

# AMERICAN OPINION

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by

Revilo P. Oliver

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## AMERICAN OPINION

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## CONTENTS — DECEMBER, 1961

|                                                  |    |
|--------------------------------------------------|----|
| If You Want It Straight . . . . .                | 1  |
| An Extract From CZECHO-SLOVAKIA . Kurt Glaser    | 9  |
| Bullets . . . . .                                | 32 |
| A Review Of Reviews . . . . . Renvilo P. Oliver  | 33 |
| A Review Of The News . . . . . Francis X. Gannon | 47 |
| Confetti . . . . .                               | 60 |

December 10, 1961

Dear Reader:

We wish you a Merry Christmas!

We wish for you and your family many more merry Christmases in the years ahead.

We wish for your children, and their children, and their children always merry Christmases, in the decades to come.

It is to this end that we are doing our small part to destroy the Communist conspiracy, to save freedom where it still exists, and to restore liberty to those now enslaved.

And we wish for the whole world that, with the intrinsic evil and infinite cruelties of Communism removed, it may enjoy the increasing blessings of a truly Christian civilization — with peace on earth to men of good will, and the spirit of Christmas ever more widely observed and deeply honored through all the days to be.

We wish you a Merry Christmas!

Sincerely,

*Robert Welch*

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## IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT.....

It is unlikely that you have a map of Africa, with sufficient detail, on which you can find Djorf. But it is somewhere southwest of the city of Constantine, in the Department of Constantine, in Algeria. And it is the location of one of the increasing number of political concentration camps to which de Gaulle is sending patriotic Frenchmen who believe in keeping Algeria *French*, and who thus oppose his now visible plans to turn that unhappy country over to some Communist puppet government.

At the time of Khrushchev's last visit to Paris de Gaulle made quite a grandstand play for the world press, of being firm to the point of impoliteness in his attitude towards his visitor. At the same time he had quietly picked up some three thousand patriotic Frenchmen, of the kind who might be most likely to cause any serious embarrassment or danger to Khrushchev during the visit, and bodily shipped them off to Corsica for the few weeks required, without the slightest legal justification whatever. But this affair, as well as some of his other and equally high-handed actions, have been kept almost entirely hidden from the American people—and to some extent from the masses of the French people as well. So we are publishing herewith a communication of which a copy has come into our hands, through Switzerland, from seven of the better known inmates—all seven being members of the medical profession—of the prison camp at Djorf. Dated September 14, 1961, it is primarily an appeal to the Red Cross to investigate conditions at the camp. But it reveals much more than merely those conditions. And we have translated it from the original French as accurately as we know how.

We the undersigned, carried into banishment against our will and interned at the camp of Djorf with two hundred other prisoners, without any specific reason being given us, testify as to the following facts and conditions having prevailed since our arrival.

## If You Want It Straight . . . .

### A. *State Of The Premises*

1. We are in a deserted area at the extreme southern end of the Department of Sétif, on a dusty plateau which is open to all winds, exposed to an intense heat of the sun, practically without vegetation, where the risks of fever, sunstroke, and dehydration are very serious.

2. As to the condition of the living quarters: They are on the whole in a deplorable state and unsuited for occupation by human beings worthy of the name.

(a) The cubic content of air is insufficient. In some rooms there are ten occupants to an area of seventy square meters. [*This would be a room about fifteen feet square.* Editor]

(b) The walls are decayed to the point of ruin.

(c) Dust swirls into these quarters and cannot be kept out, due to the lack of water and the nature of the soil.

(d) The straw mattresses are extremely dirty and worn, with the covers doubtful to say the least, and in general the bedclothes are to a large extent polluted with excrement from preceding occupants of the camp.

(e) The renewal of air throughout these quarters is very inadequate, and there prevails a suffocating atmosphere, extremely forbidding to either rest or sleep.

(f) No regular lighting is provided in most of the cell blocks.

(g) The receptacles for rubbish are ripped open and sweepings are scattered everywhere.

3. The toilet facilities of the camp are insufficient, and actually there is no system of flushing which functions at all. For this reason piles of excrement daily attract flies and parasites, while giving off fetid odors. Not even the most summary disinfectant arrangements have been provided.

4. The kitchens, overrun by cockroaches, are in a repulsive state of dirtiness. The stoves are not currently in shape to be used. Out of four refrigerators, only one appears to be in working condition, and without any of the protection that would be afforded by the employment of a camp electrician.

### B. *Camp Hygiene*

1. Water. There is no running water. The cistern supply is visibly and grossly insufficient. The cisterns are in a state of doubtful cleanliness. The water of this poor quality (and full of magnesium) is doled out in small quantities. Within twenty-four hours cases of diarrhoea had broken out. No arrangement for bathing appear up to now to have been provided or contemplated. Because of the short-

## If You Want It Straight . . . .

age of water it is very difficult to maintain the most elementary body cleanliness or to wash either one's linen or eating utensils.

2. There are swarms of parasites of many kinds (flies, fleas, bed-bugs, and scorpions).

3. As for infirmary facilities, up to the present time neither a sick bay, nor medical treatment, nor medicines of any kind have been made available to the prisoners. Personally, we have not been able to relieve the illnesses which have required our aid.

Let us point out that we have uncovered, among other cases, three tubercular patients who, besides the risks which they themselves are running, can contaminate their surroundings. Along the same line, it is hard to confess that some very old people (up to seventy years) are interned under such rough conditions, which subjects them to mortal risk.

Aggravating the inhuman nature of this imprisonment, it is in order to add that a large number of those arriving at the camp are completely without belongings, not having been allowed to bring anything with them, either toilet articles or changes of underclothes.

### *C. Nourishment*

We do not know what the future will bring. But, up to the present, for a twenty-four-hour period there has been distributed, for four, some bread and one can of sardines and one of tunny fish. We do not see how this situation can be improved any in the near future, due to the condition of the kitchens and the influx of new prisoners, when nothing seems to have been done in preparation for receiving so large a number.

### *D. Social Service*

It is totally non-existent. There is no social assistance concerned with the families that have been left, no books, no games, no papers, nor any radio, permitting one to obtain even a minimum of relaxation.

### *Conclusion*

The total of these circumstances creates conditions of life which are both physically and morally dangerous for those interned.

(a) With regard to morale, most of the prisoners have arrived in a state of pitiful depression. Snatched brutally from their families, which they have often left in physical circumstances more than precarious, they have been transplanted into a concentration-camp world for which nothing in their past has prepared them in any way. And the risk of suicide among some of them is an eventuality to be seriously anticipated.

(b) Under the sanitary arrangements which prevail, the sad conditions which we have just described let anybody foresee the huge

## If You Want It Straight . . . . .

risks of epidemic disease in short order:

Typhus, because of the parasites;

Typhoid and dysentery, because of the water;

Contagious skin diseases because of the promiscuous association of the prisoners.

Such conditions of life sadly recall a period of general concentration-camp existence, for the abolition of which many among us have formerly fought, in the hope of seeing it disappear forever. These conditions are not compatible with the most elementary human dignity. They are even more inadmissible for people who have committed no crimes nor wrongs, and whose sole offense is perhaps that they love their country too much.

We demand that an inquiry into this camp be made by the Red Cross.

Djorf, the 14th of September, 1961.

Signed by: Dr. Lamur

Surgeon of the Medical Faculty of the Department of Alger,  
Associate Member of the International Society of Surgeons.

Dr. Pierre Fyot

Of the Medical Faculty of Lyon.

Dr. Genevo

Of the Faculty of the Department of Alger, Chief of Service  
for Infectious Diseases of the Hospital Center of Bône.

Dr. Christian Commencois

Of the Faculty of Marseille.

Dr. Hughes Blanc

Radiologist Physician of the Faculty of the Department of  
Alger, former intern of the Faculty of Alger.

Dr. Roland Chambri

Pharmacist of the Faculty of Montpellier.

Dr. Jean Dallies

Seventy years old, Dental Surgeon of the Faculty of Paris.

These men are not only successful and highly respected surgeons and physicians, who have dared face an even worse fate by putting their names to this petition, but they are patriots with the pioneer instinct of the very kind who founded our nation, gave us our Constitution, and established a pattern of life—based on individual freedom, responsibility, and initiative—which made America the envy of the world. If there ever

## If You Want It Straight . . . . .

was a body of men and women for whom Americans should feel an unshakable sympathy and spiritual kinship, it is the French colons in Algeria and their patriotic supporters in their French homeland. Yet these are the very people, along with the Dutch in Indonesia, the Belgians in the Congo, and other Europeans, peacefully creating a civilization among natives who had become their friends, whom our government has been so industriously betraying—along with the natives themselves—into the tyrannical hands of the Communists. The curtain is now closing in Algeria and the Congo, as it has already closed in Indonesia. But we should certainly pay sad and serious attention to what the victims who wrote the above memorandum have to say, if for no other reason than the selfish one of foreseeing what can soon start happening to ourselves. It is internal Comsymps in the French government, some of them highly placed, and not the armed Communist forces of the FLN, which sent these doctors to a concentration camp, to eliminate or subdue or frighten off resistance to Communism. And it is from similar Comsymps in our government that our increasing danger comes, exactly as has been the case in every country which the Communist tyranny has gradually absorbed.

\* \* \* \*

### A Further Look At De Gaulle

Naturally, there have been some protests and reverberations with regard to our pages in a recent issue, in which we began reminding our readers—reluctantly and at long last—of some of the incredibly unsavory record of Charles de Gaulle. For few Americans had ever known, and of those few not many had remembered, the chapter of contemporary history which can be summarized as follows in a paragraph.

During the "tragic years" of 1944-46, de Gaulle was the dictator of France, with the French Communist deserter and traitor, Maurice Thorez, sitting at his right hand as Vice-Chairman of his COUNCIL. Within this period over a million of the best and most patriotic citizens of France were incarcerated, and over a hundred thousand of them actually killed (with tens

## If You Want It Straight . . . .

of thousand horribly tortured), for no other real reason than their current or potential opposition to Communism. And so conclusively preponderant has been the pro-Communist slant of the French press since then, due largely to the power of licensing and of paper allocation exercised by de Gaulle when the press was being revived and new publications started, immediately after the war, that even most of the French people themselves have had no adequate knowledge or recollection in recent years of the total horror of the period of "purification."

The implication of what we had to say a couple of months ago was clear. De Gaulle was brought back to power in 1958, ostensibly by anti-Communist forces, largely with their help, and as a result of an increasingly strong revulsion in France against the continued surrenders to Communism. But the move had been designed by the Communists themselves, to enable them to ride this revulsion and control it and eventually turn it to their own advantage, as they have done in many similar situations elsewhere in the world. Advancing the Communist cause under the guise of fighting Communism, and obtaining popular support of both pro-Communist measures and pro-Communist leaders by presenting them to the people as opposed to Communism, is a perfectly natural strategy for the leading agents and planners of the conspiracy.

Our implication in more detail was as follows. Using the hopeful right-wing support, at the very time that he was decimating and destroying its strength, and going through ostentatious motions of defying Khrushchev and of collaborating with Adenauer, de Gaulle has been busily and successfully proceeding towards the two objectives that were, for the present, most important and all important to Communist plans with regard to France. First was the gradual sell-out and surrender of Algeria to the Communist FLN, under such slippery procedures that the opposition of the patriotic French and Moslems could never quite be rallied at any specific stage, in sufficient force to stop the betrayal. And second was the utter demoralization of the French armed forces and virtual destruction of its power and

## If You Want It Straight . . . .

willingness to defend Algeria, or even France, from the continued and insidious surrender.

The key to the whole gigantic maneuvers of these past three years has been that no admittedly left-wing government, suspected of pro-Communist leanings, could possibly have got away with what de Gaulle has done to Algeria, to the French army, and to the anti-Communist forces in France of which Jacques Soustelle had become the recognized leader. But consider a man like de Gaulle, coming to power as an alleged anti-Communist and on a wave of anti-Communist feeling (despite his past history), who could keep enough Frenchmen fooled long enough into thinking that he was trying to fight the Communists in the way that seemed best to him. He could go on *losing* the struggle month after month, until the whole anti-Communist strength in France was dissipated or overwhelmed and rendered hopeless, before realization of what was happening ever came to the surface. And any resemblance of this strategy, to what we have seen at work in some other countries, is not coincidental. It is due simply to the fact that whenever the Communists devise a brilliant strategy of deception, they use it in all places, times, and circumstances where the same formula is applicable.

\* \* \* \*

### And To The South Of Us

The anti-Communists throughout Latin America have been putting up a courageous last-ditch fight, with all of the odds against them, and with the whole official resistance to Communism daily crumbling around them. Bolivia is gone, Cuba is gone, and so is Venezuela for all practical purposes; the Dominican Republic is right now in the process of being taken over, Uruguay and Brazil are slipping more completely under Communist control. Everywhere, in both Central America and South America, the anti-Communists daily lose confidence and prestige, and the Communists win—as they have everywhere else—with increasing prestige for pro-Communists and increasing demoralization of the anti-Communists, as the most con-

## If You Want It Straight . . . .

tinuously used and effective weapons in their campaigns of internal subversion.

So what does our government do under these circumstances? Well, many things. But the real atom bomb dropped on the morale and hopes of all opponents of Communism in Latin America was the dinner given at the White House on Monday evening, November 13, in honor of Luis Muñoz-Marin, Governor of Puerto Rico, with Pablo Casals performing on his cello and sharing all of the adulation. For of course nothing could have been devised, by those who sold the President on this forward pass over the heads of the anti-Communist team, that would have been more helpful to the prestige and the visible prospects of the Communists from Mexico to Chile.

The American people know vaguely, of course, that Pablo Casals has been one of the most active and useful workers on behalf of Communist purposes in the whole world, for decades. Some of the better informed know that Muñoz-Marin is always *sympático* to the aims of the Castro-Betancourt-Figueroes clique. But they could not have obtained the slightest inkling of these facts from the glowing accounts in the American press concerning this dinner and its heroes. From those reports you would have gathered about Muñoz-Marin merely that he was a "Liberal" Governor of Puerto Rico; and, more emphatically, that Pablo Casals was a great "freedom lover" who *preferred* exile from his own country to living under the rule of Franco. Both impressions are as phony as the once famous contention of many of the same publicists that Mao Tse-tung was simply an "agrarian reformer." But to the hard-pressed and realistic opponents of Communism in Latin America, there was nothing misleading about the dinner at all. It showed clearly, as it was meant to show, where the effective sympathy of the American government lay, and exactly where the whole support of the American government would be placed and could be counted on, in the struggle of our Latin American neighbors against the tyranny of Communist colonialism.

AN EXTRACT FROM  
*CZECHO-SLOVAKIA — A Critical History*

*by*

KURT GLASER

THE BOOK BY MR. GLASER, with the above title, was published earlier this year by the Caxton Printers, Ltd., of Caldwell, Idaho. It sells for \$5.50, and is a superb piece of history, based on a tremendous amount of painstaking research, written by a man with scholarship, understanding, and courage. And we hope that many of our subscribers will be prompted by this introduction to buy the book, read it all if they can spare the time or if they have an especial interest in the Balkans, and in any event to have the volume on their shelves for reference.

