

AMERICAN OPINION

In this issue

EUROPEAN SURVEY

William S. Schlamm

THE CHAINS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Willis E. Stone

DON'T SEND ME A UNICEF GREETING CARD!

Hubert Kregeloh

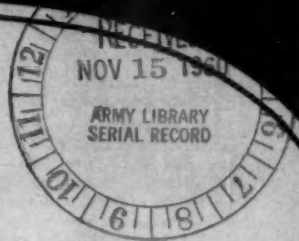
A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Revilo P. Oliver

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AMERICAN OPINION

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CONTENTS—NOVEMBER, 1960

To The President Elect	Editorial	1
European Survey	William S. Schlam	3
Cartoon	Victor Vashi	6
The Chains Of The Constitution	Willis E. Stone	17
Don't Send Me A UNICEF Greeting Card!	Hubert Kregeloh	24
A Review Of The News		28
A Review Of Reviews	Revido P. Oliver	37
Bullets		44

November 1, 1960

Dear Reader:

By the time you receive this magazine the big contest in showmanship will be over.

Our message to the winner is on the next two pages. Our message to our readers, on the same subject, is here. It is that in the forthcoming final showdown of our struggle with the Communists we have but one thing to fear.

Maybe the Soviet missiles and submarines should be scaring us to death. We agree that it is wise to stay well prepared for anything. But in our opinion Soviet Russia today (if left entirely to her own strength and her own morale, without our help) couldn't lick Formosa in an honest war.

Maybe we should be frightened by the Soviet economic threat to our capitalist system. But we agree with Tom Anderson that, in the seven years the Soviet barkers are talking about, they have no slightest real chance of catching up economically even with Spain, much less with the United States.

There is one field of production, however, in which Soviet Russia really does excel. It leads the world in both the quantity of its output and the size of its exhibits. That is in the production of lies. And it is from the continuous and overwhelming effect of this production that we have everything to fear.

We do not even want to compete with the Communists in that production. But we do wish to offset its effectiveness by a far more extensive, confident, and even daring use of the counter weapon of truth. To that purpose we shall keep the pages of this magazine dedicated to the best of our abilities.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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To The President-Elect:

You stand exactly at the supreme crisis, up to this date, of all human history.

That crisis has been long in the making. The struggle is not between two philosophies of economics, of government, or even of life itself. For the philosophy of Communism is but the cloak of a conspiracy. The struggle is between a small but worldwide esoteric clan, which seeks to enslave all of mankind for its own demonic purposes, and the rest of us, who wish to escape that enslavement.

In sheer numbers we have more than ninety-five percent of the human race on our side. But through long planning over decades, and to some extent even over centuries, the enemy now has in its grasp most of the reins and mechanics of power throughout the world. And this enemy has no slightest concern about the cost of its victory. Not only are the conspirators willing to see every truth denied, every humanitarian instinct betrayed, every noble tradition destroyed, every divine faith uprooted, in the achievement of their ends. They actively promote and use this destruction of man's whole spiritual inheritance, as a means of establishing their ruthless tyranny.

The Communists have now infiltrated so insidiously and so far into the organizational frameworks of all human activity that they consider total victory both imminent and assured. The innate strength of the United States remains, despite all of the erosion of that strength which the Communists have so patiently contrived, as the one serious obstacle still to be overcome. And now the Communists are freely predicting that the United States and its people have only one hundred more months of freedom. The hundred months, you will note, are just about coextensive

To The President-Elect

with your expected two terms of office. And there is little doubt that the final decision of this struggle, affecting man's whole life and history for many future generations, will be reached during these next eight years.

In fact, the balance of power is already in your hands. The future of our country and of our civilization may be yours to decide. Those of us who "know the score" are well aware of how much easier it would be for you quietly to join the conspirators, add the full force of the presidency to the strength they already have, and make treason so prosper that "none dare call it treason." Thus you might readily emerge in due time as yourself the top man in a one-world socialist government, kept in power by the brutality of Communist police. The other course is to use the power of the presidency to reassert our nation's already fading independence, and to reestablish its influence on the side of individual freedom and national freedom everywhere. To follow that path is now much more difficult and more dangerous, even for the President of the United States. But it is not yet quite too late for such a purpose to prevail.

When the true history of the Twentieth Century comes to be written your name will loom large on its middle pages. Those pages may record that under your complaisant opportunism, during the years 1961 through 1968, all resistance to tyranny, in the United States and throughout the world, was completely crushed. Or it may read that, by your incessant labor and courage and determination, you were able to save for your children and their children some semblance of the glorious country and humane civilization which you yourself had inherited.

Which course those pages will record is up to you. May God help you to decide aright.

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Here are two installments of Mr. Schlamms continuing report on the course of events in Europe. The first, to be sure, aged a little on our desk because all of our available space in two whole issues was needed for A WORLD GONE CRAZY. It is nonetheless timely, topical, and premonitory. For Mr. Schlamms is not concerned with the playing porpoises that catch the eye of quid-nunc journalists, but with the course of the ship and, therefore, the destination at which it will arrive, if that course is not changed. His first "European Survey," written in December, 1957, was published in Vol. I No. 1 of AMERICAN OPINION. If you turn back to it now, you will find that, just as Hamlet is full of quotations, so much that Mr. Schlamms points out is obvious — obvious, that is, since May, 1958, or August, 1959, or January, 1960. And almost every day confirms anew the basic observation made in that first article: "The key to the apparently unstoppable Soviet march is not the strength or persuasiveness of Communism, but the catatonia of the West."

I

*Mailed from Kitzbühel, Austria,
July 21, 1960*

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, unaccustomed as it is to diplomatic victories, lost no time in throwing away the trumps Khrushchev had handed it in Paris. When Europeans took a look at the shambles of the aborted "summit" conference, they were struck by the unexpected potentialities of the situation. First of all, there was now an unprecedented opportunity to sweep all the hesitant governments and peoples of Europe into an enthusiastic, or at least horrified, exertion of united strength. Even the most stubborn illusions about "coexistence" had been blown off the face of the world, and for a few weeks no "neutralist" dared fashion them anew. Second, the whole world was impressed by the very thing that occa-

sioned the Soviets' rage — the unmistakable evidence that, with the U-2's and various other excellent weapons, the United States has — militarily — its hands at Moscow's throat. For the first time since late 1957, when the "Sputnik" panicked the Western world, Europe again believed in America's military superiority over the Soviet Union. And third, by his side-splitting performance as a frustrated clown in Paris, Khrushchev admitted to one and all that there was, in point of fact, nothing the Soviet Union could at the moment *do*. For the first time in ten years, the Soviets had lost the initiative in the Cold War.

Now nobody in Washington had "planned it that way" (as F.D.R. used to boast), and it is quite understandable that Eisenhower and Herter were taken aback by their inadvertent success. Even

European Survey

so, it seemed downright impossible for anyone to miss such extraordinary opportunities — *all* of them. But as Washington prides itself, the impossible only takes longer — and not even very long this time. Six weeks after the Parisian blowup, the United States' position in the world was as bad as ever — or, to be precise, considerably worse than a year ago. For a year ago the illusion-ridden world could fancy that at the forthcoming "summit" conference the United States *might* let a few cats out of the bag. Now there are not even "summit" illusions. There is, after the United States Government showed itself incapable of using a God-given moment of Soviet feebleness, just *no* illusion left concerning our faculties and intentions. And so the world is again on a desperate run for life.

In The Dusk of Empire, A White Carnation . . .

Of all the new symptoms of decay, none was, at least to me, more significant than Harold Macmillan's indecent and, in fact, appalling swipe at the Anglo-American agreement on United States bases in Great Britain. I am in no position to say whether it is true, but it has always been indubitably the official Anglo-American thesis that these British bases are the very essence of the Atlantic defense system. Yet in the face of this thesis, Mr. Macmillan dared the other day to "re-open" negotiations with the United States Government concerning those bases! The aim of such "renegotiations," Macmillan unashamedly admitted, is to prevent the United States Air Force from using British bases for reconnaissance flights over Eastern Europe, so that there will be "less provocation" for the Soviets to attack Great Britain "in retaliation." In short, the

first government to fall on its face at Khrushchev's latest bluster was, of course, Her Majesty's.

I hope no one in the United States will be fooled by Mr. Macmillan's coy phrasing. For naturally he put on his cutest smile and used the very best Oxonian inflections when he virtually capitulated before the ludicrous Soviet threat: "England will respect its treaties," and all that. But it won't. Macmillan, withstanding the onslaught of his Labor opposition as firmly as a chunk of jelly, expressly announced that American reconnaissance flights from British bases will *have* to stop, treaty or no treaty. He even stooped so low as to suggest that, after all, the Anglo-American agreement, signed by Truman and Attlee, did not really spell out things in detail, and thus needs to be "implemented" under the "new conditions."

These "new conditions" are, of course, the very old ones of surrender on the instalment plan. At the moment, the Communist line of attack is, once again, psychological blackmail, pure and simple. Khrushchev's current stock in trade is *Schrecklichkeit*: he frightens innocents well-nigh stiff with dark allusions to Soviet rockets that may fall upon those who continue to participate in NATO-routine. This time, however, still under the impression of the miserable Soviet collapse in Paris, not even Denmark scared easily. But Macmillan's England did. For there are no limits to sophisticated British "prudence," especially when it is being administered by a "conservative" gentleman who substitutes a carnation for character.

While The Rocket's Red Glare . . .

Disgusting as this display of contemporary British manners may be, it is

European Survey

merely a symptom of the general deterioration of the Western position. What is happening in Italy is neither less appalling nor less dangerous—even though the Italians can at least claim that they are capitulating under *genuine* stress, and not, like the British “conservatives,” in prosperous political *normalcy*. The Italian Communists have been unleashed for a general offensive—significantly enough, after Togliatti's return from a visit to Moscow. They are using the new technique, triumphantly tried out in Japan, which seems to have become the real international and intercontinental rocket of World Communism: the launching of a carefully directed mob against the undirected police forces of self-doubting democracies. For several years now the readers of this department have been aware of Italy's insoluble problem: that Italy, without a firm parliamentary majority that could govern, simply cannot go on observing the niceties of parliamentary rules without losing the game. The Communists had only to provoke a few shootings on the streets of excitable Italian cities — and Tambroni's caretaker government could not even survive through the business boom of the Olympiad. Togliatti was permitted to overthrow it just by *compelling* cornered Italian police officers to fire at the mob.

The Italian center parties will try, as they have tried innumerable times before, to outwit the witless octopus of Italian political life. They will try to form a “center-coalition,” based on a hair-breadth majority of a couple of votes and a hint of Nenni's clandestine support. But Togliatti is no fool; nor is his faithful fellow-traveler, Nenni. The time has indubitably ripened for “the opening to the left”—Nenni's ascend-

ancy to governmental power. And even if President Gronchi, one last time, allows the Christian Democrats to blush in public, it's actually all over. Had the United States acted strongly and self-confidently after Khrushchev's downfall in Paris, Italy's declining conservative forces might have recovered five minutes before midnight. But when even that propitious moment passed unused, the will to resist collapsed. A tired Italy reclines in hopeless lassitude. The day belongs to Nenni. Tomorrow, to Togliatti.

Shows Deserted Ramparts . . .

There is all over Europe a prevailing sentiment that makes it seem proper and prudent to withdraw from too close alliance with the United States. During the 50's, politics, in practically all Continental nations (that is, west of the Iron Curtain), consisted in proving to the electorate that one's party, or government, had the most intimate ties with America. No longer. In the 60's, it seems, the art of staying politically alive amounts to proving that one's party has no ties with American policies. And this new political fashion has nowhere been so demonstratively exhibited as in Austria, a country that is (if I may be so blunt) politically as arrogant as it is small and powerless.

The point is not that Khrushchev, during his state visit to Austria so shortly after turning his back on Eisenhower, was allowed to deliver impertinent speeches in “neutral” Austria. The point is not even that the Austrian Government refrained from the least indication of disapproval, although a neutral country would have been clearly obligated to restore the formal equilibrium of its own position between opposing powers. The truly significant

In Place Of A Thousand Words



The Soviet Machine Is Now Bringing Peace, Under Freedom, Everywhere

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European Survey

thing happened a few days after Khrushchev left the smashed-up china shop—when the United States Undersecretary, Mr. Dillon, visited Vienna. Any neutral Government would have thanked God for such an opportunity to expunge past sins. But not the Austrian Government. On the contrary, it told Mr. Dillon not to make public speeches, and, in general, to be careful “not to embarrass Austrian neutrality.”

Its midget size, its political structure, the allegiances of its statesmen—everything makes Austria a perfect indicator of America's standing in the world. It has a population considerably smaller than that of New York City, a safe and firmly rooted parliamentary system, and a highly sophisticated sentiment of anti-Communism in high places as well as in low. (The Austrian Communists got less than 3% of the vote the last time they tried.) It acts the way it acts for just one reason: it is convinced that the United States is a *quantité négligeable* and, even worse, a real jinx for anybody who trusts it and relies on its support.

And The Eyes of Europe Turn . . .

