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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK

A STUDENT OPINION JOURNAL ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

Volume 1 Number 4

May 19, 1959

ARTICLES

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN LATIN AMERICA	
..... Professor William S. Stokes	6
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE WAR OF IDEAS	
..... Professor Edmund Zawacki	8
THE MOST INCREDIBLE SWINDLE OF MODERN TIMES	
..... Robert C. Adams	10
THE THIRD WORLD WAR IS HERE! — AND WE'RE LOSING!	
..... Gale Pfund	12

DEPARTMENTS

CAMPUS OUTLOOK	3
WORLD OUTLOOK	4
BOOK INSIGHT	14

Issue On Communism

"To dismiss lightly the existence of the subversive threat in the United States is to deliberately commit national suicide."

— J. Edgar Hoover

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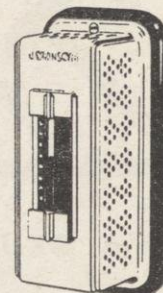
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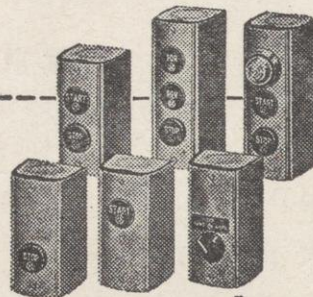
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INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK

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A STUDENT OPINION JOURNAL ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

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AN ISSUE ON COMMUNISM

In our "modern" and "advanced" world we see operative the same forces of destruction that have plagued men from primordial times and that have made the history of civilization largely a history of wars.

Far from eliminating strife with our progress in technology and social analysis, we moderns have merely put more terrible weapons, military and ideological, in still too human hands. And for all our wishes for peace, the imminence of internecine conflict is increasing. For all our noble goals of harmony and tranquility, we are faced with the ugly presentiment that perhaps violence and discord are stamped indelibly on society and on the nature of man. At any rate, our new wisdom has not resulted in any noticeable diminution of fighting. And eight post-war years of enlightened idealism in American foreign policy gave us not world peace, but instead gave the Soviets a green light for expansion which finally exploded into the Korean War.

Now, despite our longing for surcease we find ourselves inextricably involved in the real counterpart of the Essene allegory of the war between The Children of Light and The Children of Darkness revealed by the famous Dead Sea scrolls.

And Professor William A. Williams notwithstanding, the editors see two particular tragic elements in our policies *vis-a-vis* international Communism. First is the inability of many Americans and their governors to realize that it is a fight to the death and that the Children of Darkness are bound by no restraints except fear in their campaign to conquer.

The second is perhaps the more pitiful and more dangerous in the long run. It is the inability of the Children of Light to convince themselves that they are indeed the Children of Light.

In hopes that they can do their little bit to bring the nation to an awakening as to the true nature of international communism, the editors offer this issue of *Insight and Outlook*.

CAMPUS OUTLOOK

CHILDREN OF THE LEFT

What causes the intellectual climate on a college campus to be predominantly "liberal" when the atmosphere outside the academy often tends to be otherwise?

Perhaps *Cardinal* editor Bauder sensed the answer when last fall he ran a reprint from a Chicago paper which addressed its message to "Young Rebels."

Students tend to be the extremists, the idealists, the iconoclasts that have only a fuzzy vision of what they will build up in place of what they will tear down. Put another way, a student is often working off an overdose of reformism injected into his ego.

And of course, simple answers, grand plans have a strong appeal to young world-savers. So it is not surprising that vocal campus opinion should drift to the left on the socio-economic spectrum.

The University of Wisconsin provides an interesting case history in the attitudes that prevail and the forces that play in the campus ideological arena. Since 1945 one can trace the thinking of the vocals and gain quite a bit of insight into the minds of those that take to themselves the label "liberal" and take pride in standing to the left. Entwined in the story, too, we will see the spider of Communist influence attempting to lure innocents into its web. For the spider has found the educational centers of the nation a fertile foraging ground. And it seems it is the student with the "liberal" mentality that is most subject to the two errors of the Children of Light mentioned in the previous column. It seems to be the "liberal" element among the Children of Light that possesses the paralyzing guilt complex which caused our nation to stand passive in the face of massive Soviet post-war aggrandisement.

Pacing the coming revolution of the working class was a lucid *Cardinal* columnist Judy Stone in the first fall after the war. Very graphic, and filled with love for the struggle of the laboring man, Miss Stone provided the Marxist approach in an otherwise sensible and thoughtful editorial page. On the scene was a student group that had formerly called itself the Liberal Club but then had affiliated with the American Youth for Democracy (AYD), the successor on the national level to the Young Communist League. The Soviet, an ally for four years, was only beginning to emerge as a rival and a threat, so students were not alarmed about communists much. Indeed, one AYDer stated a year or so later that the club "welcomed communists in their midst". Somewhat silly of the group, they picketed a meeting at which Norman Thomas spoke on December 19, 1945. Significant also was the conclusion of a panel they held on November 7 of the same semester: The United States should stop intervening in the Chinese civil war. In two respects already we find the AYD adhering quite closely to the line taken by the Communist party at the

time. After his concert in January 1946, Paul Robeson gave a special talk on "understanding" before this group.

The campus Young Dems had a running start on the YGOP's in getting organized after the war. In *Cardinal* editorials we see the obsession with democracy above all else that seems to be characteristic of the "liberal" mind. The YGOP grew from a small, active group that set up their organization their way; The YDems invited the campus to their organizational meeting, a much better practice, the editor thought.

In 1948 the AYD dissolved and AYDerS became active in the Young Progressive Club, soon to become extremely active and attractive. Again, the spider at work, concealing its web. The AYD had been exposed and had fallen from favor. It would be hard to say to what extent the YPC was influenced by young communists, but in its aims and objectives ran close to the Soviet line in many cases. Thinking in the club on the Madison campus had a noticeable Marxist flavor.

A socialist club was in existence in 1949, and also the Students for Democratic Action (SDA) (both of which agreed with a veterans group that compulsory ROTC should go). Again the democratic passion: a "liberal" on the *Cardinal* staff criticized the SDA for discriminating against communists in its membership clause.

