

AMERICAN OPINION

100 ANNALS PUBLISHED

NOV 27 1959

IN THIS NUMBER

Next

HISTORY

INFLATION AND YOU

T. Coleman Andrews

OPPENHEIMER RIDES AGAIN

J. B. Matthews

Other Articles And Regular Features

by

William Schlamm, Holmes Alexander, Geraldine Fitch,
Hubert Kregeloh, Edgar F. Smith, Edwin McDowell

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

Volume I Number 8

OCTOBER 1958

50¢

AMERICAN OPINION

Editor

ROBERT WELCH

Associate Editors

HUBERT KREGLOH

J. B. MATTHEWS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

HANS SENNHOLZ

Contributing Editors

COLM BROGAN

MEDFORD EVANS

RODNEY GILBERT

EDWIN McDOWELL

ELIZABETH WILSON

Editorial

Advisory Committee

The following group of distinguished Americans give the editor comments and advice which are helpful in determining the editorial policy, contents, and opinions of this magazine. But no responsibility can be attributed to any members of this Committee for any specific articles, items, or conclusions which appear in these pages.

GEORGE W. ARMSTRONG, JR.

JOHN U. BARR

K. G. BENTON

LAURENCE E. BUNKER

F. GANO CHANCE

JAMES L. COKE

KENNETH COLEGROVE

MARTIN J. CONDON, III

ROBERT B. DRESNER

CHARLES EDISON

WM. J. GREDE

FRANK E. HOLMAN

B. E. HUTCHINSON

ALFRED KOHLBERG

J. BRACKEN LEE

CLARENCE MANION

FRANK E. MASLAND, JR.

N. FLOYD MCGOWIN

W. L. McGRATH

W. B. McMILLAN

ADOLPHE MENJOU

LUDWIG VON MISES

COLA G. PARKER

J. HOWARD PEW

J. NELSON SHEPHERD

ROBERT W. STODDARD

ERNEST G. SWIGERT

A. C. WEDEMAYER

W. H. WILBUR

GEORGE H. WILLIAMSON

CONTENTS—OCTOBER, 1958

European Survey	William Schlam	1
Oppenheimer Rides Again	J. B. Matthews	7
Gratitude, Nehru?	Geraldine Fitch	18
A Review Of The News	Hubert Kregeloh	20
Bullets		22
We Pause To Remark		23
How To Read The Federalist	Holmes Alexander	33
Inflation And YOU	T. Coleman Andrews	39
In Honor Of James Monroe	Edgar F. Smith	44
A Review Of Reviews	Edwin McDowell	49
Confetti		56
Looking Both Ways		60

September 5, 1958

Dear Reader:

In William Schlam's *European Survey* mailed from Zurich on March 16, he explained why the early return of De Gaulle to power in France was almost inevitable. In his *survey* mailed from Paris on May 16 he showed why the Communists would leap for a disarmament agreement on nuclear weapons, even if they had to accept inspection inside Russia as part of the terms. Not through clairvoyance, but simply by brilliant and *objective* analysis of the known facts, Schlam has called the turn on coming events in article after article. And we think his *survey* in this issue is one of his very best.

The real question today, with regard to a retreat for the halo of J. Robert Oppenheimer, is not whether he might become a pipeline for secrets to the Kremlin. The Communists already have so many of our secrets that they may seize Iceland just for additional storage space. The question is what it means to our sense of values and standards of morality to have a man of Oppenheimer's known character so glorified by famous men and institutions. Dr. J. B. Matthews discusses the significance of that acclaim, with deep insight and firm conviction, in *Oppenheimer Rides Again*.

Taxation and inflation form a vicious circle. Around and around it goes and where it stops nobody knows. But T. Coleman Andrews shows what it does to your standard of living, in *Inflation and YOU*.

There are several more articles and features herein which seem to us outstanding. In other words, we are quite proud of this issue.

Here's hoping you are the same.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

AMERICAN OPINION—is published eleven months in the year by Robert Welch, Inc., Belmont 78, Massachusetts, U. S. A. Subscription rates are five dollars per year in the United States and Canada; seven dollars elsewhere. Copyright 1958 by Robert Welch, Inc. We use almost no articles except those written to order to fit our specific needs, and can assume no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

THE
Medite
Unite
anon a
rut. E
stark c
no on
the N
can m
the O
hope,
courte
ism a
utter
States
And I
tant p
not to
stand
in Le
Wh
there
fears
Unite
least-
signifi
Amer
act to
which
that
why,
sensit
pecte
pean
Adm
not p
any

OCTO

EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Rome, August 26, 1958

THE ONLY PEOPLE on the shores of the Mediterranean who know what the United States troops are doing in Lebanon are the soda-pop vendors in Beirut. Everybody else shakes his head in stark disbelief. It is not important that no one in Europe, North Africa, or the Near East likes the idea of American military power being displayed in the Old World. By now, one should hope, we are rather used to the discourteous exhibitions of anti-Americanism and can shrug them off. But an utter incomprehensibility of United States policies is a different matter. And I have yet to meet a single important person in Europe who has claimed, not to approve, but simply to *understand* what the United States was doing in Lebanon.

When the Marines landed in Beirut there was an immediate tremor of war fears in Europe but, or so it seemed, United States policy had become at least—and at last—clear. The landing signified, Europeans believed, a sudden American determination to counteract the Khrushchev-Nasser insolence which, with the Iraq *putsch*, had gone that famous fatal trifle too far. That's why, for about a week, very calm and sensible politicians all over Europe expected war. No matter how little Europeans may think of the Eisenhower Administration, even Europeans were not prepared to assume that a General, any General, could possibly violate the

ground rule of strategy: never to tickle if there is no intention, or no capacity, to hit. But when Undersecretary of State Murphy was dispatched to Beirut, the situation seemed badly muddled; why send a diplomatic trouble-shooter to a spot where, one had been led to believe, adequate modern armament stood poised for action? And when Mr. Murphy started bargaining with Lebanon's rebels, and pulled a "compromise" President of Lebanon out of his diplomatic tophat, the Old World was confounded. Had America really gone to the brink of war merely to produce the kind of "solution" Nasser was always perfectly willing to settle for? The ultimate blow to European comprehension fell when Mr. Murphy cooled his heels, for hours, in Nasser's antechamber. Europe could not recall a representative of Luxemburg or Monaco having ever been treated in such a fashion, even by a gangster regime. That a representative of the United States *was*, and he took it, with a full division of battle-ready United States Marines around the corner, was beyond European (or, for that matter, Arab) comprehension. What had happened to America's seeming willingness, so impressive only two weeks before, to have it out in the Near East?

We Swap Old Friends For New . . .

Certain subsequent events seemed to explain the enigma. In the first place,

European Survey

the scandalous lack of western unity vis-à-vis the Soviet drive towards a "summit conference" established the dangerous degree of American isolation. De Gaulle's haughty aloofness from the desperate United States maneuvers inside the "United Nations" was not even the worst aspect of it. The truly astonishing development, for Europe, was the role Signor Fanfani, a happy busybody, was not only allowed but practically invited to play. Coming to Washington at a climactic moment, he had the gumption to offer, under State Department auspices, his "good services" as a "mediator" between the United States and Nasser. At the same time, the habitually most loyal supporter of United States policies, Dr. Adenauer, demonstratively showed his "neutrality" in the Near East conflict; and he is still, reportedly, hopping mad that another NATO ally of the United States, Greece, beat West Germany to being the first NATO power to recognize the Iraq government of cutthroats. In short, the best-known wards of the State Department chose the Lebanon crisis as the right opportunity to show the world — and, of course, primarily that new giant of world politics, Nasser—that, as far as they were concerned, the United States could go jump in the lake.

Fanfani's importunate behavior of late is particularly being noticed in Europe because, for the first time in Italian post-war policies, a theatrical gesture is being supported by daringly employed power. While Fanfani sings his *coloratura* on the stage, the big operator behind the scene is, of course, that Signor Enrico Mattei (see *Survey* in July-August issue) who loves being called "the mightiest Roman since Emperor Augustus." Mattei, at this moment, is

one of the busiest people of the world; it looks as if he were the chosen instrument of the shrewdest bit of Soviet policies that has been tried in recent years. The particular stratagem is no less than an attempt to get the "Seven Sisters," the seven big oil companies of the West (Standard Oil of New Jersey, Gulf Oil, Caltex, Standard Oil of California, Socony Vacuum, British Petroleum, and Royal Dutch Shell) pushed out of the Near East altogether.

Such Oily Friends! . . .

Signor Mattei is secretly negotiating tremendous deals with Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia by which he hopes to get the oil-exploitation contracts in these three crucial oil territories either immediately or when the existing contracts of the "Seven Sisters" expire. And this little Italian only *looks* ludicrous. Actually, his schemes are no case of megalomania. They have excellent chances of realization because they are backed up by a bid the governments of Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia cannot for long resist: Signor Mattei has been offering them a seventy-five percent cut of all oil revenues, while the existing contracts are based on a fifty-fifty split. The "Seven Sisters" claim, rather persuasively, that they could not concede more than one-half of the revenues without taking a change on deficit operations. How can Signor Mattei believably offer his willingness to pocket only twenty-five percent? For, obviously, he must have shown credentials to certify that he can deliver what he offers; or else the oil potentates of the Near East would not even have talked to him.

(With Friends Of Their Own!) . . .

As I pointed out a few months ago,

Signor
ate frie
2 man
Mattei
friend
great
tian D
very li
operate
rally,
Europe
what y
suspect
as the
dous t
with in
by tha
can co
and K
scheme
succeed
tel we
"Seven
in one
soon a
its oil
ally, o
be on
have f
It is
be int
entere
Italian
prema
take
East r
comes
outfit
Nazio
State
made
western
intima
Mattei
as left
is a cl

European Survey

Signor Mattei happens to be an intimate friend of Anastas Mikoyan, the No. 2 man in the Kremlin. Oh yes, Signor Mattei is also a professing Catholic, friend of the Italian President and the great financial angel of Italy's Christian Democracy. Aside from this, he is very likely the most dangerous leftist operator of Europe (and, quite naturally, a former Fascist). In any case, Europeans who know a little more than what you can find on the front pages suspect that Signor Mattei functions as the frontman-manager of a tremendous thrust the Soviets are preparing with immense sums of money. Backed by that kind of money, Signor Mattei can convincingly impress the Sheiks and Kings of the Near East. It is a scheme of staggering proportions. If it succeeds, a huge Italian-owned oil cartel would not just compete with the "Seven Sisters," but would beat them in one oil territory after another; and soon all of Europe would depend for its oil supply on Signor Mattei. Actually, of course, this dependence would be on the Soviet Union, that would have financed the whole operation.

It is evident why the Soviets should be interested in such a scheme. If they entered the scene without a stooge, Italian or otherwise, the West might be prematurely driven to desperation and take swift action. Besides, the Near East must be gingerly treated when it comes to direct Soviet intervention. An outfit like Signor Mattei's "Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi" — the Italian State Monopoly of all fuel — is tailor-made for the Soviet intents; Italy is a western power, and yet, it retains most intimate relations with Nasser; Signor Mattei may be known to a few people as leftist (and former Fascist), yet he is a church-going Catholic and indubita-

ably the most powerful man in the Christian Democratic Party; and while the "Seven Sisters" may try their darndest to spoil the Mattei deal, the western governments could not very well go to war just because the Shah of Iran, the Sheik of Kuwait, and the King of Saudi Arabia preferred a cut of seventy-five percent to one of fifty percent.

I do not mean to say that it's all in Signor Mattei's pocket. A lot may happen before the Great Soviet Scheme can take the final hurdles. But the politically important thing is that, for the first time since 1944, an Italian Government dares engage in power politics; that it is a leftist Government living by the grace of Signor Mattei and Signor Khrushchev; and that the United States Government, instead of at least cold-shouldering Fanfani, lends him prestige and supplies him with the props he needs for his "statesman" act.

And A Beautiful Empty Bag . . .

And the point is further that the Lebanon landings will go down in history as probably the most futile of all the futile acts of which ill-advised United States Governments have been guilty. Far from having saved Lebanon and Jordan, the British-American intervention is pushing both countries into the Nasser camp. Everybody even faintly connected with having invited foreign troops to Lebanon and Jordan will be quartered the moment these troops leave. And as Eisenhower and Macmillan obviously did not have any intention to stay where they landed, and to use the two bridgeheads for a complete cleansing job in the Near East, their thoughtless and lighthearted improvisation will prove their undoing.

What, indeed, *was* the idea? As I

European Survey

said, no one in Europe pretends to understand what happened. However, without claiming any inside knowledge, I would take a chance on a guess. The Eisenhower Administration, it seems to me, was caving in under the big pressure of those who "advised" it to make friends with Nasser. But terrified by the domestic effects of such an about-face, the Administration did what all exhausted regimes are liable to do—it decided on a display of power the very moment it was getting ready to throw the power away. It's one of the oldest tricks in the business. The idea behind such pointless demonstrations is always the same: impressed by the sudden bang, the world (or so the distressed operators hope) will not notice the impotence that is setting in.

At any rate, whatever the explanation may be, no one in Europe has any illusions left about the fate of the "Eisenhower Doctrine." It is dead. American policy in the Near East is dead. The Eisenhower Administration has made up its mind to concede the Near East to Nasser. The Lebanon expedition was but a military ceremony at hauling down the flag.

* * *

Which The British Help Us Hold . . .

But Americans chagrined by such conduct of their government can take cheer: there is *one* government that has been acting even *less* responsibly—the British Government. In fact, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, makes knowing Europeans feel nostalgic for Stanley Baldwin. He, one will remember, did not arm Great Britain (and thus brought about the Second World War) because he wanted to win an election. Macmillan, too, wants to win an election. And to outdo his pacifistic opposition, Mr. Macmillan is not

only disarming the British Empire but he destroys the last military pillars of the Western Alliance.

The incredible fact is that—at the very time Britain was seemingly committing its armed forces in the Near East—the Macmillan Government published its "White Book" on "The Central Organization for Defense" which fully confirmed the notorious British Five-Years Plan of Disarmament. Macmillan renewed his intention to reduce, by 1962, Britain's armed forces to 165,000 men. (Their present strength is about 500,000 men.) The draft is to be abolished by 1960. The "theory" behind this veritable binge of irresponsibility is that British strategy must be based on the H-Bomb and, therefore, can disband the "conventional" military organization. The former Conservative Defense Minister, Anthony Head, has accused his own party leader of having, with one stroke, erased all of Britain's commitments abroad: if Britain's armed forces are reduced to 165,000 men, exactly 25,000 men (two small divisions) remain for the strategic reserve that would have to protect *all* of Britain's overseas interests (the rest being needed to protect the British Isles).

While The Sun Sets On Their Empire . . .

In a recent *Survey* (July-August) I have analyzed NATO's predicaments in the face of the fallacious "atomic disarmament" that the western powers so fervently desire; and I have shown that, if the Soviets intelligently accepted the western proposals, the West would either have to *increase* its armed forces to from five to fifteen times their present size, or to capitulate. And what is Mr. Macmillan's response to this

dilem
re "ato
same t
forces!
ment"
a mini
sions (
to unc
Europe
that, b
NATO
(Germ
ment i
it is co
1961 w
millan
smile a
pares f
Soviets
Europe
your r
Mr. M

And I
In M
a few
obliqu
some
French
nobod
gave a
of a s
fired
three
isolate
kingd
duced
relatio
Europ
progre
coup
lowin
the de
made
putsch
overw

European Survey

dilemma? He gets ever more urgent in re "atomic disarmament"; and, at the same time, *decimates* Britain's armed forces! Should an "atomic disarmament" be attained, NATO would need a *minimum* of eighty battle-ready divisions (instead of its present eighteen) to undertake a defense of Western Europe; and Mr. Macmillan announces that, by 1962, Britain's contribution to NATO will amount to *two* divisions! (Germany's *present* manpower investment in NATO is eight divisions; and it is committed to supplying NATO by 1961 with sixteen divisions.) Mr. Macmillan, almost as famous for his warm smile as Mr. Eisenhower, serenely prepares for the next election. What if the Soviets in the meantime take Western Europe by telephone? Let alarmists like your reporter worry about such trifles! Mr. Macmillan keeps smiling.

* * *

And Bargain-Price Revolutions . . .

In May, a few theatrical gestures of a few parachutist officers—just some oblique threats, some verbal bravado, some grim looks—abolished the Fourth French Republic. No shot was fired, nobody went to jail, nobody, in fact, gave a damn. In July, the movements of a single Iraq brigade, a few shots fired by a single company, less than three hours' mayhem in one or two isolated spots of Baghdad, overthrew a kingdom, buried the king, and produced a lasting change in world power relations. No wonder that thoughtful Europeans are deeply impressed by the progressive effectiveness of streamlined *coup d'états*. In both recent cases, following one another within eight weeks, the determined act of a minute group made history. And in both cases the *putsch* succeeded, not because it was overwhelmingly forceful, but because

the population remained an indifferent and even paralyzed onlooker.

