probably never been equalled. The ninety-five mass graves at Vinnitsa, containing nearly ten thousand corpses of fully dressed victims—many of whom, both men and women, are shown by the evidence to have been alive and gasping for breath when they were buried—is merely a typical example of the horrible fate which Khrushchev inflicted on literally millions of residents of the Ukraine.

There is no slightest question about the fact that all of his "public" life Khrushchev has been a liar, a cheat, a blackmailer, a bully, a murderer, and a beast of the lowest and foulest order. It remains only to emphasize that as a murderer he probably holds the all-time record. It is almost certain that the one man in all human history who has killed in cold blood more of his fellow human beings than any other is Nikita Khrushchev.

Richard Nixon knew all of this, of course, when he fraternized with Khrushchev in friendly give-and-take for the cameras of Moscow and the newspapers of all the world; and when he and his wife went to one of Khrushchev's "villas," for a social weekend, as personal guests of "the butcher of Budapest."

On the following page is a map, by courtesy of the Anti-Communist League of America, Inc., showing the exact location of thirty-five of the largest and most ruthless slave labor camps in Soviet Russia itself. (We wonder if Mr. Nixon asked to see the one near Novosibirsk while he was making such headlines there.) Within those camps are millions of human beings just like you and me, gentle reader, who are being worked literally to death, under conditions of incredible brutality and suffering, for no other reason than that they hate the regime of Nikita

Some Attractions Mr. Nixon Missed



TOURIST'S GUIDE TO SELDOM VISITED SPOTS IN RUSSIA —
SLAVE LABOR CAMPS

If You Want It Straight . . .

Khrushchev. To the east and south of the lines on that map stretch the provinces of China, in which there are even more victims starving, dying of filth, and being deliberately tortured to death, for no other reason than they hate the regime of Nikita Khrushchev's Peiping puppets—even the most “deified” of whom Khrushchev can demote at will.

Outside those slave camps, but within the total slave states of Russia, China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary, and East Germany, there are more than eight hundred million human beings living lives of virtual slavery enforced by a police-state terror under the control of Khrushchev's agents. Beyond those boundaries there are thousands of the best citizens of their respective countries being murdered every day, by Khrushchev's agents, to tighten the Soviet grip on those countries — in Algeria, Lebanon, Iraq, Indonesia, Cuba, and many other once peaceful parts of the world. Altogether there are now at least a billion human beings whose only chance of ever having freedom or peace or normal human rights again lies in the overthrow of the bloody tyrant Khrushchev and all that he represents. Their real hope of that overthrow depends on the leadership by the United States of resistance to the Communist tyranny.

When our heads of state make clear to all the world that we gladly accept and even promote “cultural exchanges” and reciprocal tours by United States and Soviet officials, and fraternization at the highest levels, and all the usages and manifestations of “peaceful coexistence” between the Soviets and ourselves, we convert the hopes of these billion people into blackest despair. And through that despair we not only make it infinitely easier for Khrushchev's agents to maintain and tighten the Communist police-state rule over their helpless and hopeless victims; we also destroy the most important single force that might slow down and prevent the glacier-like spread of Communist enslavement over ourselves and over all the rest of the world that is still trying to remain free. When the United

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States government treats the Soviet government with gushing cordiality as its "opposite number" in two states or systems engaged in a peaceful and friendly rivalry, we commit an unspeakable crime against humanity. We horribly betray the suffering victims of Soviet cruelty whom we have encouraged at all times to look to us for their one chance of salvation. And we hasten the day when swarming Communist agents within our own borders can throw off their pretenses, and let it be seen that we are already ruled by the Kremlin.

Richard Nixon knew all of this, of course, when he all but kissed Soviet Deputy Premier Kozlov at the opening of the Russian exhibition in New York. He was equally aware of it when he got himself all but kissed by Khrushchev while lending the full weight of his office to publicizing that treasonous absurdity known as the American Exhibition in Moscow. He knew all of this when he put his whole personal prestige and political influence into preparing the way and softening up the American people for the forthcoming visit from Khrushchev. Nothing could be more damaging to the remaining anti-Communist morale throughout the world than letting Khrushchev be received on American soil as an honored guest by the President of the United States. And nobody knew that plain fact better than Richard Nixon when he was greasing the way for the event.

Lloyd Mallan, an able and patriotic American, with a sufficient knowledge and experience to make him a competent observer, recently wrote a long report of conditions inside the Soviet dream world. It has been published as a booklet, and is reviewed by Dr. Oliver in this issue. But let us quote one paragraph here.

"I took a 14,000-mile trip through Russia. I talked to top scientists. I inspected key installations. I expected to find a nation of power and genius, but instead I found lies, lies, lies. I found that the illustrious Lunik, Russia's alleged sun-orbiting rocket, was a hoax—never existed, never could. I found that Russia has neither an effective intercontinental missile nor the

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ability to build one. I found that the Russians are years behind us in both space technology and air power; that in the event of war, the defenses they could mount against our Strategic Air Command would be as ludicrously inadequate as mosquito netting against a tiger. I found a third-rate nation, without real strength, hiding behind a formidable front of lies, exaggerations and rumors."

There is no doubt about the accuracy of this man's observations, though why they should have surprised him is a puzzle. The only single bit of evidence the Russians ever offered for the existence of Lunik was a telegram from Eisenhower congratulating them on its performance—sent before he had checked with any of our own scientists. Officers in our own Army made clear their belief, even in the very short time before they could be silenced by the Pentagon, that the Russian success in launching Sputnik was due primarily to what they had been allowed to steal from us; and that their firing a man-made satellite before we did was due entirely to a hold-back enforced on our armed forces for the very purpose of giving the Soviets this propaganda advantage.

The atomic plant to which Mr. Nixon was taken was "under construction," which means nothing. Although the Russians described this as their "second" such plant, nobody offered to exhibit one in operation. The best students of the subject we know are completely convinced that Russia does not even have an operational Intercontinental Ballistic Missile today. And in the field of non-military production it is well and widely known that Soviet Russia has by no means reached the level, of either efficiency or per capita volume, to match our own of thirty years ago.

We are sure Mr. Nixon knew all of this, for we can't imagine any interested American not knowing most of it — except our Central Intelligence Agency, of course. Yet Mr. Nixon made us and himself sound ridiculous, when he publicly conceded to Khrushchev, "Of course you are ahead of us in some things, such as the thrust of your rockets," and then added, like

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a panting school child trying to be accepted by the older boys, "But of course, we are ahead of you in some things too, such as color television." And this exchange was typical of the helping hand he gave the Communists at every turn—with the full light of the whole world's publicity turned on him—in building up their prestige as honest-to-goodness rivals, in science and industry, of the United States.

Actually, the Soviets have three weapons with which they are conquering the world: cunning that knows no conscience, terror that knows no mercy, and treason within other Governments that knows no laws or limits. In the use of these weapons the Communists' first and most important objective always, with regard to any enemy, is the paralysis of that enemy's will to resist. No matter what Mr. Nixon hoped to accomplish by his Russian tour, and no matter how necessary or helpful he considered it to his political ambition, this tour can be considered of equal value to the Communists with the Summit Conference of 1955, the Suez fiasco in 1956, and the Sputnik fraud in 1957. For the Nixon publicity bombshell served, with deadly efficiency and incalculable reach, to weaken the will to resist of their enemies everywhere in the world.

That Richard Nixon has finally consented, openly and unmistakably, to put himself in the same class with Herbert Humphrey, John Kennedy, Milton Eisenhower, and Averell Harriman, will come as a sorrowful surprise to many people. But it can cause only rejoicing among the tyrants of the Kremlin.