In the fall of 1950, the Labor Youth League officially got itself established. An anti-communist "liberal" the spring before pointed out that it was a front organization. Controversy on the use of university facilities by a group cited as subversive evoked a statement from the university reaffirming the right of any student group to organize. And from that time to October 1956 the LYL was the object of continuous attention.

"We are for higher wages, full employment, racial equality," one of the LYL members in a *Cardinal* letter early in the club's history. But despite the honeyed appeal of the LYL, it is likely that the University was right in keeping the club in the open. For students in general recognized the character of the club and avoided it. To be effective the club members needed a more respectable front. It seems plausible to suggest they have found one in the present Socialist Club which we'll examine later.

In the early Fifties the *Cardinal* began a voyage to the left. An incoming editor gave a good definition of "liberal": "We look forward to change . . ." Progress seems to be one of the only absolutes the "liberal" mentality will recognize. The advance the "liberal" awaits appears always to be an approach to socialism. This, perhaps, explains the self-abasement of the Children of Light; the Soviet experiment is after all a grand venture in socialism, imperfect though it may be. Combine with his inner approval of Russian claims of socialism the "liberal's" unwillingness to make a moral choice (difficult to defend if all values are relative), and our Child of Light becomes impotent in resisting Soviet imperialism and sabotage.

And so it has been common to find a spectrum of anti-communist approaches on the part of

"liberal" lights on the campus. Most eloquent ones have minimized the threat and have emphasised instead the danger of sedition laws. Most are so enamoured of complete intellectual freedom that they lament to see communists dismissed from the schools, and feel Soviet espionage must be left untouched rather than violate one civil liberty. Then, too, there have been leaders in both the SDA and the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID) that have been militantly anti-communist (in that they believe the Soviet regime is evil). And yet their inclination to be tolerant and infinitely reasonable led even these to believe we should bargain and expect Soviet good faith over the conference table. It has been only those of a completely different ilk, the "conservatives," that have advocated the tough stand and active propaganda reprisal program that observers like Professor Anthony Bouscaren (treated in this issue, p. 12) recommend.

One of the most interesting phenomena which students now can study is the character and activity of the Wisconsin Socialist Club, started two and a half years ago and headed up first by Englishman Peter Jenkins. (Another Britisher, Dave Smith, is now president). In the short time it has been on the campus it has brought six noted communists or fellow travelers (all have been connected with a number of organizations that have been cited as communist fronts and on testimony have made liberal use of the fifth amendment.) Moreover, almost every pronouncement of the group corresponds closely to the Communist Party line. Other "liberal" and socialistic groups on the campus have shown naivete about international communism, but none have so consistently gone out of their way to extoll and apologize for the Soviets and the Red Chinese. Strangely suspicious is the appearance of the former officers of the defunct LYL in high echelons of the club. And an interesting incident in support of the thesis of a tie between the Socialist Club and communist elements is the recent expulsion of a dyed-in-the-wool socialist who challenged the club orthodoxy by being anti-communist. And if the group is only a peaceful "evolutionary" Marxist group, why do the democratic socialists on the campus shun it, and even attempt to revitalize a rival club, the remnants of SLID and the Liberal Club?

— ALAN McCONE, JR.

WORLD OUTLOOK

CASTRO'S CAPERS

Retrospect. Some would-be friends felt they couldn't go along with *Insight and Outlook* in its anti-communist stand. But the editors merely pointed out that Pete Seeger's smile could make us forget the slaughter of Hungarian Freedom fighters, that Corliss Lamont deserved censure for courting communist causes. Possibly, of course, our rather extreme denunciation of Castro's beneficent new democratic regime brought protest. Now, unfortunately, evidence and developments

have vindicated the editors in this last case at least. Perhaps the most convincing testimony on the Cuba question came from correspondent Dale Francis of Austin, Texas, who caught the real flavor of the new "provisional" government two months ago. Francis had been sympathetic to the revolutionaries up to that point, then made a complete turnabout. We quote a UPI dispatch telling of Francis' new findings:

"Dale Francis of Austin, columnist for *Our Sunday Visitor*, a national Catholic newspaper, said Castro had betrayed the Cuban people and that Marxism was now compulsory instruction for all rebel forces.

"Francis charged the Castro-controlled newspaper, *Revolucion* . . . (was) publishing 'bitter anti-American and anti-Catholic' material.

"'Castro has dismissed virtually every Catholic chaplain with the rebel army in the mountains,' Francis said.

"Francis listed several alleged Communists in key government positions who, he said, had Castro's ear."

WHY NO A. B. A. REPORT?

An important section of the Congressional Record is out of print now. That section was a report by the American Bar Association Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives. Why the document, inserted into the Congressional Record for August 22, 1958, by Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) should have run out of print is a mystery.

The report, reprinted privately, outlines in clear terms the tactics used by the communists to undermine the countries of the free world. Of particular importance is the report's criticism of the United States Supreme Court. Twenty cases heard by the court are cited as examples of a trend in judicial favoring the communists. In each case the court reversed the decisions of lower courts, and these lower courts must now take note of the precedents set by their superior.

It's uncommon for an important passage of the Congressional Record to be made unavailable and we join other citizens in wondering what or who is responsible for its suppression.

THE BIG BLUFF

President Eisenhower wasted little time in calling the bluff when Premier Khrushchev announced last fall that he was taking over West Berlin. And as the May 27th deadline approaches it is becoming more and more evident that Khrushchev is unwilling to make good his threat.

But Khrushchev is crazy like a Russian bear. Under cover of the bustle created over Berlin, he is using Kassem to push the West out of Iraq. American technicians and British troops have already been withdrawn from that country; four weeks ago the RAF completed evacuation of Habbaniya airfield. And Russia hasn't been idle in other parts of the world. The recent outbreaks of rioting in Africa are due largely to Communist agitation.

Many view the Soviet's gradual back-down in Berlin as evidence that the whole scheme was

hatched out of plain curiosity. Russia wanted to test our mettle, to take the measure of Western solidarity.

ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS

An American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees has recently been formed with Mr. Lowell Thomas as Chairman. Acting as Executive Vice Chairman is Mr. Marvin Liebman. Mr. Liebman holds similar post in the Committee of One Million which has sponsored publication of *The Black Book on China*, reviewed in this issue of *Insight and Outlook*.

Readers will recall how similar groups were formed in support of Hungarian refugees. This movement deserves nothing but the highest commendation. But is aid for refugees enough?

