

In the MERCURY'S

OPINION

A NEW TYPE of bigotry has grown up around the names of Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth T. Bentley and Louis Francis Budenz. There are others, but these are perhaps the most widely known of the persons whose names seem to evoke, in some circles, a psychopathic antipathy of torrential proportions.

For want of a better phrase, we shall call it anti-ex-Communist bigotry. In its vehemence, it may be doubted whether it has any equal in anti-Communist sentiment, hysterical and irrational as the latter is said by some to be.

One finds this anti-ex-Communist bigotry in strange and unexpected places. It is, of course, a natural psychological reaction of still-loyal Communists. It is expressed in every possible combination of words in the pages of the Communist Party's official organ, the *Daily Worker*. It is not even surprising to find it among the now familiar anti-anti-Communists, like James Wechsler and the *New York Post*, who fly into a rage over Dies, McCarthy, Nixon, Winchell and other effective anti-Communists. But, when one finds this new bigotry in the most conservative salons of Park Avenue and compa-



nable circles, it is clear that the rational processes of understanding have broken down.

Let there be no misconception of our position: anyone has a constitutional right to detest and speak ill of Chambers, Bentley, and Budenz. We are not in favor of a statute to make anybody like anybody else. To think and speak foolishly is a long-established constitutional privilege of Americans, upheld by our highest court. What we do question are the intellectual and moral bases of this bigotry.

There is no more irrational or untrue dictum than the one which says: once a Communist always a Communist. To hold to such a principle is not only to reveal a woeful ignorance of human nature, but is a complete repudiation of the heart of Judeo-Christian philosophy. The possibility of human rehabilitation, even after the deepest depths of depravity have been reached, is a doctrine central to the theology of the Old and New Testaments. Through all the ages of the Judeo-Christian civilization, repentance and conversion have been the theme of religion's most exciting and glorious epics. The Old Testament is

filled with divine invitations to the wayward to return to their God and find forgiveness for all their iniquities. The stories of the Prodigal Son, of Saul of Tarsus, of Saint Augustine are only a few of the recorded miracles of faith. All these and their clear implications are repudiated by the present-day anti-ex-Communist bigots, whether they know it or not.

Strangely enough, Chambers, Bentley, and Budenz seem to have incurred the bigots' wrath because they have possessed the moral courage to confess openly the blackest aspects of their complicity in the Communist conspiracy.

Chambers, Bentley, and Budenz have served their country well, in its fundamental security measures against the Communist conspiracy.

For their testimony on behalf of the government and the American people, these ex-Communists have been dubbed "squealers" by such self-styled anti-Communists as Morris L. Ernst and David Loth, in their recent book entitled *Report on the American Communist*. "Squealers" is a word loaded with moral derogation. Ernst and Loth must have considered the clear alternative to the testimony of the ex-Communists, to wit, that Hiss, Brothman, the Rosenbergs, and the Communist Party leaders remain at large and with full immunity from prosecution for their acts against the security of the United States. That alternative is a grave responsibility for any American to assume.

Our Latin American Blunders

One of the urgent tasks confronting President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, is that of developing a sensible, workable, mutually satisfactory policy towards Latin America.

The urgency of repairing our Latin American relations is graphically highlighted by Ralph de Toledano, in his thoughtful article on page 114 of this issue, *The Soft Underbelly of the U. S. A.* As Mr. de Toledano points out, while our attention has been concentrated on Korea, on Southeast Asia, on Europe, on Africa, on the Middle East, all thousands of miles away, the Soviet Union has been quietly moving in right next door to us in Central America.

The Communists and their fellow-traveling politicians have secured a firm grip on the government of Guatemala. With Guatemala as their foothold, skilled Communist agitators are fanning out into all of the neighboring countries in the Caribbean area, in a carefully calculated program to create political and social unrest, undermine economies and drive out United States investors. From the Rio Grande to the tip of Tierra del Fuego, an unrelenting barrage of Communist propaganda is whipping into a feverish hatred, the latent distrust toward the United States that has long existed in the southern republics.