In the meantime, by special permission of the publishers, we present herewith, in exact reproduction, the first twenty-two pages of the last chapter. The fact that this section is fragmentary, not only as to the total work, but even as to the chapter which is rounded out by fifteen additional pages, should be kept in mind. But for a case history, showing the follies, falsehoods, and betrayals through which our government has so determinedly put Balkan states under control of the Communists, kept them there, and destroyed all hopes of those who would resist Communism, even this fragment of Glaser's great study will offer "your time's worth" in the reading.

## IX

### THE AMERICAN RESPONSE

#### THE BANKRUPTCY OF "CZECHOSLOVAKISM"

CZECHOSLOVAKISM," or Czech imperialism, as we have seen, was a major cause of the catastrophe which befell the Czech and Slovak peoples, as well as the Sudeten and Carpatho-Germans, at the end of World War II. The Roosevelt administration must bear its partial share of the blame, since it accepted, uncritically, Dr. Benes' claim to speak with authority for the Slovaks as well as the Czechs and since it consented to policies of the exile "government" which were certain to force Czecho-Slovakia into Russian tutelage. This attitude was typical of our general failure to do any positive thinking about the shape of postwar Europe until it was too late.

It is salutary to reflect upon our mistakes if they teach us to avoid similar errors in the future. Acceptance of the "Czechoslovak legend" has misled American policy into a sequence of blunders, some of which have seriously hurt the welfare and safety of the United States. The following are a few of the ill-advised decisions made at the close of World War II and thereafter:

1. By halting our troops on the Budejovice-Plzen line in April/May 1945, we permitted a Communist-dominated rather than an anti-Communist or at least a compromise government to come to power in Prague.
2. We permitted the Russians to obtain a major source of uranium which we could easily have denied them.
3. We permitted the Czecho-Slovak government to expel the Sudeten Germans from areas which had been liberated by American troops. Aside from the moral and political objections to mass

expulsions, they cost American taxpayers, until recently, more than \$300,000,000 a year in financial contributions required to balance the German economy.<sup>1</sup>

4. We allowed Czecho-Slovak officials to remove hundreds of refugees from the United States Zones of Austria and Germany for trial in kangaroo courts as "war criminals," without holding hearings to see whether these persons could be presumed guilty of crimes. Although an American general had vouchsafed asylum to Monsignor Tiso and the Slovak government, they were consigned to totalitarian justice.

5. We agreed to treat *political* activity directed at the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia as a crime in the Nuremberg trial.

6. Although Czecho-Slovakia emerged from the war in better economic condition than most European countries, we permitted UNRRA to give it \$275,000,000 worth of food, supplies, and equipment in 1946, much of which was really not needed. The Prague government sold the food at high prices, using the proceeds to finance nationalized industries.<sup>2</sup>

The "February Revolution" of 1948 should have stimulated the Department of State to undertake a fundamental reappraisal of its Central European policies. Did not the *dénouement* of "Czechoslovakism" demonstrate the need for a new concept, freed of the "Czechoslovak legend" and rooted in the realities of European politics? Were the politicians who had led their nation into the abyss entitled to recognition as "the most respected and authoritative leaders of the democratic forces of Czecho-slovakia"?<sup>3</sup> And how did the Truman and Eisenhower administrations respond to the lessons of experience?

### THE "COUNCIL OF FREE CZECHOSLOVAKIA"

We have already noted that the "February Revolution" was followed by an exodus of the non-Communist supporters of the National Front. The position of these "liberals" on the eve of the coup has been defined by Ferdinand Peroutka who, to justify his February, 1948, article upholding collaboration with the Communists, gave the following explanation:

<sup>1</sup> See *Germany Reports*, Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government, Bonn, 1953, pp. 108-28 on mass expulsions and p. 237 on United States aid. From 1945 to 1952, the United States spent \$3,613,733,000 on aid to Germany (more than our total national budget in 1931), not including occupation costs.

<sup>2</sup> John MacCormac in the *New York Times*, May 29, 1946.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from James B. Carey of the CIO to Vice-President Nixon, protesting against investigation of Dr. Hubert Ripka by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, February 12, 1954, CIO Press Release, Washington.

As usual the Communists seek an excuse for their attack and as usual they do not admit the attack, but assert that they are being attacked. At that time their excuse consisted of the assertion that they had discovered a conspiracy with the objective of eliminating them from the government. And under this pretence they began to mobilize the masses for the decisive coup. The democrats defended themselves by *revealing the truth*, which was that *no one intended to throw the Communists out of the government*. My declaration, in this sense, was intended to protect the last position against Communism. The purpose of the sentence was to deprive the Communists of their excuse and to expose their carefully prepared lie.<sup>4</sup>

Gottwald's and Zapotocky's decision to maneuver their "liberal" allies out of the government at a time when their own positions were not in serious jeopardy has evoked a number of explanations, of which three will be mentioned:

1. The simplest assumption is that Communist power had been consolidated to the point anticipated in Dimitroff's "United Front" strategy, when the party, devoid of political gratitude and ready to "go it alone," liquidates its bourgeois and Social Democratic allies. If this thesis is coupled with Mr. Peroutka's reasoning, cited above, it is evident that the "National Fronters" would have continued co-operation with the Communists had not the latter arbitrarily forced them out of office.

2. Another possibility is suggested by V. L. Borin, who indicates that the Communist objective was "to send westwards again the Czechoslovaks who had rendered Moscow such invaluable services in the Second World War," that is, to disrupt and confuse anti-Communist activities in the West.<sup>5</sup> This view, with which the Slovak Liberation Committee concurs, is buttressed by the report that at a Communist party conference at Karlsbad in 1950, Minister of Interior Nosek and the Soviet delegate explained that the party had deliberately permitted the escape of the National Front politicians.<sup>6</sup> It does not, of course, follow from this thesis that the escapees were conscious agents of Communism. The Communist party knew, however, that their commitment to "Czechoslovakism" would lead them into conflict with

<sup>4</sup> Translated from New York *Staatszeitung*, March 17, 1953. (Emphasis supplied.)

<sup>5</sup> V. L. Borin, *Against the Hangman*, London, 1951, pp. 15-20.

<sup>6</sup> While the author has no conclusive proof that Nosek made the statement attributed to him, the report is from a reliable Czech source and in view of other factors can be rated as probably true. John Vikolinsky, "Political Refugees or Red Agents," *Slovakia*, December, 1951, pp. 45-47, cites Robert Ingram's "reinsurance" theory, according to which Benes and Gottwald made a secret agreement whereby the politicians and generals of the National Front were permitted to depart unmolested, in return for which they agreed to treat the Communists gently in case they should later return to assume political power in Czechoslovakia.

uncompromising anti-Communists such as the Czech groups headed by General Prchala and Professor Ghelfand and the Slovak organizations of Sidor and Durcansky.

3. A final thesis, advanced by most of the escapees themselves, is that the Communists forced out their "liberal" associates because they had finally seen the light and had begun to fight Communism.

While charity and fairness admonish us to accept the last thesis, that the non-Communist leaders of the National Front had begun to resist Communism, it must be admitted that they resisted it in the weakest possible way. The record of February and March, 1948, shows only minor efforts by the "opposition" to obstruct the final consolidation of Communist power. Certainly the resignation of Zenkl, Ripka, and the other ministers was not an adequate countermeasure. The lack of effective resistance is fully documented in the account written by Otto Friedman, who did not allow his admiration of President Benes to interfere with honest reporting.<sup>7</sup>

The ministers, bureaucrats, and editors of the National Front, the ink on their signatures of totalitarian decrees hardly dry, were greeted as VIPs by the United States authorities in Germany. Since the Department of State recognized them as democrats who had fought the good fight, the Army provided comfortable billets near Frankfurt, but the more active members moved on to Paris, which became their first center of political operations.

Shortly thereafter, the administration in Washington<sup>8</sup> decided to permit the party leaders of the National Front to enter the United States and to support the foundation of an exile council—the "Council of Free Czechoslovakia." The person entrusted with selecting the first group to be brought from Paris to New York to form the Council's executive body or "cabinet" was none other than Dr. Hubert Ripka, who hardly needs to be introduced to the reader at this point. Statements of exiles present in Paris in January, 1949, indicated that those picked by Ripka (in some cases against the wishes of party chairmen) were granted visas with a minimum of procedure.

<sup>7</sup> Otto Friedman, *The Collapse of Czech Democracy*, London, 1952, especially the chapter entitled "No Resistance."

<sup>8</sup> Information on the locus of responsibility for this operation within the government has never been released.

Within a few days the group was on its way across the Atlantic by air at the expense of the United States government.<sup>9</sup>

It soon became apparent that the Council of Free Czechoslovakia would continue the "National Front" policies which had turned Czecho-Slovakia into a Russian satellite.<sup>10</sup> At the first meeting of the Council's Paris branch, Mr. Peroutka declared that he would "endeavor to remove from the Council all members who will fight against socialism."<sup>11</sup> The magazine *Tribuna*, reflecting the prevailing trend of opinion in the Council, had this to say:

Whoever reads the Communist press, even if he is non-party, believes no more in certain things, such as private initiative. . . . Private initiative is a thing of the past. (August, 1950, p. 2.)

. . . Private possession of the means of production, ground, and capital is immoral, antisocial, unjust, inefficient, and disadvantageous. (April, 1951, p. 9.)

It is evident that the leaders of the Council never learned that the liquidation of the independent businessman is the liquidation of political freedom, in spite of the very practical lesson which they had gone through.<sup>12</sup>

The Council has also held that the expulsion of Sudeten Germans was right and proper, though most members will admit that there were some excesses. While Mr. Peroutka and Dr. Jaroslav Stransky, among others, have recently admitted that the expulsion was unjustified,<sup>13</sup> the Council has never officially repealed its state-

<sup>9</sup> According to a reliable Czech source, the group included Messrs. Blaho, Dieska, Feierabend, Hodza, Klimck, Majer, Prochazka, Peroutka, and Sabo.

<sup>10</sup> See *Declaration of Alliance for Liberation and Freedom in Czechoslovakia; Protesting Memorandum of Alliance of Czechoslovak Exiles in Chicago*, 1952; Miksche, *Danubian Federation*, pp. 6-9; Karl Geyer, "Meinungskämpfe im tschechischen Exil" [Differences of Opinion Among Czech Exiles], *Der Europäische Osten*, Munich, December, 1954, pp. 139-42; and Leonard Reinisch, "Die dritte tschechisch-slowakische Emigration und die Sudetendeutschen" ["The Third Czechoslovak Emigration and the Sudeten Germans"], *Der Neue Ackermann*, Munich, November, 1951, pp. 11-18.

<sup>11</sup> Navrat, Paris, July 15, 1949.

<sup>12</sup> The official *Program of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia*, Washington, 1952, intended for American readers, advocates only partial socialism, stating: "We hold that both private and public property, freedom of contract and sound competition between private and public enterprise will form the basis of our future economic system. . . ."

<sup>13</sup> *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, March 3 and May 5, 1956.

ment of July 4, 1952, declaring that the "transfer" is "irrevocable."<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to compare the language adopted by the Council with the pertinent parts of a joint declaration of the Prague and Pankow (Sovzone German) Communist governments issued on June 23, 1950.

#### Prague — Pankow

The Government of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Provisional Government of the German Democratic Republic are convinced that their common obligation to maintain and assure peace is facilitated and at the same time confirmed by the fact that there are no contentious and open questions between their two states. Our two states have no territorial or border claims, and their governments emphasize expressly that the completed resettlement of the Germans out of Czechoslovakia has been accomplished irrevocably, justly, and finally. . . . Guided by the conviction that mutual support of their peaceful reconstruction is in the interest of both peoples and of all states interested in maintaining and assuring peace, the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Provisional Government of the German Democratic Republic are resolved to strengthen the bonds of friendship between their peoples and states. (*Mitteleuropäische Quellen und Dokumente*, I, 102-4.)

#### Council of Free Czechoslovakia

We consider the transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia to be irrevocable. The transfer was carried out following approval by the American, British, and French governments, in accordance with decisions of the Potsdam Conference and regulations of the Allied Control Council. By this decision the Great Powers obviously intended to prevent in future certain elements of population in Czechoslovakia and other states again becoming the tool of a foreign policy aimed at the destruction of those states. In this way, the Great Powers undoubtedly wished to contribute to security in Eastern and Central Europe, thereby better ensuring world peace. We are confident that, based on these assumptions, nothing will prevent Czechoslovakia from coming to terms with a democratic Germany concerning such friendly cooperation as will profit both neighboring countries and greatly contribute to the peaceful evolution of Europe.

Committed to policies conceived in the "United Front" with the Communists, the Council could never become an effective anti-Communist organization. As Dr. Stefan Kocvara said at a meeting on January 25, 1951: "I have lost all faith that the present Council of Free

<sup>14</sup> *Program*, Washington, 1952.

Czechoslovakia is able to achieve anything in the struggle against Communism."<sup>15</sup>

Important officials in Washington, however, had decided to make the leftish Council of Free Czechoslovakia a chosen instrument of American policy. The National Committee for a Free Europe (later renamed the Free Europe Committee) was provided with government funds to supplement those collected by the Crusade for Freedom.<sup>16</sup> At public expense, the Committee undertook to finance the operations of the Council (as one of a series of exile councils), paying individual salaries to Dr. Zenkl (the chairman), Dr. Ripka (in charge of foreign affairs), and a score of other members.<sup>17</sup> The Czecho-Slovak section of the Committee's Mid-European Studies Center was entrusted to the Council's Dr. Julius Firt, a former socialist deputy who first visited the United States with the Communist Deputy Valo in 1944, when they lectured before the International Workers' Order.<sup>18</sup>

Various Czecho-Slovak politicians who collaborated with the Communists until 1948, and who were not given free salaries as leaders of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, were assisted in other ways. Dr. Ivo Duchacek, who backstopped Ripka on the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans and the uranium gift to the Soviets, has been employed in high positions by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. General Mikulas Fercencik, the secret police chief of Slovakia, was admitted to the United States over the protest of Americans of Slovak descent and now makes a comfortable living near Chicago. A number of minor "National Fronters" in Germany have been employed in various "intelligence" agencies, the value of which is—to understate the case

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Slovak Liberation Committee, *Documents*, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> The Committee has never admitted publicly the receipt of government funds, but it is obvious that its operations are on a larger scale than the "Crusade" income would permit. The "Fact Sheet" issued by Radio Free Europe in May, 1951, gives the 1950 "Crusade" receipts as \$1,317,000. But Mr. C. D. Jackson, then president of the National Committee for a Free Europe, estimated the annual budget as "several millions" in a press conference on April 30, 1951. (Transcript released by RFE press office, Munich, pp. 7-8.)

<sup>17</sup> Free Europe Committee, *Weapon in the Struggle for Freedom*, leaflet, January, 1954; see also Slovak Liberation Committee, *Documents*, p. 10; and Dr. Michael Zibrin in Slovakia, September-December, 1954, pp. 30-34.

<sup>18</sup> Information from Czech sources, also *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, September 10, 1955. The International Workers' Order was a fraternal organization controlled by the Communist party.