With Far Worse To Come

But of course even the tremendous advantages to the Communists of the Nixon trip will be greatly overshadowed by the benefits they will derive from the exchange of visits between Khrushchev and Eisenhower. We are now rapidly moving into that stage of the Cold War, foretold by Manuilski in 1930 when a "peace offensive" of unheard-of proportions was to throw the capitalist nations completely off their guard. He said then that it would be twenty-five to thirty years before

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the Communists would reach the point of being able to embark on this semi-final operation, in their strategy of world conquest; and his timing seems to have been as accurate as all the rest of his blueprint.

The American Council of Churches, the Committee Against Summit Entanglements, and hundreds of large and small groups of patriotic Americans, will still do everything they properly can to prevent Khrushchev's visit. And it is still possible to have the total protest swell to such a volume that some excuse will be found for calling off his trip—as happened in connection with his proposed visit to Sweden. But the chances seem strong at the present time that the promoters of this brilliantly pro-Communist achievement will brazenly carry it off as planned.

The attitude of millions of good Americans towards this whole nightmare of appeasement and hypocrisy can be summarized very simply, without any need for sulphurous language or blood-curdling epithets. For we are engaged in a continuous war, with enemies who have sworn to destroy us as a nation and to bury us as a people. It is war to the death; and none the less war because the Soviet Union chooses to fight that war in its own fashion, by trickery, terror, and treason. The recognized head of the Soviet Union is Nikita Khrushchev. There is no possible question but that the royal reception planned for him by our heads of state will give immense aid and comfort to the most vicious and most dangerous enemies our country has ever faced. And the Constitution of the United States, Article III, Section 3, defines the giving of aid and comfort to our enemies as *treason*. There is no other word to describe the actions we are about to see.

We Are Still Waiting

In November, 1956, Mr. Richard Nixon said that the Hungarian Revolt marked the beginning of the end of the Soviet tyranny. We hope it is not impolite of us — especially since we said at the time, in print, that the Hungarian affair would make the Soviets stronger, not weaker—to ask now just when and where this end is supposed to start to commence to begin.

CONFETTI

The *Indiana Telephone News* reports—a few years late, we trust—on the capture of a horse thief by a posse, somewhere this side of the Rio Grande. The posse was just about to hang their prisoner when one member of the crowd spoke up. “May I say a prayer for this man?” he asked.

The deputy in charge of the posse protested rigorously. “Are you trying to sneak this varmint into heaven when he ain’t even fit to live in Texas?”

* * *

“The sausages you sent me have meat at one end and bread crumbs at the other,” the shopper indignantly told the butcher.

“Yes, Madam,” he said. “In these days it’s pretty hard to make both ends meat.”

* * *

The operator was about to close the doors of the jammed elevator when a very tipsy gentleman pushed his way in. The door closed in back of him but he didn’t have room to turn around and had to stand facing the other passengers.

The other passengers stared at him with frowns, obviously displeased at his bloodshot eyes and the ineffable odor that permeated the elevator. Finally, as the elevator rose and the silence was becoming painful, the tipsy one cleared his throat and said:

“I suppose you are wondering why I called this meeting.”

* * *

“If you had your life to live all over again,” the prominent octogenarian was asked by reporters, “do you think you’d make the same mistakes again?”

“Certainly,” the old man said. “But I’d start sooner.”

Police inspector to lady driver whom he stopped: “Your driving license seems to be valid, madam. Now suppose you tell me how in the world you ever got it.”

* * *

According to *Capper’s Weekly*, the following notice appeared on a church bulletin in Salt Lake City:

The minister’s sermon will be: “How can we deal with the world crisis?” Mrs. Elvira Jones will sing “Search Me, Oh God.”

* * *

First golfer, having just taken three strokes to play out of a trap onto the green: “The traps on this course are very annoying, aren’t they?”

Second golfer, trying to putt: “Yes, they are. Would you mind closing yours?”

* * *

We have always been interested in effective or intriguing advertising signs. We still remember the one used by Sobol Bros., a chain of filling stations in New York, twenty-five years ago: *Our Business Is In Greasing*. We liked the one painted on all the trucks of a well-known laundry: *When Things Look Black*. But one of the most amusing we have ever seen was a huge billboard of the same era. It had been put up, facing the street, in front of a sizable development of very pretentious homes in quite a fashionable section of Westchester County, New York. At least two-thirds of the new residences had been sold and were already occupied. And the builder, apparently with more ambition and aggressiveness than education, obviously was anxious to dispose of the remainder. The big board contained, in letters tall and thick, just eight words: *Come In And Inspect Our High Class Residents*.

OFF MY CHEST

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

Eisenhower Invites The Undertaker . . .

"This is it; this is the beginning of the end," was a not uncommon exclamation of Americans when they heard the sensational announcement that the President had invited Khrushchev to make an official visit to the United States and that he had, in turn, accepted NK's invitation to visit the Soviet Union.

Silent millions in the Soviet satellites, we may be sure, lowered to half mast the flag of hope within their breasts.

It was through blackmail — not diplomacy — that NK had achieved his goal. What else was his threat of war over Berlin?

The President's announcement, of course, touched off a chorus of jubilation in some quarters. Eleanor Roosevelt, as was to be expected, announced, "I am very glad that the Premier of the Soviet Union is coming to our country."

The Communist Party's paper in this country, the *Worker*, gave the exchange trips its thumping endorsement and attributed the development to "the mighty will of the people for peace." Walter Lippmann called it the "break-through."

So NK gets his long-sought summit meeting on United States soil. It takes only two summiteers to make a summit meeting. The absence of the United Kingdom and France from the upcoming affair is a matter of no consequence. [We do not agree with regard to

France today, because we think that de Gaulle would act as a brake on some of the appeasement. Editor] Their presence at any gathering called to settle the planet's fate is altogether superfluous.

The last summit meeting was held in Geneva in July, 1955. It came to nothing or worse than nothing. The participants, including President Eisenhower and NK, issued a joint statement lauding the spirit of Geneva. The failure of Geneva fulfilled the worst forebodings of the skeptical. The Communists in the United States promptly appropriated the spirit of Geneva as a propaganda slogan to be used in court battles as justification for their un-American activities.

For a great many other Americans, the spirit of Geneva shortly became a synonym for Communist duplicity. Only the naive believed there would never be another summit-meeting farce. They underestimated the readiness of high government officials to be fooled by the same Communist tricks — not twice but again and again.

The big difference between the summit meetings of 1955 and 1959 is the absence of Joe McCarthy from the political scene of 1959.

In June and July of 1955, McCarthy labored day and night to inform his fellow senators and the American people of the pitfalls of the summit meeting. On June 16, 1955, McCarthy delivered a major speech on the floor

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of the Senate. Both in the speech and in the debate which followed, the Wisconsin senator made a brilliant analysis of the nature of Communism and the impossibility of fruitful negotiations with its rulers.

Today, five years later, McCarthy's words read like they were spoken only yesterday. Undiscouraged and unaided by a single fellow senator, McCarthy fought on and on in a dramatic solitude supported by truth alone.

On June 20, McCarthy introduced S.Res. 116, and the next day defended it singlehandedly before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. His resolution called for the United States to obtain from the Soviet leaders, as a condition for participating in the Geneva summit meeting, an advance commitment that the status of the enslaved satellite nations would be placed on the agenda of the conference. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously rejected the McCarthy resolution, but the Wisconsin senator made a record which ought to be studied by any United States president and his aides every time the question of a summit conference arises.

It would appear that United States foreign policy with respect to the Soviet Union, for the past generation, has been based on the assumption that periodically the American people must go through the experience of alternating flimflam and disenchantment — of believing that the Communists have had a change of heart, followed by the discovery that "it ain't necessarily so."

This Is Where We Came In . . .