The alarming successes that the

Communists have achieved in Latin America have resulted not so much from their own skill, as from the incredible blunders of U. S. diplomacy. During the 20 years of Roosevelt and Truman, of Hull, Stettinius, Byrnes, Marshall and Acheson, our Latin American policy has consisted of a series of abrupt and startling reversals. One moment we were wooing the Latino with all the ardor of a lovesick teen-ager; the next we were ignoring him completely.

During the war hordes of starry-eyed irresponsibles descended on Latin America, wearing the official badge of the United States government. They squandered hundreds of millions of dollars on ill-considered economic programs, and they literally deluged the officials and publics of those countries with lavish promises of the billions of dollars in loans and gifts that would be forthcoming after the war was over. Promises which never should have been made in the first place, and which never were kept in the second place. But promises which are remembered to this day throughout Latin America.

The result was disillusionment and resentment — and an unparalleled opportunity for Communist propagandists. An opportunity they were quick to seize.

As Mr. Dulles takes over the helm at the Department of State, U. S. prestige south of the Rio Grande is

close to an all-time low. His task of repairing the damage is one which requires a maximum of tact, patience and diplomatic skill.

It is imperative, of course, that the damage be repaired, and promptly. In event of an all-out war with the Soviet Union, the easiest supply lines to defend from Red submarines will be those from Central and South America. And in peace or in war, American industry is increasingly dependent upon those countries for supplies of critical raw materials.

Conversely, those countries are equally dependent upon the U. S. They must look to us for defense against the Red aggressor in event of war. They desperately need our technical and industrial skills and products to develop their economies. They need private U. S. capital to expand their production, and raise their living standards.

And there is Mr. Dulles' great advantage. A true mutuality of interests exists. Moreover, as Mr. de Toledano points out, the aspirations of the Latin American countries are completely incompatible with the dogmas and policies of Communism.

The job confronting President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles is to break down the suspicion of our Latin neighbors, to convince them of our mutual interests, and to acquaint them with the sinister motives of the Communist conspirators.

• THE MERCURY

DALEN PANDO

DALEN PANDO, who penned "The Little Patriot of Ybor City," is the eldest daughter in a family of nine who have lived as a unit in Cuba, Cincinnati, Brooklyn and now in Tampa, Florida. She is secretary to the Director of the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida and this is her first published short story.

TAMARA ANDREEVA

The author of "Tilly's Profitable Romance" is a Russian-born writer who makes her home in Pacific Palisades, California. A photographer, as well as a writer, Miss Andreeva does work for many of the outstanding magazines, newspapers and feature services in the country in addition to a great deal of free-lance writing.

The story of Tilly Lewis has created a great deal of comment, especially on the West Coast, where Mrs. Lewis was a very popular citizen indeed.

J. B. MATTHEWS

DR. J. B. MATTHEWS, whose article "Communists in the White House," appears in this month's MERCURY, is the nation's outstanding authority on Communism. The author of more than forty books, Dr. Matthews was the first Research Director for the House Un-American Activities Committee, and has questioned hundreds of witnesses. The official record made by Matthews has been one of the most important phases in the government's fight against the Red scourge. He is consulted constantly by almost every department of the Federal Government, and his

sources of information are unparalleled in the field of Communist research. He is married and lives in New York.

VICTOR RIESEL

VICTOR RIESEL is the country's best-known journalist in the field of labor. His syndicated column appears in nearly 200 papers throughout the United States, and his sources of information are enormous and far-reaching. His article, "Labor and Eisenhower," is a keen and brilliant analysis of what may be expected on the labor front during the Eisenhower Administration. Mr. Riesel resides in New York with his wife and two children.

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

RALPH DE TOLEDANO is one of the most brilliant of the younger writers in America. His article in this issue of MERCURY, "The Soft Underbelly of the U. S. A.," focuses attention on the most neglected area of U. S. foreign affairs, Latin America, and the steady inroads of the Communist menace there. He is the co-author of "Seeds of Treason," and wrote "Spies, Dupes, and Diplomats," both books best-sellers and outstanding in the field of foreign affairs and Communism. Mr. de Toledano is an associate editor of *Newsweek*, writes numerous articles for our best magazines, is married, has two children, and lives in New York.

HOWARD RUSHMORE

HOWARD RUSHMORE, in his introductory paragraph on Roy M. Cohn in this issue,