

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

THE TRUTH ABOUT TRUJILLO

by

Revalo P. Oliver

Also many other articles, reviews
and regular features

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

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50¢

AMERICAN OPINION

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June 9, 1961

Dear Reader:

We have frequently called attention before to the increasing use by the Communists in Latin America of assassination of heads of state.

So far they have not been using that technique too extensively in other parts of the world. The reaction in public opinion might cost them more each time than they would gain from the elimination of an enemy. But such assassinations have been regarded as more or less standard procedure in Latin American revolutions. So the Communists have felt, apparently, that they could use this procedure too.

At this writing we have seen no specific evidence that Rafael Trujillo's murder was a Communist operation. But the arrow formed by the infinite particles of circumstance points directly to the Castro-Betancourt-Figueroa clique as (directly or indirectly) responsible. And any idea that the anti-Communist successors of Rafael Trujillo can long withstand the combined pressures of the Soviet and United States governments is simply a forlorn hope. It is our firm guess that the Dominican Republic, formerly so strong a bastion of anti-Communism, will soon be visibly under the heel of Fidel Castro.

And so, despite having the usual *Review Of Reviews* by Dr. Oliver in this issue, we also present from his pen *The Truth About Trujillo*.^{*} Actually it is a preliminary study which he had already made in preparation of his last month's article on Latin American history. But we believe that you will find it very timely and very revealing indeed.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

^{*}(As further discussed on Page 68.)

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THE TRUTH ABOUT TRUJILLO

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

THE ASSASSINATION of General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo on 30 May confronts the American people with a crisis of at least the same magnitude as the one that they faced — although most of them did not know it — in the autumn of 1958, when the notorious Communist criminal, Fidel Castro, with the active support of the Kremlin and the government of the United States, began the campaign that finally overthrew the established government of Cuba and converted that island into a Communist fortress ninety miles from our shores.

This time the American people *must* understand the situation and what it involves. It is extremely unlikely, however, that they will receive any help from the press and radio that systematically deceived them about Cuba. The following pages are intended to present, as concisely as possible, the essential facts about the Dominican Republic, together with an estimate of the situation as it appears to me on the basis of the limited information available at the moment of writing.

I

THE DOMINICAN Republic occupies the important two-thirds of Hispaniola, the island, discovered by Columbus in 1492, that is the key to control of the entire Caribbean. A glance at the map will show its strategic importance.

Bases on that island, if in American hands, would effectively protect the Panama Canal from the Atlantic side and enable us to close the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico to hostile shipping, thus effectively preventing the Communist Empire from sending supplies and munitions to Cuba and Venezuela. In Communist hands, such bases would virtually close the Panama Canal, cut us off from the Caribbean, make communications with the Atlantic side of South America very difficult, and seriously threaten shipping lanes to the Mediterranean and Africa. They would also protect Cuba and Venezuela, and make it impossible for us to maintain ourselves in Puerto Rico.

Hispaniola is about the size of South Carolina, but has a population more than two and one-half times as numerous. The Dominican Republic, which is much less densely populated than Haiti, contains about 2,900,000 people, of whom about twenty-eight percent are white, sixty percent mulatto, and twelve percent black. The economy is primarily agricultural, with crops as diversified as the climate permits and extensive raising of livestock, chiefly for domestic use. There is considerable mining and quarrying, and light industry. Sugar, coffee, cocoa, tobacco provide about eighty-five percent of the exports. Important deposits of iron ore provide the principal non-

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agricultural export.

The Dominican Republic is now, in proportion to its total resources, the most prosperous nation in Latin America. This prosperity is of recent origin. Thirty-one years ago the Dominican Republic was what it had been for more than a hundred years: a bankrupt aggregation of seemingly incompatible people evidently doomed to perpetual anarchy and poverty.

II

THE INHABITANTS of what is now the Dominican Republic declared their independence of Spain in 1821, and asked to become a state of the Republic of Greater Colombia. In the following year, however, the territory was overrun by hordes of virtual savages from Haiti and lapsed into indescribable anarchy. In 1844, the surviving whites and near-whites drove out the invaders and then held frequent revolutions among themselves until Spain was persuaded to resume colonial rule in 1861. In 1865 another revolt led Spain to abandon the colony in disgust.

After a period of incessant internal upheaval, the people appealed to the United States to annex their country, but the plea was rejected by our Senate in 1870. Turmoil, interrupted only by one brief interlude of real government and a period in which parts of the country were arbitrarily ruled by a person who was little better than a bandit chief, followed, but the various "governments," most of them of doubtful legality, recklessly borrowed large sums of money abroad, necessarily at high rates of interest. Finally, the revolutions of 1899, 1902, Spring 1903, Autumn 1903, and 1904 left the country exhausted, bankrupt, without

money, without credit, and even without the physical equipment and personnel requisite for a minimal administration.

To avert a complete collapse and intervention by European powers, the United States undertook to administer the Republic's customs and finances in 1905, and, after considerable opposition in our Senate, the treaty of 1907 was ratified, providing for an American receivership until 1957. The United States tried at first to exert only a financial control, but this proved difficult. The Dominicans elected a president in 1908, but he was quickly assassinated, and riots, disturbances, and local revolts, often endangering American lives and property, were the order of the day until 1916, when we finally sent in the Marines and appointed an American Admiral to govern the country. We began gradual withdrawal of the Marines in 1924.

The American occupation witnessed the gradual rise to some prominence of an extraordinarily vigorous, sober, and prudent young man, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo. Born on 24 October, 1891, in the village of San Cristóbal, he was the grandson of a distinguished Spanish army officer and, on the distaff side, remotely descended from the Marquis de Chevalier. He was educated, first, by his grandmother, and then largely by himself, and is said to have been both an assiduous student and a youth who could reflect on what he had read without losing himself in the vaporous abstractions that so often becloud adolescent minds. Before he was twenty, Trujillo was a superintendent in a large sugar mill.

His friends say that young Trujillo bitterly resented the American occupa-

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tion as a humiliation of his country. Characteristically, however, he became neither a bandit nor an "intellectual" futilely exuding verbal venom. Recognizing that the occupation had been made necessary by his country's incapacity to govern itself, he enlisted in the National Guard, to which the American authorities entrusted the maintenance of order in the bandit-infested rural regions and small towns. Trujillo rose to the rank of Second Lieutenant in 1919, and two years later entered the newly established Officers' Training School.

Trujillo appears to have been an excellent officer. He was early distinguished for personal courage, exhibiting the contempt for danger that finally led him to his death. As a young man, he hazarded his life by going alone to reconnoiter bandit camps or walking coolly up to men with drawn guns and demanding their surrender, with the resolute disregard of personal safety that marked his conduct throughout life. He also had the capacity for command. The small detachments that he led in campaigns against the bandits were uniformly successful, partly because he made sure that they were disciplined before he started, partly because he enjoyed the complete confidence of his men, and partly because he never undertook an operation without thoroughly ascertaining the nature of the terrain.

Promoted, Trujillo worked assiduously to transform the entire Guard from a band of undisciplined, indolent, often mutinous, and usually unpaid peasants with rifles engaged in living on the countryside into an efficient armed force that could maintain civil peace after the Marines were with-

drawn. He was Major when the withdrawal began in 1924, and Brigadier General when the Guard was transformed into the Dominican Army in 1928.

The American occupation was largely limited to maintaining order in important centers and insuring the payment of interest and amortization on the national debt. After 1924, the country was returned to a government that was independent except for American supervision, but the Dominican politicians speedily proved that they had learned nothing, and the principal result of their activities was a rapid increase in the impoverished land's debt, both domestic and (by eluding American vigilance) foreign.

In 1930, matters came to a head in what was potentially a four-cornered struggle between a president determined to perpetuate himself in power, a vice president conspiring to win promotion, and two old-time revolutionaries who had agreed temporarily to defer solution of the question as to which would cut the other's throat. General Trujillo waited until the titular president ran away, and then used his small, but disciplined and efficient, army to clear away the mess. Open elections were then held, and he was elected president by an overwhelming majority.

III

GENERAL TRUJILLO came to power in 1930 under the most unfavorable auspices. His was an impoverished and demoralized country with an intrinsically worthless paper currency, and burdened with a debt which apparently could never be paid. Observers believed that the American receivership would

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have to be perpetual, and felt certain that, given the ethnic composition, economic status, and established habits of the Dominicans, the Marines would have to return within a year or two.

Trujillo took office during a worldwide economic depression, which, although it had been caused by sheer folly and maliciously exacerbated by obscure and malign forces, was real enough in its effects everywhere and particularly in minor nations that were already insolvent. Seventeen days after he took office, a large part of the country was devastated by the severest hurricane in its history. And of course, by a long standing tradition, just as dinner is followed by dessert, so the inauguration of a president was followed by revolts.

General Trujillo firmly repressed the insurrectionary sportsmen, and began reconstruction immediately after the hurricane, raising money on his own credit, since the nation had none. Undoubtedly following a long-meditated plan, he gave to the Dominican Republic the first firm and efficient administration it had ever known as an independent country. Instead of whining about the "depression" or yelling about "Yankee imperialism," General Trujillo worked to pay off the national debt as rapidly as possible. He succeeded so well that the American receivership was terminated in 1941, since by that time the Dominican Republic had a thoroughly sound currency and a completely balanced budget. In 1947, the nation which seventeen years before had been regarded as permanently insolvent, became one of the two or three nations in the world that had no external debt whatsoever.

The Dominican Republic has long

been the most stable and, relative to its resources, the most prosperous nation in Latin America. Anyone in recent years could have assured himself of that fact by taking passage on the cargo boats that make the circuit of the Caribbean. Three such trips, if well planned, give one time to view each of the important ports and to make excursions into the countryside. The contrasts are impressive.

Everyone who has made such a tour remembers the Dominican Republic for the unmatched prosperity and order of Ciudad Trujillo, where even ordinary hotels are decent and comfortable, service is courteous and efficient, there is no question about the safety of drinking water, the very streets are clean and well kept, and anyone can walk about at night or hail a taxicab without misgivings. Even more impressive is the calm of both city and countryside. There is no trace of the smouldering hatred of Americans that is almost palpable even while your ship is docking in Honduras; no trace of impatient hatred of white men that is so obvious in Trinidad and is making its appearance in Jamaica; no trace of the tensions that one senses beneath the surface even in Mexico and Puerto Rico. The Dominican Republic is not the Arcadia of legend, but it does exhibit a content that is singular in Latin-American countries.

Visitors to the Dominican Republic and the hundreds of responsible Americans who reside there simply laughed at the slime-peddlers of the American press who manufactured tales of a "fear-ridden country." At least as late as April of this year, there was no trace of serious dissatisfaction or concern in the populace. It is true that

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many thoughtful Dominicans were apprehensive, but their fears were excited by the fact that the General was nearing seventy and there was no successor in sight in whom they felt much confidence. Since last year, these apprehensions were augmented by the manifest hostility of the United States toward the Dominican Republic and uncertainty as to how far Washington would go to procure the ruin of our only reliable ally in the Caribbean.

IV

IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY true that General Trujillo took control in 1930 with the determination to retain it, and that, although he carefully observed legal formalities, he was the boss of the Dominican Republic as long as he lived. But there is no indication that any considerable part of the population would have had it otherwise.

Elections were held at the usual times with the invariable result that the General or the candidate designated by him was elected with a large majority. The General's candidates were also returned to the Congress in the quinquennial elections, but this is a minor point, since the constitution of the Dominican Republic bestows on its President all of the powers that our "Liberals" are trying to bestow on the presidency in the United States through the precedents set by such acts of usurpation as seizure of the steel industry, military rule in Little Rock, and the conduct of foreign affairs by "executive agreement." The Dominican President *does* have dictatorial powers, and as the various presidents since 1930 were controlled by General Trujillo when he did not hold the office himself, he undoubtedly was, in that sense, a

"dictator."

It should be noted, however, that the Dominican Republic was a "democracy," in one of the senses in which that word is used by our "Liberals" in their verbal conjuring-tricks. The General had a "mandate." Elections were probably controlled by party machinery, but under no circumstances would the people have elected anyone who did not *profess* loyalty to the General and his policies. Responsible Dominicans, even if they disliked the General, would not have risked a relapse into the economic and political chaos that was normal until 1930. One heard, to be sure, witticisms about the General's luxurious yacht (he was as fond of cruising as Franklin Roosevelt), his use of water instead of wine at the table, and other personal idiosyncrasies. In many quarters there was resentment of the fact that he held large blocks of stock in many Dominican corporations, although it was admitted that many of these holdings represented investments made when the corporation was founded and which had naturally appreciated in value. The private life of his children, especially his daughter, was the subject of both gossip and animadversion. There were jests about the obsequiousness of his followers. But, for all practical purposes, no one wanted to overturn the boat.

The Dominican Republic was a structure of which General Trujillo was frankly the architect as well as the builder. He stated his own political doctrine in a book published last year, *THE BASIC POLICIES OF A RÉGIME* (Editora del Caribe, Ciudad Trujillo; 206 pages, price not stated). Although there are fairly numerous locutions which show that English was not the

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native language of the author (or translator), the exposition is lucid. The book may be commended to sincere students of Latin America and of political theory and practice. "Liberals" are advised not to read it; they would be exasperated by the paucity of passages that can be twisted into outlets for their ritualistic hatred.

One naturally has reservations about the *Commentarii* that political leaders write about themselves, and it is probable that every career contains episodes that the principal participant does not wish to have publicly discussed. It would be difficult to show, however, that General Trujillo was not in fact guided by the principles that he expounded in his book.

General Trujillo's view of human nature and of man's relation to both nation and state (he carefully distinguished between the two) was basically Thomistic, and he candidly admitted that his political thinking had been dominated by "a subjective, personal factor: my Christian faith." From these premises, however, he was resolved to proceed on the basis of common sense: "at no time did I allow myself to succumb to the prejudices of preconceived political and social concepts." His task, as he saw it, was not to elaborate a Platonic theory or construct palaces of cloud in the dream-world of "Liberal" imagination, in which all men are equal and alike. His task was to establish and maintain a stable government in a specific country which, although it resembles other Latin-American countries in many respects, is, like every real nation, unique. Accordingly, he says, "I made no abstraction of truth, nor did I conceive the people as impeccable beings or pure spirits. Far

from it, I always bore in mind the passions, unrest, and impulses which determine men's acts, and the specific form which circumstances have given to the psychology of the Dominican."

His first problem was that of providing "security, peace, and political stability" for a people that had lost faith in itself. He saw that the economic problem was basically one of public morale, for private initiative had been completely paralyzed by "the uncertainty stemming from the civil wars and political instability."

The book fully expounds General Trujillo's beliefs, but does not go into great detail concerning the actual organization and functioning of the Dominican Republic.

The nation's politico-economic system, based on acceptance of the fact that the territory must always be primarily agricultural and that no extensive industrialization is feasible (although subsidies for that purpose could easily be obtained from authorities in Washington eager for pretexts to bleed American taxpayers and destroy the American economy), is essentially one of private ownership and private enterprise, but with some direct and many indirect controls by the state, which do amount to a kind of economic planning. It must be remembered that the system was expressly designed for the Dominican Republic, and obviously would not be in any way applicable to the United States. It is a nice irony, therefore, that the controls are really much less drastic than some that have been actually imposed, and many that our "Liberals" are eager and determined to impose, on the American people to establish by economic pressures a totalitarian despotism.

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V

OUR "LIBERAL" PRESS — echoed by people who should know better — has long yowled that the Dominican Republic was a "police state" which denied "basic human rights." The tainted source of this propaganda is obvious, and everyone should by now know that the only "human rights" which interest our "intellectuals" are violated whenever the International Communist Conspiracy is not permitted to operate without opposition.

The leading "atrocities" attributed to the General, the Galíndez affair, has long since been exposed as a hoax, and it is probable that other charges are mere inventions. Obviously, however, it is impossible to say to what extent there may have been *some* foundation for *some* of the reports. No one could be in a position to answer that question without having made a careful investigation of many specific cases, of the methods and operations of the Dominican police, and of the circumstances in which they must operate. I can offer only two general observations.

One hears a number of vague reports about repression of "farm workers." These remind me that verbal confusion is one of the most common sources of *honest* error in rumors and even in history. For example, every standard history of early Christianity will seriously mislead you about the Donatists in North Africa because everyone thought that the *circumcelliones* mentioned by Augustine were monks and everyone was shocked to find them engaged in armed robbery; an inscription which came to light a few years ago shows that the word was simply the standard term to designate migratory farm workers, and eventually the necessary

corrections will be made in our histories and Latin dictionaries. I wonder therefore whether a comparable error in reverse may not explain some stories from the Dominican Republic, for in the Spanish spoken there the common word for bandits that operate in gangs is *gavilleros*, a word that literally means 'harvesters.'

I do not know the truth about the reported "massacre" of Haitians, variously described as "workers" or "settlers," on the Dominican side of the border. It is true, however, that for more than a century bands of marauders from Haiti freely ravaged the western part of the Dominican Republic, and that even after the frontier was restored by General Trujillo, there was for a number of years great fear in that part of the country of fresh incursions.

The foregoing considerations and the question that we have been discussing are essentially *irrelevant*. It is not the purpose of this article to defend or to judge the personal character of General Trujillo or the incidents which occurred during his administration. These are subjects which should be of no immediate or direct concern to the American people. We have commented on them only because "Liberal" propaganda has used them to distract attention from the real issues.

