

The Counter- Attack

By
**HAROLD LORD
VARNEY**

BATTLE-WEARY anti-Communists are now learning, with grim emphasis, that their victory is not yet won. The enemy is alive, and threatening.

Signs are multiplying that the discredited old Russia-firsters who disappeared into their storm cellars in 1948 and 1949, on the rebound of the Hiss exposé, are back in action. Voices which were believed to be permanently silenced are again sounding off. Sincere anti-Communists are being held up to public pillorying. Bogus anti-Communists are regaining the center of the pub-

licity stage. We are in the presence of the counter-attack.

On the extreme Left, clouded figures which were driven into eclipse during the successive waves of Congressional investigations are defiantly re-emerging. Owen Lattimore is demanding a passport to go overseas to interpret America to the foreigner on the lecture platform. William H. Taylor, named by Miss Bentley as a member of the Silvermaster Red ring, is loudly demanding vindication. David N. Leff, a Federal Loyalty Board-defier

who was finally dropped from UNESCO by a reluctant Director Luther H. Evans, is now emphatically demanding reinstatement.

Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, named as a Communist Party member by an FBI undercover agent, was restored to her Defense Department job after the civil liberties heat had been turned on Secretary Wilson, and her counsel was elevated to a high District of Columbia job. Harvey S. Matusow, sensing greener fields on the Left than on the Right, is now conducting a one-man smear campaign against Roy M. Cohn,

while the New York dailies lavishly publicize him. Alger Hiss is writing a book, presumably with Book-of-the-Month Club royalties in expectation.

MORE alarming than any of these individual instances is the plain evidence of a concerted and deadly attack by professional "liberals," former Hiss defenders, and tired former anti-Communists, on the whole edifice of Federal security.

This has taken the form of the Thurmond Arnold-argued Peters case, in which the courts are being asked to rule that the Loyalty Review Board cannot dismiss government employees on "reasonable doubt." It has taken the form of the crusade by former anti-Communist Harry P. Cain to remove the Communist stigma from a witness who pleads the Fifth Amendment. It is seen in the Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.-McGeorge Bundy-Ernest Angell assault upon the protected anonymity of Justice Department informers. It is instanced in the cry-baby Edward Corsi attack upon honest State Department enforcement of the McCarran-Walter Act. It appears in the attempted martyrizaton of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer by a claque headed by the Alsop brothers and Edward R. Murrow in an effort to break down the security safeguards of the AEC. It is instanced in the campaign, touched off by the Matusow case, to discredit such brave ex-Communists as Louis F. Budenz,

Elizabeth Bentley, Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, etc., and to invalidate their testimony. It is seen in the drive to discredit the FBI, sparked by such critics as Alan Barth, Max Lowenthal, Americans for Democratic Action and others. It is manifested in the continuous pressure upon the President to relax his Executive Order 10450 — a pressure to which Mr. Eisenhower yielded in part on March 5th.

On an administrative level, it has taken the form of a terrorization of courageous public officials who have been conspicuous in their vigilance against suspected infiltrators. The hue and cry is now being directed, not against the Communists and the fellow travelers, but against such men as Scott McLeod, who has done such an outstanding job in cleaning up the State Department; against John G. Cassity and Milan D. Smith of the Department of Agriculture who brought to light the buried facts in the career of Wolf Ladejinsky; against William A. Gallagher of the Department of Justice, who prepared the case against Val R. Lorwin; or against the effective Don A. Surine of Senator McCarthy's staff.

The objective of these reprisals is crystal clear. They are designed to put fear into all Federal security officers of the ruin that may await them if they take their anti-Communist mission too seriously.

All of this adds up to an extremely serious situation for the anti-Com-

munist movement. The emotional wave which made possible the extraordinary gains of the 1948-52 period is running down. The whole laboriously constructed system of safeguards against the Communists which culminated in the McCarran Act and the Federal Security System is in grave danger of weakening before the anti-Communist sappers.

The lowering crisis has caught many ordinarily intelligent Americans by surprise. All too many anti-Communists are mentally unprepared for a rigorous period of competition with the anti-anti-Communists. They have let down their polemic guards.

Since the Washington Russia-firsters collapsed in 1948 under the revelations of Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, anti-Communism has won a spectacular series of smashing victories. The conviction of Hiss, the McCarthy State Department exposé of 1950 and its vindication in the rout of Tydings in 1952, the masterful McCarran Committee probe of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1951-52, the indictment of Owen Lattimore, the McCarthy and Jenner Committee inquiries of 1953 before the White House lowered the boom, the indictment and conviction of the first- and second-string Communists, and finally the passage of the monumental McCarran Act illegalizing the Communist Party, were tremendous victories.

Any or all of them would have

been unthinkable any time between 1933 and 1948. It is understandable that anti-Communists should have felt that they were definitely in the driver's seat.