The German Social Democrats went even a step further than their Austrian brethren, who, though reliably anti-Communists, don't think much of America. The German Social Democrats discovered that it might pay, in order to come to power, to renounce politics altogether. This is the meaning of their surprise decision to “support” Adenauer's foreign policy — after ten years of the most ferocious and vicious opposition. The reason for this amazing *volte-face* is cynically admitted. For ten years the Social Democrats have lost all elections for just one reason: the German people agree with Ade-

nauer's policy of strength, *disagree* with the Social-Democrats' policy of “negotiations with Ulbricht” and capitulation. So, for the next (1961) elections, the Social Democrats are resolved to *exclude* the forbidding issue of foreign policy from the campaign.

To Lovely Teeth . . .

Having learned at last that they can't win *against* Adenauer, the Social Democrats are not going to fight him *at all*. Rather, they are going to say that all Germans agree on foreign policy anyhow, and that the *only* issue, therefore, is the age and health of Adenauer's successor. In the Mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt (so effectively built up by the United States Government), they think they've got a physically attractive candidate for Adenauer's office, a man with a toothsome smile, a sonorous baritone, a firm handshake, and a pretty wife. And if the German Social Democrats have it their way, that's all the German electorate is going to vote about next time—basically, about Willy Brandt's dentures.

Now, Americans should know better than to laugh off such a cheap trick of electioneering. Isn't it the essential strategy of both the American parties to *avoid* a genuine political controversy—to restrict elections, for the last thirty years, to beauty and “personality” contests? The German Social Democrats, in sobering truth, are simply taking a leaf from the American campaign manual. And I, for one, am by no means sure that they will fail. The Germans are every bit as anesthetized by prosperity as the Americans. It is entirely possible to persuade them to dismiss principles as irrelevant (“because, after all, we *all* agree on principles *anyhow*”). There is, in fact, a

European Survey

definite ground-swell in Germany to concede "togetherness" in foreign policy. It is so strong that Adenauer's party, in the recent parliamentary debate on the surprising Socialist maneuver, found itself on the defensive. Instead of exposing the cynicism of the Social-Democratic tricksters, the Christian Democrats in so many words acknowledged the "good will" and the "noble patriotism" of the opposition. (This, I may add, was done against the strict advice of Adenauer.)

Of course, there is still a whole year of experience, struggle and accident to be lived before the Germans go to the voting booth. And it is quite possible that Adenauer will yet succeed in disciplining and preserving his party. But if he doesn't, if the Christian Democrats permit the opposition to abstain from politics, the Social Democrats will have an excellent chance to come to power in 1961. (The latest public opinion poll gives them 43% as against the Christian Democrats' 40% of the vote.) And, hardly noticed by the West, the German Social Democracy is, for the first time in its history, firmly led by a man who understands power—and nothing but power. His name is Herbert Wehner.

And A Ruthless Mind . . .

Herbert Wehner, who runs the entire "apparatus" and the press of the German Social Democracy, was until the early 40's a member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party and a paid employé of the Comintern. In 1942 he was sentenced in Sweden to a term in jail for espionage, as a Soviet agent. A few years later, without *ever* having made a clear break with Marxism-Leninism, he quietly appeared in the lower ranks of

the German Social-Democratic Party. In the early 50's he had made the grade as a Social-Democratic organizer and deputy. A few years ago he became Deputy-Chairman of the party and, without doubt, its real boss. Today he rules supreme. Willy Brandt is merely his front-man. If the German Social Democracy ever comes to power, Germany's ruler will be Herbert Wehner.

Now, unlike many other ex-Communists, Wehner has never renounced his Leninist convictions. His strangely unpublicized break with the Communist Party was exclusively due to a factional feud within the "apparatus" and had nothing to do with political or even philosophical disagreements. Born in 1906, Wehner spent his entire formative life, from 1928 till 1944, as a "professional revolutionary" and a full-time officer of the Comintern. Ever since 1945 he has been a "professional revolutionary" in the Social-Democratic party. He has learned nothing in his life but the intricacies of power politics — but these he has learned extremely well. In fact, Herbert Wehner is the only political talent the German Social Democracy has known since the death of its leader, Karl Schumacher, at the beginning of the Adenauer era. Wehner knows what he wants and he knows how to get it. He wants power.

There can be no doubt but that he is angry with Moscow. He is every bit as angry at the arrogance of the Russian Communists as is Tito. Like Tito, he indubitably wants to prove to his former intimates in Moscow that he can attain and exercise power in his own country without instructions and aid from Moscow. Like Tito, Wehner is perfectly willing to use a language that has little in common with the orthodox jargon of Leninism. Like Tito, he has learned

European Survey

to walk and talk like a patriot, a statesman and a charmer. Wehner, in a way, is honestly non-political. He may be entirely capable of convincing himself that he is really supporting Adenauer's foreign policy. For, like all true "professional revolutionaries," he is completely disinterested in ideologies, principles, and beliefs. His only true interest, his only ideology, his only instinct, is power. If, to get power in Germany, he had to join the Jesuits, he assuredly would.

[At this point, since the interpretation that Mr. Schlamm has given differs from our own in a very important respect, our readers will expect us to define our dissent, as we have done on one or two earlier occasions, to avoid possible misunderstanding. We are convinced, on the basis of evidence which seems to us overwhelming and incontrovertible, that Tito is and always has been a diligent and trusted servant of the directors of the Communist conspiracy, and that the much publicized "rift" between him and Stalin was merely a comedy staged to confuse the West. It was especially intended to provide a pretext for taxing the American people to support the Soviet Empire by giving it military equipment, machinery, food, and credits—all of which it desperately needed. As for Herr Wehner, we do not doubt that his ruling passion is for power or that he, like all "professional revolutionaries," would do anything to obtain the power to dominate over, enslave, and terrorize his betters. But for this very reason we are impressed by the fact that he could not conceivably hope to obtain from any other source support that would be even one percent as effective as that of the incredibly powerful and efficient international conspiracy of which he was

admittedly a member from 1928 to 1944—and in which he had achieved promotion to a fairly high rank. It therefore seems improbable to us that a man of Wehner's character would have severed his connection with this great source of power on the very eve of its military triumph in Europe and at the very time that the partition of Germany was being arranged by Stalin and Roosevelt at Teheran.—Editor.]

Herbert Wehner, not Willy Brandt, who serves as his stalking-horse, is Germany's alternative to Adenauer. His current maneuver of "depoliticizing" his own party and all of Germany deserves our closest attention. If Wehner succeeds, Germany is lost. Even more. If Wehner succeeds with his version of brain-washing—if he can get away with a brazen attempt at "excluding" foreign policy from the great German campaign of 1961—then the pattern is set for the final fall of the West.

We still do not fully understand that the psychological sleight-of-hand of Communism is, not its much-reprobated proselytizing, but the cynical rejection of politics. Communism thrives on the state of mind that considers democratic controversy dirty and accordingly wants to escape from the responsibilities of freedom into the "clean-cut" regimen of life directed by force. Like all totalitarian systems (and Communism is both their origin and their culmination), it despises "politics" and adores "unity." The point is not that the German Social Democrats have become Communists. They have not. The point is that, under the firm leadership of Tитоesque Herbert Wehner, they are attempting to destroy politics in Germany. There is just one obstacle in their way—Adenauer's person.

European Survey

And A Knight, Errant and Pragmatic . . .

If Europeans could vote in American elections, it would be Kennedy by a landslide—nay, by an earthquake. His press—from Moscow to “conservative” London, from Belgrade to de Gaulle’s Paris, from trembling Rome to “neutralist” Stockholm — is unanimously gorgeous. Why this should be so, is rather difficult to explain. Nixon, after all, is every bit as devoted as Kennedy to Foreign Aid, Peace In Our Time, Coexistence, Three Cars in Every Garage, and all that. Nor is present-day Europe particularly keen about Catholics in commanding positions. (It rather distrusts them, because Catholics are supposed to feel strongly about principles, Communism and Birth Control.) And it is not universally fond of millionaires.

Kennedy’s popularity in Europe, it seems to me, is a strange reflection of Europe’s strange reaction to Eisenhower. If the pompous word “ambivalent” were not at our disposal, we should have to coin it just to describe this reaction. Eisenhower (who only a few years ago could have won any European beauty contest hands down) has thoroughly lost his halo because (a) he appeased Khrushchev, and (b) he did not appease him enough. Europeans, in the long run, resent both American proffers of “friendship” and American opposition to the Soviet Union. This is partly due to the inextricable Continental instinct that both the Soviet Union and the United States simply do not “belong”—and should just go away. But this, as I said, is only part of it. More important, it seems to me, is the universal European impression—quite understandable and even defensible—that Eisenhower just never

knew what he wanted or how to get it. It’s different with Kennedy.

His tireless “public relations” experts have created a picture of him, and not only at home, as a most efficient Thinking-Machine. Neither Americans nor Europeans know what he wants. But they all seem to know that he wants it badly and is capable of getting it. In their heart of hearts, Europeans hope it is Coexistence. And in their opinion, Kennedy, unlike Eisenhower, *has* what it takes. There is of course nothing on the record that could prove Nixon’s commitment to any principle or purpose that Kennedy, too, could not embrace. But European public opinion (which still, *au fond*, is deeply convinced that Alger Hiss was “rail-roaded”) is perturbed by rumors that Nixon, in his youth, *was* a man of principles and, what makes matters so much worse, even of anti-Communist principles. That does it. That is the fountainhead of all European sympathies with Kennedy: there is no shadow of a suspicion about him—of a suspicion, that is, of *any* commitment to principle. Thus, obviously, he is, for Europe, The Knight in Shining Armor. For, in the Old World, principles have become unspeakably vulgar and despicable. The One Commandment, to replace the Ten and the Two, is: “Thou must arrange thyself.” Kennedy, to Europeans, looks like the energetic and even exuberant young man who *can* arrange himself and everybody else—the firm fixer, the determined compromiser, the modern hero who has only one principle: not to have any principles. Europe votes for Kennedy.

II

Mailed from Rome, September 23, 1960

REVIVING THE INVETERATE CUSTOMS OF

European Survey

its tribes, the Congo devoured Hamarskjöld. But Washington refuses to recognize the ritualistic act. On the contrary, now that the UN is not only dead but digested, the State Department thinks of granting it new and extended jurisdiction. There are well-informed rumors in Europe that the United Nations, just proved unable to govern a bunch of Congolese, will soon assume responsibility for Berlin! And if there is any truth in this rumor, the folly of our foreign policy may have reached its ultimate climax.

European authorities, who discuss this fantastic project with tense anxiety, plausibly assume that the "Berlin Crisis" will get hot before the end of the year. Now the recent impudence of the Ulbricht régime when it interfered with West Berlin's internationally guaranteed freedom of movement was a terribly relevant test. Since Ulbricht got away with murder, the Soviets see no reason for treading lightly when they take the next step. And what their next step will be is already obvious: they will sign a "peace treaty" with their own German zone of occupation, thereby compelling the United States to recognize, if only "*via facti*," the existence of two German states.

If You Have No Push-Button, Use The Dial . . .

If the Soviets succeed with that scheme, they will have succeeded in forcing the United States out of Europe. No one doubts that the recognition of a Communist East Germany as a sovereign power is tantamount to sacrificing Bonn. Adenauer's régime could not survive for twenty-four hours. West Germany would be, in fact, irresistibly pulled into an infinitely strengthened Soviet power field. And then the rest

of Western Europe would of necessity, and with incredible dispatch, seek, at least, "neutrality." No American general could responsibly advocate retaining American forces in such a Europe. In other words, the Soviets would have conquered the Continent. For they have had from the very beginning but *one* strategic goal, the annihilation of American military bases on this side of the Atlantic. Once the United States has been forced out of NATO, the Soviets can take any part of Europe by telephone, without firing a shot.

For Yes-Men

Say Yes . . .

Soviet strategy, I repeat, was determined long ago. But its effectiveness has just been tested, not in Europe, but in Cuba. For it looks as if the United States has lost the Cold *World War* right in its own backyard—lost it when the Monroe Doctrine was replaced by the Eisenhower Doctrine ("War is Unthinkable"). Even the most apprehensive critics of American policies had never suspected the possibility of what has now become the paramount *fact* of the world situation: that the United States permitted the establishment of a Soviet colony a few miles off the shores of Florida.

In this sense, Europe was the main subject of the Conference of the Organization of American States in Costa Rica. The sheer idiocy of responding to the emergence of a Communist régime in Cuba with a rupture of diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic was the last straw; it was that one fatal trifle *more* than even America's most partial and devoted friends in Europe could stomach. It is no longer possible to hide the fact that there just is *no* limit to Eisenhower's (and most cer-

European Survey

tainly also Nixon's and Kennedy's) determination to take *any* Communist blow lying down. For if the United States did not dare to invoke even diplomatic sanctions against the Communist gang in Cuba, how could anybody expect the United States to act decisively in Berlin, more than four thousand miles away from American shores?

No responsible person abroad overlooked the fact that Eisenhower's farcical paralysis vis-à-vis Fidel Castro was apparently meeting with universal approval in the United States. Neither of the two Presidential candidates, so far as is known, has uttered a single word of criticism or even of interrogation. The state chancelleries of the world have been allowed to assume that the *general* consensus of the American people is that Cuba must be conceded to the Soviets. And this axiomatic assumption is the more pernicious precisely because, only a few weeks before, Eisenhower unequivocally declared that the United States would not tolerate an intrusion of World Communism into the Western Hemisphere. It is one thing to know when one is licked and to keep one's trap shut. It is quite another thing to challenge and then, when the bluff is called, to run away like a little boy. A big power, prudently retreating from an untenable position, can still be respected. A government that speaks loudly and then throws away its stick is merely contemptible.