The conclusions thoughtful Europeans are drawing sound frightening. Here, for example, is what the *Welt*, a Hamburg newspaper, recently wrote: "There is in the Near East, and presumably also in other big parts of the world, no regime that could not be overthrown in a jiffy, so long as the majority of the peoples in question consists of indifferent opportunists for whom the word 'liberty' is but a phrase and the thesis of Communist Peril mere talk."

Come Off The Assembly Line . . .

The description, I am sorry to say, fits just about every western nation, too. This is a time of catastrophes primarily because, indeed, the majority of our contemporaries consider "liberty" but a phrase and the Communist peril mere talk. After the events in Paris and Baghdad, the ambitions of conspirators all around the world must have grown in proportion to their demonstrated immense chances of success. The how-to-do-it technique has been well nigh perfected. I would advise everybody to expect a few next rounds in the very near future. To stage a successful *coup d'état* is a much easier feat these days than to convince a single European or, for that matter, American citizen that the bell tolls for him.

* * *

Or May Not Even Be Needed . . .

There is still no new government in Finland and it does not seem likely that the creeping crisis can creep much longer. The irreducible political fact remains that the Communists have become by far the strongest party in the little country and that, so near the immediate "neighborly" pressures of Moscow, no Finnish politician dares ignore

European Survey

the fact. On the contrary, Finland's leading non-Socialist party, the Agrarians, seem more tempted than any other non-Communist formation of the country to play along with the Communists. This is becoming one of the most disturbing symptoms of the fatal confusion of European minds: Traditionally conservative parties—like the Catholic Volkspartei in Austria, the Finnish Agrarians, even important groups in General de Gaulle's entourage — are getting weak-brained when it comes to dealing with the Soviet Union. One conservative party after another in Europe is flirting with the idea, not just of "coexistence," but of downright alliance with Communism. So far, quite paradoxically, the Social Democratic parties on the left keep their conservative competitors from committing suicide. But it won't work forever. In Finland, for example, the Agrarians seem to be getting ready to rule the country in a tacit coalition with the Communists.

If such a government is formed in Finland, the Soviet Union will have achieved a major breakthrough in the entire Scandinavian area. To "neutralize" their Finnish neighbor to the Northwest was always a central strategic concern of the Soviets. It becomes much more important when the flanking maneuvers in the Southwest—all through the Near East, North Africa, Greece, and Italy—are progressing so well for Moscow. If the Finnish Communists can ascend, formally or tacitly, to governmental respectability, then Sweden and Norway, already frightened into increasing "neutralism," may soon cave in—not necessarily to embrace their domestic Communists but to fall into line with Soviet policies which seek to deny Northern Europe

to NATO's strategic planning. And thus the pincers will be closed around the Continent.

For The Burial Of Western Europe...

At which point I would like to add a personal note that, on second thought, is not personal at all. I am now staying nine months in Europe, travelling a great deal, and the United States seems never so far away as when I read American newspapers. The experience, in fact, is getting eerie. The Europe that America's press is writing about resembles less and less the Europe I am seeing day by day. Americans, who must depend for their information on what they are allowed to read in their newspapers, could not possibly begin to understand the crucial changes of power-structure that have taken place here since last November. I shiver when I think what the cumulative falsification, which the Pollyannas who edit the United States press afflict on the American public, will ultimately do to the preparedness of the nation. Since I have been here in Europe, the Soviets' influence, prospects, and power have grown in the European-African area, conservatively estimated, by fifty percent. But, unless I have forgotten how to read American newspapers, the United States press is less apprehensive today about America's situation than it was a year ago. What is it? Smugness? Whistling in the dark? Delusions? I just don't know. I only know that time ticks here at a terrifying pace; that the shadows are growing darker by the hour; and that this part of the world is getting ready for decisive historical mutations. But we are not. And I remember that to rely on Divine Intervention without going to work is an unpardonable sin.

THE
TRUE.
places
anybod
sary by
turn bl
the Ar

This
clamer
compet
heimer
directo
of the
where
Our in
year o
mous
ing of
state c
upon
dards

Keepi

On
Comm
matter
These
ence a
nel So
as the
exten
1954,
pages.

In i
ed by
Energe
have c
cleara

OPPENHEIMER RIDES AGAIN

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

THE STORY YOU ARE ABOUT TO READ IS TRUE. The names, the dates, and the places have not been changed to protect anybody. Its re-telling is made necessary by increasingly brazen efforts to turn black into white in the memory of the American people.

This story may well begin with a disclaimer of any interest in the scientific competence of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man who was wartime director of the Los Alamos laboratory of the Manhattan Engineering District where the A-bomb was manufactured. Our interest in Oppenheimer, in this year of 1958, is centered not in the famous scientist himself, but in the bearing of the Oppenheimer Case upon the state of public morals in general and upon the state of current loyalty standards in particular.

Keeping The Case Alive . . .

On June 29, 1954, the Atomic Energy Commission released its findings in the matter of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. These findings were based upon evidence adduced before the AEC's Personnel Security Board (often referred to as the Gray Board) in hearings which extended from April 12 through May 6, 1954, and which run to 992 printed pages.

In its statement, which was supported by a vote of four to one, the Atomic Energy Commission declared: "... we have concluded that Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance for access to restricted data

should not be reinstated." Furthermore, the AEC said: "... we find Dr. Oppenheimer is not entitled to the continued confidence of the Government and of this commission because of the proof of fundamental defects in his 'character.'"

The decision of the Atomic Energy Commission formally closed the Oppenheimer Case. But ever since then the AEC has been subjected to an unparalleled campaign of abuse which strongly suggests an efficient organization of propaganda. Its visible aim is to rebuild the reputation of Dr. Oppenheimer, and to put him on a hero's pedestal. And the collateral purpose of some of that propaganda seems to be to make Communism respectable, treason merely a difference of opinion, and any sense of moral values the equivalent of imbecility.

While it is within the legitimate scope of any American's prerogatives to challenge the verdict of any tribunal—be it a court or a commission—those who do the challenging must bear the responsibility for so boldly brandishing the issue in public discussion. In the Oppenheimer matter, this necessitates going over again and again some of the ugly facts of the Oppenheimer career; facts which the scientist himself would probably prefer to have the public forget. Those who elect to distort the facts must be answered, because the public has serious interests at stake. So let's take another brief look at parts of the

Oppenheimer Rides Again

Oppenheimer record.

II

Enter Jean Tatlock . . .

IT IS A WIDELY HELD BELIEF that the average Communist's life story is divided into chapters arranged in somewhat the following order: Youthful Idealism Is Challenged by the Depression of the Early 1930's; The Young Collegian Finds in Communism the Answer to His Emotional and Intellectual Needs; He Joins the Party and Goes Through a Dizzying Round of Exhilarating Revolt Against Established Customs and Authority; He Dines, Wines, and Dances in an Exciting Whirl of Activity on Behalf of the Chinese Peasants, the Spanish Loyalists, and the Scottsboro Boys; The Excitement Wears Thin and Boredom Sets In; He Discovers That the Communist Party Is Not Managed by Secular Saints; Bitter Disillusionment Supplants Early Idealism; He Drops Out of the Party and Reverts to Normal American Behavior—Little the Worse for His Brief Association with Communism.

While such is undoubtedly a rough sketch of the experience of quite a number of ex-Communists, it is often a self-serving account devoid of any profound or even honest self-analysis. And, it is certainly not the story of J. Robert Oppenheimer.

In the real-life script of J. Robert Oppenheimer and his association with the Communist apparatus there were elements of stark tragedy. One of these was his long relationship with Jean Tatlock.

According to Oppenheimer's own account, the year 1936 marked a sharp turning in his life. He was thirty-two years of age; his student days were nine

years behind him. He was a successful professor at two of the country's most distinguished institutions of higher learning, the University of California and the California Institute of Technology. The impact of the Depression was certainly not a personal problem. There was nothing in Oppenheimer's situation that even remotely hinted that he was about to become deeply and tragically involved with the Communist conspiracy.

Then came Jean Tatlock, who was to figure decisively in Oppenheimer's life for the next eight years. When they were introduced in 1936, she was twenty-one years of age.

Oppenheimer learned at once that Miss Tatlock was a member of the Communist Party; she told him so. Twice during the early years of their liaison, says Dr. Oppenheimer, he and Jean Tatlock had considered themselves "close enough to marriage to think of [themselves] as engaged." Their intimacy continued for some years after his marriage to Katherine Puening Dallet Harrison in 1940.

It was almost inevitable that the security officers of the Manhattan Engineering District, whose duty it was to protect the secret of the A-bomb against espionage, would know about Oppenheimer's private life and about his liaison with a Communist woman. That was part of their job; and, in the carrying out of their sworn obligations to guard the world's greatest secret, they placed Dr. Oppenheimer under a twenty-four-hour surveillance. In their anxiety and in the discharge of their exacting duties, they could not afford to take chances.

Even the most hardened investigators encounter occasional surprises, and

the sec
labor
when
bomb
anxiety
Comm
away
Dr. O
lock.

Who
ity Bo
mission
this C
heimer
see me
py." I
it? M

naive
wome
discipl
for a

At
the M
did n
with
of sec
ated t
child-

Jean
sar Ca
the U
no do
woma
anteco
profes
of Ca

Fro
had l
heime
Comm
ciates
ful a
leadin
saw t
profes

Oppenheimer Rides Again

the security officers of the Los Alamos laboratory must have experienced one when they found the director of the A-bomb project, during the peak of their anxiety in June, 1943, visiting with a Communist woman hundreds of miles away from his work at Los Alamos. Dr. Oppenheimer was with Jean Tatlock.

When asked by the Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission why he left Los Alamos to visit this Communist woman, Dr. Oppenheimer replied, "I felt that she had to see me . . . She was extremely unhappy." It was as simple as that; or was it? Maybe Dr. Oppenheimer was so naive that he didn't know Communist women are sometimes bound by Party discipline to use their male friendships for a double purpose.

At any rate, the security officers of the Manhattan Engineering District did not confront Dr. Oppenheimer with questions of morals or violations of security regulations. They appreciated the fact that they had a problem child—to say the least—on their hands.

Jean Tatlock was a graduate of Vassar College. She took a Ph.D. degree at the University of California. There is no doubt that she was a gifted young woman. She had excellent academic antecedents; her father was a noted professor of English at the University of California.

From the beginning Miss Tatlock had lost no time in inducting Oppenheimer into the wide circle of her Communist and fellow-traveling associates. Even in 1936, at the rather youthful age of twenty-one, she knew the leading Communists of California and saw to it that her new friend, the young professor of science, met them. She was

not only a Communist enthusiast of the idealistic variety; she was already on the fringes (at least) of the Communist espionage apparatus.

Professor Thomas Addis, of Stanford University, long known as one of the most prominent Communists in the academic world, was a particularly close friend of Jean Tatlock. Soon after she introduced Addis to Oppenheimer, Addis became something of a Communist mentor to the novitiate Oppenheimer. It was Addis who persuaded Oppenheimer to give large sums of money, in cash, to the Communist Party, over a period of four or five years—the last such cash contribution having been made after Oppenheimer took up his duties as director of the Los Alamos laboratory.

Oppenheimer's financial contributions to the Communist Party, admittedly ranging somewhere between \$500 and \$1000 annually, sound very much as though they were regular dues payments. When asked whether he knew his cash contributions were "going through Communist channels," Oppenheimer replied, "I knew it."

When the Gray Board asked Oppenheimer, "When did you meet this group of Communists and fellow travelers who were friends of Miss Tatlock?" he replied, "That came on gradually during 1937, maybe late 1936, not all at once." The record makes it clear that Jean Tatlock was the person primarily responsible for surrounding Oppenheimer with Communists.

In addition to Professor Thomas Addis, Oppenheimer came to know, as a result of his liaison with Miss Tatlock, the following Communists:

William Schneiderman, head of the Communist Party of California, whom

Oppenheimer Rides Again

he met at parties in the homes of Louise Bransten and Haakon Chevalier where the Party line was expounded;

Haakon Chevalier, about whom more later;

Kenneth May, a Communist Party functionary in California, at whose home Oppenheimer attended a party for which there was an admission charge for the benefit of the Communist Party's newspaper on the West Coast — to which party Oppenheimer went in the company of Joseph Weinberg and Clarence Hiskey, who are alleged to have engaged in espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union;

Margaret Ellis, identified as a Communist sympathizer, who tried as late as 1952 to enlist Oppenheimer's support of the convicted Communist spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; and

Louise Bransten, a wealthy Communist woman who has been a shadowy figure in the Communist underground of espionage and whose home was used for Communist Party meetings.

There were many others; but these will suffice to indicate that Jean Tatlock did her Communist work well.

Miss Tatlock was also instrumental in getting Oppenheimer involved in the sponsorship of such Communist-front organizations as the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, Consumers Union, the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and the Teachers Union. In a memorandum dated September 14, 1943, Colonel John Lansdale reported a conversation between Oppenheimer and General Leslie Groves, in which Oppenheimer was said to have admitted that he, Oppenheimer, "belonged to every Communist-front

organization on the West Coast." Oppenheimer later declared that, if he said this, it was in the nature of a jocular exaggeration.

Exit Jean Tatlock . . .

On the morning of January 6, 1944, the following headline appeared on the front pages of California newspapers: "Woman Psychiatrist of San Francisco Drowns Self in Bathtub." Sure enough, it was Dr. Oppenheimer's friend with whom he had been involved for so many years in clandestine sex and Communism. At the time of her death, she was Dr. Jean S. Tatlock, attached to Mt. Zion Hospital in San Francisco.

The police hinted darkly that they did not know or care to reveal all the facts of the tragic death, by announcing that it was "an apparent suicide by drowning."

Unusual behavior on the part of Jean Tatlock's father contributed an element of mystery to the circumstances of her death. The generous interpretation of his actions was that he experienced a severe state of shock on finding his daughter's nude body in the bathtub. Having received no response to his telephone calls for two days the father had gone to her apartment and entered by a window. Before the police arrived, he had removed the body from the bathtub to a couch.

More extraordinary still, the father had immediately set about burning photographs and correspondence belonging to the deceased woman. What important evidence they contained will never be known; but their ill-considered destruction was bound to arouse suspicions. If these suspicions were unfounded, the father had only his own haste to blame.

Oppenheimer Rides Again

An incoherent note left by Jean Tatlock contained only one legible sentence: "I am disgusted with everything." Adding further to the element of mystery was the fact that she had not given her father, friends, or professional associates any inkling of suicidal intentions up to the very moment of her death.

III

An Anonymous Woman . . .

IN A FOREWORD to its *Hearings Regarding Steve Nelson*, dated June 8, 1949, the House Committee on Un-American Activities recorded the following observations concerning Steve Nelson, born Steve Mesarosh in Yugoslavia, and an anonymous woman:

Steve Nelson was so important to the Communist movement and had gained such favor with his superiors that in 1940 he was assigned as organizer for the party in the bay area at the port of San Francisco, Calif. He was also given an underground assignment to gather information regarding the development of the atomic bomb. This assignment was facilitated by Steve Nelson's having met a woman in Spain who had gone to Spain in 1937 to meet her husband, also a volunteer in the International Brigade. Upon arrival in Spain, this woman was informed that her husband had been killed and she was befriended by Steve Nelson. This woman, upon her return to the United States, moved to Berkeley, Calif., where she became acquainted with and married one of the leading physicists engaged in the development of the atomic bomb. "This woman," so scantily clothed

with anonymity, was none other than Katherine Puening Dallet Harrison Oppenheimer, wife of Dr. Robert J. Oppenheimer.

As a student at the University of Wisconsin, Katherine Puening had married a Communist Party functionary named Joe Dallet. After their marriage, Katherine joined the Communist Party.

Early in the Spanish Civil War, Dallet had been ordered to Spain by the Communist Party. Whether Dallet was killed in battle or executed by his Communist bosses is a question which has not been answered satisfactorily.

On learning of her husband's death, Katherine Dallet tried to go to Spain. She was in Paris at the time, having been summoned there by someone whose identity is not disclosed in the record. Once in Paris, she was shown a telegram which stated that Joe Dallet had been killed in action. She was then informed that Steve Nelson "was coming back from Spain in a day or two" and that she "might want to wait and see what Steve had to say." Steve objected to her going to Spain, and she desisted in the effort. Instead, she spent a week in Paris and "saw Steve most of the time." The House Committee's Foreword is apparently in error in stating that its anonymous woman and Steve Nelson met in Spain.

But, the House Committee was right in the matter of major importance: When the Radiation Laboratory at the University of California at Berkeley became an important center of research in nuclear physics at the beginning of the war, the Communist espionage chiefs sent Steve Nelson to California on the highest of missions; namely, to report on developments in nuclear physics.

Oppenheimer Rides Again

Once in California, Steve Nelson renewed his acquaintance with Katherine, who in the meantime had married and divorced a Dr. Harrison and then married Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer.