—extremely doubtful. Former members of these groups have complained to the author that the Americans in charge failed to purge Communist infiltrators positively identified to them, while anti-Communist contacts in Czecho-Slovakia were regularly liquidated. Protection by American "intelligence" enabled Frantisek Kroupa, the notorious "hangman of Joachimsthal," to escape prosecution by a German court in 1952. Vaclav Hrnccek, deputy commander of the Budejovice concentration camp, sentenced to eight years imprisonment for multiple aggravated assault by United States Judge Leo M. Goodman in 1954, was at the time of his arrest *security officer* of an American-supervised "intelligence" detachment. After serving about six months, he was secretly released "for services rendered."<sup>19</sup>

The history of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia is one of constant infighting between the left-wing "Benes" group headed by Zenkl, Ripka, Firt, Lettrich, Papanek, and Slavik, which controlled the Council at its inception, and a growing "moderate" faction led by Osusky, Majer, and Prochazka and joined in 1953 by Peroutka. The organization would have split altogether in 1951 had not the members feared that they would lose their salaries.

Late in 1953, the Free Europe Committee insisted that the Council take in additional exile groups, such as the Agrarian party which had been prohibited under the National Front. The Zenkl-Ripka-Lettrich leadership was temporarily replaced by a "steering committee" in which the Czech Agrarian, Dr. Josef Cerny, and the independent Slovak, Dr. Stefan Osusky, played the dominant roles.<sup>20</sup> This committee labored for months without finding an organizational formula acceptable to the Zenkl-Ripka group—who insisted that they were still

<sup>19</sup> The Bavarian Ministry of Justice informed the author that Hrnccek was released by an order of the United States High Commission Clemency Board dated December 23, 1954. The *Sudeten Bulletin* of September, 1955, reported that he had arrived in Chicago, implying a waiver of the immigration rule prohibiting entry of persons with criminal records. On Kroupa's crimes, see Turnwald, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Sudeten Germans*, English edition, Report 51. See also Heinz Kreutzmann, "Criminals in American Secret Agencies Alarm German Public," *Volkszeitung-Tribüne*, Omaha, Nebraska, June 25, 1953.

<sup>20</sup> H. F. March, "'Putsch' in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia," *Sudeten-deutsche Zeitung*, May 8, 1954. Dr. Osusky, former Czecho-Slovak ambassador in Paris, opposed Benes' pro-Soviet policies during the war. Both he and Dr. Cerny have records of consistent opposition to Communism.

the legal executives of the Council. A superficial compromise was reached later in 1954 and a new executive committee elected, since when the feud has continued with only minor interruptions.<sup>21</sup> From mid-1955 to the present, the central organs of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia have been paralyzed altogether.<sup>22</sup>

While it would be rash to predict the results of further efforts to rebuild the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, the following can be said with certainty:

1. Continued participation of politicians who supported the Kosice Program and the expulsions, and who have not mended their ways, precludes a consistent anti-Communist program.

2. Refusal to take a positive stand for self-determination and *Heimatrecht* limits Czech support to the chauvinist element and rules out support by other nationalities.

3. An organization which insists on retaining a "Czechoslovak" national state in a multi-national area, yet seeks escape from the Russian hegemony which alone can uphold such a state, must be eternally frustrated by the contradiction of its own policies.

## RADIO FREE EUROPE

The Free Europe Committee's largest operation is Radio Free Europe, with studios in New York, Munich, and elsewhere. RFE's Czecho-Slovak section consists largely of members and supporters of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia—so much so that Radio Free Europe is commonly held to be a mouthpiece for the Council. Although the Council and RFE depend on the same source for funds, they are technically independent, a fact which is always emphasized by RFE spokesmen in answering criticisms.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, August 21, September 4, and December 18, 1954; January 29 and February 5, 1955.

<sup>22</sup> Vaclav Majer, at meeting of executive committee of Social Democratic party, as reported in *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, January 18, 1958.

<sup>23</sup> In his press conference of April 30, 1951, Mr. Jackson stated that the Council of Free Czechoslovakia had referred Mr. Peroutka and also refers other personnel, but that Radio Free Europe makes its own decisions. The overlapping of Council membership and RFE employment is, however, almost universal in the higher Czech and Slovak positions. See Jiri Brada, *History of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and of the Personnel of Radio Free Europe*, Munich, 1953, and articles by George Brada in *Facts Forum Magazine*, Dallas, Texas, January-March, 1955.

## 1. GENERAL ORIENTATION

The chief of the Czecho-Slovak section of Radio Free Europe is Ferdinand Peroutka who, despite his earlier commitments to socialism and Czech-Soviet collaboration, has emerged on the conservative side of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and now recognizes the political rights of the Sudeten Germans.<sup>24</sup> His principal assistant in Munich, Dr. Julius Firt—who transferred from the Studies Center and for a while assisted Mr. Peroutka in New York—represents the left wing of the Council, as do most of the personnel in the Munich studios.

The personnel of the Munich studio, as well as Radio Free Europe's broadcast policies, have been attacked repeatedly in the German and anti-Communist exile press, as well as in various American publications.<sup>25</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that some of the more controversial characters of the past are missing from recent personnel rosters. The Czech and Slovak staff, however, remains solidly "Czechoslovakist" in its orientation. Its more important members were identified prominently with the National Front; if not active in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia or related organizations, they are at least known to sympathize with the general political objectives of the Council. This characterization is not limited to full-time officials of RFE, such as Peroutka, Firt, Dr. Jan Stransky, Dr. Martin Kvetko; the editors Miroslav Kohak, Ivo Duchacek, Joseph Pejskar, and Karol Belak-Berger; or the economist Milos Vanek.<sup>26</sup> It

<sup>24</sup> "Peroutka on the Sudeten German Question," interview with Hermann W. Gaertner, *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, March 3, 1956.

<sup>25</sup> See *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung* and *Volksbote*, *passim*; also *Parlamentarisch-Politischer Pressedienst*, Bonn, May 31, 1951; *Münchener Allgemeine*, July 9, 1951; *Christ und Welt*, Stuttgart, October 16, 1952; *Revue*, Munich, January 17, 1953; *Bohemia* (Czech) Munich, December 23, 1953, February 19, 1955, and *passim*; *Slovakische Korrespondenz*, Munich, *passim*. Beginning in February, 1955, the *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung* ran a series by a former Czech employee of RFE entitled "Behind the Scenes in Radio Free Europe." For English-language sources, see *Slovak Newsletter*, *passim*; Slovak Liberation Committee, *Documents*; Brada, *op. cit.*; *Congressional Record*, April 25, 1955, Extension of Remarks of Hon. Usher L. Burdick; Kurt Glaser, *The Iron Curtain and American Policy*, Washington, 1953, and "The 'Russia First' Boys in Radio Free Europe," *National Republic*, Washington, February, 1953.

<sup>26</sup> Vanek, a charter member of the Czecho-Slovak Communist party, attended the 1920 Comintern Congress and remained a warm advocate of Czech-Soviet friendship after switching to the Social Democratic party. His incorrect prediction of a currency reform over RFE in 1952 set off a run on the black market in which many lost their savings. In view of personnel turnover, it is pos-

is also generally true of Czech and Slovak guest speakers, the list of whom has included such "Czechoslovak" politicians as Dr. Jaroslav Stransky, the late Dr. Hubert Ripka, Vaclav Majer, Dr. Jozef Lettrich, and Ivan Herben, but never "self-determinist" leaders such as General Lev Prchala, Professors Simeon Ghelfand and Bohdan Chudoba, Dr. Vladimir Pekelsky, the late Karol Sidor, Dr. Jozef Kirschbaum, or Professor Ferdinand Durcansky, even though the latter are figures of international prominence, whose appeal to anti-Communists within Czecho-Slovakia is unquestioned.

Radio Free Europe bases its policies on the assumption of a permanent Czecho-Slovak state. Although supposedly a symbol of "free speech," it enforces a rigid taboo against "separatist" ideas. It seeks to avoid any discussion of the Sudeten German question, and studiously ignores the activities and statements of expellees, especially those directed at Slav-German reconciliation. A request for the broadcasting of Dr. Lodgman's message of friendship for the Czech people on the occasion of the 1954 Sudeten German Rally was met with the reply that this "would not promote the common struggle of the free world against Communism."<sup>27</sup> This episode was repeated in 1958, when RFE refused to broadcast the award to General Lev Prchala of the Sudeten German Charles Prize "for the reconciliation of Central European peoples" and the General's acceptance speech in Czech, an event of obvious news importance, even for those who disagree with the General's politics. While the Americans in charge seek to avoid the transmission of deliberately *anti*-German statements, it is evident that they sometimes fail to control what goes out over the air.

## 2. THE "CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN INSTITUTE" —INFILTRATION AND "REDEFECTION"

The preponderance of left-wing "Benesists" on the pay-

sible that some of the individuals named in this section may no longer be employed by RFE by the time this book appears in print.

<sup>27</sup> Letter from RFE European Director Richard J. Condon to Dr. Walter Becher of Consortium for the Protection of Sudeten German Interests, reporting decision of New York office, May 27, 1954, retranslated from *Volksbote*, June 5, 1954.

roll of Radio Free Europe is no accident. It was deliberately planned by Dr. Hubert Ripka, who alone among Czech and Slovak exiles appears to have had substantial funds at his disposal, the sources of which would bear investigation.<sup>28</sup> As will be seen, Dr. Ripka's project was largely successful, despite the claim—and in most cases the sincere belief—of the American managers of RFE that they maintain an independent personnel policy.

While in Paris in 1949, Ripka founded the *Zahranicni 'ustav* or "Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile" as a center of ideological and political control over as much of the Czecho-Slovak emigration as possible. Beneath the cover of a scholarly research institute, a wide-flung network was built up on conspiratorial principles, with organizational techniques borrowed from the Communist party.

For a while, Dr. Ripka managed the central office of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Paris. After difficulties with the French police, it moved to Leiden, Holland, where it was taken over by Vladimir Bruza, the man whom Gottwald's Communist government, *after the "February Revolution,"* sent to Moscow to negotiate the final agreement for Russian exploitation of the uranium mines. Other noteworthy adherents of the Institute included Dr. Karel Maiwald, known as a member of the Communist party after 1948; Frantisek Listopad, Paris correspondent of the Prague *Mlada Fronta* ("Youth Front") until 1949; and the Soviet agent Professor Bohumil Cerny.<sup>29</sup>

An important objective of the Institute is to safeguard socialism in Czecho-Slovakia if the present Communist government should be overthrown. A secret ideological directive commits the Institute to the Marxist view of society. There is also a secret organizational directive which provides for the formation of "operat-

<sup>28</sup> See Helena Kozeluhova, "Die mysteriösen Geldquellen Dr. Ripkas" ["Dr. Ripka's Mysterious Sources of Money"], *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, April 30, 1955.

<sup>29</sup> Information on Czechoslovak Foreign Institute was provided by Czech sources, through which the author was able to obtain copies of the directives of the Institute. See, however, Jiri Halek, "Podarena organizace: cs. Zahranicni 'ustav" ["Strange Organization: CS Foreign Institute"], *Narod*, Chicago, February 17, 1954; Kalvoda, *Titoism*, pp. 138-40.

ing groups" or cells wherever adherents of the Institute live. Each such group becomes the nucleus of a larger "club," which provides a source of recruitment and enables the Institute to dominate various organizations and activities.

To place its adherents in key positions, the Institute maintains an employment office, with a special branch for American activities in Germany. Each adherent is pledged to notify the employment office of vacancies and to help secure jobs for other adherents and sympathizers. A number of persons associated with the Institute or its key personnel have found their way into Radio Free Europe, including Milos Vanek, Otto Graf, Miroslav Tetiva, Joseph Pejskar, Karol Belak-Berger, Kostřba-Skalicky, Dr. Pechacek, and Jaroslav Kusy. The secret directive states:

With this system we hope to create a group democracy of an elite as opposed to the false conception of a democracy of the masses, which is especially prominent in exile. Thus we would strive to penetrate and dominate the political life as broadly as possible.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute is to create a group within groups. The anonymity of its members is to constitute its great strength, *because it is not possible to defeat an invisible power.* (Emphasis in original.)<sup>30</sup>

The financial part of the directive provides that the Institute shall obtain income by trading in "valuables, securities, stocks, or products" with Communist countries. Since these have government trade monopolies, such operations require the collusion of Communist officials—who are by no means immune from the temptation to line their own pockets. For a while, a group as-

<sup>30</sup> Reference to "adherents" and "sympathizers" rather than "members" of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in the text is deliberate. It appears that the Institute, for obvious reasons, prefers to keep its relations with many of its collaborators on an informal basis. This technique, also used by the Communist party, makes it possible to deny "membership" whenever the connection should prove embarrassing. It may well be that Mojmir Povolny, director of the Institute's Philadelphia office, is technically correct in denying (in *Facts Forum News*, September, 1956, p. 54) that "a larger number of Radio Free Europe employees" are "members" of the Institute. Mr. Povolny is, however, stretching a technicality too far when he states that "Dr. Hubert Ripka is neither a founder nor a member of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile." Dr. Ripka's role in bringing the Institute into existence and in managing its Paris office under the code name "Maly" are too well known to be obliterated from history at this late date. Indefiniteness of membership is, of course, part of the "invisibility" mentioned in the directive.

sociated with the Institute lived in Switzerland, where they published the *avant-garde* magazine *Skutecnost*. To provide funds, members of the group sold ball bearings, cadmium, and other strategic materials to Communist states. When this traffic attracted the attention of the Swiss police, the group moved to Munich, where most of the editors of *Skutecnost* obtained jobs with Radio Free Europe.

Two former associates of the Institute are of particular interest. One of them, Frantisek Kubal, who managed intelligence reports for the Institute in Paris and helped to edit its journal *Tribuna*, was arrested by French police and charged with illegally photographing American military installations for the Prague government.<sup>31</sup> He was sentenced to five years in prison.<sup>32</sup> The other was former Minister of Industry Bohumil Lausman, who had sided with the Communists in 1948 but left Czechoslovakia in 1949, spending some time in Belgrade as an adviser to Marshal Tito, who—let us note in passing—had never sought a quarrel with Soviet Russia and had asked an opportunity to prove his loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. As Kalvoda observes in his perspicacious study of Titoism, Lausman evidently came west with a double mission: (1) to acquaint Tito with the “stalking horse” role which the Kremlin had figured out for him, and (2) to sell the “Titoist” approach to Western psywar planners, thereby assuring Marxists a preferred position in “anti-Communist” propaganda and blunting its effectiveness. In late 1951 or early 1952, Lausman moved to Austria, where he became a regular commentator for Radio Free Europe. In December, 1953, he returned to Prague where, after “confessing,” he re-emerged in the good graces of the Communist regime.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Kubal is mentioned by C. L. Sulzberger, “Reds Reshuffling European Spy Net,” the *New York Times*, January 21, 1954.

<sup>32</sup> Kalvoda, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-49. As Kalvoda mentions on p. 138, a third important figure in the Institute, Dr. Lev Sychrava, returned from London to Prague in January, 1956.

A letter by Lausman published in *Het Parool*, Amsterdam, June 2, 1954, establishes his connection with Bruza of the Institute. It also states that he would not return to Prague unless kidnapped, but the weight of evidence is that he returned voluntarily. The author has seen fiscal documents showing that Lausman was on the payroll of RFE, and such documents were also exhibited by Deputy Gaksch in the Bavarian Diet.