The travesty of negotiating with the Communist rulers of Russia was enacted in Washington, D.C., in No-

vember 1933, when Maxim Litvinov and FDR negotiated recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States.

Litvinov, ace practitioner of Soviet deceit, pledged an end of Soviet conspiratorial activity on American soil. Simpletons and subversives all over the United States — in government, press, radio, academic circles, and pulpits, or, in other words, the whole Liberal Establishment — emitted the familiar drivel of the mushheads over the Kremlin's "new policy."

Within less than a year (on August 4, 1934, at 3 p.m., to be exact), Secretary Cordell Hull dispatched a cablegram to United States Ambassador William Bullitt in Moscow, instructing the latter to enter strong protests with the Soviet Government over its violations of the Litvinov pledge. When the Kremlin ignored the protests, the State Department let the matter drop.

Unquestionably, Yalta was the most disastrous of the summit meetings to date. When Yalta adjourned, the acclaim was almost unanimous. Only die-hard anti-Communists refused to join the goose-stepping commentators and Congressmen in hailing that meeting-at-the-summit.

It is historically instructive, as well as suggestive of what we are going through currently, to turn back to the newspapers of February 13 and 14, 1945, and read what was said about Yalta:

"Every American should be proud of the role played by the President," said the Honorable James F. Byrnes.

"Mark this day down as one of the great days of world history," declared the late Senator Elbert Thomas.

"The conference has laid the foundation of a just and desirable peace,"

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chimed in Bernard Baruch, oracle extraordinary.

"It's the answer to a prayer," said Senator Warren Austin.

"The greatest step toward lasting peace that has ever been taken," said Senator Claude "Red" Pepper of Florida.

"The conference . . . sets the world on the road to a firm and democratic peace," observed labor boss Michael Quill.

"The results of the conference are better than the most optimistic expectations," commented Helen Gahagan Douglas.

"This conference marks a milestone on the road to . . . peace," said the *New York Times*, always ready with a pronouncement on anything human or divine.

In twenty-five years of negotiating, the so-called free world has never won a victory, that is, when totalitarian bargainers sat across the conference table. Munich, Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Geneva, and scores of less publicized conferences have, one after the other, spelled defeat for the free world.

Love That Khrushchev . . .

History, if and when it makes any sense, will ask why the Liberal Establishment in the United States was so nobly uncompromising in its rejection of the Munich-type of appeasement, on the one hand, and so eager to suspend judgement in the case of the Yalta-type surrender to Incarnate Evil, on the other hand.

The President and the Vice-President of the United States have asked the American people, in effect, to forget for a season the crimes of which Nikita

Khrushchev is guilty, including the crime of mass murder.

"We will bury you," said NK, addressing the people of the United States in the not distant past. The promise should not be taken as a joke. On the contrary, it should be remembered that the author of this promise to bury us is not a casual killer. Like Genghis Khan and Adolf Hitler, NK is a professional; he has made murder a career. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, all moral considerations are to be swept aside in favor of a new era of negotiation.

The President's invitation to NK was timed to be the culmination of the Vice-President's nine-day tour in the Soviet Union. Mr. Nixon's commission to open the United States cultural exhibition in Moscow was merely the peg on which to hang the new policy of negotiation at the summit — a policy worked out well in advance of Mr. Nixon's trip to Moscow. The appearance of spontaneity in what Mr. Nixon and NK did from day to day was calculated illusion. As a matter of fact, it was all cut and dried.

The first episode of the Nixon mission to Moscow struck the world like a bolt from the blue.

The early press and radio reports of the Nixon-Khrushchev encounter on Moscow television left the impression that the free world in general and the United States in particular had found a tough and unyielding anti-Communist spokesman in the person of Mr. Nixon; one who could and did talk back to the blustering NK.

The impression of a hard-hitting Nixon, more than holding his own in the diplomatically unprecedented bout with the wily Khrushchev, was com-

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pletely dissipated when the incident was later seen on TV. Instead of two topnotch debaters coming to grips with basic issues, the films of the historic event pictured two haggling talkers engaged in good-natured ribbing. Far from suggesting the dignity of a Lincoln-Douglas debate, the video version of the affair showed it to have been more in the nature of a Laurel-Hardy comedy, with Khrushchev in the role of a loquacious and constantly interrupting Oliver and Nixon playing the part of a brow-beaten Stan.

Aside from its failure to deal intelligently with any real issue of the Cold War, the Nixon-Khrushchev encounter was one long exhibition of bad taste, with each man occasionally grabbing the coat sleeve of the other in a gesture which seemed to say, "Don't take that too seriously." Lighthearted banter with the butcher of Budapest will seem to many to be in extremely bad taste.

While Nixon Gallops Off Backwards . . .

No matter how Mr. Nixon interprets his rise to political eminence in the United States, there can hardly be any question that his election to the United States Senate in 1950 was due to his part in the exposure of Alger Hiss and to his rough-and-tumble campaign as an embattled anti-Communist against the fellow-traveling Helen Gahagan Douglas.

The Liberal Establishment — particularly Mrs. Roosevelt—never forgave Mr. Nixon for his part in the exposure of Alger Hiss and his campaign against one of their pets, actress Helen Gahagan Douglas. His performance in the Soviet Union raises the question: Is Nixon making a play for the support of the

Liberal Establishment? Or, is it an adjustment to the necessities of a campaign which he will surely have to make next year against the ultra-liberal Nelson Rockefeller? And, by the way, what was Milton Eisenhower doing in the Nixon entourage? Is it possible that he was sent along as an ideological chap-erone for the Vice-President?

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, they are being asked in many quarters.

One thing — among many — is clear: Mr. Nixon has been committed to the leftist project known as the cultural exchange program. In his telecast from Moscow on August 1, Mr. Nixon proposed to a vast Russian TV audience that "the cultural exchange program should not only be continued but sharply expanded."

The reigning fallacy of the present era of Soviet-American relations — one to which both the President and the Vice-President have explicitly and unreservedly subscribed in their recent statements — is the "better-understanding" fallacy. In his telecast from Moscow, Mr. Nixon stated this fallacy in the following words: "The more Americans who visit and get to know firsthand the people of the Soviet Union and the more Soviets who do the same in the United States, the better understanding we shall have." The claim is made that this "better understanding" will reduce tensions and the danger of war. This claim is not only nonsensical but dangerous.

Writing in the *Saturday Review of Literature* some years ago, Mr. Nixon said: "Communism is evil because it denies God and deifies man." It ought to be apparent to any adult mind that better understanding of Communism

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as an intrinsic evil and Communists as the agents of intrinsic evil would lead not to a more harmonious relation of anti-Communists to Communists but, on the contrary, to a sharpening of moral distinctions. It ought to be axiomatic that a better understanding of Nikita Khrushchev would result in a greater degree of revulsion toward him and all that he stands for.

The fallacy of cultural exchange as a force for peace lies in the fact that what we get from the Soviet Union as samples of Soviet culture are not representative samples. Vice-President Nixon and his wife had a taste of *authentic* Communist culture in Caracas, Venezuela, when they were subjected to a barrage of stones, spit, and verbal insults from a mob whose leaders got their orders from Moscow.

In August 1955, according to Ralph

de Toledano (Mr. Nixon's sympathetic biographer), the Vice-President proposed that the Kremlin show its desire to live in peace with the rest of the world by doing the following things:

Agree to free elections and the unification of Germany; Withdraw Chinese Communist troops from North Korea and agree to free elections and unification; Give freedom to the satellite countries.

It is obvious that these things have not been set forth as conditions for entering into negotiations between Moscow and Washington.

Few would have guessed ten years ago that the Nemesis of Alger Hiss and Helen Gahagan Douglas would one day go to Moscow to liquidate his reputation as an uncompromising anti-Communist.