That propaganda has created so much confusion that it may be worth while to state explicitly what should not need to be said: *The American people are not the moral censors of the universe, nor does the Constitution anywhere state that the United States has replaced God.* The function of our government is to protect the American people and advance *their* interests — not to be a cosmic busy-body meddling

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with everybody's affairs but its own.

Now it would obviously be foolish for the United States to *commit* itself to the support of an unstable government or of one that openly violated our moral standards, but within these limits the only consideration that should determine our attitude toward a foreign government is whether or not it is likely to be a reliable ally of the United States.

At the present time, the paramount problem before us is that of defending our own nation from the ever-growing Communist Empire with which no peace is even remotely possible.

VI

LIKE ALL TRUE Christians and all rational and informed men, General Trujillo recognized Communism for what it is, and although he injudiciously admitted a large number of refugees from Spain after the Civil War without adequate screening, he effectively prevented the establishment of criminal organizations in his country. Except during the Second World War, when, as he dryly remarks in the book we cited above, "the gravest mistakes in history were made," the Communist Conspiracy has been outlawed in the Dominican Republic, and the law has been enforced. A concise history of Communist conspiracies and attempted infiltration to 1950 may be found in the *WHITE BOOK OF COMMUNISM IN [the] DOMINICAN REPUBLIC*, published by the Ministry of Home Affairs in Ciudad Trujillo.

General Trujillo did more than any other man effectively to oppose the International Communist Conspiracy throughout the Caribbean. He maintained the Anti-Communist Research

and Intelligence Bureau under the able direction of Colonel Cziegler Istvan, formerly of the Hungarian Army. This bureau kept up-to-date extensive files on the international criminals in the area, and provided the world with a great deal of valuable and documented information in a periodical, *Carib*, of which fifty issues were published before it was suspended in April, 1960. It also published a special report on the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1959, which, according to the surviving commander, Major Gomez Ochoa, had been organized and financed by Fidel Castro, Rómulo Betancourt, José Figueres of Costa Rica, and Luis Muñoz Marín, the Governor of Puerto Rico.

General Trujillo's work, of course, greatly annoyed the International Communist Conspiracy. The old reliable liars of the American press conducted a campaign of defamation against him, and when the shabby and outworn gabble about "Fascism" was found to be ineffective, an instructor in Columbia University named Galíndez disappeared, and it was claimed that he had been kidnapped by Trujillo. All sorts of "clews" were "found," but the whole operation was conducted according to the standard techniques of the Russian Secret Police—as recognizable to an experienced eye as the technique of *pointilliste* painters — and any doubt that may have remained was dispelled when the usual pack of Communist-fronters in the United States began to yelp in chorus. It was therefore clear to observers in 1957 that the International Communist Conspiracy was preparing a real offensive against the Dominican Republic.

After the Communist conquest of

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Cuba, it was obvious that the Kremlin needed the island of Hispaniola to complete the encirclement of the United States in the Caribbean, and when the attempted invasion failed in June, 1959, the United States Department of State, in co-operation with the Kremlin's viceroy in Venezuela and other Latin-American Communists, began an economic and diplomatic offensive against General Trujillo, despite the emphatic protests of Senator Ellender, Representative Cooley, and other loyal Americans. One of the prime movers of this treasonable policy was, according to testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, none other than William Arthur Wieland, the strange individual (whom we mentioned last month, p. 63) who remained Director of the Caribbean Division of the State Department until exposure of his efforts on behalf of Castro, made in published hearings before the Subcommittee, forced the State Department to transfer him to the International Language School. There, according to rumor, he is waiting until he can be sent inconspicuously to an important post in Europe.

This action was partly covered by using the *Kaffeeeklatsch* called the Organization of American States. The pretense that if we sacrificed Trujillo, that diplomatic cocktail-party would or could do something about Castro, is too absurd to warrant comment.

The United States accordingly broke diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic in August, 1960. The price we pay for Dominican sugar was arbitrarily lowered, in defiance of the will of our Congress, by thirty-five percent in September, and the quota was drastically cut in following months. In

January, 1961, an embargo was placed on all exports of petroleum, petroleum products, trucks, and truck parts from the United States to the Dominican Republic.

The purpose of this policy could not be mistaken. Although there was a little half-hearted bleating about the need to conciliate such great "democrats" as the Kremlin's viceroy in Venezuela, Rómulo Betancourt, no one took the trouble seriously to pretend that the overthrow of Trujillo, if the United States could bring that about, could have any other result than the establishment of a counterpart of Fidel Castro in the Dominican Republic and the annexation of the island of Hispaniola to the Communist Empire.

Despite these kicks in the face, General Trujillo repeatedly stated that he would remain resolutely anti-Communist and a friend of the American people. To the great exasperation of our State Department, no doubt, he announced that he would gladly extend the treaty, due to expire this year, which grants the United States its vital missile base in the Dominican Republic.

Our "Liberal" press, of course, vomited its usual filth. One should, perhaps, note a story by one Max Frankel that was published in the *New York Times* on 4 January to the effect that Trujillo and Castro were about to ally themselves. The same newspaper, famous for its long successful efforts to white-wash Castro, published other articles which implied in one way or another that Trujillo was negotiating with the Communists.

Such was the situation when General Trujillo was assassinated on the thirtieth of May. According to all re-

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ports, he was murdered while travelling in his automobile on a highway—with no companion but his chauffeur and no escort at all. No editor, so far as I know, has noticed that such travel was extraordinary conduct in a “hated tyrant” of a “fear-ridden nation.”

VII

ACCORDING TO THE limited information available to me at midnight on the fifth of June, the situation at that time appeared to be this:

(1) Command of the Army, and therefore control of the Dominican Republic, is now in the hands of Trujillo's son, who appears to have the complete support of both the President, Dr. Balaguer, and General Hector Trujillo, his uncle. We may wish the young man well, but he has given no evidence that he has inherited his father's abilities, and it is certain that he cannot have inherited his father's prestige. The immediately crucial question is the extent to which he can command the loyalty of the Army.

(2) The assassins of General Trujillo, including the leader, General Juan Tomas Diaz, are said to have been almost all killed or captured; they are said to have been a small group. It is possible, but not probable, that they were merely expressing personal pique or eager to exhibit their skill with machine guns. They seem to have made no attempt at a *coup d'état*. In these circumstances, the observer naturally wonders whether they were in the employ of the Russian Secret Police and/or the United States Central Intelligence Agency. (The extent to which the two agencies overlap was a subject for speculation in Washington long before the C.I.A.'s recent opera-

tion to strengthen Fidel Castro.) These are the only two agencies with an interest in the Dominican Republic which have the ability and money to hire suicide squads. This is obviously mere conjecture, but if it should be correct, the assassins' employers undoubtedly have a plan for further action.

(3) Such action cannot be predicted, of course, but the following seem most likely: (a) intervention in the Dominican Republic under some “international” guise to “insure free elections” which end in the election of a crypto-Communist; (b) subsidization of a faction within the Republic to promote a revolution, ostensibly in conformity with Dominican habits of thirty years ago; (c) invasion from Cuba.

(4) Even excluding such possibilities, and even assuming great cohesion and resolution among the successors of General Trujillo, it is clear that so small a nation cannot permanently resist multiple and concerted pressures from the United States and the Soviet Union (including, of course, its possessions in Cuba and Venezuela). If, as a result of such pressures, the Dominican Republic is added to the Communist Empire, the last shred of respect for the United States will vanish throughout the world.

(5) General Trujillo was our firm and reliable ally from enlightened self-interest. If there is good reason to believe that his successors are equally enlightened, the interests of the United States require immediate resumption of diplomatic relations and normal trade, including military equipment, together with exposure and elimination from government of the persons responsible for the original rupture of diplomatic relations and other pressures

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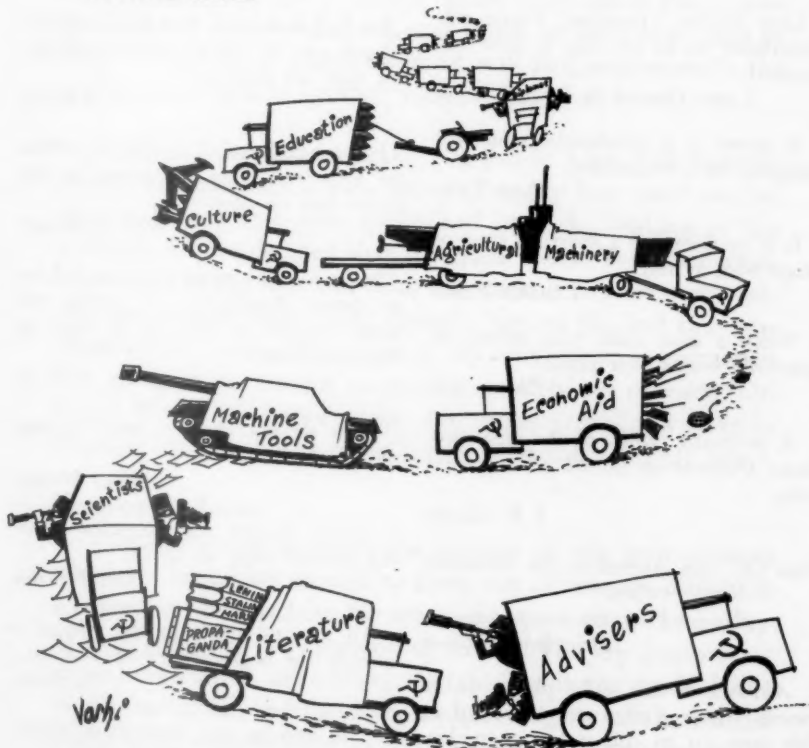
on the Dominican Republic. Of course, our missile base must be maintained; it may be that we need other facilities on the island.

(6) Overthrow of the Trujillo régime by any kind of insurrection, whatever high-sounding palaver might be uttered (and conceivably meant) by its leaders, would mean chaos that we

cannot afford in a place so strategically important to us. In such an event, therefore, we should have immediately to land the Marines.

(7) Any notion that the Dominican Republic could become under any circumstances a democracy *à la Suisse* is simply childish.

In Place of A Thousand Words



The Caravan Of Communist Aid Approaches Another Lucky Country

B U L L E T S

Just think how happy you would be if you lost everything you have right now—and then got it back again.

Frances Rodman

Blessed are the young for they shall inherit the national debt.

Herbert Hoover

A great many people are perfectly willing to sit on a porcupine if you first exhibit it at the Museum of Modern Art and say that it's a chair.

Randall Jarrell

Dear Doctor Friedman: Please un-quarantine us as my son is now un-measled.

Letter Quoted In DEAR DOCTOR

A camel is a greyhound who was designed by a committee.

Type Talks

It is madness for a sheep to treat of peace with a wolf.

Thomas Fuller

When a man seeks your advice he generally wants your praise.

Chesterfield

A politician thinks of the next election; a statesman of the next generation.

J. F. Clarke

ODE ON THE ANTIQUITY OF MICROBES
Adam
Had 'em.

Strickland Gillilan

America is the only place in the world where a man can drive up in his own car to collect his unemployment insurance.

Or His Relief Payment

Every year there are more station wagons and fewer stations.

Bill Vaughan

Coexistence is what the farmer does with the turkey until Thanksgiving.

Carl Zuckmayer

Where law ends, tyranny begins.

William Pitt

An egotist is a person of low taste, more interested in himself than in me.

The Recorder

Joe E. Lewis has a new drink, Metrecal and gin: "I still see pink elephants, but they are thinner."

Variety

I never expected to see the day when the girls would get sunburned in the places they do now.

Will B. Rogers

Some modern zealots appear to have no better knowledge of truth, nor better manner of judging it, than by counting noses.

Swift

Facts do not cease to exist because they are ignored.

Aldous Huxley

Always forgive your enemies. Nothing annoys them so much.

Oscar Wilde

To see and listen to the wicked is already the beginning of wickedness.

Confucius

And step by step, since time began,
I see the steady gain of man.

Whittier

THROUGH ALL THE DAYS TO BE

by

ROBERT WELCH

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The subheads have been added for this printed copy.

IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING that there is a division of labor here tonight. My job is to talk, yours is to listen. But if you get through before I do, will you please let me know. And so that we may know where we stand, will all Communists in the audience please hold up their right hands.

When I first began speaking in public I was told that the size of any audience always reflected simply how good the last speaker before that same group had been. So, looking at this audience I have decided that my good friend Tom Anderson, who spoke to the Freedom Club last week, is an even more outstanding orator than I had thought him to be, and that was already very outstanding indeed. My only regret is over what I'm going to do tonight to another good friend of mine, Dr. Orval Watts, your speaker for next week. Orval may have to promise trading stamps to get anybody to come to hear him.

Reasons To Listen . . .

Seriously, and actually, the number of you good citizens who have been kind enough to come out to hear me tonight is a reflection of something far more important than the quality of your speakers, past, present, or future. You are deeply concerned, of course, over many things. One is the gradual but visible loss of the independence and sovereignty of the United States to an international socialist government. Another is the equally gradual and visible conversion of that potential one-

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world government, right while it is in the making, into the world-wide police state of brutal Communist tyranny, for which the socialist supergovernment is only a forerunner and a front. One is the obvious speed and ruthlessness with which the Communist iron fist within the socialist velvet glove is now pounding to pieces all remaining resistance in so many countries of the world, and making the ultimate total conquest of the whole planet by the Communists appear not only inevitable but imminent. You have good reason to be worried, not only about the prospect of your grandchildren living in a socialist world, as Khrushchev promised, but of yourselves living in a slave state under brutal Communist masters, and in just a few more years.

In the fall of 1958, when The John Birch Society was founded, I pointed out to the handful of great Americans who attended the original two-day meeting that in my opinion the method was quite clear on which the Communists were relying most heavily in their plans to take us over.

Our subjugation was to be accomplished by a process so gradual and insidious that Communist rule would be slipped over so far on the American people, before they ever realized it was happening, that patriots would no longer be in control of the government, resisting the efforts of Communists to overthrow that government. Instead, without the change, or the decisive steps in the change ever having been visible, the Communists would be in control of government, and patriotic Americans could resist the further consolidation and extension of officially clothed Communist power only by themselves becoming conspirators against the established government. And I further said that in my opinion, even then, in 1958, the process in that direction was already going on, gradually but surely and with ever-increasing certainty and speed. Today the process has gone so far that not only our Federal Government but some of our state governments are to a disturbing extent controlled by

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Communist sympathizers or political captives of the Communists. Many of our national organizations and groupings of our people are visibly and disturbingly subject to Communist influences in the top echelons of control. And the use of typical Communist riot and terror tactics has already gone all the way from the breaking up of the hearings of the HCUA in San Francisco last year to the brutal physical attack on a patriotic young man, simply for writing anti-Communist material for his paper, right here in Los Angeles last month. And you say to yourselves: "Just what on earth does it take to make the American people recognize the Communist steamroller at work?" So you worry about seeing our own country soon become just another group of provinces in a Communist empire.

And To Worry . . .

And you would think all of that would be worry enough. But there is more, much, much, more. For the more thoughtful among you realize that our whole civilization is at stake and in serious danger. All of the humanizing customs, and traditions and tolerance of the views and wishes of others, which man has so laboriously achieved, are being wiped out by the Communists through the means they use to acquire and maintain power.

Castro was glorified, even in the American press, because his guerillas fought their way to power in Cuba without wearing uniforms. There was no way the poor farmers in Oriente Province could distinguish friend from foe, or the men who were out to burn their homes and murder their families from neighbors seeking to protect both. This fighting of a war, and especially a civil war, without distinctive uniforms, is a barbarism man had outgrown a thousand years ago, until the Communists adopted it as a standard technique of their terror.

Even in the brutalities and crimes and wars man had by no means been able to eliminate from the lives of his most enlightened generations, certain softening rules and customs had

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become so widely accepted and observed as to make possible an increasingly civilized and humanitarian existence. Until the Communists came along, wars had to be *declared*, and certain provisions followed for enabling friends and foes to get on their respective sides. Now the Communists depend on the very fact of not declaring war as one of their greatest assets in waging one. Until the Communists came along, solemnly established treaties were expected, by even the most cynical students of geo-politics, to be intended as settlements of lasting duration of various conflicts, disagreements, or common purposes—whether the intentions held very long or not. But the Communists brazenly proclaim that treaties, like piecrusts, are made to be broken. And they are frequently making plans, as to when and how to break any treaty most advantageously for themselves, right while the treaty is being formulated.

The impact of the Communists has been the same on all of the arts of peace as well as the arts of war. Pictures are not painted for their beauty, nor music composed for its addition of harmony to life, nor books written for the increase of man's knowledge or enjoyment, but all art must be prostituted to the service of the Communist conspiracy and to the lust for power of the top conspirators.

In my opinion one of the most ennobling as well as most pleasing of all man's arts is great poetry. And as those here who are most familiar with the Blue Book of The John Birch Society know, I tried to put what the advance of Communism was doing and would do, to all of the arts in general and to poetry in particular, in a sonnet written to my good friend Alfred Noyes a few months before he died. To those who abhor an Alexandrine as the last line of a sonnet, I plead *nolo contendere*. To those who already have heard the sonnet too many times before, I apologize. But I should like to read it to all others in this audience anyway, because it summarizes, as concisely as I know how, what is happening to our whole civilization.

