

AMERICAN OPINION

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AN INFORMAL REVIEW

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AMERICAN OPINION

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October 24, 1959

Dear Reader:

Two years ago, at an otherwise happy meeting with a small group of close business associates, your editor fell into the role of "skeleton at the feast." He remarked that, unless apparently irresistible forces could be slowed down and reversed, we then had about five more years in which to enjoy the "American way of life" which we had all known.

This did not mean that by 1962 there would be any formal nullification of the theoretical independence of the United States. We think that, even if the present momentum of the Communist advance continues, it will be perhaps as much as ten years after 1962 before our country is openly split into some four administrative units within a world-wide Soviet empire. A patient gradualism, as we have said many times before, is the most important key to the Communists' overwhelming success.

It did mean that, unless something gives, the Communist control over our whole national life will have been virtually completed by 1962. The vicious poison of Communist power will be throbbing through every artery and vein of our political, economic, and cultural activities. The Communists' brutal elimination of their enemies will then begin in widespread earnest, by all means from coercion to murder which they have used in other countries. And even any semblance of the

(Continued on Inside Back Cover)

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Bonn, October 2, 1959

EUROPE is beginning to realize the costs of Khrushchev's pleasure trip to Washington, Hollywood and other centers of American politics. The first payments are getting due and they are being made, as we said would be inevitable, in German currency. For there is, right now, no other currency available in the great sellout.

While Mr. Eisenhower was entertaining his exuberant visitor, and for a while afterwards, the Germans were most anxious to behave like good and reliable fellows. They acted as if they had never heard of Macmillan or Kennan or any other promoters of appeasement. There was not a peep to disturb the deep thinking at Camp David. In those peculiar September days (where are the snows of yesteryear?) Bonn, like all other capitals of Western Europe, was merely praying for sunshine in America. But now the shock of recognition has set in. Bonn trembles.

Mr. Herter Opens His Mouth...

It all began with an astonishing statement the Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, volunteered at a press conference. The United States, he said amiably, has no objection to a "peace treaty" between the Soviet Union and East Germany, provided the American rights in West Berlin are not questioned in such a treaty. Whereupon the roof fell in.

True, Mr. Herter can claim that, after all, nobody expected him to be a

competent successor to John Foster Dulles. Foreigners, on the other hand, who don't have the American citizen's inexhaustible patience with the fumbings of his public officials, insist on their right to take American statesmen seriously. And in this particular case it proved absolutely impossible to persuade Europeans that Mr. Herter simply did not know what he was saying.

What *was* he saying? Whether he knew it or not, he was saying that the United States is prepared to recognize the sovereignty of the East German Quisling regime. For only sovereign powers can be granted the right to sign a peace treaty. And when the United States Secretary of State asserts that his Government has no objection to a "peace treaty" between the Soviet Union and East Germany, he has, for all practical *and* legal purposes, recognized the "German Democratic Republic" — i.e., the existence of "two Germanies." And this is not just a nicety of international diplomacy. It is the essence of the West's conflict with the Soviets: Do we or don't we concede the existence of "two Germanies" — do we or don't we insist on the sovereignty and indivisibility of the German Republic, whose government, in Bonn, remains the decisive guarantor of Western integrity on the Continent?

Once he noticed what he had done, Mr. Herter made an attempt at "clarification": He had meant to say, he now

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asserted, that the United States, after all, has no way of preventing the Soviets from doing with Ulbricht whatever they want. But this explanation only made things worse. For why didn't Mr. Herter say what he meant to say? Was it too complicated simply to state: "Whatever the Soviets do with their Ulbricht will never commit the United States, which under no circumstances will ever grant that Quisling sovereignty"? In fact (and for this reason Mr. Herter bungled worse when he "explained"), even in his "clarification" the Secretary of State pointedly *avoided* assuring Bonn that the United States would not recognize the sovereign rights of the Ulbricht regime to sign a peace treaty. Having first aroused the suspicious anxiety of Bonn, he then hardened and deepened it.

And Eisenhower Puts His Foot In It . . .

Particularly as "the new Eisenhower" (i.e., the one who executes his own foreign policy) spoke up right after Herter, rather disastrously. One had to admit, said the President, that the Berlin situation was abnormal. He and Mr. Khrushchev had therefore resolved to find a solution which would satisfy "all parties concerned," including East Germany.

Now what makes the Berlin situation abnormal is the unbearable fact that the territory surrounding Berlin remains illegally occupied by Soviet troops. In all other respects the situation in West Berlin is as normal as one would wish it to be in London or in Washington: West Berlin pulsates with vitality and an incomparable resoluteness to resist Moscow. That the President of the United States suddenly calls the situa-

tion of West Berlin abnormal could mean only one thing: He wishes to reduce West Berlin's anti-Communist resoluteness.

And how did he propose to go about it? By satisfying Khrushchev and Ulbricht. This is not a mere interpretation. This is what Mr. Eisenhower said in so many words. Even worse, he specifically stated at his press conference that he could not promise to protect the freedom of West Berlin's people. True, Jim Hagerty tried rather hectically, right after that historic press conference, to correct the disastrous impression his boss had already made on the entire world. To no avail. The damage was done—and not because the world is unwilling to grant a United States President the right to make a slip of the tongue. This right, after years of Eisenhower press conferences, is generally conceded. But this time Eisenhower's tongue slipped, if at all, in the direction of utmost sincerity: What he said sounded completely persuasive because, coming right after Eisenhower's talks with Khrushchev, it matched exactly what realists had expected to be their subject matter and their "target of agreement."

With The Usual Results . . .

For the first time in United States relations with Bonn a Presidential denial remained useless. The German Ambassador to Washington, Dr. Grewe, is now being overworked with incessant "explanatory" conferences in the State Department, which are supposed to calm down Bonn's fears. Again useless. Whereupon the President entered into an interminable exchange of private communications with Dr. Adenauer—none of which, it seems here, succeeded

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in reassuring Bonn.

And Bonn's restlessness is by no means the result of a jittery "public opinion." On the contrary, the German press is showing a downright embarrassing restraint: The fear of this pre-vaillingly "neutralist" German press to arouse the German people's anxieties is still more effective than the fear of Germany's irreparable defeat in the Cold War. The German press, in fact, acts as if nothing had happened and everything were just fine. Every other day the trans-atlantic planes bring another load of V.I.P.'s from Washington, who are trying to bamboozle Adenauer into serenity. But all of this won't help. The shadows of utter distress are over Bonn. The "summit conference" is scheduled before the end of the year. Those who know have no longer any doubt that West Germany will by then be compelled to give in.

* * *

While In England, Tweedlepot and Tweedlepan . . .

I am writing this a week before the British elections, when I could not possibly know their results. On the other hand, my readers will have learned those results long before they hear from me. But this, it seems to me, is precisely the right moment to express my opinion that the results of the British elections are altogether and entirely irrelevant. And there is no more relevant statement to make about the British elections.

A telling caricature in a recent issue of the London *Observer* expresses the feeling quite cogently. A sad-looking Eisenhower and a bored Khrushchev face each other across a "summit" table, at which some empty chairs are waiting for unknown occupants; and

Khrushchev says to Eisenhower: "What kind of Britain would YOU like to be represented here—one with a purchase tax on pots and pans, or one without?" No one, indeed, could have measured the depth and the dimension of current domestic British divergences more succinctly. At the moment of decision for the Western world, when the omissions and commissions of Western leadership will without any doubt shape the fate of the world for generations to come, British politics have reached a state of frivolous inanity that is both beyond description and beyond belief.

The election campaign of Macmillan's party was as absurd as was Gaitskell's, and just as demagogic. The prize for which the two were contending was ostensibly Mr. Khrushchev's flirtatious smile: The main argument of Labor as well as of the "Conservatives" remained throughout the campaign that their party offered better chances than the other to satisfy Mr. K. And such competition for the favors of the great butcher seemed, without any question, to fit the public mood of the famously heroic British Isles. There was, at any rate, not once in these weeks of an obscene election campaign a sign of popular protest or even unrest; the betting public merely disagreed about the attractiveness the two contenders may exert on Mr. Khrushchev.

Stage An Election . . .

But perhaps more significant for the morbid state of British politics than the revolting sameness of capitulation sentiments is the grotesque paucity of domestic issues. England has reached that questionable utopian perfection of a welfare society in which there simply is no disagreement, except over the amo-

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rous behavior of Princess Margaret. As to the nation's economics, the "Conservatives" have so enthusiastically embraced the principles of Labor that the latter must prove just as "realistic" as their unprincipled competition. Hence that issue of a "purchase tax on pots and pans." The cartoonist has not even invented the crack; the only moment of heated debate was indeed reached when Labor demanded such a tax and the "Conservatives" — always anxious to protect "the masses" — vehemently objected to the "social injustice" implied. Such is life in that realm, that England.

As Pointless As Those in America . . .

Only in England? It seems to me that the official "Establishment" in all Western countries is moving towards England's rigid flabbiness. In all Western nations the certified "Conservatives" have become socialists at heart and populists in political manners; and the Socialists have assumed the protective colors of "bourgeois" behavior. There is no longer a choice—except to damn the whole Establishment altogether. And this is an unlikely choice, as long as everybody is having a good time because all payments are postponed. Tomorrow, of course, or perhaps in a couple of years, the bill will be presented: the West will even visibly collapse under the inflated Communist pressure. But until then the British will vote for or against a purchase tax on pots and pans, the Germans will dream of bigger and better cars, and the Americans will buy airplane tickets to Moscow — Socialists and "Conservatives" alike.

In a way, a Labor victory in Britain

ought to be desirable. For there is a slight chance that Aneurin Bevan might be less slick a foreign minister than Selwyn Lloyd, and thus might help us in awakening the American people to the atrocious dangers of the British appeasement policy. Even Mr. Eisenhower, who so readily followed Macmillan's lead, might find it difficult to love Gaitskell. We are going through a period in which the larger evil could be the lesser one.

* * *

And In Italy . . .

On October 20, in Florence, Italy's Christian Democratic Party will commence its most fateful congress of this decade. The party will have to sit in judgement over the Segni Government, and to react to Fanfani's craving for power. Which, in terms of national fate, means the final choice between a moderately conservative course and a "united front" with Italy's pro-Communist Nenni-Socialists. And the odds are against Segni.

This reporter has often talked of Italian politics before, and there is very little fundamentally new he could add today. The issue is exactly the same as since about 1955: Italy's Christian Democracy, about evenly divided between a right wing and a left wing, is unable to present a majority government without depending on either the "neofascist" and monarchist splinter parties on the right or on Nenni's "Trojan Asses." Sponsored by the all-powerful Signor Enrico Mattei, the leftist boss of Italy's fuel industry, former Prime Minister Fanfani has wasted no time in rallying supporters for his comeback. On the eve of the party convention he seems to have persuaded Nenni to participate in a most effective intrigue:

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The arrogant Signor Pietro Nenni has become modest and is ready to support a Fanfani Government without entering it himself. With this melodramatic coup Fanfani may easily overwhelm his own party. For if it should now seem possible to enjoy the blessings of a "popular" government without delivering all power to the Socialists, the Christian Democrats might very well run into the trap.

And it is of course a trap. Once the Fanfani Government is established, Nenni will soon confront it with the alternatives: to fall again, and this time for good; or to "enlarge" its basis by making Signor Nenni Vice Premier, and thus the real boss of Italy. No one is fooled by Nenni's current modesty, except the Christian Democratic politicians of the "center." But it is their convention that will decide about Italy's fate; and so, it seems, Italy is going to be fooled into submission.

Certain recent moves of Segni's group seem to indicate that Segni himself is resigned to his political demise. For instance, at the end of his American visit, Segni has issued a rather improbable and brazenly courageous statement; he has warned the West not to fall for Khrushchev's "disarmament" plan. This, for an Italian Prime Minister, is not just suicidal but, one would think, a purely demonstrative gesture: A man who knows that his days in power are numbered intentionally seeks a good curtain line by which he may be remembered. Segni, it seems, is no longer trying to secure a majority in his own party (in which case he would have most cautiously referred to the Eisenhower-Khrushchev era of "good will") but deems Fanfani irresistible. Thus, he can afford courage; for it

really does not matter any more.

Confusion Advances With Assurance . . .

Segni belongs to one of four factions within Italy's Christian Democrats — to the center group led by the party's current secretary general, Aldo Moro, whose job Fanfani is seeking. To the right of Moro's and Segni's group is the "*primavera*" faction led by Andreotti, who preaches a stable coalition with the monarchists and "neo-fascists." And Andreotti himself admits that he represents but a small minority in his party. His sworn enemies are organized in the faction "*sinistra di base*," led by Sullo, who openly advocates coalition with Nenni. And finally there is Fanfani's faction, which is not only determined, but apparently strong enough, to wrest party control from Moro and Segni. This faction cooperates closely with "*sinistra di base*" and, as I have said, seems to be assured of Nenni's cooperation.

The forthcoming Christian-Democratic convention may even result in an official split of the party. Lately there have been ominous symptoms of a factional ruthlessness that make that splitup seem well-nigh inescapable. It has already taken place in Sicily, where one half of the Christian Democratic Party, in alliance with the local Communists, rules against the other. On the Italian mainland, Fanfani and Sullo are determined to crush at least Andreotti (without whose aid Segni cannot govern) and, if possible, also Moro and Segni. They have just rejected Moro's compromise platform that undertook to reconcile Fanfani with Segni. The Christian-Democratic "left" apparently feels strong enough to dictate the par-

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ty's course.

In the last analysis, however, the party convention in Florence will be controlled by Eisenhower: Italy's conservative government was killed during those friendly walks with Mr. K. in the woods of Camp David.

* * *

But How Can The American People Find It Out? . . .

Rereading these *European Surveys* I realize that, over the last few months (and also throughout 1958), I kept frightening my readers: Wasn't, each month, my *Survey* the exact opposite of everything a well-informed American was reading in his respectable metropolitan press? Wasn't I simply trying "to be different," if only by scaring our subscribers?

The moment has come, it seems to me, to discuss this possibility. This month and, I am afraid, during the months to come, my *Survey* will resemble the foreign-news dispatches in the *New York Times* even less than ever before. And so I'd better clarify the situation, though I hope to do this more effectively than did Mr. Herter.

The truth of the matter is that the American press no longer has foreign correspondents. What goes by that name is a group of privately employed members of the United States diplomatic service. One must see them in

performance to realize that American foreign correspondents do not report to their readers what is going on in the world, but what seems to support Mr. Eisenhower's foreign policy. I have in my days seen the blind and dumb conformism of Europe's controlled press—owned by cynical tyrants and used like a whore; and I know that *The New York Times* is owned by private gentlemen and remains the most respectable newspaper of the world. But I want to assure my readers that neither *Tass* nor Hitler's press ever had a more dependable corps of "reliable" correspondents abroad than Mr. Sulzberger has today.