With personnel of the type indicated, Radio Free Europe is particularly vulnerable to infiltration and "redefection." Considerable embarrassment was caused by an article in the Czech paper *Bohemia* recounting the activities of the Soviet spy, Professor Bohumil Cerny, and his dealings with officials of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and RFE.<sup>34</sup> Cerny, a former functionary of Zenkl's National Socialist party, was sent by Soviet intelligence in late 1948 to organize a network in Germany and Austria. As *Bohemia* points out, his success was largely attributable to his contacts with the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and its subsidiaries—and, of course, the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute, with which Cerny made connections soon after its establishment.

According to letters found in Cerny's effects, a certain Joseph Fejskar—later appointed an editor in Radio Free Europe—had authorized him to recruit members for the National Socialist party in exile. The names of persons so recruited were forwarded to the secret police in Brno. In some cases, the Communists sent "escapees" to join the National Socialist party under Cerny's guidance, one of these being Vera Faborska, later convicted of espionage by a United States occupation court.

During Cerny's career in Germany and Austria, he corresponded with Dr. Hubert Ripka, with Messrs. Busek, Kohak, and Vanek of Radio Free Europe, with editor Josten of the London *Czechoslovak*, and, of course, with Dr. Zenkl, then chairman of the executive committee of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia. About a month after receiving Zenkl's last letter of December 5, 1950, Cerny fled to Czecho-Slovakia after being warned that the CIC was hot on his trail.

After the exposure of Cerny and the Lausman affair, three employees of Radio Free Europe "redefected" to Prague at various times: Bruno Folta, Frantisek Zvolsky, and Rudolph Behal. The recent amnesty brought a further wave of "redefections," including Vladimir Kucera (radio name "Tonda Hornik"), Frantisek Hejna, Ales Molin, Marie Dvorak, Jiri Kalas, Stepan Kiripolsky,

<sup>34</sup> "Relations of Zenkl with a Soviet Spy," *Bohemia*, Munich, No. 22-23, April-May, 1953.

the actress Helena Busova-Kasal and her husband Karel Kasal, Antonin Vanha, and Bohumil Houser.<sup>35</sup> The return of the Kasals to Prague caused particular alarm, since Mr. Kasal had been an interviewer of escapees and therefore possessed confidential information on anti-Communist groups within Czecho-Slovakia.<sup>36</sup>

No statement is made or implied that the Free Europe Committee or any of the Americans in charge of Radio Free Europe are involved in the activities of the Czecho-slovak Foreign Institute or its members. They are doubtless very careful to have nothing to do with the Institute. But they cannot escape responsibility for the choice of personnel. And since, according to RFE's statement, prospective employees are thoroughly investigated, it cannot be presumed that this choice is made in complete ignorance.

### 3. BROADCASTS—THE "TITOIST" LINE

Since Radio Free Europe purports to offer a "complete" bill of fare, many programs are of the "entertainment" type. To criticize them would lead us out of the realm of politics and into that of aesthetics or perhaps sociology. We therefore leave the jazz concerts, radio plays, and chit-chat sessions with the passing remark that their necessity, and in some cases their good taste, is an open question,<sup>37</sup> and turn to those broadcasts with a directly political content.

A constantly recurring feature of the criticism which Radio Free Europe levels against the present Czecho-Slovak regime is the theory that the National Front was "democratic" (in the Western sense of the word) until February, 1948. This notion, which is basic to the propaganda of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia but which is hardly believable to Czechs and Slovaks

<sup>35</sup> *Slovak Newsletter*, July, 1957. Not all these people were in the Munich studios. Some were reporters in the refugee camps and elsewhere.

<sup>36</sup> *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, July 21, 1956.

<sup>37</sup> See Jiri Brada, *Programs of Radio Free Europe*, Munich, 1953 (mimeographed), and the series "Hinter den Kulissen des Senders Free Europe" ["Behind the Scenes in the Free Europe Station"] in the *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, beginning, February 6, 1955.

who lived through postwar history, is reflected in broadcasts such as the following:

In the 1946 *democratic elections*, Siroky had failed to win the confidence of at least one-third of the Slovak people. . . .

As far as prime ministers are concerned, Czecho-Slovakia has had no luck since 1945: Fierlinger, Gottwald, Zapotocky, Siroky—one worse than the other and all of them hand in hand responsible for the dark years of the criminal regime of Communist totality installed in 1948. . . . (Dr. Jozef Lettrich, "Night Commentary," April 7, 1953.)

. . . the insidious putsch against Czechoslovak democracy in February, 1948. . . . (Vaclav Majer, labor program, August 6, 1953.)

Toward the end of the last school year all . . . those who still had some knowledge of the *meaning of freedom* and who still remembered . . . *pre-February democracy* were graduating. (Antonin Kratochvil, students' program, October 27, 1953.)

In February 1948, the freedom of the press in Czechoslovakia indeed was settled within one hour. (Ferdinand Peroutka, weekly talk, October 30, 1955.)<sup>38</sup>

A related theory, essential to the justification of Dr. Benes and to the "Czechoslovak" position as a whole, is that the Russian hegemony in east-central Europe which emerged from World War II is objectionable only because the Russians abuse it. Mr. Peroutka expounds this doctrine as follows:

When the documents of the Yalta Conference were published, some people felt an urge to accuse this or that democratic leader, chiefly of lack of caution. Possibly there was not as much caution exercised as should have been, and the man who was attacked possibly should have armed himself with two pistols instead of one. But a discussion of the minor offenses of the democratic leaders would only conceal the major lesson and the major guilt: the Russian treason—and the major fact: the Russian system of deception. These facts must be presented clearly before the eyes of the world, without depressing discussions. The Yalta Conference did not turn into tragedy because of what had been agreed there, but because Russia has violated the agreements made there. (Sunday talk, April 2, 1955.)<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Unpublished broadcast scripts furnished through the kindness of Mr. Jiri Brada. In these and other excerpts, the author has taken the liberty of editing Mr. Brada's English rendition, without, however, changing the meaning. (Emphasis supplied.)

<sup>39</sup> Unpublished broadcast scripts furnished by Mr. Brada.

Almost universally, the broadcasts reflect the view that socialism would be the ideal form of society if only the Russians did not distort it for their own nefarious purposes. The aim of liberation, as preached by Radio Free Europe, is not the abolition of socialism but the restoration of "true" socialism, a point illustrated by these excerpts:

If only non-socialists and anti-socialists spoke against the Communist system, this would still be no proof of the errors in the system. Workmen, who were to be the bearers of the system, therefore also speak. We now present a man who is no adherent of capitalism, no enemy of the people, no reactionary—on the contrary, this man was a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a director of textile plants. But he could not agree with the exploitation . . . he was and remained a socialist.

The refugee: Bad materials, old machinery, very high quotas . . . I would remove these senseless quotas as well as the supervision in the factories by the local party organizations. . . .

The first requirement of all socialists in the world, that is to work as little as possible and to earn as much as possible, was completely lost by Communism. . . . The workers would like very much to be socialists and live in a socialist state. They learned the difference between the real socialism which is desired by all our people and the type which was introduced in Czechoslovakia. . . . ("I Chose Freedom," April 18, 1953.)

Jack London was interested in anarchism and socialism. He took the books of Marx along on his trip to Alaska. . . . One can understand why the dying Lenin enjoyed reading Jack London, just as hundreds of Americans do. . . . Years later a decline of his work can be recognized—he became a convinced capitalist and a precursor of fascism. He preached the need for Nordic supremacy in Mexico. ("The Book of the Week," review of W. W. Brook, *The Years of Confidence*, about Jack London, April 19, 1953.)

The farmers do not like the kind of socialism offered by the present Communist regime. (Farm program, April 30, 1953.)

Socialism is a western word, and it is also a western invention. And what is still more important: it is a western practice and it is today's western practice.

The democratic socialists esteem Marx as a man who was for his time very intelligent and very wise.

The former esteem for property has generally relaxed. The men of this century discovered that property is not a necessary key to prosperity. And the men of this century agree at the same

time that prosperity is more important than property. (Commentary by Dr. Kulhanek, December 30, 1955.)<sup>40</sup>

Radio Free Europe has committed itself to the "Titoist" strategy of *not fighting Communism as such* but limiting its attacks to the specifically Russian or "Stalinist" variety. This political line, the value of which has been sharply criticized,<sup>41</sup> is reflected in commentaries such as these:

We have never adopted the theory that the Soviet Union is ruled by the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the very beginning we knew that it is a dictatorship against the proletariat. (Zdenek Sedivy, labor program, May 1, 1954.)

The October Revolution was socialist in the aims and impulses of its organizers and leaders. It was socialist in the hopes of the men who made it or supported it. The October Revolution was *not* socialist when we judge it according to what has come out of it. Men's motives and aims often differ from the eventual results of their acts. Just as Goethe's Mephistopheles was a ghost who "intended evil and created good," the very opposite can be said about the Bolsheviks: they intended good and produced evil. . . . the Bolsheviks' strategy was caught in a vacuum. They remained encircled by the Russian barbarism. And in this encirclement, nothing remained to the Bolsheviks but to remain barbarians too. (Holesovsky, "Calling the Communist Party," December 13, 1955.)

. . . the government resorts again and again to the last argument: the exiles would be sure to reintroduce private capitalism in Czechoslovakia. . . . The enraged government chases after the pamphlets and tries to order us to leave off and admit our program for the reinstatement of capitalism. We cannot oblige for the very simple reason that no such program of ours exists. Not once did the political leadership of the exile meet to resolve the reinstatement of capitalism. . . . (Ferdinand Peroutka, weekly talk, January 29, 1955.)

. . . in Yugoslavia the government calls meetings at which the citizens, including non-members of the Communist Party are

<sup>40</sup> First three excerpts from Brada, *Programs of Radio Free Europe*, Munich, 1953. Last excerpt unpublished script furnished by Mr. Brada.

<sup>41</sup> An analysis of the implications of "Titoism" and American aid to Communist states is beyond the scope of this volume. For views favorable to American support of Tito see Hamilton Fish Armstrong, *Tito and Goliath*, New York, 1951, Macmillan; U.S. Department of State, background bulletin, *Yugoslavia: Titoism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Washington, June, 1952; U.S. House of Representatives, *Hearings on Mutual Security Appropriation*, 1957. For contrary views, see Bogdan Raditsa, "What Price Tito?" *American Mercury*, May, 1952; A. N. Dragnich, *Tito's Promised Land*, New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1954; Kalvoda, *Titoism*. To make his position clear, the author will simply state that he agrees with Mr. Kalvoda that "Titoism" is the greatest weakness in American "cold warfare" strategy.

given free opportunity to criticize the Communist bureaucracy and they use it. And again: nothing happens to them. . . . Flat-tery of leaders disappeared in Yugoslavia.

In the Yugoslav parliament one recent government bill was adopted by only 85 votes against 75. In Yugoslavia, which remains a dictatorship, the elections are free to such an extent that last time several candidates not approved by the Party almost won in certain places. . . .

Yugoslavia is a country which, following its secession from Russia, began rapidly to approach democracy. A country that eased the unbearable and dignity-killing pressure imposed on man in other Communist countries. . . . (Peroutka, weekly talk, September 8, 1955.)<sup>42</sup>

The Czech and Slovak commentators of Radio Free Europe devote much time to the exegesis of Marx and Lenin, the manifest purpose being to convict the Prague leadership and the Kremlin of "deviationism." "Why," a speaker complained, "is it impossible to buy in Czechoslovakia the writings of the founder of scientific socialism? . . . The Stalinist theoreticians grossly falsified Marx's ideas." While this technique of "narrowing the target," as psywarriors call it, may have a limited value in special cases, listeners in Czechoslovakia who wait in vain to hear Radio Free Europe attack socialism or defend free enterprise will find it hard to disagree with the pointed observation of the Communist newspaper *Rude Pravo*:

Radio Free Europe has recently been filling the ether with sounds which evoke astonishment. Much is said on that station about Marx and Lenin and the need for preserving the purity of their doctrine and applying that doctrine to reality. In a broadcast of October 31, we even heard that "all the riches of the earth belong to the people and the workers."

It is certainly a great satisfaction to hear such words after so many years of abuse against Marx and Lenin and against the socialist society which we are building. There is only one thing we do not understand. What were these gentlemen running away from in 1948? . . .<sup>43</sup>

While non-totalitarian socialists may be conceded a right to their opinions,<sup>44</sup> intellectual honesty would re-

<sup>42</sup> From unpublished scripts furnished by Mr. Brada.

<sup>43</sup> *Rude Pravo*, Prague, November 4, 1956.

<sup>44</sup> We must leave open the questions whether the aims of non-totalitarian social-

quire that the Crusade for Freedom inform American contributors of the "Titoist-socialist" orientation of Radio Free Europe's broadcasts. Such a one-sided program, which affords little or no scope to the supporters of free private enterprise, is in the author's opinion not a proper object of expenditure for United States government funds.

A corollary of the "Titoist" strategy has been the encouragement of "national Communism" in Poland and Hungary. Czech and Slovak medium-wave broadcasts were ended during the fall of 1956 and the program continued via short wave only: the opinion is heard in Munich that the main reason was to make available additional facilities for broadcasts to Poland and Hungary.<sup>45</sup> While there seems to be some truth in the claim that Radio Free Europe stimulated "Nagyist" resistance in Hungary, the fact that the 1956 uprising took an anti-Communist turn was strictly an "accident" so far as RFE was concerned.

Not only has Radio Free Europe failed to accomplish anything significant in the vital question of Slav-German reconciliation, but its broadcasts have at times supported the territorial-ethnic *status quo*—which, as we have seen, is no less important than Communist terror in welding Czecho-Slovakia and Poland to the Soviet bloc. The following are typical statements from earlier broadcasts which have tended to defeat efforts to build a common front against Bolshevism:

As long as the Germans do not recognize their present boundaries as definite, it is impossible to accept them in an organization which controls the political and strategic situation on both sides of the Atlantic. (Czech broadcast, February 21, 1952.)

... The Russians would offer to a neutralized Germany a common colonial rule over Central and Southeast Europe, so that the specter of Soviet imperialism would be accompanied by the even more frightful specter of German imperialism. (Czech broadcast, March 24, 1952.)

ism are logically or practically possible, and whether the socialism represented in RFE deserves that qualification.

<sup>45</sup> Discontinuance of the medium-wave broadcasts has made it difficult to monitor the programs. Reception of the RFE short wave is seldom satisfactory in Germany, and official transcripts of programs are hard to obtain. Reduction of the scope of the Czech and Slovak programs was followed by only a minor reduction in personnel.

Into this desert (Silesia), after years of *German* and Soviet *occupation*, came the Poles. . . The efforts of the Poles to reconstruct and make economically productive their *recovered* territories is well known. . . . (Polish broadcast, September 19, 1952.)<sup>46</sup>

In recent years, provocative statements of this sort have been largely eliminated as a result of German protests. From a German point of view, the main complaint today lies in what Radio Free Europe does *not* broadcast.