And Pass The Buck . . .

And that's where the United Nations comes in. True, Mr. Hammarskjöld's boys' club appeared to die with him in the jungles of Africa—but it is certainly not deadier than the United States'

foreign policy. In fact, the new scheme is based on the thesis (every bit as realistic as many another propounded by the State Department) that one corpse can be resuscitated by stewing it with another.

The charm of this scheme is that it permits decision without responsibility. The United States could not possibly acknowledge Ulbricht's sovereignty over American supply lines to Berlin? Very well. Then there will be no United States in Berlin. Instead, Mr. Hammarskjöld and Dr. Bunche will take the orders from Ulbricht. When the UN is officially in charge of all "international administration" in West Berlin, it can do what no American Government dares do—namely recognize the existence of two sovereign German states.

This is the plot: turn Berlin into Berlinville; and insure, with the Soviets' graceful co-operation, that Mr. Hammarskjöld can govern in Berlin—something he could not even try to do in Léopoldville. The Soviets' co-operation seems already guaranteed. As it looks from here, the unprecedented turn-out of Communist high brass at the recent General Assembly of the United Nations in New York had only one purpose: to demonstrate that the UN is now a reliable Communist tool and that the Soviet, therefore, can use it with assurance in Berlin. The demonstration, of course, was for the benefit of diplomatic observers, who do not need to have *everything* spelled out for them. And, indeed, why should the Soviets be crude at the moment of their ultimate triumph? If Eisenhower thinks he can save his face by hiding it under the UN's skirts—why not let him?

European Survey

Even When Victory Would Cost . . .

Cuba—Costa Rica—Congo. It all adds up to a forthcoming catastrophe in Berlin. This is indeed One World—for the Soviets. A self-inflicted American defeat in the Western Hemisphere makes an American defeat in Europe inevitable. In that respect, the continents are like communicating vessels: the rise or fall of liquid in one is reproduced in the others. But for this very same reason all is *not yet* lost. Berlin can be saved, if the United States overhauls, before the end of the year, its Cuban policy—if it breaks off diplomatic relations, first with Communist Cuba and, shortly thereafter, with any power that supports Castro's régime — the Soviet Union, for instance. This one affirmation in the Western Hemisphere would immediately produce miracles in Europe. The "Berlin Crisis" would be blown away like a wisp of fog—particularly if the United States were to follow the vitalization of its Cuban policy with revitalized German policies. And the essence of such policies is obvious.

Only A Courageous Word . . .

In the first place, the United States must immediately assume the initiative in the German game. Which means that instead of staring in trance-like stupor at the Soviets' preparations for a "peace treaty" with the Soviet-occupied zone, the United States should prepare, with dispatch, and sign, a genuine peace treaty with Bonn. Such a peace treaty would solemnly proclaim Adenauer's Germany the sovereign over all German territory as it was universally recognized before Hitler started expansion and war (i.e., as in the Atlantic Charter's guarantee of the German borders of 1937). An American peace treaty with Bonn would specifically acknowl-

edge German sovereignty over the Soviet-occupied zone — and it would firmly demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from all sovereign German territory.

Such a peace treaty would immediately purify the air. Instead of waiting, in paralyzed fascination, for Khrushchev's next move in the cold war, the United States would itself move. And what a move this would be. With one stroke the tables would be turned. Now the Soviets would have to lose sleep over the implications of the German-American peace treaty. Does it mean a determination to recover East Germany by diplomatic pressure only? Or does it imply the use, if need be, of superior military force? We should not say. We should simply establish our unequivocal intention to see Europe liberated—and leave the guessing to the Soviets. Step by step we should continue to build up our and Germany's military establishment—and make clear, beyond the possibility of misinterpretation, that the slightest provocation, in Berlin or elsewhere, would set that establishment in motion.

Secondly, the United States should immediately make clear to the whole world that it deplors the UN's total failure in the Congo (a failure that necessarily followed its total failure in Hungary), and that the United States would rather leave the UN than permit further meddling with world politics and the responsibilities of sovereign states. Such a declaration of United States independence, if accompanied by a peace treaty with sovereign Germany, could spare the world the explosion in Berlin that, otherwise, can be expected this winter. Which means: it could spare the West either total defeat or total war.

European Survey

For Where Surrender Is A Habit . . .

Almost to the day twenty-two years after the London *Times* performed a similar service for Neville Chamberlain, the London *Sunday Times* fired a twenty-one gun salute to herald the forthcoming Munich. In 1938, the *Times* anticipated Franco-British capitulation by calling the Sudeten problem "a mere internal election issue for Dr. Benes"—and why should the British lose an hour's sleep, let alone risk a conflict with Hitler, over a Czechoslovak election? Three months later, Chamberlain and Daladier went to Munich.

In September 1960, the *Sunday Times* had this to say about Berlin, the Sudeten territory of the Cold World War: "The coming election battle between Dr. Adenauer and Herr Willy Brandt, West Berlin's mayor, is already casting a sinister shadow. Dr. Adenauer, it is thought, does not want to provoke Russia and embarrass his Allies by endorsing the proposal [of holding the next session of the Bonn *Bundestag* in Berlin]; yet he does want to win next year's election. Herr Brandt, a strongly-fancied contender for the Chancellorship, is all for a bold policy, and for maximum publicity for West Berlin; he wants the *Bundestag* to meet in his city. But Berlin is far too explosive an issue to be allowed to become a pawn in West Germany's elections. The sooner Dr. Adenauer and Herr Brandt can come to an agreement on this, the more easily we shall all breathe."

There are cogent reasons to think that this editorial was "inspired" by Mr. Macmillan at least as much as, twenty-two years ago, the *Times* editorial of immortal fame was "inspired" by Mr. Chamberlain. Yet the position taken in the *Sunday Times* in 1960

seems to be even more impudent than London's pre-Munich position. For in 1938 the London *Times* had at least the guts to stab Dr. Benes in bright daylight. But the *Sunday Times* has the outrageous effrontery to imply that poor Dr. Adenauer would be only too anxious to capitulate, were he not under pressure exerted by the campaign-tactics of Willy Brandt.

The truth, of course, is generally known: it is Dr. Adenauer—and he alone—who, for ten years, has been putting starch into German attitudes vis-à-vis the Communist threat, while, during those same ten years, Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party has clamored for retreat and appeasement and "co-existence." But now, even the German Social Democrats have realized that they have not got a chance with the German electorate unless they turn their coats, and, at least in appearance, support Dr. Adenauer's firm policy. This is the one grain of truth in the British farrago—that a suspicion of weakness with regard to Berlin would ruin any candidate in next year's German elections. But here, again, the British exhibit their traditional impertinence when considering the fate of other nations. The very same "conservative" British press that, for the last four years, has been openly congratulating Macmillan for subordinating England's national interests and foreign policy to the tactical demands of British electioneering—the same British press dares hold it against West Germany's leaders that, by maintaining the *correct* policy of German self-defense, they also hope to obtain their people's votes in the next elections!

Reflex Replaces Reason . . .

The facts of the case are so obvious

European Survey

and so undeniable that the *Sunday Times* did not even pretend to discuss them. Its only purpose was to set the theme for a forthcoming campaign to influence the *British* electorate: "We shall not pull the chestnuts out of the Berlin fire merely to help the electioneering of Bonn politicians!" The London Foreign Office seems to have made up its mind to repudiate the clear-cut British obligations in Berlin. And I cannot believe that the American State Department does not know what is Europe's general topic of conversation: that London keeps unceasingly working for another and final "summit meeting" at which Berlin will be delivered as the price the West pays to gain admission. But not a single word has been said in Washington to discourage Macmillan.

According to the letter and the spirit of both international law and the specific treaties, the United States, England and France (in coöperation with the Soviet Union) are entirely responsible for both West Berlin and East Berlin. Not only have the Western Allies the binding duty to enforce free communication between the two parts of the city—they are *obligated* to throw out of East Berlin anybody who dares to violate the laws of occupation. Which means that the United States (together with England, France and, unless it refuses, the Soviet Union) must get hold of the Ulbricht crowd and put it in jail. That's what the law says. But have you lately seen such considerations discussed in the American press? Has either of the two Presidential candidates mentioned, in public, American responsibilities?

Yet There Are Men . . .

America seems to be relapsing into

its old habit of underrating Charles de Gaulle, altogether at its own peril. Hardly noticed in the United States, and completely disregarded by the State Department, the General's recent announcements concerning France's possible withdrawal from the United Nations are of the essence—certainly for the course of events in Europe.

The General speaks of the United Nations, not with anger, but with derision. And let no American deceive himself; the General means it! And it's not just a fleeting annoyance over certain anti-French resolutions peddled by some African delegates to the UN. The General, a true realist and an incomparable strategist, is the first (and so far, the only) Western statesman to notice a fact of prime structural importance to world strategy: the United Nations has become the property of the Afro-Asian bloc. For the Afro-Asian bloc has become its strongest segment (45 votes as compared to the 23 votes of the Western powers and the 11 votes of the Soviet Empire), and its power is not only in numbers of votes; it has become, without any question, the ruling political force. From here on, what the Afro-Asian delegations say, goes with Hammarskjöld. The West has lost control over the United Nations, totally and forever. Even while the United States was in a position to be the dominant force within the "world organization," it never knew what to do with that position. Now it is and must remain insignificant, even if it suddenly should become willing to assert itself.

Who Scorn The Peace . . .

General de Gaulle, like the realist he is, proposes to draw the inescapable conclusions from the obvious changes in the distribution of power: If the

European Survey

Afro-Asian bloc can now take control of the United Nations, then, unquestionably, the time has come for the Western powers to *leave* a "world organization" that has been captured by their irreconcilable opponents. The proposal is perfectly logical, practical, inescapable. And the General is in earnest. The United States, he still hopes, will comprehend and follow. But *whatever* we do, de Gaulle's France means to cut the losses and get out before it is trapped—which means, at the latest, when the Afro-Asian bloc goes ahead with a "United Nations" intervention in France's Algerian affairs.

But at this very moment—as though a dire curse had to be worked out to the last syllable of tragic fatuity—Eisenhower seems determined to concentrate on the United Nations, even to the exclusion of all means of defense. The damage the Eisenhower Administration may do during the last three months of its reign could well surpass, by far, all the losses it has brought upon the United States during the preceding eight years. To have relied on the United Nations from 1953 to 1959 was folly. To rely on it, even more fervently, in 1960, is suicide.

True, not even Charles de Gaulle could make France a world power. But his France, most certainly, is no longer Europe's sick man, and has become, in exemplary cooperation with Adenauer's Germany, the Continental hub of *all* Western resistance to World Commu-

nism. To continue submission to the United Nations while France is withdrawing, and even to play at this very same moment with the idea of offering Berlin to Mr. Hammarskjöld, is the kind of fatidic insanity that no nation in history has ever survived.

Of A Suicide's Unhallowed Tomb . . .

In history, as in well-constructed tragedies, there comes the truly climactic moment when a single, simple, and previously minor flaw in character precipitates an irrevocable decision and an irreversible catastrophe. We are going through one of these moments; and the flaw, this time, is America's tired, hapless fascination with the "United Nations." From the Cuban débâcle, through the farce in the Congo, to the coming catastrophe in Berlin, every single inanity of American behavior in this convulsed world has been essentially a consequence of the State Department's loyalty, not to the life interests of the United States and of its three or four dependable allies, but to a "world government." The Presidential campaign, so far as I can make out from here, is confirming and even petrifying that attitude. And so, in the end, America, whose power, for a great and hopeful hour of history, seemed to be reaching out for the world, will be buried ignominiously at the crossroads right at home—at the corner of 45th Street and East River, on Manhattan Island.

A Word To The Wise

If you're planning a vacation trip to Kremlinland . . . consider Alcatraz instead. It's prettier, the food and accommodations are better, and it's safer.

Tom Anderson, In FARM AND RANCH

"THE CHAINS OF THE CONSTITUTION"

by

WILLIS E. STONE

POWER CORRUPTS, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Lord Acton's dictum is not a cliché; it is a tragic truth. And unfortunately the lust for power is an innate vice of men. The pages of history run red with the blood of those who have lived in misery and died in agony under the absolute power of tyrants. And the instrument of every tyrant's power has been a corps of satellites who yielded him unquestioning obedience in return for the privilege of dominating over and terrorizing his subjects.

To protect the new nation from this fatal vice of mankind, the founders of our republic acted on the maxim enunciated by Thomas Jefferson: "Let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

But we have neglected our Constitution, relaxing the vigilance with which we should have enforced it, and permitting gradual and systematic encroachment on our liberties. And even now, when a vast and greedy bureaucracy has almost openly become our master, we try to reassure ourselves with the hope that "it can't happen here."

Unfortunately, it not only can happen here, but it is happening to us, and our plight grows progressively worse day by day. Incredible as it would have seemed to the authors of the Constitution, our government is little by little wresting from the people the right to own and operate the productive enter-

prises that the people have created. And we can no longer avoid the unhappy realization that our income taxes pay for the destruction of our property rights.

In our dismal plight, however, one hope for the revival of our institutions of economic freedom is growing brighter and stronger. The proposed "Twenty-Third Amendment" is constantly gaining momentum as it becomes increasingly apparent that this measure, which would undoubtedly control the bureaucracy's lust for power and restore economic justice to our troubled land, can command enthusiastic popular support.