In her testimony before the Gray Board, Mrs. Oppenheimer said that, according to her recollection, Steve Nelson visited in the Oppenheimer home twice, that the visits were strictly social, and that Nelson was accompanied both times by his wife and child. Dr. Oppenheimer estimated that there were "several" such visits. The Oppenheimers were hazy about the dates of Nelson's visits but admitted that some of them occurred after Dr. Oppenheimer had "some connection" with the A-bomb project.

When the Gray board asked Dr. Oppenheimer, "What did you have in common with Steve Nelson?" the Doctor made the astonishing reply, "Nothing, except an affection for my wife." Elaborating on this extraordinary answer to the Board, Oppenheimer stated with an unparalleled blandness, "They (Nelson and Mrs. Oppenheimer) had close affectionate relationships and I was a natural bystander." The Gray Board did not pursue the matter further.

How "close affectionate relationships" could develop between one of the most sinister figures in the history of Communist espionage and the wife of the director of the atomic bomb project, with the director himself in the role of "natural bystander," and all as a result of a week together in Paris in 1937 plus two social encounters of the Nelson and Oppenheimer families in 1941-1942, poses a puzzling question. There must be gaps in the story which, if filled in with facts, would make sense which is now entirely lacking.

A Liar in 1943 or 1954?

In the middle of the War (1943), Oppenheimer told Colonel Boris T. Pash, chief of the Counter Intelligence Branch of Military Intelligence, a story of attempted Soviet espionage at the Los Alamos Laboratory by Haakon Chevalier.

Colonel Pash was one of the high officers of Military Intelligence charged with the protection of the atomic-weapons project against spies. His was not a routine or perfunctory assignment. The security of the United States was his solemn business. To lie about Soviet espionage deliberately, painstakingly, in great circumstantial detail, and for no ostensible purpose, to Colonel Pash would be unthinkable for any loyal American. Nevertheless, that is exactly what J. Robert Oppenheimer declares that he did in 1943 while he was director of the Los Alamos A-bomb project.

What was Oppenheimer's purpose in trying to confuse the high security officers of this country at a moment when millions of American fighting men were taking the risks of death in all parts of the world?

How, millions of Americans will ask, can thousands of scientists and newspaper editors condone Oppenheimer's behavior in the face of his own statements in 1943 and 1954? They are, on the record, guilty of a "softness" toward vital issues of loyalty and basic integrity which involve the very existence of the United States.

Was Oppenheimer's "cock and bull story" about espionage told for the purpose of diverting the attention of the A-bomb security officers from the real espionage which, we now know, went on in the Los Alamos laboratory? This question is raised by Oppenheimer's

Oppenheimer Rides Again

own unsatisfactory explanations.

Counsel for the Personnel Security Board of the AEC asked Oppenheimer the following question: "Isn't it a fair statement today, Dr. Oppenheimer, that according to your testimony now, you told not one lie to Colonel Pash, but a whole fabrication and tissue of lies?" To this question Oppenheimer replied, "Right."

Again counsel queried, "Why did you go into such great circumstantial detail about this thing if you were telling a cock and bull story?" To this, Oppenheimer offered the lame answer, "I fear that this whole thing is a piece of idiocy." That reply explains nothing, coming, as it does, from the man of history and destiny, upon the slender thread of whose competence and integrity the future of the nation depended.

In its final decision in the Oppenheimer case, the Atomic Energy Commission, on June 29, 1954, made the following observation:

"It is not clear today whether the account Dr. Oppenheimer gave to Colonel Pash in 1943 concerning the Chevalier incident or the story he told the Gray Board last month is the true version.

"If Dr. Oppenheimer lied in 1943, as he now says he did, he committed the crime of knowingly making false and material statements to a Federal officer. If he lied to the Board, he committed perjury in 1954."

Colonel Pash, who is a skilled investigator and interrogator in such matters, is still convinced that in 1943 Oppenheimer told him the truth about the Eltenton-Chevalier attempted espionage and, by implication, committed perjury before the Personnel Security Board in 1954.

Colonel Pash believes that Oppenheimer had an ulterior motive in telling him, quite belatedly, about the Eltenton-Chevalier matter on August 26, 1943, his purpose having been to throw Military Intelligence off guard in its investigation of himself.

Colonel Pash further believes that there was never any real break between Oppenheimer and the Communist Party.

IV

Who Stopped The Investigation? . . .

It is TIME for the people of the United States to ask, and demand an answer to, a vastly more important question than "who promoted Peress?"

In the summer of 1943 Military Intelligence, under the direction of Colonel Boris T. Pash, had embarked upon a full-dress investigation of the Communist connections of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. This investigation was not related in any way to Oppenheimer's tale of the Eltenton-Chevalier attempted espionage. It was based upon the substantial evidence of Oppenheimer's own intimate connections with Communists and the Communist Party. Colonel Pash communicated the results of his preliminary investigation of Oppenheimer—grave in their import—to the Pentagon in Washington.

Under date of June 29, 1943, Colonel Pash forwarded specific recommendations to the Pentagon, including the following: "That every effort be made to find a suitable replacement for subject and that as soon as such replacement is trained that subject be removed completely from the project and dismissed from employment by the United States Government." Surely, that was a drastic recommendation. But it was to prove,

Oppenheimer Rides Again

eleven years after it was sent to the Pentagon, as having been fully supported by the evidence and developments.

Other items in Colonel Pash's official communication of June 29, 1943, on the subject of Oppenheimer's connection with the Communist Party, include the following:

"Information available to this office (Military Intelligence) indicates that subject (J. Robert Oppenheimer) may still be connected with the Communist Party.

"Bernadette Doyle, organizer of the Communist Party in Alameda County, California, has referred to subject and his brother, Frank, as being regularly registered within the party.

"It is known that the Alameda branch of the party was concerned over the Communist affiliation of subject and his brother, as it was not considered prudent for this connection to be known in view of the highly secret work on which both are engaged."

There was much other information of similar purport. But what happened? Suddenly and swiftly, somebody in Washington intervened, and this investigation of Oppenheimer by Military Intelligence was stopped cold. In sworn testimony given on April 30, 1954, before the Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission, Colonel Pash revealed, *for the first time*, that the investigation "was discontinued on instructions from Washington . . . sometime in the middle of August (1943)."

Yes, Who? . . .

Who, in the Pentagon or elsewhere in Washington, ordered Colonel Pash to halt his investigation into Commu-

nist connections of J. Robert Oppenheimer—after so much material information had been discovered and reported?

Who, in the Pentagon or elsewhere in Washington, was responsible fifteen years ago for calling off the investigation which might have brought to an end the espionage activities of Klaus Fuchs and the Rosenbergs? Who, in the Pentagon or elsewhere in Washington, was the traitor bent on protecting Communists who had penetrated the A-bomb project?

Unless the documents have been destroyed or "misplaced," as happened in the case of the report on the Katyn Forest Massacre of the Polish officers by the Communists, it would be a simple matter to ascertain who it was that decreed the halting of the Oppenheimer investigation in August of 1943. To fix the responsibility for that decision is ten thousand times more important than finding the circumstances of the shining of G. David Schine's shoes and his visits to the Stork Club, on the investigation of which the Pentagon spent huge sums of money. Why not find out, and let the American people know, who was responsible for ignoring and nullifying the preliminary report of Military Intelligence on the Communist connections of J. Robert Oppenheimer? Or is this one of the many facts about Communist subversion that must be kept from the American people by the imposition of the Truman-Eisenhower gag rule?

V

ONE TREMBLING REED with which the Left Wing is now trying to hoist into view a halo for the head of Oppenheimer is an appeal to certain

deep-
American

Paul B

In a
April 1
the fol
Dr. O
was rev
ergy C
he was
and th
disdain
Mr. B
the ed
sterling

The
publish
introdu
to an
ternati

It w
has ev
cation
one w
the P
by Mr
of the
revoki
ance
not co
the A

Mr.
Dr. C
dacion
urally
nist a
Guar
Comm
the in
Fol
prese
ahead
even

Oppenheimer Rides Again

deep-rooted emotional prejudices of the American people.

Paul Block's Prevarication . . .

In a dispatch datelined Washington, April 15, 1958, the United Press carried the following item: "Mr. Block said Dr. Oppenheimer's security clearance was revoked in 1954 by the Atomic Energy Commission on two charges—that he was 'excessively loyal to his friends' and that he sometimes displayed 'a disdain for the Cops.' 'I submit,' said Mr. Block amid heavy applause from the editors, 'that these are two solid, sterling American traits.'"

The reference was to Paul Block, Jr., publisher of the *Toledo Blade*, who was introducing Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer to an audience of 160 editors of the International Press Institute.

It would be hard to find another instance in which a prominent journalist has ever sunk to a lower level of falsification of solemnly recorded facts. Anyone who has read the Proceedings of the Personal Security Board (headed by Mr. Gordon Gray) and the decision of the Atomic Energy Commission in revoking Oppenheimer's security clearance knows that Paul Block, Jr., did not correctly state the charges on which the AEC acted.

Mr. Block's language in introducing Dr. Oppenheimer was, in effect, a mendacious attack upon the AEC. Naturally, this brought joy to the Communist and leftwing press. The *National Guardian*, faithful mouthpiece of the Communist line, clucked happily over the incident.

Following Mr. Block's meretricious presentation, Dr. Oppenheimer went ahead with his address without voicing even a feeble protest at what he, above

all other persons, must have known was undiluted falsehood.

How Oppenheimer Treated One Friend . . .

In the summer of 1949, J. Robert Oppenheimer testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in executive session. By what appears to have been a leak, the gist of his testimony appeared in the Rochester (N.Y.) *Times-Union*. Oppenheimer's executive session testimony bears directly upon the question of how "excessively loyal" he was to his friend, Bernard Peters, who was then a professor at the University of Rochester.

According to Oppenheimer's leaked testimony, Professor Peters was not only a member of the Communist Party but a dangerous one at that.

On learning of Oppenheimer's testimony, Dr. Edward U. Condon wrote a letter to Oppenheimer from Idaho Springs, Colorado, under date of June 27, 1949. Condon's letter is sizzling with anger. "One is tempted to feel," wrote Condon, "that you are so foolish as to think you can buy immunity for yourself by turning informer."

Condon further wrote Oppenheimer, as follows: "You know very well that once these people decide to go into your own dossier and make it public that it will make the 'revelations' that have been made so far look pretty tame." Little did Condon know that almost exactly five years later Oppenheimer's own dossier really would be made public.

And Another . . .

A further instance of J. Robert Oppenheimer's being "excessively loyal to his friends" is found in the Eltenton-

Oppenheimer Rides Again

Chevalier incident, which we have discussed at length above. Chevalier was one of Oppenheimer's closest friends. It was a queer expression of excessive loyalty on Oppenheimer's part to concoct a "whole fabrication and tissue of lies," which charged this close friend with espionage and treason. Yet this is what Oppenheimer later told the Gray Board under oath he had done. Furthermore, this "whole fabrication and tissue of lies" about Chevalier was told to one of the high officers of Military Intelligence, which can hardly be classed as a courageous "disdain for the cops."

The man is full of disdain, alright, of the most arrogant variety. But what J. Robert Oppenheimer's actions and falsehoods indicate he has the strongest disdain for are: truth, loyalty to either friends or country, morals of any kind, and any intangible which might be described as human decency.

VI

YET, IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR, a prominent Ohio newspaper publisher declared that there is "right now an evergrowing demand in these United States, and particularly in the scientific community, that Dr. Oppenheimer be returned to active work for his Government." And the Ohio publisher is correct about this swelling chorus of Oppenheimerism.

Clearly, this extraordinary movement is not motivated by pragmatic considerations of national security. Nor is the claim advanced that Dr. Oppenheimer, although with a past of questionable character, is endowed with a scientific know-how which is indispensable to our national survival. On the contrary, the drive of the Oppenheimer boosters has

as one objective the rescinding of an ethical judgment pronounced by the AEC; a rescission which would entail lowering of loyalty standards to the point where persons of fundamental character defects might be admitted without question to the confidence of our Government.

The Oppenheimer Claque . . .

In the climate of apathy which now prevails with respect to loyalty and security standards, the AEC's decision in the Oppenheimer matter stands out as a beacon light of fairness, probity, and courage, with few to applaud. The Oppenheimer cheering section, on the other hand, is led by well-known pro-Communists and others of the Left who are monopolizing, and trying to make capital of, the issue.

As could easily have been anticipated, the widely syndicated left-wing cartoonist, Herblock, was an early joiner. For it was Herblock who originally coined the term "McCarthyism," which quickly became the chief epithet in the Communist vocabulary for use against anyone who called for erecting American defenses against the Soviet threat.

The unscrupulous newspaper columnists, Joseph and Stewart Alsop, entered the Oppenheimer cheering section, drawing an analogy between the Oppenheimer Case and the Dreyfus Affair. We accuse, wrote the Alsops in the leftwing *Harper's Magazine*, "the Atomic Energy Commission in particular, and the American government in general, of a shocking miscarriage of justice in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer."

The *New Republic*, from far over on the left, raised a raucous cry in defense of Oppenheimer and damned his al-

leged wing joined and de is "motics tha format has no lars' w

As n Edward penhei his "S interv er, and public pande tributio organi groups Cha

was a called sand," titled he lik of Joa public dred with

Oppen

The levole verdic Energ confro penhe part rect i penhe payro invest and temp

Oppenheimer Rides Again

leged detractors. The consistently left-wing Federation of American Scientists joined the swelling Oppenheimer chorus and declared that our security system is "motivated more by the risks of politics than the risks of disclosure of information." And just why Cyrus Eaton has not yet added his two million dollars' worth we don't know.

As naturally as water seeks its level, Edward R. Murrow enlisted in the Oppenheimer cause for the duration. On his "See It Now" program, Murrow interviewed an incoherent Oppenheimer, and the notorious *Fund For The Republic* produced 110 copies of an expanded version of the telecast for distribution to education institutions, civic organizations, and local discussion groups.

Charles P. Curtis, Boston lawyer who was a member of the Communist front called the "Committee of One Thousand," published a full-length book entitled *The Oppenheimer Case*, in which he likened Oppenheimer's trial to that of Joan of Arc. The *Fund For The Republic* bought and gave away five hundred copies of this four-dollar volume, with some its tax-exempt money.

Oppenheimerism . . .

The extent and persistence of the malevolent criticism directed against the verdict and the personnel of the Atomic Energy Commission show that we are confronted with a phenomenon of Oppenheimerism. But the most important part of that phenomenon is not the direct immediate purpose of putting Oppenheimer back on the Government payroll, nor even the discrediting of all investigations concerned with loyalty and national security. It is the attempt to demonstrate that neither loy-

alty nor morality has any place in the consideration of a man's value, or in the measure of the respect which should be accorded him by his fellow men. It is a part of the widespread effort to destroy the very ideals and traditions that have made our country great. For it is these ideals and traditions, however disastrously they are now being eroded, which still maintain America as the chief obstacle to Soviet conquest of the world.

Dr. Oppenheimer's counsel, Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison, told the Gray Board: "There is more than Dr. Oppenheimer on trial in this room . . . The Government of the United States is here on trial also. Our whole security process is on trial here . . ."

Mr. Garrison was right in his contention that more than Oppenheimer was on trial before the Gray Board in 1954. There was far more on trial than even Mr. Garrison indicated. It is also true in 1958 that more than Oppenheimer is on trial, in the continuing public discussion of the scientist's case. A whole generation and its moral standards are on trial today.

And the outlook is not encouraging. The facts concerning J. Robert Oppenheimer, which we have outlined here, are available to anybody, editor or educator, who is willing to study the official records. They are incontrovertible, and deadly in their total revelation. Yet in February of this year the first high school in the "planned community" of Levittown, Pennsylvania, was christened the J. Robert Oppenheimer School. Harvard University, not satisfied with having just had Oppenheimer on its board of overseers for five years, selected him last year to deliver the William James lectures. The Sorbonne in Paris invited

Oppenheimer Rides Again

him to an exchange professorship. Columbia University rounded out its bi-centennial celebrations with Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer delivering the final lecture of a year-long series. This spring the Weizmann Institute of Science in the State of Israel honored him with a fellowship. And so it goes, on an on, week after week.

The wooden leg (as a result of military service) which James Russell Lowell considered to be the most wonderful thing a man could have in his time for gaining public acclaim, is out of date today. Apparently the most useful characteristic in our generation, for any would-be god who really wants to be lionized and idolized, is feet of clay.

GRATITUDE, NEHRU?

by

GERALDINE FITCH

IN 1942, while the war with Japan was at a critical stage, Chiang Kai-shek visited British India to encourage its people in their struggle for independence. Not only was any such travelling hazardous at that time, but Chiang was consciously risking the displeasure of Winston Churchill—a very important consideration under the circumstances which prevailed—in order to do this favor for Nehru.