Radio Free Europe's treatment of the "Slovak Revolt" of 1944 has been a source of considerable annoyance. Despite the evidence compiled and verified by the Kersten Committee proving the dominant role of Soviet agents in the uprising<sup>47</sup> and the protests of Americans of Slovak descent and their friends in Congress, Radio Free Europe has persisted in commemorating that event as a glorious victory for democracy. When the Communist government, in April, 1958, convicted a number of anti-Communists of atrocities during the revolt which were in fact committed by Russian agents and their collaborators, Editor Jan Lehota of RFE piously announced that: "Certainly there is not a person in Slovakia nor among us who would be identified with these bestial deeds"—a broadcast which earned Radio Free Europe the praise of Radio Prague.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, RFE's broadcast interviews with new refugees have often revealed the details of secret paths of escape, enabling the PVS (militarized border police) to block their use in the future. In other cases, listeners could identify persons who helped the escapees in Czechoslovakia and in the former Soviet Zone of Austria.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Cited in "Störsender Europas?" ["European Center of Disturbance?"], *Christ und Welt*, Stuttgart, October 16, 1952. Although these excerpts are eight years old, there is no evidence of any substantial change in the policies reflected therein.

<sup>47</sup> Eighty-third Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee on Communist Aggression (former Representative Charles J. Kersten, chairman), *Special Report No. 8, Czechoslovakia*, December, 1954, pp. 13ff.

<sup>48</sup> Jarmila Uhrova, broadcast over Radio Prague, March 23, 1958, quoted in *Bulletin of the Slovak National Council Abroad*, June, 1958, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Brada, *Programs of Radio Free Europe*; *Sudtendeutsche Zeitung*, April 3, 1954. See previous section on the "redefection" to Prague of escapee interviewer Karel Kasal.

## BULLETS

There can be no coexistence on the battlefield.

*Major General Edwin A. Walker*

Billboard outside of St. Peter's, Minnesota: Home of five governors. We have natural gas, too.

*Quoted By Sullivan Brothers*

Why is the rocking chair a perfect symbol of the New England Frontier? Because it provides a feeling of motion while not going anywhere.

*Les Carpenter*

We have been so anxious to give our children what we *didn't* have that we have neglected to give them what we *did* have.

*Survey Bulletin*

A boy is a restless noise with dirt on it.

*We Got It From Marjorie Mills*

The contemporary objective of Communist propaganda is *not to make us Communists*, but to make us support the current Communist propaganda line."

*Marcel Clément*

Ah, Spring — when a young man's fancy lightly turns to what a girl has been thinking about all winter.

*McEvoy and Striebel*

Please order me another cocktail. It makes you so witty.

*Coleman Chuckler*

That man over there is the woman whose penthouse we went up to the other night's husband.

*Col. Stoopnagle*

"Whew! I had some day. It even feels good to be home."

*Hoifield Cartoon,  
McNaught Syndicate, Inc.*

You can still make a lot of money at the race track if you happen to be a horse.

*Jon Henry*

At last, after years of intensive study for the concert stage, I am prepared to offer my services as an accomplished male baby sitter.

*Personal In VILLAGE VOICE,  
New York*

It's when you are safe at home that you wish you were having an adventure. When you are having an adventure you wish you were safe at home.

*Thornton Wilder*

The most disappointed people are those who get what's coming to them.

*Gilcrafter*

If people only knew as much about painting as I do they would never buy my pictures.

*Sir Edwin Landseer*

Lady driver to mechanic: "Fix my horn. My brakes don't work."

*Kurpacoan*

Two can't live as cheaply as once.

*Grit*

Absent-minded minister: "Let us all stand now, and murder Hymn No. 147 . . ."

*J. Kiernan*

No, he was never married — he's just a self-made mouse.

*Wall Street Journal*

On the plains of hesitation bleach the bones of countless millions who, at the dawn of victory, sat down to rest; and resting died.

*Herschel D. Newsom*

# A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

## SMALLPOX AMONG THE SMALL FRY

EVERY PHYSICIAN knows that the best time to begin treatment of a disease is at the first appearance of its symptoms. The time for Americans to have become alarmed for the future of their country was in 1919, when Mrs. Marion E. Sproul, a teacher in the schools of Boston, frankly boasted, "Give us one generation of small children to train to manhood and womanhood and we will set up the Bolshevik form of the Soviet government." Nothing could have been more explicit, but in 1919 most Americans, although they knew something about contagious diseases and were well aware that a microscopic bacterium, if given the opportunity to multiply and infect a vital organ, can kill the strongest man, did not realize that nations are equally vulnerable to infection by social bacteria that seem at first sight tiny and inconsequential.

Mrs. Sproul, of course, did not mean that the agents of the Communist Conspiracy who were then multiplying in our educational system would do anything so foolish as sing the *Internationale* in kindergarten or circulate in the fourth grade applications for membership in the Communist Party. She was thinking of the schools as a means of infecting the tender and undefended minds of children with the germs of ideas that would in later years destroy their powers of resistance to covert

Communist manipulation and more open Communist indoctrination.

The directors of the Conspiracy have always known that their first step must be to confuse and paralyze or pervert the minds of their victims, and that the necessary poison can most easily be administered by persons who profess good intentions and have no open connection with the criminal organization. When Karl Marx organized the first International in London on 28 September, 1864, his front man, who acted as chairman of the little group, was Professor E. S. Beesly of the University of London. But this was one of Professor Beesly's very few and furtive ventures into even the half-light of semi-secret meetings; publicity would have destroyed the effectiveness of his work as a professed historian (his *Catiline, Clodius, Tiberius*, published in 1878, is an adroit twisting of Roman history to precondition uncritical readers for Communist-front operations), as the acknowledged leader of the English disciples of Auguste Comte, and as editor of the *Positivist Review*.

The Communist Conspiracy has always followed the basic educational strategy that was most picturesquely and crudely stated three decades ago by its present branch manager in Venezuela, Rómulo Betancourt: "We know how much fear the word 'Communism'

## A Review Of Reviews

arouses, but with just a little vaseline we can shove the whole of Lenin and the whole of Marx right up into the people, arousing the most violent hatred of private property and the most lively and effective urge to void the capitalist system, without ever using unnecessarily the malodorous word 'Communism.'" It is on that principle that agents in our educational system have always worked.

The American people disregarded the unmistakable symptoms of social disease in 1919, and, for all practical purposes, continued to disregard them until the present, when violent fever and incipient convulsions make it impossible for them longer to ignore their sickness. But the bacteria have so multiplied that now the real difficulty is that of locating a school in which one's children will not be infected or even a textbook of any widely taught subject that is sterile and free from germs.

The methods of crypto-Communist indoctrination have been lucidly exposed by Professor E. Merrill Root in two books that are indispensable to everyone who wishes to do something to make our schools safe for American children: *BRAINWASHING IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS* (Devin-Adair, New York; 277 pages, \$4.50) and *COLLECTIVISM ON THE CAMPUS* (idem; 417 pages, \$5.00). To these, add Verne P. Kaub's *COMMUNIST-SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS* (American Council of Christian Laymen, Madison, Wisconsin; 186 pages, \$1.00, paper). Reports on certain textbooks and the records of the many known Communists and Communist-fronters who concocted them may be found in the seventeen reports of the California Legislature's Senate Investigating Committee on Education—a veritable mine of documented and in-

dexed information.

But Americans who read these excellent works may yet fail to see the magnitude of the infection. Their thinking will be colored by the fact that as good Americans they believe in the free-enterprise system—a system which, if it does not necessarily guarantee that the world will construct a highway to the door of the inventor of a better mouse-trap, does at least guarantee that the honestly made product will remain on the market and survive the competition of inferior goods, even if the latter are cheaper and attain a temporary popularity through misleading advertising. Many Americans, therefore, are incredulous when they see statements such as that made in a letter recently written to indignant parents by a high-school principal whom I believe to have been sincere: "I know that the textbook of which you complain is poisonous, but we are required by state law to give this course, and neither Mr. ——— nor I can find an available textbook that is less objectionable. Can you?"

We must face the fact that, so far as essentials are concerned, the free market in textbooks for widely taught courses has virtually disappeared. The Communists and their allies not only promote books of the kind analyzed in Professor Root's *Brainwashing*; they do their best to see to it that such books have no competition.

How this is done is for the first time disclosed to the general public in Donzella Cross Boyle's *AMERICAN HISTORY WAS MY UNDOING* (Education Information, Fullerton, California; c. 140 pages, \$2.00). This is a timely and important book.

Mrs. Boyle, an experienced teacher, was shocked when she discovered

## A Review Of Reviews

that her daughter in the eighth grade was being subjected to a textbook which purported to be a history of the United States under the pretentious title, *American Civilization*—a volume of six hundred and twenty-four pages which dismissed the Declaration of Independence in twenty words, devoted little more than a page to the whole War for Independence (including the terms of the treaty of peace), and did not even mention the Constitution! She was even more shocked when she found that the book was not a bizarre aberration: it was typical of the textbooks available in its field. The facts of American history were simply suppressed to make room for inflated and distorted generalizations about "social forces" that were obviously socialistic propaganda.

Mrs. Boyle was delighted when she was invited to write a textbook for use in junior high schools: she thought that she had an opportunity to restore facts to the teaching of American history. She has now written an account of the multiple pressures that were successively exerted to contaminate her book while she was writing it and to drive it from the market after it was published. Her narrative is necessarily involved and circumstantial, but it leads to an inescapable conclusion.

A reader of the present book will probably encounter the difficulty that confronts this reviewer. I have before me the advance sheets of *American History Was My Undoing*, but Mrs. Boyle's textbook, *Quest of a Hemisphere* is out of print and I have not been able to locate a copy that would be available in time for use in writing this review. I cannot assure you, of my own knowledge, that it is an excellent textbook, nor can I report how its author treated the crucial events of

American history. This is inconvenient, but not strictly relevant. The significance of the present book lies in its disclosure of the nature and obvious purposes of the pressures that were exerted on Mrs. Boyle.

Mrs. Boyle's difficulties began when she received from a board of editors, strangely independent of the publisher, a verbose "Brief Statement" of the "objectives" of the "Social-studies series" of which her book was to be a part. This series was to have "a new mental hygiene emphasis," and history was to be made "a basis for developing skills in improving human relationships" for use in "eliminating social injustice." Mrs. Boyle quotes a few pages of this inflated balderdash, which included the significant hint that "moral ideals and principles . . . have only limited effectiveness in improving human relationships" and the usual snide lip-service with a sneer to the American tradition: "Our forefathers translated the ideals of Democracy [!] into patterns of living [!] which were appropriate for their times; but we must not allow the dogmas and shibboleths [*sic*] of a dead [!] past to confuse and mislead us." Mrs. Boyle confesses that she "felt a little squeamish" when she read this stuff, but she evidently was not sufficiently versed in the *argot*, or thieves' cant, of modern "education" to realize that she was being instructed to use the vaseline recommended by Comrade Betancourt for injecting Marx and Lenin into future victims of the Communist Conspiracy. She went ahead with the book, having faith in the old fashioned shibboleth that facts are relevant to history.

Years later, after endless harassment and through the repeated and vigorous intervention of her attorneys, she had

## A Review Of Reviews

the satisfaction of seeing her book in print, and she even succeeded in eliminating from it at the last moment lists of "recommended reading" that had appeared from some unidentified source and consisted largely of the works of known Communists and Communist-fronters. Her book enjoyed an initial success and then—suddenly and mysteriously—failed. Why it failed can easily be surmised from the sequence of events that she reports.

*American History Was My Undoing* should be read in conjunction with *Brainwashing in the High Schools*. The two books, if taken together, enforce three clear conclusions:

(1) Our educational system is deeply infected on *all* levels with agents of the Communist Conspiracy and with a multitude of witless zombies whom those agents have trained to do their work for them. The vicious textbooks in current use (and the teaching that so often accompanies them) are, like the pustules of smallpox, merely the external manifestations of a systemic disease. And it is not in the least astonishing that so many American children, forcibly exposed to the infection day after day, contract it in spite of the prophylactic measures that some alert and conscientious parents try to administer at home. What is happening today in the schools is precisely what the conspirators planned in 1919 as the most efficacious way of imposing on the United States "the Bolshevik form of the Soviet government."

(2) The Conspiracy, as usual in the United States, operates through the organs of *centralized* control. In many states the educational gangsters, employing their usual technique of sneaking up on the boobs under the cover of hypocritical bleating about "the un-

derprivileged," have contrived to have the state (i.e. the taxpayers) supply "free" textbooks in the schools. Thus a single clique of "experts" selects the germ-carriers that are forced into the hands and minds of every public-school child in the state—with the incidental advantage that, as any publishers' salesman will tell you, the "experts" can cut themselves a nice slice of graft to recompense their zeal for "social justice." In other states, less direct means have to be employed. The press recently reported a typical instance from Twin Lakes, Wisconsin, where a local school board, weary of the malodorous tripe in current textbooks, dared to return to the old "McGuffey Readers." The Chief Brainwasher roared from his lair in Madison, using first the pretext that the "outmoded" books contained such obscene words as "God" to which the tender minds of young boobs should not be exposed; but even after the school board had pasted over such nasty passages, he went on roaring with threats to cut off the ten thousand dollars of "aid" that the state of Wisconsin annually hands out to Twin Lakes. Thus was made manifest the real reason for "state aid" to schools—and also the real reason why our most distinguished racketeers are now bawling for "federal aid."

(3) The Communist Conspiracy is versatile. In most schools, courses in American history are now required by laws that were enacted through the efforts of patriotic societies whose members naively supposed that such courses would automatically convey to adolescents some sense of what it means to be an American. The Communists, who apply in all their operations the basic principle of judo, did not resist such laws. They simply dodged the blow and

## A Review Of Reviews

neatly tripped their antagonists. They have made the required courses in American history their most effective single means of infecting the minds of American children.

Perhaps we should add a fourth

point: you cannot cure smallpox by smearing salve on each pustule as it appears. The infected body must either throw off the systemic disease or perish of it.

## MEN AND DINOSAURS

ONE FREQUENTLY hears these days the aphorism that the only thing we learn from history is that men learn nothing from history. If that is true, it simply means that the *homo sapiens* is not a biologically viable form of life—that the species must meet the fate of the great saurians that dominated the world in the Jurassic Age and became extinct when their minuscule brains proved inadequate to deal with slight changes in environment. But so long as there is hope that the aphorism is merely a cynical quip, thoughtful men will continue to scrutinize the past that is our only guide to the future.

The current (ninety-first) volume of *TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION* contains a number of excellent articles, of which two fall within the scope of our "Review of Reviews."

In 1948, a distinguished British historian, Sir W. W. Tarn, yielding to the romantic lure of hero-worship and the journalistic passion for novelty that are the twin banes of serious historiography, produced a biography of Alexander the Great in which he claimed that his hero had "proclaimed for the first time the unity and brotherhood of mankind" and had sought to create "a world in which all men should be . . . citizens of one State without distinction of race or institutions, and united . . . by Love." Since such phrases are to "Liberals" what catnip is to cats, Tarn and Alex-

ander are much admired by our more literate "intellectuals."

Dr. E. Badian's short article in the *Transactions* is a study of one of Alexander's exploits—his cunning and carefully contrived murder of Philotas and Parmenio, two Macedonian generals whose courage, military sagacity, and devotion had made possible Alexander's conquest of the Middle East. There is, to be sure, a great deal of other historical evidence concerning the moral character of the shrewd, supple, and highly intelligent young man who, by skillful use of his deluded subjects and allies, created for himself one of the greatest empires known to history, but the one episode studied by Dr. Badian will suffice to illustrate the brotherly love that all great tyrants feel for the brothers-in-arms who have made them great.