MAO TSE-TUNG'S SUCCESSOR

by

RODNEY GILBERT

ALL COMMUNIST congresses and conventions, like Communist elections, are sad travesties on the processes of representative government. Among them all none is a more farcical show than the periodical gathering in Peiping known as the "National People's Congress." The second of these, an eleven-day session, was held this past April, after having been scheduled for September of last year, and then for January of this year. It was finally brought together after the one and only important item

on the agenda, the "election" of a successor to Mao Tse-tung, had finally been settled behind the scenes—by what procedure and under what Kremlin pressure heaven only knows. Simply because such things as this can happen, the hundreds of thousands of words of meaningless and deliberately misleading speeches, the great number of asinine resolutions (all vociferously and unanimously adopted), as put on the air by the new China News Agency, have to be monitored abroad.

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An indication of the magnitude of that job is the report from Japan, that Chou En-lai's opening report, punctuated thirty-eight times by applause, ran to thirty-two thousand words and kept the monitors busy for eight hours. Maybe it was of some interest to students of the perversity of Red propaganda to have transcripts of resolutions denouncing India's "expansionist" policy as the root of Red China's troubles in Tibet; but otherwise nothing of all the abominable twaddle that came over the air made the monitoring so well worthwhile as the announcement that Liu Shao-ch'i had been "elected," in succession to Mao Tse-tung, as a "Chairman" of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. That was the one piece of news that caught the Far East experts with their conjectures upside down, and gave all of them the new job of guessing at what it meant—at which job they are still busy.

Who Is Liu? . . .

The news did, however, make it incumbent upon routine journalists, from Tokyo to Singapore, to produce some sort of a biography and some sort of a character sketch of Liu Shao-ch'i for the edification of their readers. And it is amusing to note the unforeseen difficulties that they encountered. One scribe in Japan was surprised to find that, in a collection of Communist biographical sketches of the new Red Chief of State, the date of birth was variously given as 1898, 1902 and 1905. The Japanese writer had noted that Liu was supposed to have gone to Moscow as a student at the age of fifteen or sixteen; so that, if he had been born in 1898, he would have been in Russia under the Czarist

regime and some years before anybody had ever dreamed of the Communist Oriental Institute, which he claims to have attended. This man's troubles could have been dissipated if he had owned a fairly dependable Red *Who's Who*, which is published in Hongkong. Liu Shao-ch'i was born in 1905 and is therefore fifty-four years old.

Another blank in his record was noted by would-be biographers in both Hongkong and Taipei. This was the failure of all available records to mention a Mrs. Liu. Was he too grim, saturnine, and generally nasty a character to have any love in his life? No, said one letter writer, who remembered a little book published nine years ago by a young refugee, entitled "I was Mao Tse-tung's Woman Secretary," in which she told of Liu's efforts to seduce her. But all doubts about Liu's possible aversion to female entanglements have since been dissipated by a contributor to Taipei's bright little magazine, *Free China Review*, who writes as follows:

"Despite his appearance, Liu is a woman chaser and has been married four times. His first wife, a Russian girl, divorced him before his return from Moscow. Wife No. 2, Lin Fang-ying, daughter of a CCP politbureau member, Lin Po-chu, was press attaché of the Chinese Communist embassy at Ulan Bator, Outer Mongolia. After her came Chang Yu-chiung, who followed him from the Yen-an days. His present 'lover,' Chinese Communist jargon alike for legal spouse or cohabitant, is Wang Tan-i, fluent in both Russian and English, and at least twenty years his junior."

So it seems that we are going to get gradually filled in on the background of this character, whom all non-Com-

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munist commentators in the Far East united in describing as generally obnoxious. All agreed on one other point. This was that Liu Shao-ch'i was so feverishly Marxist, so very close to all doctrinaires in Moscow, so much more valuable to the Kremlin as a medium through which orders could be transmitted, that the suggestion here and there of Mao having kicked him upstairs to be done with his meddling in Communist Party affairs was just nonsense. Anyone who thinks that Nikita, Grand Khan of Muscovy, would tolerate any such treatment of his most devoted agent in the Far East, has no understanding of Red China's obligations to the Kremlin.

Is Mao Through? . . .

The far likelier theory is that Mao Tse-tung is on his way down and out—or perhaps we should say up and out. Two years ago the Eighth Party Congress, for some unexplained reason, created the post of "Honorary Chairman" of the Communist Party, endowed with no power of any sort. And that is the ideal spot into which the semi-deified fat boy can be boosted when the Kremlin finally says that his idiocies—such as the communes and backyard steel production—make them nervous; and that they can no longer risk having their valuable Chinese property messed up by this self-infatuated clown. All Oriental observers agree, however, that, as chairman of the all-powerful party, Mao still has more authority than any other person in the Red gangster organization. So far as appearances go that is certainly true; but this is a situation in which appearances may be deceptive. Though he retains the job with which absolute authority over the Party's poli-

cies are associated, does he retain the power *within* the Party that Liu Shao-ch'i has gathered into his own hands?

Liu Shao-ch'i is so little known outside Red China because he is neither a diplomat nor a spellbinder. With the help of Communists who do not like him, the commentators describe him as "arrogant," "unsmiling," "taciturn," "grim," "unfriendly," and even as "socially unacceptable." None of these uncomplimentary descriptions of him explains away the fact that he is a writer on Communist doctrine whose books have long been accepted as compendiums of those articles of faith which every Party member must know by heart and must mouth on all possible occasions. His prestige as the Party prophet is enormous. When Liu first came back from Moscow he went to work in youth and labor organizations—those being the correct fields in which an orthodox Marxist should be active. Labor organization in China, as in Soviet Russia, means the creation of machinery through which the proletariat can be regimented, disciplined, cowed and exploited. Liu is the master of that.

Then, as a Party official, he has held a great number of inconspicuous secretarial jobs. The Chinese Communist Party is divided into district organizations, each with a governing Bureau and each Bureau with a chief secretary who enjoys great power. Liu Shao-ch'i has been bureau secretary of at least seven districts, extending all the way from Manchuria down into south-central China. More than this, Liu has been the chief organizer of the rigid schooling of that horde of little imps from the Red hell who are described in their English language patois as "cadres." They are Party agents. Dur-

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ing the war and in the postwar years, they were subversive agitators. They prepared each rural community that the army took over for the abominable "people's courts," designed to exterminate every intelligent element in rural China that might oppose Red policy. They have been the Party's spies in all factories, villages, collective farms and military units. They are the boys who are now running the communes. Upon them depends, far more than upon the Red Army, or even upon the secret police, the close surveillance of every Chinese, townsman or countryman; and the supreme master of that vast system of Party agents is Liu Shao-ch'i. Finally there is one thing of special interest about this allegedly voluntary resignation by Mao Tse-tung of the chairmanship of the government; and that is that, according to the constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, it involves his resignation to Liu Shao-ch'i of the chairmanship of the National Defense Council. Mao has, in short, relinquished to Liu his authority as commander-in-chief of all Red China's Armed Forces. Then don't forget that Liu goes right on being number-one vice-chairman of the Communist Party of China—automatically chairman if anything untoward should happen to Mao.

An effort has been made to show that, so long as Mao heads the Communist Party, his surrender of a purely decorative "presidency," with mostly ornamental prerogatives, means nothing. This might have been true, if the chairmanship had been given to the senile "Marshal" Chu Teh, or to some other veteran nobody. But it is to be hoped that the reader will understand that the surrender of the title to Liu Shao-ch'i

is a transfer of the dignity of office to a fellow who has already gathered great power within the Party into his own hands, who will use his authority over the Armed Forces as the Kremlin dictates, and who is a long way from being a senile nincompoop.

In Khrushchev's View . . .