On his last day in India, Chiang made a broadcast over the All-India Radio. He said: "Our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind." And Nehru said that the Generalissimo was "the symbol of China's freedom and unity, and of a determination which never wavers."

When the war was over, India fell into military conflict with Pakistan over Kashmir. When the question was taken to the Security Council of the United Nations, the decision was unfavorable

for India. Embarrassed by this first international rebuff, Nehru sought China's aid. When Dr. Ting-fu Tsiang, China's permanent delegate to the United Nations, became president of the Security Council, he sought a more favorable decision for India, at the cost of angering Pakistan.

China became the first country to send a diplomatic representative to the new nation of India. In fact, she sent a full-fledged ambassador while India had, as yet, nothing more than a provisional government.

Nehru carried two other problems of India, besides Kashmir, to the United Nations. One was her armed struggle with Hyderabad, largest and richest of the princely states. The other was the long-standing dispute with South Africa over the treatment of Indian laborers. Chiang's government strongly supported India's position on both questions.

When the Temporary Commission of

Gratitude, Nehru?

the United Nations on Korea was established in 1947, China enhanced India's international status by recommending her ambassador to China as chairman. He received the appointment. In 1949, when the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East was organized, the Indian government asked China to support its Mr. Lokrathan as secretary-general of that body. Chiang agreed, and Mr. Lokrathan got the post. At a World Health Organization meeting in Geneva, Nehru's government proposed a regional health organization with headquarters in India. With China's help in the United Nations, this regional WHO was established, with its seat at New Delhi.

Chiang's government twice promoted India's prestige, as a new member of the United Nations, by supporting Madame Pandit for vice-president. Though she was twice defeated, China's effort contributed to her later election to an important committee. And China twice sought to make India a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.

Finally, that question arose a third time, in November, 1949. China's government was by then aware of India's intention to recognize the puppet regime in Peiping. So Chiang's action, whether called short-sightedness or great magnanimity, was akin to his admonition to his people after the Japanese war to "forgive and forget." Free China again supported India for the Security Council.

II

THE ABOVE INCIDENTS constitute but a token list, to represent the long and wholehearted support given the Indian

people and Nehru, by the Nationalist Chinese and Chiang, to help India attain the position of an important independent nation. But now let's look at some of the marks of Mr. Nehru's gratitude.

India announced its recognition of Red China on December 30, 1949. It then went through all the motions of *withdrawing recognition* from the Republic of China.

Once a member of the Security Council, India bent every effort to unseat Nationalist China as a permanent member. Dr. T. F. Tsiang, the very delegate whose support India had frantically sought—and obtained—in the Kashmir and Hyderabad disputes, was the man India's Khrishna Menon repeatedly sought to oust from the Council. And the high-riding Menon (having forgotten his poverty-stricken days as a student in London, when he was literally fed by friends in the Chinese Embassy) has maintained a keen and continuous effort, helped by Communist Russia, to drive the delegates of Free China out of the various United Nations agencies and conferences.

How much Prime Minister Nehru supports each such move may be well judged from just one episode. When Edward R. Murrow staged an interview with Nehru on his "See It Now" television program, which reaches millions of American homes, Nehru used the opportunity to make a venomous attack upon Chiang Kai-shek.

Mr. Nehru is not only "neutral on the side of Communism," he is a veritable impersonation of typical Communist traits. Not the least of these is a fawning friendliness when favors can be gained, and a despicable ingratitude the minute a friend suffers misfortune.

A Review Of The News

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

In August, 1958...

→ On the first day of the month, the increased postal rates voted by Congress in May went into effect.

→ The Federal Reserve Board tightened up on credit in the nation's stock markets by raising margin requirements from fifty to seventy per cent.

→ In the Middle East crisis, the United States followed the general Western trend and recognized the regime which seized power in Iraq on July 14 through a violent coup d'état. Khrushchev reversed himself on an agreement to hold a "summit" meeting in New York within the framework of the UN Security Council. Instead, he proposed a special session of the UN General Assembly. His reversal followed a mysterious rush meeting with Mao Tse-tung in Peking over the weekend of August 3, leading most observers to believe the Chinese Reds dictated the switch. The special session opened on August 13 with a speech by President Eisenhower outlining a United States proposal for settlement of the crisis. It ended on August 21 with the unanimous adoption of a plan presented by the ten Arab states, and with the departure on August 25 of UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld for the Middle East as one provision of the Arab plan. While the harmony of the Arab states astonished the world, few believed that this would spell the end of turmoil in the Middle East.

→ British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan made a fruitless flying trip to Athens and Ankara in an effort to win Greek and Turkish support for a reasonable solution to the Cyprus dispute.

→ In a major United States achievement, the atomic submarine "Nautilus" crossed the North Pole under the ice crust from the Bering Sea to the Atlantic off Greenland. The "Nautilus" sailed 1,850 miles under the ice pack. Eight days later, the feat was duplicated by the "Skate," another United States atomic submarine.

→ Observing his eighty-fourth birthday on August 10, former President Herbert Hoover told reporters that he works ten to twelve hours a day seven days a week.

→ On August 17, after months of spectacular advance publicity, the United States fired its "moon rocket" from Cape Canaveral, Florida. After travelling seventy-seven seconds and approximately fifty thousand feet, the rocket disintegrated.

→ The Eighty-fifth Congress adjourned in the early hours of Sunday, August 24. Under the impact of the Middle East crisis, the "internationalists" and big spenders triumphed. They appropriated even more for defense than asked by the President. They gave him another foreign aid appropriation of more than 3½ billion dollars, and the most liberal renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agree-

A Review Of The News

ments Act in that program's history. Although the Social Security Program now operates at a deficit, Congress voted another election-year boost in benefits of seven per cent. In the face of continued shocking revelations of gross abuses and criminal activities in labor unions, Congress did not pass any legislation to control organized labor—not even the harmless, Reuther-approved Kennedy-Ives bill. And the same Congress, which in 1957 called for tax relief, now whispered about a possible need for federal tax increases in 1959!

→ It was a month of air travel tragedies. In Libya, a British airliner crashed, with thirty-five killed and nineteen surviving. In Japan, all thirty-three passengers and crew members were killed when a Japanese airliner crashed into the sea about 120 miles southwest of Tokyo. There were no survivors when a KLM (Royal Dutch Air Lines) Super Constellation en route to the United States mysteriously crashed into the Atlantic about 130 miles west of Eire. Ninety-nine passengers and crew members perished in the KLM liner and made this the worst single-plane toll in aviation history. Coming in for a night landing in fog, a Northeast Airlines plane crashed on Nantucket Island (Massachusetts), killing twenty-four, injuring ten. At Minneapolis, Minnesota, a Northwest Airlines plane crashed and burned after takeoff. All sixty-one passengers and crew members survived miraculously, but forty-nine were injured, some of them critically.

→ There was public and congressional indignation over reports that the Pentagon had authorized study of a theoretical United States surrender in a nuclear war with the USSR. Many wondered

whether Bertrand Russell's defeatist philosophy that it is better to live as slaves than to perish in a nuclear holocaust has already been successful beyond the Kremlin's most optimistic expectations.

→ By the end of the month, the situation in Little Rock, Arkansas, was just about where it stood a year ago. The U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis, Missouri, reversed (6-1) a ruling by U.S. District Judge Harry J. Lemley postponing desegregation for two and a half years, and ordered immediate integration at Central High School. Solidly supported by his Legislature, Governor Orval E. Faubus weighed several possibilities, including the closing and re-opening as "private" schools of any public school to be integrated through the use of federal force. The case came before the U.S. Supreme Court on August 28—with the U.S. Government and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) demanding immediate integration, and the Little Rock School Board pleading for delay. The Supreme Court deferred the case for further hearing on September 11.

→ A sharp dispute developed between Great Britain and Iceland over fishing rights in water close to Iceland. While London claimed its vessels have a right to fish outside the international three-mile territorial water around Iceland, Reykjavik insisted it could bar foreign ships from fishing within a twelve-mile zone. As Britain provided armed escorts for her fishing fleet in the Icelandic area, the Reykjavik Government threatened to leave NATO.

→ Alaska voted overwhelmingly to accept statehood.

BULLETS

Who overcomes
By force hath overcome but half his foe.
John Milton

* * *

The excellence of the mediocre man
is that he has no faults, but his fault is
that he has no excellence. *Quintilian*

* * *

If you have her for a friend you don't
need any enemies. *June Allyson*

* * *

He: "This is going to be a battle of
wits."

She: "How brave of you to fight
unarmed." *Farmer's Almanac*

* * *

For some of us, roughing it means
turning the electric blanket down to
"medium." *The Kurpacoan*

* * *

The average husband remembers
where and when he got married. What
escapes him is why? *Hal Chadwick*

* * *

Everybody want to harvest, but no-
body wants to plow.

Sounds Like My Conscience

* * *

Any girl who hasn't been chosen
Queen of something this year either
has stayed home or wasn't trying.

Dr. J. O. Christianson

* * *

The wonderful madness called laugh-
ter is found only in man.

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen

* * *

Wife to grouchy husband: "What
would you like thrown into your cage
for breakfast this morning?"

Bob Barnes

To Communists, a wage slave is any
American who earns five thousand dol-
lars a year, drives his own car, owns a
television set, and has a bathroom.

Banking

* * *

A restaurant in San Francisco ad-
vertises: "Moo Goo Gai Pan just like
Mother used to make."

Wall Street Journal

* * *

Small boy to ditto: "My mother tried
to tell me the stork doesn't bring babies.
What a wild story *she* gave me."

Glenn Bankhardt

* * *

The music in the joint was so bad
that when a waiter dropped a tray full
of dishes, everybody got up and started
dancing. *It Beats Some CBS Records*

* * *

We neither want, nor will we tolerate
a One-Party system here. Without polit-
ical competition, liberty cannot endure.

John U. Barr

* * *

We hope the scientists discover that
Mars is not inhabited. This country
can't afford to stretch foreign aid any
further.

Clyde Moore

* * *

If the world goes against truth, then
Athanasius goes against the world.

Athanasius

* * *

Along green banks the blackbirds call,
Just as they did a thousand years ago
In morning meadows when the world
was young. *Thomas S. Jones Jr.*

We Pause To Remark...

SOMEBODY HAS SUGGESTED that Senator John F. Kennedy be appointed United States Ambassador to that sovereign power, the AFL-CIO. We are sure he would be acceptable — or *persona grata*, as they say in such lofty diplomatic circles — to that power's Prime Minister, Walter Reuther.

* * *

The Canadian Army is now using quick-frozen milk. It is handled in solid blocks and cut up with a saw. Whenever somebody misplaces the saw, these people are going to have the usual trouble with "frozen assets."

* * *

We see that some mischievous Alaskans have now nicknamed Texas "Outer Arkansas." Whereas the Texans have welcomed the forthcoming new state of Alaska because, they say, they are glad at last to have somebody else in the same league with themselves as to size. Having been in Houston when the heat caused all the jackrabbits for miles around to come into the city looking for airconditioned warrens, and in Fairbanks when you had to talk in monosyllables to keep your breath from freezing while your mouth was open, we think the repartee between these two rivals is going to be more interesting when it starts blowing hot and cold.

* * *

On August 11 President Eisenhower of the United States of America and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic exchanged expressions of "sincere friendship" with each other. Just how many Americans were being murdered by Nasser's agents while these amenities were taking place is not a matter of record.

* * *

When the American two-party system produces for the voters such a choice as the present one in New York State,

BULLETS

Who overcomes
By force hath overcome but half his foe.
John Milton

* * *

The excellence of the mediocre man
is that he has no faults, but his fault is
that he has no excellence. *Quintilian*

* * *

If you have her for a friend you don't
need any enemies. *June Allyson*

* * *

He: "This is going to be a battle of
wits."

She: "How brave of you to fight
unarmed." *Farmer's Almanac*

* * *

For some of us, roughing it means
turning the electric blanket down to
"medium." *The Kurpacoan*

* * *

The average husband remembers
where and when he got married. What
escapes him is why? *Hal Chadwick*

* * *

Everybody want to harvest, but no-
body wants to plow.
Sounds Like My Conscience

* * *

Any girl who hasn't been chosen
Queen of something this year either
has stayed home or wasn't trying.
Dr. J. O. Christianson

* * *

The wonderful madness called laugh-
ter is found only in man.
Bishop Fulton J. Sheen

* * *

Wife to grouchy husband: "What
would you like thrown into your cage
for breakfast this morning?"
Bob Barnes

To Communists, a wage slave is any
American who earns five thousand dol-
lars a year, drives his own car, owns a
television set, and has a bathroom.

Banking

* * *

A restaurant in San Francisco ad-
vertises: "Moo Goo Gai Pan just like
Mother used to make."

Wall Street Journal

* * *

Small boy to ditto: "My mother tried
to tell me the stork doesn't bring babies.
What a wild story *she* gave me."

Glenn Bankhardt

* * *

The music in the joint was so bad
that when a waiter dropped a tray full
of dishes, everybody got up and started
dancing. *It Beats Some CBS Records*

* * *

We neither want, nor will we tolerate
a One-Party system here. Without polit-
ical competition, liberty cannot endure.
John U. Barr

* * *

We hope the scientists discover that
Mars is not inhabited. This country
can't afford to stretch foreign aid any
further. *Clyde Moore*

* * *

If the world goes against truth, then
Athanasius goes against the world.
Athanasius

* * *

Along green banks the blackbirds call,
Just as they did a thousand years ago
In morning meadows when the world
was young. *Thomas S. Jones Jr.*

We Pause To Remark . . .

SOMEBODY HAS SUGGESTED that Senator John F. Kennedy be appointed United States Ambassador to that sovereign power, the AFL-CIO. We are sure he would be acceptable — or *persona grata*, as they say in such lofty diplomatic circles — to that power's Prime Minister, Walter Reuther.

* * *

The Canadian Army is now using quick-frozen milk. It is handled in solid blocks and cut up with a saw. Whenever somebody misplaces the saw, these people are going to have the usual trouble with "frozen assets."

* * *

We see that some mischievous Alaskans have now nicknamed Texas "Outer Arkansas." Whereas the Texans have welcomed the forthcoming new state of Alaska because, they say, they are glad at last to have somebody else in the same league with themselves as to size. Having been in Houston when the heat caused all the jackrabbits for miles around to come into the city looking for airconditioned warrens, and in Fairbanks when you had to talk in monosyllables to keep your breath from freezing while your mouth was open, we think the repartee between these two rivals is going to be more interesting when it starts blowing hot and cold.

* * *

On August 11 President Eisenhower of the United States of America and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic exchanged expressions of "sincere friendship" with each other. Just how many Americans were being murdered by Nasser's agents while these amenities were taking place is not a matter of record.

* * *

When the American two-party system produces for the voters such a choice as the present one in New York State,

We Pause To Remark . . .

between "Republican" Nelson Rockefeller and "Democrat" Averell Harriman for the governorship, there is only one possible consolation. Under those conditions not even the organizational advantages of the established parties can, for very much longer, keep a new party from springing up, to represent the voters who love and believe in the country we inherited.

"Major Squirm," columnist in the magazine, *SOUTH*, recently reported: "Gold Spike Harriman uv New York sez the need is fer lower taxes and higher spending." Somebody has suggested that this is an excellent measure of Harriman's intelligence. Unfortunately, that charge misses the point entirely. The statement quoted is a measure of Harriman's estimate of *your* intelligence, gentle voter (especially of New York State), and of the kind of idiocy which will appeal to you as campaign bait. However, Nelson Rockefeller's contempt for your intelligence is both greater and smoother, so he is expected to win the governorship by a quarter of a million votes.

* * *

Out in Sydney, Australia, a very able American business man, Lloyd Ring Coleman, after looking at his home scene with the advantage of thousands of miles of perspective for many years, has come up with a happy and most imaginative idea. It is that, to stop our continued and ever more rapid march to statism through eternally giving the Federal Government more power and asking of it more favors, the business men of various cities should organize tax reduction leagues. This sounds like old stuff, but Mr. Coleman has a new gimmick. The essential plank in the platforms of these leagues would be simple and direct: The members would contribute their time and money to *defeat* their local Congressman if he voted for the expenditure of federal money for any purpose whatsoever *for the benefit of their own town or state*. Mr. Coleman explains:

"This would have the merit of being sensational. Un-

We Pause To Remark . . .

selfishness nearly always makes headlines. As a rule business men organize to get money *for* their state or city. They find the reasons why their community should receive more federal aid than any other. The result is that every Congressman votes for every project for every state and city so that he can get a sufficient number of votes for *his* projects.

"Were the Congressman to feel that his 'success' might cost him his seat, he would vote against such favors for his own community — and also against every other project that aims at siphoning money out of all the states and back to them again, with a loss of a quarter of its value on its way through Washington."

We hope that the author of this suggestion can hear our applause, all the way to Sydney.