This is why my *Surveys* have so little in common with the unending stream of European dispatches in the American press. I know some of America's foreign correspondents and I am prepared to testify to their personal decency and to the loftiness of their convictions. But I am not ready to call them foreign correspondents. They are good-will ambassadors of the American "Establishment" to the "Establishments" abroad. Their assignment and their ambition is to support Eisenhower's foreign policy. My assignment is to report what this foreign policy does to the world. And my ambition is to see that foreign policy changed so that the world may survive.

Of Course

From Father Keller's column we learn of the Communist student officer who was asked: "What would you do if, in a war, your supply lines should break down, and you were suddenly without ammunition?"

The reply was immediate: "I would sit down with the enemy and discuss peace terms until my new supply of ammunition arrived."

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT...

The SPX Research Associates have published a condensed translation of the reports they have received, through Shanghai, on Khrushchev's conversation with Chou En-lai, while Khrushchev was in Peiping immediately following his visit to the United States. SPX believes these reports to be accurate, and we know SPX to be dependable. So we offer our readers the following paraphrase of

What Khrushchev Told Chou:

1. Eisenhower is all right. He will go along on a Summit and a peaceful settlement; more trade and credit for everybody and more cultural exchange. We can do business with Eisenhower. He sees things sensibly. He wants to be remembered as a peace-maker.
2. But some things should not be hurried or he will be embarrassed and less able to do what he wants to do. It will take time for him to get some answers. It is too bad he is not staying where he is.
3. Not all the people around him are reliable. Nixon talks out of both sides of his mouth. He tried to embarrass me, again, with a speech to some medical people before I reached the United States. I taxed Eisenhower with it and he apologized but I told him it had been done and was over. I do not trust Nixon. Eaton is right about Rockefeller.
4. If enough people follow Eisenhower we will get what we want, over a great deal of opposition from some quarters. He sees the need of peace and knows the Americans are afraid of us. He is most discreet, and does not bring up unpleasant subjects like some of the American warmongers.
5. Pressure is to be brought onto Chiang at once, and constantly, so as to get him out. That should make things easier because it will convince many people we are able to get things done. (a)
6. We are going to get what we want in Berlin. The ratholes

If You Want It Straight

will be stopped (b) and the squawkers silenced in a very comfortable and quiet way. (c) Eisenhower accepts my idea that West Berlin is abnormal (d) and must be liquidated, but he wants time to get it done. (e)

7. I think NATO, SEATO, and the others will not amount to very much after these Summit decisions have been made and carried out. He accepts the German Democratic Republic as a fact; and the Summit will draw Adenauer's teeth. (f)

8. Eisenhower's people will raise no serious questions on the East or Tibet, and things are favorable elsewhere. They may have to make some motions, but that will be all. Nobody will take them seriously.

9. Time will be needed by Eisenhower to eliminate opposition, and get things done. By spring party leaders in America will be fighting over choice bones and will not pay too much attention.

10. Do not expect too much in a hurry. Time is with us. We can wait.

SPX published a number of explanatory footnotes with the above text. We reprint a few of them below.

(a) This pressure is already under way. It was initiated with the visit of Neil McElroy to Taiwan.

(b) In an interview with Axel Springer of *Die Welt*, reported in *Pravda* February 8, 1958, Khrushchev had said: It is also well known that the territory of West Berlin is widely used for subversive activities against the German Democratic Republic and other Socialist countries."

(c) "... And we want the Berlin problem to be solved on a basis which would not cause a turbulent reaction." Kremlin Press Conference, November 27, 1958, as reported by Radio Moscow.

(d) See Eisenhower's reply to Question 9, in the official transcript of his Press Conference of September 28, in which he adopted Khrushchev's adjective "abnormal" with reference to Berlin, as used by Khrushchev in his Kremlin Press Conference of November 27, 1958 (as reported by *Tass*), and which Khrushchev has frequently used since, including on at least three occasions during his American tour.

(e) Note Eisenhower's answer to Question (7) at the same Press Conference, to the effect that he could not guarantee anything on Berlin . . .

(f) Referring to Adenauer's plan for the reunification of Germany, in a speech at the Palace of Culture at the Electro-chemical Kombinat at Bitterfeld, East Germany, on July 9, 1958, Khrushchev suggested that Adenauer "should be put in a mental home and have his mind examined."

An Interview With GOVERNOR ORVAL FAUBUS

by

DAVID FRANKE AND DOUGLAS CADDY

This magazine is as opposed to integration-forced-at-bayonet-point or to interference by the Federal Government in those matters which properly belong to the States, as Thomas Jefferson could have been. Our contempt for the present Supreme Court of the United States is as great as would be that of Alexander Hamilton if he were alive today. On those particular attitudes we thoroughly agree with the present Governor of Arkansas. Beyond that special area, however, we shall carry no torch for Orval Faubus until his future actions have convinced us of the completeness of his break with his earlier associations and support.

But, as the young men who obtained the following interview have stated, Governor Faubus is certainly one of the most controversial figures to appear on the political scene in recent years. Yet, few Americans know what his professed views are on anything other than segregation versus integration. This interview was intended to clarify the Governor's current position at other points on the ideological front. It is not an expression by us of either approval or disapproval of his views.

Q. Governor, most news stories that have been written about you since the Little Rock crisis in 1957 have identified you almost solely with the segregation-integration question. But many Americans have wondered what positions you take on other vital issues of today. Just where would you place yourself in the Liberal-Conservative political spectrum of contemporary politics?

A. I have been known as both — as a liberal and as a conservative. Perhaps it is closer to the truth to say that I am a combination of the two. Over the years, I have been—and still am—in favor of social security benefits, retirement benefits, and the general employment-security and welfare program.

The biggest fight now is to keep these programs from being abused to where they destroy their effectiveness and the Nation.

When I was a young man entering politics — some twenty-five or thirty years ago — I advocated such programs, and still do. But we thought of them as a reward for virtue and industry and not as a means of supporting weakness and sin, or as a refuge for that type of people. Social security, for instance, was meant to be a reward for people who had worked hard all their years, led Christian lives, and 'tamed the wilderness.' These programs were begun when we were changing from an old order to a highly complex one.

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I have also favored river development programs. We didn't think of TVA as a refuge for socialists, but rather as a program to be controlled by the people and used as an economic asset for prosperity. Almost all these programs are being abused now to an appalling degree.

In these ways you may call me liberal, but in the way I want them controlled and used properly I would be a conservative.

Q. Do you approve, then, of deficit financing to promote such programs?

A. I believe in borrowing money to a moderate extent; in this sense I could be classified as a liberal. But to borrow money to throw away around the world without controls—that I am opposed to, and here I would be called a conservative. I guess you could call me a “practical idealist”—a description that was used by an old friend of mine in the Army.

In civil rights, for instance, I feel that any citizen — regardless of race, creed or color—is entitled to the rights which other citizens enjoy, and abuses which deny those rights should be corrected. The attainment of personal progress is one of the basic precepts of democracy. But you are far more than a liberal when you go so far as to allow a small minority to dictate to a Nation.

Q. On a recent television program Senator Fulbright, the junior Senator from your State, finally broke his long two-year self-imposed silence and declared that he believed that you had mishandled the Central High question when it first arose. Would you care to comment on the Senator's remarks?

A. I have only one comment about

all such criticism. I've been accused of mishandling the Central High question, but I ask my critics: “How would you have handled it?” Criticism is one thing, but constructive criticism — by which I mean the suggestion of better methods—is another thing. No one has yet come forward and explained how they would have handled the situation, except for the extreme integrationists. They wanted me to use the forces to promote integration. I'm never going to do that. I recognize the right of voluntary association, but I am opposed to association by compulsion.

Q. On the same television program, Senator Fulbright announced that he is in favor of eventual United States recognition of Red China. As you know, the Senator is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. What is your position on extending diplomatic recognition to Red China?

A. Under the Constitution, the conduct of foreign relations is the responsibility of the Federal government. Personally, I would not be in favor of recognition because the Nationalist Government still exists, and I have no doubt that it would have the support of the great majority of the Chinese people if they had the freedom to express themselves.

Q. Holmes Alexander, the noted Washington political columnist, recently wrote that Senator Fulbright feels it is his duty as head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to support the President's foreign aid program — despite the fact that letters from his constituents in Arkansas have indicated they are opposed to the foreign aid program. Do you think Senator Ful-

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bright is wrong in not representing the true feeling of the people of Arkansas on this vital issue, and what is your personal opinion of our foreign aid program?

A. A foreign aid program limited to an amount that could be effectively and properly used, I think, would be approved by a majority of the American people and by the people of Arkansas. At present, though, I don't think the people as a whole have any confidence that the program is being administered to the best degree possible. When you have people running around the world at \$25,000-a-year salaries, hunting up ways to spend our money, that is wrong and quite different from a sound approach.

Q. There have been frequent rumors in recent months that you might run against Senator Fulbright in 1962. Would you care to comment on this?

A. I've never commented on my future political plans. I have no plans at the present.

Q. Governor, just before the trip of Vice President Nixon to Russia nine United States governors, representing a special governors conference committee, took a trip to the Soviet Union as part of our cultural exchange program. When they returned they advocated relaxed relations with the Soviet. Would you have gone to Russia had you been a member of the special committee and do you favor relaxed relations with the Soviet?

A. I had no opportunity to go, and I guess it's just as well.

Q. Would you approve of a southern exhibition at any future American fairs

in foreign countries as a means of promoting an understanding of the Southern way of life?

A. Yes, I've always approved of the idea.

Q. Switching to domestic politics here at home, Governor, what do you think will be the top issues of the 1960 political campaigns?

A. The rights of the States and of the people versus Federal usurpation. This will be the top issue for a long time unless the Federal government comes to its senses. By this I include all states' rights, not only the segregation-integration controversy.

Q. Do you think inflation or economic growth will be an issue?

A. Inflation is certainly a prime issue. Here in Arkansas, though, we are in good shape as far as fiscal affairs are concerned. I noticed in a magazine a few weeks ago where the debts of various states had increased over three hundred percent in the past ten years. But Arkansas' debt was reduced during the same period; in fact, there is no debt in Arkansas today except local municipal debts, and for current highway and school expenditures. We have enough revenue to meet appropriations, and we may even have a surplus.

Q. Would you give us your opinion as to who is the leading Democratic candidate for the 1960 Presidential nomination?

A. In so far as possible Democratic nominees are concerned, this is the most uncertain time I have ever seen in the history of Democratic party politics. There may have been similar situations in the past, but not during

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my thirty years of political experience. Today it is very difficult to find anyone who has any definite idea of who the nominee will be, except for those partisan supporters of individual candidates who are always full of confidence. Sideline observers see no definite indication, though.

Q. Would Senator Kennedy be acceptable to the South, and to Arkansas in particular?

A. Kennedy has a great deal of acceptance here. But there seems to be a growing sentiment that he is not likely to be the choice for the top spot. The situation is unusual in that there is a wide acceptance of him as a vice-presidential nominee, but not as a presidential nominee.

Q. Senator John McClellan, the senior Senator from your state, fought very hard in the last Congress to make sure the tough Landrum-Griffin Labor Bill was passed. Do you agree with the Senator that strong legislation is necessary to correct the alleged abuses of the labor bosses?

A. Some legislation to guarantee the rank and file union member control over his own organization was very much needed. I did not study in detail the various bills before Congress, but I have been informed that one measure would have granted injunctive power to the Secretary of Labor. I am not in favor of injunctive power for any cabinet member, because we still have the courts, who have had that power over the years. Such power to grant injunctions may be used for good in one instance, and may be used for harm in another instance. The power to grant is the power to deny.

Q. Does organized labor exert much influence in Arkansas politics?

A. Considerable. They have a rather strong influence in the state. But the rank and file varies at times with some of their leaders. The word was passed down to oppose me in 1958, for instance, but they were unable to get the rank and file to follow those instructions.

Q. What is your stand on right-to-work laws?

A. We have a state right-to-work law in Arkansas, of course, and we've been getting along well. The general opinion in Arkansas is that it has helped bring industry into the state.

Q. Would you support a Federal right-to-work law?

A. No, this should remain in the sphere of the state. Conditions vary greatly in different sections of the country.

Q. What is your reaction to Paul Butler's plan that loyalty oaths to the Party will be required from all those states—including Arkansas—that have the Independent Elector plan?

A. I don't agree with Mr. Butler. Loyalty is something engendered through respect and confidence, given by individuals to their party, church, family, and so forth. Loyalty by compulsion has the earmarks of police state methods. I don't believe that you can be compelled to be "loyal" to something.

Q. Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn of South Carolina recently stated that he believes there will be an active third party in the 1960 Presidential election. Do you think a third party—a conservative States' Rights

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party — should be formed and would you serve, if you were asked, as its standard bearer?

A. This depends on developments in the two old parties. If the people are given no choice, it may be that the development of another party may be desirable. The ones who can do the most to create a third party belong to the so-called Butler group. Of course, the Democratic Party doesn't belong to any section of the Nation or to any segment of the people. But if it did, it would belong to the South more than any other section. The South has been the mainstay of the Democratic Party in its darkest hours, and I feel strongly that it is entitled to at least the same consideration as any other section, in the making of Party policy.

I have said many times that the bolt in 1948 was principally a movement of politicians. But there is at the present time a strong grass-roots sentiment in the South for a third-party movement. Today you can hardly find any Southern office-holder who would be willing to promote a third party, but if the people are not given proper consideration and treatment, the sentiment will become strong enough, and the leaders will arise.

Q. Would you consent to run on a third-party ticket if asked?

A. I don't care to comment on this. The Democratic Party is my party as much as it is Paul Butler's, and I will continue to fight within the Party for what my people want.

Q. What do you think of Federal aid to education, Governor?

A. Viewed from the present attitude of the Federal government, it would appear to be a certainty that Federal

aid to education would lead to Federal control. There could be such a thing as Federal aid wisely and judiciously handled, which would be beneficial, but in the present circumstances it is quite unlikely. I believe that if the people are allowed to retain exclusive control of their schools, they will be glad to assume the obligations of complete financial support.

Q. Does Arkansas need Federal aid to education?

A. The present Federal program, designed to promote science and technological courses, is being quite readily accepted by local school districts in the state, but at the present time no strings are attached.

Q. What about school construction and teachers' salaries?

A. The burden of teachers' salaries should be assumed by local districts and the State. Federal assistance for plant construction could be utilized and could be helpful. The money would be better spent in that respect than it presently is in other fields. But I don't think it is necessary.

Q. What is your opinion of the farm program of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson?

A. The soil bank hasn't worked. People have taken a lot of land out of cultivation, and are getting greater returns individually — especially the large landowners. It has stopped the purchase of seed and equipment, and I think it has had a detrimental effect on the economy in this respect, and at the same time it hasn't reduced the surplus. It may have encouraged more scientific methods of farming, and may be good for that reason.