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TO ALFRED NOYES

As after Rome, now once again the drapes
Of ignorance and bigotry and lust
May close upon the scene. Insentient dust
Will bury the forgotten stage. And apes
Who know not man, his glory and his dreams,
His wish to be more worthy of his God,
Will stalk the earth and wield the brutal rod,
And stamp upon each tiny light that gleams.
Amid the dull collective monotone
Of universal serfdom will be lost
The memory of song and singer. Prone
And helpless, soon, upon the rubbish tossed,
Will die the Muse. Let us rejoice to own
This one great poet more before the holocaust.

If the murder of the muses goes far enough; if the regimentation and subordination of the sciences to the purely pragmatic purposes of the Communists becomes complete enough; if the level of man's capacity through freemarket interchange to produce and distribute the material needs of life is reduced low enough by the chaos of socialist planning; and if the opportunity and incentive for individuals to contribute infinitely varied trial-and-error undertakings to our whole social and economic system is destroyed completely enough by Communist-police-state regimentation; if these tragic developments are consummated before the Communists are stopped, then even when the whole brutal tyranny is eventually broken and scattered to the winds of piecemeal revolt, the irreparable damage to our civilization will already have been done. The only possible environment for human life will be a new and feudal Dark Ages, out of which man once more will have to emerge slowly and painfully—recovering over centuries the arts and sciences and skills and freedoms and total attributes of the civilization we have, just as our ancestors recovered over centuries the Greek and Roman inheritance which had been so

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largely lost. And to those of us who wish to transmit to our children and their children as much as possible of both the glorious country and humane civilization which we ourselves inherited, this whole imminent prospect is a cause of deep and unceasing anxiety. For we the heirs of all ages are simply abandoning, rather than improving, our marvelous inheritance.

II

BUT EVEN THIS is not the ultimate or most important worry. To those in this audience and other groups throughout the country who are most aware of what the Communists are really doing, and how they are doing it, there is a tragic possibility far more significant even than those already outlined, and about which we need to be even more profoundly concerned. For you may have observed that in listing above the losses and dangers that now face us, I had not yet come to any question of religion or morality, nor to one of the basic problems with which The John Birch Society is so vitally concerned. This problem is not simply the increasing lack of morality in all human conduct, nor the corresponding immorality because of weakening consciences, but something far more disastrous which we have described as the flight to amorality. And I wanted to approach this subject as part of a more inclusive one. For what we are really facing today, ladies and gentlemen, is an effort so sinister, so extensive, and so far-reaching with regard to man's future, that it can only be described as diabolical, in the most literal and frightening meaning of that word.

Reaching Far Into The Future . . .

In this audience there are plenty of good and great men and women who believe in a personal, biologically existent devil, devoting his eternal cunning and hatred to destroying God's hopes for man. There are others, still devoutly religious, who think of the same struggle in more impersonal images, as an eternal battle between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, right and wrong, or good and evil. They simply leave

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unresolved for others, and perhaps unresolved even for themselves, some of the questions as to the form and nature of the Deity they worship as the source of all being in the world man knows; and as the Creator of the environment, the forces, the human aspirations, and the incredible gift of free will, which together constitute the framework within which men live and seek ever to "rise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things." And among you there are all shades of specific belief in between. But the great common denominator of all these beliefs is that all of you—or almost all—see and know and feel that there are forces of evil battling with the forces of good, within each individual and within the whole human race, for the ultimate fate of all mankind.

Now always before all but the tiniest insignificant fraction of mankind has at least paid lip service to the morality which seemed to a particular age to be in tune with an "upward reach" given by God to man. Nobody claimed that the recognized virtues were not to be honored, or that the slowly evolving moral sense of man was not desirable and important. Even Macchiavelli would have considered excellent morals in his prince as a most desirable and appealing personal luxury if the prince could afford them. We have had crime and sin and falsehood before, on a large scale and throughout all ages; but never before as the accepted customs and honored characteristics of a world-wide cult. They were, in all previous eras, regarded as trespasses against religion or society or both. Individuals committing heinous crimes, to obtain a throne or to destroy an enemy, might still be honored by a majority of their fellow men, but it was despite or in disregard of their sins, not because of those sins. Their crimes against God and their fellow men were not the visible and admitted reasons for the honors bestowed on them, or for the responsibilities and power committed to their hands.

Now, for the first time in all history, on any extensive

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scale—and even less on any world-wide scale— we have the forces of evil openly and brazenly setting up their precepts and values and codes as the acceptable and preferable *mores* of mankind. We see a conscious, deeprooted, long-range, deliberate, incredibly determined and diabolically cunning attempt to have the evil in man's nature become revered instead of the good; to have man's God-given "upward reach" replaced by a Satanically cruel "downward reach"; and to reverse the whole course of man's ages-long and often painful self-education in the nature of spiritual values. What is really at stake today, overshadowing all lesser gains and losses, is the very nature of human life and the very purpose of man *through all the days to be*.

That is what I wish primarily to talk to you about tonight. And if any of you feel any slightest disappointment at the prospect that I may not be talking about Communism and the Communist menace, don't. For I shall be talking almost entirely about Communism. And it is my hope to give you an insight into the whole basic strategy of the Communist drive, as well as into a basic ultimate aim of those who would establish Communism as a religion, supplanting all other religions, which—as it seems to me—have not been sufficiently realized by most of those opposing the Communists nor even by a majority of the opportunistic Communist millions doing the bidding of their masters.

III

THE CONCEPT INVOLVED I have called, for lack of a better phrase, the Principle of Reversal. And it is the comprehensiveness of the application of that principle, and not simply that it is used, which is so surprising. It is the fact, gradually unfolding to the student, that the Principle of Reversal is not just a part or an element of Communist strategy, but *is* Communist strategy, that becomes so startling and so important.

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In Semantics . . .

Let's first make clear what we are talking about in the easiest and surest way, by the use of illustrations. And the field of semantics is the best area in which to look for illustrations that are already recognized by most informed anti-Communists. By the "liberation" of a country for instance, such as Cuba, the Communists mean the imposing on Cuba of a tyrannical Communist dictatorship. And they do not consider that "liberation" complete until the viceroy of the Kremlin is so safely established that all resistance seems futile to the enslaved people under him.

Or let's look at the much overworked Communist phrase "anti-colonialism." It was invented by the Communists in about 1920. Or at least it was first put into use by them in that year, by their agitators on the Pacific Coast of Asia, from Korea all the way down China and Indo-China to Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. At that time, and since then, right up through all of the troubles created so far by the Communists in Africa, the term has been used as a slogan and a weapon to drive out of one "underdeveloped" country after another the civilizing influences and stabilizing governments of the British, Dutch, French, and other leading powers. Its avowed purport has been to rid Asia and Africa of "colonialism" and the supposedly corresponding exploitation of native populations by European nations, and thus to make those nations free and independent. Its real purpose at all times has been exactly the opposite, and that was to supplant the beneficent and generally helpful colonialism of the civilized Western European nations—and of the United States as in the Philippines—with an infinitely more oppressive, harsh, exploitative and tyrannical "colonialism" of the Russia-centered world-wide Communist dominion. The Soviet Empire has gone on busily and successfully establishing itself as the greatest and also the most tyrannical "colonial" power of all time quite effectively and very largely by its unending and always bitter campaign against "colonialism."

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There are dozens of other important examples of this reversal of the meaning of words and phrases. George Orwell's great book, *1984*, is largely based on the "doubletalk" and "doublethink" which such words represent. But this is sufficient to make the basic principle clear. And more illustrations will come out anyway in the course of our look at other uses of the whole Principle of Reversal. So let's go now to the application of that principle which has been devastatingly successful in forwarding Communist purposes, especially in the United States.

In Our Foreign Aid Program . . .

For years we have been taken steadily down the road to Communism by steps supposedly designed, and presented to the American people, as ways of *fighting* Communism. The whole foreign aid program is an excellent example. Our foreign aid program has done some good, of course. The Communists, being intensely practical and realistic even in their most cunning stratagems, do not believe in using solid-black instrumentalities, but dark gray ones. They are always willing to be hurt, or to take losses here and there, for the sake of an ultimate net gain in any transaction or endeavor. And American foreign aid, from the time it began as a contribution of some seventy-two percent of UNRRA funds, until it has reached the mammoth proportions of today, has been a tremendous help to the advance of Communism.

It was planned by the Communists for that purpose. This pouring of American billions into foreign countries, to make things easier for the Communists and their socialist allies or agents, is exactly what the Communists wanted the American government to do. Our UNRRA funds were used by Menshikov in Poland and by Madame Sun Yat-sen's associates in China as powerful weapons to reward the natives who would join the Communists and to beat down through starvation the natives who were willing to resist. Our billions in money and materials

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delivered to Tito were used as completely to strengthen the international Communist conspiracy as if they had been delivered directly to the Kremlin. Our money and guns delivered to Sukarno in Indonesia were at times for the specific purpose of enabling him to put down anti-Communist revolts of the Indonesian army units and people. And the recent even more brazen deliveries of American wealth to Communists like Gomulka in Poland show how far this whole Big Lie called foreign aid can be carried once the Big Lie has been repeated and acted on long enough.

In Our Defense Outlay . . .

Another excellent example of the same strategy at work has been the impact of the Soviet military threat on our domestic economy. The Soviets never were able to conquer *Finland* by their own military force. They didn't take over even tiny Albania, or Poland, or Cuba, or Bolivia by direct use of Soviet arms, but always by internal subversion which was carried to the point of civil war only if necessary. What on earth leads anybody to think that the Soviets, in view of their whole past history, would attempt to conquer their most powerful enemy by military force when they are doing it so easily, rapidly, and successfully by internal subversion? Especially when you consider that an all-out shooting war between the Soviets and ourselves would be the automatic signal, the now-or-never trumpet call, for the *simultaneous* uprising of the enslaved peoples all over the world, which is the only development of a military nature that the Kremlin really fears.

Although our danger remains almost entirely internal, from Communist influences right in our midst and treason right in our government, the American people have been persuaded exactly the opposite—that our danger was from the outside, from Soviet military might. And so, under the excuse of preparing to match that military might, of defending ourselves from this threat of outside force—in other words, under

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the guise of fighting Communism—we have been stampeded and are still being stampeded into taking more and more of those measures which convert us into a socialist state. The long-range object is: So to change the economic and political structure of the United States that it can be comfortably merged with Soviet Russia in a one-world socialist government.

From a military point of view the Soviets proceed against the United States on the soundest of strategy. It calls for paralyzing their enemy and their enemy's will to resist, by internal subversion, before ever striking a blow. Not until the Soviets have complete victory already assured is there any slightest danger of the use of Soviet arms or armies on American soil. If and when it does come it will be merely part of a "mopping up" operation, to destroy potential resistance movements within America by mass murder and limitless terror. To the hopeless slaves of the Communist tyranny elsewhere in the world this would be no signal for revolt but clear evidence that the Soviets were merely suppressing revolt, or preventing future revolt, by their usual methods, in another territory that had already been conquered.

It is precisely because no earthly power could drag the Soviets into a real war or an honest war with the United States today that they beat their breasts so much and threaten war so loudly and so often. I believe that, just as a matter of sound common sense and of permanent national policy, we should keep our powder dry—and keep plenty of it. But we should also remain constantly and acutely aware of the incredible waste of billions of dollars, the socialization of our economy, the centralization of government power, and all of the other Soviet-serving measures being so skillfully promoted by Communist influences within our government, with this completely phony threat of outside war as the excuse.

IV

BUT OUR CONCERN in this speech is with the Principle of

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Reversal, and we should not let our illustrations lead us too far into the specific matters with which they deal. So let's look into another area where the Communists have had the principle busily at work for a long time. And this is in the manufacture of slogans for what I have described elsewhere as their continuing campaign of "conquest by catch-phrase."

In Slogans . . .

Any serious and objective student of the history of the past quarter of a century will already have discovered the Communist planning and promotion behind most of these slogans, no matter how cleverly and how extensively the Communist themselves were able to stay behind the scenes, and to beguile perfectly innocent leaders in American political life (and often in other fields as well) to spread such effective propaganda for them. But even to those patriotic Americans who have not yet run into the more direct and substantive evidence of the Communist origin and propagation of these epigrammatic weapons, the remarkable similarity in their construction and pattern is enough to carry conviction as to their common source. When you then note, from the advantages of long hindsight, how invariably and extensively such slogans have helped the Communist cause, no matter how little this was realized at the time by the very people most ambitiously spreading the slogans, the realization becomes inescapable that the catch-phrases represented brilliant Communist psychological warfare at work. Then and only then it is time to note that the Principle of Reversal was involved every time.

In 1940 the most important thing in the world to Stalin was to get the United States into the war. For several years his secret agents and his diplomatic agents, in Japan, in England, in the United States, and in dozens of other places had been scheming and lying and conniving to bring on World War II, for the advantages of making the Soviets a wartime ally of the Western nations, and for the sake of the sociological changes

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and the chaos and the resulting opportunities for the Communists which the war and its aftermath would provide.

And by 1940 President Franklin D. Roosevelt had made it amply clear that, if he could win a third term and stay in power, he would bring the United States into the war as soon as he could manage it. The problem, however, was that Roosevelt had to be reelected first. And not only did he have to overcome the objection to a third term, but he had to overcome something far more deep-rooted, solid, and extensive. That was the opposition of a vast majority of the American people to his *foreign policy*, which was visibly heading us into a war of which the ordinary American citizen wanted no part.

I Can't Stand Roosevelt, But . . .

Of course by 1940 Roosevelt's whole New Deal had been shown to be foreign, phony, and a failure. And his demagoguery was already recognized by millions who had voted for him with such docile gullibility in 1936. But demagoguery with regard to domestic issues has never been much of a flaw in the political appeal of American candidates for office. And if the millions repelled by it can be counterbalanced by other millions whose votes are bought with the tax money provided by that demagoguery, the demagogue has little cause to worry on that particular score. The feeling against our getting involved in another world war, however, had a depth and extensiveness that could not be brushed aside or bowled over by the usual political ballyhoo. More desperate and more brilliant steps were required. And it is just one, of many such steps taken, which concerns us here. That was the creation, dissemination, and ultimate spreading all over the United States, until it became almost a byword, of the catch-phrase: "I can't stand Roosevelt, but we *must* support him because of his foreign policy."

Now there are several principles of Communist psychological warfare at work here. One, which we have already seen in connection with our foreign aid program, is "Always

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give up something for the sake of a greater gain." By conceding something unfavorable about Roosevelt in the remark; by having the very conservatives in domestic affairs at whom this whole campaign was aimed, and who innocently picked up this slogan and parroted it to their friends, voice their basic dislike for Roosevelt which would be shared by their listeners; by this gambit the slogan would be—and was—tremendously more convincing in the second part which was what the Communists wanted to put over. It is a trick which the Communist propaganda machine uses over and over, in variations to fit a lot of different needs. The pattern grows out of, or is related to, a fundamental precept of dialectic materialism, "Take two short steps backward for each long step forward." Whether both short steps come before or after the one long step, or one before and one after, doesn't matter, so long as the one forward step exceeds in distance the sum of the two backward ones.

But the trick in the slogan under observation, which really concerns us here, is the Communists' habit of taking their greatest weakness and, by daring and bluff, converting it into their greatest item of strength in a particular situation, large or small. This is the Principle of Reversal, applied with a vengeance. The greatest weakness of the Communists and their plans, in connection with the American political scene in 1940, was the distrust and detestation by the American people of Roosevelt's foreign policy. Thus the question for the Communists automatically became how to give that the appearance of their greatest strength. So the Communist brain trust went into a huddle, the Communist machine for spreading propaganda went into gear, and millions of people began to state solemnly, as if the thought were original with themselves: "I can't stand Roosevelt, but we *must* support him because of his foreign policy." And the weapon did the job for which it was designed, very well indeed.

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I Like Taft, But . . .

Now let's skip a dozen minor manifestations of the same principle at work, in the same way and for the same purpose, and come to 1952. By that time the Communists were tremendously stronger in America—having been made so by the war and its aftermath exactly as Stalin had foreseen and planned. In fact there is evidence that by 1946 and from then on Stalin had considered himself, through his agents and various forms of Communist influence and pressures, as in virtual control of our government. But by 1952 a revulsion had set in, and that revulsion had a powerful, courageous, patriotic, and tremendously popular leader, Robert A. Taft. What's more, his incredible vote-getting power, over every dirty trick and pressure play and steamroller of organized opposition which the leftists could muster against him, had just been demonstrated in the Senatorial election in Ohio in 1950. If Taft were to be elected President in 1952, there was visibly going to be such a weeding out of Communist agents out of our government, and such a reversal of our pro-Communist foreign policy at home and abroad, as to set the Communists back a whole generation in their plans for global conquest. What was worse from their point of view, and was visible to anybody else who would really study the facts realistically as the Communists always do, if Taft were nominated in 1952 he would unquestionably win by one of the greatest landslides in all American history.

The situation was desperate, and it was Taft's vote-getting magic which, above all else, made it desperate. So Taft simply had to be stopped at the nomination stage. (It is in our primary system and our political conventions, which were not set up by the Constitution and are controlled by accumulated political customs, rather than by laws, that the Communists had long before found the Achilles heel in our whole governmental body.) And again, to stop Taft from being nominated, the Communists behind the scenes pulled out all stops and combined many powerful chords of planning, propaganda, and

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pressure. But the one that concerns us here, and which became the byword of the whole primary campaign, was a catchphrase made from the same substance, in the same mold, and by the same school of workmen, as the slogan we have previously with the assurance of sad but superior knowledge, "but he can't win."