The proposed "Twenty-Third Amendment" will free the American people from the crushing burden of financing socialism at home and abroad in direct violation of the spirit of the Constitution.

II

IT IS AN APPALLING FACT that Americans, who have never known military defeat, have been forced by their government, under the pretext of "economic aid," to pay more tribute to foreign socialist and communist governments than all the vanquished peoples of the earth have paid to their conquerors. And these vast sums, when not simply wasted, are used to give to foreigners industries which, if successfully operated, necessarily deprive Americans of foreign, or even of domestic, markets.

At home, our whole economy is being overgrown by a jungle of weird para-

"The Chains Of The Constitution"

sitic agencies with strange names and often incomprehensible activities, which operate without the slightest pretense of constitutional authority, and whose very existence is unknown to most of the taxpayers from whom they suck nourishment. The first clear picture of this jungle is provided by the series of *Fact Sheets* available from P. O. Box 2948, Los Angeles 28, California.

Fact Sheet #1 listed more than seven hundred federal agencies which compete with private enterprise on a cost-free, interest-free, dividend-free, rent-free and tax-free basis—and even so usually produce admitted or concealed deficits. Subsequent issues report on single agencies and projects, of which the following are typical examples.

The CUBA NICKEL CO. (*Fact Sheet #3*) involved us deeply in the troubles of Cuba, which it possibly helped to generate. More than \$90,000,000 of our taxes were poured into the economically unsound mining of extremely low-grade nickel. Even without Castro, the hope of salvaging any part of our "investment" would have been extremely remote.

ESKIMO DWELLINGS (#4) is one of the eight projects included in the single budget entry titled "Independent Offices Appropriations Act of 1955," and in which a total of \$2,500,000,000 was "invested." Of this original capital, about 25% has been recovered, 60% has been lost, and most of the remaining 15% will probably have to be written off. But the admitted loss to date of more than one and one-half billion dollars in this mad-cap enterprise seems to embarrass no one, nor does it discourage the promotion of similar schemes.

PASSAMAQUODDY (#5) was a scandalous New Deal project abandoned in

1936 as obviously impractical and notoriously corrupt. But it has been revived, and a new "preliminary survey" has already cost us \$3,000,000.

The ALASKA RAILROAD (#10) has the distinction of possessing the world's only steam-heated railroad tunnel. As a political effort, the tunnel is a great success, requiring a large staff to keep it warm twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. But unfortunately it was necessary to open the doors to let the occasional trains go through, and this produced difficulties of such magnitude that, according to a recent report, the railroad has been rerouted around its Sybaritic tunnel!

These are but samples of the bizarre misuse of political power and *our* money. The detailed studies made by the Hoover Commission report, among other things, that the federal government taxes us to operate no less than 104 money-leading institutions.

The RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION (#17), for example, takes money borrowed by the U. S. Treasury at the current rate of 4% and lends it to tax-exempt coöperatives at 2%. Of course, the differential is so obvious that the coöperatives are taking more and more of this 2% money and investing it in the government bonds which yield 4%. And no one—except the taxpayers who pay for this folly—can complain because the coöperatives recognize an opportunity to make a sure profit on *no* investment.

Another one of the 104 lending agencies was the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION (#14), which, according to page A-10 of the U.S. Budget of 1950, dissipated more than ten *billion* dollars during the single year of 1948. Exposure of such facts forced the abolition of the RFC—but it vanished only

"The Chains Of The Constitution"

in name, since its powers were transferred to the SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION (#15) and GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION (#21), which squander money by the same methods, although currently on a somewhat reduced scale.

The federal programs to usurp the business of producing electrical power were all labelled "economically unsound" in the Hoover reports. The best known of these are the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (#11 and #28) and BONNEVILLE (#34). It is interesting to note that the TVA, which has already inflicted on American taxpayers a direct loss of more than two billion dollars, was recently made independent of all restraints when it was granted the fantastic power to issue its own bonds against the credit of the United States, without reference to the Budget or the national debt limit, and without review or control by the Treasury Department.

The list of federal agencies which, in violation of the Constitution, tax us to invade and corrupt every area of our national life, is long—and tragic in its implications. It is estimated that these parasitic monsters have already grabbed more than twenty percent of our industrial capacity.

III

THE INVASION of our business community is matched by the spectacular capture of land empires by other federal agencies.

The Department of the Interior proclaims on Page 229 of the U. S. Government Organization Manual for 1959-60 that it has "custody of 750 million acres of land." The sheer magnitude of this domain has somehow escaped notice. We assume that this must be all right because the Department is part of "our" government, and we further assume

that it has observed its obligations under the Constitution. We forget that the federal government has no right or power to have or to hold land in any State except *within strict limits specified by the Constitution*—limits which the Department of the Interior has patently transgressed. Without the slightest constitutional authority, it has invaded the States and taken control of 750 million acres, which are 32.3% of the *total land and water area* of the United States and all of its territories and possessions.

The Department of Agriculture does not itself claim ownership of vast tracts of land, but it does hold the power of life and death over the agriculture of the nation. The threat of seizure of private farms is very real. The "Farm Acquisition Plan" devised by Henry Wallace, Henry Abt, Lee Pressman, Rexford Guy Tugwell and others of their kind provides for the confiscation of farms, crops and livestock if farmers fail to obey the commands of the Department. And who knows when the bureaucrats will decide to exercise their tyranny on a national scale?

While the Department merely threatens its subjects, agencies within it are building great feudal baronies. Although the Forest Service has no constitutional authority for being the proprietor of any land in any State, it now, according to page 261 of the manual cited above, "administers approximately 150 national forests, together with land utilization project lands, experimental forests, and other lands, aggregating about 188,000,000 acres." This domain equals 8.1% of the total land and water area of the United States and all its territories and possessions.

The Founding Fathers of this nation well knew that, as was shown by all

"The Chains Of The Constitution"

history and emphasized by the experience of the English people, the ownership or control of large or economically important tracts of land by a central government was an infallible incitement to despotism—that the theory of the "Divine Right of Kings" had been in fact less baneful to human liberty than the powers of political corruption and arbitrary control inherent in the monarch's possession of the great areas of the royal demesne and other crown lands. For this reason they stringently limited in the Constitution the territory that could be under the jurisdiction of the federal government, restricting it to an area of not more than ten miles square (the present District of Columbia), military and naval establishments, and buildings for the conduct of federal business. And they provided with equal clarity a single procedure whereby the central government might acquire even these restricted areas, making the decision in all cases rest exclusively with the State concerned.

It is true that the new federal government also had jurisdiction over the Western territory that had been ceded to the Confederation by New York, Virginia, and other States, but this jurisdiction was merely provisional and temporary, since the cessions had been made with the express proviso that this territory was to become, as soon as it was sufficiently settled, a number of new States equal in all respects to the original Thirteen. This equality included, of course, complete sovereignty over all land within the State's boundaries except army posts, naval bases, and federal buildings. The terms of cession were confirmed by the first Congress under the Constitution, and carried into effect when the first new States, Kentucky and Tennessee, were ad-

mitted in 1792 and 1796.

It is quite clear, therefore, that the Constitution did not contemplate, and does not permit, permanent possession or occupation by the federal government of even one acre of land outside the District of Columbia, except as provided in Article I, Section 8, Paragraph 17, of the Constitution:

"The Congress shall have the power . . . to exercise exclusive legislation . . . over all places purchased by the *consent of the Legislature of the State* in which the same shall be, for the erection of *forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings.*"

The stringency of this limitation is emphasized in *The Federalist*, No. 43, and it was assumed that the States would be vigilant to prevent transgression of the carefully prescribed limits. This assumption, implicit in the Constitution itself, is reiterated throughout *The Federalist*; for example, in No. 85: "We may safely rely on the disposition of the State Legislatures to erect barriers against the encroachments of the national authority."

But where are those barriers? Under the spell of unprecedented prosperity and a wild optimism we not only relaxed the vigilance of free men, but seem now almost to have forgotten what a State really is.

When Alaska was recently admitted as a State, it was permitted jurisdiction over only a small part of its total area, and even this part was made subject to permanent restrictions as to occupancy and use. The people of Alaska obviously do not have authority over their own territory, and therefore do not enjoy equality with the inhabitants of the older States, for they have been made subject to the sovereignty of a multitude of bureaucrats in Washington.

"The Chains Of The Constitution"

Alaska is not a State in the meaning of that word in the Constitution; it is a monstrous hybrid and, in effect, a disguised colony of the federal government.

In the meantime, the bureaucracy is assiduously eroding the States by legal usurpation and, most fantastic of all, by buying them up with money obtained by taxing them.

The bureaucracy has become so arrogant that it now challenges even a State's jurisdiction over land owned by the State government, as, for example, in Ohio, where the State has been sued by the U.S. Department of Agriculture for daring to plant wheat on its prison farms.

Today, 48% of the State of California is federally owned, so that the Legislature and people of California have sovereignty over only half their State—and even the part that has been left to them is being steadily diminished. The plight of Arizona is worse; there federal agencies own and control 75% of the entire State. In Nevada federal agencies hold 87% of the land, and three new programs of acquisition will increase this to 88.8%, thus leaving but 11.2% of Nevada under the control of its Governor, Legislature, and people. These monstrous and ever growing domains are strangling the States and threaten to extinguish the whole concept of individual property rights.

Just two federal agencies—the Department of the Interior and the Forest Service—have between them attained jurisdiction over nearly one billion acres of American land—a land mass equal in extent to the combined areas of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Switzerland, East and West Germany, Iceland, Denmark, Po-

land, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Albania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria.

This incredible usurpation has been effected and is maintained by wringing from American taxpayers money to violate and subvert the Constitution. While we were unaware of what was happening and heedless of our own safety, the bureaucracy took our own money to conquer us from within; but we, the people, still have the power under our Constitution to reestablish economic freedom, private property, and self-determination.

IV

The procedure is clear. The provisions and intent of the Constitution can be reinstated by an amendment to clarify and define the terms and purposes that have become vague through abuse and quasi-judicial distortion. A single amendment, enacted as provided in Article V of the Constitution, can take from the bureaucrats the enormous powers they have usurped.

The proposed "Twenty-Third Amendment," introduced as House Joint Resolution 23 by Congressman James B. Utt of California, provides:

"SECTION 1. The Government of the United States shall not engage in any business, professional, commercial, financial or industrial enterprise except as specified in the Constitution.

"SECTION 2. The Constitution or Laws of any State or the Laws of the United States shall not be subject to the terms of any foreign or domestic agreement which would abrogate this amendment.

"SECTION 3. The activities of the United States Government which violate the intent and purposes of this amendment shall, within a period of three (3) years from the date of ratifica-

"The Chains Of The Constitution"

tion of this amendment, be liquidated and the properties and facilities affected shall be sold.

"SECTION 4. Three (3) years after the ratification of this amendment the sixteenth Article of Amendments to the Constitution of the United States shall stand repealed and thereafter Congress shall not levy taxes on personal income, estates, and/or gifts."

This amendment will erase the privileges and immunities claimed by federal agencies, cause the lands and facilities held without constitutional authority to be sold back to the people or transferred to the States, and free us from an oppressive taxation that has become virtual serfdom. And all this is not merely economically feasible; it would necessarily *increase* the revenue of the federal government and therefore the sums available for national defense and other legitimate activities. This will be obvious from a simple calculation.

The value of the lands and facilities now held by the federal government has been appraised by the Government Operations Committee at \$262 billion. This appraisal is undoubtedly conservative, for the federal government recently sold barge lines, synthetic rubber plants, and various parcels of land at nearly *three times* the appraised value. It may safely be assumed, therefore, that the lands and facilities affected by the "Twenty-Third Amendment" would find a market, even at forced sale, which would yield far more than *one-fourth* of the 1959 appraisal for all federal properties. But if only one-fourth were realized, this would reduce the national debt more than \$65 billion. And on this modest estimate we can readily compute that, in terms of the 1960 Budget, the proposed measure

would at least

Save interest on this portion of the debt (at 3%) \$ 1,950,000,000

Save amortization (\$65 billion in 40 years) per year 1,625,000,000

Save losses of agencies affected (1959 level) ... 19,000,000,000

Save payroll paid by General Fund for "free services" to federal corporate activities (est. 1959) 4,300,000,000

Save costs of goods, services, and facilities required to make above payroll operative (3 times payroll) 12,900,000,000

Domestic savings \$39,775,000,000

And also save Foreign Grants and Credits (est. 1959) 5,000,000,000

Total savings \$44,775,000,000

Therefore we can repeal personal Income Taxes, which yielded in 1959 36,900,000,000

Leaving a surplus of \$ 7,875,000,000

And also estate and gift taxes, which yielded (1959) 1,393,000,000

Leaving the federal government a net surplus of \$ 6,482,000,000

Furthermore, the purchasing power that will be released, and the economic activity that will be stimulated when the American people are liberated from the serfdom of income taxes will increase the revenue from other taxes by approximately nine billion dollars per year.

This great financial gain is merely a by-product of the multiple benefactions

"The Chains Of The Constitution"

that the proposed "Twenty-Third Amendment" will bring to the American people. Freedom yields rich rewards, and no one can set a price on the gain in human dignity, personal integrity, individual enterprise, and faith in our national future.