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Q. Do you favor less government interference in agriculture?

A. I don't know. We live in a complex age, and this is a mighty confusing issue. Generally, I am in favor of price supports as long as we subsidize everyone else. But price supports used to be thought of as insurance for a hard-working farmer, so that he wouldn't work all year and suddenly lose his crops and have his work result in nothing. But now we are beginning to engage in the farm program for the program's sake, which makes it unworkable.

Q. What, in your opinion, is the reason the "moderate" Little Rock school board turned down your proposal to institute a three-school plan in the city—that is, one high school reserved solely for white students, another for colored, and the third to be integrated?

A. Principally because they didn't have the courage to put it into effect against the wishes of the Federal government and the NAACP. It is still the only solution I can think of whereby we can restore a state of harmony and calm—not only in the South, but also in the North.

Q. Have many citizens from outside of the South written you concerning the segregation-integration question? What percentage supported you?

A. At one time I received several sacks of mail a day for several weeks, and thousands of letters continue to arrive. From ninety-six to ninety-eight percent of the mail is favorable, and sixty percent of the mail comes from outside of the South.

Many contributions for the private school which was set up last year came from the North. In fact, one man from

Detroit paid for the entire cost of the lockers for the new school—and they were better than those in the old public school.

Q. In the most recent Gallup Poll on the subject, you were listed as one of the ten most admired public figures in the world. Do you think that this indicates you have a far greater percentage of the American public supporting you than the liberal press appears to acknowledge?

A. Without question, if people are given the chance to say, their sentiment is quite overwhelmingly in my favor over the Nation. Today the ultra-liberals—I prefer to call them pseudo-liberals—will not fight me on the issues anymore, but attack me personally. These pseudo-liberals are getting into the field of totalitarianism—totalitarianism by degrees, but which, if pursued long enough in the same direction, will force democracy to disappear.

But when we get down to people, there are more people on my side than on the side of my extreme critics. I am convinced of that. I have always tried to be realistic about situations, because there is no gain in self-deceit.

I was very interested in the Gallup Poll, and it came as a complete surprise to me. After it came out, I investigated how the poll was taken, and found out that it was conducted on a basis of state populations, so that my appearance on the poll was not due to the favor I may have had in a few Southern states. Incidentally, today I think I have as much support from Republicans as from Democrats. This crosses all party lines except the Communist party.

Q. On the more personal side, Gov-

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error, we feel that the readers of *American Opinion* would be interested in knowing what magazines you read more or less regularly.

A. The magazine I read most regularly is *U. S. News and World Report*. I used to be a constant reader of *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *Life*, until they became so biased—and this was before the Little Rock trouble—that they became nauseating. I still occasionally look at them.

There has been a well laid and executed plan to discredit me. It began in *Life* and *Time*, was picked up by Pearson's column and by the *Washington Post* cartoonist, Herblock. From there they reached out to *Newsweek*, although that magazine had tried to remain objective.

In the South, this line was taken up by Ashmore, McGill, and to some extent, Hodding Carter. They all have a little club—the superior boys—and when you are in their presence they expect you to be awed. But they never brush elbows with the common people.

Recently, of course, the *Saturday Evening Post* printed Virgil Blossom's conglomeration of half-truths, misstatements, and distortions. People who read

only the daily press and these magazines, and cannot find out what goes on behind the scenes, must gain their impressions from them, just as I once did.

The power of the press is immense. Today they use it just as strongly—by distortion—to destroy a person who gets in their way, as the Russians use physical violence. The greatest need of this country is an objective press. I have never seen people as hungry for leadership and the truth, and never has it been as difficult for honest people to know what the truth is.

Q. Looking back, why do you feel the Federal government became so particularly concerned with Little Rock?

A. It was purely politics with the Administration. What the Federal government wants more than anything is for someone to do the dirty work for them. They create a storm, then leave it up to the poor Governor of the state and to the local authorities to settle it—in accordance with their demands, of course. The reason they don't like me is that I didn't conform.

We earnestly recommend, to all of our readers, the recently published

UP FROM LIBERALISM

by

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

It is every bit as good a book as you would surmise from the smears and sneers directed at it in the review pages of the leading misleading metropolitan newspapers.

ROBERT WELCH

In Place Of A Thousand Words



The Soviets' Most Deadly Weapon Is The Olive Branch

OUR EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE PLAN

by

GEORGE WASHINGTON ROBNETT

The following article is not easy reading. But that is because your government has introduced such incredible bureaucratic complications and confusion into the field under discussion that even the best author-detective meets himself coming around a corner at every turn. If you are looking for enjoyment in your reading we suggest that you pick up something light, laughable, and ridiculous — like one of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s more serious "histories," for instance.

But if the partly completed fraternizing act between Eisenhower and his pal, Khrushchev, makes you want to understand more of this whole "exchange" business at sub-summit levels, we suggest that you study the labyrinthine maze known as the "international educational exchange program." The going will not be easy, but the basic and ful-bright facts are all given below.

MOST PEOPLE seem to have forgotten that twenty years ago this country was reverberating wildly from a so-called "new deal" revolution that wreaked havoc with much of our traditional and basic "way of life" in America.

Very few today recall, for instance, that in 1938 the Saturday Evening Post ran a series of articles entitled "We Shall Make America Over," revealing the forces by which this revolution was propelled. It is not our purpose here to examine that incredible era of internal turbulence other than to point out that America was being "made over" by the centralization of great power in the Federal Government; and that this power was being used to push us into more and more international boondoggling. As this centralizing process was advanced under legislative and executive arrogance, there developed an eager collaboration on the part of self-styled "liberals" (both in and out of Government) to have the expanding

Federal network embrace wide areas of social action.

Education was one field that readily and quickly responded to the enticements of Federal embracement. In 1934, soon after the "new deal revolution" got in motion, the National Education Association fell into step with a socialistic pronouncement highly critical of our American capitalistic system. This salute to "Education for a New America" was soon followed by a scheme to put the Federal Government into the public schools through an emotional plea for "Federal aid" for education. School teachers were urged by their organized leaders to go into political action for this and other public causes. The revolutionary spirit for changing "the old order" had been kindled and had caught on in America.

II

The Change Leads To Exchange . . .

THE FOREGOING BRIEF REMINDER CAN

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serve as a prelude to discussion of a special development in the educational area known as the "international educational exchange program," to which this examination is mainly directed. One purpose is to show how this program is being expanded into use by the Government as part of its foreign policy procedure. There are also other important reasons for taking a closer look at the growing flair for bigger and better "educational" and "cultural" exchange experiments—and at their possible results. We would be naive indeed to ignore the evangelistic zeal with which Socialists and Communists have long preached "internationalism" as a basic tenet of their philosophies and purposes.

Official recognition of this exchange scheme first appeared under the New Deal. It was also in 1938 that Cordell Hull, then Secretary of State, and Under Secretary Sumner Welles convened a meeting of some fifteen people to consider the formation of a Division of Cultural Relations within the State Department. One of those participating in that meeting was Dr. Stephen Dugan, then directing head of the Institute of International Education—a Carnegie Endowment-sponsored organization which has since become an integral part of the Government's international educational exchange project.

The program as it now functions is based upon two particular Acts of Congress. The first is Public Law 584, otherwise known as the Fulbright Act to glorify into perpetuity its author, Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas. This law, passed in 1946, amended the Surplus Property Act of 1944 and authorized the use of credits and currencies accruing in other countries, through

the sale of our war surpluses in those countries, to finance an international student-teacher exchange program.

The second Congressional authority is Public Law 402, titled "United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948," and otherwise known as the Smith-Mundt act. The stated purpose of this law was to "increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." To do this it provided: (1) for "an information service to disseminate abroad information about the United States, its people and policies . . ."; (2) "an educational exchange service to cooperate with other nations in (a) exchange of persons, knowledge and skills, (b) rendering technical and other services, and (c), interchange of developments in the arts, education and sciences." No one will quarrel with these objectives, but the functional processes can be another story.

Enter The State Department . . .

The administrative authority for this student-teacher exchange plan, of which the "Fulbright scholarships" are a major and central part, is the State Department. The various phases of the project are integrated to deal with some six thousand student and faculty exchanges, with seventy or more countries, each year.

All exchange arrangements with other countries are by Executive Agreements which provide for binational Foundations or Commissions in these countries for administrative purposes, to act in accord with policies established by our State Department and by a Board of Foreign Scholarships which is appointed by the President (as authorized by the

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Fulbright Act). The Board of Foreign Scholarships, consisting of ten members, supervises the exchange program, provides staff services, negotiates agreements with foreign countries, coordinates work of the foreign Foundations and cooperating agencies, and also coordinates the Fulbright project with other programs.

There are two divisions of lower authority—one for the USA and one for overseas work. The overseas division functions through American embassies, under which there is a Binational United States Educational Foundations Commission that arranges, administers, and recommends procedures and the selection of foreign nations for travel grants in the United States. Below this Commission are cooperating groups and committees of sundry kinds.

The functional process in the United States below the State Department proper is through Contract Agencies that promote programs, receive applications, and recommend American candidates for "exchange" to other countries—and finally, that coordinate all the processes involved. In this United States Division there are three main operating agencies: (1) A Conference Board of Associate Research Councils which handles the University lecturers and post-doctoral research workers; (2) the Institute of International Education which handles all candidates for graduate study (which is the major volume); (3) the U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which handles the teachers for elementary and secondary schools and teacher development for foreign teachers. Below these three agencies are cooperating Committees and Advisers who help line up and select candidates to go abroad.

The program is expanding rapidly. And out of all of this two conclusions seem obvious. One is the amazing way in which bureaucratic complications pile up in any project which the Government attempts; and the other is the vulnerability to infiltration and misuse, of so loose and complicated a program, in these days of cold war and international conflict.

And Enter The Communists . . .

In his book, *The Iron Curtain*, Igor Gouzenko, the former Soviet embassy attache who exposed the Canadian atomic spy ring, said: "The much discussed and much written-about international exchange of students between foreign and Soviet Union universities was still another ingenious Red ruse for developing better trained spies. It was a made-to-order idea whereby young spies of tomorrow could be trained in the foreign countries they would eventually return to in spy roles under diplomatic disguises."

Former Congressman Fred Busbey of Illinois, and then a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in a speech on the House floor in 1953, denounced the Fulbright educational exchange act program as a "suicidal" venture, by explaining that some countries, particularly those under Soviet influence (and they are many), would send to this country only exchange students that were considered "reliable" and impervious from the Soviet viewpoint.

In 1954 the Senate Committee on Government Operations started an investigation of the student-teacher exchange program. But it was able to hear only two witnesses before the work of the committee was destroyed by the

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left-liberal assault on its chairman, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. The two witnesses were a professor from Brooklyn College and his wife. The professor had been selected by the Fulbright "Board of Foreign Scholarships" for work in Italy under the Fulbright exchange program. His wife was to accompany him. When she was asked whether in 1947 she had attended "a closed meeting of the Party at which there was discussed openly the fact that the Communists intended to overthrow this Government by force and violence," she replied, "I must decline to answer that question." When she was asked if "a man by the name of Irving Goldman was a member of a Communist cell with you?" she gave the same refusal to reply.

Public Law 402 (the United States Information and Educational Act of 1948), as already noted, provided for "an information service to disseminate abroad information about the United States, its people and policies," which on its face sounds fine. In 1953 the Senate Committee on Government Operations conducted an extensive investigation of the overseas State Department Information Center Libraries established and conducted under this basic educational-exchange law. These "libraries" (more properly defined as reading rooms or information centers), which are supposed to let the people in other countries know about our way of life, were found to be well loaded with books written by outright Communists and "fellow-traveler liberals." This whole sordid story, revealed and documented in several volumes of printed reports by the Senate investigating committee, showed how easily this "educational exchange" plan can be misused. This investigation was bitterly assailed

by Communists and liberals. Communist Samuel Sillen, writing in *Masses and Mainstream*, September, 1955, on "New Outlook for Cultural Exchange," assailed the McCarthy committee for investigating the overseas information centers, and lambasted the House Committee on Un-American Activities for "trampling on the rights and the dignity of American artists." Among the artists he mentioned such well known Party functionaries as Rockwell Kent, William Gropper, and others.

The average citizen doubtless assumes that in any Government-sponsored activity, like the student-teacher international exchange project, there will be careful checking and screening for security protection in these days when subversion is a constant danger. But anyone familiar with the nature and size of Government bureaucracy knows that checking and screening, even if attempted, is a very difficult matter. We have seen the power of forces in and out of Government working constantly to prevent such screening. The disordered condition of the files and records on personnel (especially Foreign Service personnel in the State Department) were well revealed through an investigation by the Senate Committee on Government Operations in 1953. The international student-teacher exchange program, like the overseas Information Centers and libraries, is highly vulnerable. The President of one well known college in this country recently observed that "on its face this program looks fine," but that he didn't think "it was working out too well." "When our students go to Socialist or Iron Curtain countries they are propagandized very carefully all the while," he said; and he voiced the fear that propaganda coming

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in may be more effective than propaganda going out. "The students I have known," he said, "after returning have not been too strong as Americans."

III

Which Brings Us To The IIE . . .

SINCE THE Institute of International Education has become one of the big wheels in the Government's exchange program, its history should be of more than ordinary interest. This organization was established in 1919, with Dr. Stephen Duggan, who had been an internationalist-minded professor at the College of New York, as its director. In his book, *A Professor at Large*, Dr. Duggan explains: "Almost immediately upon the signing of the armistice (World War I) the Carnegie Endowment decided to establish an organization which should help develop good will between the American people and the citizens of other countries by promoting the study of understanding of our civilization and culture by them and their civilization and culture by us."

Parenthetically we may take note of the thinking that inspired the founding of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Writing in the *North American Review*, June, 1893, Andrew Carnegie said: "When we have the reunion (of America and Britain) England will be relieved at once of the greater portion of its national debt, and at least one half of its present heavy taxation." He also said: "Reunion restores to England ownership in hundreds of millions of acres of fresh, fertile soil and boundless resources." He predicted that without reunion, England would "surely decline to a secondary power, and then to insignificance."

After making millions in this country Carnegie created a "wonderland of trusts," including the Endowment which fathered the Institute of International Education. It was this Carnegie endowment to which Alger Hiss was named President even after his name had been connected with Communism. This reference is not an intrusion of something extraneous. It is decidedly relevant. Great Foundations like this can, through agencies they create and otherwise, materially affect the policies and interests of our nation. It is worth noting that the Institute of International Education, as a functional agency in the international educational exchange project, does not depend upon its rich parent (the Carnegie Endowment) for funds, but gets more than one third of its million and a half budget from fees it charges the United States government "for services."

And Dr. Stephen Duggan . . .