In this assumption, they failed to reckon with the determined tenacity of the Left.

A warning sign which should have alerted the anti-Communists to the approaching danger was the suspiciously sudden conversion of nearly all of the old Russia-firsters to anti-Communism. After 1948, the wartime "Trust Stalin" cult went over almost en masse to anti-Communism. They did not defect as penitents. They swarmed into the anti-Communist movement with the fixed determination to eliminate or discredit the old Right-of-center anti-Communists. The apparent play was to take over the anti-Communist movement and to emasculate it.

THREE ambitious organizations occur to the mind as the spearheads of this anti-anti-Communist strategy. They are the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, the Committee for an Effective Congress and the Americans for Democratic Action. Each has played a different but extremely effective role.

From the standpoint of anti-Communist morale, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom has probably been the most lethal. Taking a lofty "civil liberties" pose, the

Committee has, with some success, attempted to convey to the lay public that all other fighters against Communism in America, except themselves, are little better than nasty "Fascists."

Headed by the ex-Trotskyite, Dr. Sidney Hook, subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation and miscellaneous angels, the committee has become a sort of collect-all for that curious species of anti-Communist who believes in fighting Communists — yes — but not in fighting them too hard. It is typical of the Committee that, when Joe McCarthy was being wracked on the wheel by the whole wolf pack of the Left, instead of defending him, it sponsored a book repeating all the anti-McCarthy venom. But when Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was denied clearance by the AEC, the Committee honored him by electing him as a committeeman.

Of course, such organizations are merely the triggers. Standing behind them and giving them powerful political momentum are all the miscellany of pressure groups — labor, church, teacher, internationalist, business, anti-immigration restriction, civil liberties, New Deal — which constituted the old Roosevelt-Truman coalition, and which are now all professedly "anti-Communist." All these movements, with their millions of adherents, are fanatically dedicated to the purpose of driving genuine anti-Communists out of the Washington picture.

But the anti-anti-Communists would still be an ineffective force were it not for the 1952 windfall which they received in the delivery of the Republican Party into the hands of the Eastern "moderates." Anti-Communists, so long frowned upon by the White House under the long reigns of Roosevelt and Truman, naturally assumed that the advent of a Republican administration would mean the final cleaning out of the remaining Leftist disease spots in the Federal government. It would mean a full-dress exposé of the responsibility for Communist-pampering in Washington by Republican-controlled Congressional committees. It has not worked out that way.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, himself a sincere anti-Communist, won the Republican nomination in such a manner as to make him the prisoner of the go-easy-on-Communists faction of the Party. He has mistakenly deepened the breach between himself and such grass-roots Republicans as General MacArthur, Senators Bridges, Knowland, McCarthy, Jenner, Bricker, Dirksen, Welker, etc. He has chosen to take his counsel on strategy from such atypical figures as Paul G. Hoffman, John J. McCloy, Milton S. Eisenhower, Sherman Adams, Bernard Shanley and Maxwell Rabb. Wrongly briefed on Communist issues, temperamentally disinclined to all-out decisions, uneasily sensitive to mischievous

British carpings at American policies, the President has been a cruel disappointment to Americans who had expected a dynamic, anti-Communist administration.

An early harbinger of what was to come was the March 1953 watering-down of the Yalta-Potsdam resolution to eliminate any pledge of the United States to repudiate the commitments. By this White House-induced action, the world was placed on notice that the new Administration did not intend to break with the Russia-appeasing policies of the Roosevelt-Truman administrations. The Republicans accepted the legacy of Yalta.

The Korean War armistice, which was in effect a formal recognition by the Republican administration that we had abandoned any intention of aiding the restoration of Chiang Kai-shek's rule in China, was the next major blow to the anti-Communists. It was a virtual announcement that the Republican "liberation" promise had been dishonored.

These foreign policy blunders were followed by equally stupid decisions in the domestic field. The furious White House war against the Bricker Amendment showed that the administration was out of step with the anti-Communists. When 11 Republican Senators, who had sponsored the original Bricker Amendment in the 82nd Congress, weakened under Eisenhower pressure and voted against the Amendment in the 83rd, it was plain that the effort was

underway to remake the Republican Party into an organization in which thorough-going anti-Communists would not feel at home.

INCIDENTS followed in quick succession to confirm this impression. The smear campaigns against Senator McCarthy in 1954, touched off by the notorious January 21 caucus of White House advisers, were correctly interpreted as a counter-assault against all active anti-Communists, as well as against McCarthy, the symbol.

When the first lynching party failed, thanks to the fairmindedness of Senators Dirksen and Mundt, the same White House group, assisted by the Committee for an Effective Congress, renewed the attempt in the form of the "censure" special session, using for their front the contemptible Ralph E. Flanders.

Equally disquieting was the discouragement of Congressional investigations and the continuance of the old Truman road-block against the testimony of executive department witnesses before such Congressional bodies.