It all looks as though Khrushchev has finally cracked down on Mao, after ten years of doubt in the Kremlin as to Mao's usefulness; and that he has found a nice quiet way of disposing of the apotheosis of Mao Tse-tung in China, without undue scandal or the necessity of a public denigration of him there. How Stalin doubted the wisdom of Mao's elevation to the head of the new Chinese Red state, after Mao and his gang had lost their Yenan base to the Nationalists, is a long story. It involved, among other things, Lin Piao and Chen Yi, the two Generals whom Mao had said he distrusted, and who had won the battles that broke the power of the Nationalists. How much Moscow resented Mao's bumptious intervention in the Kremlin's international affairs is another. Remember how Mao went to the international Communist conference in Moscow in 1947 with the avowed intention of going on to Poland? Remember that he made a two-hour speech that wasn't released for full publication in either Soviet Russia or China? Remember that he did not go on to Poland? You must also remember how Khrushchev spoke almost contemptuously of the commune experiment, in his interview with Senator Humphrey.

The upshot of all the accumulated Russian doubts of Mao Tse-tung's fitness to direct the fortunes of the Krem-

Mao Tse-Tung's Successor

lin's great oriental satrapy was the decision by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Hankow (Wuhan), in November and December 1958, that: (1) the commune experiment had been precipitate and ill-advised; and (2) that Mao Tse-tung's resignation from the chairmanship of the government should be accepted. Who said he should resign? And who told the Central Committee, after two painful preliminary sessions, that his resignation should be accepted? There were no Russians present in Hankow, but there was much running to and fro between Hankow and the establishment of Ambassador P. F. Yudin in Peiping, during those heart-rending December days. That this is not all guesswork may be known by the fact that the acceptance of Mao's resignation was broadcast from Taipei some days before the assembled gangsters in Hankow pleaded guilty, to what was essentially a surrender to Soviet dictation, and invented all the reasons why Chairman Mao needed relief from his onerous duties.

The Change To Liu Was Overdue ...

Then came all the wrongheaded

guesswork throughout the Far East, echoed throughout the world, about the significance of this step-down by the plump near-deity whose picture adorns every blank wall in China. Almost nobody in the Far East guessed right. It must again be said for the astute contributors to the *Free China Review* that they were fully aware of the Kremlin's part in Mao's "resignation." But not even they then foresaw that the Kremlin would, on the occasion of this past April's long postponed gathering of the Communist yes-men from the provinces, dictate the election of Liu Shao-ch'i as Mao's successor. All were betting on the choice of an exalted figurehead like the inept General Chu Teh, or the veteran mediocrity Tung Pi-wu, to what would be a betinseled job with no power. This would have left Mao free in his absolutism. None took fully into account the Kremlin's very lively interest in this situation, in its huge satellite that Mao was ruining with his nonsensical experiments. The choice of Liu Shao-ch'i, for a job that gives him such supremacy in China, still has most commentators astonished by the number of his wives, and oblivious to the fact that he runs China for Khrushchev.

We Pause To Remark

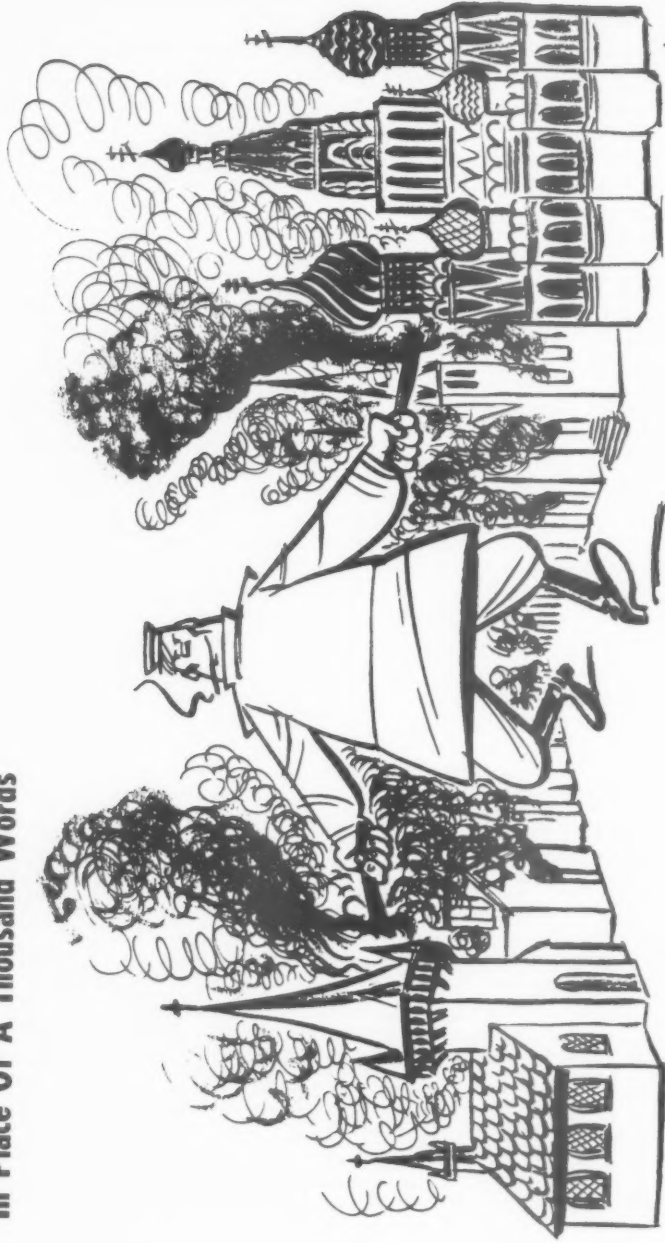
Carrying coals to Newcastle used to be thought of as silly. But that is the acme of logical endeavor compared to our sending a Communist-loaded art exhibit to Moscow to sell Communism to the Russians.

* * *

The books we originally shipped to this same road show, however, must not have been equally and sufficiently Communistic. (Did somebody in Washington slip up?) For just before the American Fair opened in Moscow, the Soviet government sent three censors to demand the removal of some one hundred American books from our exhibit.

Our man (we use the term loosely) in charge meekly complied, saying that after all it was merely a minor matter. And we do not agree with the critic who thought "our man" should have been removed instead of the books. What should have been removed, right back to this country where it belonged, was the "fair" itself. Of course this would automatically have removed the books, too. And if "our man" happened to want to remain in Moscow indefinitely, that we would consider a minor matter.

In Place Of A Thousand Words



Under Communism, Equal Treatment For All Religions

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

This is the eleventh in a series of twelve essays by Mr. Alexander. Their central theme is that the Federalist Papers should not be read as documents of merely historical importance, but as permanently sound analyses of fundamental problems in government. Mr. Alexander illustrates and emphasizes how much timeliness and continuing validity the Federalist Papers have today. The final essay will appear in an early number of this magazine.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA was established as a republic, but a republic democratically conceived.

In other words, "we the people" in 1787 made a popular choice to have a republic, not a democracy. The difference between these two forms of government was widely and frequently discussed by the leaders of the day. Writing in *The Federalist Paper Number 14*, James Madison said:

"The true distinction between these two forms was also adverted to on a former occasion [in the Federalist series]. It is, that in a democracy, the people meet and exercise the government in person; in a republic, they meet and administer it by their representatives and agents. A democracy, consequently, will be confined to a small spot. A republic may be extended over a large region."

During the early Twentieth Century, and continuing since, a hurtful misconception took root and grew in American minds. Unhappily, this distorted thinking coincided with the rise of the Marxist philosophy. And, ironically, the wrong idea about the American Constitution was given its

greatest impetus by a good book written by a fine American.

