

April 10, 1962

REC-12

Mrs. A. M. Donaldson  
1056 Nobley Street  
Cardiff, California

PEERS REC. UNIT

Dear Mrs. Donaldson:

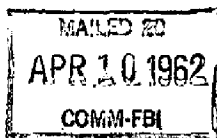
Your letter of April 3, 1962, has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I would like to point out that there is no position in the FBI entitled, "Administrative Assistant to the Director." Mr. W. Cleon Skousen was a clerical employee of this Bureau from October 24, 1935, until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned this latter position on October 5, 1951.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director



APR 10 4 08 PM '62  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

NOTE: Bufiles reflect that correspondent was listed as an applicant reference; however, the file has been destroyed, and there is no other identifiable information concerning her. Skousen's services were satisfactory while he was with the FBI. Her reference to Skousen's being "fired as Chief of Police" is being purposely ignored.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RLR: [initials]

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

April 3, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover:

I am very interested in any information concerning W. Cleon Skousen. Mr Skousen has, as you probably know, been touring the country with the Christian Anti Communist group headed by Swartz.

There have been several editorials about Skousen that would do nothing to help his reputation in his or this current fight against communist. One example - being fired as Chief of Police & the reasons given for this dismissal.

I would also like to know if this statement "he was - Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover

I would appreciate your sending me this information very much.

Sincerely

/s/ Mrs A. M. Donaldson  
1056 Nobley St.  
Cardiff, Calif.

*encl  
ack 4-10-62  
RRE:jg  
(1) True copy  
4-9-62/jg*

*4/10*

April 3, 1962

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Administrative Assistant  
to J. Edgar Hoover

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Sincerely

Mrs A.M. Donaldson  
1056 Hobley St.  
Cardiff, Calif.

---

PERS. REC. UNIT

REC-44

94-41460 47

April 11, 1962

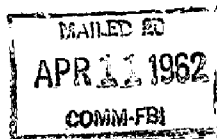
Mr. A. E. Keiber  
The Antlers Hotel  
Spirit Lake, Iowa

Dear Mr. Keiber:

I have received your letter of April 6th and want to thank you for your interest in writing as you did. I certainly appreciate your kind remarks; however, I assure you my only desire is to remain in my present position as long as I can be of service to our country.

I would like to point out that Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His opinions and comments are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any manner.

Enclosed is some material I hope will be of interest to you.



Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosures (5)

What You Can Do To Fight Communism  
4-17-61 Internal Security Statement  
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?

The Communist Party Line  
The Faith to be Free

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

BS:cik (3)

APR 11 10 18 AM '62  
FBI  
READING ROOM

53 64 85

EX-114

TRUE COPY

THE ANTLERS HOTEL  
Iowa Lake Regions Leading Hotel  
W. R. Neal, Owner & Operator  
Spirit Lake, Iowa  
4-6-'62

Director J. Edgar Hoover F.B.I.  
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

For 40 years, I was burried pretty much in the U. S. school room at Davenport, Io. So I am too old to be of much use to you and your excellent Bureau, but I am not too old to do some serious thinking. I am trying to analyze the import of W. Cleon Skousen's book The Naked Communist, especially the notes on The Future Task. I have reached the conclusion that Skousen is exceedingly well posted for the task he has performed in producing that book. The author of the Future Task is an exceedingly clever man, much more so than Khrushchev. Khrushchev has neither the education or brain to produce those lines. Somewhere, Mr. Hoover, in the U.S.S.R. there is now or has been recently some of the best brains in the world, unfortunately dedicated to the destruction of the American Republic. As I see it we can only avoid that by using the method which the communists say they must avoid - War, - Sudden, Secret and mighty

So far sir, we have not had and do not have now, the man in the White House fully qualified to do that job. Unless & until we put such a man in that office we are licked, not because of lack of strength, not because of lack of preparation, but because of the lack of knowledge as to what is needed for complete victory, and because of the lack of 17th century guts such as Cromwell, Teddy Roosevelt and a few others in our history possessed. We must remember that to win we must fight under our constitution, not under the wishy-washy, U. N. charter which is not & never will be a sovereignty. What about yourself, sir? Why not come out, if you possess the constitutional qualifications - You would win by a landslide and we could put an end to this frightful nightmare of piracy which the communists at the top know only too well is their chief stock in trade.

ack 4-11-62  
BS: cjk

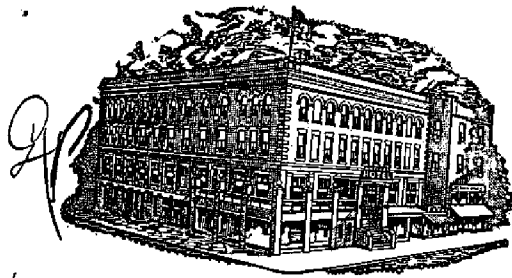
HC, 4-10-62  
cjk

8/21

If Skousen makes 300 speeches a year, why is he not better known? Never heard of him before I ran across his book.

Sincerely

/s/ A. E. Keiber



# The Antlers Hotel

IOWA LAKE REGIONS LEADING HOTEL

W. R. NEAL, Owner & Operator  
SPIRIT LAKE, IOWA

4-6-62

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Director J. Edgar Hoover F.B.I.

Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

~~EXP. PROC.~~

30 APR 9 1962

33

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Khrushchev has neither the education or brain  
to produce those lines. Somewhere, in the  
Hoover, in the U.S.S.R. there is now or has been  
recently some of the best brains in the world, un-  
fortunately dedicated to the destruction of the  
American Republic. As I see it we can only  
avoid that by using the method  
Communists say they must avoid - War.

EX-105 REC-44

94-47468-47

9 APR 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

REC. UNIT



Sudden, Secret and mighty

So far sir, we have not had and do not have now, the man in the White House fully qualified to do that job. Unless & until we put such a man in that office we are licked, not because of lack of strength, <sup>not</sup> but because of lack of preparation, but because of the lack of knowledge as to what is needed for complete victory, <sup>and</sup> because of the lack of 17th Century guts such as Cromwell, Teddy Roosevelt and a few others in our history possessed. We must remember that to win we must fight under our constitution, not under the winky-winky, L.L. charter which is not & never will be a sovereignty. What about yourself, sir? Why not come out if you possess the constitutional qualifications - You would win by a landslide and we could put an end to this frightful nightmare of piracy which the Communists at the top know only too well is their chief stock in trade.

If S. Roussin makes 300 speeches a year, why is he not better known? Never heard of him before I ran across his book.

Sincerely

A. E. Reiber

2 DIRECTOR  
APR 8 1962  
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FBI  
APR 9 3 09 PM '62

SAC, Salt Lake City (80-225)

April 12, 1962

Director, FBI

94-47468-48

PERSONAL ATTENTION

W. CLEON SKOUSEN  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

2-Original & 1

1-Yellow

1-Mr. Belmont

1-Mr. Mohr

1-Mr. Callahan

1-Mr. Sullivan

1-Section tickler

1-J. M. Sizoo

Reurlet 4/2/62.

The Bureau has reviewed the information set forth in relet and wishes to note that the interview was well handled by SA W. Rulon Paxman.

NOTE:

The interview was conducted by SA Paxman with Dr. Stewart L. Grow, a professor at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, to determine background of pamphlet by another Brigham Young University professor, Richard D. Poll, which criticized former SA W. Cleon Skousen's book, "The Naked Communist." The interview was searching and thorough and the letter prepared by SA Paxman covering the interview presented the requested information in excellent detail. Poll's pamphlet entitled "This Trumpet Gives An Uncertain Sound" criticizes Skousen's book for its poor quality of scholarship. Grow is an established source of the Salt Lake Office. Poll reportedly is anticommunist and Poll's issue with Skousen is over lack of completely scholarly approach in Skousen's book.

No identifiable derogatory information in Bureau files re Grow and Poll.

JMS:cb  
(9)

MAILED 31  
APR 12 1962  
COMM-FBI

FBI - SALT LAKE CITY  
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APR 12 1962

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 25 1962

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
ATTN: CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

DATE: 4/2/62

FROM : SAC, SALT LAKE CITY (80-225)

SUBJECT: *W. CLEON SKOUSEN*  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Rebulet 3/22/62 pertaining to Professor RICHARD D. POLL's criticism of W. CLEON SKOUSEN's book, "The Naked Communist."

Transmitted herewith for the Bureau are the following:

1. One copy of a printed pamphlet, fifteen pages in length, entitled "THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND," by RICHARD D. POLL.
2. One copy of the "Daily Universe," a student publication of the Brigham Young University Student Body, Provo, Utah, dated Tuesday, 3/27/62.

The pamphlet "THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND" has a subcaption, "A review of W. CLEON SKOUSEN'S THE NAKED COMMUNIST."

The cover also includes the following quotation from the Director:

"Today far too many self-styled experts on communism are playing the highways of America giving erroneous and distorted information."

An examination of this pamphlet indicates that in wording it is essentially identical with the duplicated article entitled in the same manner as furnished to the Bureau by Salt Lake City letter 3/6/62. The foreword of the pamphlet uses the date of "Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, March 1962," and the foreword page reflects the pamphlet was copyrighted 1962 by RICHARD D. POLL. On page 15 a paragraph separated from the basic article itself is as follows:

- 2 ENCLOSURES
- 2 - Bureau (Enc-2) (REG.)
  - 3 - Salt Lake City  
(1--100-9651, RICHARD D. POLL)  
(1--100-8691, Public Affairs Forum of Utah County)

WRP:mhe  
(3)

APR 20 1962

CENTRAL RESEARCH  
REC'D UNIT

"Additional copies may be obtained from the author, 1159 Aspen Ave., Provo, Utah. The price, postpaid, is \$.25 per single copy; \$2.25 for 10. Quantity and trade prices available on request."

This pamphlet was obtained at the bookstore on the Brigham Young University (BYU) Campus on 3/27/62.

The 3/27/62 issue of the "Daily Universe" on page 1 announces that W. CLEON SKOUSEN will speak on the BYU Campus on 3/28/62. Page 4 of this issue carries an advertisement pertaining to Professor POLL's review of SKOUSEN's book.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] an established source, furnished the following information to SA W. RULON PAXMAN on 3/27/62:

b6  
b7C  
b7D

UTAH | Dr. RICHARD D. POLL is a Professor in the Department of History at BYU at the present time. He is considered to be a person who is basically opposed to Communism but is also opposed to SKOUSEN's approach to the fight against Communism. Dr. POLL is politically a Republican, while Dr. GROW is a Democrat. Because of this and due to the fact they consider each other to be friends, Dr. GROW and Dr. POLL have in past years on many occasions appeared under BYU and other auspices as Democrat and Republican, respectively, in connection with the discussion of various political matters, both at election times and otherwise. They have also been in each other's home on numerous occasions as friends and as fellow professors. Because of this, Dr. GROW considers he is very well acquainted with Dr. POLL. He considers Dr. POLL to be intellectually honest and completely loyal to the United States.

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Dr. POLL in the past has <sup>SPEAKER</sup> spoken on several occasions before the Public Affairs Forum of Utah County (PAFUC). In some instances he has discussed with Dr. GROW the advisability of such appearances and has also discussed this with the President of the university. Dr. POLL has expressed to Dr. GROW that if there is a Communist organization in Utah County, the PAFUC is in all probability this organization. Dr. POLL has apparently declined to discuss some subjects before the PAFUC but has accepted some invitations to speak before them. He

has done so with the feeling that an honest presentation of the issues actually involved might eventually reach some of those who attend the meetings of the PAFUC. Dr. GROW has in the past declined to appear before the group because he considers the members have such a biased point of view that it is impossible to reach them with an honest presentation of the facts. Dr. POLL has a tendency to agree with Dr. GROW to some extent but continues to try to reach this group.

It is noted the PAFUC is a Communist front organization in Utah County.

Dr. GROW has specifically discussed with Dr. POLL, POLL's reasons for issuing a review of SKOUSEN's book, "The Naked Communist." When SKOUSEN's book was first issued it was read by many of the professors in the Political Science and History Departments at BYU, including Dr. GROW and Dr. POLL. There was some discussion pertaining to the book at that time, and it was the general feeling that the scholarship evident in the book was of poor quality. It was considered that the form of the book was basically inflammatory in nature rather than objective. Dr. GROW recalls that some of the professors mentioned at the time that SKOUSEN's book differed radically in this respect from the Director's book, "Masters of Deceit." The Director's book took a moderate approach which would appeal to a thinking person, while SKOUSEN's book took an emotional approach with just enough facts to cause the unthinking person to believe that the conclusions were based on fact. The above was the general reaction of many of the professors in the Political Science and History Departments. Dr. GROW recalls that Dr. POLL was present during some of the discussions pertaining to SKOUSEN's book but does not recall POLL's specific reaction. He believes, however, that it was generally as set out above.