SPIES OUTDO Ph.D's

More proof the Soviets aim to be ready to bury us if they can get a chance is to be found in the January 4 report of the House Un-American Activities Committee, "Patterns in Communist Espionage."

The gist of the document is contained in the statement by Lieutenant General Trudeau, Army Chief of Research and Development quoted on page 77: "I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the advanced state of Soviet technology today is due more to Soviet success in espionage and subversion than it is to their scientific apparatus, good as it is . . ."

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COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN LATIN AMERICA

By WILLIAM S. STOKES

Professor of
Comparative Political Institutions
Claremont Men's College
(Formerly at the
University of Wisconsin)

In 1956, Congressman Walter, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, asked me to prepare a manuscript on Communism in Latin America for publication in one of the Committee's dealing with this subject. I was assured that whatever I wrote would be published exactly as I wrote it, and I am happy to say that this commitment was honored. The assignment encouraged me to examine my files on Communism in Latin America, and also to evaluate my experiences in the Latin American countries in 1941, 1942, 1944, 1948, and 1955. Later, when I was preparing the book — *LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS*, now in production — the Crowell Company — I reexamined the question. Finally, when I was asked to prepare the chapter on modern political theory in Latin America for a volume to be published by the University of Notre Dame Press, I had to consider Communism in Latin America once more. From these experiences, some things can be said.

Communism in Latin America is part of the international conspiracy to destroy capitalism and political democracy and to establish socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat ("people's democracy"). Communists in Latin America are atheistic as they are elsewhere and thus are not guided by moral values of a religious nature, such as love, charity, mercy, truth, individual worth, or integrity. They are guided mainly by the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist ethic of expediency. They thus believe that all methods, including violence, are legitimate to achieve their political ends.

In most of the countries, the Communist Party has been outlawed by legislation or by executive action. In other countries, criminal laws to protect the internal and external security of the nation and legal provisions relating to immigration, labor, the armed forces, education, political organization, and public administration affect Communists adversely. There are fewer legal and political restraints against Communism in Uruguay at the present time than in any other Latin American country, although Communists probably will operate more and more openly in Cuba and Venezuela in the foreseeable future. It is, of course, a mistake to measure the strength of the Communist movement in quantitative terms alone. Communism is a minority movement and does not expect to acquire power by majority vote. Nevertheless, there are many more Communists in Latin America than in the United States. Their present influence is considerable, and their potential effectiveness is great indeed.

A congressional committee found that there were about 330,000 members of Stalinist Communist parties in Latin America in the period 1944-1947, which polled an aggregate of about 1,000,000 votes in national elections. It was estimated that by 1953, the total membership had fallen to about 200,000. The evidence is that the numbers have been increasing since that time.

There were, of course, Marxists and Communists in Latin America before the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Communist parties in Latin America developed rapidly around the time of the first World War. In Brazil, the Socialist Party was formed in 1916. By 1918, it had 14 branches, and in 1921 it joined the Communist International and became the Communist Party of

Brazil. The Chilean and Uruguayan Socialist parties joined the Third International shortly after World War One. Luis Emilio Recabarren founded the Communist Party in Chile. In Argentina, Victorio Codovilla, an Italian-born, naturalized Argentine citizen, along with José Penelón and Orestes and Rodolfo Ghioldi, founded the Argentine Communist Party. Julio Antonio Mella founded the Cuban Communist Party in 1925, although a Socialist Party was founded in 1899. The Latin American Communist parties are always aided by the international movement, of course.

A special word should be said about the Peruvian Marxist, José Carlos Mariátegui (1895-1930). His intellectual influence has been very great in Latin America and is still important. He founded the daily newspaper, *Nuestra Epoca*, in 1918 to reflect his socialistic ideas. Mariátegui was in Europe in the years 1919-1923 and founded the first Peruvian Communist group in Rome. On his return to Lima, he took over the review, *Claridad*, wrote *La escena contemporánea* in 1925, edited the review, *Amauta*, for several years, and in 1928 published his major work, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*. His *Defensa del Marxismo* was published in 1934 after his death. Julio Portocarrero, one of Mariátegui's disciples, was the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party.

The Communist parties gained strength during the 1930's, but they made their greatest strides during World War Two. At the present time, there are Communist parties, many operating underground, in every Latin American country.

The record of Communist successes is impressive. In the little-known Osman case of the 1930's, it was revealed that the Communist movement acquired valuable de-

fense plans of the Panama Canal. In the post-World War Two period, the Popular Socialist Party (Communist) won 196,000 votes in the congressional elections of 1946 in Cuba. Communists won about 500,000 votes in a single election in Brazil in 1947. They elected mayors, municipal councilmen, congressmen, and senators in a number of countries. They obtained cabinet posts in at least two countries, Chile and Cuba. In addition, in the period 1944-1954, Communists participated in various violent episodes in the Caribbean and Central America and infiltrated and finally controlled the Guatemalan government. Communists can be found in the universities, labor unions, and in government in most of the Latin American countries. Even the Army has been infiltrated in some instances, as primary evidence indicates in the case of Brazil. Many of the *tenentes* or lieutenants joined the Communist Party in the late 1920's and early 1930's, and Communist influence in the Army has remained a source of concern down to the present time in Brazil.

Latin American Communists seek the establishment of Soviet-type governments in Latin America. Basic Communist strategy has taught for many years that there can be no successful revolution, followed by the creation of a Communist government, in any Latin American country unless an internal revolution has first been accomplished in the United States. The facts show, however, that the Communists are ready to seize power in a particular Latin American country at any time if conditions offer a reasonable possibility of success. The Cominform saw fit to permit their Communists to control Guatemala. Experts believe that the violence in British Guiana in recent years is a part of the pattern. The article, "Draft Program of the Communist Party of Brazil," published early in 1954 in the official Cominform newspaper, *For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy*, advocated revolution in Brazil.

On the other hand, in the period of the Cold War, Communists everywhere in Latin America above all other things have worked with or supported any party, coalition, person, or issue that was anti-American. Their primary objective was and is to weaken, divide, and subvert the Latin American countries so as to make international action against Communism ineffective.