In 1913 the historian Charles A. Beard published the small volume called *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. At the time of publication, and until his death in 1948, Beard kept insisting to one and all that his work was "an" interpretation, not "the" interpretation. When the book was first published, and in introductions for subsequent editions, Beard said that his purpose had been to open a new subject for historical research; he had never intended to state a thesis in any finality.

But despite Beard's numerous disclaimers, his book had the most unexpected and unjustified effect of backing up a materialistic, even cynical, theory of history — one which is decidedly inimical to American idealism. And it supported a part of the theory offered by Karl Marx.

Beard's volume had a small first printing. But with the Red Revolution of 1917 it commenced to "catch on" fast. By the time of the Roosevelt New Deal and our recognition of Communist Russia, the Beard book was gospel

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for the half-educated debunkers of the period. Its influence on college education and adult thinking is hard to exaggerate. Meanwhile, the author in his maturing years abhorred the mischief he had inadvertently done. For three decades, in the sunshine of a great career, Beard wrote book after book, article after article, made speech after speech, gave interview after interview, to the effect that the heart of the American Constitution is moral—not economic — although an economic factor is rightly and inevitably present.

II

WHAT DID BEARD'S BOOK SAY? His famous chapter called "Conclusions" has been many times summarized and paraphrased. The general reader will undoubtedly recognize the ideas as something he learned in school or encountered in books, magazines, and newspaper columns with a Marxian slant.

Beard, or more accurately his paraphrasers, seem to say:

Far from being a document drawn by patriots and idealists in the name of life, liberty and happiness, the Constitution was the work of selfish interests whose central purpose was to secure and increase their own personal wealth. This wealth largely took the form of "personality," as it was called then, consisting of capitalist business ventures and investments, rather than "realty" or land. By inference, the Revolution was won by "embattled farmers" and other poor indebted folk, but the fruits of victory were snatched by the minions of Mammon.

Beard, or his paraphrasers, also seemed to say:

The Constitution was put over on the country by undemocratic methods, so that "the people" never really knew what happened until they were hog-tied in a hard-hearted contract, favoring the rich merchants and big landlords, producing a Constitutional republic instead of a democracy.

It is easy to see how this line of interpretation found a ready reception in the period between World Wars I and II. Wasn't the first war a "conspiracy" by "capitalist munitions makers"? Wasn't the depression a long-term result of "economic royalists" being enthroned by the rule of "property rights over human rights"? Wasn't Fascism the end-result of republicanism, nationalism, capitalism? Had not Karl Marx predicted exactly what Charles Beard had intimated—that all private enterprise is corrupt and carries the seed of its own destruction? Ergo, concluded the Marxians, a classless, nationless, world-wide socialism provided the only solution.

But — wait. Not everybody accepted the Beard findings and the anti-American interpretation of them. The author himself had warned that the research on which he based his tentative conclusions was "frankly fragmentary." He urged other scholars to dig into the facts and help him discover the truth. Some scholars did not wait to find new facts, but blasted Beard with what was already available in the published works of the Founding Fathers, such as Madison, George Mason, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and the rest. Nicholas Murray Butler, William Howard Taft and Edward S. Corwin, the great Constitutional historian of Princeton, roared out that Beard was inspired either by Marx or the Devil,

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between whom there was no essential difference.

III

THE MATTER WAS not fully set straight, however, until the furor subsided with Beard's death and a new generation of scholars brought some objectivity to the subject. One of these was a young associate professor of history, Robert E. Brown, of Michigan State University. In 1956 Brown published a painstaking refutation of Beard's "economic interpretation." In a work entitled *Charles Beard and the Constitution*, Brown goes back to original Eighteenth Century sources and comes out with a set of documented conclusions which irrefutably prove — as every American has a right to know—that the American Constitution is honestly and exactly what it purports to be. It is an open covenant, openly arrived at, for the establishment of a republic by popular choice and acclaim.

Brown tells how he began his post-graduate career in history by adopting what he calls "the almost universally accepted view that colonial society was undemocratic and that the Revolution was a dual revolution—from England, and for democracy for the lower classes within the colonies."

He continues: "I had also accepted the Beard interpretation that the Constitution represented a conservative counterrevolution on the part of the upper classes to protect their property, and the general view that democracy did not really arrive in this country until the rise of the common man under Andrew Jackson."

But to his own astonishment, Brown discovered by reading newspapers and other contemporary documents of the

time that "the people" of the post-Revolutionary years were not in any mood to abolish "undemocratic" charters. They were concerned with the establishment of stable, conservative, workable forms of government which would preserve the gains of 1776 and pass them on to posterity.

For example, in 1778 the Revolutionary State of Massachusetts held a plebiscite of all adult males, regardless of any wealth or property they owned. This plebiscite rejected a proposed State constitution which was far more "democratic" than the colonial charter. Then in 1780, with the war still on, Massachusetts with unrestricted male suffrage adopted a State constitution which was far more "undemocratic" than the old colonial charter.

IV

THIS WAS ONLY ONE of many instances throughout the pre-Constitution Union showing what the people really wanted. They wanted "democracy" in town meetings and other local gatherings which, in Madison's language, were "confined to a small spot." But for the overall government, both State and national, they wanted things to be run by their representatives or agents, preferably the wisest, bravest, and best men of the community. This means what the Constitution came to call "the republican form of government."

Did "the people" really decide thus? In Beard's book and in his Marx-minded imitators, there is persistent nonsense about the "debtor classes" of pre-Constitution America and their miserable condition of disfranchisement. But Brown's close-to-the-people research shows this assumption to be mythical, if not purposefully mischievous. Brown

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writes with special reference to Massachusetts, where the Revolution started:

"Instead of a colonial society of upper and lower classes, enfranchised and unenfranchised, I found a predominantly middle-class society in which most men owned property, most men were farmers, and most men could vote. There was little class conflict in the colony, and naturally the Revolution there was not a dual revolution. Having a democratic society in which property ownership was widespread . . . it is not surprising that the people of Massachusetts incorporated their ideas in the ("undemocratic" State) constitution of 1780.

"Given the middle-class society which existed before the Revolution it would have been surprising if they had done otherwise. And since most of the people owned property, naturally they would adopt a government which had as one of its functions the protection of property. After all, they had fought the Revolution with the slogan "life, liberty and property." In the course of my research I found many references to other colonies indicating that Massachusetts was not unique in its possession of a democratic, middle-class society."

These references led Brown to a detailed study of all the other colonies, and the study confirmed his belief that the pattern prevailed throughout the Union-to-be. The foolishness about disfranchisement did not survive examination either. In New York State, for instance, Beard and his leftist imitators had made much of the property restrictions on voting. New York voters for the lower house of the legislature had to have freeholds worth twenty pounds, or rent tenements worth forty shillings, or to be freemen of Albany

or New York City. But these qualifications were not a serious hindrance in a middle-class society. Beard came up with what he thought was a scandalizing set of figures. Only 5091 persons out of a population of 30,000 in New York State had a chance to vote for or against the Constitution! This seems to say that only one out of six citizens was a qualified voter; but such would be an absurd conclusion. Actually, according to a study of the 1790 census, only every fifth or sixth person in New York was an adult male. This census gives 5924 "heads of families" in 1790, and over 700 of these were women or freed Negroes. So it turns out that from 83 percent to 100 percent of white adult males were voters. The electorate was about as "democratic" as anybody would ask. It approved a Constitution that was republican and capitalist. America wanted it that way.

V

TO UNDERSTAND what the American Constitution is — or should be — we should take a new look at this controversy dramatized in the battle of two historians: Beard vs. Brown. The controversy, of course, goes far beyond these personalities, far beyond even the schools of thought which they represent. The only thing that matters here is Truth—and Truth matters immensely. The dispute is comparable, on a historical basis, with the old one as to whether the earth was flat or round. For surely, if the commonly accepted Beard interpretation is right, our world is flat, stale, and profitless. But if the Brown concept is supportable — as it clearly is in his detailed research—why, then, ours is a rounded, full, systematic, just and honest American world.