The BYU is operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Most of the professors in the Political Science and History Departments are members of this church, including Dr. GROW and Dr. POLL. SKOUSEN has for many years been active in this church also and has performed for the church many duties, including acting as a consultant on an unofficial but open basis with respect to Communism. The extent of SKOUSEN's activities along this line is widely known in the

church. Professors in the above two departments at BYU were fearful that "The Naked Communist" might come to be considered by members of the church as the official line of the church with respect to Communism. This fear was reinforced because of the fact that some of the authorities of the church at times quoted from this book when discussing Communism. This apprehension undoubtedly had some influence on POLL in connection with the issuance of such a review. Dr. GROW does not know why Dr. POLL considered it necessary to have this review printed but, in his opinion, this arose from the following developments:

During the period since SKOUSEN was dismissed as Chief of Police of Salt Lake City, Utah, he has become involved on almost a nation-wide basis in an anti-Communist crusade, which has linked SKOUSEN with extreme activities in this field. Included in this campaign were Anti-Communist Seminars held in Provo and Salt Lake City, Utah. Some of the professors at BYU directed a letter pertaining to the Seminar in Provo to the "Provo Daily Herald," a daily newspaper published in Provo, which deplored the approach used by these Seminars in fighting Communism. Dr. GROW believes that Dr. POLL was one of the signers of this letter which was published in the above newspaper. Thereafter some of the speakers at these Seminars gave the impression that since these professors opposed the Seminars, they were either Communists or pro-Communist. SKOUSEN was one of those who appeared at the Seminar in Provo. (It is noted that under date of 4/4/61 RICHARD D. POLL, Acting Chairman, Department of History, BYU, sent a letter to the Director pertaining to CHARLES EDGAR WOOLERY, who was connected with this Seminar. This letter was answered by the Director under date of 4/10/61.) SKOUSEN's wide anti-Communist activities resulted in greater sale for his book and greater concern among the professors of the Department of Political Science and the Department of History at BYU with respect to the book. It is Dr. GROW's opinion that this would have acted as an impetus to Dr. POLL with respect to the writing of this review.

It is common in BYU circles for a critical review to be written with respect to practically any book written by one of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Such reviews are written pertaining to books that are issued by the general authorities of this church and

with respect to books that are written by other people pertaining to church subjects. Dr. POLL's writing of a review of SKOUSEN's book is accordingly entirely in keeping with the practice at the university pertaining to books by church members. Normally such reviews are not given wide distribution and are not printed in pamphlet form. It is also normal that the circle of readers of such books is not as wide as that of SKOUSEN's book. Dr. GROW does not have information from Dr. POLL on this matter but considers this could have prompted him to have the review printed in its present form.

Sometime during the Autumn of 1961, Dr. POLL invited SKOUSEN to his home to appear before an informal group consisting principally of professors from BYU, with the Departments of Political Science and History better represented than other departments of the school. The purpose of this invitation was to ask SKOUSEN questions pertaining to his book and to give SKOUSEN an opportunity to defend the scholarship of the book. Dr. GROW was invited to this gathering, but because of another commitment, was only there during the latter part of it. He recalls that on this occasion Dr. POLL and SKOUSEN were entirely friendly toward each other. The discussion had apparently been kept on a high plane and tempers had not flared. Some of those present pressed SKOUSEN for an explanation of what they termed inaccuracy, improper conclusions and poor scholarship. SKOUSEN had a tendency to react to these objections to his book by stating something to the effect that if the questioners knew what he knew about Communism but could not put in his book, they would realize that he was justified in the conclusions he had made. This did not satisfy those present, since it in effect asked them to accept without facts statements pertaining to Communism which SKOUSEN wanted to make. SKOUSEN also on this evening indirectly appeared to infer that anyone who opposed his methods of fighting Communism was, in effect, aiding Communism. He indicated he did not consider that there was any middle ground. Dr. GROW recognizes that this is a conclusion on his part with respect to SKOUSEN, since SKOUSEN did not state this in so many words.

Based on Dr. GROW's attendance at part of the above gathering, he is of the opinion that already at that time Dr. POLL had completed to a great extent his analysis of SKOUSEN's

SU 80-225

book. He knows that subsequent thereto Dr. POLL reviewed for various groups material which he considered left SKOUSEN's book open to question as a quality book on Communism. Dr. GROW does not know that anyone in particular urged Dr. POLL to have this material printed or made available in written form but presumes some of those present, on hearing Dr. POLL's analysis, would suggest such a course.

Dr. GROW has seen Dr. POLL's review in duplicated form such as was furnished to the Bureau by Salt Lake City letter of 3/6/62 and in its present printed form.

Dr. GROW understands that Dr. POLL and SKOUSEN are still on generally friendly terms and the publication of this review has not caused any serious breach between them.

b6  
b7C  
b7D



94-471248  
ENCLOSURE

# Daily Universe



Vol. 14, No. 121

Tuesday, March 27, 1962

Provo, Utah

## Authority on Russ sets Y talk



**W. CLEON SKOUSEN**

W. Cleon Skousen, author of "The Naked Communist," will address the Wednesday devotional at 10 a.m. in the Smith Fieldhouse.

**MR. SKOUSEN** has spent the major portion of his life in the service of the LDS Church and in the FBI and is now lecturing on Communism at state and local conventions.

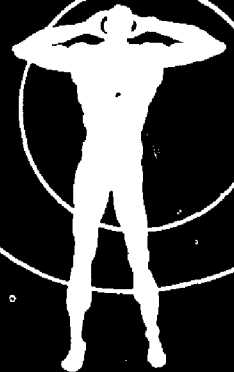
Reviewers have called "The Naked Communist," "the most powerful book on Communism since J. Edgar Hoover's 'Masters of Deceit.'"

**BORN IN** Raymond, Alta., Canada, he attended school in Canada, Mexico and the United States. He also spent two years in Europe.

At the age of 17 he was called on a two-year mission to the British Isles. Toward the end of his mission he served as district president in Northern Ireland.

In 1935, while attending law school at George Washington University, he entered the FBI. He graduated from law school in 1940 with an LL.B. degree and was admitted to practice before the District Court and the Circuit Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia.

# THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND



"Today far too many self-styled experts on communism are plying the highways of America giving erroneous and distorted information."

J. EDGAR HOOVER

a  
review  
of

W. CLEON SKOUSEN'S  
**THE NAKED COMMUNIST**

by

**RICHARD D. POLL**

*"For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound,  
who shall prepare himself to the battle?"*

I Corinthians 14:8

# This Trumpet Gives An Uncertain Sound

A

Review

of

W. Cleon Skousen's

THE NAKED COMMUNIST

by

RICHARD D. POLL

## FOREWORD

Because I am listed in the preface of *The Naked Communist* as having helped with research at Brigham Young University from which the book ultimately developed, I have felt impelled to set forth some of the reasons why I do not wish to be understood as endorsing the volume. This lack of enthusiasm is widely shared by colleagues in history, political science and economics in the universities of Utah and elsewhere. Louis C. Midgley, Edwin B. Morrell, Melvin P. Mabey and Van L. Perkins made particularly helpful suggestions. The Utah Citizens for Positive American Goals, the Salt Lake Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and many friends encouraged publication and helped to meet the initial costs. Sincere thanks to all of these. The responsibility for the review is, of course, solely mine. If it provokes a closer study of the realities of Communism and a more dispassionate discussion of ways to meet the Red challenge, it will have served its purpose.

RICHARD D. POLL

Brigham Young University  
Provo, Utah  
March 1962

Copyright 1962 by Richard D. Poll

## THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND

### A Review

W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Communist*, 9th ed., 1961. 408 pp.

Although *The Naked Communist* is a best seller in the Anti-Communist movement, it has disqualifying shortcomings as a source of information and as a guide for action against the Communist menace.

Objections to the book include:

1. The inadequacy and inaccuracy of its scholarship.
2. The incorrectness of its analysis of Communism.
3. The inaccuracy of its historical narrative.
4. The unsoundness of its program for governmental action.
5. The extreme partisanship of its program for individual action.
6. The objectionable character of the national movement of which it is a part.

In the following analysis, only rather obvious errors and distortions are cited, to avoid the necessity of detailed explanation and annotation. Every assertion about historical fact and political theory can be documented from reliable authorities. A truly scholarly dissection of *The Naked Communist* would be voluminous.

#### 1. Inadequacy and inaccuracy of scholarship.

While W. Cleon Skousen admittedly bases his claim to expertness on Communism primarily on his FBI experience and continuing contact with inside sources, inaccessible to ordinary scholars, one might expect his book to show familiarity with the works and authors generally regarded as authorities on Communism, Russia and contemporary history. It does not.

The 9th edition of *The Naked Communist*, latest available, lists 109 bibliographical entries (pp. 379-384), only 16 of which have been published since 1940. R. N. Carew Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism: An Introduction* (1957), one of the best short treatments of its subject, has a critical bibliography of 155 items, 98 of which are post-1940; Skousen cites only 16 works found in the Carew Hunt list. Even more substantial differences are found between the Skousen bibliography and those of scholars like Sidney Hook, Henry B. Mayo and Merle Fainsod.

Queried on this point, Skousen has admitted that most of his research was done years ago. Most recent scholarship, he states, can safely be ignored because the academic experts of today will be proved as wrong as the experts of earlier years. Only a very limited group of ex-Communists, ex-FBI undercover agents,

ex-military leaders and sensational journalists appear acceptable to Skousen as witnesses on the Communist conspiracy.

Yet the book projects an air of scholarship by freely using such phrases as "experts on Marxism have known" (p. 5), "diplomatic strategists advocated" (p. 126), "official reports tell" (p. 123), "economists have pointed out" (p. 326), and "leaders in literally hundreds of experiments concur" (p. 344). There are at least a hundred such phrases, almost never annotated even where quotation marks are used; 61 quotations are not documented at all.

Use of quotations is frequently questionable. Minor discrepancies occur in citations of the Communist Manifesto (pp. 45, 47, 67). Lenin's famous testament (p. 121) is not accurately rendered, and Otto Ruhle's characterization of Karl Marx (p. 9) is substantially distorted by omitting part of the passage. Dmitry Manuilsky's oft-quoted statement, "... we shall smash them with our clenched fist," appears twice (pp. 208, 288), despite questions about its authenticity; the second citation is vaguely footnoted as "*Pravda*, November, 1931," although the head of the Slavic and Central European Division of the Reference Department of the Library of Congress declares that the quotation does not appear in this or any other published Soviet source with which his office is familiar.

The famous "Communist Timetable of Conquest" is described by Senator William F. Knowland, who first published it in the *Congressional Record* (Vol. 100, pp. 5707-08), as "some information which came to me purporting to be an outline of Mao Tse-tung's memorandum on the new program for world revolution, carried to Moscow by Chou En-lai in March of 1953." *The Naked Communist* (p. 254) declares that the document was captured by U. S. military intelligence and that it represents settled policy: "... Red leaders decided to set up a timetable of conquest for the entire world and then take it continent by continent."

Parenthetically, this "Timetable"—a staple in the professional Anti-Communist diet—begins by crediting all the Communist successes to the "profound leadership" and "able and correct guidance" of "Comrade Stalin." It predicts: "By 1960 China's military, economic and industrial power will be so developed that with a mere show of force by the Soviet Union and China, the ruling clique of Japan will capitulate." It also foretells: "With Asia and Africa disconnected with the capitalist countries in Europe, there will be a total economic collapse in Western Europe." The boast that "Twenty years from now [1973] world revolution will be an accomplished fact!" squares badly with Khrushchev's recent announcement to the 22nd Communist Party Congress that in 1980 the Soviet Union will be economically ahead of the still functioning and still capitalistic United States. As prophecy, the "Red Timetable" hardly seems worth the attention which Skousen accords it.

## 2. Incorrectness of analysis of Communism.

In his zeal to demonstrate the absolute evil of Communism, Skousen describes Marxist-Leninist theory in terms to which serious exception can be taken. Since Communism, accurately described, is no less repugnant to the American way of life than the Skousen version, only a few inaccuracies will be cited.

"Communism undertakes to replace Judaic-Christian morals with a complete absence of morals." (p. 52) Communism argues that morals are relative to the stage of development of human society and has different sets for capitalist and Communistic societies.

"Everything is a product of accumulated accident. There is no design. There is no law." (p. 354) Communism is strongly deterministic and predicts its own victory on the basis of the laws of history which are fundamental in Marxist thought.

The indiscriminate lumping of all forms of atheism, agnosticism, relativism, collectivism, totalitarianism, nihilism and Hegelian idealism into a category called "materialism" permits identifying all forms of wickedness with Marxism, but it does not produce a clear or accurate conception of Communist "dialectical materialism." (pp. 33-42, 347-78)

The exposure of Communist fallacies (pp. 61-88) ignores the substantial changes which have occurred in the content of that ideology over the years. We are reminded that the goal of world revolution remains, but we read nothing about the drastic and repeated revamping of doctrine on such basic matters as nationalism, family life, wages and distribution, property ownership, party organization and tactics, coexistence with capitalism, and the sequence and timetable of revolution. The transformation of Communism from a worldwide revolutionary crusade into a tool of Soviet and Chinese foreign policies is extensively developed (pp. 109-54), but the logical conclusion that the threat of Communism to the United States now lies more in the realm of power politics than ideological subversion is rejected. Presumably the recent macabre campaign against Stalin and the Sino-Soviet wrangle over Albania are simply stage maneuvers to deceive the West.