Note the first preliminary step backward, the concession by the Communist designers, in the premise, for the sake of the greater convincingness of the conclusion. It hurt them to have so many millions saying "I like Taft." This was still a bargain price to pay, however, for having the same millions mouth, with the assurance of sad but superior knowledge, "but he can't win."

And the real point for us in this speech, of course, is the way the Principle of Reversal had again been put to work. The greatest danger to the Communists, the greatest weakness in their position, was the overwhelming certainty that Taft, if nominated, would win over any opponent by a huge margin. So they took their greatest weakness and, by daring and bluff—supported in this instance by lies which were staggering as to viciousness, brazenness, and extensiveness—converted that weakness into their greatest item of strength in the particular circumstances.

I Like What McCarthy Is Trying To Do, But . . .

Let's look at just one more of the products from this mold, before going on to another area. In 1954 the most important thing in the world to the Communists was to destroy McCarthy. Of course the usual line was being spread by the Left that McCarthy was damaging the anti-Communist cause and thus helping the Communists by his supposedly extreme tactics, just as the same nonsense is being peddled about The John Birch Society today. But all you had to do was to read their own literature, where the line was laid down for the faithful, to

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discover that for about two years they gave the destruction of McCarthy priority and importance over practically everything else on their whole international agenda.

For the thing that bothered them most, the source of their greatest danger and weakness in their battle with McCarthy, was his methods. Of course they didn't like his objective, which was to get rid of Communism. But what frightened them so much was that McCarthy, instead of simply fighting Communism on some ideological or academic level, as almost everybody else had been doing since the pack got rid of Martin Dies and Parnell Thomas, had decided that the way to stop the advance of Communism was to expose individual Communists. And he was right and the Communists knew it better than anybody else.

Of course the Communists and their dupes and allies spread every lie, distortion, and innuendo they could about McCarthy's harshness and browbeating of witnesses and unsupportable charges, and there was little chance to get the truth over to the public through such a well-organized smokescreen of falsehood. What sometimes happened for instance was that a witness, under oath, in the preliminary hearing before an executive session of the Committee, would give important evidence or tell a story of his own associations and actions which was pertinent to the particular investigation in progress, and would seem cooperative in every way. Then later the same witness, when brought into a public hearing—and visibly because of pressures which had been put on him in the meantime—would turn hostile and completely deny what he had said in executive session. It was the result of such experiences that caused McCarthy to make some pretty sharp—and completely justified—remarks to occasional witnesses, some of them in uniform.

The Communists, of course, used exactly the same kind of

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lies, defiant disturbances, and planned smears in connection with hearings of the McCarthy Subcommittee as they did with regard to the more recent San Francisco hearings of the HCUA, as shown in the film, *Operation Abolition*. One of the incidents for which McCarthy was smeared most viciously, just for an illustration, was his accusing Annie Lee Moss of being a Communist. Yet four years later the Pentagon admitted Annie Lee Moss had been a Communist right at the time when McCarthy was being pilloried for saying she was. Basically, and with very minor exceptions indeed, there was nothing wrong with McCarthy's methods, from the point of view of the patriotic American. But there was everything wrong with them from the point of view of the Communists. He had found methods which, if allowed to continue, would presently expose enough Communists in high places for the American people to start becoming aware of how rotten things were in areas three thousand miles this side of Denmark. In fact he had already reached the point where he and his methods simply had to be stopped, if the whole Communist conspiracy in America were not to be very seriously damaged and perhaps even routed.

So again, in this instance, the Communists designed and set in motion many different methods and forces to accomplish their one end, the destruction of McCarthy. But we are concerned here with only one of those means, the slogan which was devised after exactly the same pattern as the two we have already looked at: "I like what McCarthy is trying to do, but I can't stand his methods." You find in it the same concession for the sake of convincingness, and other revealing similarities to Communist semantic masterpieces. But you also find, which interests us more at the minute, that the Principle of Reversal is the basic strategy of the whole production. The Communists had taken their greatest danger and weakness and, by daring and bluff—again supported in this instance by an unmeasurable campaign of lies and distortions—had converted that weakness into their greatest strength.

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There are plenty of other supporting items that might be introduced into this brief, and some of them surprise you by revealing just how long ago the Communists were already effectively at work right here in our country. With small forces but great brilliance, they were doing all they could to determine or influence America's course, in war and peace, by catch phrases manufactured to this same formula. But these three examples will have to be enough, and enable us to go on to a look at the Principle of Reversal being employed in still other fields of Communist activity.

V

YOU FIND IT EVERYWHERE. And perhaps a miscellany of scattered instances will be worthwhile before we begin dealing with some fundamental applications, and start approaching both the point and the end of this speech.

In Miscellaneous Applications . . .

Remember, for instance, how, during the Korean War, Chiang Kai-shek had six hundred thousand troops on Formosa, well trained and with their ranks given plenty of backbone by the percentage of veterans who had fought Communists on the mainland. The entry of Red China into the Korean War, theoretically against the United Nations but actually against the United States, supplied just the opportunity for which Chiang and these troops and all of the Chinese patriots on Formosa had been waiting. If these troops started pouring back onto the mainland now—even if at the beginning the invasion had to be in dribbles—and started offering rallying points and leadership for revolts in South and Central China while the Reds had their hands so full in Korea, then this operation could easily spread like the proverbial prairie fire. And the mighty revolt, gathering strength and creating renewed hopes, could even start rolling back the Iron Curtain, not only across and from China, but on across the whole Communist-ruled world.

For these and many lesser reasons Chiang Kai-shek's troops

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simply had to be prevented from even beginning any invasion, across the Formosa Strait, of the mainland of China. So our Seventh Fleet was kept patrolling these waters for that purpose. But do you remember how the operation was sold to the American people? Our Seventh Fleet was being kept in and near the Formosa Strait to protect Formosa from an invasion by Red Chinese troops from the mainland! Here was the Principle of Reversal applied brazenly and with a vengeance. And being explained so convincingly and with such assurance that probably ninety percent of the people even in our government, engaged in implementing this clever strategy, had no suspicion that they were doing exactly what the Communists wanted.

In Europe after World War II we were stampeded by Communist influences into rapidly reducing our armed forces and leaving all eastern and central Europe wide open for the Communist take-over operations. But the Communists needed time to install their agents and consolidate their power and officially establish themselves in control of so many new satellite nations composed of such hostile people. Even with our tremendously reduced forces, all the United States had to do, *at any point*, was simply and firmly say "Stop," and the Communists could have been held dead in their tracks, or even rolled back from the satellites already subjugated. And there was always some slight chance that the continued absorption of one country after another in Europe by the Soviets, in the period from 1945 to 1950, might wake up enough of the American people to the horror and significance of what was happening. What the Soviets needed so badly was to be let alone, for enough time to finish that first step in Lenin's three-part program. So, as one of many precautionary measures taken by the Soviets, the idea was sold to the American people that we were helpless to do anything about the situation until we could get far enough along in re-arming or re-establishing our own military strength in Europe and that of our supposedly anti-Communist allies. We were actually told, widely and

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emphatically, that we had to let the Soviets keep on getting away with this swallowing-of-small-nations process, because we had to make such concessions in order to buy the *time which we needed*.

Like The Burlesque On East River . . .

Or take a look at the current farce being played out by the Kremlin stooges with regard to the United Nations — of which farce Mr. Khrushchev's shoe-banging and other ham acting have been among the most entertaining features. The Communists have now reached the point where they can count on just as complete control of the whole United Nations apparatus as they need. So the most important remaining task in this connection is to pull the United States more completely and definitely into and under the control of the United Nations. And the way to do that, of course, is to convince enough of the American people that the United Nations in general and Dag Hammarskjöld in particular are actually doing something the Soviets don't want them to do. Which is very easy. They merely apply the Principle of Reversal, and Mr. Khrushchev becomes, for the period necessary to his purpose, the most severe critic of Hammarskjöld and of the United Nations you could imagine. And he has actually convinced most of those same kinds of people who can also be convinced that the life-long Communist agent, Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, has suddenly become merely a great Liberal democrat and an anti-Communist. The Soviets know that there is almost no limit to the innocent gullibility of the American people.

VI

BUT MANY such illustrations appear, when presented too hastily, to belong simply in the category of unvarnished lies and deception. The deeper principle so continuously involved is more evident when we come to more basic elements of Communist theory and practice. As for instance in the whole "hungry belly" explanation of Communism.

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From the very beginning Communism has been presented as a movement of the proletariat, as a rising of the supposedly shackled and downtrodden poor against the powerful, who were exploiting them. And this itself is one of the biggest lies in all history. For Communism has *always* been imposed from the top down, by the very rich, the highly educated, and the politically powerful, on the suffering masses whose conditions—even economic conditions—have always been made worse by the tyrannical Communist rule than they were before.

The ordinary happy and innocent American will frequently observe about some multimillionaire or some college president whose activities on behalf of the Communists are obvious: "But of course he couldn't be a Communist himself. He's rich, or famous as a scholar," . . . or whatever the character under discussion may happen to be in the public eye. To which the proper answer is: "Nuts! Where on earth do you think the leaders of Communism come from and always have come from? Almost invariably they have been from the wealthy or best educated classes. A Stalin, who actually arose from the peasantry, is as rare in the ruling Communist circles as is a conscience—and there is no connection between the two."

In The Basic Theme Of Communism . . .

Conversely, the poorer, less industrialized, less educated, and more correctly described as proletariat any people may be, the more difficult it is to impose on them the chains of Communism, and the more the imposition has to be accomplished and maintained by sheer force and terror—as it has been in China—without the help of infiltrating ideological influences. Czechoslovakia was probably the best educated, most highly industrialized, and was suffering least from hunger and poverty, of all the countries in Europe when World War II came. Or certainly it was near the top in these respects. But Czechoslovakia was infinitely easier for the Communists to take over, in just three years after the war, than the Congo would be

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today if given any similar chance of resistance. And when you look at the Communist strength in America today, you don't find it in the poor, struggling beatniks who by and large comprise the small and insignificant officially presented Communist Party. That Communist Party exists primarily for propaganda needs in this very pretense. But the strength of the Communist conspiracy lies in the very top social, economic, educational, and political circles of our country. As it always has, everywhere else and in any country. The Principle of Reversal has been used, unmodified in its theory and unchanging in its application, to present Communism as the exact opposite of what it really is, with regard to its basic appeal and purposes, ever since modern Communism was founded as a movement by an intellectual named Karl Marx and a prosperous manufacturer named Engels. And I can find you a lot more Harvard accents in Communist circles in America today than you can find me overalls.

And let's look at some interesting manifestations of this Principle of Reversal, in the Communists' whole program of infiltration and of increasing their influence in any country. For where—in what organized segment of our national life—would you least expect to find Communists? Well, considering the fact that it is the avowed goal and compelling necessity of the Communists to wipe out all religion completely, and since the unceasing antagonism of the Communists towards all truly religious bodies is so intense and so well known, it certainly seems that the clergy is the last place in which you would expect to find any appreciable percentage of Communists. And yet two such leading authorities as Herbert Philbrick and Dr. J. B. Matthews, speaking independently and each out of his own separate knowledge and experience, have both been telling us for years that the largest single body of Communists in America is in our Protestant Clergy. And I have no slightest doubt that they are right.

Now before the roof starts falling in on me, let me get in

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three or four most important points concerning that statement and that condition, even though the explanatory comments will be ignored or badly misquoted by the critics. In the first place, there are well over two hundred thousand Protestant ministers in this country, and the estimates I have seen which appeared most trustworthy indicate that about seven thousand of them could fairly be called Comsymps, to use a new word recently coined by a friend of mine. A Comsymp is a man who is either a Communist or a sympathizer with Communist purposes. So the number of Comsymps in the whole Protestant ministry would thus come out as about three percent. And nobody is accusing any of the other 97%, or the whole vast body, of anything except—like an awful lot of other good Americans—the gullibility and apathy which allows such a condition to exist.

In The Choice Of Instrumentalities . . .

Next, let's make it clear how even the three percent got where they are. A few years ago I was chosen—for what reason I do not know—to make the commencement speech at an important theological seminary in the East. At that time I offered an explanation of this sinister development with the Protestant clergy, which I repeated more in detail in the course of four lectures which I delivered to an important theological seminary right here in California about a year ago. Since then I have been glad to see that explanation popping up increasingly in various places. For I believe it to be the true explanation, and it is simply this: "Protestant ministers do not become Communists, but Communists do become Protestant ministers."

Of course the very fact that an honest man goes into the ministry means that, besides having a deep-rooted faith, he also has strong humanitarian instincts. And it is entirely possible that these noble instincts, leading him at times to think with his heart instead of his head, will cause him to look with favor on socialist theory and practices which are disguised as well-farism. But it is an extremely rare clergyman indeed who would

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ever be carried by these tendencies to ally himself, knowingly, with an atheistic and criminal conspiracy. The Protestant minister become Communist is of so negligible a quantity that we can simply ignore him in the total picture.

But when some brilliant young man, gradually beguiled by a brilliant professor or two and other Comsymps around, is converted during his college years into a hard-core Communist, the question naturally arises as to how and where he can serve the cause the best. So the young graduate, if he seems adapted to the role of such years of deception, and firm enough to remain a dedicated and disciplined secret agent of the Party throughout all of the blasphemous pretenses that will be required of him, may be told to go through a theological seminary, get himself ordained as a minister, and then become—for all ostensible purposes, and in all surface manifestations—the best of all the ministers around. For the others, happy in having found their role of service to God and their fellow men, will let even normal human ambition to rise in the ranks of the clergy or clerical organizations simply take its proper course. But to the young Communist his having become a member of the clergy is simply a means to an end. Everything he does is designed to serve the cause of promoting himself, and of thereby ultimately promoting Communist prestige within his church, his community, his whole denomination, and interdenominational church organizations. That, instead of his pretended aims, is his real purpose in life, and some of these Communist wolves in the very midst of the sheep fold carry out that purpose very well indeed. All together they do so with such insidious influence and extensive reach as to produce, within the Protestant clerical hierarchy as a whole, the increasingly disturbing and dangerous developments with which many of you are already familiar.

And of course in this long-range plot we see the Principle of Reversal effectively at work in two different applications.

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First is with regard to persons. As we have said, the very group where the ordinary American would least suspect, or expect to find, Communists or Communist sympathizers, undoubtedly has the largest percentage of Comsymps of any group of similar size in America. But a far more important use of the Principle of Reversal is in the implementation of Communist strategy through this medium. For again they have taken one of their greatest weaknesses and converted it into one of the sources of their greatest strength. The Protestant ministry in America should have been, and by all natural logic would be expected to be, in the very forefront of militant opposition to the Communists; a source of greatest danger to their schemes and a magnifier of their weaknesses. Instead we have seen the top councils of the Protestant ministry become spokesmen and pressure groups for accepting Red China into the family of nations, for promoting the doctrine that capitalism is just as bad as socialism or even outright Communism, and for helping any number of *specific* Communist objectives as well as widely supporting Communist purposes in general.

In The Citadel Of The Enemy . . .

And this brings us to the last and most important illustration of the Principle of Reversal at work, in the realms of strategy and implementation. The greatest political enemy of Communist imperialism *was* the United States. The greatest obstacle to Communist Global Conquest *was* the productive, military, and moral power of the United States. The country which the whole world thought, and had every reason to think, was most unshakably opposed to both Communism itself and to the ambitions of the Communists, *was* the United States. And so now I hope you have seen, by the Principle of Reversal, and before I even reached the point, how logical it was to the Communists to put such tremendous and continued effort into infiltration of the United States Government. Getting their agents into the highest echelons of the government of their most powerful and implacable enemy, and thus converting their greatest weakness

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and danger into their greatest strength, was clearly indicated as of the very essence of their strategy.

Now I'm not going into the records of Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White and all their numerous breed that have been exposed. Nor am I going into the Administrative gag rule of May 17, 1954, and other factors which have made exposure of such Comsymps in government almost impossible for the past several years. It would require another whole speech simply to remind you of things you have forgotten, and to put them all together in one exhibit, just to show the known and proven measures of Communist accomplishment in this endeavor. And there is neither time nor need for such documentation tonight, for we are dealing with Communist infiltration into our government in only a general way, as part of a broader theme and pattern.

The Principle Of Reversal . . .

But to make this infiltration sufficiently extensive and sufficiently high was worth to the Communists whatever decades of painstakingly thorough deception and brilliantly insidious effort might be required. As I said earlier in this speech, the Communists themselves seem to have felt that they had reached a satisfactory level of success in this huge and audacious undertaking by at least 1946, if not before. And I should like to agree with them if you will not jump to any hasty specific conclusions before I explain, in a few paragraphs further along. It has become dangerous for me even to imply that Franklin Roosevelt was a *Newdealer*. But if you will hang on until I make my meaning clear, I'd like to give my own best guess that the Communists have been heavily influencing all major decisions in our Government since 1941. The question at all times has been how far they dared to go in the use of their invisible power, without stirring up opposition within our government itself which would weaken their influence, and without alerting the American people to increasing awareness of what was really happen-

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ing. And as protection against these mistakes and dangers the Communists have simply and faithfully lived up to their own self-imposed policy of patient gradualism. For a patient gradualism has been the most important part of the whole practical technique whereby they have been carrying out the Communist global conquest.

But in this case also, as I indicated above, some comments concerning this last illustration are vitally necessary before the roof falls in on me, if it has not already fallen. In the first place, and as much as it may surprise you, I think that at least 98% of all the employees of our federal government are loyal and patriotic Americans, even today, when I believe the Communist infiltration has reached its highest point. And I think that during the whole period since 1941 there have been more than 90% of the total employees of our federal government who never even suspected what was going on, even in the betrayals which they themselves were helping to implement.