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The historical facts supporting this latter thesis would run somewhat as follows:

The Founding Fathers who wrote and promoted the Constitution were admittedly the big men of their community. They had been the political and economic leaders for many trying years. They were generally successful in their businesses or professions. But there were few extremes of wealth and poverty in that middle-class society. Everybody's interests, whether agricultural or commercial, stood to gain by a strong, property-conscious Federal government.

There was no popular vote, such as we might have now, on the calling of the Constitutional Convention. The thing was done through the State legislature or State conventions. It would have been unheard-of in that day of the stage coach to go about such a matter any other way. Delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, and to the First and Second Continental Congresses, were elected in this manner, as were United States Senators down to the time of World War I.

It was the "democratic" way of establishing a "republican" form of government. Nor is there any evidence to show any widespread disfranchisement, nor the slightest indication that a majority of the country wanted any other sort of Constitution than the one adopted. To read Beard's book one might think that only five percent of adult men were eligible to vote. The latest research shows that this figure was very close to ninety-five percent.

Out of fairness to Beard's memory, and in the interests of Truth, it is wise to concede that there was "an" economic factor in the minds of the men who drew the Constitution. For one

thing, the Fathers were politicians; they knew that a Constitution which today we would describe as "socialist" would have been indignantly rejected by the States.

Significantly, the First Congress of the Republic drew up the Bill of Rights which added several safeguards to capitalism. Moreover, there is ponderous evidence to the effect that the Fathers bracketed the things we now call property rights and human rights. They were, and still are, identical and inseparable. A big difference between a slave and a freeman is his right to own property, including his own person.

While there was no popular, or national, plebiscite to ratify the Constitution, about two-thirds of those who did vote were in favor of ratification. This means that the Constitution had at least a two to one majority of votes cast. Only about one eligible voter out of six bothered to vote. One reason may have been that in these circumstances a voter's silence gave his consent. In sum, he trusted his State legislature or State convention to represent his best interests.

Finally, as Madison observed in *The Federalist Paper Number 10*, people's universal hope of getting rich inclines them to look not unfavorably upon riches. An "economic" interpretation of the Constitution is also a "psychological" one. Americans in that early day, as now, wanted a system of opportunity. Yet, in solemn truth, it is not money that this country has stood for down the centuries. America has always stood for a galaxy of human rights. Our people have generally believed, first and last, that these human rights are best protected by good government.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

We have had no better news to give our readers, since this magazine first intruded on your peace of mind, than the announcement that this feature in search of an author has finally found just about the best there is in the field.

Dr. Revilo P. Oliver is a Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Illinois. He teaches graduate students only, and would have no trouble discussing the Greek, Latin, or Sanskrit, in which his courses deal, with any such students who happened to speak only German or French or Italian or Spanish or Portuguese or Catalan or Provençal. But don't let all of that erudition scare you. He also has exactly what we need for the best book-review section in any contemporary publication — as you will see.

Much of what is called the complexity of our age is merely confusion. Surrounded by innumerable objects of attention, we are like men in the midst of a dense forest—and from every branch comes the exasperating stridulation of swarming propagandists. From this distracting multiplicity we can escape only by remembering that what is fundamental is always simple. However numerous the trees, the cardinal points of the compass remain the same.

The simple and basic facts of the economic structure of society are concisely and lucidly stated in Frank Chodorov's *THE RISE AND FALL OF SOCIETY* (Devlin-Adair, New York; 185 pages, \$3.95). It is an indispensable compass that clearly marks the directions that we must know, if we are to find our way through the jungle of contemporary politics. It distinguishes three things habitually confused: Society, Government, and the State.

A society is an association of individuals (who, of course, must share a common culture) for the exchange of

goods and services. These can be produced only by the work of individuals, but they can in some circumstances be procured with less effort by violence or fraud. Society therefore must establish Government to protect the freedom and the property of the individuals who compose it.

Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom because Government, if not constantly pruned, spontaneously grows into the parasite that Mr. Chodorov calls the State, which, like all parasitic organisms, will continue to grow at the expense of its host until it kills it. That is the nature of parasites. The State is a specialized society of individuals who nourish themselves by consuming as much as possible of the production of the society to which they have fastened themselves. They *all* work, consciously or instinctively, to establish a totalitarian despotism.

That is the fundamental economic fact on which Mr. Chodorov insists. To complain of socialism in Washington is as absurd as complaining of a manu-

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facturer's desire to sell his product. In the author's blunt words, "A bureaucrat is a socialist, or communist, because his business *requires* him to think like a socialist, or communist."

There is, of course, a significant difference: the manufacturer has produced something and thereby augmented the wealth of society; the bureaucrat can produce only trouble. He not only diminishes the wealth of society by parasitically consuming a part of its production, but his business is to interfere with production and hence to impede it as much as possible. Lice multiply by instinct; bureaucrats, who must, on some level of consciousness, be aware of their parasitic function, multiply because only thus can they maintain themselves. Each intervention in the economic life of society produces dislocations (eventually of the magnitude that occurred in 1929) which *must* be used as a pretext for further interventions to conceal the cause of the disturbance. A bureaucracy necessarily strives to destroy society by splitting it into antagonistic groups so that each group in turn may be bribed with a small share of the loot that is "legally" stolen from everyone.

This technique works because the generality of men do not look beyond promises of immediate personal advantage, but the bureaucracy, as it gains economic control, can create the general insecurity and covert panic that leads even less credulous men to consider this year's salary or this year's dividends more important than eventual enslavement or confiscation. It is hard for people to realize that, *even if* the huge Communist conspiracy were totally extirpated in this country, mere growth of the bureaucracy will inevitably bring us to a time in which the major function

of the F.B.I. will be surveillance of business men and property owners who, like the *curiales* of the late Roman Empire, will try to abandon all their possessions and become vagabonds to escape from intolerable servitude to the State.

The United States is now dying, as all great nations of the past have died, of pediculosis. Our only hope is to delouse ourselves as quickly as we can. The insecticide will sting and burn in every open sore that the vermin have made, but the only question is whether we as a nation *want* to regain the health that the Constitution was designed to protect.

Mr. Chodorov's book, of which we have tried to suggest the general tenor, is a compass to show us the true directions—not a detailed chart. He barely mentions some of the major difficulties of our problem, notably war, which has always been, and throughout the foreseeable future will continue to be, the primary concern of a nation. Mr. Chodorov's purpose was to exhibit to us the economic conditions of freedom, and that he has done with a lucidity and courage that make him the worthy heir of the framers of the Constitution, who, for the first time in human history, devised a means of preventing the State from devouring Society.

* * *

It is not remarkable that the criminals of the Communist underground have been so successful in the United States. Like the venomous snakes of the tropics, they flourish in a habitat that gives them protective cover, the vast jungle of unreason that has overgrown the areas that were once systematically cultivated by the intellectual disciplines. In every field that deals with human

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values, from grammar to economics, the ordered patterns of logical thought and precise language are reverting to the jungles of prolific sophistry and verbal confusion.

In a recent lecture (METAPHYSICS AND IDEOLOGY, Marquette University, Milwaukee; 87 pages, \$2.50), William Oliver Martin, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Rhode Island, discusses the muddle in which contemporary teachers of philosophy find themselves when they confuse philosophy with anti-philosophy. All of our thought necessarily depends on metaphysical premises concerning the nature of truth and the possibility of attaining knowledge. Now many of us may take these premises for granted without critical examination, but the function of metaphysics as a discipline is so to examine them, and it is the function of philosophy to use these premises to define our knowledge of reality. Thus, even if we, unlike the author, reject the Aristotelian metaphysics in favor of the radical epistemological scepticism of Pyrrho and Hume, we must, so long as we are philosophers, consistently base on that scepticism our thinking on all other matters.