More reliable analyses of Communism are to be found in Carew Hunt, already cited, and in Henry B. Mayo, *Introduction to Marxist Theory* (1960). Less technical but helpful are the paperbacks by Sidney Hook, *Marx and the Marxists* (1955); Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, *What We Must Know About Communism* (1958); Alfred G. Meyer, *Communism* (1960); and Arthur P. Mendel (ed.), *Essential Works of Marxism* (1961). J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit* (1958) is very valuable on Communism in America.

### 3. Inaccuracy of historical narrative.

Since none of the standard treatments of Russian history, recent United States history or recent international relations is apparently utilized, the limitations of *The Naked Communist* as history can be expected to show. They do.

Some of the discrepancies are minor matters of fact, like the identification of Bakunin's anarchism and the Russian Populist movement with Marxism (pp. 24, 91-93) and the declaration that 46,000,000 Russian peasants were still serfs in 1885 (p. 90). Serfdom was abolished in 1861, but the condition of the peasants improved very slowly and populism, anarchism, Marxism and several other forms of radicalism were propagated among them in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

More serious are interpretations of history in which Skousen breaks with most scholarly writers. Very doubtful generalizations include:



1. United States recognition prevented the overthrow of Stalin in 1933, (pp. 124-26) From the assertion in one journalistic biography that Stalin faced imminent overthrow in 1932 and the obvious fact that he was in control of affairs by 1934, Skousen draws the conclusion that U. S. recognition explains the shift. The difference between stating that recognition was one of several factors which improved Stalin's prospects and inferring that he might have fallen if recognition had been withheld may seem a subtle one, but it is the kind of distinction which a reader of this book must constantly make. It is the distinction between Skousen's "devil theory" of history and objective analysis of the multiple causes of important historical developments.

2. "World War II was fomented and used by the Russian leaders" as part of their strategy of Communist expansion. (pp. 155-61) One Soviet officer who defected prior to 1939 is relied on for this interpretation. That Stalin feared war and maneuvered ruthlessly to turn Hitler toward the West is clear, but that he wanted war and expected to direct it toward world revolution is contradicted by the surprise, dismay and almost panic with which he reacted to the German attack in 1941.

3. "Anyone familiar with the Communist Constitution of Russia will recognize in the United Nations Charter a similar format." (p. 172) This is on a par with the declaration that a present goal of Communist policy is to "Promote the UN as the only hope for mankind." (p. 260) The similarity which Skousen sees is between the "fervent declaration of democratic principles" in each document and the "constitutional restriction and procedural limitation" which follow. The preamble and "checks and balances" in the United States Constitution can with equal validity be cited to show that the UN Charter follows our model. But the author of *The Naked Communist* is so intent on making the UN a part of the Communist conspiracy that he ignores the obvious and continuing Soviet effort to discredit and destroy that organization.

4. The Communist victory in China was caused by American "stupidity, incompetence or worse." (pp. 181-89, 251) Skousen belongs to that group of Americans who are convinced that our country can never lose except when someone deliberately chooses to give in. There is no place in his world view for circumstances beyond control, dilemmas, or even honest errors in judgment. That the Communist conquest of China was a disaster is clear, but that it could have been prevented by anything less than a military intervention so great as to have been against our national interest is still disputed by many Americans who are neither "stupid, incompetent or worse."

5. The Castro victory in Cuba resulted from the same "stupidity," incompetence or worse" in Washington, Batista being described in very apologetic terms. (pp. 237-52) A single highly partisan and sensationalistic work is given as authority. The comments made in the preceding paragraph apply here, too; Batista and Castro were a choice of evils, and against the background of a Latin America in genuine political, economic and social revolution, the policy preference for Castro does not require treason for explanation. The fact that the United States can crush Castro by force if it becomes in our vital interest to do so, argues against panicking while we try to help his own follies to destroy him and the Communist beachhead in Latin America.

6. "Without our tolerance and help the Communist empire would never have become the second strongest power in the earth." (p. 288) This is the book's historical thesis, and the eminent British historian, D. W. Brogan, had something like it in mind when he wrote during the McCarthy era: "Many, very many Americans, it seems to me, find it inconceivable that an American policy, announced and carried out by the American government, acting with the support of the American people, does not immediately succeed. If it does not, this, they feel, must be because of stupidity or treason." (Quoted by James E. Clayton in *The Washington Post*, August 8, 1961). Apart from its inaccuracy, the "scapegoat theory" of history blinds us to real problems, real causes, and practical approaches to problem-solving.

The pervasive insistence that at almost every crucial juncture since 1933 the United States has taken the wrong course in her dealings with Russia and Communism, that in every case a better alternative was available, and that the failure to pursue that alternative reflects "stupidity, incompetence or worse," is not only historically objectionable but almost certain to undermine public confidence in our fundamental governmental institutions and processes.

#### 4. Unsoundness of program for governmental action.

Its recommendations for action are paramount objections to *The Naked Communist*. Skousen's own excuse for inaccuracies which have been pointed out to him is that the important job, after all, is to alert people to the Red menace. But if the programs proposed for the aroused citizenry are improper, even dangerous, then Goethe's observation becomes timely:

"There is nothing so terrible as ignorance in action."

The Skousen formulas for governmental and individual action are set forth in Chapter XII, "The Future Task." (9th ed., pp. 253-88) The chapter begins with the dubious "Communist Timetable," already discussed. By the book's own analysis, *none* of the *specific* commitments in the timetable has yet been achieved; still the conclusion is reached: "Some phases of this plan of conquest have been frustrated, but other phases are far ahead of expectations. Considered overall, the Communist Timetable of Conquest is alarmingly close to being right on schedule." (p. 258)

Next is a 45-point list of "Current Communist Goals" (pp. 259-62), which needs only to be compared with J. Edgar Hoover's *The Communist Party Line*, to reveal how wide of the mark Skousen is. (Hoover's statement was published on September 23, 1961, by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as *Senate Document No. 59*, 87th Cong., 1st Sess.) Items 4, 9, 11, 22, 38, 39 and 45 on the Skousen list are incredible. A number of the others are given unwarranted application in the programs which this book advocates.

Skousen's proposals for governmental action against the Communist threat abroad are: (pp. 263-275)

1. Expel Russia and her satellites from the UN.
2. Sever diplomatic relations with all the Communist nations.
3. Establish a complete economic blockade of the Communist world.

This program will purportedly aggravate economic distress within the Red bloc, cause satellite uprisings, and lead to the speedy collapse of the whole Communist system. To use Skousen's phrase, this is the way "to pull the blustering bully down." (p. 5)

That the program has virtually no acceptance outside the professional Anti-Communist movement invites skepticism. Obvious questions include:

How will the cooperation of more than 90 other non-Communist nations be secured, without which the program cannot be implemented? Will all non-cooperators be added to the quarantined group? Is this not a program for isolating the United States, rather than isolating our adversary? Even if it were in the interest of the United States, it is not within our power to impose such a program on the UN or the world community.

What justifies the confidence in non-recognition and non-intercourse when they have consistently failed to produce desired results in the past? Non-intercourse precipitated the War of 1812; non-recognition had no measurable effect on Russia from 1917 to 1933; and non-recognition and non-intercourse have neither intimidated nor overthrown the Red Chinese regime.

What is Skousen's evidence of the economic vulnerability of the Communist bloc? Their third of the world has abundant manpower, lacks few basic resources, and is, at a terrible price, developing technology and industrial capacity. To outdistance the Soviets in production competition and make a lie of Khrushchev's boast to bury us is essential and within our power, but economic warfare has little to contribute to this generation-long race. There is a place for selective economic pressures in stimulating negotiations or in adding to the difficulties of weak governments. But even the blocking of food sales from a China in famine is as likely to increase the terrorism and belligerence of the Red rulers as it is to produce their overthrow.

What happens if our author is wrong and his program simply divides the world totally without producing revolution in the Communist part? Orwell's 1984 might be one result; a war of desperation might be another. If the Communist leaders are as ideologically dedicated as this book insists, there is every likelihood that they will prefer war to surrender. If they are, as much evidence suggests, hard-headed political realists, then they can best be dealt with by programs which do not reduce the choices to "all or nothing at all."

##### **5. Extreme partisanship of program for individual action.**

This is the most undesirable feature of *The Naked Communist*, because here Skousen makes clear what he is *really* after, and this is what too many patriotic and well-meaning citizens are accepting as true Americanism.

*The thesis is: "Fighting Communism, Socialism and the subversion of constitutional government is everybody's job." (p. 275).*

*The technique is to define anything which disagrees with Skousen's ultra-conservative opinions as "Communism, Socialism and subversion," and so to equate patriotism and morality with reading certain one-sided books and supporting a highly partisan political, economic and social creed.*

The section entitled "What Can the Ordinary Individual Do? (pp. 275-88) spells things out in detail. Here are a few illustrations:

*From "Suggestions to Parents" (pp. 276-77):*

"Do not fall for the 'permissive' school of psychology which says discipline will harm human development. Such thinking produces hoodlums with mal-adjusted personalities who are likely to fall for every 'ism' that comes along." Because Skousen disproves of modern psychology and "progressive education," he sets up a "straw man" which corresponds to no responsible viewpoint in either field and then makes a patriotic requirement out of knocking it over.

"Be active in PTA. If you are not, Communists and centralized planners will take over." Making synonyms out of such words as "Communist, centralized planner, socialist, welfare stater, liberal" and even "internationalist" and "de-segregationist" is a standard technique of the extreme right; Skousen avoids only the last of these in his vocabulary of un-Americanisms. J. Edgar Hoover and other unimpeachable patriots have warned that the linking of all types of political reformism or dissent with Communism does a real disservice to the country.

"Where you have older children, make current events part of the dinner table talk. Be quick to point out left-wing slanting of news, TV or radio broadcasts. There is far more of this slanting than most people realize." No names are named, it being a conventional alarmist technique to suggest that danger is everywhere by locating it nowhere. From his argument elsewhere, one must infer that "left-wing slanting" means speaking without emotion about social security, labor unions or Nehru and that the loyal commentators are Dan Smoot, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Clarence Manion.

*From "Suggestions for Teachers" (pp. 277-80):*

"Beware of those who come pretending to help education when they are trying to seize control of education. Socialist and Communist planners have ambitions to eliminate all local control. . . ." "Be alert to the fact that education was infiltrated by the Socialist-Communist contingent over thirty-five years ago. . . . Because they were hard workers they gained sweeping control of some of our most respected institutions." Again, no names, no evidence, and the lumping together of diverse radicalisms as a single, omnipresent enemy. John Dewey, Columbia Teachers College and advocates of Federal aid to education as as liable to criticism as other elements in our free society, but they are not products of the Communist conspiracy.

"Watch for slanted passages in textbooks. Socialist authors have invaded the textbook field. . . . 'Brainwashing in the High Schools,' by E. Merrill Root, is an analysis of 11 American history books which reflect the destructive left-wing analysis." To Skousen, "socialist authors" are apparently writers who find anything wrong with American policies and leaders prior to 1932 or anything right about them since the advent of the New Dealers. Root's chauvinism is so blatant that he objects to applying the term "imperialism" to our country's relations with the Philippines and Panama at the turn of the century. Other titles suggested for teachers by the author of *The Naked Communist* (pp. 278-79) are of the same intemperate quality.

"Encourage patriotic speakers at school assemblies. Excellent films are also available." A Skousen favorite is "Communism on the Map," which is now being replaced by an up-dated version called "Communism 1961." The replacement corrects some of the factual errors but stresses the same grim theme that the world is already mostly lost to Communism-socialism-welfare statism-liberalism. The film's producer, Glenn A. Green, has since become a field representative of the John Birch Society.

*From "Suggestions for Businessmen" (pp. 281-83):*

"Work for a more equitable tax structure which is not arbitrary and confiscatory." This is a meritorious suggestion, but of limited relevance to fighting Communism, unless the author belongs to that school which brands the income tax as a Communist device which ought to be abolished.

"Be careful not to contribute to an organization until you know it is a bona fide patriotic group. . . . If you are a member of the American Security Council, you can check on any organization or any individual through their files." Skousen is field director of the American Security Council, which declares itself to be the largest civilian clearing house for "factual information about Communism and other statist activities." It maintains files on a very large number of people who have been active in liberal, radical or genuinely subversive enterprises and draws no clearer distinctions between these categories than does its field representative.

*From "Suggestions to the Press" (pp. 285-86):*

"In fulfilling the task of exposing crime, corruption and inefficiency in the American culture, be careful not to destroy confidence in American institutions." Apparently no such responsibility rests upon those who describe thirty years of American history and government in terms of "stupidity, incompetence or worse."