Foreign capital and United States companies have been the most frequently attacked by Communists in Latin America and perhaps are the most vulnerable, because: (1) Latin American lower classes are everywhere insisting upon higher material standards of living immediately. Inasmuch as their demands have not been met as rapidly as they would like, politicians have found the foreign company a convenient scapegoat; (2) the Soviet Union has no permanent investments in Latin America, whereas the United States has about \$7,000,000,000 invested in private companies.

The Communists in Latin America are largely an urban group. Their leaders almost invariably come from the educated, cultured upper-middle classes. Marxists have been influential in the student movement since its beginnings around World War One, and in recent years they have organized in the primary and secondary school fields. Children's and women's groups are a favorite target. The Communists are well financed and very mobile. The United States Information Agency has reported that over 1,000 Latin Americans traveled to the Soviet Union for training or to attend Red front meetings in Europe in 1953 as compared to 500 in 1952 and about 100 in 1950. The Communists shift their main base of operations from one country to another depending upon local conditions.

Latin American Communists are adroit and opportunistic. One approach they sometimes use is for one wing of the Party to support the dictator of a Latin American country and thus win freedom of action, while the other wing blames United States imperialism for the dictatorship. For example, General Perón

took Rodolfo Puiggrós and González Alberdi, Communist strong men, into his government in Argentina as advisers, at the same time that he was persecuting other Communists. The Communists exploited the Bogotá crisis in April, 1948. Many Communists from the United States, Europe, and various Latin American countries entered Bogotá in advance of the *Bogotazo*. Experts believe that it was their intention to disrupt the Inter-American Conference. In addition, however, arms and ammunition came into Colombia in large quantities. The serial numbers on the materials indicated that the weapons came from Venezuelan armories. For this, the leftist "liberal" government of *Acción Democrática* in Venezuela was at least partially responsible. The Communists participated actively in the riots in Bogotá which resulted in much destruction of life and property.

Many of the activities and tactics of the Communists in Latin America can be studied through their own press and through the documents of their front organizations. Most large libraries have collections of such materials readily available for students to examine.

I have recently completed research which leads me to believe that the government of the MNR in Bolivia, which seized power by bloody violence in 1952, is basically Marxist in its ideology, although not a part of the Communist apparatus. The MNR persecuted the opposition, nationalized the tin mines without compensation, nationalized the land of many property owners, and put petroleum under a state monopoly. Their economic program failed so disastrously that the United States was asked to subsidize them with food and dollars. This Marxist government almost without doubt would fall quickly if the United States were to withdraw its financial support.

The social scientist is not equipped to predict the future with objectivity and accuracy. However, there are increasing signs that the

(Continued on page 9)

SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE WAR OF IDEAS

BY EDMUND ZAWACKI

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1. What is the war of ideas, and what is victory in it?

The war of ideas is a fight to the finish of the Communist idea in the minds of men everywhere. It is not a popularity contest between the USA and the USSR. Nor is it a mere war of words (propaganda). It has to be fought with the kind of force that is effective against ideas. Military force destroys people, not ideas.

For all practical purposes, the finish (victory) will be when a non-Marxist political party takes shape in the USSR and competes on equal terms with the Communist privileges for political power in that country. It is unlikely that any satellite Communist party would long survive such a development in the USSR.

2. What is the Communist idea?

The authoritative exposition is Stalin's essay, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (1938).

The central dogma of Communism, i.e. the Communist idea, may be stated quite simply as follows. The essence of history and the law of progress is struggle; every social organism harbors in itself a struggle to the finish ("internal contradiction") between what is "old and decaying" and what is "young and developing". Referring obscurely to what is called "Darwinism", and extending the biological opposition between catabolism and anabolism uncritically to the whole world as a social organism, the Communist Party everywhere conceives world society as torn by a struggle to the finish between an allegedly old and decaying (American or Western

democratic) system and an allegedly young and developing (Communist) system, the ultimate victory of the latter being axiomatic. "History is on our side. We will bury you." (Krushchev, 1958)

However, because of certain misgivings about the axiomatic nature of the ultimate victory, the central dogma has a corollary devised by Lenin, which may be stated as follows. It is the destiny and duty of every good Communist to actively press this struggle to the finish of any and every non-Communist world-outlook, whether held by individuals, groups or whole nations, and any means is legitimate. The most efficient means is, of course, seizure of political power in national states.

A little reflection on these Communist principles of individual and collective behavior will uncover an important truth. The Communist world-outlook has in this way been transformed into a pseudo-religion, and the identification of Communist individual duty with Communist collective destiny has become the doctrinal foundation of Communist morality. Everything the Soviet government (or any Communist regime) does, is done in the name of the Party and for the sake of its longevity. Even the most cynical and brutal actions are represented as morally justified by the Party's exclusive possession of the "scientific" law of progress. The element of moral justification is paramount in the war of ideas. By contrast, Communist economic theory actually becomes pseudo-scientific gobbledegook for unperceptive "liberals" to pore over and draw irrelevant conclusions.

3. What is the Western democratic idea?

It is important that people everywhere, but particularly in America, understand that democracy is a *process*, not an economic theory nor a type of political machinery. Any and every system of government in America, Europe, Asia or Africa—bi-party, multi-party, mono-party republic, oligarchy, monarchy or what have you—*functions democratically* in the Western sense *in proportion as*: 1) private opinion can cumulatively become public opinion; 2) the moral force of public opinion can be exerted on public servants and thus be embodied in national policy at home and abroad.

These two movements constitute a dynamic process, in which are involved freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of economic enterprise and a host of others. All these freedoms derive ultimately, therefore, from belief in the sanctity of the individual human personality as a creature of God.

This is the central Western democratic idea. Conceived in its proper dynamic terms, the Western democratic idea is not American, nor British, nor French, nor Russian, nor is it the exclusive virtue of any given type of political machinery. Nor is it a matter of economics. It is human and humane.

The momentum of the democratic process derives not from the perfection of what we call democratic institutions, but from their perfectibility and orientation toward humaneness. By humaneness is meant moral behavior—behavior of men toward men worthy of man as a creature of God. It is not in the nature of democracy to be stamped away from a religious concept of God. If it were, nothing on this earth could control the hostile power of the atom.

4. What is the Iron Curtain, and what is its function in the war of ideas?

Only in the shallowest sense is the Iron Curtain a geographical line. The Iron Curtain is a principle. It is the principle of restriction, individual and collective, in the intercourse of people and ideas at home and abroad.