V

The campaign for enactment of the "Twenty-Third Amendment" is being conducted by local groups which federate to form State committees, whose efforts are coordinated by the National Committee for Economic Freedom, 6413 Franklin Avenue, Los Angeles 28, California. This unified activity is producing remarkable results.

The first success was reported by Mr. Dan Hanson, Chairman of the Wyoming Committee for Economic Freedom. The proposed "Twenty-Third Amendment," introduced in the Wyoming Legislature as a joint resolution, was approved by a voice vote in the Democratic House, with which the Republican Senate concurred without a single dissent, and was approved by Governor Hickey, a Democrat, on February 26, 1959.

Texas was the second state. Dr. Ernest E. Anthony, Jr., of Fort Worth and Mr. Robert E. Nesmith of Houston, Co-chairmen of the Texas Committee for Economic Freedom, reported that a resolution identical to the one approved in Wyoming had been adopted by the Texas House by a vote of 80 to 55, and on the following day, May 6, 1959, by a voice vote in the Senate.

Nevada has a Senate of 17 members, 13 of whom (9 Republican and 4 Democrats) co-sponsored the "Twenty-

Third Amendment" and approved it on March 1, 1960. The House then voted 31 to 10 for it on March 11, 1960, and Governor Sawyer, a Democrat, signed it. Mr. George E. Shaner, Chairman of the Nevada Committee for Economic Freedom, has since reported unanimous endorsement of the Amendment by the Nevada Republican Convention.

Louisiana became the fourth State to approve the "Twenty-Third Amendment." Introduced as a concurrent resolution, it was adopted almost unanimously by the House, and by a vote of 28 to 9 in the Senate on June 20, 1960.

There are good prospects for early action in a number of other states, and what has thus far been accomplished is proof that Americans are developing a cumulative determination to regain their economic freedom. And there has been everywhere an increasing demand that all candidates for State or Federal office declare themselves on the proposed "Twenty-Third Amendment" *before* the election. Americans in recent years have had little opportunity to vote for principles rather than personalities, and they have found in the Amendment a clear question that can force each candidate to declare what he proposes to do with the office that he seeks.

We need no longer submit to the lust for power. We have been shown by our dolorous experience that liberty can be preserved only by perpetual vigilance, and that we must, as Jefferson warned us, "bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power"—bind them down from mischief "by the chains of the Constitution."

"DON'T SEND ME A UNICEF GREETING CARD!"

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

WITH INCREASING frequency these days one receives correspondence that bears, written at the bottom of the sheet or printed on an affixed sticker, the curt slogan, "Don't send me a UNICEF greeting card!" And from time to time the newspapers report some pronouncement such as that with which Mr. Chester Bowles, the veteran "internationalist" from Connecticut, begins the remarks that he inserted in the *Congressional Record* for April 5, 1960:

"Mr. Speaker, no organization at work on the day-to-day challenges of world affairs deserves our gratitude and warmhearted support more than does UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund. From close personal experience, both inside and outside the United Nations, I have developed the most profound respect for the effective way in which UNICEF pursues its good works."

What can account for this antithesis in sentiment towards UNICEF? Is the man who bluntly stipulates that he doesn't want one of their greeting cards a hard-hearted creature hostile to unfortunate children, and is Mr. Bowles a kindly gentleman inspired by Christian charity? Unfortunately too many good Americans leap to this conclusion, simply because they have been prevented from learning the facts about UNICEF and the organization which spawned it, the UNITED NATIONS. They do not suspect that the high-powered promotion of a "Children's Fund" merely camouflages with senti-

ment one of the many Trojan Horses stabled in the glass-house on East River.

For years informed and patriotic observers have been warning us that our participation in the United Nations can lead only to national disaster. Everyone can see at a glance the sheer absurdity of paying the bulk of the expenses of an organization that is permanently under the control of our implacable enemies and in which, with a single vote out of ninety-seven, we are hopelessly outnumbered by petty and uncivilized states whose interests are necessarily opposed to our own, even when they are not already under complete Soviet control. Everyone can see the numerous and specific dangers, from the heavy concentration of foreign and domestic Reds in the UN to the booby-traps written into its charter by Alger Hiss, which, but for the Connally Amendment, would already have destroyed our Constitution and our independence. And each day's news makes it more obvious that what the United Nations in fact *does* is promote Communism throughout the world while providing a pretext for preventing the United States from adopting a policy in its own interest.

If the American people ever take a careful look at the United Nations, its existence on American soil will be abruptly ended. But thus far they have not looked. For fifteen years propaganda in churches, schools, clubs, press and radio programs has unceasingly dinned into the ears of the American

"Don't Send Me A UNICEF Greeting Card!"

people, over and over again with hypnotic effect, the notion that "the UN is the world's best hope for peace."

This propaganda, engendered in Moscow and incubated in New York, is spewed over the land by highly trained professionals with a knowledge of how to manipulate and incite honest, well-intentioned people, who in turn really imagine that peace could be attained through "collective security" and a surrender of national sovereignty. And it is dutifully repeated by thousands and thousands of sentimentalists, who like fine words and nebulously noble emotions; and by thousands and thousands of the mentally lazy, who think that they are too busy to find and weigh facts for themselves, and thus contentedly assume that the "experts" must know what they are talking about.

The experts, in this case, *do* know what they want and how to get it. And one of the many devices by which they get it is UNICEF.

Perhaps the *most* important activity of UNICEF is the collection of money from American citizens by sending children to beg from door-to-door and by the sale of its greeting cards.

The operation is conducted with the tried and proven technique used by all the highly-paid professionals who plan and direct the fund-raising campaigns of ostensibly charitable or "research" organizations—some of which spend half or three-quarters or even more of all the money they collect for "expenses," which are principally the salaries of the promoters. We have all seen such campaigns and should particularly note one of their results.

Skilled hands produce the calculated tug on the heart-strings that loosens the purse-strings. Crippled or starving children look at us pleadingly from bill-

boards; movie stars, crooners, and baseball players urge us over radio and television to give generously; and what are professionally known as "pitchmen" or "pitchwomen" appear in each community to excite an *uncritical* emotion in which compassion and generosity are subtly blended with self-righteousness. "Community leaders" endorse a project they do not understand and an organization whose budget they are never permitted to see. And then ordinary housewives, enthusiastic because *they* are unpaid, march from their homes with something akin to patriotic fervor to ring doorbells. But if the person solicited asks, no matter how courteously, specific questions about the "noble cause," these volunteer collectors are likely to react with miffed iciness—because they do not know the answers to questions they did not think to ask for themselves. They only know that *their own* purpose is charitable, and they have already identified themselves emotionally with a "cause" of which they may know little more than its name.

This is the technique that UNICEF uses. The kindly, generous and gullible people enlisted by its emotional ballyhoo react with horror when they find someone "so cruel and selfish" as to ask questions "when innocent children throughout the world—poor little children without food or clothing—need our help."

They do not know—and may think it irrelevant when they are told—that there is absolutely no control over the funds that go to Communist countries, and that Communist nations notoriously use food as a weapon—awarding it to those who meekly submit, withholding it from those who dare aspire to be free. They have never asked themselves whether UNICEF's agents in non-

"Don't Send Me A UNICEF Greeting Card!"

Communist countries may not be Communists and use food and money to reward pro-Communists. And they have never taken a look at the officers of UNICEF and the artists who design its greeting cards. Here are a few facts that should give them pause.

Emotional solicitation of the public yields only a very small part of the income of UNICEF. It is financed by eighty-one governments that are members of the United Nations, but eighty percent of the total is contributed by the United States—no doubt on the dreadfully familiar theory that the American taxpayer has an "obligation" to support everybody in the universe — especially his avowed enemies. And, of course, as with the "Foreign Aid" swindle, he must never, never dream of demanding an accounting.

A very substantial part of the money is expended in Communist countries, although some members of the Soviet contribute nothing at all to the fund, and the others, including Russia, mere trifles—and even these trifles in non-convertible currencies.

How and for what purposes the money is spent elsewhere may be inferred from the officials who direct the operations. The first chairman of UNICEF was Ludwig Rajchmann, who fled to Paris when a Senate Committee on the Judiciary subpoenaed him to ask him about his connections with Alger Hiss. Other officials of the international organization have openly engaged in Communist activities.

According to a report prepared by Lawrence Timbers, Chairman of the Antisubversive Committee of the American Legion, Department of Washington, "UNICEF has a U.S. National Committee to promote its program, and at least nineteen of its sixty-five mem-

bers are, or have been, affiliated with one or more Communist-front organizations."

Or consider the "artists" who design the greeting cards that you should buy "to help a child." Mr. Timbers reports that one-third of the "artists" whose work was used in the 1959 season are known to have been connected with Communist-front operations. For example, Hans Erni, the Swiss who drew the particularly offensive cards entitled "Brothers" and "Community of Man" peddled in 1957, had been refused admittance to the United States because of his notorious Communist activities. Ben Shahn, who drew the "official" UNICEF card in 1958, has been connected with at least twenty-one Communist fronts, and when recently interrogated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities took the Fifth Amendment twenty-eight times. These are but typical specimens.

The cards themselves are the best indication of the mentalities that produced them. Almost all are ugly, not a few are monstrous, and many are open propaganda, economic or racial, for Communist ends. The whole series was designed, as Mr. Timbers notes, to subvert our Christmas and make a mockery of the observation of the Birth of Christ — part of a campaign by UNICEF that we discussed in the issue of AMERICAN OPINION for May, 1959.

The dissemination of the cards serves, of course, a distinct propaganda goal, but the money obtained from them and all public solicitation is relatively insignificant. According to Major Edgar Bundy's analysis of UNICEF's report for 1957, of the \$44,000,000 obtained from the United States (as against \$7,000,000 from all other nations) only \$2,500,000 came from sale of the cards

"Don't Send Me A UNICEF Greeting Card!"

and direct solicitation combined. The purpose of the emotional ballyhoo, obviously, is *not* to raise money "for needy children."

One of the real purposes was noted by Mr. Timbers: "The importance of the Hallowe'en campaign is to put churches on public record as favorable to UNICEF, so church leaders can appear before Appropriations Committees of Congress and in the names of their church organizations urge more millions of dollars in government contributions to UNICEF!"

But even this purpose is secondary. A much more fundamental purpose is almost openly avowed by one of UNICEF's admirers in an article in the *National Education Association Journal* for May, 1959. After boasting that 2,250,000 school children had been sent out to collect on the past Hallowe'en, he points out that the children were thereby drawn into a lot of *preliminary* activity in many schools "from drawing maps and posters to writing and performing an original television play." Some schools, indeed, to get the youngsters in the right frame of mind for passing the hat, administered "study units on the interdependency of nations." And at least one progressive school "followed up" the Hallowe'en stunt "with a program lasting *all year*" which triumphantly "culminated in a miniature United Nations Assembly, with each student representing the country of his choice." So, thanks to this wonderful UNICEF scheme, "our youth can start to learn co-operation on a broad international basis." Translated from the meeching dialect of the professional educators, this means that Hallowe'en is the opening wedge for

an intensive program of brainwashing. The plotters, obviously, are using every brazen as well as every subtle device imaginable to push us gradually into a Socialistic global "welfare" state owned and operated by a Communist "world government."

But while a generation of pliable serfs brainwashed from childhood is the major long-term objective, UNICEF's fund-raising antics also have a more immediate function. They tend to infect the coöperating teachers, clergymen, civic leaders, and parents with the befuddled "world-mindedness" which the Communist conspiracy uses as a poison to kill patriotism, paralyze reason, and anesthetize even the instinct of self-preservation.

Most of the people thus exposed to infection are too robust to succumb to it, and do not consciously remit in the least their devotion to their country. But even with many of them the conspiracy has gained a very important point. For by the same natural reaction that we noted in the housewife who solicits funds for a "noble cause" she has never investigated, those who voluntarily coöperate in any way with UNICEF's campaigns, to some extent commit themselves emotionally and take their own good intentions for a guarantee that *it* must be noble in purpose. And if UNICEF means well, so must the United Nations that created it!

That is why it seems to me—and, I am sure, to an ever increasing number of other Americans—that even a small contribution to UNICEF is a large contribution *against* our Republic.

So—*please*, DON'T SEND ME A UNICEF GREETING CARD!

A REVIEW OF THE NEWS

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

SEPTEMBER, 1960

Thursday, September 1

→ Michael J. Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union, calls a strike against the Pennsylvania Railroad. It is the first time in 111 years that the railroad's service has been completely stopped. Approximately seventy-two thousand employees and 1,592 daily trains are idled.

→ The Eighty-sixth Congress of the United States adjourns its second session.

→ Former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Thomas C. Mann, is sworn in as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Mr. Mann succeeds Roy R. Rubottom, Jr., who has been appointed United States Ambassador to Argentina.

→ The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen strike and halt all service on the Grand Trunk Western Railroad. The grievances of the Brotherhood's leaders center mainly on work rules.

→ In Havana, the Castro régime seizes three American-owned tire factories (United States Rubber Company, The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, and Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company) worth about twenty-eight million dollars.

Friday, September 2

→ At a rally in Havana's Civic Plaza, Cuba's Prime Minister Castro an-

nounces the severance of diplomatic relations with Nationalist China, and his intention to extend diplomatic recognition to Communist China, thereby making Cuba the first nation in the Western Hemisphere to recognize Communist China. At this same rally, Castro renounces the United States-Cuban mutual defense treaty of 1952.