An unmistakable sign that the new administration was wobbly on important anti-Communist issues was the sabotage of the Reece Committee to investigate the foundations. The revelations in the McCarran Committee probe of the Institute of Pacific Relations of the incredible role played by the foundations had highlighted the fact that

some of the most highly respected foundations were actively behind the anti-anti-Communists. An unsparing investigation of the political activities of the foundations would seem to have been in order.

When Representative B. Carroll Reece secured the passage of his resolution, he quickly discovered that he was facing a deep freeze, as far as top Republican cooperation was concerned. Republican House leaders, reflecting White House attitudes, were markedly unsympathetic to Reece's efforts. For eight months, the work of the Reece Committee was seriously handicapped by the non-action of Chairman Karl Lecompte of the Accounts Committee on necessary funds for the Committee's research. It was evident, throughout, that Representative Reece was on his own. That the Committee was able, despite the sabotage, to produce such a powerful report, was a tribute to Mr. Reece and his able staff, rather than to the Administration.

IN SUCH an increasingly unsympathetic Eisenhower Administration, anti-Communists find themselves today sinking into a defensive role. The old days of confident, dramatic action are behind them. The spark is going out of their attack. When a Murray Kempton, writing in the *New York Post*, can sneer that a New York dinner of anti-Communists is a "last night," the duty of self-examination is clear.

This is not to say that anti-Communism has lost the future. What should be said is that anti-Communists, if they do not quickly regain their badly dented morale, may be in a fair way to lose the present. The task facing anti-Communists in 1955 is not insuperable, but it is painfully harder.

The counter-attack is in confident progress. Anti-Communists, if they are to hold the offensive, must meet it by quickened efforts and by shrewder strategy. The greatest foe is the over-confidence which leads to tactical stagnation.



» Shortly before the Civil War, Senator Robert Toombs, a Georgian, went on a speaking tour, urging citizens to vote for secession. Toombs was a dramatic orator. At the climax of one of his speeches, he declared: "Why, we can whip those Yankees with corn stalks!"

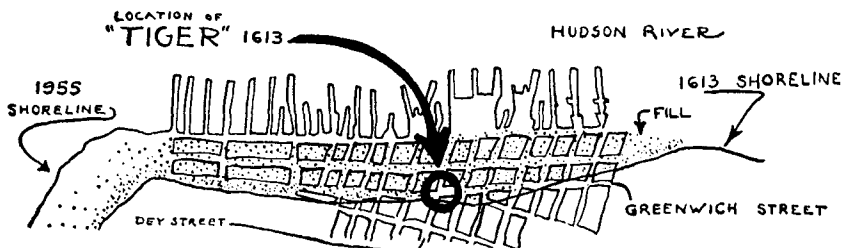
After the war, with Georgia in ruins, Toombs was again running for the Senate. During one of his campaign orations, a man yelled from the crowd, "Remember, Bob, when you wanted us to secede — you told us we could whip those Yankees with corn stalks."

Toombs shot back: "Yes, I said that — and we coulda done it, too. But those confounded Yankees wouldn't fight us with corn stalks!"

— *Quote* WASHINGTON BUREAU

SUBWAY SKELETON

By
HARRY T. BRUNDIDGE



IT WAS a frosty November day in 1613. Captain Adrian Block, Dutch explorer, adventurer, and master of the slim clipper, *Tiger*, sipped his schnapps in his tiny cabin. The *Tiger* was anchored off-shore of what is now Manhattan Island. Block was gloating over his books and his trades with the Lenape Indians. He had given but little in trade-goods for a terrific cargo of otter, beaver and other skins.

As Block tried to figure profits for himself and his crew, which also had a stake in the skins, he suddenly felt heat and heard the dreaded word, "Vuur." Block rushed to the deck. The ship was in flames.

"*Get het schipp aan de grond,*" he shouted. In response to his order, the crew drove the ship into a mud flat on the east bank of the Hudson, where the furs were unloaded, as the ship burned to the waterline. As a golden, Indian-summer sun began to sink behind the fall-dressed trees

across the river, Block wondered what to do. The Indians came to his assistance. They helped Block and his crew build four rude bark huts on what is now the site of the building at 39 Broadway, and supplied them "over the winter" with dried venison, fish and corn meal. *This was the first settlement on Manhattan, 13 years before later Hollanders bought the island for \$24.*

Block and his crew, with the aid of the friendly Indians, began felling the big oak and hickory trees growing near the shore in order to lay the keel of a new ship. This was the *Omrust*, a good New York word meaning "restless." But let's digress.

It was April 1916, and in excavating for an extension of the Interborough Subway, workmen's shovels hit a strange object below Dey and Greenwich Streets.

"Bust it up," a worker shouted. "Let's get going."

James A. Kelly, foreman on the job and now Kings County His-