In this review there is no disposition to deal with personalities for their own sake. But it certainly is relevant to examine some of the ideological proclivities identified with those who have been closely associated with the administration of the Institute of International Education and of the student-teacher exchange plan. Dr. Stephen Duggan, who was the organization's directing head from its beginning in 1919 until he was succeeded by his son, Laurence Duggan, more than twenty-five years later, was undeniably a distinguished person, and undoubtedly sincere in his objectives. He made a career of associating with notable figures and organizations, such as the Institute of Pacific Relations, which were sympathetic to his extraordinary bent for experiments

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in "internationalism." Dr. Duggan's one well known book further reflects his affinity for liberal movements—as shown for instance, by his praise for the London School of Economics. "There is nothing comparable to it anywhere else," he wrote, "though the New School for Social Research in New York may equal or surpass it, as a result of the addition to its staff of many refugee scholars since the rise of Nazism and Fascism in Europe." The London School of Economics, with which the late Harold Laski was so closely associated, was organized, according to the late Professor J. H. Morgan, K. C., as a "place to train bureaucracy for the future Socialist State." It is difficult to understand how Dr. Duggan could have been unaware of its successful dedication to this purpose.

Likewise, he *may* not have known too much about the Communist-front movement at the time he was on the General Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy; or when, with Bishop Oxnham and other "liberals," he was a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.; or when he was on the sponsoring Committee of the Second World Youth Congress. But such innocence, at a time when Congressional investigations were exposing the "United Front," would have been a sad commentary on his fitness for his role as a leader of internationalist movements. Gil Green (Gilbert Greenberg) of the Young Communist League, returning from Moscow in October of 1936, announced that the Second World Youth Congress would be held in the United States in 1938.

Also Laurence Duggan . . .

A tragic episode in the life of the Institute for International Education was during Christmas week of 1948 when its president, youthful Laurence Duggan, fell, jumped, or was thrown from the Institute's office window high in a New York skyscraper. Laurence, brilliant and highly educated at Exeter and Harvard, had succeeded his father, Dr. Stephen Duggan, as head of the Institute in 1946. Prior to that, Laurence had been chief of the Latin American Division of the State Department, Latin area, which region incidentally is an important field of operation for the Institute and the student-teacher exchange program. In the State Department job, it appears, he had in some way become enmeshed in the tangling skeins of the international intrigue that has plagued America for the last two or three decades. At the time his crumpled body was dropped into New York's snow-slushed Forty-fifth street, he had an airplane ticket for Washington for the following day. The FBI had talked with him several days before.

A quotation from Whittaker Chambers' most revealing book, *Witness*, will throw more light on this situation. "It is hard to believe," said Chambers, in his book describing Soviet activities within our country and government, "that a more highly placed, devoted, and dangerous espionage group existed anywhere. Yet they had rivals even in the Soviet service. While trying to expand the secret apparatus, Alger Hiss, quite by chance, ran across the trail of another Soviet espionage apparatus. This was the group headed (in Washington) by Hede Massing, the former wife of Gerhardt Eisler, the Communist International's representative to the Communist Party, U. S. A. In this sec-

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ond apparatus was Noel Field, a highly placed employee of the Western European Division of the State Department. Field, his wife, brother, and adopted daughter all disappeared into Russian-controlled Europe during the Hiss Case, in which he was involved. Among the Massing apparatus' contacts was Noel Field's close friend, the late Laurence Duggan, who later became chief of the Latin American Division of the State Department."

The book gives considerably more documentation concerning Duggan, which Hede Massing confirms in her book, *This Deception*. In relating her experience as an underground espionage agent in this country, she says: "Of the conquests I made while a Soviet agent, the one I regret most is Larry Duggan." His exact role will never be known. That tragic chapter is closed. But in all this international play it is clear that the ever-busy conspirators seek the soft spots and utilize every avenue that may possibly yield results.

And As Of Now . . .

The present head of the Institute of International Education is Kenneth Holland who, in the 1952-53 *WHO'S WHO*, was listed as George Kenneth Holland. In 1931-32 he studied in France as an American Field Service Fellow. For the next year or so he was Secretary of the International Student Service—a war student relief organization which, in 1925, emerged out of European Student Relief. In 1950 I. S. S. and World Student Relief were merged into a new organization called World University Service.

Congressional reports show that International Student Service at one time had some kind of collaboration with

the Communist-front apparatus called American Youth Congress. The Minutes of the National Assembly of this American Youth Congress (Oct. 7, 1939) showed that among its supporting groups was the International Student Service, represented by Harper W. Poulson and Robert Spivak. To what extent these two were representatives of the International Student Service while Holland was with it we do not know, but both are shown by the House Committee as having Communist-front affiliations. And Spivak is listed in a left-wing magazine (*Fight*, Nov. 1937) as Secretary of I.S.S., the position, according to *WHO'S WHO*, that Holland held in 1932-33.

Holland was director of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1935-41, and chief of the educational section of the Office of International Affairs, 1941-42. He was with other "international" organizations until he became Assistant Director of the office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, U. S. State Department, 1946-48, and then Director of the State Department's Educational Exchange Division, 1948-50. He then became President of the Institute of International Education. Holland has been the permanent United States representative of UNESCO since 1948. He was in the American delegation to the UNESCO conferences in London in 1945, Paris in 1946, Mexico in 1947, Beirut in 1948, and Paris again in 1949. UNESCO stands for "one-worldism" as against national sovereignty, as is made crystal clear in its school series entitled *Toward World Understanding*. It seems hardly reasonable that the present head of the Institute of International Education (an integral part of our

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State Department's international Educational exchange machinery) could have been so long and intimately associated with UNESCO without being sympathetic with this central policy and purpose.

IV

A Closer Look At IIE . . .

The Institute of International Education now occupies the old Gould mansion in New York—a massive four-story stone structure at Fifth Avenue and Sixty-seventh Street. But the rapid spread of its work in “international exchange” has necessitated the rental of three additional floors of office space on Madison Avenue. Besides its main New York offices, the Institute maintains five regional offices throughout the country. These are located in Chicago, Denver, Houston, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

A typical regional director might be cited in Dr. Ben M. Cherrington, head of the Denver office. For years he was head of the Foundation for the Advancement of Social Sciences at the University of Denver, where he carried on a highly active program in world affairs. One of his Forum speakers, for illustration, was a professor from the socialist London School of Economics. In a Denver newspaper story Dr. Cherrington, commenting on the state of the world, said: “Our refusal to accept responsibility for maintaining a decent and orderly international life created a power vacuum into which Fascism and Nazism soon moved, and out of which World War II arose.” In this we note a strange omission of Communism. We note also the readiness, so typical of the internationalist-minded intellectual, to blame America for the ills of the world. This type of self abase-

ment encourages world meddling that earns hatred rather than friendships. Cherrington was an attendant at the founding conference of the United Nations, and has been identified with the controversial UNESCO since its formation.

The Institute of International Education has been roundly criticized for its inglorious role in promoting a series of “Summer Schools” for American students in Moscow, where they could be “instructed” by Soviet commissars. This occurred in 1933, 1934, and 1935, quickly following President Roosevelt's recognition of Soviet Russia after four previous Presidents had refused such recognition. A full page advertisement appeared in the Journal of the National Education Association (March, 1935) announcing to teachers the “Moscow Summer School” for 1935. This ad gave the Institute of International Education, Stephen Duggan, Director, as the “American Advisory Organization” for the project. Both Dr. Duggan and his Assistant, Edward R. Murrow, were shown in the National Advisory Council. Dr. Duggan, in his book, indicates responsibility for the plan. Professor George S. Counts was also an Adviser.

A booklet issued to promote this Moscow “great design” stated: “At the second Summer Session in 1934, thirteen courses were offered . . . the staff was composed of twenty-two professors . . . Two hundred and twelve students attended the 1934 session.” Some two hundred Americans were signed for the 1935 Moscow classes. But when they reached Russia the Soviets, for some undisclosed reason, had decided on conducted tours instead of classes. Thus ended the strange IIE-sponsored Moscow schooling for American stu-

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dents. All of this was at a time when it was well known that the Soviet regime was doing everything possible to infiltrate, indoctrinate, and destroy America. Could it be possible that Murrow, Duggan and the National Education Association did not know this?

Some twenty years later Ed Murrow again distinguished himself when, as a myrmidon of television, he attacked the late Senator Joseph McCarthy for his dramatic fight on Communism. McCarthy retaliated with an exposé of Murrow's role in the Moscow Summer School maneuver and in the end Murrow and his sponsor, the Aluminum Company of America, came off second best. Widespread criticism of Murrow developed over other of his programs angled to give unflattering impressions of certain militant fighters against Communism. A special edition of the highly responsible *Human Events* (July, 1955) documented a pink slip showing under Murrow's pious radio habilitment.

Ed Murrow is a present member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of International Education, along with such other liberal-notables as Chester Bowles, Ralph McGill, George D. Stoddard, Rufus E. Clement, George H. Shuster, Ralph Bunche, and James D. Zellerbach. The Institute has quite an extensive and distinguished list of Trustees. It is difficult to imagine that many of them could give much time or thought to the Institute's program.

V

What Does It All Cost? . . .

CERTAIN PERTINENT PHASES of the international student-teacher exchange program have here been examined, but there remains the question of costs. Behind all the rhetorical glorification and

panegyrics that perfume these great do-good projects there are always the bills to be paid—by the hard-working taxpayer who has little or nothing to say about how they get started or how they are operated.

In this international educational exchange program the cost figures are extremely elusive. It seems difficult to find anyone, among Congressmen or department officials, who can give any reliable over-all estimates. The Institute of International Education shows in its last financial report that nearly six hundred thousand dollars of its operating expense came from our Government. This is but a small part of the costs that develop out of the Institute's work and operation of the whole program.

The experiment started, as has already been explained, when the Rhodes scholar and liberal romanticist, Senator J. W. Fulbright, fathered a bill that amended the Surplus Property Act of 1944, so that sales of surplus war materials could be used to make a better world by globally exchanging scholars. (We haven't space here to explore some of the results.) At the time this Fulbright amendment was put through, a reporter named Peter Edson, writing in the *Chicago Daily News*, said the bill provided "about 314 million dollars worth of free and higher world-wide education over the next twenty years." The story was headed: "Fulbright 'Surplus Education' Plan makes Cecil Rhodes a Piker."

But this apparently was only a starter. Congress is now besieged for more and more appropriations (entirely beyond the original "surplus" idea) to keep the wheels rolling faster and faster. The expanding potentials of this program are indicated, for instance, in the March,

Our Educational Exchange Plan

1958 issue of the Institute of International Education's "News Bulletin". We quote:

"In the dozen years since it received Congressional approval on August 1, 1946, Public Law 584 has developed from a concept for the promotion of international understanding into the largest international exchange program in history. Public Law 584 is known throughout the world as the Fulbright Act..."

This opening editorial statement was followed by an article by C. J. Nuesse, of the Board of Foreign Scholarships (an agency of the Fulbright plan), after returning from a world tour relating to the program. He said, in part: "Enroute to the Conference (on educational exchange in Bangkok) I was able to spend a few days at each of the Fulbright-related offices in Tokyo, Bangkok, Dacca, New Delhi and Ankara. Briefer stops at Calcutta, Istanbul and Rome provided me with other glimpses of program operations." This is only a small picture of this world-wide operation — with more outposts being opened.

An article in this same News Bulletin (May, 1958), entitled "The Fulbright Wildlife Program in Uganda," shows a picture of a herd of elephants, another of deer, and says in part: "Under the Fulbright program an impressive large scale operation in wildlife conservation is under way in Uganda." Just *what* will this program eventually encompass? The Fulbright project's appetite for expansion and for glorification of an individual is, after all, paid for by the lowly American taxpayer. And this brings us back again to the mundane matter of money and costs.

During 1957, under the impress of a widespread but short lived demand for economy from the people and the press, Congress did a little trimming. This included a cut in the Fulbright scholarship budget request from \$30,000,000 to \$17,000,000. Pressure and persuasion from the Fulbright bloc succeeded in getting a compromise of \$20,800,000. On May 15, 1958, Senators Fulbright and his colleague O'Mahoney, in a colloquy of mutual praise on the Senate floor, deplored this cut, and Fulbright promised to offer an amendment at the "proper time" for full reinstatement.

We have secured a large balance sheet of Government expenditures titled "Status of Funds Under Title I.P.L. 480 . . . Through June 30, 1958." This covers foreign currency transactions on various programs and projects. The figures are fantastic. Under a cross-page listing of "International Educational Exchange" an amount of \$23,520,412.91 is shown as "Dollar Value of Commodities Under Agreement." There are other figures such as "Allocation by Bureau of the Budget—\$16,517,820.54, etc." Being unable to get a clarification of these figures we can only give them as they appear in this complicated summary of vast foreign transactions in a Treasury report. The meaning to the American taxpayer, however, is a lot of dollars.

Although the original "student exchange" idea was based on using the money (currencies and credits) from war surplus sales, the experiment has quickly developed into a permanent bureaucratic maw with growing appetite. A statement by the chairman of the Board of Foreign Scholarships in the Institute of International Education's News Bulletin for March, 1958 ex-

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plained that "agreements are being renewed for the program with countries in which surplus property funds continue to be available and new agreements are being negotiated with the use of foreign currencies provided by the U. S. Congress under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, the Mutual Security Act of 1954, and the Informational Media Guaranty program." This program has therefore gone far beyond the original "war surplus" plan, and is now using monies and credits obtained through the disposal of agricultural surpluses—which accrue through our New Deal Agricultural Adjustment Act that pays farmers subsidies to help them to create the surpluses.

This matter of foreign crop disposal in an effort to handle the ever increasing grain surpluses here is not, apparently, creating too much "good will" in some other countries. A story in the New York Times, November 9, 1958 in discussing this problem said: "United States farm surplus disposal policies have brought renewed criticism from some agricultural nations of the West. During the fiscal year 1958, agricultural products valued at about \$1,500,000,000 were placed on foreign markets through the U. S. agricultural surplus disposal program . . . This has prompted agricultural exporters like Canada, Australia and Denmark to charge unfair competition and disruption of world markets." This criticism was directed at both the American farm policy that creates the surpluses and at the manner

of world disposal "for local currencies" to be used in such projects as educational exchange.

Also there are other funds for "cultural exchange," such as the President's Emergency Fund for International Affairs, out of which American musicians, actors, and ballet dancers have been sent abroad under the Cultural Presentation Program.

With the many angles involved, such as that of subsidies that create surpluses which are sold abroad to create credits for these student exchanges, and all the other sources that are being tapped for funds, it is difficult to compute even roughly how much all of this is costing John Doe the taxpayer. There are those who think such projects are sacrosanct, because they sound so fine, and must not be questioned. But there are others who feel we must be practical and realistic if we, as a nation, want to remain solvent and survive. In the few years since the New Deal was invented our annual Federal budget has jumped from four billions to nearly eighty billions a year. With this, of course, taxes have soared, the Federal debt has grown to threatening proportions, and inflation could become a devastating conflagration. For many reasons, some of which have been indicated here, Americans should give a long hard look at this "international educational exchange program" and other high-sounding projects that can endanger our future by placing burdens upon our people which they cannot carry.