→ Arthur F. Burns recommends that the United States Government build universities in "poorer nations." Mr. Burns is presently a professor of economics at Columbia University, President of the National Bureau of Economic Research and Chairman of the Eisenhower Cabinet Committee on Small Business. He formerly served as Chairman of President Eisenhower's Advisory Board of Economic Growth and Stability.

Saturday, September 3

→ The United States Department of State suggests that Latin American nations revise their income tax rates upward. Some Latin American nations are so *backward* that their maximum income tax rates are only *eight* percent.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev, in Finland on a two-day visit, says that the Soviet Union plans to launch a sixty-ton Sputnik. Khrushchev does not specify any special date for the event.

→ The State Department advises American tourists, going to Cuba, to

A Review Of The News

"take particular care" to avoid trouble with the Castro régime. But a spokesman insists that the State Department is not trying to discourage Americans from visiting Cuba.

Sunday, September 4

→ Eleanor Roosevelt arrives in Warsaw, Poland to attend a five-day session of the World Federation of United Nations Friends' Societies. Mrs. Roosevelt is greeted by Oskar Lange, formerly a professor at the University of Chicago and now a member of the Polish Council of Ministers.

Monday, September 5

→ Premier Moise-Kapenda Tshombe of Katanga Province call for the overthrow of Premier Patrice Lumumba's dictatorial régime in the Republic of the Congo. Less than three hours later, President Joseph Kasavubu declares that he has dismissed Lumumba as premier and has installed Senate President Joseph Iléo as Acting Premier. Meanwhile, Premier Lumumba says that he has deposed President Kasavubu.

→ In Taipei, Taiwan Lei Chen, publisher of the fortnightly magazine, *Free China*, is arrested and charged with sedition against the Government of Nationalist China.

→ President Charles de Gaulle of France warns the United Nations not to interfere in France's Algerian problems.

Tuesday, September 6

→ Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Miller flies a Navy F4H1 Phantom II, a twin-jet fighter at a record speed of 1,216.78 miles per hour. The flight is made over a 310-mile tri-

angular closed-course at Edwards Air Force Base in California.

→ Thomas E. Murray, former Atomic Energy Commissioner, in an open letter to presidential candidates Kennedy and Nixon, urges a resumption of testing of nuclear weapons in outer space and underground. Tests have been suspended since 1958 by order of President Eisenhower.

→ William H. Martin and Bernon F. Mitchell, the two employees of the National Security Agency who have been missing since June 24, hold a press conference at the headquarters of the Soviet Journalists Union in Moscow. The two traitors are voluble in their criticism of the United States.

→ Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon, at an Inter-American economic congress at Bogota, Columbia, presents a new "Marshall Plan" which is intended to eliminate "poverty, ignorance and the lack of social justice" in Latin America. Although the United States Congress has already appropriated five hundred million dollars for the plan, Mr. Dillon promises that more American funds will be made available.

→ Jordan's King Hussein accuses the United Arab Republic's President Nasser of personal responsibility for the assassination of Jordanian Premier Hazza Majali on August 29.

Wednesday, September 7

→ President Eisenhower says that "the United States takes a *most serious view*" of "the unilateral action of the Soviet Union in supplying aircraft and other equipment for military purposes" to the Republic of the Congo.

→ The Defense Department finally ad-

A Review Of The News

mits that Bernon F. Mitchell and William H. Martin, the two National Security Agency employees who have defected to the Soviet Union, are "tools of Soviet propaganda."

Thursday, September 8

→ President Eisenhower approves of a joint Senate-House resolution which provides for a United States Citizens Commission in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Commission is to find ways to promote greater political and economic cooperation among the NATO nations.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev informs the United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Llewellyn Thompson, that the Russians intend to shoot down any planes which fly over the international waters of the Black Sea. Khrushchev's threats are part of a twenty-seven minute conversation with Thompson at a diplomatic reception in the Kremlin. The meeting ends with the two men drinking a toast to each other.

Friday, September 9

→ President Eisenhower establishes a special disarmament agency in the State Department. The agency will be headed by an unnamed, as yet, "prominent person" who will hold sub-cabinet rank with a salary ranging from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars. It is planned that the new agency will conduct future United States efforts to negotiate arms cutbacks among nations.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev leaves Moscow for an unidentified Baltic port where he will board the Soviet ship, *Baltika*, en route to New York, where Khrushchev and his 183-man delegation will attend the Fifteenth General As-

sembly of the United Nations. Nineteen Ukrainian and thirteen Byelorussian delegates are also sailing with Khrushchev.

→ It is reported that President Eisenhower is more worried about developments in the Republic of the Congo than in Cuba, because the President believes that the Cuban situation "seems to be coming around a little."

Saturday, September 10

→ Earl E. T. Smith, former United States Ambassador to Cuba, in testimony released today by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, says that he received a briefing for his Cuban post from Herbert L. Matthews, a *New York Times* correspondent, who described Castro as a political Robin Hood. This "briefing" was recommended by William Wieland, then Director of the Caribbean Division, Central American Affairs in the State Department. Mr. Wieland is now Director of the Caribbean Division and Mexico.

→ Senators James O. Eastland of Mississippi and Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut charge that "Cuba was handed to Castro and the Communist by a combination of Americans in the same way that China was handed to the Communists." Secretary of State Herter claims that he and his senior advisers have been and are now "fully seized of the problems facing the United States in its relations with Cuba."

→ The ten-day strike by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen against the Grand Trunk Western Railroad is ended. A controversy over work rules is settled on the company's pre-strike terms, but twenty-three employees get slight pay raises.

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A Review Of The News

→ The State Department announces that Soviet Premier Khrushchev, Albanian Premier Mehmet Shehu and Hungary's Communist Party Chief János Kádár will be restricted in their travels to Manhattan Island while they attend the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations which convenes on September 20.

Sunday, September 11

→ At a meeting sponsored by the National Urban League, Jackie Robinson, a columnist for the *New York Post*, says that Vice President Nixon, as President of the United States, would do more for Negroes than would Senator John F. Kennedy.

Monday, September 12

→ In order to increase integration in New York City schools, about three thousand Negro and Puerto Rican children are sent away from their home neighborhoods to attend schools which have a predominantly white enrollment.

→ The twelve-day strike against the Pennsylvania Railroad by Michael J. Quill's Transport Workers Union is ended. Almost all of the gains made by the union had been conceded by the railroad management before the strike began.

→ Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana thinks it is "perfectly silly" and Eleanor Roosevelt thinks it is "nonsense" to confine Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other Communist leaders to Manhattan Island while they are attending the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations this month.

Tuesday, September 13

→ Nineteen American republics sign

the "Act of Bogota" which was designed by Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon to solve Latin America's economic and social problems through low-cost housing programs, land reform, and other socialistic measures. The United States is already committed to spend five hundred million dollars on this boondoggle, which is being described as a "Marshall Plan" for Latin America.

→ Communist China agrees to extend twenty-five million dollars in economic aid to the African Republic of Ghana over the next three years.

Wednesday, September 14

→ Nikolai F. Artamanov, a former Soviet naval captain, testifies, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that Soviet strategy is based upon a surprise nuclear attack on the United States, if there is strong confidence on the part of Soviet leaders that victory will come at once.

→ Colonel Joseph Mobutu, Chief of Staff of the Republic of the Congo's Army, announces that the army will govern the Republic for the remainder of 1960. Mobutu expects to be supported by the United Nations police force of seventeen thousand troops already in the Congo.

→ Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon suggests that the Castro régime in Cuba has "left the free world and joined the Soviet camp."

→ Officers of the major television networks (NBC, CBS, and ABC) are advised by State Department officials that it would be preferable if Soviet Premier Khrushchev was not allowed extended or special use of television

A Review Of The News

facilities for propaganda purposes while he is attending the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations this month.

→ While members of the United States Congress are guests at a special session of the Mexican Congress, Deputy Emilio Sánchez Perez implies that United States policy toward Cuba is as sinister as "Nazism, Fascism, and Francoism."

Thursday, September 15

→ Secretary of State Herter, Milton Eisenhower, Secretary of Defense Gates and Postmaster General Summerfield arrive in Mexico City to observe the 150th anniversary celebration of Mexican independence.

→ Under a writ of attachment, deputy sheriffs seize a Cubana Airlines plane at Idlewild Airport in New York. A Miami advertising firm claims that the Castro-controlled airline owes it \$237,000.

→ Premier Patrice Lumumba of the Republic of the Congo is rescued by Ghanaian troops when Congolese soldiers try to seize and lynch Lumumba. Lumumba's Commander-in-Chief, General Victor Lundula, saves himself by hiding in a broom closet.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev, in an eight-page telegram to Richard E. Smith, President of the Harvard Law School Forum, expresses regrets that he will be unable to accept an invitation to address the law school students and their guests. Khrushchev explains that the State Department has restricted him to Manhattan Island while he is attending the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations this month.

Friday, September 16

→ Vice President Nixon describes "Operation Consume" which is his proposed four-year program to relieve the problem of agricultural surpluses. The program is essentially one of giveaways and subsidies which will be more expensive than has been the case during the Eisenhower administration.

→ The Defense Department refuses to give the House Committee on Un-American Activities the complete files on Bernon F. Mitchell and William H. Martin, the two former employees of the National Security Agency, who deserted to the Soviet Union.

→ Secretary of State Herter names Charles E. Bohlen to direct American tactics and strategy at the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly. Mr. Bohlen, on September 26, will become Acting Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, succeeding Francis O. Wilcox.

Saturday, September 17

→ President George Meany of the A.F. of L.-C.I.O. hopes that American media of mass information do not give Soviet Premier Khrushchev "world-wide publicity to his slanders and propaganda antics" while he is at the United Nations.

→ From Camp David, President Eisenhower sends a message to the American people urging them to give a calm reception to the international leaders who will be attending the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations next week.

→ Cuba's Prime Minister Castro confiscates three American-owned banks in

A Review Of The News

Havana. The banks are branches of the First National Bank of Boston, the First National City Bank of New York and the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York.

Sunday, September 18

→ Cuba's Prime Minister Castro arrives in New York City where he will attend the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations. Castro and a contingent of about eighty slovenly *barbudos* check in at the Hotel Shelburne in midtown Manhattan.

→ Robert Kinda, a member of the Republic of the Congo's United Nations delegation, resigns his position, which was his first diplomatic experience. Mr. Kinda will return to Leopoldville and reopen his laundry business.

→ The *Nashville Tennessean* alleges that, in recent years, the United Mine Workers Union loaned Cyrus S. Eaton \$18,821,983. Eaton, a Cleveland industrialist and notorious Soviet apologist, evidently applied the money toward the purchase of the Nashville Coal Company which cost twenty-one million dollars.

Monday, September 19

→ Cuba's Prime Minister Castro makes a well-rehearsed and well-publicized exit from the Hotel Shelburne in midtown Manhattan and transfers his party to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

→ Major General John B. Medaris, who retired last January as head of the Army's missile program, says that President Eisenhower, by his high opinion of his own military knowledge and disinclination to listen to the advice of today's professionals, has contributed to a lag in the American missile program.

General Medaris makes these statements in his book, *Countdown For Decision*, published today.

→ The Republican vice presidential candidate, Henry Cabot Lodge, proposes that a thousand students from Iron Curtain countries be brought to the United States to attend American schools.

Tuesday, September 20

→ Raúl Castro, brother of the Cuban Premier, declares that Cuba can reclaim Guáantanamo, the American naval base in Cuba, at any time the revolutionary régime decides to do so.

→ The Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations convenes and elects Frederick Henry Boland of Ireland president for the session. Among the Communist leaders or Communist puppets who are, or will be, in attendance, are Nikita Khrushchev (Soviet Union), Marshal Tito (Yugoslavia), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), János Kádár (Hungary), Wladyslaw Gomulka (Poland), Gheorge Georgiu-Dej (Romania), Antonin Novotny (Czechoslovakia), Todor Zhivkov (Bulgaria), Mehmet Shehu (Albania), Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt), Sékou Touré (Guinea), Achmed Sukarno (Indonesia), Fidel Castro (Cuba), Jawaharlal Nehru and Krishna Menon (India), Nikolai Podgorny (Ukraine), Moulay Hassan (Morocco), Sylvanus Olympio (Togo) and Prince Mohammed Naim (Afghanistan).

→ Colonel Joseph Mobutu, Chief of Staff of the Army of the Republic of the Congo, directs President Joseph Kasavubu to install a fifteen-man "College of High Commissioners" to serve as a caretaker government. Justin Bombuko and Albert Ndele are president

A Review Of The News

and vice president, respectively, of the "College" which will serve under the protection of Mobutu.

→ At Vienna, Georgii Nadjakov of Bulgaria is elected president of the fourth general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Wednesday, September 21

→ The Panamanian flag is raised beside the American flag, by order of President Eisenhower, over the Canal Zone. This action culminates an intensive four-year campaign by Panamanian Communists who regard the flag-raising as a first step to surrender of the Panama Canal by the United States. As the flag-raising takes place, anti-American demonstrations are carried on by Panamanian "students."

→ Lieutenant General Choi Kyung Nok, Chief of Staff of South Korea's Army, accuses American General Wiliston B. Palmer of interfering in Korea's domestic affairs. General Palmer has criticized a proposed one hundred thousand-man reduction, including many experienced officers, in the Korean armed forces.