The Communists have proved over and over that they are able to control any nation, any population, any organization, or any group with only *about three percent* of its membership. They do this by the skill and determination with which they put their men into the key positions where force and pressure can be exercised. So let's remember that standard ratio and accomplishment. For your speaker has been beaten over the head with the hackneyed charge that he calls everybody who disagrees with him a Communist. And since, according to *Time* magazine and the newspapers, practically everybody disagrees with me these days, that seems like too large an order. May I bring it down to size.

Is Unceasingly At Work . . .

I don't think the Communists yet have anywhere near three percent of federal employees as Comsymps. In other words, while we are sure we disagree vigorously with most of

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those on the government payroll today on many matters, and especially as to the very functions of government, there is not one in fifty whom we would guess to be a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. But even in Russia itself, the man who called everybody he saw a Communist would be wrong ninety-five percent of the time. The vital question in connection with any group or any government is not how many Communists there are, but where they are. And only a comparatively few thousand Communists, concentrated in key departments and agencies of our government, could do—and I believe have done—a terrific job of determining both the policies and the actions of those agencies and departments—and hence indirectly of our whole government. If you don't believe it, just look at what has been happening for lo these many years. For a careful study of the history of the fall of Poland, of Yugoslavia, of China, of Cuba, and of a dozen other countries into Communist hands will make one point demonstrably and tragically clear. It is that ever since 1945 or 1946, at best, and perhaps from an earlier date, *our* government has been the most powerful single force supporting the steady worldwide Communist advance—while always pretending, of course, to oppose that advance. The Principle of Reversal never had a more important application, or one that was more profitable to the Communists.

VII

SO WHERE DOES THIS ALL TAKE US? Well, back to our original worries about the menace of the Communist conspiracy, of course. But I have hoped that the illustrations and exposition would also serve the additional purpose of building up a clearer understanding of the Principle of Reversal. For now we come to its substance, rather than merely the uses which have been made of it. We must look at what I have called Reversal as not simply a method of deception, or as a means to an end, but as the end itself.

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For The Reversal Of All Human Values . . .

For the effect of Communist total indoctrination seems to be not to condone crime and immorality as ways of accomplishing the ultimate good, but to make crime and immorality appear desirable and praiseworthy in themselves as a part of the ultimate scheme of things. For the recognition of lies and theft and murder, whenever they can be used to advantage in furthering any ambition, or whenever they merely give pleasure to the perpetrator, as perfectly proper for the man who is in position to use them, tends to offset and wipe out any residual respect in the human conscience for such opposites as truth and charity and forgiveness. The net present result, therefore, of social and philosophical acceptance of immorality, is to support amorality in theory and complete pragmatism in practice. That kind of spiritual and moral nihilism is apparently an acceptable goal for run-of-the-mill Communist theoreticians. And the widespread and lasting prevalence of any such philosophy would be disastrous enough. But somewhere behind these moral neutralists there seems to be some demonic group or power, self-perpetuating throughout generations, which goes even further. It actually seeks to make hatred, instead of love, the great motivating force, and the ideal to be sustained to the limit of one's dedication, in all the affairs of man.

In this connection—and only in this connection and for this purpose, perhaps—it is worth remembering that Karl Marx was apparently motivated almost entirely by hatred. Being personally one of the most foul individuals who ever lived, by practically any standard of appraisal, his whole life was a continuous exercise in hatred of all human beings who were not as foul as himself—and that covered the waterfront. And he built this lifetime of hatred into the foundation of a movement which has caused more crime, more suffering, more destruction of both material and spiritual wealth, and more hopelessness in life, than all other evil movements, in man's total history, combined.

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Is The Essence Of Communist Purpose . . .

What is worse, there obviously have been spiritual successors of Marx who were able to maintain and expand the cult of hatred which he thus established, or which he at least made a sometimes visible phenomenon. Around this seed they have been able to grow ever greater quantities of the bitter fruit which unceasing hatred must produce. We see, everywhere in our world today, the lies and treason, the murders and tortures, the brutal oppression and the merciless exploitation which are the tributes to a god of hatred. We see them replacing the truth and loyalty, the respect for individual life and the compassion for others' pain, the personal responsibility and adherence to the Golden Rule, the belief in man's God-given "upward reach" and in his ever more glorious future on earth, which are the tributes of a morally-climbing man to a God of Love. This is the ultimate Principle of Reversal that is now at work, with such frightening and increasing success, through so many thousands of infinitely varied manifestations and implementations of its fundamental purpose.

James Russell Lowell said, in his so-often quoted lines: "Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide, In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side." Actually that decision must be faced frequently, not just once, by every man and nation. But there is great variance in the relative importance or the permanent impact of such decisions. It seems beyond dispute, however, that no people, no race, no nation, no generation, ever before had so crucially important a decision to make as faces us today. And our deepest worry of all worries tonight should be, not that we might consciously make the wrong decision, but that we might lose the decision simply by default, through ignorance and gullibility and apathy and fear.

The Communists, and not we, have forced upon this world today a situation where truly "he who is not with me

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is against me." For the sins of omission by ourselves help the enemy as well as do sins of commission. And the responsibility to those that come after us, which we now face, is staggering in its immensity and its import. But it is my belief that, despite all of our fatuous indifference and immoral opportunism of the past, we shall still accept that responsibility in time. What's more, we shall live up to it with all the valor and work and sacrifice and consecration of spirit which are required to save, not only our country and our civilization, but the whole outlook of man for centuries, and possibly for millennia, to come.

In this fight against vastly entrenched evil, some on our side grow weary, and some grow old, and some like myself grow both. But I personally believe we are at the point so beautifully described in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light." We must move forward without doubt and without fear to seize the opportunity that is ours.

Our decision will determine not only the kind of world our descendants are going to live in. It may determine which they will have for an ideal and a taskmaster, hatred or love. The ultimate question we must face in our solemn meditations, and decide by our actions, may hold the outlook and the fate of mankind through uncounted generations. We must decide—or it will surely be decided without us and against us—which we wish our children and their children to worship, the god of hate, or the God of Love, through all the days to be.

*Our is a Republic, not a Democracy —
Let's keep it that way.*

A Democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It can only exist until the people discover they can vote themselves largess out of the public treasury. From that moment on the majority always votes for the candidate promising the most benefits from the public treasury with the result the Democracy always collapses over a loose fiscal policy. To be followed by a dictatorship.

—Lord Woodhouselee

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Kitzbühel, June 5, 1961

KENNEDY HAS MET KHRUSHCHEV, and the world is this morning audibly surprised that the State of Virginia is still in American possession. For the world has been prepared for just about everything. The way President Kennedy managed Cuba and Laos, every square mile he is *not* conceding right away is being considered today an unexpected gift from heaven.

Prestige Down . . .

I have spent some of Eisenhower's worst years abroad, but I never saw a decline of American prestige similar to that of today. And I am using the term "American prestige" advisedly. Wasn't this the reference with which John F. Kennedy was trying to win the election last October, and actually won it last November? A lifetime spent in politics makes a man hesitate to wonder about *anything*. But the way John F. Kennedy is surpassing in 1961 every single blunder he was holding against Eisenhower in 1960 remains a rare political performance. Our children's children will have to write school essays about this lollapalooza.

Atop The Viennese Summit . . .

It was not necessary for me to go to Vienna for the cut-rate summit meeting. I stayed in Tirol, a few miles away, and instead of listening to the

radio I listened to the local peasantry (as there are but few taxi drivers around here). They are practically illiterate, but none of them had any illusions about the prospects in Vienna. "That young man is nice enough," was the consensus, "but he is going to lose his shirt." And, to be sure, nobody was referring to Kennedy's private fortune. The people here are experienced Austrians, and the older ones recall how, on a misty morning in 1917, the Austrians woke up and read in the official bulletin from the front the surprising news: "Lemberg still in our possession." Up to that day, nobody had had the slightest idea that Lemberg was even in danger. But from then on everybody knew that the war was lost.

That's about how people are feeling these days in Europe whenever they read that Berlin or, for that matter, Washington, is still in our possession. Not since Marlene Dietrich has anybody made such a great political impression on Europe as Jacqueline Kennedy, but her consort John F., *sympatico* as he is to all and sundry, does not evoke much political confidence. I have yet to meet a European male who would not be delighted to take out Jackie, and all European females I know are downright motherly about Jack. But everybody has the anxious feelings that these fine kids should get

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out of politics. "After all, Jack doesn't need the job, does he?"

Well, *he* (I keep pointing out) thinks he does. Which makes the Tyrolian peasants rather sad. Only two months ago, people in Europe had somehow got the impression that the new American President is a miracle worker. But when Kennedy's Cuban fireworks fizzled out, there was simply no dry powder left. That old statesman Edward R. Murrow was extremely well advised when, the other day, he issued the ukase that, henceforth, the results of public polls about "American prestige" abroad will not be published. Some cantankerous McCarthyites may mumble how violently Kennedy accused Eisenhower, last October, for not releasing *one* such report in time for election. Let them mumble. Everybody except those few "Neanderthals" will agree that, what's good for Murrow, is good for the United States, not to speak of the Free World.

As Concessions Continue . . .

But it is my assignment to speak of said Free World, Ed Murrow or no Ed Murrow. And, to tell you the truth, it's in quite a state. For the last few weeks, as the Vienna meeting was approaching, people were walking around in a funeral mood. In Germany, those who did not expect the outbreak of atomic war in early June were completely prepared to write off Berlin. In France, where anticipation of defeat is sheer national habit, people were expecting the outbreak of atomic war *and* had written off Berlin. In England, they were stocking up porridge in the air-raid shelters. Only in Vienna, where people love a show even more than Wiener schnitzel, they looked forward

to a front-seat view of The Decline of the West.

I had to report first about this European mood to put the "results" of the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in proper context. This was, without the shadow of a doubt, the most fruitless conference in diplomatic history. But, at least for a couple of weeks, the whole world will be deliriously happy. Why? Because as I said, the State of Virginia is still in American possession. (Or so, at least, we are being reassured.) Not that the world woke up and received *good* news. But that it woke up *at all* was far more than anybody had expected. And this, it seems, is going to be, from now on, Kennedy's foreign policy.

But what made Khrushchev concede, against all European expectations, Virginia to the United States? Assuredly, it was neither the soothing influence of the Viennese dinner music nor his respect for Kennedy's prowess. Khrushchev simply continued his more than rewarding policy of recent years: the more the West is fascinated with "peace," the more real estate can the Soviets pocket.

The "agreement" on Laos he is now going to get is such an unfathomable Soviet success that even Khrushchev did not expect the Geneva Conference to grant it unimpaired. So he stalled in Geneva. No, he was pouting, he would not take Laos on that western silver platter. He'd rather break up the Geneva Conference. So everybody was looking forward to the Vienna meeting at which the mighty Kennedy might talk Khrushchev into accepting Laos. Which is exactly what happened.

In addition, Kennedy seems also to have talked Khrushchev into accepting unmitigated Soviet victory at the

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Atomic Disarmament Conference. A few weeks ago, even Kennedy had to admit publicly that the United States had gone to the limit of concessions and that, if the Soviet Union were to continue rejecting last year's watered-down American "control" proposals, the Conference would have to be ended. But a few days before he met Khrushchev in Vienna, the United States delegation in Geneva cut down America's "last" and "final" proposal by another forty percent — to twelve "international controls" of Soviet atomic plants. This very figure had been declared by Arthur Dean, the chief of the American delegation to the Conference, to be provocatively, intolerably, and unacceptably low, only four weeks ago. Now that it has been offered by the United States, on Kennedy's direct orders, it is for this very reason highly "acceptable" to the Soviets.

And Paris Beckons . . .

If, thus, Kennedy has "talked" Khrushchev into allowing the Geneva Conference to end on an "agreement," our goose is atomically cooked. Twelve annual controls are but a fraction of that minimum number of check-ups the most leftist American atomic experts had considered barely safe only a year ago. The only hope for national survival would, in that case, depend on the firmness of the Senate which, thank God, does not seem overly anxious to ratify *any* kind of "disarmament agreement"—and may grow downright ornery in the face of a Geneva deal that, for all practical purposes, allows the Soviets to continue surreptitious atomic tests while the United States, of course, would religiously stick to their renunciation.

At any rate, Khrushchev accomplished in Vienna just what he has accomplished at any preceding meeting with Western leaders: he goes home with a guarantee that the West has, as of the moment, dismissed any thought of *enforcing* its position. This, as Kennedy knew so well only last October, is why Khrushchev loves such meetings. This, as Dean Rusk stated so well only a year ago in his memorable "Foreign Affairs" article on the subject, is also why a President of the United States should avoid them like the plague. Today, of course, Mr. Rusk will explain that his warning of last year referred only to Presidents whose names start with an E.

President Kennedy, on the other hand, is being applauded by his Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, not only for his Viennese meeting but also for the ravishing rendezvous in Paris.

Now why the President picked Paris as the first and only European capital to honor with a state visit nobody knows except, I hope, Mr. Kennedy. That Mrs. Kennedy was hankering to see Paris again is highly understandable for someone who, like me, feels starved whenever he has stayed away from that urban marvel more than three months; but it is inconceivable that such considerations determine our diplomacy. No, Mr. Kennedy must have had something important in mind when he decided that his first and, to this day, only official visit in Europe would take him, not to London and not to Bonn, but to Paris. But what, exactly, was the idea?

Well, some Europeans think that Mr. Kennedy may have intended to honor and strengthen NATO with his Parisian visit — but I don't believe it. Even

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allowing for the fact that, as has been shown in Cuba, the C.I.A. is not too well informed, even the C.I.A. must know that France has become the weakest and least essential link in the NATO chain. And that, thus, to visit Paris in order to honor NATO would be like visiting Montgomery, Alabama, in order to honor the Supreme Court.

As An Army Withers . . .

The macabre farce of the military uprising in Algeria has erased France from the list of the world's military powers, I am sorry to report—certainly for those next two or three years which will determine NATO's and America's fate. And this is so, no matter whether Charles de Gaulle will or will not keep his promise that the French Army will be "purged."

Suppose de Gaulle keeps his promise. In that case he must behead the French Army. For, with rare exceptions, all French officers above the rank of Major (and many below the rank of Captain) were on General Challe's side—not just in their fervent hopes and dreams, but they were actually counted on in Challe's plans. That most of them did not deliver the goods is a different story (that will be told another time). But not even when in a mystical trance can Charles de Gaulle overlook, or deny, the fact that the *whole* brains and heart of the French Army is opposed to his régime. If he does not, for all practical purposes, dissolve the French Army, the next uprising in Algeria and Paris will succeed. And so, if he means to stay in power *politically*, he will have to use aggressive surgery.

And then again, the inscrutable Charles de Gaulle may decide that he will leave his Army alone after all. But

in this case France will have just as surely ceased to be militarily important as if he decides to dissolve the French Army. For a French Army that does *not* get "purged" will remain in Algeria—and will remain determined to get even with Charles de Gaulle in Paris. Which means: such a French Army will more exclusively than ever keep itself occupied with France's *domestic* affairs. Whatever de Gaulle does, it will remain his tragic lot that he, of all people, will go down in history as the Frenchman who has disarmed France. For the French Army will either be decimated in a "purge," or it will stubbornly focus its ambition on domestic revenge. In both cases NATO must do without France.

And An Alliance Dies . . .

And this kind of France Mr. Kennedy has picked for his only solemn state visit—a France that (as even the C.I.A. could have told the President) is either unable or unwilling to play its role in a military alliance. What, I repeat, was the idea? Now there are people in Europe who profess to understand Kennedy's diplomatic strategy. The President, they claim, may have reached the inescapable conclusion to base, at last, America's whole European policy on a firm alliance with Germany, NATO's only potent member. But for this very reason, to soothe and console the sensitive Charles de Gaulle, Mr. Kennedy decided to pay him a singular honor.

I hesitate to agree with this explanation—but I would be only too happy if it proved to be right. For, indeed, America's freedom of choosing between several possible policies has shrunk to this one and only pair of alternatives—

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either to bet on Germany, or to move out of Europe altogether. The time has come, it seems to me, to say a few frank words about NATO — mainly that it is dead.

With Panic In Oslo . . .

With this statement of fact I am not betraying a military secret to the Soviets. Contrary to Western governments and peoples, the Soviets are not impressed by Walter Lippmann and, thus, have an utterly realistic picture of the European situation in general, and of NATO's power in particular. All the Soviets had to do in order to assess correctly NATO's military potentials was to read the *official* reports submitted to the recent NATO conference in Oslo.

According to these reports, NATO's military strength in 1961 consists of "somewhat less than twenty-one divisions"—including the American troops in Europe and Germany's twelve divisions! Accounted for among those "somewhat less than twenty-one divisions" are the French contingents (dismissible for the above-stated reasons), the British troops, and the token contributions of the Benelux nations. Thus, in cold terms of military figuring, the *actual* fighting potential of NATO amounts to about ten full-sized divisions — namely the American contingents and the German army (which at this point has the equivalent of six to seven divisions in fighting shape).

Ten divisions! Back in 1951, when General Eisenhower was setting up NATO, the contributing powers agreed to supply, by 1960, more than fifty divisions. In 1957, that goal was "realistically" cut to thirty divisions in 1960. And in 1961 NATO can actually count

on the fighting power of ten divisions. The recent NATO conference in Oslo that was given that estimate assumed that the current strength of poised and battle-ready Soviet forces in Europe amounts to one hundred divisions; and another hundred divisions would be at the disposal of the Soviet command within four weeks.