* * *

In the August 6 *New York Times* appeared a headline: Britons Question Soviet Sincerity. We bet that if you give them another forty years these astute Britons, *and the New York Times*, may discover that Stalin had "defects in his character."

* * *

Edgar Allan Poe wrote a brilliant short story, *The Purloined Letter*. Its theme was that the one place nobody looks for anything, which is supposed to be difficult to find, is right in front of his nose.

In the opening article in this number of AMERICAN OPINION, William Schlamm describes the puzzlement of Europeans over why American troops were sent into Lebanon. From where the Europeans sit, this lack of understanding is natural. But for any informed American to be puzzled, he must be unwilling to look at the obvious answer because it is distasteful. Our troops were landed in the Near East for the purpose of pulling them back out again.

* * *

From the Communist point of view our invasion of the Near East with armed forces was a glorious windfall. For one

We Pause To Remark . . .

thing, it supplied visible substance to support their propaganda, among all of the "colonial" peoples, that we are "aggressive imperialists." It was bound to lead, and intended to lead, to the assumption of further authority by the United Nations—the Communist domination of which increases daily. But most important was the damage to the prestige of the United States itself that would be brought about by the ignominious withdrawal of our troops, after worse than nothing had been accomplished. Without the powers of a McCarthy committee there is no chance of identifying the traitors whose influence and planning contrived so harmful a "blunder." But their objectives are clear, and their reasoning is easy to follow. The king who marched his men up the hill and then marched them down again is immortalized in doggerel simply because he looked so silly.

Not that even this puerile performance on our part was necessary, on top of all of the other help we are giving the Communists in taking over the Near East. Right now, for instance, we have in various diplomatic posts in the Arab world several of *exactly the same persons* who were so instrumental, in the 1944-50 period, in delivering the mainland of China to the Communists. (Including two who were "fired" by *both* Ambassador Hurley and then General Wedemeyer for their pro-Communism, but who of course soon bobbed up again in our State Department in higher positions.)

Or please note that Undersecretary of State Murphy has just pushed our Lebanese friends into exactly the same kind of "compromise" with Communist-controlled rebels that George Marshall forced on Chiang Kai-shek in 1946. The excuse in 1946 was that the rebels were "agrarian reformers." The excuse in 1958 is that they are "Arab nationalists." Their boss in China was an agent of Moscow, named Mao Tse-tung. Their boss in the Near East is an agent of Moscow, named Gamal Nasser. The murders, the deceptions, and the typical Communist tactics in general, are the same in both cases.

We Pause To Remark . . .

Also, the Communists are having and will have far easier going and more rapid success in the Near East than they ever had in China. For there is in the Arabic world no anti-Communist leader to oppose them, with the courage, the ability, and the following of Chiang Kai-shek. The man who came nearest to having that remarkable combination of assets was Nuri es-Said; and the Communists took care to have him murdered before the big issue even came into focus. Hussein of Jordan, for all of his bravery, determination, and penetrating insight into what is really happening, simply does not have the age, standing, or support of sufficient size, to become the rallying point of anti-Communist strength in the Near East. And Nasser will make sure that he is overthrown, if not murdered, before he does have.

* * *

Within the past month we have heard Dr. Michael Walsh, Commissioner of Education of the State of Rhode Island, tell an influential audience that instead of fighting Communism we should welcome it, as the next desirable step in the evolution of our social organization after the "democracy" stage we have now reached.

We do not suppose it would do any good to try to tell this educator, or others like him, any of the sordid facts of Marxian life. But we hope he has noted that, just in the first half of 1958 alone, 124 college professors and 1,385 other teachers have escaped to the West, at the risk of their lives, from just one Soviet Satellite, East Germany — where the "evolution" into a Communist utopia is somewhat further along than in Dr. Walsh's Rhode Island.

* * *

On August 29 President Eisenhower signed the bill appropriating \$3,298,092,500 (equal to about three times the total assets of our whole airplane-manufacturing industry) "for military and economic aid to our friends abroad." In the same budget the total appropriation for the research division

We Pause To Remark . . .

of our Atomic Energy Commission was cut from the fifty-seven million dollars requested by the research division itself, by the Commission to \$10,900,000, and then by the Budget Bureau to the final figure of \$2,500,000, on the grounds that such strict economizing was absolutely necessary.

That these "friends" abroad include Communist Gomulka of Poland, Communist Tito of Yugoslavia, and other assorted Communists, is now taken for granted, as is the idiocy that allows any such treasonous use of American money. But the prize exhibit in this package is the money for Laos. The only possible excuse even offered for pouring American millions into a little country most Americans never heard of is to keep that country from going Communist. But the Minister of Planning and Reconstruction in Laos, Souphannou Vong, who controls the spending and distribution of this United States money, is not only an open and avowed Communist — he has for years been *the leader of the Communist faction in that country!* "To defeat Communism," however, we are giving Mr. Vong some forty-five million dollars per year, while cutting our own research work on atomic weapons from fifty-seven to two and one-half millions, *for reasons of economy*. You draw your own conclusions; ours are a little strong to print.

* * *

There may be *some* people in Washington who honestly do not yet know that Achmed Sukarno of Indonesia is a viceroy of the Kremlin. But there is no anti-Communist in Indonesia itself, nor in all Southeast Asia, who doesn't know it by now. The anti-Communist leaders in that part of the world, including such leaders in Sumatra, looked and waited eagerly for the United States to give at least moral support to the Sumatran uprising against this Communist dictator. The Sumatrans certainly deserved our help, every bit as much as the anti-Communists of the Hungarian uprising in 1956; for we had been so largely instrumental in selling both into Communist slavery in the first place.

We Pause To Remark . . .

While we merely took an aloof "hands off" attitude with regard to the subjugation of Budapest, however, we have actually just sent plane loads of American arms to the Communist Sukarno to make it easier for him to suppress the anti-Communists in Sumatra. For our government could count on the American people not being as aware of, or as concerned about, what happens in Indonesia as they would have been had we *openly* intervened on behalf of the Russians in Budapest.

Nevertheless, a few Americans did raise their eyebrows when they read about some of the frosting on this cake of our favor. As soon as one of our giant planes had emptied in Jakarta the load of American arms it had just ferried to "President" Sukarno, for instance, this Globemaster was used to take him and the Indonesian Foreign Minister and our Ambassador and their wives on a two-hour joy ride. Even this ebullient display of friendship for one of the most brutal of Communist murderers, and its intentional effect on the morale of our real anti-Communist friends in Southeast Asia, should have surprised nobody. The eyebrow-lifters had merely forgotten that when this same Achmed Sukarno paid us a visit a couple of years ago (during the very period when he was slaughtering wholesale our staunch Christian allies in the Moluccas), President Eisenhower was persuaded by somebody to send his personal plane half way across the Pacific to bring Sukarno to our shores in royal style.

* * *

Neal O'Hara, a friend of ours who writes an entertaining column in the *Boston Traveler* which we never get time to read, runs his own form of miniature quiz program by asking three questions at the beginning of his piece each day. He then gives the answers further down in his copy, and your reward for having known them in advance is the satisfaction of feeling so smart. And the lead-off question in this column for July 23 was: "No. 1—Was John Milton an architect, a writer, or an inventor?"

We Pause To Remark . . .

Now there is no point in jumping on Neal for asking this question. He merely sizes up the intelligence and education of his audience; he has no responsibility for either. But it would be hard to find a more revealing commentary on our present educational system and its trends than the fact that such a question could be asked, in all seriousness; and that it was expected to send tens of thousands of the column's adult readers scurrying into the recesses of their minds to try to recall who John Milton was.

What's more, Neal was undoubtedly right in his appraisal. In Greater Boston, the "Athens" of America, whose public schools are certainly among the best in the country (and supposed to be so good, comparatively, that we simply *must* have Federal Aid to Education to bring the schools of Mississippi or North Dakota up to the Boston level), there are probably three times as many of Neal's readers who could have told him all about Dizzy Gillespie as knew whether John Milton was a poet or the man who invented dominoes.

In the September 8, 1952 issue of the old *Freeman Magazine*, Colm Brogan wrote that one object of the Communists was "to show up the debasement of American culture and to demonstrate that a deliquescent capitalism can produce nothing but an expression of vulgarity and despair." Just give the "progressive" educationists a few more years — and now some billions of dollars of federal money for which they are clamoring — to spend on the methodology instead of the substance of education, and the Communists will not have to "show up" anything. The debasement will be so evident that he who runs can smell. And the fact that we shall have been subtly steered into this debasement by the Communists themselves, working right in our midst for that purpose, will not make either the results or our culpability any more palatable.

We do not believe that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." The gods first make their intended victims lazy and complacent; and the victims then eventually go mad from the fruits of their own complacency.

We Pause To Remark . . .

"But to convince the proud what signs avail,
Or wonders move the obdurate to relent?"

* * *

In England (as anybody who has been reading William Schlamm's *European Surveys* in this magazine already knows) the preference for surrender to the Soviets, as against the risk of annihilation in atomic war, is already far advanced. Bertrand Russell has induced a huge following among Englishmen to accept this psychotic mood of cowardice and defeatism, which plays so beautifully into Soviet hands.

In this country the opening broadside in a similar propaganda campaign was the series of advertisements, published in newspapers all over the country, of the "Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy." The next step was the precipitation of a debate in the United States Senate over consideration given, in a "study" made by the Rand Corporation, of how and under what conditions the United States might consummate a surrender. The very publicity given to this study, by the loud and widespread condemnation of its suggestion, was exactly what the Communists wanted. For it did start people to thinking about the possibility of surrender. The seeds have now been planted; and you can expect the resulting tiny plants — of consideration of surrender — to be as carefully nurtured by the Communists, their sympathizers, and their dupes, as have been the now huge growths of American foreign aid since those seeds were first planted by the Communists fifteen years ago.

The most amazing thing about this whole episode, however, and one which shows the discouraging futility of our eternal shadowboxing, is this: With the Senate voting 88 to 2 for legislation to bar funds for any study of possible United States surrender to an enemy in a future nuclear war, nobody even suggested a Congressional Committee investigation of the mysterious Rand Corporation — which had already made such a study (even though by oblique approach) and been paid for it by somebody in the Pentagon.

We Pause To Remark . . .

We believe such a committee would find that this "private consulting agency" to our armed forces was established largely with money from one of the most notoriously leftwing foundations. We believe it would find that the location, size, and equipment of every detachment of our armed forces everywhere in the world is far better and more completely known to the executives of the Rand Corporation than to *anybody* in our armed forces themselves. And we know they would find that some of the executives of this "private agency" hold some very "screwy" ideas, to say the least. This editor personally has heard a vice-president of the Rand Corporation make a suggestion to a group of high United States Army officers which, to us, was just as incredible as the suggestion that we might consider surrender. But under the conditions which prevail in Washington today there is no more chance of getting a Congressional investigation of the Rand Corporation than there is of that governmental monstrosity of all monstrosities, the Central Intelligence Agency — which originally set up Nasser in business with *your* money and *its* encouragement.

* * *

Some of the above paragraphs may have seemed rough to some of our readers. It was certainly no pleasure writing such criticisms of agencies of our government. And yet they are carefully restrained, against what we might have written with full confidence in the justice of our comments.

We hear over and over today that "our country cannot continue on its present course without inviting national disaster." This is not only true, but a majority of the American people somehow sense its truth. But what they fail to see is that no group of agencies can, *always and concurrently*, pick the road to disaster by dumbness or sheer chance. We believe that the forces actually, and in effect, in control of our government's policies and actions *want*, and are *deliberately inviting*, national disaster, on behalf of the International Communist Conspiracy. And if this be treason, it is in the deeds themselves, not in our remarks about them.

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

This is the fifth in a series of twelve essays by Mr. Alexander on the Federalist Papers. They will all appear serially in this magazine.

AMERICANS IN 1776 made a Declaration of Independence from a whole lot of things, some concrete and some abstract. It was a movement of freedom from the King's soldiers and ministers; from remote-control Government and from State-controlled thinking.

After more than a century and a half of enjoying these freedoms, Americans commenced a backward trek. They began surrendering the same freedoms they had won, although Americans apparently did not realize they were doing so. But by the middle of the Twentieth Century it's possible to see that the United States of America is again effectively dominated by overseas soldiers and ministers; by remote-control Government; and by Government-controlled thinking.

None of this back-sliding would have happened if we had lived by the Constitution and paid proper heed to its Framers and contemporary interpreters. The authors of The Federalist Papers — Hamilton, Madison and Jay — anticipated the very pitfalls which would eventually trap the country. These men warned against doing the very things we have, to our disaster, done. John Jay wrote in *The Federalist Number 5*:

"... let us not forget how much more easy it is to receive foreign fleets into our ports and foreign armies into our country, than it is to persuade or compel them to depart. How many conquests did the Romans and others make in the characters of allies, and what innovations did they, under the

How To Read the Federalist

same character, introduce into the governments of those whom they pretended to protect?"

Jay couldn't anticipate how the spirit of his warning would be twisted into a total turn-about, and his solemn advice then disregarded. Thanks to the natural advantage of our geography, the might of our industrial production, and the continuing valor of our young manhood, America has been spared the arrival of any invader from abroad. Since the War of 1812, with its hit-and-run landings, the continental United States has never been violated, although after much provocation the Japanese were enticed into attacking our island territories.

But for reasons never satisfactorily explained, certain leaders managed to overcome our blessed immunity to foreign wars. When these conflicts did not come to us, we were taken to them. In Wilson's Administration we were shamefully terrorized by bogus threats about the Kaiser's plan to maim our children and ravish our women. We joined the land-locked World War I which, in fact, was not a world war, but merely one of those endless European squabbles until we lifted it to the grand scale of slaughter. In F. D. Roosevelt's Administration, with even greater skill at reverse-American, the leaders joined the Atlantic Ocean war, broke the ramparts of the Western World which were held by Germany, and made of us a fighting ally of our sworn enemy, Soviet Russia.

By these prodigious feats of folly, American leaders by 1950 had given the unpredictable twist to Jay's warnings. We were not, it's true, occupied by foreign troops. But we had our troops occupying friendly foreign soil in peacetime, and presumably indefinitely. We had ground troops and air bases and Navy fleets in West Europe, Iceland, South Korea (where they were temporarily giving their lives in an international "police action"), in Japan, in North Africa and Oceania. In the peacetime Eisenhower era, the Defense Department has estimated that more than one million American fighting men,

How To Read the Federalist

most of them draftees, were regularly based overseas. This means that, depending on circumstances controlled by foreigners, from one-third to two-thirds of our Armed Forces are committed to the duty of military occupation — and that we have lost the power, as Jay put it, “to persuade or compel them to depart.” A situation of almost unimaginable irony has closed upon us. We have become embodied in a Romanesque Empire, although the incorporation occurred remotely and in reverse. It is a grotesque captivity and the Jay passage above reads like an obscure but ominous prophecy.

Thus the Declaration of Independence has been self-rescinded. The King’s soldiers, in a manner of speaking, are quartered upon us again. The King’s ministers, appearing in the likeness of foreign politicians and, to quote Jay once more, “in the character of allies,” have much to say about American policies. Indeed, they probably have more to say than our own people do about American taxes to support overseas aid, tariffs to ingratiate overseas producers, candidates for high American office who must pass muster and not be “isolationists” or “narrow nationalists.” When the nostrils of our forty-odd allies tickle, America has to do the sneezing. We are so much under foreign domination again that this exhortation from Alexander Hamilton, in *The Federalist Number 11*, would take only a little editing to bring it up to date:

“Let Americans disdain to be the instruments of European greatness. Let the thirteen States, bound together in a strict and indissoluble Union, concur in erecting one great American system, superior to the control of all transatlantic force or influence, and able to dictate the terms of the connection between the old and the new world.”

The Declaration of '76 abolished the arrangement whereby Americans were ruled by a sovereign and Parliament sitting more than two thousand miles away. Americans at that time took violent objection to long-distance law-making. Each colony had its own legislature, as it has now; each colony had an unwritten agreement as to the sanctity of local self-rule.

How To Read the Federalist

When the time came for drawing the Constitution of the United States, this matter of local self-rule became a long-debated, ever-important matter before the people and their States. Every member of the Constitutional Convention knew well that there would be no Constitution and no Union unless the absolute warranty of States' Rights were given. For this reason the duties and powers of the Federal Government were spelled out as few and specific; while those of the States were given as many and vague. This principle ran throughout the famous document; and the First Congress made it part of the Bill of Rights, the Tenth Amendment:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

But freedom from remote control, expressed both in the Declaration and the Constitution, is another privilege which the country has surrendered, not as yet to a foreign foe, but certainly to a Federal Government that is foreign to what the Framers had in mind. The other Federalist author, James Madison, wrote in Number Fourteen:

"In the first place it must be remembered that the general (Federal) government is not to be charged with the whole power of making and administering laws. Its jurisdiction is limited to certain enumerated objects . . . The subordinate (State) governments . . . will retain their due authority and activity."