→ A nine-year-old Venezuelan girl, Magdalena Urdaneto, is fatally wounded by a shot fired by a pro-Castro rioter in the El Prado restaurant in New York City.

Thursday, September 22

→ Senator John F. Kennedy's proposals for solving the "farm problem" include subsidies, giveaways and other socialistic measures which are reminiscent of the methods tried and found wanting for the past twenty-seven years.

→ President Eisenhower addresses the

United Nations General Assembly, and also has long individual conferences with Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah, Nepal's Prime Minister Bishwara Prasad Koirala, Lebanon's Prime Minister Saeb Salam and Yugoslavia's Premier Josip Broz (Tito).

→ Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, addressing the United Nations General Assembly, supports the phony Soviet proposals for total disarmament which Soviet Premier Khrushchev has been trying to peddle for the past year. Khrushchev and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko lead the applause for their Comrade Tito's remarks.

Friday, September 23

→ Vice President Nixon says that, if he wins election to the presidency, he will advocate an "expanded soil bank" and price supports in order to solve the "farm problem." These measures will be in addition to "Operation Consume" which he outlined on September 16.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev, addressing the United Nations General Assembly, attacks United States foreign policy; praises Cuba; denounces colonialism (except the Soviet brand); and, with tongue-in-cheek, criticizes the United Nations and its Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld.

→ Brigadier General Don Flickinger, a director of bio-astronautics for the United States Air Force, believes that two Soviet astronauts were killed in a recent attempt by the Soviet Union to become the first power to send men safely into outer space.

→ The United Steel Workers Union ends a five-day convention at Atlantic

A Review Of The News

City and Union President David J. McDonald suggests an "Invest-In-America" program to revive the national economy. The union also suggests the establishment of a White House Commission On Continuing Prosperity!

→ President Eisenhower confers privately with Togo Republic's President Sylvanus Olympio and Afghanistan's Deputy Prime Minister Prince Mohammed Naim.

Saturday, September 24

→ David D. Henry, Director of Harvard University's Office for International Students, leaves for Africa where he will arrange a \$2,500,000 program in which two hundred African students will attend twenty-four American colleges and universities. The program is financed by the International Cooperation Administration, African governments, American foundations and the African-American Institute.

→ Castro's Cuban régime formally recognizes Communist China and North Korea.

→ Dr. Barnaby C. Keeney, President of Brown University, announces that the United States Office of Education will provide \$165,330 for a three-year study of the factors that lead people to resist reorganization of school districts and local governments in metropolitan areas. Two sociology professors, Dr. Basil G. Zimmer of Brown and Dr. Amos H. Hawley of the University of Michigan, are chief investigator and co-investigator, respectively, for the project.

Sunday, September 25

→ Indonesia's President Achmed Sukarno's régime confiscates the properties of eight anti-Communist newspapers.

→ Doctor Edward Teller, "father of the H-bomb," insists that the United States has no technical means by which to detect whether the Soviet Union has stopped nuclear weapons tests.

Monday, September 26

→ Cyrus S. Eaton, American industrialist and Soviet apologist, tenders a luncheon in honor of guest, Soviet Premier Khrushchev. In attendance, at the affair in New York's Biltmore Hotel, are about 150 American and Canadian businessmen, whose names are not made public.

→ Presidential candidates, Vice President Nixon and Senator John F. Kennedy, in a so-called debate, discuss campaign issues over most of the nation's television channels and radio stations.

→ During a seventy-minute conversation President Eisenhower receives an invitation to visit the United Arab Republic from President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

→ France recognizes the Mali Republic which was formerly known as Sudan. Senegal and Sudan had formed a defense federation of Mali, but Senegal formally withdrew from the union on August 30.

→ Cuban Prime Minister Castro rants for more than four and a half hours at the United Nations General Assembly. Soviet Premier Khrushchev leads the applause of the Communist bloc.

Tuesday, September 27

→ Direct radio telegraph communications are established between Moscow and Havana.

→ Indonesia's President Achmed Sukarno's régime confiscates the anti-Com-

A Review Of The News

munist newspaper, *Nusantara*. This is the ninth such seizure in three days.

→ After a five-week recess, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union resume nuclear test-ban talks in Geneva. The United States proposes a twenty-seven-month moratorium on small nuclear explosions underground. These negotiations have been going off-and-on since October 31, 1958.

Wednesday, September 28

→ In a statement to the *Miami Herald*, Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic says that he is "pro-American" and that he has "not deviated from this policy." Trujillo, who is now his country's Ambassador to the United Nations, has not gone to New York because he does not want to share "a stage populated by idiotic performers from the world of Communism."

→ Two new African states, Senegal and the Mali Republic, are admitted to United Nations membership, which now totals ninety-eight.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito emerge from a two-hour conference in a jovial and friendly mood.

→ The West German military magazine, *Bundeswehr*, reveals that the Soviet Union has ten intercontinental ballistic missile bases from which an attack can be launched against the United States. There are thirty bases in position for attacks upon European and Asian targets.

Thursday, September 29

→ State Department officials admit that they have advised Americans, in Cuba,

who live outside the United States Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay, to send their families home.

→ Soviet tribal warfare rages in Nigeria, which is to become independent from Britain in two days.

→ A report (*The New Colonialism*) of the Assembly of Captive Nations reveals that 973 million people now live under the direct domination of the Soviet Union and Communist China.

→ Heinz Lonchant, Director of West Berlin's Marienfelde refugee center, says that more than 110,300 refugees have escaped from Communist East Germany since January 1, 1960.

→ The Republic of the Congo's President Joseph Kasavubu formally relinquishes all executive and administrative authority to the caretaker government, the "College of High Commissioners," which was established under the direction of the Congolese Army's Chief of Staff, Colonel Joseph Mobutu on September 20. Acting Premier Joseph Ileo will defer to the caretaker government, but Patrice Lumumba, the deposed premier, remains in opposition to the Mobutu-controlled régime.

Friday, September 30

→ Seven thousand troops sail from The Netherlands to reinforce the Dutch garrison on West New Guinea against possible attacks by Indonesian President Achmed Sukarno's troops.

→ Representative Peter F. Mack of Illinois alleges that the Eisenhower administration hiked its 1960 budget surplus \$151,500,000 by delaying the issuance of servicemen's allotment checks from June 30 of fiscal year 1960 to July 1 of fiscal year 1961.

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

CHILDREN ARE easily frightened by stories about bogeymen, and may spend hours trembling in the dark with their heads under the sheets, but if they are intelligent, the experience will in the end be profitable: everyone who grows up must somehow learn to distinguish between fact and fiction, and to judge the credibility of witnesses. If the American people ever get their heads out from under the sheets, they may learn the first lesson of political maturity—that while a man may be an atomic scientist because he knows the difference between a proton and a neutron or a world traveller because he has downed Martinis at bars in Singapore, Karachi, and Cairo, he may also be a fool, a liar, or a traitor.

The widespread belief in Communist stories about Soviet strength would indicate such credulity that, were we not aware of the extent of Communist control over our channels of public information, we should have to conclude that our "educators" had already succeeded in making the American mind incurably childish. But as it is, so much of public opinion has been contrived by subtle conspirators (with, of course, the help of the vociferous dunderheads who are their protégés) that we may reasonably hope that a modicum of information and their own common sense will soon lead our people to scorn the old wives' tales they have so long believed. Indeed, if Americans survive at all, it is possible that the historian of the future may regard the present age of

suckerdom as a necessary stage in the formation of national character, and may describe our costly, humiliating, and painful experience of Wilsons, Roosevelts, and Eisenhowers as the price nations must pay for maturity in a world in which no boy becomes a man without having somehow given a pocketful of pence for a whistle or traded a horse for a case of green spectacles.

In the meantime, every book or article that demonstrates that jack-o'-lanterns are hollow pumpkins is an act of national defense and deserves our gratitude. And few recent books are as direct, lucid, and potentially effective as Jameson G. Campaigne's *AMERICAN MIGHT AND SOVIET MYTH* (Regnery, Chicago; 220 pages, \$3.95).

Mr. Campaigne, who is editor of the Indianapolis *Star* and a distinguished member of our tiny minority of honest and courageous journalists, examines the myths of Soviet power, military, scientific, economic, and ideological, and exposes the utter fatuity of virtually every policy that our government has ostensibly adopted to combat Communism and deal with cognate problems. If you have made a study of Communist operations in recent years, you will find little in the book that is new to you, although you can read it with pleasure. The author addresses himself to the misinformed majority of Americans, and his book is, as Housman said of his Juvenal, an enterprise undertaken for the relief of a people sitting in

A Review of Reviews

darkness. It is important, therefore, that it have the wide circulation that our "Liberal" press will seek to prevent.

Mr. Campaigne does not take time to analyze recent pseudo-scientific frauds of the Kremlin, some of which were exposed partly through the efforts of M. Stanton Evans, his colleague on the *Star's* affiliate in Indianapolis, the *News*. He avoids discussion of devious Communist operations abroad, particularly "anti-colonialism," which he glosses over with a few generalities. And he does not even mention the prevalence of subversion and treason in the United States—probably on the assumption that alert readers will ask themselves whether mere stupidity, however gross and perverse, could have caused what has happened.

But what the book lacks in completeness, it gains—given its purpose—in simplicity and concision. No reader accessible to reason will put it down without being convinced of three fundamental points: (1) "If we know the truth about our strength and Soviet weakness, *and act upon it*, there is no force on earth which can prevail against us." (2) "Whatever the current Communist line, it is intended to destroy us." (3) "All experience with the United Nations proves" that every proposal to give that weird organization authority in a given area "is simply a formula for the capture [of that area] by the Communists." And if enough Americans come to understand these simple and indisputable facts, their instinct of self-preservation will take care of the gangs that have so long and so systematically deluded them.

* * *

Most Americans—at least those over forty—dislike being reminded of Sacco and Vanzetti, two petty "anarchists"

who were tried and convicted of the murder of a paymaster and his guard in 1920, and were finally executed in 1927. But this affair was a national disgrace, a shocking revelation of potentially disastrous weakness in our judicial and social system. And nations, like men, if they are rational, will strive not to forget their errors, but to learn from them. We are all, therefore, under obligation to an eminent member of the bar of Massachusetts, Mr. Robert H. Montgomery, who has had the patience and public spirit to review the long and tangled record of the case, and to report it with judicial objectivity in his *SACCO-VANZETTI: THE MURDER AND THE MYTH* Devin-Adair, New York; 370 pages, \$5.00).

Mr. Montgomery confines himself, as he should, to the conduct of the case and the question of the guilt or innocence of the persons who were executed. He leaves no room for doubt. They had not only a fair trial, but one in which the court, if we may use the expressive colloquialism, "leaned over backwards" to be fair to the accused. Their guilt is as certain as the guilt of any criminals who have been convicted without having been caught in the very act of committing the crime in the presence of a large number of unimpeachable witnesses. But if you read his account carefully, preferably in conjunction with the recent discussion of the case by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., you will see that the affair as a whole proves a gross miscarriage of justice chargeable to American society and even, to some extent, to the public officers of Massachusetts: innocent men were punished and guilty men escaped punishment.

It is quite clear that during a hearing on a motion for a new trial an "expert" of tarnished reputation brought into the

A Review of Reviews

case by the attorney for the defense substituted by slight of hand, in the course of a "demonstration" that can have been designed only for that purpose, a new barrel for the one that was in the pistol that Sacco had used. The attempt failed because he was not permitted to remove the new pistols that he had brought and taken apart "for comparison." But while the trial judge was perhaps justified in holding closed hearings and in administering no punishment at the time to avoid prejudicing the defendants' case by giving publicity to a scandalous attempt that was probably made without their knowledge, it is a shocking fact that the expert prestidigitator was never punished for either his contempt of court or the perjury that accompanied it.

It is also clear that the same attorney in the company of a notorious Communist named Biedenkapp (who later escaped prosecution for another crime by taking refuge in the state of New York, where he was impudently protected by the Governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt) tried by blackmail and intimidation to force a woman who had testified for the prosecution to change her testimony. The facts were clear, but Biedenkapp was not prosecuted, and the attorney was not even disbarred.

There were many other instances of duress and perjury on the part of the defense and its partisans, but in most of them the evidence legally available was less conclusive than in the two that we have mentioned, and might not have been sufficient to ensure conviction. The two instances, however, suffice to show that the law was not impartially enforced in the state of Massachusetts. Public officials permitted themselves to be distracted or deterred by the screaming of the criminals and neurotics who

were agitating ostensibly on behalf of the convicted murderers.

On the other hand, the innocent suffered. Witnesses and jurors were subjected to threats, harassment, and in some cases violence. Their experiences were so painful that they all in later years wished their connection with the case to be forgotten. The prosecuting attorney, police, and other officials connected with the trial were subjected to outrageous defamation. The most unfortunate victim, however, was Judge Webster Thayer, who presided at the trial, most scrupulously discharged his duty, and in an effort to be entirely fair showed great forbearance toward the defense in the matter of the "expert" witness that we have mentioned and at many other times. All the rest of this man's life was overshadowed and distorted by the punishment that an unsavory gang was able to inflict on him for his conscientiousness and integrity. His house was dynamited and he lived in fear of a second attempt on his life. But more than that, he was traduced and maligned by the whole corps of highly trained character-assassins who are one of the principal instruments of Communist terrorism in the United States.