These are the basic facts of the European "*malaise*." This is what our military experts have in mind when, with growing despair, they expound the need for a fast build-up of "conventional" weapons: Never since the Korean war has the battle-ready manpower of the West reached such a nadir of impotence as in 1961, the year of decision. And the leading officers of NATO are getting panicky. The ambitious Paul-Henri Spaak, until recently Secretary General of the organization, contemptuously renounced his job and returned to small-scale Belgian politics. General Norstad, NATO's Commander-in-Chief, is reported in a state of gloom that approaches melancholia.

The panic had grown so dangerous that Secretary Rusk announced in Oslo the forthcoming arrival in European waters of five "Polaris" submarines with eighty atomic warheads. Now the grotesque paradox is this: The improvised transfer of atomic weapons to Europe takes place amidst a public discussion of the need to return to "conventional armament." But in all truth, the defense of Europe has been reduced to the strategy of 1950: Between us and the holocaust stands nothing but the threat of nuclear retaliation. NATO has shrunk to such picayune proportions, that eighty atomic missiles had to be sent to Europe, in a jiffy, to impress the Soviets.

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And now consider in the face of these facts the unfathomable irresponsibility of our press: While Europe regresses to the primitivity and the horrors of a purely atomic defense, Lippmann *et al* keep daintily discussing the niceties of NATO intrigues.

Diversion in Berlin . . .

One of Kennedy's main concerns in his conversations with Khrushchev was reportedly the Soviets' proclaimed desire to sign a "peace treaty" with the Ulbricht regime and, thus, to bring the Berlin situation to a boil. Kennedy (or so claim the notorious "well-informed diplomatic sources") was briefed by his advisers to "counter" this plan with a "cool" advice to Khrushchev that the United States had no objection to "private deals between Communist regimes" but would consider, once such a "peace treaty" was signed, the East German authorities to be mere agents of the Soviets. Kennedy's brain trust has allegedly decided that this "smart" argument (originally devised by John Foster Dulles) would let the United States off the hook: we would not have to recognize the Ulbricht regime — and yet, we could be dealing with it "as if" it were acting for the Soviet Government.

That such a shyster-lawyer's approach to history would amount to total Western defeat in Europe, and the breakdown of West Germany, has been shown by this department before. And there is no need to repeat the analysis because, or so it seems, Berlin is not on Khrushchev's current agenda: The more the West focuses its blinders on Berlin, the faster Khrushchev moves in the Far and Near East. And while

Kennedy practices a few fancy steps for his Berlin minuet, Iran is being prepared for the kill.

And Doom In Iran . . .

The Shah of Iran originally intended not to return home from his recent "holiday trip" to Western Europe and Italy: he had given up. But his new Prime Minister Amini forced the Shah's return, allegedly by holding up the prepared transfer of the Shah's private fortune. All this is irrelevant rumor. Relevant facts are these: one, in Amini's cabinet are members of Iran's Communist Party; two, Mossadegh's "National Front" is getting ready to take over; three, it has formed a "popular front" with the Communists.

Don't be surprised if Iran has crossed over to the Soviet bloc even before this "Survey" can be published. A few years ago, the United States and England, in a stunning reversal of their sweet appeasement policies, threw decisive military forces into Iran and compelled the Soviets to withdraw immediately from that strategic area. It was one of the rare victories of the West in the Cold War—brought about by a show of unmistakable determination: At that time, the United States and England were believably willing to accept the risk of war rather than to yield Iran.

So crucial was the Iranian realm for the survival of the West then—and so crucial it has remained. Only that in 1961 Iran will go not with a bang, but with a whimper. The impact of the catastrophe will equal the loss of China. But, on the other hand, the whole world loves Jackie!

STRATEGIC FISHING BY THE SOVIET

by

GEORGE F. CARTER

WHEN OUR ROCKET-CARRYING submarine was sent to its new base in England and began operating in the North Atlantic, a fleet of five hundred fishing boats from Iron-Curtain countries promptly appeared and blanketed the area. These vessels were not "just fishing boats" and they were not "just fishing." They were clearly engaged in an attempt to track our atomic submarine and observe its operations. And that raises two interesting questions: How could Russia so suddenly muster five hundred ocean-going fishing boats? How could mere fishing boats do anything about tracking a submarine? The number of the boats was no surprise to the very few people who had observed over the years the steady growth of the Russian fishing fleet. And the use of the boats for naval espionage was early indicated by the ever-increasing amount of electronic gear with which they were equipped.

Ever since the last war, Russia has been building up a huge—and fantastic—fleet of "fishing boats." The facts about this operation are known, but they have not been widely reported. My data are drawn from the files of the International Services of Information Foundation of Baltimore (ISI), and a substantial portion comes directly from Russian sources. Indeed, Soviet propaganda admits that the fishing fleet does more than fish, but claims that a vast program of oceanographic research is being carried out for "peace

ful purposes" in the interests of "science and humanity." Unquestionably, oceanography is a legitimate field of research, and knowledge of the ocean and its resources is undoubtedly important to the entire world. The real question is whether the Soviet's goal is primarily economic or primarily strategic.

The evidence from within Russia indicates that the research is done primarily for the benefit of the Soviet Navy. For example, a new periodical entitled *Oceanography*, to be edited by the Oceanographic Commission of the Soviet Academy of Science has been announced. The editor in chief, Professor L. A. Zenkevich, promises that the periodical will be of primary interest and importance to naval officers. The only papers carrying advertisements for the new publication are the Russian Navy's daily, *Soviet Fleet*, and the Army's daily, *Red Star*. It seems clear, therefore, the fisheries and oceanography research program are closely tied together, and that they are serving primarily the Soviet armed forces.

I

AS A MATTER of fact, there is no adequate reason for the Soviets to take to the seas merely in search of proteins. Russia is not another Japan, with a limited and rugged land surface and an immense density of population. On the contrary, Russia possesses one of the greatest potentially productive land

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surfaces of the world. It is true that much of that vast area is relatively unproductive at present, but the condition could readily be corrected by the introduction of a little enterprise of the Iowa-farmer type. Instead, the Soviets are developing a great fishing fleet, and cost is apparently of no concern.

In the Yakut Fishing Trust, for example, during a period in which the capital investment went up 1,800 percent, the yield of the fisheries increased only 11.3 percent. In the decade from 1940 to 1950, the costs of the fisheries in general have increased 250 percent. These facts, together with the significant geographic extent of this expansion, suggest a venture of non-economic and highly strategic nature.

As a result of continuous Soviet effort, this far-reaching undertaking has assumed astonishing proportions. Russia now has thirty well-equipped oceanographic vessels and is rapidly increasing the number. New fishing boats, trawlers, floating canneries, refrigerator ships, and even tankers to support the fishing fleet at sea, are being added constantly. Some of these boats are elaborately equipped with electronic gear. Some of them carry rocket-launching equipment. Although these rockets are said to be used for obtaining meteorological data from the upper atmosphere, such rockets could carry war heads as easily as instrument-loads. Every such fishing boat, therefore, could become a deadly rocket carrier.

In the North Atlantic alone, there are always 15,000 Soviet sailors at sea fishing. From time to time the crews are rotated, but the ships remain. This arrangement gives the Soviets a permanent sea-net of electronic observation posts capable of providing invaluable

information. Furthermore, Soviet naval officers are frequently on board. It is also well to remember that, as recently demonstrated, these fishing boats can at any moment cut all of the transatlantic cables.

The build-up is continuing. The Latvian Fisheries this year will receive ten big refrigerator and fish-processing trawlers for work in the northwest Atlantic. Three have already been delivered. By 1965, there are to be 1,000 deep-sea trawlers carrying modern electronic equipment, and they will be serviced at sea by factory ships. In addition, there is to be one research vessel for each ten trawlers. No one can deny the implications of this aggressive extension. It will undoubtedly make the Soviets one of the major fishing nations of the world, placing them actively in all of the important fishing areas of the world and in competition with the long-established operations of numerous countries.

II

THE EXPANSION began immediately after World War II. Soviet ships first appeared in the northeast Atlantic in 1954. In that same year, "research vessels" appeared off Newfoundland. In 1957, these vessels began work in the Davis Straits, and in 1958 they were at work around Greenland and Labrador. Gradually, they established a clear pattern of operation. First they dredged up some fish, and then they proclaimed that they had discovered a "new" fishing ground. The expanding Soviet fishing fleet then moved in to start harvesting the "newly discovered" Soviet fishing ground. *New* fishing grounds? In the North Atlantic? The area has been fished longer than his-

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tory records.

In 1957 and 1958, Soviet and Polish research ships began to explore the waters around the Verde Islands and the shelf of western Africa. The flagship of this flotilla, the *Kazan*, continued on south as far as the Cape of Good Hope, exploring the continental shelf. Undoubtedly, this was the first stage of a determined effort to establish the Soviets in the West African fishery.

In the Pacific, the same pattern has appeared. The Soviets have found "new fishing grounds" off the Philippines and off Alaska and Canada. They are also very active in the south Pacific. At Hanoi, Vietnam, they are building, equipping, and manning a polytechnical institute to train 2,400 students. Three oceanographic and fishing-research vessels are already there.

In connection with the pattern of expansion, the course of Japanese-Soviet fishing relations during recent years is instructive. In 1956, the Japanese and the Soviets drew up a fishing convention to protect certain types of fish in the North Pacific and in the Okhotsk Sea. This area is, of course, the ancient fishing grounds of the Japanese, and the Soviets are newcomers. Zones of protection were established from Kamchatka to Hokkaido, to be patrolled by Soviet watch vessels. Subsequently, so many Japanese fishermen were seized by the patrols that the Japanese found it necessary to develop "capture insurance" to help the families whose men and ships fall into Russian hands. Typically, the Soviet press has carried violent attacks on the Japanese for alleged breaches of the convention. Soviet indignation follows a consistent pattern: "The Soviet fishermen are revolted by the Japanese destroying of

the salmon in the zone of the convention." The outcome of all this is not hard to predict. After suitable preparation through propaganda, the treaty will eventually be denounced and the Japanese thrown out of their traditional fishing grounds.

In June, 1960, just four years after the agreement with Japan, the Soviets called a North-Atlantic Fishing Conference to be held in Iceland. The U.S.S.R., Norway, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands were represented. No others were invited to participate. For the most part, the discussion concerned the management and preservation of the herring fishery. Surely this sounds innocent enough. But the sequel will probably not be so innocent. The pattern has already been established in the Japanese-Soviet relations.

III

It is WORTH stressing at this point that all of this expansion is being undertaken apparently without regard for cost and that it is impossible for the Soviets to make much of a case for need. If the immense amount of money being poured into the expansion of the fisheries is not really economic, then why has the program been so relentlessly pursued? Is it a coincidence that trouble seems to follow the Soviet fishing fleet?

The Soviet fleet began operations off the coast of Africa, and African difficulties immediately multiplied. The Soviets opened "new" fisheries off the coast of the Philippines, and the Huks (the Communist movement in the Philippines) suddenly became active again. The Soviets began expanding their fisheries activities in Southeast Asia in close cooperation with North

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Vietnam, and one year later trouble flared up in Laos.

About four years ago, Soviet submarines and research ships began roaming among the Pacific Islands; since that time Communist activity has increased steadily. In Negro Oceania, the means used to foment trouble involves the "Cargo Cults," which are semi-religious societies inspired by the hope of extirpating white men and equipped by cargoes of goods that "just come" to the islands. For example, an unidentified white man visited Tana Island three or four years ago, supplied radios to the natives, and urged them to form secret societies and to arm. He continues to instruct them by radio.

The growing suspicion that Russian activities are not at all what they are represented to be is reinforced by the strange behavior of the Soviet "fisheries-research" submarine. This vessel is fitted out for co-operation with the fishing fleet, supposedly for observations related to fishing. Certainly, this would be a legitimate activity, and the Soviets would have nothing to hide. The actions of the submarine while on the high seas, however, have been such as to arouse grave doubt as to the legitimacy of its purpose. From observation and from the diary kept by one of the submarine officers (published in Russia), we know that every time a ship approached, the submarine crashed-dived. Why should a legitimate research vessel find such a procedure necessary?

Time and again, the Soviets have shown an extreme sensitivity to being observed. Naturally and justifiably, we have been concerned about the conduct of their ships in our waters, but whenever we have approached one of their

ships, the Soviets have raised the cry of "piracy" or "aggression." One of the more interesting cases of this nature concerns the *Dolinsk*. According to Soviet sources, we sent a patrol bomber flying at very low altitude over this ship while it was at sea off Cuba. Subsequently, the Soviets protested and exhibited photographs of the bomber flying overhead — photographs made not from the ship but from the small boats which the *Dolinsk* had overboard at the time. Now this fact poses very interesting questions. What was the sugar-carrier *Dolinsk* doing stopped on the high seas with its small boats out? Near Cuba, it is true, but also near the United States. What did the Soviets wish to protect from observation?

The recent case of the *Fryazino* follows the same pattern. Ostensibly carrying a cargo of cement from Novorossiysk to Port Sudan, she was sighted by an American destroyer in the Red Sea on 17 January and asked to identify herself. Evidently the captain of the *Fryazino* was panicked by the request and immediately radioed the Ministry of Merchant Marine in Moscow, giving his position and stating that a U.S. destroyer was "insistently calling in Morse." The reply came back from Moscow: "Continue on your course. Do not stop. We are looking for you. Bakayev." It is obvious that both identification and possible search were greatly feared. Why? Was the *Fryazino* perhaps carrying arms to the Congo?

Several incidents have shown that the Russians will sacrifice their men rather than have one of their "fishing" ships observed, or have the men fall into Western hands. According to the *Daily Mail*, the Soviets on 30 January, 1961, deliberately cancelled an SOS in

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the Lerwick area after the Lerwick lifeboat had set out to save the lives of the men aboard the sinking ninety-foot herring trawler *Olenevod*. The resulting loss of life is estimated to be about twenty men. In the past two years, there have been three other Russian refusals of British help at sea, and it is estimated that this has cost scores of Russian seamen their lives. What are the Russians hiding?

These events assume great significance when it is remembered that the area around the north of Scotland is the South Uist rocket range. For the past two years, the Russians have been suspected of operating herring trawlers in that area primarily for espionage purposes, and there is reason to believe that these trawlers are equipped with the latest Russian radar equipment. British Intelligence is now so concerned about this matter that it is sending Navy frogmen down to search the *Olenevod*.

As the Soviet expansion continues, there is a corresponding rise in the Soviet indignation over our increasing surveillance of their ships. On 13 July, 1960, a note was handed to our ambassador in Moscow enumerating the cases to that date. The Soviets' note said that this "aggression" must stop, or they would have to "take steps." Just what steps they had in mind was not made clear.

Interestingly enough, some of the Soviet claims are utterly false. For example, they assert that the British ship *Urchin* approached a Soviet ship, the *Atlantica*, dangerously. On that particular day, the record shows that the *Urchin* was in drydock, yet the Russians had photographs to support their claim. The explanation in this case is

simple: Some time before, the *Urchin* had been involved in a transfer of some rescued seamen between herself and a Soviet vessel, and it is evident that photographs made at that time were presented in support of a totally false claim.

That Soviet moves are never without purpose we can be certain. The great outcry against our observing their ships at sea is surely leading somewhere. Is this part of the drive to extend national jurisdiction of coastal waters to the twelve-mile limit? As already pointed out in AMERICAN OPINION (December, 1960, pp. 19-27), such an extension would have the effect of closing strategic straits around the world. Or is this a maneuver designed to gain the right for Soviet fishing boats to move into any nation's territorial waters with impunity?

IV

ACTUALLY, the Soviets are engaged in getting their foot in the door, not only in sea areas but on land too. The bases which they are establishing in South-east Asia have already been mentioned here. In the Scottish isles, quite another technique has been used. At Lerwick, Shetland Islands, the Poles applied in 1959 for permission to establish a fishing auxiliary base. They discussed this with the local port authorities through a representative of a Polish "Fishing Collective Company," which owns some fifty fishing trawlers in Gdynia. (Incidentally, no one should be fooled by Polish, Latvian or other captive-nation flags, names, or registrations when considering such arrangements. The Latvian trawlers on the Newfoundland banks in July, 1960, had part Russian crews, including several Soviet

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naval officers for navigators.)

However, the local authorities at Lerwick, in order to ameliorate the rather stagnant economic conditions there, agreed that the Polish trawlers could unload their barrels full of salt fish and pick up empty barrels left by the Polish transport ships. The transport ships were soon making regular calls for the fish.

Before long, both Polish and Russian trawlers began coming regularly. Furthermore, both offered the "excess" of their catches to the local fish-meal factories at prices which undercut the local fishermen. It was soon found that the Poles and Russians were scraping the local fishing grounds bare and dumping their excess catches on the market, thus giving the local fishing industry a double knock-out blow, financed by the U.S.S.R.

Despite these unfortunate developments at Lerwick, similar arrangements were subsequently made at Peterhead and at Wick, which is at the northeasternmost tip of Scotland. There are, of course, NATO bases in Scotland, and our rocket-carrying submarines are based nearby. The Soviet ships calling at these ports are equipped with electronic devices that puzzle the local military authorities, who cannot reconcile the use of such equipment with the operation of a fishing fleet. Thus the Soviets simultaneously deplete the local fishing grounds, drive the local fishermen out of business, cut the costs of their own uneconomic fishery, and get shipborne espionage into critical areas.