But the surrender today is so complete that Americans are now paying tribute into the Federal Treasury, almost as if it were a foreign set of coffers. State Governors come as petitioners to the seat of the central power, begging for schools, charity, roads and medical care, the very things that should emanate from, and be ruled by, local sovereignty. Control of the remote bureaucracy of two and a half million Federal workers has become, in effect at least and growingly in kind, much the same sort of abuses against which our embattled forefathers took up arms.

How To Read the Federalist

The third liberation which the Declaration of Independence wrought — and which we have since surrendered — must be considered most important of all. A running revolt against Government-controlled thinking, then and now, is the very essence of spiritual liberty. Why so? Because ideas are what rule the world. And ideas, by their very nature, must be free. The Eighteenth Century had a whole menagerie of once-free ideas which had become tamed and jailed. The axiom that the strong must lead the weak had been perverted into the Divine Right of Kings. The sweet, meek voice of Jesus had been boomed up into the authoritarianism of the Established Church. The tremendous, untrammelled intellectual outburst which was called the Renaissance, and which saw the foundation of the New World in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, had become harnessed and ordered into what social historians named the Age of Reason.

These examples suggest some of the abstract enslavements against which the Revolution of 1776 was made. The tamed and trained ideas of Europe became liberated in America. We found ourselves world-famed for our fearlessness among wild notions which sometimes scampered across the fertile brains of free-thinkers like Jefferson and which later appeared, with no harm to anybody, around Brook Farm and the highbrow circles of Emerson. Freedom to think was never dangerous to America. The peril that beset her from the 1930's onward was a new form of Government control over the realms of thought.

This was a glacier-like process, slow, invisible, but implacable and complete. The imprisonment of ideas is inherent in the growth of Big Government. Much injustice is often done Jefferson by superficial writers who have attempted to "type" him in history as an "atheist" and a State's rightist. He was against any State-established Church because he knew that any such thing would put a crusher on the delicate, spiritual affirmation that is "religion" to most of us. And although Jefferson was certainly for States' Rights, he was

How To Read the Federalist

mainly for Small Government. Big Government — the prison-house of the spirit and the mind — did not, as many feared, immure our free-born religions. But instead, it surrounded and incorporated our freedom to think. It made the free ideas which you are reading in this very essay seem startling and almost heretical.

If it were otherwise we would not be fooled, as we are every election year, by the flimsy pretense of having a choice of two political parties and philosophies. Even between elections, the party in power will periodically pay token tribute to the conscience of our people. This is done by making straight-faced announcements about cutting the size of Government by thousand-dollar economies in a multi-billion dollar budget. The gesture is made from time to time of abolishing something like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation — which is quietly re-established as the Small Business Administration; or by changing the name of our share-the-wealth agencies from Lend-Lease to European Cooperation Administration, to Mutual Security Administration, to Foreign Aid Operations Administration, to International Cooperation Administration. Sometimes the gesture against Bigness is directed away from the prodigious Federal Government to some puny-by-comparison business firm like General Motors or United States Steel.

Of course, a people with a strong, supple apparatus for thinking would not be bamboozled by this flimflam. A people, free in the inter-play of their ideas, would hoot such chicanery off the public stage. A people such as we had here in 1776 might go even further. They might perceive that a sure-enough liberation from Government-controlled thinking would require nothing less than a Declaration of Independence from Big Government.

Each of these three retreats from freedom will get special treatment in later papers in this series. But let them first be viewed in their composite enormity — such is the size of our problem.

Inflation and YOU

by

T. COLEMAN ANDREWS

IN RECENT YEARS HIGH TAXES, deficit spending by the Federal Government, and other fuels which propel the rocket of inflation, have often been "viewed with alarm" by experts at the game. But the viewing was usually done with reference to the present condition and future health of the nation. Let's take a brief look at what inflation means to *you*.

The Federal Government is now spending eight times as much as it spent in 1939. In order to do this: (1) It is taking from the American people approximately twenty-eight times as much in income taxes and ten times as much in social security taxes as it took in 1939, with a resulting tremendous reduction in the percentage of your own pay which you have left to spend as you please; and (2), it is constantly creating "new

money" (to cover its own wildly wasteful spending), which dilutes the value of the money *you* have left to spend after taxes.

As a result, the purchasing power of a dollar you have today is well below half of what it was in 1939. This means that the life insurance policies, bonds, or savings accounts which you owned in 1939 are now worth less than half of what they were worth then. The difference has literally been embezzled from you, insidiously and in barely visible installments, by your Federal Government for its own extravagancies. But the effect of these *combined* policies of taxation and inflation on your present income is even greater. For a better understanding of this tragic fact, find your own place in the table below.

EXHIBIT A

IN 1939		IN 1957	WHY?	
If you had an income of	You had left after taxes	The same amount of income was worth to you (in the equivalent of 1939 dollars) only	Because your taxes had increased by	And inflation had reduced the value of your remaining money by
\$ 2,000	\$ 1,975	\$ 863	\$ 215	\$ 897
3,000	2,943	1,265	365	1,313
4,000	3,910	1,658	530	1,722
5,000	4,878	2,051	696	2,131
6,000	5,830	2,429	878	2,523
7,500	7,227	2,990	1,132	3,105
10,000	9,536	3,877	1,632	4,027
12,500	11,818	4,715	2,205	4,898
15,000	14,074	5,500	2,861	5,713
20,000	18,486	6,916	4,386	7,184
25,000	22,711	8,180	6,035	8,496
30,000	26,776	9,325	7,764	9,687
40,000	34,646	11,443	11,316	11,887
50,000	42,216	13,347	15,004	13,865

Inflation and YOU

Of course, it is to be assumed that, with the increase in your ability and experience, your income has increased, perhaps substantially, since 1939—in dollars. But what about the increase in your purchasing power? In the table below, look in the first column, not for the income you were receiving in 1939,

but for what was being paid in 1939 for the job you are *now* doing and the responsibilities you *now* carry. Then off against that, in the second column, is the amount of dollars you would have needed in 1957 to match the purchasing power which your present job would have given you in 1939.

EXHIBIT B

IN 1957		WHY?	
In order to match the purchasing power of a 1939 income of	You had to have a 1957 income of	Because your taxes would have been increased by	And inflation had reduced the value of your remaining money by
\$ 2,000	\$ 4,806	\$ 755	\$ 2,051
3,000	7,370	1,313	3,057
4,000	10,097	2,036	4,061
5,000	13,004	2,937	5,067
6,000	16,098	4,042	6,056
7,500	21,178	6,171	7,507
10,000	30,971	11,066	9,905
12,500	41,840	17,064	12,276
15,000	54,208	24,589	14,619
20,000	83,476	44,274	19,202
25,000	121,044	72,453	23,591
30,000	162,689	104,876	27,813
40,000	248,111	172,123	35,988
50,000	333,377	239,526	43,851

This shows what taxation and inflation had done to *you* in the past eighteen years. But inflation is a continuing process. Not only is the decline in the purchasing power of your dollar still going on; the *rate* of that decline is increasing! Also, the effect of taxation mushrooms likewise. Let's assume that the present *schedule* of taxation will not be raised—a most optimistic and unlikely assumption, in view of current trends. Even if your pay, therefore is increased enough from time to time to keep you theoret-

ically abreast of *inflation*, it will fall far short of doing so in practice. For the more your pay increases, the higher will be the *rate* of your tax. Thus, with our steeply graduated income tax, we have inflation and taxation chasing each other around a vicious circle.

So let's take a look at what will happen to *you*, your money, and your *real* income, in the next eighteen years, even if the trend and the Government's policies get no worse. Just find your place in the following table.

To make
1939 income

\$

In order to
take \$1
much in
of living
in 1939
times a
standard
Which
to take
do what
\$3,000
meant
inflation
ings, b
have c

When
been
has h
is a l
try's e
million
at the
leader
tem c

Inflation and YOU

EXHIBIT C

IN 1975		WHY?	
To match a 1939 income of	You will need an income of	Because your addi- tional taxes due to the additional dollars will be	And inflation will have reduced the value of your re- maining money by
\$ 2,000	\$ 10,538	\$ 2,236	\$ 6,302
3,000	16,867	4,476	9,391
4,000	24,415	7,939	12,476
5,000	33,240	12,674	15,566
6,000	44,800	19,377	19,423
7,500	58,945	28,384	23,061
10,000	92,141	51,711	30,430
12,500	137,246	87,038	37,708
15,000	185,584	125,677	44,907
20,000	285,880	206,896	58,984
25,000	383,748	286,275	72,473
30,000	477,823	362,387	85,436
40,000	660,039	509,492	110,547
50,000	835,393	650,677	134,716

In other words, in 1975 it is going to take \$16,867, or more than 5½ times as much income, to maintain the standard of living that \$3,000 per year provided in 1939; and \$24,415, or more than six times as much income, to maintain the standard of living that \$4,000 provided. Which means that in 1975 it is going to take an income increase of \$7,548 to do what an increase of only \$1,000, from \$3,000 to \$4,000, did in 1939. And in the meantime, *even at the present rate of inflation*, all that you now own in savings, bonds, or life insurance will again have decreased more than half in value.

II

WHILE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT has been the major villain in this drama, it has had an important accomplice. This is a labor policy that has put the country's economy in constant jeopardy, put millions of the nation's working people at the mercy of unscrupulous labor leaders, and thrown the whole wage system out of balance by allowing wage

demands, not justified by increased production, to be enforced by intolerable violence. This amounts to highway robbery at the point of a gun or a blackjack.

It is axiomatic that a person making \$1.50 per hour will go broke in a hurry if he has to buy goods turned out by persons making \$3.00 per hour. Yet this is a simplified explanation of what is happening to the vast majority of the American people today, with regard to the products of many basic industries. The effect on those with incomes increasing only slowly and gradually, in an economy where so much merchandise is produced at wages skyrocketing inflationward, is shown most clearly in the case of our school teachers. They offer the most pronounced, and therefore most revealing, illustration of what is also happening to you and me when inflation engulfs us all.

But, unless you are a teacher or a member of some group hardest hit by the inflationary process, you may be unaware of what is really taking place.

Inflation and YOU

In either event, you may not know *why* your income doesn't reach as it should, in times of such supposed prosperity (!). For you have been deliberately brainwashed by the Left Wing into asking "What difference does it make that the value of our dollars becomes steadily less, if we simply receive more dollars?"—and into then giving yourself the wrong answer. The correct answer is that, as an average citizen, you do not and *cannot* receive enough more dollars to keep up with inflation. For the increase in the dollars you receive is on a basis corresponding to simple interest; while the expansion in the supply of money (and hence the decrease in a dollar's purchasing power) is at a rate corresponding to compound interest.

There are over fifty million people, for instance, in that eighty-five percent of the nation's working force which has not become a minor beneficiary of inflation through helping to bring it about. Despite the far greater number of dollars received by this group in 1957, compared with a similar group of the same size in 1939, members of the 1957 group *did not have the actual purchasing power of their counterparts in the 1939 group.*

The technological advance of the past twenty years, and the resulting increased productivity, have offset in part—but only in part—inflation and the other effects of government spending. The availability, and even widespread ownership, of new gadgets such as television sets and air conditioners, create the false impression that our standard of living is going up. Actually it is going down. While the total savings on hand in 1957 were, of course, much greater than in 1939, this total was in 1957 dollars and for a much larger population. The *real*

value of average savings per capita in 1957 was less than in 1939, for we have been dipping into those savings to offset the effects of taxation and inflation on income. We have also gone into debt without restraint for the same purpose. What looks like a standard of living today is in reality a *standard of spending*, with little regard for the *real* income to justify it. And we are thus living in the same fool's paradise as the man who, falling from the top of an eighty-story building, shouted "All right so far" as he passed the open windows of the fortieth floor.

This means that today, for at least fifty million Americans, nothing but their jobs—and the expected largesse of their Government—stand between them and want. But in a depression which would deprive a large number of these people of their jobs, the Government would be able to offer increased help only by still more confiscatory taxation and still larger deficit spending, which would make the depression both worse and longer-lasting. And with their jobs gone, the members of this group would find the pressure of their debts and obligations unbearable.

Of course the situation described above is the very one desired by the Marxists. They have no slightest concern with individual suffering, but only with steps by which they can come to rule the sufferers. They *desire* inflation leading ultimately to the complete worthlessness of our currency. They *desire* taxation so heavy that it destroys incentives, prevents private savings, prohibits the growth of production to keep pace with the growth of population, and tends to reduce everybody to an equal level of poverty and of dependence on Government. They *desire* Government

spending
acter
ernmen
and lea
These
the Co
over. I
fore, f
these t
But
been p
of infl
than c
Every

sti
ra
A
la
su
g
be

ti
fe
on
w
in
m
at
tr

fi
th
v
on
u
fe
E

Inflation and YOU

spending of so wasteful and wild a character that it increases the size of Government, decreases our national wealth, and leads towards national insolvency. These are all well recognized steps in the Communist program for taking us over. It is extremely important, therefore, for patriotic reasons, to oppose these trends in every way possible.

But in this brief summary we have been primarily concerned with the effect of inflation on *your pocketbook*, rather than on the future of your country. Every time the Federal Government

tosses away another ten billion dollars, it decreases the value and the purchasing power of the money in your salary check. Further depreciation will be still more rapid, until the dollar bill of tomorrow is worth no more than the one-cent postage stamp of yesterday, unless the Congress reassumes its constitutional rights and duties to put an end to the whole shameful fraud. It is up to you and me and others like us to build fires under our Senators and Congressmen until they see the light—and feel the heat—enough to do so.

The above article is a condensation by Mr. Andrews for AMERICAN OPINION of a longer study, entitled "Wasteful Spending, Your Income Tax, and Inflation," by T. Coleman Andrews and Wilson P. Andrews. All rights to further publication of either article are reserved by Mr. Andrews, and reprints of both are available from Economic Research Associates, P. O. Box 8531, Richmond 26, Virginia.

We Salute The Remnant

On October 11, 1957, Reverend Edmund O. Opitz, now on the senior staff of the Foundation for Economic Education, sent out a personal memorandum to a number of friends, sketching an idea and inviting comments. As a result of that letter and the ensuing correspondence there has been launched a clerical fellowship known as The Remnant. The name was suggested by an essay of Albert Jay Nock, in which Nock recalled the guarantee the Lord had given to Job, that however triumphant the Philistines became, there would always be a remnant, interested in the truth.

"The Remnant is a loosely knit fellowship of ministers; non-denominational in scope, scholarly in interest, and country-wide. It is an independent fellowship and has no direct connection with any other group, institution or organization. It is non-political and peddles no panaceas . . . The Remnant will devote itself mainly to sponsoring an occasional conference or retreat in different parts of the country . . . for two or three days," to enable ministers (and "laymen with a religious bent") "to take an earnest look at the problems of political and social organization in the light of Christian truth."

Your editor has a lot of company in regarding Ed Opitz as one of the finest ministers and most profound scholars in America. And from the fact that he has been an avid reader of this magazine from publication of the very first issue, we are prompted to believe that many other ministers among our readers may be much interested in this fellowship he has organized, which is now already functioning in its quiet and happy way. If so, write for more information to The Remnant, 30 South Broadway, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.

IN HONOR OF JAMES MONROE

by

EDGAR F. SMITH

Had the "sensible" foreign policy of President Monroe been followed Communism could have been destroyed.

THE YEAR 1958 marks the bicentennial of the birth of James Monroe, our fifth and one of our greatest Presidents. He is best remembered for his forthright and courageous statement of American foreign policy, a policy that is historically known as the "Monroe Doctrine." As will presently be pointed out there were two parts to the "Monroe Doctrine," and each part was vital to the security and general welfare of the United States. One of these parts was subsequently ignored by our government, at great cost in American lives and treasure.

James Monroe brought to the Presidency a greater experience in public affairs, domestic and foreign, than has any other President. This experience was acquired by his having held more different offices than any other President, possibly more than any other American. Here is the record.

In 1776 Monroe became, at the age of eighteen, a Lieutenant in Washington's army, and was advanced before the war was at an end to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. (Washington and Monroe were our only Presidents who had been soldiers in the Revolutionary Army.) In 1782 Monroe was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates, and though only twenty-four years old, he was chosen a member of the Governor's Council. He was a member of the Con-

gress of the Confederation of States from 1783 to 1786. In 1787 he was elected a member of the council of the town of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and in the same year was chosen a vestryman of Saint George's Episcopal Church. In 1788 he was elected a member of the state convention that ratified for Virginia the Constitution of the United States.

Monroe was elected United States Senator from Virginia in 1790. In 1794 he was appointed by President Washington as Minister to France. In 1799 he was elected to the first of three successive terms as Governor of Virginia. He was appointed by President Jefferson as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France in 1803, and in the same year was appointed Minister to England. In the spring of 1810 he was again elected a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, and the following winter was again elected Governor.