Inside the USSR the Iron Curtain manifests itself in practice as a fierce inverted imperialism (i.e. imperialism directed inward upon Soviet society), an extension of political control in such a way and by such means as to control even the mental activity of every individual in the USSR. Addressed to the non-Communist world, it is an ideological umbrella protecting the Communist idea from new (i.e. non-Marxist) ideas. Radio jamming, selective blackout of news, etc. are its manifestations.

The function of the Iron Curtain at home is the progressive paralysis of individual private opinion. Its ultimate objective in the war of ideas is the complete elimination of all private opinion that might conceivably challenge the Communist organization of power, now or in the future from inside the Communist world or from abroad.

(Obviously, this function is very difficult to fulfill, and it has required the most extensive and politically brutal policing apparatus that the world has ever seen in order to fulfill it even in appearance. It is therefore brain-washed nonsense to believe that harmony between the governing and the governed has been attained in any Communist-dominated country, including the USSR.)

5. What is "peaceful" coexistence, and what is the strategic objective of the Communist "peace offensive" in the war of ideas?

"Coexistence with capitalism" is the doctrinal base from which the Communist "peace offensive" operates. Already inherent in Lenin's

rationalization about "socialism in one country", coexistence was embellished with the adjective "peaceful" and shrewdly developed by Stalin into a strategic Communist doctrine during and immediately after World War II. Lenin had pointed the way for Stalin by arguing for "socialism in one or more countries at a time, wherever the capitalist front is sufficiently weakened for a violent seizure of power by an organized proletariat". By 1948, Stalin has succeeded in firmly installing "organized proletariats" in power in China and Eastern Europe, thus considerably enlarging the Communist camp. At Christmas time in 1948, he set in motion a veritable tide of wishful thinking in the West and among the so-called "uncommitted" countries by putting his pontifical imprimatur on the "new" doctrine of coexistence. The occasion was a series of convenient questions put to him in writing by Kingsbury Smith of the Associated Press. This was before the Soviet Union had developed atomic weapons. The apparent Western origin of the idea of coexistence is Edward H. Carr's book, *Conditions of Peace* (1942)

Obviously, the very idea of coexistence between two hostile camps is nothing but the Iron Curtain principle with a pseudo-moral camouflage. It is, by the same token, the sufficient condition of continued international friction in the cold war. And those people in the non-Communist world who have accepted co-existence as the only alternative to hot war, are *ipso facto* casualties in the war of ideas. Coexistence is only drift toward hot war, for it is ideological illiteracy to believe that the cold war can be ended by maintaining the sufficient condition of its continuation.

The strategic objective of the Communist "peace offensive" in the war of ideas is precisely to force Western intellection to vacillate fuzzily between the specious alternatives: coexistence or thermo-

nuclear war. By so vacillating, we would be simulatenously guaranteeing the longevity of Communist regimes everywhere and establishing the conditions necessary for the decisive enlargement of the Communist camp. The moral force would be on the Communist side, and we would be mere warmongers.

* * *

Unless our policy makers in the free world succeed in shaking off the coexistence complex that has afflicted many of them since World War II and earlier, the only policy left to the West in the hydrogen age will soon be either irresponsible bellicosity (the Gaither Report, rumored to have recommended preventive war), or successive retreats from the idea of a military showdown toward complete ideological confusion, moral isolation and political defeat.

In point of fact, the choice before the free world never was, and is not now, a choice between thermonuclear war and coexistence with the Communist system. The choice always was between coexistence and peace. But elucidation of this unaccustomed alternative would require expounding a new rationale for Western policy toward the Soviet Union.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN LATIN AMERICA

(Continued from page 7)

Communists will profit from the establishment of the revolutionary government of Fidel Castro and the *barbados* (bearded ones) of the 26th of July Movement in Cuba. The same is true with respect to the government of Rómulo Betancourt (formerly a Communist) and the *Acción Democrática* party in Venezuela. These are, at least, areas which should be watched most carefully.

THE MOST INCREDIBLE SWINDLE IN MODERN TIMES

BY ROBERT C. ADAMS

Perhaps the biggest victory of the world Communist conspiracy (and certainly one of the most necessary for its success) has been its ability to conceal its true nature from the American public. A view prevails, most noticeably within the academy and the Supreme Court, that Communists, for the most part, are a group of sincere, though perhaps misguided idealists and that therefore their freedom to operate cannot be curtailed without compromising our own principles of individual freedom.

Such a conception of the Communist Party reveals an utter ignorance of its aims, principles and methods and contributes immeasurably to the party's success in gaining prestige and in carrying on indoctrination and espionage. It is this false impression that the Communists have deliberately tried to create through fraud and deception.

In restricting Communist activity in the U.S. we are not ignoring the Bill of Rights as Corliss Lamont would have us believe, but protecting it from a criminal conspiracy whose members are better disciplined than those of the Mafia and just as eager to commit any manner of treachery to achieve their ends. We must never forget that their one goal is to serve the Soviet design for world conquest. All their programs of social action and protest are merely a facade to attract workers who are sincere in their desire for social improvement and behind which they work unceasingly to destroy those rights which they never

fail to invoke for their own protection.

The extent to which the Communists believe in "Democracy" has been revealed by hundreds of members who have left the party because of the rigorous thought control imposed upon them, the rigid discipline enforced by strict punishment meted out by rigged trials, and the sublimation of all facets of their lives to the cause of Communism. The party is a dictatorship within the United States. Its demand for a strict adherence to the group transcending any personal ethics is similar to that code on which gangsters operate. One can see the resemblance in the Communists' frequent use (with typical gangster-like contempt) of the term "stool pigeon."

There comes to mind a clever ditty sung frequently by the world-saving chairman of Folk Arts in which he proclaims his hatred of Louis Budenz and "stool pigeons." Traitors are made to appear as martyrs while those who are willing to undergo the intense campaign of villification they know will be directed toward them in order to warn their country of subversion are called "disease-bearing vermin." (*Mainstream and Masses*) An article in the *Daily Worker* described one government witness who had been a trusted member of the party as "a lady snooper for the FBI who dabbles in photography and *other less popular pursuits*." Here is a good example of the character assassination by implication of which the *Daily Worker* so often accused the late Senator McCarthy.