Still another area of Soviet fishery expansion is Antarctica, and there the approach is through whaling. Since World War II, more than seventy

cruises by Soviet ships and flotillas have been made to the Antarctic. Three whaling flotillas and four research vessels are active there now, and they are supported by various tankers and refrigerator ships in the area. And the expansion is still continuing. Previous flotillas operated from Atlantic bases, but now the port of Nakhodka, near Vladivostok, is being enlarged, and it is planned that this location will be the base for Pacific fishing. During its operations from this base early last year, the rocket-firing search ship *Shokalskyi* was sighted by our patrols and over-flown seven times, according to Russian reports. Further evidence of increased activity at Nakhodka is the fact that the newly-launched Soviet whaling factory ship, *Sovyetskaya Rossiya*, will be based there. According to current reports, she will spend the summer of 1961 whaling in the North Pacific around the Aleutian Islands and in the Bering Sea, and then she will be joined by the *Yurii Dogorukii* from the Antarctic fleet. It is very clear that the Soviet traffic to and from the Antarctic will now use both the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Soviet propaganda about the Antarctic concentrates on representing the Soviet sailings to that area as only "the continuation of the discoveries made by Bellinghausen and Lazarev, who were the first in the world to discover the Antarctic Continent." Just who really discovered the area is, of course, hotly disputed, and both Britain and the United States have better claims than the U.S.S.R. But the Soviets are proceeding dauntlessly, and there is much more than idle comment in the recent statement of the captain of the *Slava* flotilla, that Soviet whalers there

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have already created a "kind of territorial waters."

V

FROM THE EVIDENCE at hand, therefore, it is obvious that the Soviets have embarked on a vast and complex program for the expansion of fisheries, a program which is demonstrably neither economic nor humanitarian in nature. That the program may have long-range consequences in connection with national rights in territorial waters and free access to traditional fisheries is

equally evident. But more immediate is the significance of the operation viewed as a strategic undertaking of global scope.

History affords us a measure of insight into the real meaning of the Soviet program. Although there are on record several instances in which nations used the expansion of fisheries as a cloak for espionage preparatory to military aggression, the most startling series of events concerns the activities of Japan during the years prior to the outbreak of World War II.

The parallels detailed in the accompanying table are instructive.

JAPAN

During the 1920s, Japanese vessels appeared in West Coastal waters — California to Central America.

The Japanese fleet in these areas was gradually built up to over 500 ships.

The Japanese employed trawlers of up to 2,000 tons with a cruising range of 6,000 miles.

The Japanese fishing fleet was used by the Japanese Navy for espionage; the presence of the ships in various Mexican Pacific coast ports was explained as owing to "experimentation with fishing methods."

Japanese naval officers did tours of duty with the Japanese fishing fleet.

The Japanese fleet fished all through the year, but changed crews at sea by means of a rendezvous with Japanese naval ships.

The Japanese established mainland bases (e.g., Guayamas in Mexico).

U.S.S.R.

(ISI sources. Dates indicate year reported.)

During the 1950's, Soviet vessels appeared on The Banks.

In spite of unprofitable fishing, 500 fishing vessels from Russia and satellite nations remained in the North Atlantic and North Sea (1957)

The Soviets have employed trawlers of up to 3,000 tons and very long cruising range.

"Red Naval Intelligence fishing trawlers based on Murmansk are busy the year around—the widespread fleet fishes for more than fish, as directed by accompanying naval intelligence officers." (1954)

"Soviet naval officers, after finishing their schools, spend a season or two on these fishing trawlers." (1957)

The Soviets practice year-round fishing, change crews at sea, and keep ships at sea for very long periods.

The Soviets have established mainland bases (e.g., Lerwick in the Shetlands and Wick in Scotland).

Strategic Fishing By The Soviet

JAPAN

The Japanese vessels were equipped with "modern fishing" devices: radio, ship-to-shore telephone, etc.

The Japanese fishing fleet went to sea whenever and wherever the U. S. Navy held maneuvers.

U.S.S.R.

"Soviet fishing ships are led by a special vessel provided with radar, sonar, echo sounders, etc." (1959)

Soviet fishery expansion proceeds whether there is any economic or scientific value involved. (1959) There have been several incidents of Soviet fishing flotillas suddenly appearing in regions where British or NATO fleets hold naval maneuvers. (1958)

We are supposed to learn from history. The similarities between the Japanese operation during the thirties and the Soviet operation during the fifties are ominous for the Free World. The major differences between the two operations are themselves an unmistakable warning: the Japanese had a genuine economic reason for the expansion of their fisheries, but the Russians have none; the Japanese confined their efforts to the Pacific, whereas the Rus-

sians are making a global effort. Their fishing fleet is spread from the Arctic to the Antarctic and is to be found in all the oceans of the world.

The Soviet nets haul in a daily catch, to be sure. But in reality the whole "fishing fleet" is just another net for the poor human fish who still imagine that the world is large enough to permit mankind to "coexist" with Communists.

To See Ourselves As Others See Us

Once again the policy makers in the U. S. A. and Soviet Russia are in open agreement. They have always agreed that the "wicked colonial powers" should cease their "exploitation" in Africa. Having got the British and the French well on the run, and the Belgians out of the Congo, they are now giving increasing attention to the Portuguese.

—*The New Times*, Melbourne, Australia, 24 March, 1961.

* * *

In Tanganyika, the average African thinks that when the Europeans leave, the Africans will take over their houses, motor cars, and jobs; no one, however, will have to work, as ample money will be sent as a free gift from America. (This view was freely expressed to me by Africans.)

—Dr. E. G. Holmes in *The Advertiser*, Adelaide, Australia, 10 March, 1961.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

CONSPIRACY'S HIDEOUS STRENGTH

IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE as human beings, we must learn to understand the International Communist Conspiracy and the reasons for its terrible success. A new book by a former Communist is so fundamental a source of information for all of us that it calls for an analysis and commentary which could not easily be compressed into fifty pages. I can here do no more than suggest the scope and implications of *THE MOULDING OF COMMUNISTS*, by Frank S. Meyer (Harcourt-Brace, New York, 214 pages, \$5.00). For some strange reason, the book appears as part of a series, entitled "Communism in American Life," which includes some of the most grossly misleading works on that subject ever published.

I

MR. MEYER, who was educated at Princeton and Oxford, was recruited by the Communist Party while he was an undergraduate, and he was an active and increasingly important member of it for fourteen years. He was charged with such missions as the organization of conspiratorial cells in Mid-Western universities, general supervision of recruiting in academic circles, and direction of delegations to international and supposedly non-Communist "youth congresses." He knew personally such notorious public figures in the Conspiracy as Earl Browder, Maurice

Thorez, Walter Ulbricht, and Dmitrov. Perhaps no one has journeyed farther into Hell than he and returned to tell the tale.

He broke publicly with the Party after the Second World War and testified before Congressional investigating committees. After seven years of retirement and meditation, he became one of the ablest intellectual leaders in our now desperate struggle to preserve the United States and Western civilization.

The present book is the accomplishment of a self-imposed task that must have been both intellectually arduous and emotionally agonizing. Mr. Meyer seeks to present an objective and, so far as possible, impersonal analysis of the way in which Communists are enlisted and moulded into "conscious agents of organized evil." All lawyers and physicians acknowledge the supreme difficulty of viewing objectively problems in which one has a personal concern, and in this case it was necessary to ponder over much that the human mind instinctively strives to forget. The author deserves our deepest gratitude.

Mr. Meyer writes from a viewpoint that differs markedly from that of most ex-Communists, whose story typically falls into three episodes: loss of their childhood faith in Christianity; descent into Communism; return to Christianity. And it is worthy of note

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that the Christianity to which they return is either Catholicism or fundamental Protestantism—*never* the fraudulent substitute called the “social gospel,” which is now so profitable to the many atheists who think that preaching from the pulpit of a church is the easiest way to earn a dishonest living.

Since Communism is, in Mr. Meyer's phrase, a “secular and messianic quasi-religion” with a doctrine which, though obviously false, “is powerful because it is *believed*,” many writers, including ex-Communists, see the problem as essentially a conflict between two faiths—or, more exactly, a conflict between a diabolic fanaticism and religion. This, of course, is true. Faith in Christianity obviously precludes not only belief in Communist doctrine but also sympathy with *any* of the Communists' objectives.

Mr. Meyer, who does not write from a specifically religious viewpoint, examines the problem from a different aspect: the conflict between an insane fanaticism and human reason. His dispassionate book is intentionally less eloquent and moving than *Witness*, but it may be more cogent to readers who cannot follow Whittaker Chambers to his final faith. At all events, we cannot too often stress an aspect of Communism which, though less immediately obvious, is certainly true. A rational understanding of human history and science precludes not only belief in Communist doctrine but also belief in the possibility of any of the Communists' professed (as distinct from real and secret) objectives.

II

ALTHOUGH there still are many people who are taken in by Communist ter-

minology they do not understand, such as “dictatorship of the proletariat” or “class struggle,” or by the preposterous propaganda currently used to promote American “aid to underdeveloped countries,” everyone who has seriously thought about Communism well knows that it is not, and never could become, a mass movement. It is obviously and necessarily a numerically small, tightly-knit, and perfectly-controlled conspiracy.

Few realize, however, how hard the Communist Party works to keep itself small. It constantly recruits, but it as constantly purges itself, deliberately driving large numbers from its ranks. So intensive is this effort at elimination that the turnover in total membership has reached eighty percent in some five-year periods. Whenever the Party loses a considerable number of members—as, for example, in 1939, when the machine was suddenly thrown into reverse and agitators who were screaming “hate Hitler!” were ordered to contradict themselves overnight — observers who do not grasp the basic principle of Communist organization fancy that the Party “has suffered a setback.” In reality, the Conspiracy is weakened in this way just as much as an athlete is weakened by working off excess fat.

Mr. Meyer makes it clear that the Party does not rely on sudden shifts in the Party line, which are relatively infrequent, to accomplish this purpose. It encourages internal struggles between members or factions and, when these do not suffice, it resorts to an “artificial, or Party-induced, crisis” over trivial or absurdly theoretical issues, which, however, seem terribly real to the emotionally involved participants. It designedly insults and humiliates its most

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promising members and outrages them with patently *unreasonable* censure. For example, a young woman, a university teacher and practicing psychologist, was sent to Spain on a difficult and hazardous mission which she accomplished brilliantly and at repeated risk of her own life. On her return, her reward was not a meed of praise, but open reprimand because the records in her Party office, in which she had *no* assistants, had not been kept up-to-date! This and other examples cited by Mr. Meyer will seem to you incredible, if you do not understand (a) the primary purpose for which the Conspiracy maintains the Communist Party, and (b) its methods of operation.

In the United States and other countries not yet openly annexed, "the main task of any Communist Party," says Mr. Meyer, "is to build and strengthen the Communist *cadre* for the day when it will be needed." All other functions of the Party, including agitation and propaganda, are secondary, mere "training maneuvers."

Cadre indicates relative rank and so differs from 'hard core,' which designates only dedication and ferocity. Unlike many criminal conspiracies, such as the Assassins and Weishaupt's Illuminati, the Communists (so far as is known) do not have a series of formal degrees of initiation. The Party is the perfect model of the "open society" of which many sociologists now enthusiastically chatter: each person rises so far—exactly so far—as his abilities carry him, but even so a theoretical equality is assumed. There is, however, the *practical* distinction between the rank-and-file and the *cadre*.

The rank-and-file, whatever their *official* position, are mere tools, useful

only for routine or menial tasks and for physical violence. For the latter purpose, few are needed in the United States, a country which is to be taken over, not by revolt against the government, but by capture of the established government through ostensibly "democratic" action.

The *cadre* is composed of the tested and trained operatives who are given responsibility for carrying out directives. They have no *official* position in the Communist Party, and many of them, especially if they hold important positions in American government or society, are not, and may never have been, members of the Party at all, although, of course, they act under Communist discipline and directives. There are upper and lower *cadres*, but no distinct divisions between them. One's rank in the Conspiracy is measured only by the precise degree of confidence felt by one's superiors. That is all.

This fact has an important corollary. Members of the Conspiracy who hold high positions in our government or society do not necessarily enjoy rank in the Conspiracy. "A dramatic spy or a policy-subverter in a high government post, a world-renowned writer or speaker, or a Communist trade-union leader with great public prestige and power, may be little more than an office boy to obscure and unknown men with no *formal* position in or out of the Communist Party." If it is any consolation to you, you may be sure that some of the most arrogant figures in our public life meekly submit in private to tongue-lashings from their Communist superior such as Uncle Tom would never willingly have endured—not even from his Ol' Massa!

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Such secret control is exercised, of course, by members of the *cadre*. They are also the experts who manipulate the masses, including, of course, the stupid *bourgeoisie* and rattle-brained "intellectuals." It goes without saying that these experts operate under "democratic" and "Liberal" guises.

The *cadre*, therefore, is the weapon on which the Conspiracy has *exclusively* relied since the early days of the Roosevelt régime, when it saw that it could attain its ends by covert manipulation of the masses. As Mr. Meyer points out, "The total loyalty and dependability of the *cadre* has made it possible to manuever with consummate ease. Kaleidoscopic activities on a hundred fronts—many of them seemingly unrelated, some of them even in apparent opposition one to another — are utilized by a leadership conscious of its aims . . . to achieve strategic and tactical ends." The *cadre*, you understand, carries out orders. The real purpose of a given operation may be known only in the mysterious and unapproachable Headquarters whence the orders come, but we may be sure, I think, that every Communist-incited agitation in some way advances the over-all strategy, which is simply to make the Communist Conspiracy the "legal" government of the United States.

This consideration makes clear the vital importance of the *cadre*, and also explains why the Communists do not permit the Party to become numerically large and are not really concerned over what the masses may think of Communism. At any time and for any occasion "the *cadre* can pick up the necessary mass following for any wanted campaign quickly through an *ad hoc* front

organization." In the Communist view, Americans are mere herds of cattle who can be driven at will in any desired direction by a few cowboys. The *cadres* are the cowboys.

III

SINCE IT IS primarily a recruiting and training agency, the Communist Party devotes a vast amount of patient effort to enlisting members, but always on the basis of two considerations, which Mr. Meyer thus defines: "First, does the prospective recruit already hold some strategic position of influence or show signs of abilities which will enable him to achieve such a position? Secondly, has he qualities which indicate *cadre*-potentiality?" If the answer to either question is an emphatic affirmative, the Party will devote, if necessary, the co-ordinated efforts of many members over a long period of time to coaxing the prospect into the Party. (Either question, because a person in an influential position in American society can always be placed under the direction of a member of the *cadre*, if he is not sufficiently intelligent to qualify for such rank himself.)

The recruiting operation is based on careful study of the prospect's personality, and all the weaknesses, intellectual and emotional, discovered in him are carefully exploited. He will be entertained, flattered, cajoled, exhorted, persuaded, as may be necessary. His adhesion to the Party, however, takes the form of an intellectual "conversion" to the doctrines of "Marxism-Leninism," whatever emotional motives may be operating within him. (These, of course, can be at least as various as the motives that we commonly observe in professional "do-gooders," which range

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from fatuous sentimentality to a vicious resentment against the group or class they injure while ostensibly "doing good" to others.)

But dialectical materialism does have an intellectual attraction for basically honest and vigorous minds, especially when they have been prepared for it by the hokum so generally administered in our schools. Mr. Meyer gives us the fullest and clearest explanation of this attraction that I have seen. I cannot attempt to recapitulate here his extremely instructive analysis. I can only intimate its tenor by listing the factors that seem to me most important: (1) the popular and utterly unscientific notion that "Science" is a kind of thaumaturgy of unlimited power; (2) what I should define as the fascination exerted over the human mind by a drastic oversimplification when combined with a factitious complexity; (3) the lure of an intellectual certainty that liberates the mind from all the anxious doubt and inquiry of philosophical thought. The illusion that he has solved the riddle of the universe produces in the neophyte a kind of intellectual exhilaration and euphoria. This is augmented by factors that are partly emotional, of which the most important are: (1) the convert "considers himself infinitely superior to the 'confused' and benighted ordinary mortals," and (2) he regards himself as an "accepted member of a history-chosen élite" whose triumph over the world is *absolutely certain* because (a) History has decreed it; and (b) the Communist Conspiracy, "having mastered the secrets of Necessity and History," has unlimited power over nature and mankind, and is therefore invincible.

The last is an extremely important

point: it is, I think, the real secret of Communist success. For one thing, it explains what would otherwise be incredible, the fact that human beings do submit to the Communist training that Mr. Meyer describes.

IV

ONE OF THE most fundamental facts about the International Communist Conspiracy is so simple that we find it difficult to grasp: Communists are not human, in the selective and optimistic sense in which we habitually use that word. Mr. Meyer writes to enable us "to apprehend the profoundly different character of Communist consciousness — different from anything with which we are acquainted. For the Communist is different. He thinks differently. Reality looks different to him."

Communists form an artificial species. Promising members are recruited by study of their personality, but "once a recruit is drawn into the Communist machine, terrific pressure is brought to bear to mould him into the desired ideal Communist by destroying his individuality." He is trained by being subjected to an unending series of varied and subtle and brutal pressures — corresponding closely, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Pavlovian techniques used on prisoners of war and described by Edward Hunter in *Brainwashing*. This pressure "transforms the solidarity of the previous intellectual outlook and psychic set into a state of flux in which it can be remoulded."