Professor Frank C. Bourne contributes to the volume a concise account of the "alimentary program" of the Roman Empire. This interesting institution had its inception in private benefactions comparable to the endowments that founded most of the colleges and universities in the United States, but in this case intended to provide for the children of poor parents food and clothing until they came of age, thus assuring the children of an opportunity to attend local schools instead of going to work, and indirectly encouraging the lower middle class and wage-earners to have large families. (If the Latin that

## A Review Of Reviews

you read in high school or college included letters of the younger Pliny, you may remember that he set up a foundation of this kind.)

Under Nerva (96-98 A.D.) the Welfare State assumed responsibility for children throughout Italy, intending at first merely to supplement private benefactions, but soon and inevitably the imperial treasury took over the entire operation and converted it into a "program" far more ingenious and practical than anything thus far devised by our professional parasites in Washington. The governmental system not only (*a*) provided the sustenance of poor children, but also (*b*) tried to solve the Roman "farm problem" by making available to reputable cultivators loans at low interest for the improvement of their lands, especially lands of the kind now called "marginal," thus (*c*) reducing unemployment in, and stimulating the economic life of, towns in "depressed" agricultural areas, and thereby (*d*) restoring prosperity to many municipalities and large parts of the countryside, and so (*e*) creating the conditions in which responsible people are willing to beget children. And the objectives of *e* are further fostered by *a*, since the children are guaranteed sustenance and education in the event of the financial failure or death of their parents. The plan that combined these various purposes was not only ingenious but feasible. It was, furthermore, well administered by a judicious division of responsibility between the central government and local authorities, evidently designed to hold to a minimum the number of administrators; and Roman bureaucrats, unlike our own, appear to have been, on the whole, both honest and diligent. The plan worked for a hundred and seventy-five years, and the

institutions thus established survived, despite occasional difficulties, until the revolving funds were extinguished by the great monetary inflation and concomitant catastrophes of the Third Century.

But the plan failed from the beginning—was doomed to failure by ineluctable forces which the Romans, who had before them so much less history than we, may be pardoned for not seeing. And Professor Bourne, although well disposed toward bureaucracies and economic planning (which he regards as the mark of a "mature civilization"), shows why the plan's apparent success merely masked for a time a profound and inevitable failure. "While the alimentary institution, to judge from its hearty acceptance by landowners, was a success in respect to the agrarian problem, and while it undoubtedly fed and clothed many children," it was essentially an extension of the Welfare State. "Generations of governmental support for hundreds of thousands of Italians, without requiring from them any tangible service, made it clear to them that they had rights on which they could insist, but taught nothing of commensurate duties." Paternalistic government merely created "a social and political irresponsibility based on an arrogant and childish belief in 'rights' and confidence in immunity to danger." The net result was a population whose "lack of vigor, and irresponsibility" doomed it to extinction at the hands of the barbarians.

This is a clear illustration of the operation of forces inherent in the very nature of society. As every student of politics (including, I suspect, our more intelligent "Liberals," despite their artful verbiage) well knows, a Welfare State necessarily entails a totalitarian

## A Review Of Reviews

despotism—and despotisms, for obvious purposes of their own, foster “lack of vigor and irresponsibility” in their subjects. The economic price of a Welfare State is crushing taxation. The social price is national suicide.

\* \* \*

Such works as Martin P. Nilsson's *Imperial Rome* and M. Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* present synoptic pictures of the process of internal decay, but you may find the operations of the Welfare State epitomized in a detail that I do not recall having seen mentioned in the histories. Of this detail there are many examples; I choose one at random.

In the Second Century a freeborn Roman citizen named C. Sergius Alci-mus buried his son and recorded the following facts—and *only* these facts—on the marble tombstone: the boy (1) died at the age of three years, three months, and three days; (2) got his handout from the public treasury on the tenth day of each month; and (3) got his handouts from Wicket No. 49. This particular inscription is No. 10,224-b in Volume VI of the great *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, and you will find many other inscriptions of identical form on the same and adjacent pages of this volume and in other volumes of the *Corpus*—all proudly recording for posterity the unconscious debasement of their authors. But perhaps you will not find these inscriptions as significant as I do; I shiver when I read them.

\* \* \*

The great tragedy of Rome came to an end in the Fifth Century, when the Empire, except for what survived under rule from Constantinople, was dismembered and taken over by the barbarians.

This era is covered in twelve brilliant chapters of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, where the essential facts are set forth in some of the finest prose ever written in English. A quite different approach to the period is provided by C. D. Gordon in *THE AGE OF ATTILA* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor; 240 pages, \$3.95).

Professor Gordon's work is essentially a logical arrangement and translation into English of all that has survived from the writings of Fifth-Century historians who deal with political (as distinct from ecclesiastical) affairs. In the translations (which are printed in Italics) he has inserted (in Roman type) such explanatory additions as are necessary to facilitate comprehension, and he has also supplied the information (drawn from later historians) needed to unite the various passages into a coherent narrative and to correct errors and significant omissions in the sources. The translations, to judge by the fairly numerous passages that I have checked, are accurate, and the supplementary material is adequate, although it would be possible to raise unimportant questions about a few very minor details. And I do not understand why Zosimus, who almost certainly lived in the Fifth Century and has some penetrating comments on the causes of political decline, was not included among the authors quoted.

Professor Gordon has made it possible for an English reader to see how the Fifth Century looked to intelligent men who lived in it and who beheld the great catastrophes of which we cannot think without awe. For a reflective reader cannot behold without pity and terror the tragic fall of a great empire, with inhabitants far more numerous than the attacking barbarians, with a

## A Review Of Reviews

far more advanced technology and industry, with all the advantages of interior lines of communication, the very highest degree of social and economic organization, and the capacity for long-term planning and strategy, and with wealth and resources that seemed inexhaustible until they inexplicably failed—an empire that falters, retreats, cowers, and finally collapses before mere hordes of ignorant and often anarchic barbarians. The Romans of the Republic, beginning as the small population of a tiny territory, had conquered all of the world that it seemed desirable to take and never doubted their power to annex the rest of it (including China) whenever they chose. How was it possible for their heirs, who had inherited an empire that ran from the misty mountains of Scotland to the sun-drenched valley of the Euphrates, to surrender gradually, step by step, to uncivilized and largely undisciplined barbarians from the forests of the North and the deserts of the East—to surrender something every year, year after year, until at last the Roman mass, despite the exertions of a few, perished ignominiously by the sword amid the ashes of their homes or more ignominiously lived under the yoke of uncouth and brutal masters?

An easy and superficial answer could be made in terms of contemporary persons and events. With few and brief exceptions, the empire was ruled by despots who ranged from ruthless pirates to muton-headed fops, including such figures as the well-read and pious Theodosius II, who professed and probably felt "love of mankind," but, in the words of the contemporary historian, "lived in cowardice" and was "under the control of his eunuchs in everything. . . . They beguiled him, to

put it briefly, as children are beguiled with toys." One can draw up a long list of battles lost by folly or treason, and ask why supreme command of the greatest naval effort of the century, equipped at a cost that had strained to the utmost the resources of a declining nation, was entrusted to Basiliscus, who appears to have been *both* a fool and a traitor.

But even in the first chapter an attentive reader will see a deeper cause as he notices with increasing wonder that most of the prominent figures on the Roman side are not really natives of the Empire. Strike out the names of mercenaries imported from across the border, of superficially naturalized barbarians, and of first-generation Romans: the pages of history are left almost vacant. You cannot read far without confronting the appalling fact that that vast empire is one in which irresponsibility and torpor have become virtually universal; it has a multitudinous population, great cities, a noble culture, a new and elevating religion, wheat, gold, iron . . . But it has to import the one thing that no nation can really buy—men.

When the Romans finally destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C., they destroyed a powerful nation that had combined a high degree of civilization (in commerce, industry, scientific agriculture, navigation, and politics) with the terrible religious savagery evident in such institutions as the great bronze machine that was used on ceremonial occasions to shovel living children by the hundreds—including sons and daughters of the Carthaginian aristocracy—into the furnace that burned within the colossal idol of Baal. To the Roman mind, as to ours, the masochistic sadism of the Carthaginians was in-

## A Review Of Reviews

comprehensibly alien and horribly inhuman. Yet before long—in less time than has elapsed since our Constitution was ratified—the Romans had set up a socio-political machine that was far more deadly—a machine, adorned with specious phrases and built, in part, with good intentions, for the sacrifice of their own children. The machine devoured the Romans—almost all of the great families of the Republic were extinct by the time of Nero. It devoured the other peoples of Italy. It devoured the hardy provincials who had been brought into the *imperium Romanum*. It devoured whatever was virile and valuable in the descendants of the innumerable slaves that the Romans had recklessly brought into Italy and then set free with indiscriminate generosity. And when the machine had devoured the last manhood of an exhausted world, its work was done—and the empty husk of a dead nation collapsed

of its own weight.

Some of the best minds of the Republic foresaw the danger, but there were educated and intelligent men who did not: they had before them, for all practical purposes, only the experience of the Greek states and so they could argue that theirs was a new era in which history would not repeat itself. Today, with the history of virtually the whole world spread out before every man who can read, such illusions can no longer be entertained by rational men. We, who have constructed and put into operation a machine for the sacrifice of our posterity to Baal, cannot plead that what we are doing is novel and untried. If we Americans permit the machine to go on running, then either we have *chosen* to become extinct or we belong to a species equipped with brains of such limited capacity that it has become biologically obsolete.

### BRIEF MENTION

*History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History.* Mouton & Co., The Hague. \$5.00 per volume.

A new periodical, to be published at irregular intervals. The contents may be expected to vary in quality, but the current (second) issue contains a noteworthy article by Raymond Aron, "Thucydide et le récit des événements." This is a cogent commentary on the silly fad of writing "social history" according to the myth of "economic determinism." It is a simple fact that the great mutations of history are always the result of war, and that the course of history is always determined by the decisions made, wisely or foolishly, by certain *individuals* at critical moments. There is also a reprint of James Fitz-

James Stevens' lucid essay, "The Study of History," which was unknown except to the very few who, on the strength of Mill's reference to it, sought it out in the files of the periodical in which it was published anonymously in 1861. Good sense never becomes obsolete.

\* \* \*

*For the New Intellectual*, by Ayn Rand. Random House. \$3.95.

Miss Rand's flamboyant pronouncements on religion have understandably alienated many conservatives, but in her latest book she says forthrightly much that has long needed to be said, e.g.:

"America is a country without voice or defense—a country sold out and

## A Review Of Reviews

abandoned by her intellectual bodyguards . . .

"Our present state of cultural disintegration is not maintained and prolonged by intellectuals as such, but by the fact that we *haven't* any. The majority of those who posture as intellectuals today are frightened zombies, posturing in a vacuum of their own making. . . .

"The Founding Fathers were America's first intellectuals and, so far, her last. . . .

"If America perishes, it will be by intellectual default. . . . Such cafeteria-socialist conspiracies as do undoubtedly exist are groups of sacred, neurotic mediocrities. . . . As to the Communist conspirators in the service of Soviet Russia, they are the best illustration of victory by default: their successes are handed to them by the concessions of their victims."

\* \* \*

*Should We Strengthen the United Nations?* by V. Orval Watts. Freedom School, Colorado Springs. 75¢.

if you have friends who still go out on binges of world-citizenship, this handsome pamphlet with its bland title will help them get a grip on themselves. Mr. Watts gently guides his reader through the structure and record of the shabbiest hoax that ever deceived a substantial number of literate people. He goes on to show that even if the "United Nations" were not "permanently infested with Communist agents," it would nevertheless, by its very nature, be an instrument for subverting and destroying the freedom and prosperity of the American people.

\* \* \*

*The Effects of Mass Communication*, by Joseph T. Klapper. Free Press. \$5.00.

Dr. Klapper earnestly and critically

reviews the many "studies" made to ascertain the effectiveness of television shows, cinemas, "comic" books, and other popular trash in forming or changing the opinions and behavior of children or adults. He comes close to seeing that the whole effort is simply the labor of the Danaids—that you can't carry water in a sieve, no matter how hard you work.

The proprietor of the trained-chicken show that I saw in East Tin Cup, Colorado, this summer assured me that he had to examine between fifteen hundred and two thousand chickens to find one that is capable of being trained to perform. The zoologists and thremmatologists whom I have consulted think that this ratio is probably correct.

Statistical methods that would yield approximately correct results when applied to chickens in lots of ten thousand simply do not work when applied to a few score or hundred human beings, each a complex creature with his own biological and psychic inheritance, native wit and common sense, peculiar experiences, and quantum of information or misinformation about a given subject. As we have said, Dr. Klapper comes close to seeing this, but, of course, under modern conditions he has to recommend "further research," i.e. that the Danaids work harder with their sieves. However, if it is any consolation to you, his discussion makes it seem likely that the effects of pap for the simple-minded are less than is supposed on Madison Avenue.

\* \* \*

*A Grammar of Human Values*, by Otto von Mering. University of Pittsburgh Press. \$3.50 (paper), \$4.50 (cloth).

Professor Von Mering visited two small communities in the Southwest and—at least partly—deceived them

## A Review Of Reviews

concerning his purposes. (The number of winks exchanged behind his back is not recorded.) He then selected "random [*sic*] samples" of twenty-five men in each community in such a way that the two groups were "not significantly different in mean age, mean income, and marital status." Then, using a powerful new technique that he has discovered ("ten minute stimulus conversation on a controversial social problem"), he recorded their (expressed) opinions and classified them into "thirty-six possible value categories," which form a kind of *grammar*, because—as Science has now demonstrated—personal opinions are not determined by pure chance, but instead are related to one another. (E.g., if you are a Catholic, the chances that you will approve of divorce are not the same as the chances that a flipped coin will come up heads.)

\* \* \*

*A Report to the Vestry of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Shreveport, Louisiana, on the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.*

The Vestry Committee of the largest Episcopal Church in Louisiana devoted ten months to a very careful and restrained examination of the covert structure and devious activities of the notorious National Council. This fully documented report, which recommends that the Episcopal Church in the United States withdraw from the Council, lets the facts speak for themselves. These facts make it obvious that the National Council, entirely apart from all questions raised by its extraordinary activity in disseminating Communist propaganda and promoting obscene "literature," is mendacious in its public statements and dishonest in its operations.

A copy of this report may be obtained without charge from the Vestry Committee of the Church (908 Rutherford, Shreveport). I think it proper to add that actual cost to the Committee is forty cents per copy, and that, in response to an unanticipated demand, over forty thousand copies have already been distributed.

\* \* \*

*The Bang-Jensen Case.* U. S. Government Printing Office. 35¢.

The Senate Subcommittee, defying political pressures which are said in Washington to have been very strong, has at last released its report, which fully substantiates the conclusions drawn by Messrs. Copp and Peck in *Betrayal at the UN* (see *AMERICAN OPINION*, September, 1961, pp. 34-36). It is quite clear that when Bang-Jensen died, there perished with him the information which he had obtained from Communists in the "United Nations" who wished to defect, and which he vainly tried to communicate to the United States—evidence that (1) the administrative offices of the "United Nations" were controlled by Soviet agents; (2) Soviet agents were in positions of power in our State Department; and (3) Soviet agents were in high positions in our Central Intelligence Agency. The report also notes specific misrepresentations of fact in the Associated Press' report of Bang-Jensen's death, quotes the testimony of a witness who had personal experience of the drugs that the Communist Conspiracy uses to paralyze the will of its prisoners, and lists a number of other murders recently committed in such a way as to seem suicides. Particularly significant is the fact that the Soviet Secret Police sometimes spend one or

## A Review Of Reviews

two years in preparing the background for a simulated suicide.