Currently, however, anti-philosophy, on the basis of some tacit or explicit denial of the possibility of ascertaining truth by reason, turns the mind from an effort to understand the world to an effort to change the world to make it conform to some pattern whose validity is taken for granted, although obviously that validity, however disguised by verbiage, can depend on nothing more than irrational emotions—usually malice and greed. Thus the function of intelligence is not to ascertain truth, but to devise an efficacious lie, or, if you

prefer a politer word, an ideology. It is no wonder, therefore, that our age finds itself bewildered and lost in a jungle of ideological growths.

In our time, as Professor Martin puts it, "the serious problem is *not* that of intellectual differences among philosophers seeking truth. Rather it is that of rival ideologists who seek alternative idea-weapons to destroy, through institutional control, the moral and religious heritage of the West."

* * *

Just as it was obvious to every informed observer two years ago that Fidel Castro's projected invasion of Cuba was a Communist operation, so it is now obvious that the Panama Canal is either third or fourth on the current list of Soviet objectives in the Caribbean. It is improbable that the Communists will reach this item on their agenda in less than three years. Seizure of the Canal at the present time might — who knows? — stir even the apathetic masses of America to a perception that their time is running out. It will be safer, therefore, to prepare them for the loss of their vital waterway by a campaign in the press and over the radio more extensive and intensive than that which prepared them for the occupation of Cuba. This campaign has not yet begun, but, as usual, by some uncanny coincidence, our "Liberal intellectuals" seem to be anticipating the Kremlin's needs.

The haughtily dignified quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, contains, in the third issue of its current volume, an article entitled "Control of the Panama Canal: An Obsolete Shibboleth?" by two Professors of Political Science in Stanford University, Martin B. Travis and James B. Watkins. These scholars begin by

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proving that we cannot defend the Panama Canal because a hydrogen bomb properly placed would put it out of operation. (The same bomb would, of course, ruin the docks of San Francisco, but we are not told whether these, too, should be abandoned.)

The authors then prove that we shall have to surrender the Canal anyway. This is certain because *several* professors in Panama are of the opinion that the treaty by which we obtained possession of the Canal Zone in perpetuity is invalid. Furthermore, the New York *Times* reports that the Panamanians "would be happy to see the United States sent packing." That settles the question, because, of course, "The use of force by the United States is out of the question." Inevitably, therefore, we shall "confront a situation not unlike that faced by the British at Suez." (Presumably this refers to the time at which the British Government yielded to threats from Moscow and Washington.)

The only problem, therefore, is how we Americans can retreat gracefully before the Panamanians boot us out. The solution is obvious: just hand the Canal over to what is called the "United Nations." This will solve everything, because "internationalization would leave unimpaired the real interests [*sic*] of the United States," and would even make possible defense of the Canal, because thus "the United States would be in a better moral position to attract the support of the world community." It is not made clear whether the moral position would neutralize hydrogen bombs, or whether the "world community" would mobilize in our defense the Strategic Air Force of Costa Rica and the invincible legions of Honduras. But however that may be, we are assured

that if we give up the Canal now, we shall be showing "inspired statesmanship" in the tradition of our great Protector, Harry Truman, who, as early as the Potsdam Conference, proposed that the United States should be stripped of its canal.

This article will be read with many squeals of approval by "intellectuals," who will chant, in their shrill little voices, a chorus of rejoicing that it is "out of the question" that Americans should have left enough manhood to want to defend their property. And some people will even suppose that the fustian verbiage of internationalism refers to something real, for, as every inspired statesman now knows,

'Tis brillig and the slithy
intelluntity
Do gyre and gimble in the
world community.

* * *

Last January the Russian "moon-rocket" hit its target, the front pages of our newspapers and the minds of gullible politicians, but it was a serious blunder. Although our bureaucracy continues sullenly to insist that the Russians may have sent a rocket past the moon, because, after all, no one saw them not do it, the public has learned that the "Lunik" was a hoax manufactured in a Communist lie-factory. And consequently the whole fabric of propaganda about Russian science begins to crumble.

Among the magazines on most newsstands you will find a booklet by Lloyd Mallan, *Russia and the Big Red Lie* (Fawcett Publications, Greenwich, Conn.; 144 pages, 75¢). Mr. Mallan, a journalist with a well established reputation for accuracy in reporting scientific news, travelled 14,000 miles in Russia

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last year, interviewed thirty-eight prominent Soviet scientists, and saw many of the major laboratories, observatories, and airfields. Despite the preconceptions with which he began his journey, he was quickly forced to the conclusion that "the people and press of the entire world have been completely and dangerously fooled."

He found, for example, that the great Institute which, according to the Russian press releases, was building a rocket which would circle the moon and return to earth, consisted of a lone professor who opined that such a thing could be done *if* someone could devise a way to increase the velocity of a large rocket by 73 per-cent. He found fraud after fraud in the photographs and statistics which purport to show the triumphs of Russian science. What is even more significant, he found that Russian scientific equipment, when not imported from the United States, consists of inferior copies of apparatus long obsolete in this country. For example, the best optical equipment in Russia for tracking satellites was an old air-reconnaissance camera that can be bought from army surplus in the United States for \$80. Mr. Mallan was convinced that Russia simply does not have the capacity to produce an inter-continental missile.

Only quite mediocre attainments lie behind the myth of Soviet prowess and achievement in science that is so industriously circulated in our schools and press today. Mr. Mallan concludes: "The Kremlin is using the Lie as a weapon with which to take over the world, just as you bluff to rake in a poker pot. The Lie is by far the most powerful, most effective, most fearsome weapon Moscow has."

Now it is as dangerous to underes-

timate as to overestimate an enemy, and many readers of Mr. Mallan's book will be troubled by the objection that first occurred to us. It is easy enough, of course, to plant lies in the press, but how could the Russians have duped American scientists? We accordingly consulted friends in physics and chemistry who read regularly the Russian scientific journals. Here is a summary of our questions and their answers.

If Russian technology and scientific apparatus are as inferior as Mr. Mallan reports, why is that not apparent in the publications of Russian scientists?

—But it *is* apparent. Russian physicists and chemists are ordinarily competent, but their work depends on either speculation or experiments that can be performed with relatively simple or low-grade equipment. They always build on what has been done in the West. In physics and chemistry, at least, *no basic discovery or new technique has come out of Russia.*

If that is so, why does one hear such glowing accounts of Russian achievement from American scientists?

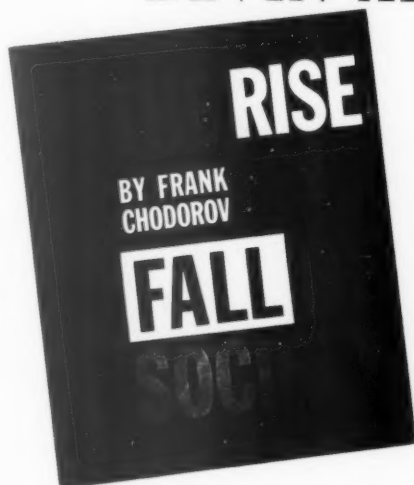
—Those pronouncements come, almost without exception, from university professors. The research scientists in industry are not worried about Russian potentialities.

Why should scientists in universities hold views so different from those held by men in industry?

—You must remember that *universities have a vested interest in propagating the myth of Russian achievement.* The more the American people are scared by talk of a "desperate need to catch up with Russia," the more money they will provide for new buildings, bigger staffs, and scholarships to increase enrollments.

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