*From "Suggestions for Ministers" (pp. 286-88):*

"The churches became a major target for Communist-Socialist infiltration many years ago. These people were successful in capturing many key positions in a number of important religious organizations. Some religious leaders openly advocate and defend Communist principles." Skousen is no readier than his Anti-Communist associates to name names or cite evidence to support this vague and comprehensive attack on church leadership in America. Cartha D. DeLoach, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, very recently "assailed persons 'who go about the country' charging that such fields as religion, education and labor were being infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers." Strenuous and devious Red efforts continue, he told a seminar of the American Bar Association, but there has been no substantial infiltration of these areas. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, January 28, 1962, p. 14A)

"Be alert to detect those who use 'Social Christianity' to cover up the fact that they are not Christians at all." Skousen's inference that Christians who do not share his own rigorous fundamentalism are probably subversive is unfair, and his insistence on linking loyalty with religious commitment is unwarranted. Communism is certainly a dire threat to organized religion, but it is also a threat

to the unchurched, the pagan, the agnostic, the humanist, and even the atheist who believes in human freedom. Sincere and patriotic opponents of Communism may be found in all these categories.

"Be alert to the drive by certain analytical psychiatrists to have ministers accept their amoral philosophy." This should be considered in connection with Skousen's statement (p. 262) that one of the Communist goals is to "Dominate the psychiatric profession and use mental health laws as a means of gaining coercive control over those who oppose Communist goals." To the person who sees the psychiatrist's couch as a tool of subversion, the conclusion readily follows: "Today Communism is advancing on all fronts." (p. 288)

Finally, from "Suggestions for Students" (pp. 280-81):

"When you run across dedicated Socialists, remember that the only difference between a Socialist and a Communist is the method of takeover. . . . In reality the two are twins."

The writer of this review is no Socialist (or Communist, for that matter),\* but he insists that this kind of blurred thinking ill-equips students or adult citizens to make the accurate distinctions and judgments essential in answering the tremendous question: "What *are* the proper functions of government in modern society?" Because Skousen unceasingly hammers the point that every increase in governmental activity is a step down the Ambush Trail to collectivist despotism, examination of that argument seems appropriate here.

First, it is important to remember that the term "socialist" has a very specialized meaning in Marxist-Leninist thought as it has evolved in the Union of Soviet *Socialist* Republics. It is the system which prevails during the "dictatorship of the proletariat" stage of history, when wage and class distinctions and police state measures are regarded as necessary and proper. This "socialism" does not precede the Communist seizure of power, it *follows* it. As early as 1936 Stalin said that the USSR was nearing the close of this "transitional" period; as late as 1961 Khrushchev said it again. Actually, the stateless, classless society of "pure communism" is no nearer in the Soviet Union than it was 40 years ago, and there is much to suggest that it is unattainable by the road which the Communist regimes are currently following.

In any case, this is not the meaning which is given to the word "socialism" by those, like the author of *The Naked Communist*, who identify socialism with Communism in their propaganda against governmental programs with which they disagree. They mean "socialism" in the generalized sense of governmental ownership or direction of the means of production and distribution of goods or services, and they feverently avow that all such measures lead inexorably to Red dictatorship.

Three historically demonstrable points need to be made about this contention:

1. Socialism in a comprehensive or "blueprint for Utopia" sense has never had very great appeal in the United States and has very few adherents

\*I have been a delegate to the Utah State Republican Party Conventions in 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1960, and I am convinced that the need for *responsible* conservatism was never greater in America. RDP

today. What numerically significant groups in our country are at present advocating the nationalization of any sector of our production and distribution system, or even any substantial extension of controls? The basic commitment of the whole American people to a private enterprise economy is probably stronger now than at any other time since the Civil War.

2. Socialism in the more pragmatic sense of using government to support or provide certain specific goods or services not satisfactorily obtainable elsewhere has *not* been regarded by any past American generation as incompatible with our basic ideals about life, liberty and property. From public schools and post offices we have moved with changing circumstances to national and state parks, freeways and social security, being satisfied that no fundamental threat to liberty exists as long as we can modify or abolish programs if we wish, or "throw the rascals out" if they administer them too badly. We have not regarded *our* government as an enemy, as Skousen and his fellow rightists apparently do.

3. The strongest and most vigorous democracies in the world—and our best allies—are nations which combine a high degree of private enterprise with broad public programs of a "welfare state" character. In all of these the Communists have declined in numbers and influence since 1945, and the likelihood of any of them succumbing to Red subversion is virtually nil. The danger of Communist revolution is greatest today in those areas where governments are most indifferent to human needs. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that *The Naked Communist* has no substantial suggestions on how to prevent the Communists from capturing the "revolution of rising expectations" which is now sweeping these areas.

This reviewer has repeatedly invited Skousen and other advocates of the "liberalism-is-socialism-is-communism" persuasion to name a single nation in human history which has traversed the Ambush Trail from democratic "welfare statism" to Communism. The invitation is again extended here.

There are valid and impressive conservative arguments against many current proposals to extend the functions of government in such directions as education, resource development, agriculture and medical care. But the contention that they lead inevitably to dictatorship, and that those who support them are therefore, wittingly or unwittingly, helping the Communist conspiracy, is *not* one of them. In promoting the viewpoint, *The Naked Communist* makes no contribution to enlightened public discussion of domestic political issues or to the development of healthy citizenship attitudes among students.

#### **6. Objectionable character of Skousen's Anti-Communist movement.**

Much of the market for *The Naked Communist* is in connection with "Anti-Communist Seminars," "Freedom Forums" and "Project Alerts," in which inaccurate history and negative programs are expounded in an evangelical blend of fear, hatred and pulse-pounding enthusiasm. Participants are admonished to study Communism, and they end up buying tracts by Gerald L. K. Smith and his racist cohorts, confessionals of ex-Communists, spy stories and other volumes which excite more than they inform. They are aroused to *fight Communism*, and they end up demanding U. S. withdrawal from the UN and the firing of

teachers who advocate federal aid to education. They are solicited to contribute to the Anti-Communist crusade, and they end up subsidizing pamphlets calling for the repeal of the income tax and the impeachment of Chief Justice Warren. Skousen has apologized for the fact that, in one of his own rallies in Los Angeles on December 13, 1961, a speaker said that the Chief Justice deserves to be hanged, but one can still question the usefulness of an "educational campaign" which uses men of such opinions as teachers.

The fact that *The Naked Communist* is more temperate in tone than much of the literature with which it keeps company and that it has some praiseworthy things to say about religion, democracy and the American economic system should not be permitted to obscure the fact that *it is one of the most successful instruments in a propaganda campaign which blurs the REAL issue of Communism and perverts genuine Americanism.*

To witness against *The Naked Communist* and the ultra-conservative movement in which its author is a persuasive advocate, these statements are submitted in conclusion:

Editorial, "What Americanism Must Mean," *The Deseret News*, October 28, 1961, p. 6.

"The Growing Interest in Americanism being displayed in Utah and elsewhere is highly commendable. But certain precautions must be observed if the dangers of extremism are to be avoided.

"In this regard, the State Advisory Committee on Adult Education in American Citizenship put its finger on a vital point the other day when it noted that citizenship requires more than just anti-communism.

"In other words, it's not enough merely to be against something. What we're for is far more important.

"This point can't be emphasized too strongly, especially in view of the advent of individuals and groups that are arousing the public by stressing what we're fighting against but are neglecting what we're fighting for. This can be dangerous, especially if we sacrifice our own traditions and values in a mistaken effort to 'fight fire with fire.'

"Most of the things we stand for are embodied in our divinely inspired Constitution of the United States; others are traditions of time-tested value.

"We're for free speech and a free press. These rights were not intended merely to permit expressions of support for whatever established authorities or the majority of people decide is proper. These rights are designed to protect those who disagree with the majority, who dissent from the established order, who advance new and perhaps unorthodox ideas.

"We're for the right to dissent, the right to express all opinions regardless of whether they are right or wrong. The dangers of forbidding such a right were noted by John Stuart Mill, who said:

"If the opinion is right, men are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.



hysteria, false alarms, misplaced apprehension by many of our citizens. We need enlightenment about communism—but this information must be factual, accurate and not tailored to echo personal idiosyncrasies. To quote an old aphorism, we need more light and less heat." (*ABA Journal*)

"Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.

"These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them." (*Senate Doc. No. 59*)

When such substantial and conservative journals as the *Deseret News*, *Salt Lake Tribune* (November 5, 1961), *Newsweek* (December 4, 1961), *Time* (December 8, 1961) and *Life* (December 1, 1961) and such responsible citizens as J. Edgar Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy raise their voices against the Skousen approach to patriotism, this reviewer feels no qualms of academic or civic conscience in passing negative judgment on *The Naked Communist*.

Additional copies may be obtained from the author, 1159 Aspen Ave., Provo, Utah. The price, postpaid, is \$.25 per single copy; \$2.25 for 10. Quantity and trade prices available on request.

REC- 42

94-47468-49

April 17, 1962

Sister Mary Shaun  
Notre Dame Convent  
681 Lawrence Road  
Trenton 8, New Jersey

My dear Sister:

Your letter of April 11th has been received, and I can understand the interest which prompted you to write.

I welcome the opportunity to make it perfectly clear that former Special Agents of the FBI are not necessarily experts on communism. Some of them have sought to capitalize on their former employment with this Bureau for the purpose of establishing themselves as such authorities. I am firmly convinced there are too many self-styled experts on communism, without valid credentials and without any access whatsoever to classified, factual data, who are engaging in rumormongering and hurling false and wholly unsubstantiated allegations against people whose views differ from their own. This makes more difficult the task of the professional investigator.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way.

The FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, individual or publication. In view of this, I am sure you will understand why it is not possible for me to comment in the manner you have indicated relative to the other individual you mentioned. Likewise, the same reasons preclude me from commenting on publications not prepared

SEE NOTE & ENCLOSURES NEXT PAGE

JCF:doc/ear

(4)

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Callahan  
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Evans  
Malone  
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*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

Sister Mary Shaun

[REDACTED] Bureau. May I suggest, however, that in your personal evaluation  
any organization or publication you give careful consideration  
to and whether they are being achieved through orderly,  
means.

Enclosed is some literature I hope you will find to be of  
interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

**Enclosures (4)**

The Courage of Free Men (2-22-62 Speech)  
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!  
Communism and The Knowledge To Combat It!  
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?

NOTE: Bufiles contain no derogatory nor additional pertinent information  
regarding Sister Shaun with whom we have had limited correspondence. Last  
outgoing 4-12-61. Reprints not being duplicated.

JCF:doc

(c)

TRUE COPY

Notre Dame Convent  
681 Lawrence Road  
Trenton 8, New Jersey

April 11, 1962

Dear Sir;

A recent pamphlet on Communism warned readers to be aware of "experts" on Communism who had been former members of the F. B. I. Having read "The Naked Communist" by Skousen, a former member of the F. B. I., I would appreciate your opinion on the warning as well as Skousen and his book. If it wouldn't be too much additional trouble I would be grateful to know your opinion of Dr Fred Schwarz, his book "You Can Trust the Communists" and his Anti-Communism Crusade.

We are incorporating a course on Communism in our history classes at the present time but much of the literature appearing from day to day is often contradictory and creates new problems.

I would be most grateful for your advice in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Sister Mary Shaun

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Notre Dame Convent  
681 Lawrence Road  
Trenton 8, New Jersey

April 11, 1962

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

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for your advice in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Mary Thann

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April 26, 1962

Dr. John E. Olson, Jr.  
Glendora Medical Center  
118 West Alosta Avenue  
Glendora, California

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REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Dear Dr. Olson:

Your letter of April 19, 1962, with enclosure, has been received, and I want to thank you for your kind sentiments and gracious comments concerning my administration of the FBI. I am glad to know of your interest in my book, "Masters of Deceit," and literature issued by this Bureau.

With respect to the publication you enclosed, I am unable, as a matter of policy, to comment on any item not prepared by this Bureau. I am sure you will understand my position in this regard.

Relative to your inquiry on my article which appeared in the February, 1962, issue of the "American Bar Association Journal," I had in mind those individuals who have not taken the time to inform themselves about the strategy, fallacies and aims of communism. Too often such individuals are motivated by an incorrect understanding of the true facts which, of course, leads to false judgments and erroneous conclusions. In this regard, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual.

In view of your interest, enclosed is a complete text of this article, together with some other material I hope will be of assistance to you in your study of the communist menace.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (5) (See note and enclosures next page)  
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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. John E. Olson, Jr.

Enclosures (5)

Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?

"Faith in God--Our Answer To Communism"

What You Can Do To Fight Communism

4-17-62 Internal Security Statement

Let's Fight Communism Sanely!