Monroe resigned the office of Governor in 1811 to become Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Madison. After the capture of the City of Washington by the British in August, 1814 Madison appointed Monroe Secretary of War, and he was both Secretary of State and Secretary of War from September, 1814 to March, 1815, when he was relieved of the duties of the latter

office.
Monroe
United
In 1820
electoral
William
cast his
John Q
said, to
with W
ing elec
votes o
regent
1826 an
Conver
stitutio
Of th
roe, W
wrote
mainta
active
ian off
tive an
a mar
sound
Rob
ister t
had b
son to
Unit
at the
includ
"islan
ingste
tions
Mon
Mini
Whe
ered
State
Loui
did
tions
men
for

In Honor of James Monroe

office.

Monroe was elected President of the United States in 1816, and again in 1820. In 1820 he would have received all the electoral votes except for the fact that William Plumer of New Hampshire cast his vote as a presidential elector for John Quincy Adams, in order, it is said, to prevent anyone from sharing with Washington the distinction of being elected President by the unanimous votes of all electors. Monroe became a regent of the University of Virginia in 1826 and in 1829 was President of the Convention called to amend the Constitution of Virginia.

Of the military service of James Monroe, Washington with his own hand wrote that "He has in every instance maintained the reputation of a brave, active and sensible officer." In the civilian offices he held Monroe was also "active and sensible." He was at all times a man of moderation, good will and sound integrity.

Robert Livingston, as resident Minister to France from the United States, had been instructed by President Jefferson to purchase from France for the United States, if possible, the territory at the mouth of the Mississippi River, including what was then known as the "island of New Orleans." To aid Livingston in carrying out these instructions President Jefferson appointed Monroe as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France. When Monroe and Livingston discovered that it was possible for the United States to purchase from France the Louisiana Territory in its entirety they did not hesitate to exceed their instructions, and forthwith signed an agreement on behalf of the United States for the purchase of this vast territory.

This was a "sensible" act.

By the purchase of the Louisiana Territory the United States acquired a vast area of the most fertile land in the world. Out of this territory has been carved the States of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Nebraska, Iowa, North and South Dakota, and Oklahoma in their entirety; and large parts of Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Montana, and Minnesota.

While Monroe was President what became known as the Holy Alliance was formed by and between Austria, Russia and Prussia. France, after it had restored the rule of Ferdinand VII in Spain, joined the original three. It was the purpose of this alliance to "put an end to the system of representative government," to overthrow the new governments that had been erected out of what had once been Spanish colonies in America, and to restore these former colonies to Spain. If this had happened the next logical step of the alliance would have been the restoration to France of its former colonies in America, including most of Canada. And it is reasonable to assume that the alliance would then have sought to legalize the one-time claim of Russia to a large part of what is now the Northwestern part of the United States.

As anyone could see, the proposed plan of the Holy Alliance was a threat to the security and general welfare of the United States. Confronted with this threat, James Monroe as President of the new nation was "brave, active and sensible." He issued on behalf of the United States that statement of our foreign policy which has since become famous as the "Monroe Doctrine." His statement consisted of two parts. The first part was correctly interpreted by

In Honor of James Monroe

the alliance as a threat, because he declared it to be a "principle" of our foreign policy that "the American continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonizations by any European Powers." This meant war if the alliance attempted to carry out any of its proposed plans for subjugating any free American state. The United States, from the time President Monroe made his famous proclamation, has strictly adhered to the first part of the "Monroe Doctrine."

The second part, however, is as important to the security and general welfare of the United States as is the first part. In the second part of this statement of our foreign policy, President Monroe made what amounted to a solemn promise on behalf of the United States to all European governments. He said: "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense."

The "Monroe Doctrine" was a plain and simple statement made to European governments that the United States would fight to prevent any future colonization in the American continents by European powers, and a promise that the United States would not participate in any of the interminable wars in Europe unless such wars seriously menaced the rights of the United States.

The internationalists have said that the second part of the "Monroe Doctrine" is a doctrine of isolation and that isolation is a cowardly and damnable

thing. The second part of the "Monroe Doctrine" is based squarely on the foreign policy recommended by President George Washington in his "Farewell Address," wherein he said:

"If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when . . . we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected . . . Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice."

By the foregoing words President Washington had no intent of isolating the United States from Europe except in the matter of the interminable wars of that bloody continent. He makes this clear by the following statement, which is also a part of his "Farewell Address":

"Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences . . ." He then added this great truth: "There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon any real favors from nation to nation."

It is believed that if the "sensible" James Monroe with his sound ideas of American foreign policy had been President when Japan attacked the United States he would have used all the military might of our nation to defeat Japan quickly; and that he would not have sent American soldiers to Europe to fight and die in order that one ruthless dictator might destroy another ruth-

less dict
and p
destroy
general
ing the
Under

in re
mon

Unit

less dictator, but would have stood aside and permitted Hitler and Stalin to destroy each other—to the benefit and general welfare of all the world, including the people of Russia and Germany. Under such a “sensible” policy com-

munist could have been destroyed; and Russia, its satellites, and China could today be free nations, and not a menace to the general welfare, peace, and happiness of the people of the United States.

The Game of Darts

Twenty-nine oil firms are indicted for price-fixing. This kind of thing is in restraint of trade and in this country restraining trade is a government monopoly.
Fletcher Knebel

The part most women don't like about parking is the noisy crash. Uncle Mat

As for a summit conference, why not invite all the eighty nations of the United Nations and talk forever?
George Sokolsky

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

by

ALDRICH BLAKE

A lively, penetrating, all-inclusive analysis of the civil rights question in the United States, showing the adverse effect of the civil rights statutes on the individual freedom, private property rights, and cultural life of the American citizen and on his right to the pursuit of happiness.

Art Covers

112 Pages

\$1.00

Order from

ANDREW B. McALLISTER
2474 N. Lakeview Avenue
Chicago 14, Illinois

ADDITIONAL COPIES

of all issues of AMERICAN OPINION are available in bulk:

1-11 copies	50¢ each
12-99 copies	40¢ each
100-999 copies	35¢ each
1000 or more copies	30¢ each

The above prices are for shipment by us in one package to one address. Or we will mail individual copies on a list you supply us, at 50¢ each.

The above prices also apply to all numbers that were published of ONE MAN'S OPINION. They are listed below, with the feature article indicated for each:

- No. 1 A Biographical Sketch of Syngman Rhee
- No. 2 A Biographical Sketch of William F. Knowland
- No. 3 A Biographical Sketch of Frank J. Lausche
- No. 4 A Letter To The South, On Segregation
- No. 5 Miscellaneous Articles
- No. 6 A Brief Review Of Recent Events
- No. 7 A Short Biography of Chiang Kai-shek
- No. 8 A Biographical Sketch of Konrad Adenauer
- No. 9 The New Americanism
- No. 10 Look At The Score—The Nature of NATO
- No. 11 The Life of John Birch

(Complete sets for \$5.00 each)

AMERICAN OPINION REPRINTS

Article	1-99	100-999	1,000 or more
The World Health Organization by J. B. Matthews	10¢ each	8¢ each	7¢ each
The Federal Reserve System by Hans Sennholz	5¢ each	4½¢ each	4¢ each
A Letter To The South	10¢ each	8¢ each	7¢ each
A Letter To Khrushchev	3 for \$1.00	25¢ each	20¢ each
The American Opinion Scoreboard	8¢ each	5¢ each	4¢ each

AMERICAN OPINION, Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Recent
the Uni
looking
the prin
partmen
doms"
that the
lative D
the doc
ecutive
White I
lege of
ate and
Even af
find the
stitution

While
that the
power t
more i
and qua
writing
of Fra
ambition
soared
by the
steered
of its p
gatherin
ity on
the pro
in a so
versal l
best est
been on
that it
anythin
In N

OCTOB

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

Recently we read the Constitution of the United States once again. We were looking for those articles which said that the primary duty of the Executive Department was to ensure the "four freedoms" for the people of Afghanistan; that the chief functions of the Legislative Department were to rubberstamp the documents put before it by the Executive and to attend breakfasts in the White House; and that it was the privilege of the Judicial Department to initiate and enact the laws of our country. Even after a careful search we couldn't find these articles anywhere in the Constitution. Ours must be an old copy.

While our basic worry, however, is that the Supreme Court has usurped the power to write and rewrite our laws, a more immediate worry is the nature and quality of the legislation it has been writing. Beginning in the second term of Franklin Demigod Roosevelt, the ambition of the Supreme Court has soared on a meteoric flight, propelled by the gaseous fuel of "liberalism," and steered always to the left by the rudder of its philosophy. The Court has been gathering power, influence, and audacity on its way for twenty years. Until the presence of armed federal troops in a sovereign state, to support a reversal by the Court of one of its own best established previous decisions, has been one direct result of its assumption that it can make "the law of the land" anything it pleases at any time.

IN NINE MEN AGAINST AMERICA (Dev-

in-Adair, N.Y.; 166 pages, \$3.00), Rosalie M. Gordon, longtime research assistant to John T. Flynn, has written a brilliant analysis of this high and mighty tribunal, with its erratic pronouncements and motley personnel. Although the book is chiefly concerned with the more recent trouble-making activities of the Court—which in the past three years has handed down fifteen decisions meddling into state affairs and destroying our defenses against the Communist conspiracy—it also offers a splendid review of the more important cases and decisions, over a longer period, which have disastrously altered national and international law.

Of particular interest to the casual reader is the excellent study of the individual justices. It is almost unbelievable that men elevated to such an important post, and entrusted with so much real authority as well as the power to seize more, should be so totally devoid of legal training and have such shallow roots in fundamental American principles.

But Miss Gordon has covered a lot of other ground besides the leftist sympathies, ignorance of jurisprudence, and political opportunism of Earl Warren and most of his colleagues. She has dealt at some length with the various forces behind the desegregation decision of May 17, 1954; the peculiar status of "the eighteen bright young men who serve as law clerks to the justices of the

(Continued on page 51)

an exciting, frightening novel...
"The Pentagon Case"

BY COL. VICTOR J. FOX

Said John T. Flynn "I've often wondered why someone hasn't put the story of the communist infiltration of our government into a novel . . . Well, finally someone has . . . it's hair-raising . . . once you start it, you can't put it down."

Said Dr. Daniel A. Poling "provocative, even infuriating, but factual . . . it has all the suspense elements of a top-flight detective story and is a simply terrifying indictment of responsible representatives and agencies of the government."

Say Others "exciting and infuriating" — NEW YORK DAILY NEWS • "one of the truest and best records yet written of contemporary communist activities"—AMERICAN OPINION • "in terms of sheer terror, it has no equal. It might be called the '1984' of today. As one reads it, it becomes increasingly clear that much of the 'fiction' is not fiction, but devastatingly true. It is sheer dynamite."

—HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

\$1 in special unabridged paper bound edition available only from America's Future. Or standard edition at \$3.95.

AMERICA'S FUTURE, INC., 542 Main St., New Rochelle, N. Y.

Please mail me, post paid, at once _____ copies of "The Pentagon Case":
in \$1 paperbound edition ☐; in \$3.95 standard edition ☐.

My check for \$_____ is enclosed ☐ Please bill me ☐

Money back if not satisfied

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....CITY & STATE.....

Supre
ject to
or loyal
son" d
brough
Comm
the Co
forcem
and m
In her
various
brough
Court
govern
for kee
ness ju
ologists
almost

Much
ten has
some u
of Rig
Cambr
\$250),
of Ame
the Co
"third
many o
to the
and ha
assume
fessor
authori
sided v
country
gressive

But
Miss C
annual
various
Pasade
the chi
Court
cisions

OCTOB

A Review of Reviews

(Continued from page 49)

Supreme Court" and who "are not subject to the regular government security or loyalty checks"; with the "Steve Nelson" decision and others which have brought so much justified joy to the Communist camp. She has shown how the Court is making effective law enforcement, even in the cases of rape and murder, almost an impossibility. In her final chapter she has discussed the various responsible proposals so far brought forth for putting the Supreme Court back in its proper place in our governmental scheme of things; and for keeping on its bench honest-to-goodness judges, instead of sophomoric sociologists who make Henry Wallace sound almost sensible.

Much of what Miss Gordon has written has recently been supported from some unexpected sources. In *THE BILL OF RIGHTS* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts; 82 pages, \$2.50), Judge Learned Hand, the "dean of American jurists," has confirmed that the Court has seized the power of a "third legislative chamber"; has decried many of its recent decisions as inimical to the very purpose of the judiciary; and has voiced a plea for limiting its assumed powers. And Princeton Professor Edward S. Corwin, a recognized authority on Constitutional Law, has sided with Hand, declaring that "the country needs protection against the aggressive tendency of the court."

But the most significant support for Miss Gordon's thesis came from the annual meeting of chief justices of the various states, held during August in Pasadena, California. In a torrid report the chief justices blasted the Supreme Court for its "overrulings of prior decisions in constitutional cases." They

asked that the Court "... exercise to the full its power of judicial self-restraint by adhering firmly to its tremendous, strictly judicial powers and by eschewing, so far as possible, the exercise of essentially legislative powers."

These are noble sentiments, bravely expressed. Unfortunately, they are also, probably, entirely futile. For in September, 1957, the Communists even held a rally for the specific purpose, as spelled out by the *Daily Worker*: "To pay honor to the U. S. Supreme Court and its recent decisions." When you have judges of America's highest court who *earn* and apparently rejoice in that kind of "honor," there isn't much chance of making them behave like grownup Americans without the lash of unmistakable Congressional action. Rosalie Gordon's book is a well organized, smoothly written, easy-to-read account for the general public of the judicial misbehavior, and damage already done thereby to the legal framework of our republic, which make such early Congressional attention so imperative a need.

* * *

The first session of the 84th Congress established a bipartisan Special Committee to select five Senators, none living, whose portraits were to be placed in the five unfilled spaces in the Senate reception room. This committee, under the chairmanship of Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, chose Senators Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Robert M. La Follette, and Robert A. Taft for the honor.

In *THE FAMOUS FIVE* (Bookmailer, N.Y.; 208 pages, \$3.50), Holmes Alexander has put his great skill as a biographer to work to make each of these

(Continued on page 53)

*The 35th of the
Famous Books for Libertarians
Published by Caxton*

INFLATION IN THE UNITED STATES

by

PAUL BAKEWELL, JR.

69 pages, large 12mo, paper-bound, book-sewed, \$1.00

Paul Bakewell, Jr., a prominent St. Louis lawyer who has studied, written, and spoken about money matters since 1934, treats the subject from the long-range point of view in his essay, **INFLATION IN THE UNITED STATES**. With clear logic he demonstrates the causes for our existing inflation and pinpoints the laws which abolished gold as our basic banking asset and substituted a managed but irredeemable currency as the basis of our banking system. The substitution of managed money for gold coin, he declares, has made possible the almost unlimited inflation which is mainly responsible for the existing economic situation which has developed since 1933.

Though government can cause a colossal inflation, Mr. Bakewell finds that none has ever corrected the situation and restored sound money. Every government which has caused inflation has been overthrown and a new government of a different type brought into power.

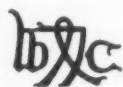
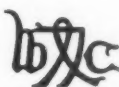
Having achieved, since 1934, the greatest inflation ever experienced in the United States, and having accumulated a direct government debt of nearly \$275,000,000,000, what, then, can be accomplished toward a return to the gold standard and the redeemability of paper currency, the basic essentials of a good monetary system and a sound economy? The author outlines seven remedial steps by which this purpose may be accomplished without completely wrecking the economy of the nation, something which might very well be the result of an abrupt termination of inflation.

Mr. Bakewell's essay is important to an understanding of the basic causes of inflation and of the vital connection which exists between the gold standard, private property, and personal liberty.

At your booksellers or postpaid direct from the publisher.

Any or all of the following pieces of advertising literature will be sent on request:

- ☐ Current Catalog
- ☐ Complete Catalog
(Trade List)
- ☐ Juvenile Catalog
- ☐ Alaskan Books
Circular
- ☐ Check List
- ☐ Dance Books
Folder
- ☐ Libertarian Books
Catalog

 **CAXTON** 
of
Caldwell, Idaho

(
men co
reader's
lapping
in-comm
signedly
turned
Nor is t
and wo
ferences
sharpen
life and
and the
shortcor
the state
and the
"heroes"
vincing
life.

This
the sect
have be
author,
difficul
dered h
obvious
integrity
popular
able to
ance in
ety-seek
Bob" La
goguery
his care
harmfu
princip
have w
even co
But Mr
place. F
with th
than sa
own res
and lite

For

OCTOBER

A Review of Reviews

(Continued from page 51)

men come lucently to life before the reader's eyes. There is none of the overlapping or diffusion of characteristics-in-common which a reader might resignedly expect from pen portraits turned out on a production-line basis. Nor is this fault avoided by the opposite and worse one, of exaggerating differences and peculiarities in order to sharpen the identifications. The family life and the political life, the successes and the failures, the abilities and the shortcomings, the human qualities and the statesman-like qualities, the foibles and the greatness of each of Alexander's "heroes" materialize naturally and convincingly in the pages devoted to his life.