Probably the only thing that prevents the Communist Party from displaying the extreme methods of dictatorial power in this country is their unwillingness to run afoul of the law and thus weaken their posture as a legitimate organization.

Perhaps only the hierarchy of the party is aware of the gross deception being perpetrated on the rank and file party members as well as the people outside the party. But the fact that many party members, their supporters and apologists, are sincere idealists bent on reforming mankind does not alter the fact that the party itself is a tool of Soviet barbarism and that its members are being disciplined to perform murder and sabotage in the event of a revolution. These dupes, though perhaps sincere in their desire for a better world, are knowingly or unknowingly aiding the biggest organized plot against humanity in all history.

The party has learned that if it is to avoid arousing the wrath of the American people, it must play down its relationship with Russia and pose as a pro-American party. The fact that its operation is governed by the USSR is easily discernible, however. Party members and sympathizers forever extoll the virtues of Russia and support policies which are favorable to it. This was almost humorously apparent during the second world war.

The Communists had been denouncing Hitler until he signed a peace treaty with Stalin. Then, doing a complete about face, it formed

a front group, the American Peace Mobilization, which pressured against aid to Britain and our entering the war. When Hitler broke the pact and invaded Russia, the American Peace Mobilization simply changed its name to the American Peoples Mobilization and continued to operate, now urging the use of all out force against Hitler. This clearly demonstrates that both "peace" and patriotic action are causes in which the Communist Party has no sincere interest but merely exploits to the advantage of Soviet Russia.

The party serves Soviet interests in two ways. Its front groups win supporters and workers who promote attitudes favorable to Soviet expansionism and provide support in the form of funds, supplies, lodging, etc. to members of the underground who carry on the party's second function, espionage.

One of the tactics of the Communists in their program of mass agitation is to "fish in troubled waters", to seize upon weaknesses in our society and exaggerate them all out of proportion while ignoring the atrocities of the Soviets.

They will frequently support programs which in themselves may be very commendable but which the party hopes to exploit for its own interests. These may be merely to gain prestige for the party, to accentuate class or racial differences, or to gain public favor for a policy beneficial to Soviet Russia.

They will often try to infiltrate groups that have a good name or gain the public support of important persons who, though not actual party members, are party sympathizers. Many of these can do more good for the party by not joining. People might be skeptical of something Communist supported, but in this case the party can say "See, so-and-so is for this and you certainly can't call him a Communist." Or perhaps the person does not even sympathize with the Communists but has unwittingly lent his name to an organization or program which he did not know had Communist backing or would serve party in-

terests. All of these tricks win prestige for the party.

Among the varied organizations that are targets of Communist infiltration are labor unions, the NAACP, and the Society of Friends.

Honest labor leaders have been fairly successful in ridding their ranks of Communists. They remember too well the bus workers strike in Lodz, Poland in August, 1957 that was broken through the use of bayonets and tear gas to be fooled by the party's false claims of being pro-labor.

The NAACP in 1950 authorized its board of directors to revoke the charter of any chapter found to be Communist controlled. Its leaders realize that the Negro is merely a pawn in the Soviet game. They remember how during the second world war the party fronts temporarily ceased their agitation for Negro rights in an attempt to avoid any disharmony in their "united front" program to aid Soviet Russia in its war against Germany.

The Communists have had considerable success in influencing the policies of the American Friends Service Committee which now sponsors such outstanding Soviet apologists as Corliss Lamont. Many well known Quakers are now campaigning to have the American Friends Service Committee expelled from the Society of Friends. They realize that the Communists' association with sincere pacifists is only an attempt to gain support in their fight to weaken our national defenses and allow the Soviets to gain a military advantage.

We must realize that the Communists, "fight for the Bill of Rights" is a program designed to allow traitors, foreign agents, and their unwitting dupes to perform their activities unhampered by a society trying to protect itself from its enemies. The freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights could never be allowed to exist in a Communist society. We are given a fair idea of how much faith the Communists actually have in such freedoms in a Pravda editorial of July 6, 1956:

"As for our country, the Communist party has been and will be the *only* master of minds and thoughts, the spokesman, leader and organizer in their struggle for Communism."

The party's bemoanings of "academic freedom" is an attempt to carry their program of indoctrination into the schools.

Those sincerely interested in promoting the cause of labor, of minority rights, of peace and of freedom must realize that the Communists are their biggest enemies. Like a hobo, the party will hop on any ideological train and ride along with it as far as it goes toward their destination of a totalitarian regime under which no one's rights will be given the slightest consideration.

In labor organizations, the Communist Party sees an opportunity to exaggerate and build strife between labor and management. The same scheme underlies their infiltration into organizations promoting negro welfare. One notes that the Communist Party will not try to settle racial or labor disputes in an unostentatious and effective manner. Rather, they will try to aggravate conditions by using mass marches, rallies, demonstrations, and inflammatory propaganda.

In so doing, they are not helping the cause of the worker or the negro but are rather fomenting the class and racial hatred that prevent mutual understanding and respect. The purpose is to create the social conflicts which are an integral part of the Marxian concept of revolution.

Realizing the Communists exploit legitimate causes for their own benefit, many people have mistakenly labeled as Communists sincere individuals who were crusading for needed social reform. But such ill-advised action has been confined to a relatively small group of well-meaning but perhaps misguided souls. Such confusion has not been rampant, as the Communists and their sympathizers would have the public believe. Painting all their critics as "reactionaries" who "see Communists under the

(Continued on page 13)

THE THIRD WORLD WAR IS HERE! AND WE'RE LOSING

BY GALE PFUND

"The United States is at war now. We have been fighting for the last fifteen years and we are losing!" This was the way Prof. Anthony Bouscaren described American relations with the Soviet. In his speech to the Conservative Club on April 28 he said that if we continue conceding at our present rate we will have lost by 1972.

The Political Science Professor from Marquette has not been taken in, however, as this statement would seem to indicate, by those he calls "liberal thinkers" who maintain that this collapse is inevitable. To avert defeat he proposes an inflexible foreign policy similar to the recent Dulles approach.

To appreciate Bouscaren's proposal it is necessary to understand the true nature and objectives of Soviet foreign policy. Russia has not discarded the Marxist-Leninist hope for world communist domination. Bouscaren maintains that Lenin's broader concept of world revolution and civil war followed by a dictatorship of the proletariat is still the long range goal.