\* \* \*

*The Red Pattern of World Conquest*, by Eric D. Butler. Australian League of Rights, Melbourne. 5/-.

An able and concise summary of the progress of the Communist Conspiracy since 1903, when the criminal who called himself Lenin enlisted seventeen confederates to form the Bolshevik Party. If the rate of progress since 1945 is maintained, the criminals will own the entire world by 1970 or 1973. Mr. Butler's analysis shows that Communist conquests are effected by internal subversion and, above all, by secret control and manipulation of the governments of ostensibly anti-Communist nations. He comments on the fatuity of those who hope that their own country may be saved by governmental action while they themselves "do nothing to try to counter the poison seeping through every stratum of society. Governments are powerless in a country whose people are confused by devilish propaganda.

"The individual who believes that he can do nothing is already defeated; he accepts the Communist and materialist view concerning the nature of man. But every individual *can do something*. No matter how humble his position, he can wield some influence and make his contribution to the battle. . . . And if *sufficient* individuals work with the same dedication as the Communists, then at least there is a reasonable chance that our children will not be reared in a Communist hell."

\* \* \*

*The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program*. U.S. Government Printing Office. 25¢.

In testimony before the Senate Sub-

committee, Edward Hunter, author of the fundamental study, *Brainwashing* (The Bookmailer, \$5.00), and one of America's foremost experts on psychological warfare, gave a brilliant analysis of the Communist offensive that was launched in the United States in obedience to the orders promulgated in Moscow on 5 December, 1960. Although the smear campaign is directed against all anti-Communists, the John Birch Society is the primary target and obviously the organization that the Communist Conspiracy most fears. Mr. Hunter's analysis is documented with copious samples of the purulent slime that was spread in the columns of such dailies as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, such weeklies as the *Worker* and the *Nation*, and fortnightly such as the *Reporter*. This report is absolutely indispensable for a complete understanding of the current drive by traitors in our government to destroy the loyalty of our Army and Navy in preparation for a Communist take-over of the United States.

\* \* \*

*Santa Maria, My Crusade for Portugal*, by Henrique Galvão. World. \$4.50.

The author is the pirate who captured a Portuguese liner at gun-point, kidnapped the passengers, and tried to take the ship to Angola to support an invasion from the Congo scheduled by the Communist Conspiracy (see *AMERICAN OPINION*, July-August, 1961, pp. 17-18). He has written an incredibly impudent and verbose book to prove that (a) he is chock-full of ideals, and (b) Premier Salazar, who is so reactionary that he won't co-operate with Khrushchev, is a wicked man. This rant will delight our "Liberals." They will believe anything—provided, of course, that it isn't true.

## A Review Of Reviews

*Fair Play for Cuba Committee: Part 4.* U. S. Government Printing Office. 35¢.

In June, the Senate Subcommittee, continuing its investigation of agitation on behalf of Communist Cuba, lifted a stone in Cleveland. What it found crawling about under the stone was precisely what you would expect. And, as you would also expect, the creatures began yammering "Fifth Amendment" as soon as they were asked their correct names. The Subcommittee, however, established the fact that in Cleveland the Socialist Workers Party, which always makes a great show in public of opposing the Communist Party, not only co-operated with the Communists in operating the Communist front called "Fair Play for Cuba," but is joined with the Communists by an interlocking membership.

It is good to have this fact on public record, but it is precisely what anyone familiar with the methods of the Inter-

national Conspiracy would have expected. Professedly non-Communist "labor" organizations are a very important part of its operations—so important that even the smallest or most completely exposed groups are carefully kept alive. For example, many Americans assume that the bloody I. W. W., having served its purpose, was discarded decades ago. But it still exists, has offices in Chicago, and publishes the fortnightly *Industrial Worker*. This sheet—believe it or not—regularly denounces the Communists for "exploiting" America's "native radical tradition," for fearing "the F.B.I. stool-pigeons," and for "lacking the moral strength to stand up to the red scare." It also joyfully announces "the elimination of the Communist Party as an effective force on the American scene." The style compares favorably with that of Senator Fulbright.

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### Darts

Senator Mike Mansfield proposes that Nehru be named Secretary General of the United Nations. (Oh, come now, there must be an easier way to see that our side gets the worst of it.)

*Newark (N.J.) Evening News*

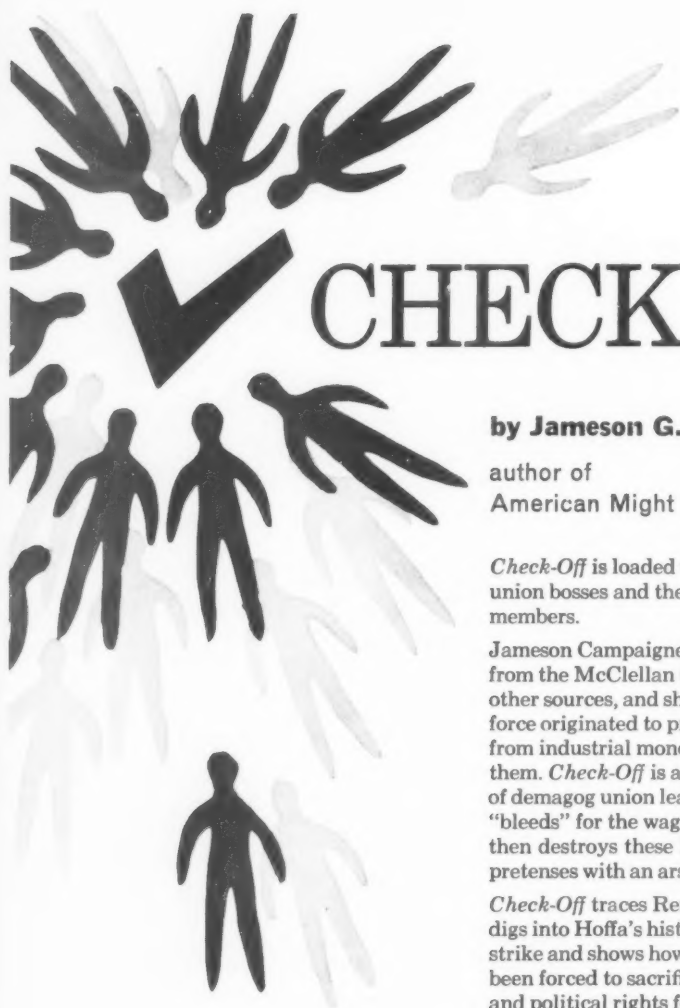
\* \* \*

Senator Stephen Young of Ohio recently explained the reasons why a Senator must not blindly follow the wishes and opinions of his constituents. "Such a course," he said, "will dwarf any man's statesmanship." And when *anything* can make the statesmanship of Stephen Young less than it already is, we admit a serious threat to the whole cosmic order.

\* \* \*

One of our state governors was being briefed for a forthcoming conference which would deal with some matters outside of his usual range. "And what will you have to say," one of his assistants probed, "if asked about Quemoy and Matsu?" The governor hesitated just a minute. "How would it be," he then replied, "if I offered to appoint them to the State Fish and Game Commission?"

*And He's A Good Governor, Too*



# CHECK-OFF

by Jameson G. Campaigne

author of  
American Might and Soviet Myth

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November 27



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# A REVIEW OF THE NEWS

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

**NOVEMBER, 1961**

## **Wednesday, November 1**

→ *Pravda* reports that "the coffin with J. V. Stalin's body has been transferred from the mausoleum of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to (a grave near) the Kremlin wall."

→ At the Twenty-second Soviet Communist Party Congress, Nikita Khrushchev is re-elected unanimously as First Secretary of the Party. The Soviet Premier was unopposed in the election.

→ In a note distributed to delegations of the Organization of American States, the United States Department of State charges that the Castro régime in Cuba is "intimately associated with the aims and purposes of the Sino-Soviet bloc."

→ At the United States Army's Depot in Columbus, Ohio, the Yugoslav government submits the highest bids on surplus auto, truck, and tractor parts.

## **Thursday, November 2**

→ Former President Harry S. Truman describes the Eisenhower Administration as "one of the more unfortunate periods in the history of American government."

→ At Boston, Massachusetts, fishermen report that they have sighted heavily-armed large and small Soviet submarines surfacing off Cape Cod and Georges Banks.

→ At a meeting of the United States-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs, Secretary of State Dean Rusk

tells Japanese officials their nation must increase its role in helping underdeveloped nations. With Rusk in Hakone, Japan are Secretaries Freeman (Agriculture), Udall (Interior), Goldberg (Labor), and Hodges (Commerce), and Walter Heller, Chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers.

→ Lebanon's President Fouad Chebab issues a decree naming Communist Rashid Karami as premier and finance minister. Karami's government succeeds that of Saer Salam, who resigned on October 23.

## **Friday, November 3**

→ U Thant of Burma is elected unanimously by the General Assembly to be the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations. Thant, who succeeds the late Dag Hammarskjöld, will serve until April 10, 1963. Thant announces that his advisers will include Ralph J. Bunche of the United States and Georgi P. Arkadev of the Soviet Union.

→ Owen Lattimore addresses the Harvard Law School Forum on the topic: "Aid To Friendly Dictators." The *Boston Globe* describes Mr. Lattimore as "an authority on China policies."

→ Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk says that his government has been promised help from Communist China in the event that Thailand attacks Cambodia. Thai Premier Savit Thanarat has charged that Cambodia has been used by Communists as a base for attacks against

## A Review Of The News

neighboring countries.

→ The United States Treasury reports it has borrowed \$46,300,000 in Swiss francs from the Swiss National Bank. It is the first time in forty-three years that the Treasury has turned to a foreign nation for financial assistance.

### Saturday, November 4

→ Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary, begins his sixth year of political asylum within the United States legation at Budapest.

### Sunday, November 5

→ The Voice of America uses eight hours of radio broadcasting to the Soviet Union telling the Russian people about the Soviets' "alleged" accomplishments with nuclear devices.

→ President Kennedy signs an executive order directing Secretary of State Rusk to create the International Development Agency, in which most foreign aid programs will be consolidated.

### Monday, November 6

→ Four men are killed and ten are injured during a fire aboard the United States Navy's aircraft carrier, *Constellation*. A previous fire in December, 1960 cost the lives of fifty men.

### Tuesday, November 7

→ West Germany's Bundestag (parliament) elects Konrad Adenauer to serve his fourth term as Chancellor.

→ Ecuador's President José Velasco Ibarra is forced from office in a coup led by his Vice President, Carlos Julio Arosemena, who assumes the presidency. Arosemena, in his inaugural speech, promises to promote friendly relations between Communist Cuba and Ecuador.

→ Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota says, that now that the Soviet Com-

munist Party's Twenty-second Congress is concluded, he is convinced that Soviet Premier Khrushchev will be "more responsive and responsible."

### Wednesday, November 8

→ Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Mau Mau savages of Kenya, discusses the East African colony's future with officials at the British Colonial Office in London.

→ Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower is appointed by President Kennedy to be chairman of a citizen's committee to direct the People to People program. General Eisenhower will help to raise funds from private sources to finance student exchanges and international citizens' meetings.

### Thursday, November 9

→ After ten days service in the Air Force, Joseph R. Turk, a twenty-six-year-old high school Russian-language teacher, is discharged. Mr. Turk's pupils at Columbus (Indiana) High School appealed to President Kennedy for their teacher's release from his duties as clerk-typist.

→ Irvin Chambers Scarbeck is sentenced to thirty years imprisonment for revealing United States secrets to agents of Communist Poland. Scarbeck was Second Secretary in the United States Embassy at Warsaw until he was arrested by agents of the FBI on June 13, 1961.

→ Britain's Queen Elizabeth arrives on a state visit at Accra where she is accorded a friendly reception by Ghana's Communist President, Kwame Nkrumah.

→ United States Air Force Major Bob White flies the X15 rocket-plane at a record 4,070 miles-per-hour over California.

→ In New York City, the Transport

## A Review Of The News

Workers Union demands a four-day, thirty-two-hour week for thirty thousand subway and bus workers *without a reduction in pay*. A five-day, forty-hour week is now in effect.

### Friday, November 11

→ Senator Kenneth B. Keating of New York reveals that, from January to June of 1961, American firms sent \$590,000 worth of strategic materials to Communist East Germany.

→ In an address to the General Assembly, India's Prime Minister Nehru proposes that the United Nations declare a year's moratorium on the "cold war," and devote the year "to furtherance of cooperative activities in any field—political, cultural or whatever." The United States Ambassador to the UN, Adlai Stevenson, thinks the "cooperative year" is a good idea.

→ Brown University announces it will not apply for further funds in the student loan program of the National Defense Education Act. The University objects to the requirement that students accepting loans take the "Affidavit Of Disbelief."

### Saturday, November 11

→ Indonesia's Communist President, Achmed Sukarno, says his nation will gain sovereignty over Dutch-occupied West New Guinea "with or without the United Nations" help.

→ Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, is refused permission by the State Department to visit a labor convention in Communist Cuba.

→ Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico "assumes" that plans for United States nuclear submarines had fallen into

the hands of the Soviets. Anderson's views are revealed today with the publication of testimony he gave in a hearing of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee on June 2, 1961.

→ Venezuela's Communist President Betancourt announces that his nation has severed diplomatic relations with Communist Cuba because of "continued insults and interference."

→ Finland's Foreign Minister, Ahti Karjalainen, arrives in Moscow upon the summons of Soviet leaders.

### Sunday, November 12

→ The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee charges that Yugoslavia's Communist President Tito is using much of the aid he receives from the United States to build up Yugoslavian alliances with the so-called "neutral" nations.

→ A retired army officer, Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester, calls for a "limited world government" as a necessary means to avert a third world war. Hester's remarks are the feature of a rally held by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—a Communist front.

→ India's Prime Minister Nehru finally discovers something good about the United States besides money. After a tour today of Disneyland, a California amusement park, Nehru expresses approval.

### Monday, November 13

→ India's Prime Minister Nehru explains the difference between the Soviet Union and Communist China by describing the Soviet Union as "by and large a satisfied country — almost, one might say, a conservative country."

→ At a White House dinner, 153 guests are entertained by cellist Pablo Casals, one of the most widely-known foes-in-

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## A Review Of The News

exile of Spain's leader, Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

→ President Kennedy pledges the best efforts of the United States to help strengthen NATO and to make NATO "a community of nations, economically, politically and morally above and beyond fear of defeat or desire for conquest."

→ Portugal's Premier Salazar, who has ruled his nation for thirty-three years, is re-elected in today's elections. A boycott of the polls, called for by Doctor Salazar's opponents, fails as seventy to eighty percent of the electorate vote.

→ Guatemala's President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes calls for vigorous United States leadership, supported by Latin American nations, to push back Communism.

→ General Chung Hee Park, leader of the ruling military junta in South Korea, arrives in Washington for a state visit. General Park is seeking United States economic and military aid.

→ Communist Yugoslavia's President Tito criticizes American "reactionaries and capitalists" for blocking the sale of United States wheat to Yugoslavia.