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. The author of the publication he enclosed, Richard D. Poll, wrote to the Bureau in April, 1961, requesting information on an individual he believed had been a former employee. This letter was acknowledged on 4-10-61 and he was advised we had no record of such an individual. The publication has been called to our attention in the past and the quotation of the Director's on the cover is taken from Mr. Hoover's article entitled "Shall It Be Law or Tyranny?" and it is correct. The speech by Assistant Director DeLoach which correspondent refers to was made in St. Louis on 1-26-62 before a meeting of the American Bar Association.



Hours by appointment

JOHN E. OLSON, JR., M.D.  
Glendora Medical Center  
118 West Alosta Avenue  
Glendora, California

April 19, 1962

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director of the FBI  
Washington D.C.

W Cleon Skousen

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am inclosing a recent publication, THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND, by Richard D. Poll. You are quoted on the front cover as follows:

"Today far too many self-styled experts on communism are playing the highways of America giving erroneous and distorted information."

a  
Review  
of

The author fails to quote the warning you also gave pertaining to our youth and education in THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE, Senate Document No. 59, September 23, 1961. I quote:

"While minimizing the influence of conservative campus groups, the party finds considerable encouragement in the growth of what it describes as 'liberal student political parties' and 'Marxist- and Socialist-oriented groups' on college campuses throughout the country."

You see I have also read THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE and THE NAKED COMMUNIST, and I certainly do not get the implication from your excellent advice that the author attempts to convey in his critique against THE NAKED COMMUNIST and its author, W. Cleon Skousen. THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND appears to me to be a direct attempt to discredit THE NAKED COMMUNIST and W. Cleon Skousen. You seem to be quoted out of context as to direct meaning of your statement.

In the University of Utah student publication, THE DAILY UTAH CHRONICLE, dated April 13, 1962, there is an article entitled THE ROUND TABLE by Chuck Akerlow, Chronicle Columnist. This article is a biased review of Professor Poll's critique against THE NAKED COMMUNIST. The author also concludes his review with your quotation, the direct implication being given that your remarks refer to W. Cleon Skousen and THE NAKED COMMUNIST.

On page 10 of THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND, the following statement is made quoting one of your assistants:

"Skousen is no readier than his Anti-Communist associates to name names or cite evidence to support his vague and comprehensive attack on Church leadership in America. Cartha DeLoach, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, very recently 'assailed persons who go about the country' charging that such fields as religion, education and labor were being infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers." Strenuous and devious Red efforts continue, he told a seminar of the

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American Bar Association, but there has been no substantial infiltration of these areas. (Salt Lake Tribune, January 28, 1962, p. 14A)"

The implied meaning given by the author to this statement does not appear to be in harmony with your testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, March 6, 1961, pertaining to "Communist front and Communist infiltrated organizations."

I quote your testimony:

"They have infiltrated every conceivable sphere of activity; youth groups; radio, television, and motion picture industries; church, school and educational and cultural groups; the press; nationality minority groups and civil and political units."

I would certainly appreciate clarification of the apparent misuse of your statements and those of your assistant, Cartha D. DeLoach, as they pertain to W. Cleon Skousen and THE NAKED COMMUNIST if your position allows you to do so. I would certainly like to know if the "self-styled" experts to which you refer includes W. Cleon Skousen. I would also appreciate any comments you would be allowed to make referable to THE NAKED COMMUNIST.

I am not a member of the John Birch Society, nor do I intend to join. I try to withhold judgment if I have no factual knowledge. I am Vice-President of our local school board, and am an active member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. I have read fairly extensive in an effort to inform myself about Communism. Your numerous publications have been a source of knowledge and truth. I have always felt MASTERS OF DECEIT and THE NAKED COMMUNIST go hand in hand, and I always advise anyone asking me about Communism to start with MASTERS OF DECEIT and follow with THE NAKED COMMUNIST. I have read numerous government pamphlets and reports, and books by reliable former counter-spies. One of the most intriguing books on methods of operation by the Communists is THE REDS TAKE A CITY by John W. Riley, Jr., and Wilbur Schramm, 1951. It pertains to how the Reds took Seoul, all from their own captured documents. It substantiates everything in your book.

In closing may I conclude by saying that I see nothing wrong with encouraging people to become informed about Communism out of the best books available. The study should be kept at an educational level. I am well aware that the President of our Church, David O. McKay, recommended that every member of the Church read THE NAKED COMMUNIST in General Conference, October, 1959. I must admit this makes me somewhat biased in my approach to any critique against THE NAKED COMMUNIST by an intellectual (pseudo-intellectual?) university professor, Brigham Young University notwithstanding. Nevertheless, it is for Mr. Skousen, not me, to answer this attack. I am sure he will in a kindly way.

May the Lord bless you and uphold you in your wonderful work in helping to maintain liberty and freedom in this blessed land of ours.

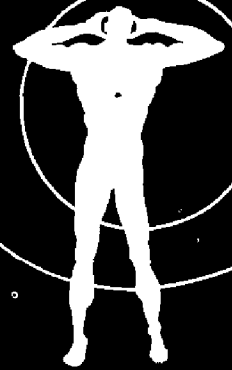
Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. OLSON, JR., M.D.

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# THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND



"Today far too many self-styled experts on communism are plying the highways of America giving erroneous and distorted information."

J. EDGAR HOOVER

a  
review  
of

W. CLEON SKOUSEN'S  
**THE NAKED COMMUNIST**

by

**RICHARD D. POLL**

*"For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound,  
who shall prepare himself to the battle?"*

I Corinthians 14:8

# This Trumpet Gives An Uncertain Sound

A

Review

of

W. Cleon Skousen's

THE NAKED COMMUNIST

by

RICHARD D. POLL

## FOREWORD

Because I am listed in the preface of *The Naked Communist* as having helped with research at Brigham Young University from which the book ultimately developed, I have felt impelled to set forth some of the reasons why I do not wish to be understood as endorsing the volume. This lack of enthusiasm is widely shared by colleagues in history, political science and economics in the universities of Utah and elsewhere. Louis C. Midgley, Edwin B. Morrell, Melvin P. Mabey and Van L. Perkins made particularly helpful suggestions. The Utah Citizens for Positive American Goals, the Salt Lake Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and many friends encouraged publication and helped to meet the initial costs. Sincere thanks to all of these. The responsibility for the review is, of course, solely mine. If it provokes a closer study of the realities of Communism and a more dispassionate discussion of ways to meet the Red challenge, it will have served its purpose.

RICHARD D. POLL

Brigham Young University  
Provo, Utah  
March 1962

Copyright 1962 by Richard D. Poll

## THIS TRUMPET GIVES AN UNCERTAIN SOUND

### A Review

W. Cleon Skousen, *The Naked Communist*. 9th ed., 1961. 408 pp.

Although *The Naked Communist* is a best seller in the Anti-Communist movement, it has disqualifying shortcomings as a source of information and as a guide for action against the Communist menace.

Objections to the book include:

1. The inadequacy and inaccuracy of its scholarship.
2. The incorrectness of its analysis of Communism.
3. The inaccuracy of its historical narrative.
4. The unsoundness of its program for governmental action.
5. The extreme partisanship of its program for individual action.
6. The objectionable character of the national movement of which it is a part.

In the following analysis, only rather obvious errors and distortions are cited, to avoid the necessity of detailed explanation and annotation. Every assertion about historical fact and political theory can be documented from reliable authorities. A truly scholarly dissection of *The Naked Communist* would be voluminous.

#### 1. Inadequacy and inaccuracy of scholarship.

While W. Cleon Skousen admittedly bases his claim to expertness on Communism primarily on his FBI experience and continuing contact with inside sources, inaccessible to ordinary scholars, one might expect his book to show familiarity with the works and authors generally regarded as authorities on Communism, Russia and contemporary history. It does not.

The 9th edition of *The Naked Communist*, latest available, lists 109 bibliographical entries (pp. 379-384), only 16 of which have been published since 1940. R. N. Carew Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism: An Introduction* (1957), one of the best short treatments of its subject, has a critical bibliography of 155 items, 98 of which are post-1940; Skousen cites only 16 works found in the Carew Hunt list. Even more substantial differences are found between the Skousen bibliography and those of scholars like Sidney Hook, Henry B. Mayo and Merle Fainsod.

Queried on this point, Skousen has admitted that most of his research was done years ago. Most recent scholarship, he states, can safely be ignored because the academic experts of today will be proved as wrong as the experts of earlier years. Only a very limited group of ex-Communists, ex-FBI undercover agents,

ex-military leaders and sensational journalists appear acceptable to Skousen as witnesses on the Communist conspiracy.

Yet the book projects an air of scholarship by freely using such phrases as "experts on Marxism have known" (p. 5), "diplomatic strategists advocated" (p. 126), "official reports tell" (p. 123), "economists have pointed out" (p. 326), and "leaders in literally hundreds of experiments concur" (p. 344). There are at least a hundred such phrases, almost never annotated even where quotation marks are used; 61 quotations are not documented at all.

Use of quotations is frequently questionable. Minor discrepancies occur in citations of the Communist Manifesto (pp. 45, 47, 67). Lenin's famous testament (p. 121) is not accurately rendered, and Otto Ruhle's characterization of Karl Marx (p. 9) is substantially distorted by omitting part of the passage. Dmitry Manuilsky's oft-quoted statement, "... we shall smash them with our clenched fist," appears twice (pp. 208, 288), despite questions about its authenticity; the second citation is vaguely footnoted as "*Prauda*, November, 1931," although the head of the Slavic and Central European Division of the Reference Department of the Library of Congress declares that the quotation does not appear in this or any other published Soviet source with which his office is familiar.

The famous "Communist Timetable of Conquest" is described by Senator William F. Knowland, who first published it in the *Congressional Record* (Vol. 100, pp. 5707-08), as "some information which came to me purporting to be an outline of Mao Tse-tung's memorandum on the new program for world revolution, carried to Moscow by Chou En-lai in March of 1953." *The Naked Communist* (p. 254) declares that the document was captured by U. S. military intelligence and that it represents settled policy: "... Red leaders decided to set up a timetable of conquest for the entire world and then take it continent by continent."

Parenthetically, this "Timetable"—a staple in the professional Anti-Communist diet—begins by crediting all the Communist successes to the "profound leadership" and "able and correct guidance" of "Comrade Stalin." It predicts: "By 1960 China's military, economic and industrial power will be so developed that with a mere show of force by the Soviet Union and China, the ruling clique of Japan will capitulate." It also foretells: "With Asia and Africa disconnected with the capitalist countries in Europe, there will be a total economic collapse in Western Europe." The boast that "Twenty years from now [1973] world revolution will be an accomplished fact!" squares badly with Khrushchev's recent announcement to the 22nd Communist Party Congress that in 1980 the Soviet Union will be economically ahead of the still functioning and still capitalistic United States. As prophecy, the "Red Timetable" hardly seems worth the attention which Skousen accords it.

## 2. Incorrectness of analysis of Communism.

In his zeal to demonstrate the absolute evil of Communism, Skousen describes Marxist-Leninist theory in terms to which serious exception can be taken. Since Communism, accurately described, is no less repugnant to the American way of life than the Skousen version, only a few inaccuracies will be cited.



"Communism undertakes to replace Judaic-Christian morals with a complete absence of morals." (p. 52) Communism argues that morals are relative to the stage of development of human society and has different sets for capitalist and Communistic societies.

"Everything is a product of accumulated accident. There is no design. There is no law." (p. 354) Communism is strongly deterministic and predicts its own victory on the basis of the laws of history which are fundamental in Marxist thought.

The indiscriminate lumping of all forms of atheism, agnosticism, relativism, collectivism, totalitarianism, nihilism and Hegelian idealism into a category called "materialism" permits identifying all forms of wickedness with Marxism, but it does not produce a clear or accurate conception of Communist "dialectical materialism." (pp. 33-42, 347-78)

The exposure of Communist fallacies (pp. 61-88) ignores the substantial changes which have occurred in the content of that ideology over the years. We are reminded that the goal of world revolution remains, but we read nothing about the drastic and repeated revamping of doctrine on such basic matters as nationalism, family life, wages and distribution, property ownership, party organization and tactics, coexistence with capitalism, and the sequence and timetable of revolution. The transformation of Communism from a worldwide revolutionary crusade into a tool of Soviet and Chinese foreign policies is extensively developed (pp. 109-54), but the logical conclusion that the threat of Communism to the United States now lies more in the realm of power politics than ideological subversion is rejected. Presumably the recent macabre campaign against Stalin and the Sino-Soviet wrangle over Albania are simply stage maneuvers to deceive the West.

More reliable analyses of Communism are to be found in Carew Hunt, already cited, and in Henry B. Mayo, *Introduction to Marxist Theory* (1960). Less technical but helpful are the paperbacks by Sidney Hook, *Marx and the Marxists* (1955); Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, *What We Must Know About Communism* (1958); Alfred G. Meyer, *Communism* (1960); and Arthur P. Mendel (ed.), *Essential Works of Marxism* (1961). J. Edgar Hoover, *Masters of Deceit* (1958) is very valuable on Communism in America.