IN THE INTERESTS OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

We have just run across an intriguing suggestion. Did you ever consider the total saving to this country if A. B. degrees were offered for sale on Woolworth's counters, at twenty-nine cents each, or whatever their current value might be?

BULLETS

The question-and-answer period had arrived, at a meeting of the Communist faithful. With the following result.

Question: Commissar, what is the explanation when there is food in the country and none in the city?

Answer: Comrade, that is an excellent example of right-deviationism at work.

Question: Then what about the situation when there is food in the cities, but none in the country?

Answer: That is left-deviationism being followed and enforced.

Question: Commissar, what are we to think of the case, when there is no food in the country and none in the cities?

Answer: That is the Party line at work, in exact balance.

Question: But suppose there is plenty of food in both the country and the cities?

Answer: That, Comrade, is a perfect example of the horrors of living under capitalism.

We Got It From Bill Buckley

* * *

All history is a record of the power of minorities, even of minorities of one.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

* * *

I didn't go to college because I was poor: poor in history, English, and math.

Red Skelton

* * *

A man shouldn't keep telling the girl he loves that he is unworthy of her. He should let it come as a surprise.

Uncle Mat

All the world's a stage and Uncle Sam is picking up the amusement tax.

Myron Cohen

* * *

I have heard that the Lord looks after feeble-minded. If we get out of this mess we'll know it's true.

H. C. Matheson

* * *

Please don't talk while I'm interrupting.

Let's Have Better Mottoes Association

* * *

Behind every successful man you will find a woman who has nothing to wear.

Harold Coffin

* * *

God needed only six days to create the world, but He had the advantage of working alone.

We Don't Know The Source

* * *

Steam is water gone crazy with the heat.

Again We Don't Know

* * *

Every year it takes less time to fly across the Atlantic and more time to drive to the office.

Nor Again. (But We're Not Lost)

* * *

For it is a truth which the experience of ages has attested, that the people are always most in danger when the means of injuring their rights are in possession of those whom they entertain the least suspicion.

The Federalist Papers, No. 25

ONLY PEOPLE PAY TAXES

by

PAUL HARVEY

A year ago a friend of ours, formerly head of one of America's largest oil refining companies, remarked to us that, but for the various and total taxes involved, gasoline would now be selling at not more than three cents per gallon. At about the same time, in a broadcast over the ABC network, Paul Harvey not only confirmed this estimate as conservative, but showed how the unprincipled and unlimited piling on of taxes had similarly affected the cost of everything we buy.

Paul Harvey's analysis was so striking that, when a transcript of it finally came to our slow-motion attention, we bought the right to reproduce that transcript in this magazine. For there is no question about the continuing timeliness of what he has to say. The only change in the situation with regard to death and taxes, since November, 1958, is that the first has got nearer and the second has got worse.

AMERICANS, two weeks ago, I, Paul Harvey, started out chasing a sneak thief . . . and I ended up with the detection of Public Enemy Number One.

I have been two weeks on the trail.

I am very tired. But the job is done.

No conviction yet. But I can name him now. And he is yours to prosecute as you see fit. Before I tell you his name . . .

Here's what happened.

Two weeks ago I got a letter from a farmer on the subject of the last election.

But he included this question, "Who is the middle man who is getting rich off the farmer?"

He said he sells a bushel of wheat for \$1.73.

By the time that bushel of wheat is made into sixty-six loaves of bread it costs housewives \$15.84. Whoa, there!

"Who's getting rich on me?" the farmer wanted to know.

Well, I've heard that question re-

peated so often that I had stopped listening to it.

But suddenly I decided the one way to silence that noisome question—nobody had tried.—

And that was to answer it.

Well, with my limited staff we started playing detective.

For the wheat in a loaf of bread the farmer gets 2½ cents.

But you pay twenty-four cents.

So you are both being robbed by somebody. Who?

I figured I'd backtrack on the culprit. So I went to the grocery store. "How much do you take out, Mr. Grocer, when you sell a loaf of bread?" I said. "There's more than twenty cents missing that somebody's getting. Is it you?"

Well the grocer showed me that his markup is confined by competition to only three cents.

In view of his salaries, overhead, that markup seemed fair enough, especially when he explained that he has to pay

Only People Pay Taxes

more than half of it back in corporate income taxes not covered in the sales tax.

And also he contributes to the social security and unemployment taxes of his employees.

He pays an electric bill every month plus a tax on it. And his delivery truck was taxed when he bought it and the gasoline it uses and the license plates it wears are all taxed.

So all this overhead, not to mention his own income taxes, made three cents seem a fair enough "profit" for the grocer to make on that loaf of bread.

Anyway, he was not the robber I was looking for.

I went to the wholesaler and rode on one of the trucks that delivers the bread.

Maybe this driver was the boy who's been picking the farmer's pocket.

After all, the Teamsters' Union, you know.

But I divided the number of loaves of bread the man delivers by his wages per week and his take is less than one-twentieth of one cent a loaf. So he's doing all right. But he's not stealing anything.

There's too much spread between the price and the cost of a loaf of bread. The guy I was looking for doesn't have just a finger in the kitty.

He's in there with both fists.

I kept looking.

There were two tedious days of sleuthing for this sneak thief before I backtracked on that loaf of bread as far as the flour mill. But I made sure that I didn't miss any possible middlemen in the bakery or in the railroad that hauled the flour . . . or anywhere.

And not one was getting away with anything. I mean the profit slice which

each took for his services was an infinitesimal fraction of one-tenth of one penny per loaf. Not even measurable.

Then I got a tip. Check the sugar source. If nobody in the wheat-flour ingredient was robbing us—Maybe the sugar people. I backtracked to a New Orleans refiner and it was another dead-end. The price you pay for the sugar and the salt and the yeast and the milk solids and the shortening in the loaf of bread . . . all put together . . . comes to less than one-fourth of one cent per loaf.

So . . .

And here is where I stubbed my toe. By the time I added everybody's profit for handling the materials and the finished product plus the cost of the ingredients . . . I figured it all up . . . and it came to twelve cents for a loaf of bread. You should be paying twelve cents for a loaf of bread.

But I can't get my grocer to sell me a loaf for less than twenty-four cents.

Who's doubling the price of my loaf of bread?

Who's getting away with that other twelve cents?

I had figured every handler's wage down to the most minute fraction. My figures could not be wrong.

But a loaf of bread added up to twelve cents and it's still selling for twenty-four cents. I was getting as angry as the farmer who'd written me that letter. It's frustrating to have your wife go to the grocery store and — somewhere in there — get robbed by a ghost!

Well . . .

I went back to the farmer. I decided to start all over again, but working forward from the farmer. The research

Only People Pay Taxes

went faster this time because I knew the direction.

And this time I caught him. Red handed. The guy who's picked your pocket everytime you buy a loaf of bread. And he's been dealing himself in when you buy milk, too. There are 206 separate transactions involved in getting a quart of milk from the pasture to your doorstep. And sure enough, I found the same guy doubling the price.

The syndicate he operates is so smooth and so subtle that it's little wonder he's escaped the rap for this before.

But I'm going to name him tonight.

Because he's gradually aiming to double the price of your loaf of bread again.

And again.

While the farmer fusses and fumes and shadow boxes with imaginary villains, the real one has been in hiding.

I took that farmer's bushel of wheat to market. The farmer got \$1.73 for it, 2½ cents per loaf of bread.

But when the flour mill added its fraction for milling . . . wait a minute . . . The flour to make one loaf of bread has suddenly doubled! It comes out of the mill costing five cents. Not 2½. Still the mill is getting only a minute fraction of a penny for itself.

But the mill is required to pay . . . Now the trail gets warm . . .

The mill has to add on seven federal taxes and eight separate state taxes.

The railroad which hauls the finished flour . . . now the trail gets hot . . . keeps only a tiny fraction of a penny for its services . . . but adds on two pennies to pay five federal taxes, plus state taxes in every state through which the shipment passed.

In this case there were three.

Jumping jehosephat!

I thought taxes just soaked the rich!

This is soaking anybody who buys a loaf of bread.

And when I backtracked on those other ingredients, I found the sugar refiner paid eight federal taxes and six Louisiana state taxes. The railroad that hauled the sugar paid taxes. The warehouse where the salt was stored in Chicago paid taxes. The shortening manufacturer and the yeast factory and the producer of the milk solids . . .

Each was keeping for himself such a minute profit that the total cost of the ingredients had added only two pennies. But the taxes had pyramided to more than twice that!

I am an amateur detective. But I did the best I could. And when I finally retraced the loaf of bread back to the grocer's shelf . . . I understood why that price tag is more than ten times what the wheat farmer gets.

Because there are 151 separate taxes on that loaf of bread!

You and I have been complaining, however feebly, about the whack the income tax takes out of our weekly paycheck . . . While we were watching our wallet pocket . . . The hidden tax has been emptying our coin purse! And again and again and again. After all, we've consoled ourselves, the tax man gets only twenty percent of my income. It's worth that to live in America.

But that's a lie and a delusion. The "tax man" has been picking your pocket for twelve cents every time you buy one loaf of bread. But with such clever sleight of hand . . . By such an involved and complicated multiplicity of hidden taxes . . . that his hand was quicker than our eye.

Only People Pay Taxes

You think you pay a hundred dollars tax when you buy a new \$2,000 car. Listen: There have been \$288 in hidden taxes collected on that car before it ever leaves the factory.

And then there are all the taxes the dealer pays, taxes on income, property, taxes when you transfer the title, when you pay the state tax. So when you pay \$2,000 for a car . . . more than one-fourth of that price is just taxes.

You've been figuring the corporation tax would cost only the big corporations. But look what happened. They added it to the price of the car.

We pay it!

The grocer, the trucker, the baker, the miller, they don't pay their taxes. We do!

When we buy that loaf of bread.

Railroads don't pay taxes. Corporations don't pay taxes.

Just people pay taxes.

All the rest of those fellows add their taxes onto the stuff they sell us.

Only people pay taxes.

We can hear that our federal government is sending a billion dollars to Tito . . .

And we figure "so what . . ."

But every time our government spends a billion . . . it taxes the average American family another twenty-five dollars.

Only people pay. How much different it might have been . . . if our government had said it that other way. That "every American family is asked to chip in twenty-five dollars this year for Tito." Wow!

Conversely, every billion dollars which our government saves . . . Every billion dollars "less" that it spends . . . Decreases the tax load for the American family of four . . . twenty-five dollars.

Wow!

I'm going to remember that. Every time the Washington or the State spenders speak of spending another billion for something or other, I'm going to remember it's twenty-five of my dollars they're spending. It'll make a difference.

Yes, I finally tracked down the pick-pocket. The middle man every farmer has wondered about. The guy who's behind the high prices every housewife complains about.

I found him.

And his name is Sam.

But Uncle Sam is not alone. His accomplices are the tax laws of forty-nine states which add one-third to the price of one quart of milk. The farmer's truck and tractor are taxed. The deliveryman's truck and the tires on it and the battery in it. Even the air in the tires of that truck has four hidden taxes on it! I mean it.

The power to run the compressor motor is taxed.

The oil for the compressor.

The gas station attendant.

The sales taxes on the compressor motor and the rubber hose.

Four taxes on the air in the tires of the truck that hauls your milk.

When you get that explicit, counting the indirect as well as the direct taxes, there are more than one thousand taxes on one quart of milk. Taxes have crept up on us—like too many beers.

Historically, whenever any nation has taxed its people more than twenty-five percent of their income, that nation has been eating its seed corn—headed for economic decay.

Already our taxes are devouring more than a third of every income dollar. They sought to slip the money painless-

Only People Pay Taxes

ly from our paychecks . . . by withholding it before we got it. But like an iceberg, the far greater hunk of our tax load is under the surface—out of sight.

The next Congress has been labeled a spending Congress.

But if they spend more money . . . it will be your money. When they spend a billion for anything . . . it will cost you twenty-five. Both parties . . . will try to buy your vote . . . with your money. For the small wage earner, hidden taxes are far more costly than

income taxes. The best kept secret in the United States today is the whole size of the tax load.

There are 150 taxes on one ladies' hat. Gasoline would sell for two cents a gallon . . . except for the tax. And the White House is talking about raising that. When are you going to draw the line?

I started out on the trail of a sneak thief and ended up with Public Enemy Number One.

Now he's yours to prosecute as you see fit.

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

This is the twelfth and last, in a series of essays by Mr. Alexander, dealing with the timelessness and current timeliness of the Federalist Papers. As Mr. Alexander has brilliantly emphasized, these essays of Hamilton, Jay, and Madison deal with the very problems and trends which are enmeshing us today.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS had their faults, but they were never smitten with a Mosaic complex. At no place in the Constitution, and at no recorded time during its laborious construction, is there any hint that this is a divine document, a Decalogue, straight from the mind of the Almighty. On the other hand, the Constitution was pieced together in humility and with more than a few misgivings. Writing in the last of *The Federalist Papers*, Number 85, Hamilton said:

"I never expect to see a perfect work from imperfect man. The result of de-

liberations from all collective bodies must necessarily be a compound, as well of the errors and prejudices as of the good sense and wisdom, of the individuals of whom they are composed. The compacts, which are to embrace thirteen distinct States in a common bond of amity and union, must necessarily be a compromise of many dissimilar interests and inclinations. How can perfection spring from such materials?"

Yet we should, I think, try to understand this humility of the Constitution-makers a little more fully. By the time

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Hamilton, Madison, and Jay came to write *The Federalist Papers*, a matter of months had gone by, an interval short enough for them to remember the struggles and yet long enough to provide a reasonably detached view of the master work.

What they seemed to behold was a document that really did come from somewhere On High, in that it was a rendition of great and noble truths concerning the lofty aspirations of man to find his freedom. And yet, since the document was at best only a translation of the Divine Intellect, and since the hands of the transcribers were faulty and feeble, there had to be imperfections. Here was a question which Hamilton urged the American people of his day to face: Shall we accept this admittedly imperfect work? Or shall we "expose the Union to the jeopardy of successive experiments in the chimerical pursuit of a perfect plan?" The people chose to take the bird in hand.

Yes, but the Founders intended to mark a difference between these two elements of the Constitution—the divine on one side and the human on the other. It was expected that the fundamentals of the given Law would stand forever. Only the mistakes of the transcribers would be subject to amendment and liberal interpretation. Hamilton was making this point in *The Federalist No. 78*, saying:

"... I trust the friends of the proposed Constitution will never concur with its enemies in questioning ... the right of the people to alter or abolish the established Constitution. . ." But "until the people have, by some solemn and authoritative act, annulled or changed the established form, it is binding upon themselves collectively, as well as individually; and no presump-

tion . . . can warrant . . . a departure from it. . ."