So effective was this attack that even those who, like our flint-hearted sentimentalists, have no compassion for its victim because he was a gentleman, must recognize in it the beginning of a wide-spread corruption of the judiciary by intimidation. It was twenty years ago that a lawyer of courage and integrity, while discussing with me the possibility that he might soon hold office as a judge, said, "If it should fall to my lot to preside at a trial, such as that of Sacco and Vanzetti, in which the Bolsheviks are vitally interested or in which

A Review of Reviews

they see an opportunity to promote subversion, I can only pray to God that I would have the stamina and fortitude to do my duty without evasion or flinching. But I quail at the thought of such an ordeal, and wonder whether I should not refuse to be considered for the vacancy."

When we consider the case in this larger aspect, we must not overlook persons whose activities were beyond the reach of existing law and must, indeed, be beyond the reach of laws that are compatible with a free society. But a society not too demoralized to be free distinguishes instinctively between what it does not formally punish and what it rewards—or invariably finds that it must mourn its negligence.

One of the most dastardly attacks on Judge Thayer was the work of Felix Frankfurter, then a Professor of Law in Harvard University, to which he had returned after a career in the federal government, where, to protect a gang of Communist terrorists and murderers called the I.W.W., he so flagrantly abused the powers of his office that former president Theodore Roosevelt denounced him in a letter, now often quoted, that was equivalent to a declaration that Frankfurter was morally unfit for any position of responsibility or influence in the United States. Frankfurter, who, as a leading member of the American Civil Liberties Union, may have had something to do with the strange fact that the New England branch (which, by the way, was headed by the notorious Communist minister, Dr. Harry F. Ward) made massive preparations for agitation even before Sacco and Vanzetti had been tried at all, denied that he ever acted as counsel in the case, although a stenographer who worked for the titular head of the

legal defense is quoted as saying that behind the scenes "Frankfurter was apparently running the whole show." However that may be, Frankfurter's article and book, published while the case was yet *sub judice*, constituted, as Mr. Montgomery points out, a breach of legal ethics even apart from the fact that the statements made therein did "incalculable harm because of a plausibility gained from misstatements, artful distortion, and deliberate suppression." Frankfurter's deceit was partly exposed at the time by the man who was then America's greatest living legal scholar, Dean John H. Wigmore of Northwestern University, and although the misstatements thus disclosed *could* have been caused by negligence or muddle-headedness, Frankfurter's past record created a clear presumption of malice. But Harvard University and American society as a whole thought it "open-minded" to nourish and flatter the character-assassin. And for this puerile vanity the whole nation has suffered ever since that cunning and malevolent mind was given the power to twist the Constitution into a shield for our enemies and a screen for totalitarian dictatorship.

The Sacco-Vanzetti affair was a major Communist operation, serving a dozen distinct purposes, from the compilation of huge sucker-lists to a demonstration to Americans that interference with subversives can be as unpleasant as trying to chase a skunk from the backyard. But its most important aspect, perhaps, was the sheer irrationality of the premise that the agitators inducted the suckers to accept. The point, reduced to its essentials, was most bluntly stated by an eminent Italian jurist whom I asked about the effect of the case in Italy. "It was profoundly shocking to us," he

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A Review of Reviews

said, "to see that in the United States there were so many apparently respectable people who could become hysterical about a pair of *schifosi*. They argued, in effect, that the dog could not have bitten anyone, because it was a mad dog."

At the trial the court very properly, in keeping with the precepts of Anglo-Saxon law, excluded evidence that one of the defendants had already been convicted of a robbery similar in method to the one in which the murders for which they were tried took place, and tried to exclude evidence concerning their "political" activities. But the defense insisted on introducing evidence that the defendants were engaged in "anarchist" agitation. The defense thus laid the basis for a long series of fantastic charges that the jury was "prejudiced" and that the defendants had been "rail-roaded."

Vanzetti's earlier crime and the "anarchism" of both were irrelevant to the question of specific guilt submitted to the jury at the trial, but they became extremely relevant when the American people were asked to countenance outrageous agitation by known subversives. The defense left the prisoners' connections with anarchist organizations vague, and the prosecution did not inquire. It was never determined, therefore, whether Sacco and Vanzetti were members of the offshoot of the Communist International formed by Bakunin in 1872, of the I.W.W., or of some other division of the International Communist Conspiracy, or were independently furthering the purposes of such organizations. But the obvious question before any reader of newspapers who was trying to form an opinion concerning the guilt or innocence of the convicted men was this: What is the like-

lihood that a robbery would be committed by persons who are admittedly trying to deprive all men of their property? And what is the likelihood that persons engaged in a conspiracy to murder thousands would hesitate to kill one or two men?

The questions are so obvious that the agitators boldly inverted them, claiming, in effect, that the criminals were innocent *because* they were attempting to destroy civilized society. One of their early partisans, Michael A. Musmanno, who is now a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, appears to have been the first to argue that Sacco and Vanzetti were "kindly, philosophic anarchists," who, of course, would not have harmed even a fly with the loaded pistols they were carrying when arrested. And from this it is but a short step to the notion that there is something saintly about subversive conspiracy. That idea—or pretext—underlies the insolence of such writers as Max Schachtman, who says that the men were convicted because the jurors were "highly patriotic, oblivious to progress or a progressive idea," and Herbert D. Ehrmann, who actually draws a parallel between the execution of the murderers and the crucifixion of Christ.

The current renewal of agitation over the Sacco-Vanzetti case undoubtedly serves some Communist purpose; it may be a prelude to an attempt to procure a "new trial" for the convicted traitor, Morton Sobel, for whose release Communist-fronters are now agitating—with the endorsement of the Council of the Democratic Party in California. But whatever its purpose, the agitation is under way. The National Broadcasting Co. recently threw two hours of dramatized lies into the face of their television audience, magnanimously of-

A Review of Reviews

ferred Mr. Montgomery ten minutes for rebuttal, and then withdrew their offer when he came to their studio by appointment. The Ford Foundation has subsidized Marc Blitzstein, who has admitted that he was a member of the official Communist Party for ten years, to write a "folk opera" based on the case, to be produced at the Metropolitan.

It is, perhaps, only appropriate that the current wave of propaganda was initiated in 1957 by a master of misrepresentation, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who is Professor of History in Harvard University, an institution which still retains on its seal—perhaps as an erudite joke—the motto, *Veritas*.

* * *

This brings us to Professor Schlesinger's latest contribution to the confusion of his contemporaries, **KENNEDY OR NIXON: DOES IT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE?** (Macmillan, New York; \$1.95—the advance sheets sent to us do not indicate the number of pages).

The tract is plausibly put together. It is easy to show, by contrasting Nixon to Goldwater and Knowland, that Nixon has not identified himself with political principles—that apparently he "has no ideas, only methods." And from this it is a good inference that he is, in terms of fashionable sociological cant, an "other-directed man," i.e. one who "has no inner ideals to violate." He will follow the crowd, even to the point that, as Professor Schlesinger remarks with a shudder, "if we were to revert to another period of McCarthyism," Nixon might revert along with the Americans.

Kennedy, it is true, has been more consistent, so it is possible to argue that he has principles—and also, if one is as prudent as Professor Schlesinger, to avoid asking whither those principles

inexorably lead. Perhaps it is by some fixed purpose that Kennedy wants to see the French driven out of Algeria (so that the entire northern shore of Africa may become a single Communist state). That is entirely consistent with opposition to loyalty oaths for college students parasitic on the federal treasury (to make sure that traitors can be educated at public expense without risk to themselves). And we may well believe that Kennedy, who "never has been obsessed with Communism as an internal threat," would gladly have joined the senatorial gang that knifed Senator McCarthy. And Kennedy advocates much else that fits into this pattern, so it would seem that he *has* some controlling over-all plan. And since, by "Liberal" definition, plan=principles, Kennedy has 'em. *Q. E. D.*

The demonstration is neat, and will delight the simple minds of "intellectuals." But unless Professor Schlesinger can be sure that *only* they will read his book, he *seems* not to have known when to leave well enough alone. After exhibiting Nixon as an opportunist, he intimates that Nixon, deep in his black heart, really believes that there is a Communist conspiracy in the United States, and doesn't like it. He suspects that Nixon actually *approved* of the shameful use of the U-2 to spy on the Soviet. And since the Republican Party "represents the organized wealth of the country," Nixon will in practice favor "private spending," the state of affairs in which government leaves in men's pockets something they can spend for themselves.

It would have been wise strategy on Mr. Nixon's part to have seen that every American received and read a copy of Professor Schlesinger's book.

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A Review of Reviews

BRIEF MENTION

In Many Voices: Our Fabulous Foreign Language Press. By Edward Hunter. Norman College, Norman Park, Ga. \$3.50 (cloth), \$2.00 (paper).

The 65 daily and 217 weekly newspapers in 33 languages include some that obtain and publish news that Communist pressures exclude from most of our English press, and many that are staunchly anti-Communist. The conspiracy tries to neutralize such publications by first supplying them with advertising from apparently innocuous sources, and later, when the paper has come to depend on such income, applying pressure through the advertisers. The papers openly or covertly controlled by the Soviet are a subversive force far more dangerous than their aggregate circulation would suggest. And many other journals, interesting as examples of transplanted culture, are described in this survey, which is written with a perceptive patriotism that transcends its subject.

* * *

Deterrent or Defense. By B. H. Liddell Hart. Praeger, New York. \$4.95.

So great is the demoralization of Britain that a once acute military analyst has been made incoherent by the thought of "nuclear warfare." For him, strategy has become the art of surrender.

* * *

The Professional Soldier. By Morris Janowitz. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. \$6.75.

The author is terribly distressed by his finding that our military men have been so little imbued with leftist and "internationalist" sentiments that they represent a potential danger to "democratic political control." Indeed, most of them are so unprogressive that they are loyal and patriotic Americans. Mr. Janowitz thinks he knows how to redeem them

from such unenlightened views.

* * *

The Great Contest. By Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press, New York. \$2.75.

As an "expert" in world affairs, Mr. Deutscher assures us that we may win the great boon of "coexistence," if only we have the "courage" to disarm ourselves at once, and the wisdom to abolish our "outdated institutions and social forms." But "coexistence" must not be "competitive," for our goal must be "coöperative emulation," and if the West will only emulate hard enough, it has a chance to become as delightful a place as Soviet Russia itself.

* * *

War Crimes Discreetly Veiled. By F. J. P. Veale. Devin-Odair, New York. \$4.00.

The distinguished author of *Advance to Barbarism* describes the manufacture of the lies used to whitewash the vicious criminal who called himself Stalin, and investigates six war crimes, from the Katyn Massacre to the Marzabotto Affair, concerning which Western governments cynically and systematically lied to their own people, who were being used to fight a war and to impose a "peace" in the interests of the International Communist Conspiracy.

* * *

Alpaca. By H. L. Hunt. H. L. Hunt Press, Dallas. 50¢ (paper).

A mythical country, which resembles Spain, is given an adaptation of the American Constitution with some noteworthy changes, including a currency whose unit is a fixed quantity of basic food (wheat or rice), and a graduated suffrage which gives to citizens a number of votes roughly proportional to their payment of taxes and their other services to the nation.

BULLETS

When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.

Edmund Burke

* * *

My measurements are 33 1/3, 45, and 78. On that basis I should be happiest making phonograph records.

Alfred Hitchcock

* * *

In the atomic submarine there is room for everything but a mistake.

Lt. Com. John H. Ebersole

* * *

The food served in the finest hotel in Moscow is nauseating garbage.

Westbrook Pegler

* * *

Don't blame Eisenhower—he didn't do anything.

Sullivan Brothers

* * *

An adult Western is one in which the hero is smarter than the horse.

Glenn Young

* * *

The soundest strategy in war is to postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the mortal blow both possible and easy.

V. I. Lenin

* * *

The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government.

Constitution of the United States

* * *

Perish with him the folly that seeks through evil good.

Whittier

The jackasses in America all say: "When we are braying we can't be fighting."

Our Own Contribution

* * *

Nixon, heir to Eisrender policies.

Mildred Willis Harris

* * *

Democracy is ever eager for rapid progress, and the only progress which can be rapid is progress down hill.

Sir James Jeans

* * *

The best ten years of a woman's life are between twenty-nine and thirty.

A. Anonymous Cynic

* * *

To tell the truth

I do not sigh for misspent youth.

I've reached the stage

I sigh for misspent middle age!

Poor Fellow!

* * *

Small boy to father: "Here is my report card and one of yours I found in the attic."

Saturday Evening Post

* * *

The worst thing about history is that every time it repeats itself the price goes up.

Pillar

* * *

The future kingdom of Socialism will be a terrible tyranny of criminals and murderers. It will throw humanity into a true hell of spiritual suffering and poverty.

Dostoevsky

* * *

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;

It may be, in yon smoke concealed,

Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,

And, but for you, possess the field.

Clough

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by *George N. Crocker*

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George E. Minot — *The Boston Herald*

"General Marshall and the men he served most closely—Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins—have passed beyond reach of human censure . . . But the rest of us, and our generations to follow, are richer for every scintilla of enlightenment which can be thrown upon the grim predicament in which our country writhes . . . Roosevelt, with accomplices and sycophants, brought about major events that were not unforeseeable . . . In speech after speech, deed after deed, conference after conference, FDR fell in step with Stalin and aided in bringing about the mid-century catastrophe."

Holmes Alexander — In his widely syndicated column

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