### 3. Inaccuracy of historical narrative.

Since none of the standard treatments of Russian history, recent United States history or recent international relations is apparently utilized, the limitations of *The Naked Communist* as history can be expected to show. They do.

Some of the discrepancies are minor matters of fact, like the identification of Bakunin's anarchism and the Russian Populist movement with Marxism (pp. 24, 91-93) and the declaration that 46,000,000 Russian peasants were still serfs in 1885 (p. 90). Serfdom was abolished in 1861, but the condition of the peasants improved very slowly and populism, anarchism, Marxism and several other forms of radicalism were propagated among them in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

More serious are interpretations of history in which Skousen breaks with most scholarly writers. Very doubtful generalizations include:

1. United States recognition prevented the overthrow of Stalin in 1933, (pp. 124-26) From the assertion in one journalistic biography that Stalin faced imminent overthrow in 1932 and the obvious fact that he was in control of affairs by 1934, Skousen draws the conclusion that U. S. recognition explains the shift. The difference between stating that recognition was one of several factors which improved Stalin's prospects and inferring that he might have fallen if recognition had been withheld may seem a subtle one, but it is the kind of distinction which a reader of this book must constantly make. It is the distinction between Skousen's "devil theory" of history and objective analysis of the multiple causes of important historical developments.

2. "World War II was fomented and used by the Russian leaders" as part of their strategy of Communist expansion. (pp. 155-61) One Soviet officer who defected prior to 1939 is relied on for this interpretation. That Stalin feared war and maneuvered ruthlessly to turn Hitler toward the West is clear, but that he wanted war and expected to direct it toward world revolution is contradicted by the surprise, dismay and almost panic with which he reacted to the German attack in 1941.

3. "Anyone familiar with the Communist Constitution of Russia will recognize in the United Nations Charter a similar format." (p. 172) This is on a par with the declaration that a present goal of Communist policy is to "Promote the UN as the only hope for mankind." (p. 260) The similarity which Skousen sees is between the "fervent declaration of democratic principles" in each document and the "constitutional restriction and procedural limitation" which follow. The preamble and "checks and balances" in the United States Constitution can with equal validity be cited to show that the UN Charter follows our model. But the author of *The Naked Communist* is so intent on making the UN a part of the Communist conspiracy that he ignores the obvious and continuing Soviet effort to discredit and destroy that organization.

4. The Communist victory in China was caused by American "stupidity, incompetence or worse." (pp. 181-89, 251) Skousen belongs to that group of Americans who are convinced that our country can never lose except when someone deliberately chooses to give in. There is no place in his world view for circumstances beyond control, dilemmas, or even honest errors in judgment. That the Communist conquest of China was a disaster is clear, but that it could have been prevented by anything less than a military intervention so great as to have been against our national interest is still disputed by many Americans who are neither "stupid, incompetent or worse."

5. The Castro victory in Cuba resulted from the same "stupidity," incompetence or worse" in Washington, Batista being described in very apologetic terms. (pp. 237-52) A single highly partisan and sensationalistic work is given as authority. The comments made in the preceding paragraph apply here, too; Batista and Castro were a choice of evils, and against the background of a Latin America in genuine political, economic and social revolution, the policy preference for Castro does not require treason for explanation. The fact that the United States can crush Castro by force if it becomes in our vital interest to do so, argues against panicking while we try to help his own follies to destroy him and the Communist beachhead in Latin America.

6. "Without our tolerance and help the Communist empire would never have become the second strongest power in the earth." (p. 288) This is the book's historical thesis, and the eminent British historian, D. W. Brogan, had something like it in mind when he wrote during the McCarthy era: "Many, very many Americans, it seems to me, find it inconceivable that an American policy, announced and carried out by the American government, acting with the support of the American people, does not immediately succeed. If it does not, this, they feel, must be because of stupidity or treason." (Quoted by James E. Clayton in *The Washington Post*, August 8, 1961). Apart from its inaccuracy, the "scapegoat theory" of history blinds us to real problems, real causes, and practical approaches to problem-solving.

The pervasive insistence that at almost every crucial juncture since 1933 the United States has taken the wrong course in her dealings with Russia and Communism, that in every case a better alternative was available, and that the failure to pursue that alternative reflects "stupidity, incompetence or worse," is not only historically objectionable but almost certain to undermine public confidence in our fundamental governmental institutions and processes.

#### 4. Unsoundness of program for governmental action.

Its recommendations for action are paramount objections to *The Naked Communist*. Skousen's own excuse for inaccuracies which have been pointed out to him is that the important job, after all, is to alert people to the Red menace. But if the programs proposed for the aroused citizenry are improper, even dangerous, then Goethe's observation becomes timely:

*"There is nothing so terrible as ignorance in action."*

The Skousen formulas for governmental and individual action are set forth in Chapter XII, "The Future Task." (9th ed., pp. 253-88) The chapter begins with the dubious "Communist Timetable," already discussed. By the book's own analysis, *none* of the *specific* commitments in the timetable has yet been achieved; still the conclusion is reached: "Some phases of this plan of conquest have been frustrated, but other phases are far ahead of expectations. Considered overall, the Communist Timetable of Conquest is alarmingly close to being right on schedule." (p. 258)

Next is a 45-point list of "Current Communist Goals" (pp. 259-62), which needs only to be compared with J. Edgar Hoover's *The Communist Party Line*, to reveal how wide of the mark Skousen is. (Hoover's statement was published on September 23, 1961, by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as *Senate Document No. 59*, 87th Cong., 1st Sess.) Items 4, 9, 11, 22, 38, 39 and 45 on the Skousen list are incredible. A number of the others are given unwarranted application in the programs which this book advocates.

Skousen's proposals for governmental action against the Communist threat abroad are: (pp. 263-275)

1. Expel Russia and her satellites from the UN.
2. Sever diplomatic relations with all the Communist nations.
3. Establish a complete economic blockade of the Communist world.

This program will purportedly aggravate economic distress within the Red bloc, cause satellite uprisings, and lead to the speedy collapse of the whole Communist system. To use Skousen's phrase, this is the way "to pull the blustering bully down." (p. 5)

That the program has virtually no acceptance outside the professional Anti-Communist movement invites skepticism. Obvious questions include:

How will the cooperation of more than 90 other non-Communist nations be secured, without which the program cannot be implemented? Will all non-cooperators be added to the quarantined group? Is this not a program for isolating the United States, rather than isolating our adversary? Even if it were in the interest of the United States, it is not within our power to impose such a program on the UN or the world community.

What justifies the confidence in non-recognition and non-intercourse when they have consistently failed to produce desired results in the past? Non-intercourse precipitated the War of 1812; non-recognition had no measurable effect on Russia from 1917 to 1933; and non-recognition and non-intercourse have neither intimidated nor overthrown the Red Chinese regime.

What is Skousen's evidence of the economic vulnerability of the Communist bloc? Their third of the world has abundant manpower, lacks few basic resources, and is, at a terrible price, developing technology and industrial capacity. To outdistance the Soviets in production competition and make a lie of Khrushchev's boast to bury us is essential and within our power, but economic warfare has little to contribute to this generation-long race. There is a place for selective economic pressures in stimulating negotiations or in adding to the difficulties of weak governments. But even the blocking of food sales from a China in famine is as likely to increase the terrorism and belligerence of the Red rulers as it is to produce their overthrow.

What happens if our author is wrong and his program simply divides the world totally without producing revolution in the Communist part? Orwell's 1984 might be one result; a war of desperation might be another. If the Communist leaders are as ideologically dedicated as this book insists, there is every likelihood that they will prefer war to surrender. If they are, as much evidence suggests, hard-headed political realists, then they can best be dealt with by programs which do not reduce the choices to "all or nothing at all."

##### **5. Extreme partisanship of program for individual action.**

This is the most undesirable feature of *The Naked Communist*, because here Skousen makes clear what he is really after, and this is what too many patriotic and well-meaning citizens are accepting as true Americanism.

*The thesis is: "Fighting Communism, Socialism and the subversion of constitutional government is everybody's job." (p. 275).*

*The technique is to define anything which disagrees with Skousen's ultra-conservative opinions as "Communism, Socialism and subversion," and so to equate patriotism and morality with reading certain one-sided books and supporting a highly partisan political, economic and social creed.*

The section entitled "What Can the Ordinary Individual Do? (pp. 275-88) spells things out in detail. Here are a few illustrations:

*From "Suggestions to Parents" (pp. 276-77):*

"Do not fall for the 'permissive' school of psychology which says discipline will harm human development. Such thinking produces hoodlums with mal-adjusted personalities who are likely to fall for every 'ism' that comes along." Because Skousen disproves of modern psychology and "progressive education," he sets up a "straw man" which corresponds to no responsible viewpoint in either field and then makes a patriotic requirement out of knocking it over.

"Be active in PTA. If you are not, Communists and centralized planners will take over." Making synonyms out of such words as "Communist, centralized planner, socialist, welfare stater, liberal" and even "internationalist" and "de-segregationist" is a standard technique of the extreme right; Skousen avoids only the last of these in his vocabulary of un-Americanisms. J. Edgar Hoover and other unimpeachable patriots have warned that the linking of all types of political reformism or dissent with Communism does a real disservice to the country.

"Where you have older children, make current events part of the dinner table talk. Be quick to point out left-wing slanting of news, TV or radio broadcasts. There is far more of this slanting than most people realize." No names are named, it being a conventional alarmist technique to suggest that danger is everywhere by locating it nowhere. From his argument elsewhere, one must infer that "left-wing slanting" means speaking without emotion about social security, labor unions or Nehru and that the loyal commentators are Dan Smoot, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Clarence Manion.

*From "Suggestions for Teachers" (pp. 277-80):*

"Beware of those who come pretending to help education when they are trying to seize control of education. Socialist and Communist planners have ambitions to eliminate all local control. . . ." "Be alert to the fact that education was infiltrated by the Socialist-Communist contingent over thirty-five years ago. . . . Because they were hard workers they gained sweeping control of some of our most respected institutions." Again, no names, no evidence, and the lumping together of diverse radicalisms as a single, omnipresent enemy. John Dewey, Columbia Teachers College and advocates of Federal aid to education as as liable to criticism as other elements in our free society, but they are not products of the Communist conspiracy.

"Watch for slanted passages in textbooks. Socialist authors have invaded the textbook field. . . . 'Brainwashing in the High Schools,' by E. Merrill Root, is an analysis of 11 American history books which reflect the destructive left-wing analysis." To Skousen, "socialist authors" are apparently writers who find anything wrong with American policies and leaders prior to 1932 or anything right about them since the advent of the New Dealers. Root's chauvinism is so blatant that he objects to applying the term "imperialism" to our country's relations with the Philippines and Panama at the turn of the century. Other titles suggested for teachers by the author of *The Naked Communist* (pp. 278-79) are of the same intemperate quality.

"Encourage patriotic speakers at school assemblies. Excellent films are also available." A Skousen favorite is "Communism on the Map," which is now being replaced by an up-dated version called "Communism 1961." The replacement corrects some of the factual errors but stresses the same grim theme that the world is already mostly lost to Communism-socialism-welfare statism-liberalism. The film's producer, Glenn A. Green, has since become a field representative of the John Birch Society.

*From "Suggestions for Businessmen" (pp. 281-83):*

"Work for a more equitable tax structure which is not arbitrary and confiscatory." This is a meritorious suggestion, but of limited relevance to fighting Communism, unless the author belongs to that school which brands the income tax as a Communist device which ought to be abolished.

"Be careful not to contribute to an organization until you know it is a bona fide patriotic group. . . . If you are a member of the American Security Council, you can check on any organization or any individual through their files." Skousen is field director of the American Security Council, which declares itself to be the largest civilian clearing house for "factual information about Communism and other statist activities." It maintains files on a very large number of people who have been active in liberal, radical or genuinely subversive enterprises and draws no clearer distinctions between these categories than does its field representative.

*From "Suggestions to the Press" (pp. 285-86):*

"In fulfilling the task of exposing crime, corruption and inefficiency in the American culture, be careful not to destroy confidence in American institutions." Apparently no such responsibility rests upon those who describe thirty years of American history and government in terms of "stupidity, incompetence or worse."

*From "Suggestions for Ministers" (pp. 286-88):*

"The churches became a major target for Communist-Socialist infiltration many years ago. These people were successful in capturing many key positions in a number of important religious organizations. Some religious leaders openly advocate and defend Communist principles." Skousen is no readier than his Anti-Communist associates to name names or cite evidence to support this vague and comprehensive attack on church leadership in America. Cartha D. DeLoach, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, very recently "assailed persons 'who go about the country' charging that such fields as religion, education and labor were being infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers." Strenuous and devious Red efforts continue, he told a seminar of the American Bar Association, but there has been no substantial infiltration of these areas. (Salt Lake Tribune, January 28, 1962, p. 14A)

"Be alert to detect those who use 'Social Christianity' to cover up the fact that they are not Christians at all." Skousen's inference that Christians who do not share his own rigorous fundamentalism are probably subversive is unfair, and his insistence on linking loyalty with religious commitment is unwarranted. Communism is certainly a dire threat to organized religion, but it is also a threat

to the unchurched, the pagan, the agnostic, the humanist, and even the atheist who believes in human freedom. Sincere and patriotic opponents of Communism may be found in all these categories.