Mr. Meyer's account deserves the closest study. I here mention only a few aspects of the training process.

The various means used to drive the "weak" from the Party, which we mentioned above, serve not only to select

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but also to train. The university teacher whom we cited as an example remained in the Party by confessing her responsibility for having failed to perform a trivial task which it manifestly had been physically impossible for her to perform while abroad on an important errand for the Conspiracy. Now, passing over the utter abdication of both self-respect and intellectual integrity, we must note that hers was not the *pro forma* apology that one might make over a trifle to soothe an unreasonable person. She made the confession believing that it was true. In other words, she had become irrational.

The Communist is trained from the beginning by endless discussion of his "theoretical errors" and constant probing into his thoughts, motives, and personality in what is ostensibly an attempt to bring him into a state of "mental health" by curing the "sickness" of minds haunted by "the phantasms of religion, individual integrity, family loyalty, objective truth, and a thousand ties of tradition and upbringing." Eventually, "everything is an occasion for scrutiny of the words, the attitudes, the scarcely expressed velleities of each student." This scrutiny is designed to induce the morbid introspection that produces the "self-criticism" that appears so prominently in other forms of brainwashing. It is the "self-criticism" of a mad attempt to make the mind conform to external standards that it accepts as true psychologically although they are, in fact, merely the hallucinations of the psychologist. The victim drives himself mad.

To this must be added many other forces. The Communist has a deep sense of separation from mankind,

partly because he is so superior to the cattle whom he helps to herd, and partly because he must always live a life of unending duplicity and deceit, unless he is one of the few members who appear in public as Communists. Furthermore, the tension in his mind produced by the discrepancy between the empirically observed world about him and the requirements of Communist theory can be alleviated only by a kind of hallucination in which "facts that do not fit the theoretical outlook of Marxism-Leninism have only a shadowy existence." The attitude which the Party forces on him, that of regarding everything *exclusively* from the standpoint of its usefulness to the Revolution, generates the *folie circulaire* of monomania. For him *every* question — the melody of an opera, a point in Latin grammar, the speed of light — necessarily has one "correct" answer, the one that will further the purposes of the Communist Conspiracy at the moment. The "correct" answer, of course, may be quite different tomorrow — the Communist takes that for granted.

The only thing that really matters is the inevitable triumph of Communism. One of the first lessons that the Communist learns is that "he must be able to attack publicly a position which a week ago . . . he has defended just as vigorously." This perfect flexibility excludes both principles and sympathies. "Communist attitudes on the peasantry, the middle classes, national minorities, women, Negroes, Jews is determined *solely* by strategical and tactical considerations."

When it is necessary to execute a particularly sudden *volte-face*, Communists say that "the objective situation

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has changed" or "the Party has decided." What this means is that orders have come down from above — orders which are obeyed not only punctiliously but with conviction that they are unexceptionably right. For Communists maintain the conscious or unconscious pretense that the orders merely express what would be obvious to any mind sufficiently versed in the profundities of dialectical materialism. Even Communists who stand high in the hierarchy (including the highest with whom Mr. Meyer came into personal contact, Browder, Dmitrov, and the rest) are accordingly in a state of pupillage. Their attitude toward the source of their orders is not that of a lieutenant toward the commanding general (for lieutenants frequently think that the general has blundered), but that of a beginner in algebra toward Einstein.

What this means, of course, is that the whole Conspiracy is a vast machine operated by the remote control of an unseen hand. Each part, each member, is automatically and inhumanly obedient to orders that come down through a circuit of control that we can trace only to the point at which the wires disappear in the walls of the Kremlin. Several intelligence agencies, on the basis of information from within the Kremlin, have reported that even Khrushchev, the titular boss of the Conspiracy's Russian domain, is, like Browder, a mere puppet actuated by unseen masters. One such report was read into the *Congressional Record* by Congressman Timothy P. Sheehan on 5 August, 1957. (It is needless to add that the report was scrupulously ignored by the American press, and that Congressman Sheehan was defeat-

ed in the next election.) The report is not only plausible in the light of all that we know about the Communist Conspiracy, but distinctly probable.

The moving parts of this vast machine are forged by Communist training which makes each member of the *cadre* "accept himself . . . as a projection of the Party, living and breathing only as informed by its spirit." Seldom indeed does this training, "devoted to the extirpation of every remnant of philosophical, moral, aesthetic principle or instinct natural to the human being," fail to accomplish its purpose; only rarely and by some oversight is any part of the human soul left alive. As Mr. Meyer reminds us, even in the United States, where conditions should be most favorable, "very few among the thousands of *cadre* Communists" have ever broken with the Party, and then only in the most unusual circumstances and, as Whittaker Chambers put it, "slowly, reluctantly, in agony." The rest, though you may meet some of them every day and see nothing amiss, are forever lost to humanity: they are the Undead.

V

WE ARE CONFRONTED by a reality more horrible than the weirdest legends. We are invaded by a horde of vampires from whom no sprig of vervain, no talisman worn at the throat, can protect us. They cast shadows in the sunlight like the rest of us, and there is no outward sign by which we can recognize them. To fight them, we must find the hidden source and secret of their strength, and that, I think, Mr. Meyer has conclusively shown us.

Communists differ in their original motives and intellectual formation;

The Personal Income Tax, which was devised by Karl Marx and was prescribed by him in the Communist Manifesto for the self-destruction of America, is the source of all evil. It can, and must be, repealed if America is to remain a nation of free people.

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they now differ in abilities and in the positions they hold both within the Conspiracy and in our society; but they all have in common, and are actuated by, an absolute conviction that Communism will necessarily and ineluctably triumph. The conspirator believes that the Conspiracy is absolutely invincible, and, as Mr. Meyer says, "this invincibility seems to him of the same order of certainty as the daily rising of the sun." And it is from this certainty that the Communists "acquire a strength and confidence which, like the fearful evil they bring into being, can only be described as Luciferian."

This confidence has been strengthened and confirmed by each and every triumph of the Conspiracy since 1917. And nothing has occurred to shake that confidence in any way. The Conspiracy, both within the United States and throughout the world, has suffered, at most, but rare and utterly insignificant losses, comparable to the loss of a platoon of soldiers in the course of a war. The execution of the Rosenbergs and the dislodgement of Alger Hiss meant nothing at all when thousands of their confederates remained not only unharmed but in positions of power — power of which they gave one sign in the ruin of Senator McCarthy. Temporary checks in Greece and Guatemala were mere nothings when the power of the United States could be used to effect the conquest of China and Cuba. The International Communist Conspiracy has thus far given day after day and year after year the most convincing demonstrations that it is invincible.

It has been invincible because it has never had to fight, and that is the true secret of its strength *Vires acquirit*

eundo. Had the West, rationally perceptive of reality, sent a few regiments in 1917, a few divisions in 1945, a few squadrons with atomic bombs in 1949, some members of the Conspiracy, at least, and a multitude of their tools would have begun to wonder whether History had really decreed their triumph — or had, perhaps, changed Her mind! Defeat — open, unmistakable defeat by superior force — is the *only* kind of argument that Communists could conceivably understand.

The vulgar aphorism, "nothing succeeds like success," is profoundly true. At this late date, it will take a long series of unmistakable defeats to shake the confidence of the *cadre*, but every victory that we win will automatically reduce their power, which partly depends on their success in convincing a multitude of more or less conscious collaborators that they are the "Wave of the Future." We must be realistic about human nature.

Some years ago a university president was reproached by the dean of one of the colleges for tolerating Communist cells on the campus. He replied, "It is absolutely certain that the Communists will take over the United States. I am going to make sure that when they do, they will have nothing against me." It is idle to exclaim in indignation over pusillanimity or to smile at the folly of boobs who imagine that Communists can feel gratitude or be placated by services rendered. There are—reluctant as we may be to admit it — thousands of people like that. Every victory of Communism increases their number.

A clergyman not long ago was reproached for tolerance of Communist activity in his parish. He replied. "It is absolutely certain that Communism

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will take over the world. If the churches oppose it, they will be abolished. Surely it is better to keep Christianity[!] alive for the Future." There are thousands of people who can drug their conscience and their reason with such twisted sophistries. Every victory of Communism increases their number.

The only way to oppose Communism anywhere is to defeat it somewhere. The Communist conquest of Cuba did far more than establish a base ninety miles from our shores. It strengthened the International Conspiracy everywhere — in Ohio, in Oregon, in India, in Turkey, in France. If we now at last act in self-defence — if, as we can easily do, we smash that Communist

fortress and obliterate the Conspiracy in Cuba (including, of course, the Communists who have been appointed by the Conspiracy to replace the Castro gang, if necessary), we shall simultaneously diminish the strength of organized evil throughout the world — in New York, in California, in Laos, in Africa, in Brazil.

There is, there can be, no substitute for victory. "Communist man," as Mr. Meyer warns us, "poses two stark alternatives for us: victory or defeat." As he told the House Committee two years ago, there can be no compromise, no truce between that hideous form of life and civilized man: "*one must die, if the other is to live.*" Which shall it be?

BRIEF MENTION

Brainwashing, from Pavlov to Powers, by Edward Hunter. The Bookmailer, \$5.00.

This is a revision and expansion of Mr. Hunter's account of the techniques used by the Communists to effect what is properly called *menticide*, i.e. murder of the human mind. The original book dealt with our prisoners in Korea; the supplements deal with the less spectacular brain-softening of the American people that has been going on for years with the active connivance of forces "somewhere between the White House and the Pentagon," which frustrates all attempts to educate our soldiers—to say nothing of the American people as a whole—concerning our enemies. The brazen silencing of General Walker occurred after Mr. Hunter concluded: "The Powers case has given us a third chance [to learn]. We may not have a fourth chance . . ."

* * *

Facts on Communism: Volume II, The

Soviet Union, from Lenin to Khrushchev. U. S. Government Printing Office. \$1.25 (paper).

An authoritative account of Bolshevik Russia in 376 pages, marred only by (1) a tendency to take some Communist pronouncements literally rather than seek the meaning behind the words, and (2) failure to note obvious duplicity. For example, Moscow may denounce Jean-Paul Sartre as an example of "Western decadence" and thus bolster his reputation among non-Communists in the West, but one has only to read Sartre's magazine, *Les Temps Modernes*, to find him industriously sapping the foundations of Western civilization, agitating for the Communist rebels in Algeria, and laying down smoke-screens for the Communist satrap in Cuba.

* * *

No Wonder We Are Losing, by Robert Morris. The Bookmailer, \$2.50.

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* * *

Up From Liberalism, by William F. Buckley, Jr. Hillman 75¢ (paper).

Mr. Buckley's urbane and witty demolition of the "Liberal" mythology, which we reviewed in November, 1959, is now available in this inexpensive reprint.

* * *

The Kohler Strike: Union Violence and Administrative Law, by Sylvester Petro. Regnery. \$3.00.

The author, Professor of Law in New York University, objectively records the vicious assault on the Kohler Company by arrogant gangsters and their privileged thugs in open defiance of American law. He particularly examines the scandalous operations of the kangaroo court called the National Labor Relations Board, whose rigged "hearings" violate the basic principles of both jurisprudence and republican government. This book deserves wide reading and careful study, for "administrative tribunals," a device frankly copied from totalitarian governments, are not authorized by our Constitution. Although little noticed by the general public, the alien and bizarre system of "administrative law" is steadily eroding our republic and freedom.

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A Nation of Sheep, by William J. Lederer. Norton. \$3.75.

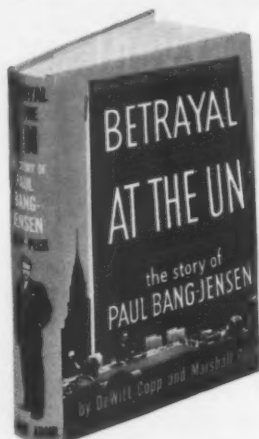
The senior author of *The Ugly American* has concocted a very ugly

book. A little exposure of the graft and corruption normal in our "foreign aid" and some comment on asinine activities in the State Department and other governmental agencies will not season for American palates this *pot pourri* of stale "Liberal" table-scraps. Included in the stew, and perhaps the reason for cooking it up, is a nauseous diatribe against General Chiang Kai-shek. Everyone to whom Mr. Lederer talked abroad thought that our failure to force the General to surrender Matsu and Quemoy is "unreasonable and provocative." Our ugly American obviously keeps very strange company.

* * *

Who Will Volunteer? (The Quemoy Story in Pictures), by Lyle H. Munson. The Bookmailer. \$2.00.

The propaganda concocted by the Communist Conspiracy for its current drive to bolster the prestige of Red China and further disgrace the United States seeks to give Americans the impression that Quemoy and Matsu are unimportant and virtually uninhabited islands. This collection of excellent photographs will show you the daily life of the 45,560 civilians who live on Quemoy, tilling their fields, fishing, and patiently rebuilding their homes, churches, and schools when these are destroyed by the regular bombardments from the mainland. By February of this year, a total of 827,000 shells had fallen on the island, and at least four-fifths of this ammunition (as shown by the "duds") had been imported by Red China from the Soviet Union—an interesting indication of the industrial capacity of the "mighty nation" whose population Mr. Lederer, in the book we mentioned above, decided to increase to 700,000,000 for the benefit of his



Was It Murder or Suicide?

The body of Paul Bang-Jensen, the Danish diplomat who refused to hand over to his UN superiors a list of 81 witnesses to the Hungarian uprising, was found on Thanksgiving Day, 1959, on a lonely woodland path in New York City.

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- (2) Was Dag Hammarskjöld justified in dismissing Bang-Jensen?
- (3) Was Bang-Jensen working in the dangerous twilight zone of foreign intrigue?
- (4) Did he die by his own hand, or was his death a "perfect murder" planned by the Russians?

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A Review Of Reviews

readers. The furious and futile bombardment of Quemoy has not only demonstrated the Chinese people's devotion to freedom and loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek, but has also made the Kremlin's bloated butcher, Mao, ridiculous in the eyes of his own slaves. Con-

fronted by famine and accumulating difficulties of all kinds, the Communist Conspiracy in China is in serious trouble—and who should extricate it but the United States? No wonder our "Liberals" are screaming for the surrender of Quemoy!

THUGS AND COMMUNISTS by Louis Zoul \$5.10

A very impressive document. *Henry Hazlitt.*

This is a real contribution in the battle for men's minds. My congratulations for an excellent work of research and enlightenment.

Adolphe Menjou.

You have written a masterpiece. *Matthew Cvetic, Former F.B.I. Counterspy, and author of "The Big Decision."*

One of the most unusual books coming to our attention.

News-Herald, Borger, Texas

A very good book. *J. P. Hamilus, Professor of Economics and Administrative-Director, Université Internationale De Sciences Comparées, Luxembourg.*

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LOOKING BOTH WAYS



Professor George F. Carter is a distinguished scholar, one of the ever diminishing number of men in our universities who seek truth for its own sake, and he is also an outspoken conservative—which makes him a *rarissima avis* indeed. He was for fourteen years Chairman of the Isaiah Bowman Department of Geography in the Johns Hopkins University, thus holding one of the highest and most coveted appointments in his academic field. His published studies in anthropology and both physical and political geography include two books, fifty articles, and more than a hundred critical reviews. He is now completing a book on the relationships between men and their physical environment.

Professor Carter is an authority on the earliest human inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere, but he has also observed contemporary phenomena. During the Second World War, he served in the O.S.S.—the strange precursor of the far stranger C.I.A.—and for a time his immediate superior was Dr. Maurice Halperin, who is now openly working for the Soviet in Moscow. In his own university, he lectured for a time in the School of International Relations directed by the Professor Owen Lattimore, who is the pride and joy of Johns Hopkins now that it is under the presidency of Dr. Milton Eisenhower.

Unlike many men of learning in our time, Professor Carter has had the courage to bring his scholarly insight to bear on contemporary affairs. He has written for such "reactionary" periodicals as the *American Mercury* and *National Review*. He is a consulting editor of *Inform*, the publication of the International Services of Information Foundation, and, of course, has at his disposal the files of that private intelligence agency.

He writes with authority, therefore, when he describes for you in this issue a Soviet operation

that has completely escaped the notice of most observers. The Communists are up to so many tricks in so many parts of the world that no one could even catalogue all of them, but we thought that you would find this one particularly interesting and significant.

Each month we say with the Sibyl, "mihi si linguae centum sint . . ." But we would gladly settle for even half a hundred extra *folia* for our modest Golden Bough. As it is, with our limited space and in a time when we Americans have almost become the inhabitants of a besieged city who hear every day the crash of a falling bastion, it is impossible to plan ahead just what it will be most important for our readers to know when we go to press. This month we delayed the magazine and frantically rearranged contents to include Dr. Oliver's analysis of the really critical situation in the Dominican Republic, precipitated by the assassination of General Trujillo on the thirtieth of May. We hope that this will reach you while there is still time to decide.

To do this, we had to postpone an able analysis of contemporary "Liberalism" by Mr. S. E. D. Brown, editor and publisher of the *South African Observer*, the leading journal of conservative opinion on the African continent. You will find this penetrating article in our July-August issue, which, as usual, will also contain our annual SCOREBOARD with estimates of the degree of Communist control in all the major and most of the minor nations of the world. We shall not attempt to repeat the analytical survey which accompanied last year's Scoreboard, so you will want to have your copy of *A WORLD GONE CRAZY* at hand when you read the new estimates. If you missed that issue or mislaid it, copies are still available for one dollar.

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