The immediate aim of Russian policy is the elimination of all capitalist countries, which by definition are those not under communist control. Thus even the Socialist countries come under attack. According to the communists, "Socialism is an imperfect society. They cannot make the transition to the perfect state of Communism without overthrowing the Western democracies."

Yet the "liberal" mentality remains blind to the reality of Soviet exploitation. They persist in believing that "Communism is liberalism temporarily off the track." Because these two philosophies have certain areas of agreement, even the worst Soviet atrocities are either "understood or explained." By capitalizing on this misconception the Reds

have succeeded in making inroads through popular front governments.

Before the west can adopt a winning foreign policy the United States at least must realize that Lenin's ideology of communist expansion still guides the Soviet government.

Since World War II we have established an impressive record of foreign policy blunders. The mistakes at Tehran, Yalta, and the Paris peace conference are excellent examples of how we have failed to realize the true nature of international communism. The pacifist element has always been too willing to fall for the old Nazi pitch which Bouscaren summarized as "give us Poland and we will be happy—for a couple months at least."

It is our fear of another war that the communists have played on to force us into concession. They falsely present us with two alternatives: peaceful co-existence or all-out nuclear war. If we accept these, the only way we can maintain peace is to meet the Russian demands. Yet the objectives remain; each concession we make is another defeat.

Bouscaren warns that we cannot rationalize and say that Krushchev is a reasonable man. "We are dealing with fanatics. They want peace but they cannot have it until they first destroy it."

Our biggest mistake, Prof. Bouscaren suggests, is that we have allowed the communists to force us into such a corner that the issues we discuss at the summit conferences concern problems existing "on our side of the fifty yard line." Hungary, Poland, and Tibet are the only activities taking place on their side of the security zone. Yet at most conferences the questions up for decision are always the admittance of Red China into the United Nations, the status of the off-shore islands, disarmament of West Germany, or

the future of Berlin. Thereby, "They are free to agitate for our destruction." The issue is presented so we have the choice of either agreeing to their terms or fighting for the positions we already hold.

"We are already in the Third World War." Concession is the only sure road to defeat. If we project the trend of our losses into the future, Russia will emerge victorious in 13 years. Unless we maintain a holding action and carry the area of discussion into their strongholds, 'freedom' will become a historical relic.

The possibility of war is something we must be prepared to face when we call the communist bluff. Thus far, however, Dulles has succeeded in taking a strong stand without any real threat developing. We stood inflexible on the question of the off-shore islands and they have remained free from communist control. Similarly, the Russians have not resorted to war over the Berlin crisis. And, it seems unlikely that they will do so in the near future.

It would be unrealistic from the Soviet point of view to wage war at the present time, considering the near balance in nuclear armaments. Patience is their only virtue. Yet time seems to be working on our side. The spirit of the revolts in Hungary, Poland, and East Germany is far from dead. And the enslaved people behind the iron curtain could have no better moral booster than to know that the west is taking a firm, positive stand against communist expansion.

Displeased with our current cultural exchanges, Bouscaren affirms that "It is fallacious to believe that nations go to war because they don't understand each other. If this is the assumption, the program is ridiculous." Furthermore, we don't necessarily get the top artist, only those who are the best party liners.

MOST INCREDIBLE SWINDLE

(Continued from page 11)

bed," the bleeding-heart liberals have erected strawmen whom they can easily knock down. J. Edgar Hoover, himself a victim of a venomous Red-directed attack, stresses the need to protect the reputation of innocent citizens and points out that an atmosphere of hysteria will do more harm than good, that it

will not aid in weeding out true Communists, and that it can only give to the party a point which they will not fail to exploit to their own advantage.

Many labor under the delusion that only 14,000 trained communists in the United States are not able to do us much harm. But as Professor Bouscaren pointed out, there are not 14,000 trained and dedicated anti-communists in the United

States. And keep in mind the words of U. S. Party leader William Z. Foster, "We no longer measure the importance of revolutionary organizations by size."

Then, too, it seems to be more fashionable within the academic community to criticize anti-communists rather than communists. And these people who see a greater danger in opposing communism than in allowing it to grow have a strange way of distorting the arguments set forth by anti-communists.

I have tried to make clear the distinction between deliberately deceitful party members, their dupes, and those persons and organizations to which the communists attach themselves to enhance their stature. But I would not be surprised if some ardent foe of guilt by association accused me of implying that Quakers are communists.

We want to avoid the injustices that often arise when a people are faced with the job of searching out members of a large-scale conspiracy. But we must not allow this desire to keep us from the task that besets us.

That all defenses of the communists in terms of civil rights and academic freedom are made out of either naivete or deliberate deceit should become evident when one realizes as did Stella Calomiris that "the Communist Party in the U. S. is an integral part of the international communist body. If I learned nothing else from my seven years as a Communist Party member, I did learn that single, hard fact."

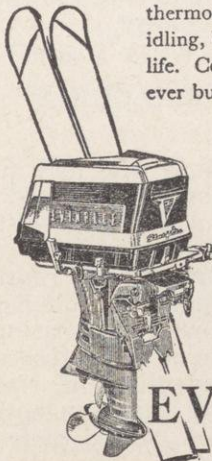
The Communist Party has but one purpose in mind: To serve its masters in the Kremlin. Everything they do is directed toward those ends. Howard Fast, at one time high up in the party ranks, on realizing the true nature of communism, said, "I felt a sense of unmitigated mental nausea at the realization that I had supported and defended this murderous blood-bath, and I felt, as so many did then, a sense of being a victim of the most incredible swindle in modern times."



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BOOK INSIGHT

WEDEMEYER REPORTS!

By General Albert C. Wedemeyer

Why is the world and the United States faced with the Communist threat today?, how did the Communists achieve a position where they are more powerful than we are in war making potential?, and why are most foreign nations basically distrustful of the United States? General Albert C. Wedemeyer supplies answers to these questions and a lot more in his recently published book the "Wedemeyer Reports."

In this book General Wedemeyer is generally concerned with the apparent inability and lack of desire displayed by Roosevelt and Churchill to establish national objectives for the allied powers in World War II. He berates them at great length for their refusal to listen to any one who had the audacity to suggest that the president and prime minister should think of anything but the complete annihilation of Germany. In the climate of this obsession for unconditioned surrender, Wedemeyer suggests that many patriotic people were accused of being pro nazi just to put their statements in a bad light.