This reviewer would have expected the section on Robert M. La Follette to have been the most difficult for the author, and to have showed signs of his difficulty in the performance. We wondered how Holmes Alexander, without obvious sacrifices of his own intellectual integrity for the purpose of potboiling popularity as a writer, was going to be able to handle satisfactorily the appearance in this honored group of a notoriety-seeking mountebank like "Fighting Bob" La Follette; of a man whose demagoguery through all the major part of his career was pronounced enough, and harmful enough to the fundamental principles of the American Republic, to have won the praise and admiration of even communists like Lincoln Steffens. But Mr. Alexander puts all in its proper place. He leaves you reasonably satisfied with the committee's choice, and more than satisfied with the benefits of his own research, scholarship, discernment, and literary craftsmanship.

For an outstanding feature of this

book is its readability. The paragraphs sweep you along to one more and just one more before you put the volume down for any interruption. And despite the fact that it has been and will be given little help towards its own fame by the major review sections, *The Famous Five* has become and is likely to remain one of the best-selling non-fiction books of the year. It offers a combination of soundly informative and unusually enjoyable reading.

* * *

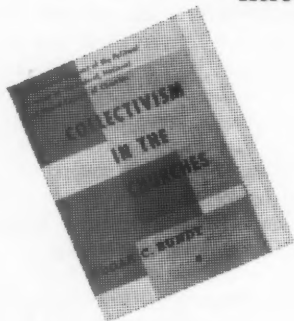
In the November, 1956 issue of ONE MAN'S OPINION (predecessor to this magazine), the editor wrote: "There has never in the history of the world been a government (and this generalization includes our present one) that maintained honesty in the handling of a 'managed' irredeemable currency." On the first page of INFLATION IN THE UNITED STATES (Caxton, Caldwell, Idaho; 69 pages, paperbound, \$1.00), by Paul F. Bakewell, Jr., the author says: "There is no instance in history where a government which has caused a colossal inflation has ever corrected it and restored sound money."

But the kinship between those two thoughts is only the opening sign of a much more extensive consanguinity between the pages of this new treatise and the pages of AMERICAN OPINION. In our article, *What Is The National Debt?*, published in July, 1957, Dr. Medford Evans traveled one of the roads now trod by Mr. Bakewell, and went considerably further in that particular direction. In *The Federal Reserve System*, which appeared in our April, 1958 number, Dr. Hans Sennholz gave a very scholarly analysis of that overrated and ineffective *deus ex machina*

(Continued on page 55)

A DEVASTATING INDICTMENT, FULLY DOCUMENTED!

Why Do Clergymen Promote Communist Causes?
Here Is The Answer.



COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES

by

EDGAR C. BUNDY

"Major Bundy has done brave service in attacking the New Pharisees, the New Sadducees, of the entrenched ecclesiastical hierarchy. His strong documented, devastating book should hasten the day of Lucifer's defeat and God's victory."

E. Merrill Root
in *National Review*

"If the 'liberal' theologians continue on their present track they will soon (earn) the distinction of being the group most responsible for delivering America into the hands of the enemy. COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES will show you how far they have already gone."

Edwin McDowell,
American Opinion

"I make the challenging statement that to a shocking extent our churches are being used to further the Communist purpose . . . And for detailed confirmation with documented evidence of this fact I refer you to a 354-page book, COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES by Edgar C. Bundy, Wheaton, Ill."

Otto Garr Tague,
Cincinnati Enquirer

"Without hesitancy, Dr. Bundy calls names of Council leaders whom he charges with Communist propaganda. The book contains a great deal of documentation to support the charges."

Dr. J. M. Crowe, Sunday School Board,
The Southern Baptist Convention

"In this most provocative work the spotlight is focused upon the left wing collectivistic, socialistic ecclesiasts which seemingly dominate in many ways the National Council of Churches . . . Mr. Bundy has an outstanding background which has prepared and qualified him for setting forth these significant facts."

Dr. Albert J. Lindsey, Pastor
First Presbyterian Church, Tacoma, Washington

"This is a most important contribution in the battle to save our Republic."

Mrs. Ray L. Erb, *National Defense Chairman*
The Daughters of the American Revolution

"This reviewer cannot escape the conclusion that there is tragic justification for the title, COLLECTIVISM IN THE CHURCHES."

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, EDITOR,
Christian Herald

Price \$5.00 per copy

THE CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

1407 Hill Avenue, Wheaton, Illinois

in the
ment,
and fir
strength
is supp
issue T
And Y
Bakew
referen
your g
None
not hea
Mr. Ba
We do
summa
in the
dramat
inflation
body. V
pages i
folly, a
govern
thing v
and the
freely r
and tru
most u
to some
right,"
godaw
stand
that do
servati
commo
display
of mon
be its
would
sound
It is
magaz
sumes
notes
ername

OCTOB

A Review of Reviews

(Continued from page 53)

in the drama of our "money management," which Mr. Bakewell also dissects and finds devoid of the necessary strength and intestines for the part it is supposed to play. And in this very issue T. Coleman Andrews, in *Inflation And YOU*, confirms and illustrates Mr. Bakewell's whole theme, with specific reference to *your* role as the victim of your government's gigantic fraud.

None of which is to say that we do not heartily welcome and recommend Mr. Bakewell's small but excellent book. We do. We'd be glad to see both his summarization of the story of inflation in the United States, and Mr. Andrews' dramatic presentation of the effects of inflation on individuals, read by everybody. We especially recommend those pages in which Mr. Bakewell shows the folly, and in fact the criminality, of our government's designating as money anything which is not redeemable in gold, and the absolute necessity of a currency freely redeemable in gold for any sound and truly prosperous economy. And we most urgently recommend that section to some of our fellow crusaders "on the right," who come up with varied and godawful panaceas they do not understand for "solving" money problems that do not even exist. Many good conservatives who write with penetrating common sense on every other subject display an ignorance about the function of money in our society (or what should be its purely *passive* function) that would make even Seymour Harris sound like an economist.

It is interesting to the staff of this magazine to see that Mr. Bakewell assumes that the Federal Reserve currency notes are liabilities of the federal government, without so much as raising the

question. He even appears to treat these notes as direct, rather than contingent liabilities, of the United States. Not only do we agree with him that, despite all of the legislative history brought forth to confuse the issue, the words on these notes, "The United States of America will pay to the bearer on demand," must be construed as meaning what they say. But we'll go further and repeat our belief, previously stated in *AMERICAN OPINION*, that with any of this currency accumulated by foreign governments or foreign central banks being freely redeemable *in gold*, with the actual purchasing value of our currency in world-wide commerce sinking below the value of the gold for which it is redeemable, and with conspiratorial dishonesty in the manipulation of "money" now so prevalent among the governments of the world, this contingent guarantee by our government of the value of these notes (issued by a private banking system) can be converted by hostile foreign governments into one of the most horrible fiscal nightmares that our nation or any other nation has ever faced. And the huge percentage of our gold at Fort Knox now earmarked as belonging to foreign governments may show that nightmare to be already developing. BUT—we can certainly find Mr. Bakewell some monetary experts, for whom both he and we have a lot of respect, who will give him plenty of argument about his tacit, and so easily made, assumption.

The one serious fault of *Inflation In The United States* is a repetitiousness with regard to many points, and even exact sentences, which sometimes is annoying. But offsetting that is one epigram which, to us, is alone worth the

(Continued on page 58)

CONFETTI

Mrs. Yak: "I'll admit I was outspoken at the meeting today."

Husband: "I don't believe it. Who outspoke you?"

* * *

"This is a holdup!" said the thug. "Give me your money or else."

"Or else what?" demanded the victim.

"Don't confuse me," begged the thug. "This is my first job."

* * *

A worker was short two dollars in his pay envelope, and complained to the paymaster.

"You were overpaid two dollars last week and didn't complain," the paymaster said.

"I know," the employee replied. "I don't mind overlooking one mistake. But when it happens again, I think it's time to complain."

* * *

We like the optimism of the conventioneer who wrote the hotel reservations clerk that he wanted a room where he could put up with his wife.

* * *

Classified advertisement in Edinburgh paper: SHIP-IN-BOTTLE MAKERS. Free Service. Young man accepts full bottles of Duff Gordon sherry, returns them empty ready for insertion of ship. Prompt, conscientious work guaranteed.

* * *

"Prepare yourself for widowhood," said the fortune teller to her feminine client. "Your husband is about to die a violent death."

The wife sighed deeply and asked: "Will I be acquitted?"

Power brakes may stop a car on a dime, but it usually costs about a hundred dollars to get the rear end fixed.

* * *

The wealthy contractor liked to know all about the employees who toiled in his vast business. One day he came upon a new young man who was dexterously counting out a large wad of the firm's cash into pay envelopes.

"Where did you get your financial training, young man?" he asked.

"Yale," the young man answered.

The contractor was a staunch advocate of higher learning. "Good," he said, "and what's your name?"

"Yackson."

* * *

"Did they take an X-ray photo of your wife's jaw at the hospital?"

"They tried to, but they got a moving picture."

* * *

The sweet young thing, a bit nervous on her first safari, turned anxiously to the veteran hunter. "I've heard," she said, "that if you carry a stick in your hand, the lions won't charge you. Is that right?"

"Well, ma'am," he drawled, not wanting to shatter the comforting illusion too suddenly, "it all depends on how fast you carry it."

* * *

A candidate for office, driving out through the country, stopped his car and yelled at a fellow plowing in a field: "Say, I hear you been tellin' these folks I'm no good for anything!"

"Nope," said the fellow. "Nope, I don't know how they found it out."

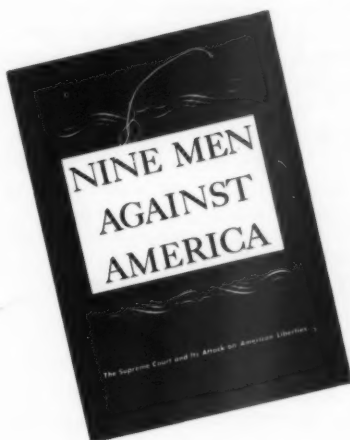
* * *

A southern farmer irately refused to accept a federal subsidy.

"I, suh," he shouted, "will have no part of any U. S. Grant."

Another Hard-Hitting Book From

DEVIN-ADAIR



Price
\$3.00
per copy

See review in the
preceding pages of
this magazine

Order from your bookstore, *The Bookmailer*, or
direct from the publisher.

THE DEVIN-ADAIR COMPANY, *Publishers*
23 East 26th Street, New York 10, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send me.....copies of NINE MEN AGAINST
AMERICA, by Rosalie Gordon, at \$3.00 per copy.

I enclose \$.....

Name

Address

.....

A Review of Reviews

(Continued from page 55)

price of admission. Referring to the fact that the backing for our currency, so far as *Americans* who hold it are concerned, is government bonds held by the banks, which bonds are themselves just promissory notes of the government, Mr. Bakewell says that a "dollar" is now "merely a promise to pay another promise to pay."

The whole book can be read in an hour. As Counselors on "your time's worth" we advise the investment.

* * *

We have not yet seen *Managed Money At The Crossroads*, by Dr. Melchior Palyi, which the above discussion brings to mind. It is to be released this fall by Notre Dame University Press. And while we have heard rumors that the reviewing of books without having read them is not utterly unknown in the profession, we suppose there might be a certain amount of risk involved in reviewing a book we haven't read which hasn't even been published. (Although there are some books we know which would certainly receive more favorable reviews from us under that procedure.)

We do have a pamphlet recently written by Dr. Palyi, however, and being distributed by The Heritage Foundation, Inc., 121 West Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Illinois. Its title is *Nationalizations—Ten Years Later*. There are thirty-six pages, plus index, all of them completely crammed with the records and results of the nationalizations of

industry which swept over European countries some ten years ago.

The inefficiency and wastefulness of an extensive bureaucracy is as inevitable as water running down hill. Consequently it does not have to be proved, for anybody who will either observe or think, that all governments are fools, and the bigger the government the bigger the fool. But for anybody who would like to see a mountain of evidence in writing, as to just how incredibly foolish the governments of Western Europe have been since the war, we suggest sending to The Heritage Foundation for Dr. Palyi's study.

* * *

CHILD OF THE REVOLUTION (Henry Regnery Co., Chicago; 447 pages, \$6.50), by Wolfgang Leonhard is, as the *Chicago Tribune* observed, "a detached, almost clinical account of life in the Soviet Union. . . ." It is also a fascinating study of the widely discussed Communist educational system, with its diabolic plan of world conquest. When thirteen years old, Leonhard was taken by his mother, a German Communist, to a children's home for emigrés in Moscow. So he has lived through all that he describes. The reader should be warned, however, that Leonhard, though having broken with the Stalinist regime and fled to Belgrade, and while now living in England, is still a professed Marxist who wonders where the "glorious experiment" went wrong.

Calling All Conservatives

We can think of few things which would improve the United States Senate more than retiring Arthur V. Watkins of Utah to pasture. And to do this by electing to the Senate so outstanding an American patriot and statesman as J. Bracken Lee, twice Governor of Utah, would be a real cause for rejoicing by other patriots everywhere. To do your part, send a check for all you can spare to Lee Campaign Fund, c/o FOR AMERICA, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. And do it now.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

American Opinion
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

Please enter my subscription to AMERICAN OPINION for one
year, for which I enclose \$ 5.00

Please enter subscriptions for the names and addresses listed below,
at \$5.00 each \$

To enable you to reach as many opinion-molders as possible, by
your own selection of names from your own list, I am covering the
cost for you to enter such subscriptions at \$5.00 each, by enclosing
an additional \$

The total of my remittance is \$

Sincerely,

(Name)

(Address)

Additional Subscriptions

(Name)

(Address)

(Name)

(Address)

LOOKING BOTH WAYS



HOLMES ALEXANDER

The author of our series of essays on *How To Read The Federalist* has been a reporter, biographer, novelist, fiction writer, an editorial writer, syndicated columnist, politician, and soldier—though not in that order. One of his novels, *Dust In The Afternoon*, was serialized in the *Saturday Evening Post*, to which he has also contributed other stories and articles. At present his daily column on the way the world looks, in and from Washington, is syndicated in leading newspapers from coast to coast.

An alumnus of Princeton, he took postgraduate work at Cambridge University, England; became a member of the Maryland legislature at the age of twenty-four; retired from politics to become a writer before he was thirty; went into World War II as a first lieutenant in the Air Corps and came out as a major, after winning assorted battle stars and citations; and now lives in Washington, where he has one wife, one daughter, and two sons.

The subjects of his books have been even more varied than the segments of his own career. They have ranged from romantic satire, in *Selma*, and sports fiction in *Dust In The Afternoon*, to a report on the foreseeable future, in *Tomorrow's Air Age*. But while his ubiquitous interest causes him to make some long mental jumps, he digs deeply at any place he lands.

Mr. Alexander makes his living as a journalist, his best claim to lasting fame through his biographies (Martin Van Buren, Aaron Burr, etc.), and a hobby out of scholarly research. His latest book, *The Famous Five*, reviewed in this issue, is now on the bestseller lists. And you will find our current installment of his briefs for the constitution beginning on Page 33.

From the very beginning of this magazine (and its predecessor, ONE MAN'S OPINION) we have been helped by considerable sales of back numbers and—more recently—of reprints of various articles. There is a strong continuing demand, for instance, for reprints of *A Letter To The South, On Segregation*, of *The World Health Organization*, and of *A Letter To Khrushchev*.

The largest single order we have yet received for back numbers of the magazine itself was for two thousand copies of the May, 1957 issue of ONE MAN'S OPINION, containing our short biography of Chiang Kai-shek. And one reader bought and distributed twelve hundred copies of the forty-page reprint of *A Letter To Khrushchev* to every one of his twelve hundred employees.

But the record in this kind of welcome support has now been set by a friend of ours in the Midwest. He liked the "scoreboard" in the July-August issue so well that he had it reprinted on postcard stock and mailed out fifty thousand copies to that many individual names. We would have written him fifty thousand notes of appreciation, but we ran into an objection in our secretarial department.

On the inside front cover we have already broken an arm patting ourselves on the back over the contents of this issue. Now we are about to break the other arm, doing the same thing over articles in early forthcoming issues. But they include some penetrating and informative pieces by Colm Brogan, George W. Robnett, our more "regular" contributors, and many others, which we think you are going to like very much too. Our goal remains to give you "your time's worth" in all you read in AMERICAN OPINION.

nag-
N'S
by
and
ious
uing
of A
tion,
tion,

e yet
aaga-
opies
N'S
biog-
one
welve
print
every
vees.
wel-
by a
liked
ist is-
ed on
thou-
vidual
him
n, but
secre-

ave al-
selves
f this
k the
g over
s. But
nd in-
rogan,
gular"
which
e very
ve you
ead in

OPINION