Moses himself was no more solemn than this in his preachments of Fundamentalism to the chosen people. There stands the basic Law. It is not to be lightly set aside. It is not to be amended upon whim and caprice. It is not to be altered for the convenience of a crisis or the satisfaction of some popular demand. Above all, it must not be allowed to erode through our negligence and indifference. Only at great pains, and over a hurdle of prescribed difficulties, may the Constitution be changed — and never by the Supreme Court, the Congress, or the President. Only the people, in the manner designated, may dare to change the Constitution, either its wording or its meaning.

How have we kept the faith? At the risk of too much audacity, I propose that this large question is best answered by a literary device. Let us bring back Alexander Hamilton for an aerial inspection of these matters that so besieged his mind in the long, long ago:

I

"SOMETHING'S MISSING HERE," said the Returning Traveler as he flew over Manhattan Island. "Where's New York City where I lived and wrote?"

Hadn't he heard? City government was destroyed when the Supreme Court ruled in the *Slochower* case that municipal authorities could not fire Communist professors from local colleges and universities.

"But why didn't New York State come to the rescue of its metropolis?" demanded the Returning Traveler. "I simply don't believe that State Government, of which I was a member in the New York legislature, stood by and saw municipal government mowed

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down!"

Still, he was told, that's what happened. The forty-eight states were rendered incapable of self-protection by the Supreme Court in the Nelson case. Under this decision it was set forth that the Federal Government had preempted the field of anti-subversion. The States had to submit to being subverted rather than invade the rights of the Federal Government.

"This is terrible!" cried the Returning Traveler, who had done so much to make the American Constitution possible. "The cities are gone. The States are gone. Why didn't the Federal Government step in and stop this catastrophe?"

Well, it was explained, the Federal Government itself was prevented by the Supreme Court in the cases of *Yates et al.* from defending itself against the Communist conspiracy. Yates was one of fourteen California Communists who were convicted under the Smith Anti-subversion Act of conspiring to betray the USA. Specifically, they were found guilty of criminally scheming: "(1) to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence; and (2), to organize, as the Communist party of the United States, a society of persons who so advocate and teach, all with the intent of causing the overthrow of the Government by force and violence as speedily as circumstances will permit."

"The scoundrels!" shouted the Returning Traveler, who loved the country he had helped to establish. "I hope they were given their just desserts."

Not at all, he was told. The Supreme Court ordered five of the fourteen acquitted, and decreed new trials for the other nine. The Supreme Court did this

by accepting the arguments of the Communist lawyers who enunciated a legalism called "abstract violence." Under this interpretation of the American Constitution we are denied the right of self-protection against any "indefinite" conspiracy by agents of a foreign power.

"But surely the Federal Government did not disarm itself entirely?" ejaculated the Returning Traveler, who by this time was approaching the District of Columbia. "The Constitution never intended to leave America naked to its enemies."

Alas, he was told! The great men of the Revolutionary days are sadly missed.

"There's something else missing," shouted the aghast Returning Traveler as he looked down upon the capital city. "Where's Congress?"

Oh, well, you see, he was reminded, the Supreme Court did so much legislating that Congress—well, in a manner of speaking, it became obsolete. And so . . .

"And where's the White House?" the Returning Traveler screamed in anguish. "Don't tell me that . . .?"

Too bad, isn't it, he was asked. The Presidency became more and more a ceremonial office and finally dwindled away. The Supreme Court ruled in the Girard case that placating allies was more important than protecting American citizens. After that, the role of writing foreign policy was preempted by foreign nations. They decided what the USA ought to do in foreign affairs, and the President of the United States became expendable.

"Has the United States of America, as I knew it, totally disappeared?" demanded the Returning Traveler. "Has it vanished from the earth?"

There was no answer.

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II

"WHATEVER HAPPENED to the United States of America?" repeated the Returning Traveler as he flew through the skies. "Did some foreign nation cross the ocean and stamp out the American sovereignty with troops?"

That wasn't necessary, he was told. By 1957, the USA had forty percent of its Army, much of its Air Force, and most of its Navy stationed abroad. The USA was also training two hundred divisions of foreigners in seventy-two alien nations. You might suppose from this form of armed occupation that other nations were surrendering their sovereignty to the USA, but this is not so. During the decades at the mid-century, our Presidents were busy turning over American sovereignty to the Old World of Europe and Asia. It was the Declaration of Independence in reverse.

"It must have required a lot of ingenuity," said the Returning Traveler. "How did it all happen?"

Oh, in various ways, he was told. The Status-of-Forces treaties, along with executive agreements, surrendered the sovereign right to try our own nationals accused of crime while on duty with the armed forces. Meanwhile, at home, the right of trial by jury was being nibbled away by politicians in search of minority votes. But these erosions were only a part of the daft determination of certain mid-century Presidents to undo the work of the Founding Fathers.

"Our Presidents?" echoed the Returning Traveler. "Our commanders-in-chief? Our heads-of-state? *They* were part of the Share America Movement?"

They were its prime movers, he was told. They abandoned our moral position on world affairs in favor of entangling alliances. They promoted give-

away programs. They deserted our prisoners of war in enemy camps as well as abandoned our peace-time soldiers to alien courts. Congress fought every one of these programs, and for a little while succeeded in some degree. But the power of the Executive Department increased with the complexity of government and the extension of propaganda media. Congress fought a losing battle. Moreover, a deadly disease had laid hold of our American Republic. The stronger the Presidency became, the weaker became the Presidents.

"Like the Roman Emperors who followed the early Caesars?" asked the Returning Traveler.

The history books will probably show you, he was told, that the destructive process set in with President Andrew Jackson. Old Hickory brought in "real democracy," the spoils system, the glorification of the common man and the vilification of capitalism. It's noticeable that Jackson was followed by the eight weakest Presidents we ever had. During that time the country refused to elect its leaders from Congress — Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Benton and the rest. This had the effect of weakening the prestige of Congress.

The Returning Traveler sadly nodded. He knew that the genius of the American system is that it is responsive to public opinion. The Constitution planned it that way. A Congressman can hardly win if he is hostile to the popular sentiments and business interests of his District. This is why the House of Representatives is always very unwilling to give away the American sovereignty. It protects the overseas soldier whose relatives and neighbors have access to the Congressional polls.

The Constitution also intended that U. S. Senators should keep a propieta-

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ry eye on their State's chief natural resource—whether it's oil, falling water, metals, scenic beauty, good harbors or skilled manpower. The Senate never surrenders without a struggle to policies for share-the-wealth, either with the Federal Government or with alien nations. But the pressure of the White House and the over-emphasis on foreign affairs are often too much, even for the Senate.

"History," said the Returning Traveler, "might have told a different story if my country had put more faith in Congress than in the Supreme Court and the White House. If one of the three branches must predominate, let it be Congress. But when all three branches fail to support the Constitution, then the final reliance must be on the people. Tell me—? Are the American people still strong and self-reliant in defense of their freedoms?"

Well, he was told, the American people unhappily lost sight of that essential self-interest which is necessary for self-preservation. In the middle years of the Twentieth Century, our trade and tariff policies were run for the ben-

efit of other nations, rather than our own. The immigration laws were fitted to benefit immigrants, the foreign policy to favor foreigners, the military alliances to favor the allies, the anti-subversion laws to favor the subversives. All things considered, did the Returning Traveler think that America had reached the end of the road?

This time it was the Returning Traveler who could not give an answer. But instead of so doing, he opened the pages of *The Federalist Papers* where, in the very first of them he had prophetically written:

"... it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country . . . to decide . . . whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government . . . The crisis at which we are now arrived may with propriety be regarded as an era in which that decision is to be made."

The words were old. And yet they were new. Hamilton was writing them for the ages, ours as well as his own. The fight for free government only ends when freedom itself is defeated.

Announcing a change in the publication date of **THE JOHN FRANKLIN LETTERS**

This book was to have been published in

1989

We will publish it instead on

23 November, 1959

THE BOOKMAILER, INC.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

AS A NATION, we Americans are unique. There is no precedent in history for the meekness with which we suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous knavery and think them Fortune's. Uncouth and ignorant shysters deride us for our "inferior culture"—and we bear it. Organized sneak-thieves pick our pockets—and we bear it. International criminals subvert our laws—and we bear it. What is worse, snivelling sentimentalists and raucous hoodlums tell us that it is our *duty* to bear such things—and we believe it.

We seem to have forgotten that legally we are still a sovereign people; we behave as though we had no right even to consider our own interests. When, for example, we listen to insolent demands that we relax our few restrictions on the entry of aliens into our country, we seem to forget that we have no duty to admit anyone: we are a nation, not an inter-continental garbage dump. And if we are a nation fit to survive, we shall admit *only* those immigrants whose coming will benefit *us*. The very least that we can do, if we have any concern for our own lives and those of our children, is rigorously to exclude all carriers of the dire pestilence of our century, the Red Death.

The detailed operation of our present laws on the admission of aliens is the subject of *THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION WORK*, by Anthony T. Bouscaren with the assistance of Winston C. Smith and William J. Mulli-

gan (Marquette University, Milwaukee; 218 pages, price not stated). Dr. Bouscaren, author of the well-known *Guide to Anti-Communist Action*, was until this autumn Associate Professor of Political Science in Marquette University. The circumstances of his departure from that institution are not clear, but there have been various incidents in academic institutions throughout the country which suggest that there may be under way a clandestine but concerted drive to eliminate from American colleges, by harassment or administrative action, professors who openly disapprove of treason. At least until the causes of Professor Bouscaren's departure from Marquette are satisfactorily elucidated, there will be many who fear that the university's misfortune may also be its disgrace.

The present book is a strictly objective description of the working of our present laws, and contains no criticisms or recommendations other than those that are implicit in the facts reported. It is evident that our present laws are both inadequate and inadequately enforced. The Immigration Service has been frequently overruled by the State Department and the Supreme Court.

Visitors to the United States are admitted under arrangements which only partly fall within the province of this book. Everyone knows, of course, that the United Nations and the diplomatic and consular offices of Russia and its

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satellites are arteries for the circulation of spies and criminals, and that the flow cannot be stopped so long as we continue to extend recognition and diplomatic courtesies to our enemies. But it will be clear to a reader of this book that we could accomplish a little by exercising our legal right to exclude such persons as the Rumanian delegate to the United Nations who was trained in the N.K.V.D. school in Moscow, and that we could accomplish a great deal by care in such matters as "cultural exchanges" and the temporary admission, to teach or lecture in this country, of churchmen and scientists who are known members of the Communist conspiracy.

Most of us remember Senator McCarren's careful estimate in 1953 that there were then about 5,000,000 aliens who had sneaked into the United States, and that about 100,000 more were coming each year over the Canadian border alone. But there are other leaks that you may not have thought of; for example, every year 12,000 members of the crews of foreign ships land in our ports and simply "disappear," while an additional 5,000 persons effect an illegal entry by disguising themselves as sailors. And it is often difficult to deport the few illegal entrants who are apprehended.

We have all come to expect the Supreme Court to give aid and comfort to Communists, but we may not know some of the lengths to which it has gone. By virtue of one decision, Communist countries can now maintain agents in this country by the simple procedure of refusing to accept them back when they are ordered deported. This decision came to the rescue of many important conspirators who had

about exhausted the ordinary legal delays; many who were ordered deported in 1930 are still in this country, still at liberty—and nothing can be done about it. The Court has also wrecked the provisions for denaturalization, holding in the case of one Communist, who had been a state senator in Michigan, that he *could* have been active in the Communist Party without being aware of its purposes!

* * *

It is a great pity that so few Americans read, or even hear of, the publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. Although many of the witnesses who appear before these committees are only small crabs drawn up by chance from the teeming waters of the Communist conspiracy, every document adds its bit to our frightening, but still sadly incomplete knowledge of the organisms that flourish in those sunless and hideous depths.

Transcripts of testimony can be interesting reading, if properly interpreted—as interesting, at least, as the average contemporary novel. The characters are equally odd, and, unfortunately, more real. For example, in one of the current releases (Senate: *Funds for Communist Causes*) one finds Marcus Isaac Goldman (B.A., Harvard; B.S., Harvard; E.M., Columbia; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins), who refused to answer questions concerning his connections with the Communist Party and with ninety-six of its subsidiaries, affiliates, and organized operations, but ended by saying that he acknowledged no allegiance to the United States. The son of a multimillionaire and himself a very wealthy man, Dr. Goldman worked as a geol-

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ogist in the Department of the Interior until he was duly retired on a pension of \$382 per month.

Educators are apt to be less picturesque, but they are always interesting in their own way. One meets (Senate: *Communist Activity in Mass Communications*, Part 3) Professor Oakley C. Johnson, who began teaching at the University of Michigan, and, after a varied career which significantly included posts in three southern colleges for Negroes, became Professor of English in Brooklyn College, where he was honorably retired when he reached the age of 65. Professor Johnson, who, like all true Liberals, "can't conceive, by any remote stretch of the imagination" the "relevance" of the committee's inquiries, felt obliged, after considerable quibbling, to invoke the Fifth Amendment seventy-one times.

Under the broad shield of that amendment we also find the heroes of the rising generation of college teachers. The House Committee (*Communist Training Operations*, I) identified Professor Richard Wilson Reichard as an organizer who was attached to Undergraduate Branch No. 2 of the Communist Party in Harvard University in 1948-1949. This exemplary young intellectual, whose Ph.D. was conferred by Harvard, has taught at Radcliffe, Harvard, Stanford, Washington College (Maryland), and is now Associate Professor of European History in George Washington University, where his learning will doubtless enable him to give gullible undergraduates "new perspectives" on the history of Europe both before and after the epiphany of St. Marx.

Everyone should read the House Committee's consultation (*ibid.*) with

Mr. Frank S. Meyer, who was once an important official in the Communist Party and is now one of its most eloquent and sagacious opponents. Mr. Meyer, after commenting on the absurdity of the prevalent notion that "we are engaged in a popularity contest with the Communist economic system," stated the realities of our present position with admirable clarity:

"There is absolutely no possibility of defeating communism except by war, subversive or open, total or partial . . . I see no basis for negotiation between two civilizations, *one of which must die if the other is to live.*"

* * *

When we try to diagnose and understand the multiple maladies of our time, we are confronted by a series of problems that range from the simple to the abstruse. Our diagnosis will begin by noting an infestation as easily recognized as pediculosis, but it will lead us to the most obscure question of social pathology.

Communism is evil and loathsome, but it presents no great theoretical difficulties. The desperately urgent problems posed by the presence in this country of a secret army of disciplined assassins, authoritatively estimated as the equivalent of twenty combat divisions, are formidable indeed, but they are chiefly of the practical order. We know what must be done; the problem is how we can do it.