Out of this central concern Wedemeyer theorizes by correctly stating that any nation that engages in a war should have certain national objectives in mind and that ultimate success or failure of any war depends on the intelligence and foresightedness employed in the selection of these objectives. The United States and Great Britain thought only of destroying Germany, a popular position, never stopping to think that their actions in this crisis would completely determine the future chances for world peace. Despite the advice and exhortations of many influential people, the allied powers refused to recognize that the real problem lay not in Germany but in Russia. The people of the United States were whipped into a fever of moral righteousness through propaganda and every other device needed to achieve the tremendous production in a world war. This feeling is necessary, yet the same tyranny and moral turpitude that our people were taught to hate in the Germans was present to a far more pronounced and dangerous degree in the Soviet Union. A deaf ear was turned to the words that tried to convince the world of this menace.

That the people should be inclined to concern themselves with the nations that were killing their sons is understandable, but it is the duty of a nation's leaders to work for immediate or distant goals that will benefit the people. Ours did not. Why? Wedemeyer attempts to answer this with a sketchy proof of Roosevelt's driving ambitions to get the United States in the war at all costs whether we wanted to be or not. He even cites reports that show he had full knowledge of the impending disaster at Pearl Harbor days in advance, but that Roosevelt had refused to do anything to prevent the attack because he knew that this would get him the war he wanted.

It is no trick to show that the United States was definitely trying to provoke attack, but Wedemeyer fails to show with the great degree of

clarity that characterizes the rest of his book, why Roosevelt so desperately wanted to get into the war and when he did get there, why he didn't use his head. It appears to General Wedemeyer that we should have learned from the lessons of history and endeavored to bring about a balance of power as Britain has done for centuries. This would have done us and especially the rest of the world some good, but why wasn't it done? To these questions Wedemeyer gives pat answers: lack of strategic ability and foresight on the part of our leaders.

I hasten to add that this is the only important flaw I found in an otherwise very clear, factual, and well documented account of what may well lead to the down-fall of America. This sets the stage for the subject that Wedemeyer devotes the majority of his book to: the completely bungled up job done by every nation except Russia. Apparently everyone lost complete control of their faculties in the closing moments of the war except Joe Stalin. The Soviet dictator managed to make fools out of allegedly great leaders of the twentieth century, according to Wedemeyer.

Wedemeyer also points to the many ignominious strategic and tactical errors made by the Axis powers, blunders for which the scale of Allied mistakes is the only comparison.

The Far East aspect of the comedy of Allied errors is very effectively covered in Wedemeyer's book. Stationed in China when the Communists forces rose to victory, the general witnessed the strange inept policies of the United States authorities which served to weaken the existence of the Nationalist Chinese and insure the triumph of the Communist "agvarian" regime.

There is no doubt that this book contains information vital to every American. General Wedemeyer admits that it is easy to be a Monday morning quarterback and correct the mistakes others have made, but the inexcusable number of costly errors made during World War II, warrant careful inspection and compete understanding by everybody in order to decrease the chances of such mistakes ever happening again. It is my opinion that this is a book that could make a profound and exciting contribution to history.

— W. D. HELLERMANN

THE BLACK BOOK ON RED CHINA

By Edward Hunter

Those Wisconsin students who had an opportunity to participate in the mock United Nations Conference held here on April 17-19 witnessed a near-rumble during the approval of credentials. A group of students from IIT and representing Red China, sought to displace Nationalist China, represented by Gilman house, for seating in the General Assembly. A vote of the entire assembly finally confirmed the credentials of Nationalist China, but not before many countries, both in and out of the communist block, voiced their support of Red China's admission. The main point stressed by these countries was simple: the UN ignoring 600 million Chinese people who deserve to be represented.

The Black Book on Red China answers those who think Red China is being slighted. Even if Red China had a delegation in the UN, contends author Hunter, the Chinese people would still not be represented, for they can't even get recognition at home.

Hunter stresses that China is in a continual state of internal revolt. It is only through the many purges of its ranks and the intimidation of the people that the Communist regime is able to maintain itself in China. The party has developed, with Moscow's aid, many effective methods of brainwashing and when someone needs special attention there are enough party workers to see that his brain gets a thorough scrubbing. The judicial system that the party has imposed is unique in that the law is defined as the current party line. Any minor party functionary can determine what the law is and he can be reversed by any of his superiors. There is no such thing as a defense lawyer for such a lawyer could only incriminate himself. "Historical crimes" are a new expedient. It means that a person may be put to death for something that his relatives did before Mao Tse-tung came to power.

And if violence, brainwashing, and the "law" fail to bring the people in line, a bullet will do. Hunter reports that some economy-minded executioners have lined people up so that two or more may be killed with a single bullet!

Chinese tradition and religion are treated in two ways. They will be tolerated by the regime if the regime in some way can use them to disseminate its propaganda. If found "useless", then tradition and religion are destroyed. In accordance with this policy, the family as a unit is being smashed by encouraging the young to spy on their parents, by state-sponsored activities for the young, and by liberal divorce laws. In the field of religion, Christian sects have been persecuted and gradually driven from the country. Roman Catholics in particular have undergone much violence.

Workers in China are really slave laborers. Labor unions have been set up to see that all work is running smoothly. "Tribunals of Workers in Productive Enterprises" have been set up to take care of "labor discipline." A worker who misses his work quota or fails to compete with the "model worker" is treated as a criminal. The death penalty is not uncommon. Likewise, the farmers have been reduced to mere serfs. In October of 1955 Mao proclaimed the "production cooperatives" and the farmers were robbed of their land. Some farmers took to the hills and became guerrillas, others went to the towns and cities, others protested and were executed, and others stayed to work in Mao's "cooperatives."

This book is one of several sponsored by the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations. Besides Mr. Hunter's text, an interesting exhibit of Red propaganda is included in the back of the book.

— MILLARD W. JOHNSON

THE Freeman

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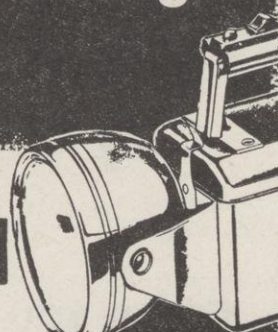


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