"Be alert to the drive by certain analytical psychiatrists to have ministers accept their amoral philosophy." This should be considered in connection with Skousen's statement (p. 262) that one of the Communist goals is to "Dominate the psychiatric profession and use mental health laws as a means of gaining coercive control over those who oppose Communist goals." To the person who sees the psychiatrist's couch as a tool of subversion, the conclusion readily follows: "Today Communism is advancing on all fronts." (p. 288)

Finally, from "Suggestions for Students" (pp. 280-81):

"When you run across dedicated Socialists, remember that the only difference between a Socialist and a Communist is the method of takeover. . . . In reality the two are twins."

The writer of this review is no Socialist (or Communist, for that matter),\* but he insists that this kind of blurred thinking ill-equips students or adult citizens to make the accurate distinctions and judgments essential in answering the tremendous question: "What are the proper functions of government in modern society?" Because Skousen unceasingly hammers the point that every increase in governmental activity is a step down the Ambush Trail to collectivist despotism, examination of that argument seems appropriate here.

First, it is important to remember that the term "socialist" has a very specialized meaning in Marxist-Leninist thought as it has evolved in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is the system which prevails during the "dictatorship of the proletariat" stage of history, when wage and class distinctions and police state measures are regarded as necessary and proper. This "socialism" does not precede the Communist seizure of power, it follows it. As early as 1936 Stalin said that the USSR was nearing the close of this "transitional" period; as late as 1961 Khrushchev said it again. Actually, the stateless, classless society of "pure communism" is no nearer in the Soviet Union than it was 40 years ago, and there is much to suggest that it is unattainable by the road which the Communist regimes are currently following.

In any case, this is not the meaning which is given to the word "socialism" by those, like the author of *The Naked Communist*, who identify socialism with Communism in their propaganda against governmental programs with which they disagree. They mean "socialism" in the generalized sense of governmental ownership or direction of the means of production and distribution of goods or services, and they feverently avow that all such measures lead inexorably to Red dictatorship.

Three historically demonstrable points need to be made about this contention:

1. Socialism in a comprehensive or "blueprint for Utopia" sense has never had very great appeal in the United States and has very few adherents

\*I have been a delegate to the Utah State Republican Party Conventions in 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1960, and I am convinced that the need for responsible conservatism was never greater in America. RDP

today. What numerically significant groups in our country are at present advocating the nationalization of any sector of our production and distribution system, or even any substantial extension of controls? The basic commitment of the whole American people to a private enterprise economy is probably stronger now than at any other time since the Civil War.

2. Socialism in the more pragmatic sense of using government to support or provide certain specific goods or services not satisfactorily obtainable elsewhere has *not* been regarded by any past American generation as incompatible with our basic ideals about life, liberty and property. From public schools and post offices we have moved with changing circumstances to national and state parks, freeways and social security, being satisfied that no fundamental threat to liberty exists as long as we can modify or abolish programs if we wish, or "throw the rascals out" if they administer them too badly. We have not regarded *our* government as an enemy, as Skousen and his fellow rightists apparently do.

3. The strongest and most vigorous democracies in the world—and our best allies—are nations which combine a high degree of private enterprise with broad public programs of a "welfare state" character. In all of these the Communists have declined in numbers and influence since 1945, and the likelihood of any of them succumbing to Red subversion is virtually nil. The danger of Communist revolution is greatest today in those areas where governments are most indifferent to human needs. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that *The Naked Communist* has no substantial suggestions on how to prevent the Communists from capturing the "revolution of rising expectations" which is now sweeping these areas.

This reviewer has repeatedly invited Skousen and other advocates of the "liberalism-is-socialism-is-communism" persuasion to name a single nation in human history which has traversed the Ambush Trail from democratic "welfare statism" to Communism. The invitation is again extended here.

There are valid and impressive conservative arguments against many current proposals to extend the functions of government in such directions as education, resource development, agriculture and medical care. But the contention that they lead inevitably to dictatorship, and that those who support them are therefore, wittingly or unwittingly, helping the Communist conspiracy, is *not* one of them. In promoting the viewpoint, *The Naked Communist* makes no contribution to enlightened public discussion of domestic political issues or to the development of healthy citizenship attitudes among students.

#### **6. Objectionable character of Skousen's Anti-Communist movement.**

Much of the market for *The Naked Communist* is in connection with "Anti-Communist Seminars," "Freedom Forums" and "Project Alerts," in which inaccurate history and negative programs are expounded in an evangelical blend of fear, hatred and pulse-pounding enthusiasm. Participants are admonished to study Communism, and they end up buying tracts by Gerald L. K. Smith and his racist cohorts, confessionals of ex-Communists, spy stories and other volumes which excite more than they inform. They are aroused to *fight Communism*, and they end up demanding U. S. withdrawal from the UN and the firing of



teachers who advocate federal aid to education. They are solicited to contribute to the Anti-Communist crusade, and they end up subsidizing pamphlets calling for the repeal of the income tax and the impeachment of Chief Justice Warren. Skousen has apologized for the fact that, in one of his own rallies in Los Angeles on December 13, 1961, a speaker said that the Chief Justice deserves to be hanged, but one can still question the usefulness of an "educational campaign" which uses men of such opinions as teachers.

The fact that *The Naked Communist* is more temperate in tone than much of the literature with which it keeps company and that it has some praiseworthy things to say about religion, democracy and the American economic system should not be permitted to obscure the fact that it is one of the most successful instruments in a propaganda campaign which blurs the REAL issue of Communism and perverts genuine Americanism.

To witness against *The Naked Communist* and the ultra-conservative movement in which its author is a persuasive advocate, these statements are submitted in conclusion:

Editorial, "What Americanism Must Mean," *The Deseret News*, October 28, 1961, p. 6.

"The Growing Interest in Americanism being displayed in Utah and elsewhere is highly commendable. But certain precautions must be observed if the dangers of extremism are to be avoided.

"In this regard, the State Advisory Committee on Adult Education in American Citizenship put its finger on a vital point the other day when it noted that citizenship requires more than just anti-communism.

"In other words, it's not enough merely to be against something. What we're for is far more important.

"This point can't be emphasized too strongly, especially in view of the advent of individuals and groups that are arousing the public by stressing what we're fighting against but are neglecting what we're fighting for. This can be dangerous, especially if we sacrifice our own traditions and values in a mistaken effort to 'fight fire with fire.'

"Most of the things we stand for are embodied in our divinely inspired Constitution of the United States; others are traditions of time-tested value.

"We're for free speech and a free press. These rights were not intended merely to permit expressions of support for whatever established authorities or the majority of people decide is proper. These rights are designed to protect those who disagree with the majority, who dissent from the established order, who advance new and perhaps unorthodox ideas.

"We're for the right to dissent, the right to express all opinions regardless of whether they are right or wrong. The dangers of forbidding such a right were noted by John Stuart Mill, who said:

"If the opinion is right, men are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

hysteria, false alarms, misplaced apprehension by many of our citizens. We need enlightenment about communism—but this information must be factual, accurate and not tailored to echo personal idiosyncrasies. To quote an old aphorism, we need more light and less heat." (*ABA Journal*)

"Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.

"These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them." (*Senate Doc. No. 59*)

When such substantial and conservative journals as the *Deseret News*, *Salt Lake Tribune* (November 5, 1961), *Newsweek* (December 4, 1961), *Time* (December 8, 1961) and *Life* (December 1, 1961) and such responsible citizens as J. Edgar Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy raise their voices against the Skousen approach to patriotism, this reviewer feels no qualms of academic or civic conscience in passing negative judgment on *The Naked Communist*.

Additional copies may be obtained from the author, 1159 Aspen Ave., Provo, Utah. The price, postpaid, is \$.25 per single copy; \$2.25 for 10. Quantity and trade prices available on request.

April 27, 1962

REC-9

Mr. Robert D. Dellwo  
Dellwo, Rudolf and Grant  
1010 Old National Bank Building  
Spokane 1, Washington

APR 27 11 14 AM '62  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

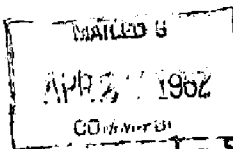
Dear Mr. Dellwo:

Your letter of April 18th to Assistant Director William C. Sullivan has been brought to my attention, and it was good of you to invite him to speak on the subject of communism and national defense in Spokane.

While we appreciate your invitation, the pressure of official business as well as Mr. Sullivan's uncertain schedule precludes designating him to participate in the program you mentioned. I regret we are unable to cooperate with you in this matter but trust you will understand.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



1 - Seattle - Enclosure  
1 - Mr. William C. Sullivan

NOTE: Bufiles reflect Dellwo was a former Agent who EOD 6-29-42 and resigned 5-8-48. He was given a good exit performance rating but his SAC was of the opinion that Dellwo was a "schemer" and recommended against reinstatement. On 12-26-50, in regard to a question concerning his possible reinstatement, Mr. Tolson stated "Give no encouragement." It is noted Dellwo is on our mailing list to receive the Uniform Crime Reports bulletin. In William C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont memorandum of 4-24-62, it was noted that this invitation should be declined in view of our curtailment of speeches on communism. EBI  
JCF:lmf  
(6)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D 4/27/62  
MAY 7 1962  
XEROX

LAW OFFICES  
DELLWO, RUDOLF & GRANT

ROBERT D. DELLWO  
KERMIT M. RUDOLF  
WILLIAM J. GRANT

1010 OLD NATIONAL BANK BUILDING  
SPOKANE 1, WASHINGTON  
MADISON 4-5369

April 18, 1962

Mr. William Sullivan  
Assistant Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

We have just finished the treatment in Spokane in a large coliseum "Freedom Day" "Town Hall - Target Communism." The principal speakers in the evening were Robert Morris and Cleon Skousen and in the afternoon were Dr. Wyvell, Jose Norman and others. Whereas, about 2500 attended the afternoon session, 7500 attended the evening session. Without going into it, I am sure you know exactly what they said, probably the same they have said every place else. In general, the Robert Morris talk which was broadcast over radio and TV was to the extent that we have been retreating from Communism since 1946, helping them instead of slowing them down by our ignorant stupid foreign policies. Skousen generally keeping the people scared and then at the end of his talk enunciated what he termed an extremely simple solution to the whole problem. First to send a shower of letters to our congressmen and senators to clean house in the state department. Second, to rewrite the UN Charter. Third, to outlaw the Communist party. Fourth, to break relations with the whole Sino-Soviet Bloc. Fifth, to use a universal embargo against this bloc by all the other nations. His general approach was that on the left was totalitarianism. On the right was anarchy. Along side of totalitarianism was international communism, next to it was fascism, next to it were the socialists then the social democrats, and in the middle were wings one and two of the conservatives and liberals of the United States. His approach from there on out is probably quite familiar to you.

The main point of this letter is to point out that 7500 people attended the evening meeting, there was a large radio audience and the whole thing was televised. We feel we can put on a similar event at a later date with a completely new non-controversial sponsoring organization, presenting speakers of national reputation on the subject of communism and national defense. In this regard, is there any possibility that you could participate in such a program, assuming absolute and complete insulation from any of the extremist group that put on this current Town Hall. If there is any possibility of this at all, we will go to work on it. But if there isn't I would like to know in advance so that we can drop the matter.

REC-9  
EX-114

94-4775-51  
APR 22 1962

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APR 22 1962

one  
4-27-62  
JCG:mc

Mr. William Sullivan

-2-

April 18, 1962

The family has been getting along exceedingly well. We just passed through another swimming meet. I guess I told you that has become a sort of family sport. One of our daughters is the Inland Empire champion. One of our boys is quite a diver. We have two others who compete. All of them did exceptionally well. We are being catapulted toward another summer which I hope we can enjoy more leisurely than the last. But with so much activity, I suppose we will be running all the time again.

We surely enjoyed seeing you and Marian in Washington. Should there be a chance that you could get out to Spokane on the affair I mentioned above, it would surely be nice if you could bring all the family or at least part of them.

Sincerely yours,



ROBERT D. DELLWO

RDD:fb

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ahb*

DATE: April 24, 1962

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT:

ROBERT D. DELLWO  
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW1010 OLD NATIONAL BANK BUILDING  
SPOKANE 1, WASHINGTON

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. M.A. Jones  
1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo  
1 - Mr. D.E. Moore  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to the enclosed letter to me from the above-captioned person, a former FBI Agent who remains a very intelligent and staunch supporter of the Bureau.