At the extreme of complexity we find the intricate question of the nature of the historical process and of civilization. Political, economic, and even scientific movements are, we know, profoundly affected by subtle and pervasive forces that work far below the surface of society. We are to-

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day being acted upon by forces that we can most clearly recognize in the Greek states at the time of the Peloponnesian War and again in Rome in the age of Marius and Sulla. But if we are candid, we must admit that the laws of history have not been fully ascertained. Spengler is indeed the most eloquent and erudite of the many writers on historiography, but his great system is an hypothesis. We are in the uncomfortable position of not knowing definitely whether we are suffering from dietary deficiency, diabetes, or the inevitable advance of old age, and it may be that our most anxious study of the involved and obscure data will give us no more than an estimate of probabilities.

Between these extremes but touching on both is the phenomenon that we somewhat paradoxically call "Liberal intellectualism." On the one side, we know that the majority of Communist conspirators find in the attitudes and phrases of "Liberal intellectualism" a very useful and almost impenetrable disguise. But on the other side, "Liberal intellectualism," in so far as it is not merely a cover for the Communist conspiracy, is itself a normal historical phenomenon, a quasi-intellectual fashion, comparable, for example, to the *Sturm und Drang* in the Eighteenth Century or the *Fin de siècle* in the Nineteenth.

If these intellectual modes are, as Karl Joël believes, produced by a regular flux and reflux of sentiment, we are, I suspect, now witnessing the turn of the tide. Certainly William F. Buckley, Jr.'s *UP FROM LIBERALISM* (McDowell-Obolensky, New York; 222 pages, \$3.50) is the kind of book that we have needed for a long time, but for some reason could not have until now.

Mr. Buckley is the necessary author for such a book. In his early thirties, he cannot be suspected of being a survivor of the Dark Age before Roosevelt. A graduate of one of our two most renowned universities, he certainly was not denied the privileges of a very expensive education in the fundamentals of dialectical materialism and intellectual irresponsibility. And he cannot be dismissed as a querulous and isolated eccentric. He is the founder of *National Review*, a journal of opinion so fresh and vigorous that the weary sheets of the Establishment, the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, have already taken on some of the quaintness of Dicken's *All the Year Round* and Godey's *Lady's Book*.

It is no secret that Mr. Buckley was very strongly influenced by the trenchant critical thinking of one of his teachers, Professor Willmoore Kendall; he could, therefore, be explained as an awful consequence of the academic blunder that permitted a conservative to enter what the Liberals call "the free market-place of ideas." But what of even younger conservative writers, such as M. Stanton Evans? And what of the increasing number of college students who are reading *National Review*, *American Opinion*, and other conservative journals? 'Tis a thought that moistens the brow of the gray-headed Liberal as he tosses on his pillow, restless o' nights.

More and more Americans are becoming dissatisfied with dreary dogmas which have long since lost even the appeal of novelty, and it is to them that Mr. Buckley's new book is primarily addressed. Writing with engaging earnestness and carefully restrained wit, he politely examines the conduct

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and pronouncements of some of our most venerated "Liberal intellectuals" in terms of their own stated premises and vaunted "ideals." He does not attack them; he permits them to expose themselves. There is no need to argue with them; they contradict themselves. If (as Mr. Buckley always takes for granted) they are sincere, their minds *must* be governed by ungoverned emotions, for they exhibit, wherever and whenever their *idées fixes* are concerned, "the helplessness of the Liberal mind when face to face even with elementary logical problems." From Mrs. Roosevelt to Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the great Chams of the "intellectuals" betray by their own logical fallacies and incoherence the debility of minds ruled by blind emotions that somehow correspond to the sounds "democracy" and "fascism."

The net effect of Mr. Buckley's deft examination is to make the "Liberal intellectuals" ridiculous. Although Mr. Buckley is much too polite to suggest it, the reader will quickly sense that we are dealing with spoiled children who have learned to get what they want by yelling for it. The sages to whom all Liberals now look up so reverently are merely having tantrums in their high chairs.

Now it is probable that, as John Dos Passos suggests in his foreword, what we call "Liberalism" is essentially an "ideological camouflage of the will to power" of the "new bureaucracy." But that is a point which the "Liberals" cannot urge in their own defence, and their disguise is useful only so long as it corresponds to prevailing fashion. Mr. Buckley has done much to hasten the day when an egghead will be as obsolete as a bustle.

* * *

In the meantime the stilted conventions of "intellectualism" are all about us, look where we may. The *Newberry Library Bulletin* for August reports a conference on "American studies" at which the leading speaker, Professor Daniel Aaron of Smith College, in a paper on "Communism and the American Writer" argued that the Marxist writers were not at all un-American since they merely expressed the "traditional progressive values" of American society; they were "a militant and exuberant phase of the war between the American writer and his society which has been flaring up intermittently for the past 150 years." To account for the "intellectuals' dissatisfaction," Professor Aaron adds to the usual clichés about American iniquities (sweet Sacco and Vanzetti, the downtrodden Negro, the downtrodden Worker, etc.) the revelation that in our benighted land Jews are "ghettoized." (Yes, that is what the man said.) He thought Communism analogous to the Transcendentalism of Emerson's day.

"Most of the other conferees" accepted this thesis! Although there *was* dissent—one man pointed out that a difference between Communists and other writers could be found in the former's desire to betray their country—the conference as a whole gives an impression of elaborate obfuscation. It is as though men were to create a fog and then delight in groping about in it. Unperceived was the central fact, the intellectual and spiritual vacuity of the "Leftist writers," who, taken all together, do not show one tenth of the knowledge of humanity exhibited by Ipuwer when, in a time of greater social upheaval, he wrote in the stiff and

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graceless language of Egypt four thousand years ago. No one suggested that literature might have a necessary relation to morality. It seemed to matter not at all that the Communist writers were members of a gang of criminals.

It is as though we were to read in an essay on contemporary letters, "John Doe represents the exuberant traditions of American youth: he put onions in his Martinis, brained his father with an ax, and wore plaid shirts.

MISERICORDIA

by

MARGARET LYLURN HEINSOHN

*Inspired by the spectacle of Eisenhower
and Khrushchev in jovial banter.*

Tell me, why do they laugh?

Do they laugh at the slaughtered Hungarian dead
An armless child and a missing head?
Do they laugh at that Freedom so bravely sought
When torture and slavery was what they bought?
Do they laugh at the new and devilish ways
They have found to mangle and often craze?
Tell me, why do they laugh?

Do they laugh at Jesus, Our Deity
Who was crucified for humanity?
Do they laugh at our martyrs, thousands strong
To those group we Christians now belong?
Do they laugh as we pray on bended knee
"Make us Lord as one with Thee"?
Tell me, why do they laugh?

Do they laugh at our flag that flies so bright,
Symbol of hope and eternal light?
Do they laugh at our fliers shot down, but brave,
Each one we presume a Russian slave?
Do they laugh at their families' flowing tears,
Nobody seeking to end their fears?
TELL ME, WHY DO THEY LAUGH?

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

September, 1959

Tuesday, September 1

→ In an article in *Foreign Affairs* Nikita S. Khrushchev makes "the end of any thought of rolling back Communism," acceptance of the Soviet demands regarding Germany, including West Berlin, and the removal of all barriers to trade with the Soviets, the essential conditions for "peaceful co-existence" with the United States.

→ President Eisenhower is enthusiastically welcomed by the people of Paris, but official reaction indicates that General de Gaulle retains serious objections to Eisenhower's proposed agenda with Khrushchev.

→ Prime Minister Nehru announces his unmitigated support of Krishna Menon, the fellow-traveling Defense Minister against whom India's high officers rallied in open opposition.

→ A Communist offensive in which regular troops from Communist North Vietnam are participating is closing in on the Laotian key city of Samneua.

→ The F.B.I. reports that juvenile crime continued to rise sharply throughout 1958 and that arrests of persons under eighteen years went up eight percent over the 1957 figure.

→ About nine thousand painters, decorators, and paperhangers are ordered by District Council 9 of their union to participate in the Labor Day parade or be subject to fines.

Wednesday, September 2

→ Though Eisenhower and de Gaulle announce that they have achieved "complete agreement" in their day-long negotiations, all reliable European sources insist that the French President retains a "reserved" attitude towards Eisenhower's policies.

→ Widespread Chinese Communist troop incursions are continuing along India's northern frontiers into the states of Bhutan and Sikkim.

→ Communist troops threatening the Laotian town of Samneua have increased in one week from 3,000 to 4,500.

→ In a further outbreak of profound differences between Argentina's President Frondizi and the country's armed forces, the President orders troops to march on a military school in Buenos Aires where the ousted commander-in-chief of the army, General Montero, offers resistance.

Thursday, September 3

→ The Government of Laos asks the United Nations to send an emergency force to defend Laotian territory against Communist North Vietnam.

→ The Red Chinese Government sends a note to Prime Minister Nehru in which India is charged with "aggression" in the border areas.

→ The convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars urges all members to

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boycott events connected with Khrushchev's visit to the United States.

→ President Eisenhower vetoes the second housing bill of 1959 and his veto is immediately sustained by the Senate.

→ Democratic Senator and Assistant Senate Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana calls for United Nations control of West Berlin, which would imply withdrawal of United States troops from the area.

Friday, September 4

→ United States officials indicate that the Eisenhower Administration will support the appeal of the Laotian Government for a United Nations emergency force to restore the territorial security of Laos.

→ Eisenhower leaves the Continent for a weekend in Scotland before his return to Washington.

→ The revolt of the Argentine Army forces President Frondizi to reinstate General Carlos Toranzo Montero as commander-in-chief.

→ Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev discloses that he will go to Red China on September 29, after his visit to the United States.

→ United States officials in West Berlin are "softening" the attitude of the radio and communications agencies in that city.

→ Spokesmen of the Algerian rebels in Casablanca, Morocco, declare that President de Gaulle cannot achieve a pacification of Algeria without negotiating directly with the Nationalist Provisional Government in exile.

Saturday, September 5

→ The Soviet press charged that United States "intrusion into the civil war in Laos" is a "special menace to the cause of peace."

→ The new disarmament commission in which the Western powers granted the Soviet bloc equal representation will start its work, outside of the United Nations, early next year in Geneva.

→ The Arab League warns the West that the Algerian war can be ended only by direct negotiations with the Algerian Provisional Government.

→ Former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, one of the chief architects of the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, says during a visit to West Berlin that "looking back we can see many things that shouldn't have been done."

Sunday, September 6

→ British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan calls on the Queen to arrange for a national election on October 8.

→ The Federal Civil Rights Commission, in a report to Eisenhower, calls for the appointment of Federal registrars to take over in Southern areas where state and local officials do not admit the vote of Negroes.

→ Mehdi Ben Barka, former President of Morocco's National Consultative Assembly, forms a left-wing "National Union of Popular Forces."

Monday, September 7

→ President Eisenhower returns to Washington and says on arrival "I am quite certain that for the moment, at least, everything is going splendidly."

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→ The Security Council of the United Nations votes to establish a subcommittee to inquire into the Laotian charges, while the Soviet delegate declares that the vote, overriding an attempted Soviet veto, was "unlawful."

→ New York's Democratic Representative Samuel S. Stratton introduces a resolution in the House which calls on the President to withdraw his invitation to Nikita S. Khrushchev.

→ The Dalai Lama declares that Indian Prime Minister Nehru "errs" in opposing a United Nations debate on Tibet.

Tuesday, September 8

→ President Eisenhower is reported to be considering "seriously" a visit to India after his forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union.

→ The United Nations Security Council's newly appointed subcommittee on Laos is proceeding immediately to initiate an "on-the-spot" investigation.

→ In an angry answer to the Dalai Lama the Indian Government contends that "Tibet legally is part of China."

→ Congress votes overwhelmingly, in spite of a threatened Presidential veto, in favor of a works bill that establishes sixty-seven construction projects, adding more than eight hundred million dollars to Federal spending costs.

Wednesday, September 9

→ The Laotian Government announces that North Vietnamese Red troops crossed the Laotian border on September 8 in three places.

→ President Eisenhower expresses "the profound hope" that his forthcoming

talks with Nikita S. Khrushchev will result in practical progress in easing East-West tensions.

→ The United States endorses the Dalai Lama's appeal to the United Nations for a hearing of his charges that Communist China has invaded and mistreated Tibet.

→ The United Nations gives its approval to direct disarmament negotiations, between the Western powers and the Soviet bloc, outside of the world organization.

→ The Minister of Economy in the United Arab Republic, Dr. Abdel Mo-neim el-Kaissouni, visits London to establish "friendly trade relations."

Thursday, September 10

→ About two hundred atomic scientists from twenty-six countries, among them the United States, meet in Communist Warsaw under the sponsorship of the International Atomic Energy Agency to exchange "information."

→ Enrico Mattei, the powerful left-wing president of the Italian fuel trust, announces the construction of a network of pipelines through which oil would be delivered from Italian ports to Central Europe, primarily West Germany, in competition with the tanker service provided by Anglo-American oil companies.

→ The Moscow State Symphony signs a contract for nine guest performances in New York early next January.

→ Robert F. Kennedy resigns as chief counsel of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field to devote his entire

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energies to the candidacy of his brother, Senator John F. Kennedy.

→ Congress overrides President Eisenhower's second veto of the public works bill.

Friday, September 11

→ The Premiers of twelve African republics in the French Community give their support to General de Gaulle's newly defined policy in Algeria.

→ Three battalions of the invading Red troops isolate the strategic outpost of Muong Son in Laos.

→ The Roman Catholic Church in France is instructed by the Holy See to end the leftist "worker priest" movement.

→ Boris Pasternak makes his first official appearance in Moscow as an "honored writer" at the guest performance of the New York Philharmonic.

Saturday, September 12

→ The Soviet Union claims to have shot a space rocket to the moon. It then further claims that this rocket lands a Soviet emblem on the earth's satellite two minutes and twenty-four seconds after midnight of September 13, 1959.

→ The Red Chinese Government charges India is using "two-faced tactics" in the border dispute between the two countries.

→ Leaders of several political groups, including India's ruling Congress Party, speak against Nehru's foreign policy that is "neutral in favor of the Communists."

→ A mass demonstration in Vienna

protests against the partition of Tyrol between Austria and Italy.

Sunday, September 13

→ The Soviet Government calls for an "international conference" on Laos outside the United Nations, whose planned intervention the Soviets consider "unlawful."

→ Vice President Richard M. Nixon declares there is more reason for hope than for pessimism concerning Khrushchev's visit to the United States.

→ The Pentagon sees in the announced Soviet moon strike further proof that the Soviets have rockets accurate and powerful enough to hit United States cities.

→ Major General John B. Medaris, chief of the Army Ordnance Missile Command, declares that the United States could not now match the Soviet moon shot, while the Secretary of Defense, Neil H. McElroy, says "you've got to tip your hat to the Soviets. I do."