### Tuesday, November 14

→ *Radio Moscow* calls upon the people of Iran to revolt against the government of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

→ Finnish President Urho Kekkonen dissolves Parliament and schedules new parliamentary elections for February 4 and 5, 1962. Kekkonen's actions are made under the pressure of threats from the Soviet Union which is demanding assurance of Finland's friendly relations.

→ Brazil's pro-Communist President Joao Goulart is planning to visit the United

States in January, 1962.

→ Robert F. Woodward, Assistant Secretary of State, recommends that the Organization of American States partially lift the economic sanctions which were imposed against the Dominican Republic on January 4, 1961. Mr. Woodward says that this "gesture of encouragement" is "due recognition" for the democratic reforms instituted by Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer.

→ At the Council of the Organization of American States, Columbian Ambassador Alberto-Zuleta Angel proposes that Western Hemisphere foreign ministers confer on how to deal with the Communist penetration of Latin America. Mexico immediately opposes Angel's suggestion.

### Wednesday, November 15

→ Columnist Roscoe Drummond reports that "Hollywood stars and writers are again coming out into the open—and expressing their opinion. For years their voices have been frozen by fear—and not without some reason — of being branded Communist or radical or at least controversial."

→ Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy challenges newspaper editors "to send your reporters out to dig into the activities of the Communist Party in your areas and learn the facts."

→ At the request of United States Attorney Donald Manion, Judge William J. Campbell of the Federal District Court in Chicago dismisses charges against Claude Lightfoot, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of Illinois. Mr. Manion says that, because of recent United States Supreme Court decisions, the government is not sure it could prove that Lightfoot had knowledge of the

## THE WORLD

*is teetering precariously on the precipice of a Dark Age.*

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## A Review Of The News

Communist Party's intention to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

→ Herbert E. Salinger is named a part-time consultant to the Department of Labor. Mr. Salinger, who is the brother of White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, will receive fifty-four dollars a day when he is working.

**Thursday, November 16**

→ By unanimous vote, Panama's National Assembly resolves to demand from the United States a treaty whereby the Panama Canal would be given to the Republic of Panama.

→ In a letter from the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, President Kennedy is asked not to resume nuclear testing in the atmosphere. Five Nobel prize winners (Bertrand Russell, Francois Mauriac, Lloyd Boyd-Orr, Max Born, and Albert Schweitzer), cellist Pablo Casals, Israeli philosopher Martin Buber, Indian diplomat C. Rajagopalachari, Canon L. John Collins of England, and former director of the World Health Organization Brock Chislm, are the signatories.

→ From the Republic of the Congo, it is reported that thirteen Italian airmen were executed and some of their bodies mutilated on November 11 in Kivu Province. It is also reported that the savages who committed the atrocities are "troops" of Antoine Gizenga, the Communist Vice-Premier of Orientale Province.

→ Doctor Martin T. Comacho, chairman of the Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, charges that the American Committee on Africa "in effect is ardently supporting Communist goals." Doctor Comacho suggests that Eleanor Roosevelt and presidential as-

sistant Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. should resign from the ACA.

→ An Administration trial-balloon-story predicts that President Kennedy will ask the Congress for standby power to authorize price and wage controls and rationing to be used only in the event of nuclear attacks upon the United States.

**Friday, November 17**

→ Adlai Stevenson, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, estimates that the United States will have contributed about ninety million dollars by the end of 1961 to the United Nations military operations in the Republic of the Congo.

→ Fourteen Grinnell College (Iowa) students and an alumnus, picketing the White House in opposition to the resumption of atmospheric nuclear-testing, are invited to a seventy-five-minute conference with McGeorge Bundy, presidential assistant for national security affairs. The conference is held at the suggestion of President Kennedy.

→ Postmaster General J. Edward Day announces that, on October 24, 1962, the United States will issue a postage stamp honoring the late Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld.

→ The Communist Party of the United States notifies the Department of Justice that it will defy an order to register as an agency of the Soviet Union. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy says that officers of the Communist Party must register by midnight of November 30, or be subject to a fine of ten thousand dollars a day and/or five years imprisonment for each day they fail to register.

**Saturday, November 18**

→ Britain's Queen Elizabeth and Ghana's

*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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Communist President, Kwame Nkrumah, do the *High Life*, a West African dance, at a farewell party to the Queen, ending an eleven-day visit to Ghana.

→ President Kennedy's wife, Jacqueline, sends congratulations to the National Council of Negro Women and supports their fund-raising drive to establish a monument to the late Doctor Mary McLeod Bethune, a Negro educator. Mrs. Bethune had a long career of sponsorship of Communist causes and projects.

→ After a month's tour of Latin America, Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, is convinced that "anti-Americanism is a myth" in Latin America.

→ Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona says that "the first forty wagons in the New Frontier are driven by the Americans for Democratic Action . . . people we should be worried about."

→ Secretary of State Dean Rusk charges that Hector and Arismendo Trujillo are plotting a coup in the Dominican Republic and that the United States "is considering . . . measures that unpredictable events might warrant."

→ General Rafael L. Trujillo, Jr., the head of The Dominican Republic's armed forces, resigns his position and leaves his country.

### Sunday, November 19

→ Senator Kenneth B. Keating of New York charges that in 1960 United States exporters shipped more than four million dollars worth of goods to Communist East Germany. The goods included steel sheets, industrial chemicals, and coal tar products—"all of potential value in the manufacture of weapons."

→ A flotilla of United States Naval war-

ships and a flight of United States Marine jet-fighters stand by to help the Dominican Republic's President, Joaquin Balaguer, resist any attempted coup by the Trujillo family.

→ Egypt's President Nasser, India's Prime Minister Nehru, and Yugoslavia's President Tito meet in Cairo for a conference on mutual problems.

### Monday, November 20

→ In Washington, President Kennedy and West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer begin a three-day series of talks on Berlin, West Germany, and German-United States relations.

→ The Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union is admitted to full membership in the World Council of Churches. Also admitted, during proceedings at New Delhi, India, are the Orthodox Churches of Communist Poland, Communist Rumania, and Communist Bulgaria.

→ It is revealed today that the Defense Department has dismissed the National Security Agency's personnel director, Maurice H. Klein. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, which interrogated Mr. Klein in executive hearings in July, 1961, said it plans to ask Attorney General Robert Kennedy to prosecute Klein on charges of perjury, falsifying a government document, and concealment and removal of a document from an official file.

→ The American Civil Liberties Union sends a letter of protest to Attorney General Kennedy with regard to an interrogation by United States Immigration Service officials of M. S. Arnoni, an Israeli citizen who edits the magazine, *The Minority Of One*. Mr. Arnoni was questioned in October about the alleged

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## A Review Of The News

left-wing views of his publication and the ACLU considers this action as "insensitivity to the principle of freedom of expression."

### Tuesday, November 21

→ It is announced by the Defense Department that the National Security Agency's security director, S. Wesley Reynolds, has resigned after the House Committee on Un-American Activities encouraged an inquiry into alleged gratuities Reynolds had accepted.

→ President Kennedy's wife, Jacqueline, names an eleven-member committee of experts to acquire a permanent collection of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century works of American painters for the White House.

→ The United States Air Force announces that eleven missing airmen of the C-130 transport plane, shot down over Armenia by Soviet jet-fighters in 1958, must now be presumed dead. The bodies of six other airmen from the crew of the C-130 were returned to the United States by the Soviets, twenty-two days after the incident.

→ India's pro-Soviet Minister of Defense, Krishna Menon, confers with President Kennedy at the White House. Menon has long been infamous for his anti-United States diatribes.

→ The *London Times*, in an editorial criticizing United States anti-Communist laws, describes Communists as having "a certain nuisance value" that "hardly justifies treating them on a different basis from other political groups."

→ The United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union agree to the resumption of negotiations for a treaty whereby the testing of atomic weapons would be

banned. Such negotiations have been going on since October 31, 1958 in Geneva, Switzerland, but were recessed on September 9, 1961.

### Wednesday, November 22

→ President Kennedy announces that a privately financed "Freedom From Hunger Foundation" has been instituted to cooperate with the United Nations "to eliminate hunger from the earth."

→ For the week ending today, the gold reserves of the United States were reduced by three hundred million dollars—the largest one-week drop in the nation's history. The gold reserves are now less than \$16,900,000,000, the lowest since October 11, 1939.

→ French President de Gaulle outlaws the Committee of Vincennes, a political organization opposed to de Gaulle's policy of independence for Algeria. Committee members include former Premier Bidault, National Assembly Deputy Marc Lauriol, and former Cabinet Minister Jacques Soustelle.

→ Britain and Malaya agree to attempt the establishment of Greater Malaysia, a federation which would include Brunei, Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak, and Singapore.

→ The Communist Party of the United States announces that it has received and accepted application for membership from Doctor W. E. B. DuBois. Doctor DuBois, a Negro historian and sociologist, is ninety-three years of age and has had a long career of sponsoring Communist causes and projects.

### Thursday, November 23

→ After a fourteen-year severance, Brazil and the Soviet Union resume diplomatic relations.

## A Review Of The News

→ The Department of State reveals that it is negotiating with Yugoslav officials for the sale of United States wheat. Yugoslavia's Communist President Tito is seeking to purchase five hundred thousand tons which he says are needed because of recent crop failures.

→ The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Abraham Ribicoff, announces plans for the federal government to provide medical help for men rejected for military service as physically unfit.

→ In East Germany, Soviet troops delay passage of a United States military train for fourteen and a half hours until a twenty-year-old East German stowaway is turned over to Soviet authorities by United States Army Colonel Ernst von Pawel.

→ From Jakarta it is reported that Cuba's Communist Prime Minister Castro will soon visit Indonesia's Communist President Sukarno.

### Friday, November 24

→ The United States Department of Labor reports that union membership in 1960 was 68,000 less than in 1959, and 341,000 less than in 1956.

### Saturday, November 25

→ The *London Evening Standard* reports that France exploded a small caliber atomic bomb underground in the Sahara Desert on November 7, and that news of the incident has been kept out of the French press by order of the French Government.

→ President Kennedy grants an exclusive interview to Aleksei I. Adzhubei, editor of *Izvestia*, the official Soviet newspaper. Adzhubei, son-in-law of Soviet Premier Khrushchev and member of the Communist Central Committee, is

the first Soviet journalist known to have been granted such an interview by a United States President.

→ The United States Navy commissions the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, *Enterprise*, the largest, fastest, and most powerful warship ever built.

→ It is reported from Indonesia that Communist China will deliver 11,500 tons of rice to the Indonesian port of Surabaya on December 1.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, Katanga Province's President, Moise Tshombe, warns that any force exerted by the United Nations will be met by force "even if the whole Katanga population—black and white—has to die."

→ The Portuguese Defense Ministry announces that an invasion fleet has been repelled in an attempt to land at Angevida Island, part of Portugal's territory of Goa, an enclave in India.

### Sunday, November 26

→ Finland's President Urho Kekkonen suggests that Finnish anti-Communists retire from public to private life.

### Monday, November 27

→ The Soviet Union proposes an immediate ban *without international controls* on the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, outer space, or under water. Such a ban would be applicable to Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

### Tuesday, November 28

→ President Kennedy visits the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency where he presents the National Security Medal to CIA's Director Allen Dulles.

→ President Kennedy orders the Treas-

## A Review Of The News

ury Department to halt the sale of silver to industrial users, and, at the same time, he says he will ask Congress to repeal the Silver Purchase Act. Under the terms of this Act, the government purchases silver from producers at a fixed rate.

→ Twelve women from the United States and nine from the Soviet Union request that their respective governments work for disarmament, a ban on nuclear testing, *and the admission of Communist China into the United Nations*. The women held a seven-day meeting at Bryn Mawr College at the invitation of the Jane Addams Peace Association and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Sponsors included Representative Edith Green of Oregon, singer Marian Anderson, and authors Pearl Buck, Lenore Marshall, and Agnes Meyer.

**Wednesday, November 29**

→ President Kennedy tells his news con-

ference that it is the "simple responsibility" of the federal government to contribute finances for community "fallout" shelters.

→ A United States space rocket, with a chimpanzee aboard, orbits the earth twice.

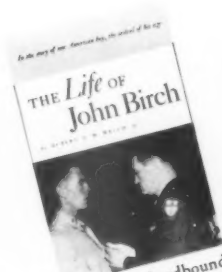
→ Pierre Salinger, White House press secretary, announces that President Kennedy may visit Columbia and Venezuela during the next month.

**Thursday, November 30**

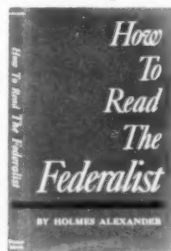
→ In the United Nations Security Council, the Soviet Union vetoes a resolution by which Kuwait would be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

→ President Joaquin Balaguer of the Dominican Republic suggests that a military junta, headed by himself, assume control of the national government for the next two years.

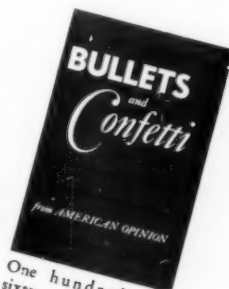
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The traveling salesman was telling his cronies of an experience he had had a few days before.

"I was driving through the hillbilly country, when I saw targets painted on every tree and post in sight, and each sported one bullet hole in the dead center of the bullseye. Curious to learn how any man could be such an accurate shot, I inquired at the village and was amazed to learn the marksman was the village dimwit. I went over to him and asked, 'How do you happen to be such a dead shot?' 'Easy as pie,' he answered. 'I just shoot first and paint the target afterwards.'"

I get up each morning, dust off my wits,

Pick up the paper and read the obits;

If my name is not there I know I'm not dead,

So I eat a good breakfast and go back to bed.

A small college decided to go co-educational. Having only one dormitory, they assigned one side to the boys and the other to the girls, and painted a white line over which no one was to stray.

The first night, a boy got over the line and was hustled before the dean. The dean informed the lad that his first offense would cost him a fine of \$5, the second offense would cost \$10, and the third would be a \$15 fine, etc. "Do you understand?" asked the dean. "Are there any questions?"

"Yes," replied the boy, "How much will a season ticket cost?"

Prosecutor: Now tell the jury the truth, madam. Why did you shoot your husband with a bow and arrow?

Defendant: I didn't want to wake the children.

And the *St. Ambrose Parish Magazine* advises: "A jumble sale will be held in the Parish Room on Saturday. This is a chance to get rid of anything that is not worth keeping, but is too good to throw away. Don't forget to bring your husbands."

Also, while we are kidding the newspapers about their slips, we might as well note the following item from the *Amarillo Globe*: Miss Opal McNary won first prize for the most original costume at the Hi-Jinks Masquerade. Needless to say Miss McNary was quite pickled.

A homework problem quoted in the *Imp*: "Dad, is water works all one word or do you spell it with a hydrant?"

Said the kind old lady to the Internal Revenue clerk: "I do hope you'll give my money to some nice country."

The poor man was walking down the street, draped only in a barrel, when a policeman stopped him.

"Hey, you," asked the cop, "are you a poker player?"

"No sirree," the fellow said emphatically. "But I just left a couple of guys who are."

When nine-year old Gerald answered the telephone at 11:00 P.M., a voice said: "We are making a survey of delinquent youth. If your family has any children do you know where they are at this moment?"

"Yes," replied Gerald, "we have, and I know. But can you tell me where my parents are?"



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