→ Prime Minister Harold Macmillan sends Khrushchev a congratulatory message hailing the Soviet Union's rocket shot to the moon.

→ British Labor leaders Gaitskell and Bevan report that during their Moscow conversations with Khrushchev the Soviet Prime Minister insisted that a withdrawal of United States forces from West Germany ("disengagement") must mean their withdrawal from Europe as a whole and, thus, the end of NATO.

Monday, September 14

→ Congress passes a Foreign Aid ap-

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propriation bill providing 3.2 billion dollars to sustain the mutual security program throughout the year ahead.

→ Indian Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Sardar Mohammad Daoud of Afghanistan reaffirm their policy of "neutralism."

→ Dr. Wernher von Braun, director of development for the Army Ballistic Missile Center, declares that the Soviet Union was so far ahead of the United States in space projects that "if Russia stops immediately we could catch them in one, two, or three years."

→ The United Nations fact-finding commission arrives in Laos.

→ The three court-appointed monitors move to dismiss James R. Hoffa from the presidency of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Tuesday, September 15

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev arrives in Washington and is solemnly welcomed by President Eisenhower, with whom he starts immediate secret negotiations.

→ The State Department turns down a Soviet proposal for an international conference on Laos outside of the United Nations.

→ Dr. Heinrich Lübke is sworn in as West Germany's new President.

→ The heads of the Soviet and United States atomic energy agencies meet in Washington to discuss "closer cooperation and the sharing of their research."

Wednesday, September 16

→ Khrushchev asserts in Washington that, unless "coexistence" be secured,

the earth will "be covered with ashes and graves."

→ Addressing a group of United States Senators, Khrushchev announces he will discuss with President Eisenhower "the liquidation of foreign military bases."

→ President de Gaulle outlines three optional alternatives for Algeria, one of which—a popular referendum over the independence of Algeria within four years after the restoration of peace in that country — he endorses himself.

→ The Government of Paraguay closes the country's southern border against "subversive activities" by exiles now in Argentina.

→ The Peronist-and-Communist United Labor Front calls for a general strike against the economic policies of Argentine President Frondizi.

Thursday, September 17

→ Masses of New Yorkers, "restrained" by history's greatest outpouring of police, witness in significant silence Khrushchev's entry into the city; but the nation's business leaders welcome him at luscious luncheon and dinner parties.

→ Twenty-seven leading American industrialists and financiers assure Khrushchev at a meeting in W. Averell Harriman's home that "a continuation of the cold war was not in the interest of American capitalism."

→ Eisenhower declares President de Gaulle's proposals for Algeria to be "completely in accord with our hopes to see proclaimed a just and liberal program for Algeria."

→ Delegates of Argentina, Bolivia,

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Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay convene in Montevideo, Uruguay, to consider steps towards economic integration.

Friday, September 18

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev proposes in a speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations "a general and complete disarmament," that would abolish all weapons and armed forces within four years except "only forces needed to maintain internal security." Short of such "a complete disarmament" Khrushchev calls at least for the "withdrawal of United States forces from Western Europe and the liquidation of United States bases overseas."

→ Khrushchev lays a wreath on the grave of Franklin D. Roosevelt at Hyde Park with this inscription on the ribbons: "To the outstanding statesman of the United States of America, the great champion of progress and peace among the peoples, Franklin D. Roosevelt."

→ Georges Bidault, former French Prime Minister and hitherto strong supporter of Charles de Gaulle, calls for the formation of a movement to fight de Gaulle's recent Algerian proposals as "capitulation of France."

→ Harold Macmillan opens the British election campaign for the Conservative Party by asking for a popular mandate to attend a summit conference "this winter."

Saturday, September 19

→ Angered by the questioning attitude of Mayor Norris Poulson of Los Angeles (though fêted by leading Holly-

wood stars), Khrushchev threatens to break up his visit to the United States, but is calmed down by submissive declarations from the White House and the State Department.

→ Democratic Senator Symington of Missouri asserts that the United States will not "for many years" be able to duplicate the Soviet rocketry to the moon.

→ The Laotian Government in Vientiane submits to the United Nations fact-finding commission documentary proof of the Communist invasion by North Vietnam troops.

Sunday, September 20

→ The State Department "asks" Henry Cabot Lodge, the President's representative in Khrushchev's traveling show, to "avoid unnecessary and useless public arguments with Premier Khrushchev."

→ In a public defense of Eisenhower's invitation to Khrushchev Richard M. Nixon asserts "I believe the decision was justified and wise and will serve the best interests of the people."

→ Thirteen Iraqi Army officers and four civilians are executed as "enemies of the regime" of Premier Abdul Karim Kassem.

→ Inviting leaders of the Communist bloc to visit Yugoslavia, President Tito declares his "revisionist" practices are "practice only and not theory, and we are Marxists, we are Leninists."

Monday, September 21

→ Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, thought by several Senators to be the State Department theoretician for the appeasement of the Soviets, is appointed

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adviser on Soviet affairs to Secretary of State Christian A. Herter.

→ Walter S. Robertson, former Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, in a speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations accuses Communist China of the massacre of "thousands of the Tibetan people."

→ The biennial convention of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. unanimously adopts a resolution calling Khrushchev "more truculent and demanding in his aggression than Stalin."

→ Khrushchev, in California, has a verbal clash with Walter Reuther or he and Reuther put on a good show, but praises Thomas J. Watson of I.B.M.

→ George F. Kennan, former United States Ambassador to Moscow, declares in Basel, Switzerland, that Khrushchev's regime "represents a highly significant departure from Stalinism and is an essential alteration of the nature of the regime."

→ The Austrian Foreign Minister Dr. Bruno Kreisky asks during the general debate at the General Assembly of the United Nations that Italy set up an autonomous province for the German-speaking inhabitants of the South Tyrol.

→ The Indian press warns Nehru to watch Kashmir as the next target of Communist Chinese aggression.

Tuesday, September 22

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev suggests "summit meetings" once or twice a year.

→ The United States Defense Department decides to push ahead the de-

velopment of "Saturn" a rocket with a thrust of 1,500,000 pounds — five times that of the biggest rockets now available for space launchings.

→ Secretary of State Christian A. Herter declares he hopes nothing will be done in the United Nations to prejudice President de Gaulle's "just and peaceful solutions for Algeria."

→ In response to the recent executions in Iraq, the press and radio of the United Arab Republic reach a new height in criticism of Premier Kassem's regime.

Wednesday, September 23

→ Administration officials disclose in Washington that the United States and the Soviet Union are "nearing agreement on closer cooperation of atomic energy."

→ The press of Red China indicates that a purge of "right opportunists" is in the offing.

→ Premier Chou En-lai of Communist China expresses hope on ties with Japan.

→ The atomic submarine "Patrick Henry," designed to fire ballistic missiles under water, is launched in Groton, Connecticut.

→ The General Assembly of the United Nations bars membership of Communist China for at least another year, by a vote of 44 to 29, with 9 abstentions.

Thursday, September 24

→ Khrushchev returns to Washington for three days of secret talks with Eisenhower.

A Review Of The News

→ Cuba's Minister of State, Dr. Raul Roa, declares at the General Assembly of the United Nations that his country will not choose between capitalism and Communism but will follow "its own road."

→ Israel's Foreign Minister Mrs. Golda Meir asserts that "the bellicose attitude of the Arab countries" toward Israel "have taken on new and ominous forms."

→ King Hussein of Jordan announces forthcoming talks with United Arab Republic President Nasser and King Saud of Saudi Arabia.

→ The United States Navy proposes a unified command on military space and missile developments operated directly under the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Friday, September 25

→ Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike of Ceylon is killed by an assassin.

→ Eisenhower and Khrushchev start their "retreat" at Camp David, during which they intend to negotiate in complete secrecy concerning the world conflict.

→ In an apparent attempt at torpedoing President de Gaulle's pacification offers, the Algerian terrorists renew mass killings of Frenchmen in Algeria.

→ The Tito Government applies for an Eisenhower visit to Belgrade.

→ The French delegation walks out of the United Nations Assembly in protest against an Arab statement picturing the French attitude in Algeria as one of torturers with a thirst for blood."

Saturday, September 26

→ Jim Hagerty, Eisenhower's press manager, declares that progress has been made in Eisenhower's negotiations with Khrushchev but that the latter insists on his thesis of "the two Germanies."

→ Sixty thousand miners execute "a march on Bonn" in protest against the stubborn recession in West Germany's coal industry.

→ John A. McCone, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Agency, and Professor Emelyanov, his opposite number in Moscow, have reached an agreement concerning "peaceful cooperation" of the two agencies.

→ Leaders of all important Communist parties in the world gather in Red China to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Red Chinese regime.

→ A disastrous storm kills thousands of people in Japan.

Sunday, September 27

→ Nikita S. Khrushchev, after days of secret negotiations with Eisenhower, departs for Moscow with praise for the "statesmanship and wisdom" of his host.

→ Eisenhower declares at his press conference that the "Berlin problem" must also be solved to the satisfaction of the Ulbricht regime, and that the "abnormal" Berlin situation will have to be changed "somehow."

→ The Algerian "Government in Exile" announces its readiness to begin negotiations with President de Gaulle on the basis of his proposals.

→ Wijayanada Dahanayke succeeds the assassinated Bandaranaike as Prime Minister of Ceylon.

A Review Of The News

→ The President of the Red Chinese Republic declares his regime is determined to "liberate" Formosa.

→ At a mass meeting in Moscow Khrushchev declares on his arrival from the United States that Eisenhower agreed with him on "peaceful coexistence."

→ The British press praises the results of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev negotiations as the final testimony to the wisdom of Harold Macmillan.

Monday, September 28

→ Bonn and all of Western Europe are profoundly disturbed by Eisenhower's "slip of the tongue" at his press conference, which in the opinion of Western Europe indicates a secret commitment of the United States to grant the Ulbricht regime a decisive word in the "solution" of the "Berlin crisis."

→ United States Secretary Benson negotiates in Warsaw an important trade agreement with the Gomulka regime.

→ Newest public polls in Britain make the allegedly safe Conservative handicap in the forthcoming elections shrink two percent with more than ten percent "undecided."

Tuesday, September 29

→ The Eisenhower Administration informs the Adenauer Government officially that President Eisenhower, though he insists that the Berlin situation is "abnormal" and requires a "solution" acceptable "to all sides," will continue to protect the freedom of the people of West Berlin.

→ Responsible spokesmen for the French Government declare that, in the face of its renewed activities in Algeria,

the Algerian "Government in Exile's" alleged willingness to negotiate pacification amounts to nothing.

→ The Ulbricht "Government" of occupied East Germany opens a propaganda exhibition in London.

→ The typhoon "Vera" has made 500,000 Japanese homeless.

Wednesday, September 30

→ Walter Ulbricht, the boss of the Quisling regime in occupied East Germany, asserts that "direct negotiations between the two German Prime Ministers" must be considered the inescapable upshot of the "successful" Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting.

→ Another conference of the Big Four foreign ministers, to prepare the "summit meeting," will discuss the "Berlin solution" within four weeks.

→ In his speech celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Red Chinese regime Khrushchev predicts "the forthcoming triumph of Communism over capitalism" which he calls "an old stumbling horse."

→ President Eisenhower gives the steel workers and the steel producers a choice between finding an agreement by October 10 or submitting to the Taft-Hartley law that empowers the Administration to order immediate resumption of work for a "cool-off" period of eighty days.

→ Italian Prime Minister Segni and Foreign Minister Pella have an unusual meeting with Eisenhower — allegedly discussing the dangerous political developments in Italy which threaten the continuation of Segni's pro-Western Cabinet.

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

freedoms we have known—and taken so for granted—will already be disappearing.

Of course my friends did not believe me. They regard people like myself as hysterical, without suspecting that the very word has been put in their mouths by Communists. They refuse even to look at the gigantic conspiracy at work in America, in exactly the same way it has subjugated country after country, from Russia itself four decades ago to Cuba only yesterday. They remain blindly, happily, and childishly impervious to what is happening right before their eyes.

These friends ridicule even the suggestion that the Communists might take us over. While the truth is, of course, that the Communists already *are* taking us over, right now. And their brazenness increases with their success. Within the past year, as a result of Communist manipulation, we have seen our government *openly* and arrogantly: (1) Help the Communist Sukarno to suppress an anti-Communist rebellion; (2) help the Communists to seize almost all governmental power in Lebanon; (3) give both material and moral aid to the FLN Communists in Algeria; (4) invite one of the most vile little Communist megalomaniacs in their whole stable of viceroys, Sékou Touré of Guinea, to the White House as an honored guest; (5) aid the Communist, Fidel Castro, in every feasible way, to establish his cruel dictatorship in Cuba; (6) use every device of diplomatic pressure to have the Communist regime in East Germany recognized as on the same level with Adenauer's government of West Germany; (7) give powerful moral support to the Communist-led faction in South Korea which is trying to undermine Syngman Rhee; (8) begin a whole new and more subtle effort to get rid of the Communists' arch enemy, Chiang Kai-shek, by "persuading" him out of the picture; (9) team up with the insufferable Harold Macmillan in appeasement policies visibly aimed at eventual surrender; (10) do everything possible to weaken the resistance of Adenauer and de Gaulle to Communist pressures; (11) pass out huge sums of American money to Communist dictators like Gomulka and Tito; (12) and shatter

the morale of every anti-Communist in the world, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, by a subservient hospitality to the champion murderer of all history, Nikita Khrushchev. And this list is merely a brief introduction to the more comprehensive one which might be compiled.

The insolent Khrushchev, to support his argument that we Americans are afraid of him, threw the most outrageous insults into the faces of the highest American officials — knowing that the original Russian would be quoted wherever the language was regularly used — right while he was being honored by them as a guest. These officials, far from slapping his face, meekly accepted his obscene villification, and allowed an interpreter to mistranslate what he said so as not to alert the American people. Pusillanimousness, to help Communist prestige, could go no further. The Communists know — even if we do not — that their influences already control our government, and they act accordingly.

The outlook, however, is not entirely without rays of hope. There are many and strong forces now stirring to oppose this betrayal. And at some point the whole Communist tyranny will be blown up and destroyed. Of all their examples of the Big Lie, the biggest one is the one by Khrushchev that history is on their side; that Communism is "the wave of the future." The truth is that Communism is just a foul but passing disease, interrupting man's halting but upward climb; and that the Communist conspiracy will show up, in long-range perspective, as having been merely a dirty boil on the body of history. But a nasty boil can become not only very painful, but also very dangerous, if allowed to go on building up its poison indefinitely. It's time this one was lanced. And the Americans who intend to lance it and clean it are now increasing by tens of thousands. The smell of the Khrushchev visit has disturbed even their wishful thinking.

We hope you are among them.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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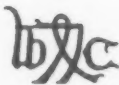
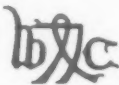
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