In this letter, he asks if I could lecture on communism to a gathering of some 7,500 people whom he thinks it is possible to organize in Spokane, Washington. He would work out a complete program for the event at some convenient date. While undoubtedly, this would be a worthwhile affair, I do not think the invitation should be accepted in view of our curtailment of speeches on communism.

Further, it is to be noted that this event would be held as a counter to a similar affair held just recently in Spokane, where the principal speakers were extreme right-wingers such as Cleon Skousen. Approximately 7,500 attended this gathering.

I think it is of interest to the Bureau to note what Mr. Dellwo has to say about Skousen:

"Skousen generally keeping the people scared and then at the end of his talk enunciated what he termed an extremely simple solution to the whole problem. First to send a shower of letters to our congressmen and senators to clean house in the State Department. Second, to rewrite the UN Charter. Third, to outlaw the Communist Party. Fourth, to break relations with the whole Sino-Soviet Bloc. Fifth, to use a universal embargo against this bloc by all the other nations. His general approach was that on the left was totalitarianism. On the right was anarchy. Along side of totalitarianism was international communism, next to it was fascism, next to it were the socialists then the social democrats, and in the middle were wings one and two of the conservatives and liberals of the United States. His approach from there on out is probably quite familiar to you."

Enclosure

WCS:baw

(8)

EX-114

REC-9

CRIME RESEARCH

NOTED

51 MAY 4 1962

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
Re: Robert D. Dellwo  
Attorney-At-Law  
Spokane, Washington

It is believed that a cordial letter from the Director , declining the invitation, should be sent to Mr. Dellwo.

RECOMMENDATION:

This memorandum be referred to the Crime Records Division for handling.



46  
PERS. REC. UNIT

REC-49

April 20, 1962

901 X31

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen  
2197 Berkeley Street  
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Mr. Skousen:

I have received the copy of your book  
entitled "So You Want To Raise A Boy?" It was  
thoughtful of you to inscribe this book to me, and  
I appreciate your kind comments.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Skousen entered on duty on 10-24-35, as a Messenger,  
was appointed an Agent on 6-17-40, and resigned 10-5-51, services  
satisfactory. Recently he has been most active in extreme right-  
wing organizations and any contacts with him have been most  
circumspect.

DWB:ear  
(5)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 20 1962

COMM-FBI

MAY 8 1962 XEROX



OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Tolson ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Evans ✓  
Mr. Malone ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Mr. Jones ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Mr. Metcalf ✓  
Mr. [unclear] ✓

April 19, 1962

The attached book, "So You Want to Raise a Boy?" by W. Cleon Skousen, was mailed to the Director by The Ensign Publishing Company, P. O. Box 2316, Salt Lake City 10, Utah.

It has been inscribed as follows:

"April 6, 1962

"To My Friend and Former "Boss"  
John Edgar Hoover

"Here is another book I was motivated in writing as a result of my experience and training in the FBI.

"I am only one of the millions of people to whom you will always be a source of great affection and warm admiration

"Sincerely

"W. Cleon Skousen"

hcw

*W. Cleon Skousen*  
*let Mr. W. Cleon Skousen*  
*let H-20-12*  
*DW B*

*am/8*

*K*

REC-49

94-47468-52

901 XE

8 MAY 2 1962

MAY 9 1962

PERS. REC. UNIT

ENCLOSURE



CONTENTS: BOOK, EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL  
RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

The Ensign Publishing Company, P. O. Box 2316, Salt Lake City 10, Utah

To: *John Edgar Hoover, Director*  
*Federal Bureau of Investigation*  
*Washington D.C.*

17 DIRECTOR

*11-18-62*

94-47468-53  
ENCLOSURE

REC-50

EX-103

94-47468-54

May 23, 1962

Reverend Harry H. Feistner  
Route 1  
Oregon, Illinois

Dear Mr. Feistner:

Your letter of May 17, 1962, with enclosure,  
has been received.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the  
FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1936, in which capacity he served  
until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He volun-  
tarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen  
is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly  
his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way. I cannot,  
therefore, make any comment regarding the contents of his book.

Enclosed is some literature I thought would be  
of interest to you. Some of it contains suggestions all of us can  
use in fighting communism. Maybe you will also want to read my  
book, "Masters of Deceit," which was written with the hope it  
would furnish Americans with an insight into the true nature of  
communist activities. This book should be available at your local  
library or bookstores. The self-addressed, stamped envelope you  
so thoughtfully forwarded is being returned.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosures (6)  
Correspondent's enclosure  
Communism and The Knowledge To Combat It  
Deadly Duel  
Shall It Be Law or Tyranny  
Do You Really Understand Communism  
The Communist Menace

SAW:bis\* (3)

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

MAILED 10  
MAY 23 1962  
COMM-FBI

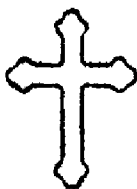
50 JUN 5 1962

RECEIVED  
FBI  
MAY 23 3 51 PM '62

EX-103  
JUN 4 1962

EMMANUEL EV. LUTHERAN CHURCH

Oregon (Paynes Point), Ill.



ST. JAMES EV. LUTHERAN CHURCH

Forreston (West Grove), Ill.

Rev. H. Feistner, Pastor, R.R. 1, Oregon, Ill.

Phone 2-2424

May 17, 1962

Dear Sirs at the F.B.I.,

I am reading the book "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen. It seems to me to be almost unbelievable. Would you please indicate on the bottom of this letter whether or not the book is authentic. It was put out by ~~THE~~ The Ensign Publishing Company, Salt Lake City, Utah. It has 408 pages and ends with an index on that last page. If this book is the truth....you will have one man here, who is willing to dedicate himself to the cause of spreading its message.

Thank you.

In Christ's Service,

*Harry H. Feistner*  
Harry H. Feistner

P

*nmk*

*1 encl  
1 returned  
down*

*acc 5-23-62  
SAW:his*

REC-50-58

EX-105 JUN 4 1962

94-47468-54

MAY 24 1962

CORRESPONDENCE  
*in file*

PPRS REC UNIT

6 REC- 5394- 4118

55  
May 31, 1962

BOI XE Reverend Harry H. Feistner  
Route 1  
Oregon, Illinois

Dear Mr. Feistner:

Your communication postmarked May 26th with enclosure has been received.

As I pointed out in my letter of May 23rd, I cannot make any comment regarding the contents of the book by Mr. W. Cleon Skousen. A policy of long standing precludes my expressing any views on material other than that prepared by this Bureau or me.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

NOTE: By letter dated May 17th correspondent ask the Director if Skousen's book "The Naked Communist" was authentic. He indicated if it were true, he would be willing to dedicate himself to the cause of spreading its message. Bulet of 5-23-62 indicated the Director could not comment on the contents of the book. In addition, material on Communism was sent and he was referred to "Masters of Deceit." Self-addressed, stamped envelope forwarded by correspondent used in reply.

MAILED 60  
MAY 31 1962  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 23, 1962

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Reverend Harry H. Feistner  
Route 1  
Oregon, Illinois

Dear Mr. Feistner:

Your letter of May 17, 1962, with enclosure,  
has been received.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the  
FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served  
until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He volun-  
tarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen  
is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly  
his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way. I cannot,  
therefore, make any comment regarding the contents of his book.

Enclosed is some literature I thought would be  
of interest to you. Some of it contains suggestions all of us can  
use in fighting communism. Maybe you will also want to read my  
book, "Masters of Deceit," which was written with the hope it  
would furnish Americans with an insight into the true nature of  
communist activities. This book should be available at your local  
library or bookstores. The self-addressed, stamped envelope you  
so thoughtfully forwarded is being returned.

Sincerely yours, EX 106

18 MAY 28 1962

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosures (6)

CORRESPONDENCE

ack 5-31-62  
SA W. J. L.

mind  
K

Thank you - but are the basic facts of  
the book true or untrue -  
Max put in an X in correct spot of return, please  
thank you v. much L. Feistner

Thank you - but are the basic  
facts of the book true --. or  
untrue --?

Please Put in an X in correct  
spot & return, please

Thank you V. much

H. Feistner

REC-22

94-47468-56

June 12, 1962

EX-101

Mrs. Elizabeth Rigby  
Chairman  
Arizona Association for Mental  
Health Facts Committee  
Sedona, Arizona

JUN 13 10 39 AM '62  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Dear Mrs. Rigby:

Your letter dated June 4, 1962, has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I wish to advise that there is no position in the FBI entitled "Administrative Assistant to the Director"; however, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with this Bureau as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. I trust this information will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

NOTE: Correspondent cannot be identified in Bufiles nor can the Arizona Chapter of this organization be so identified. "Arizona Frontiers" is published at Phoenix, Arizona, by Edward Schwartz, who is also the editor. It is a scandal sheet of liberal character and only began publication in the recent past. The December, 1961, issue contained comments critical of the Director and the FBI, claiming that the FBI is "sacred cows" and almost no one has the courage to criticize them.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JH:blc

(3)

JUN 28 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



# ARIZONA ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH, INC.

A Division of the National Association for Mental Health

June 4, 1962

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MRS. FAITH I. NORTH

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT  
MRS. PAULINE WAMPLER

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Because of a distorted and harmful article which he has written concerning the mental health movement, our organization is interested in determining the actual "qualifications" of Mr. W. Cleon Skousen.

As you know, he claims to have been your administrative assistant during World War II. We have recently read, in an article in the Phoenix magazine, Arizona Frontiers, that you have "refuted this claim." Is this correct or not? An answer from you might be helpful to us in replying to local critics of the association's aims.

Sincerely yours,

*Elizabeth Rigby*

(Mrs.) Elizabeth Rigby  
Chairman, AAMH Facts Committee  
Sedona, Arizona

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Malone  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy



1961 & 1962  
JUN 12 1962

94-47469-56  
10 JUN 1962  
JUN 28 1962  
CORRESPONDENCE

ask  
JH/WH  
6-12-62

ARIZONA ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH, INC.

A Division of the National Association for Mental Health

June 19, 1962



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MESA, ARIZONA

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7000 EAST CAMELBACK  
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA

DOROTHY GILLANDERS, ED.D.  
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY  
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E. S. EDMONSON  
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MRS. RICHARD HARLESS  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

IVAN HELLER  
TUCSON, ARIZONA

HARRY HOLLAND  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

MRS. ROYAL IRVING  
TUCSON, ARIZONA

MRS. ELIZABETH RIGBY  
SEDONA, ARIZONA

FLORENCE SCHNEIDER, PH.D.  
TUCSON, ARIZONA

AGNES SHARP, PH.D.  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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FLAGSTAFF, ARIZONA

A. G. WAGNER, M.D.  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

HORACE WARNER, D.V.M.  
PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
MRS. FAITH I. NORTH

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT  
MRS. PAULINE WAMPLER

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Just a word of thanks to you for your letter of June 12 in reply to my query concerning W. Cleon Skousen and his former position with the FBI. It was good of you to take the time to answer the question and we do appreciate it.

Very sincerely yours,

*Elizabeth Rigby*

Mrs. Elizabeth Rigby  
Chmn. AAMH Facts Committee  
Sedona  
Arizona

REC-53

94-47468-57

25 JUN 25 1962

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8/1/62  
THREE*

361  
53 JUL 2 1962

*Response in file  
6-22-62*

June 22, 1962

EX 100

REC-37

58

6-

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen  
2197 Berkeley Street  
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Mr. Skousen:

Your letter of June 12, 1962, with  
enclosures, has been received. It was kind of you to  
send me this material.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

✓

NOTE: See Jones to DeLoach memo dated 6-21-62, captioned  
"W. Cleon Skousen."

FCS:ear  
(6)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 25 3 58 PM '62

REC'D WV ROOM

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

JUL 11 1962

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

2197 Berkeley Street  
Salt Lake City, Utah  
June 12, 1962

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Malone	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

With each passing day I am more and more grateful for your contribution in writing Masters of Deceit. It not only does an excellent job of telling the story of the Communist conspiracy but with your name and good offices the radical liberal group are apparently afraid to attack this book.

As of the moment, they are concentrating on some of us of lesser stature. For example, the liberal professors of several leading universities combined their efforts to try to discredit The Naked Communist. The spokesman for the group is Dr. Richard Poll who wrote a critique called, "This Trumpet Gives an Uncertain Sound." I understand you have already received several copies of this pamphlet.

From my own standpoint this attack simply demonstrated that there was very little in the entire contents of The Naked Communist that could come under academic criticism, therefore they had to resort to distortion and technicalities to try to make out a case. They even tried to twist one of your statements to support their position.

I have written a rather comprehensive reply to Dr. Poll's attack and I thought you might like to see a copy.

During the past several years a tape recording has been made of practically every public address I have given. I think these will demonstrate that I have been as opposed to extremism as any of these critics. Nevertheless, they have continued to resort to dishonest and inaccurate representations in an effort to create an image of The Naked Communist and of myself as being proponents of radical extremism.

Even though the current campaign against anyone who speaks out against Communism has driven some of our citizens into silence, I gain the impression that among the American people generally there is still a strong feeling that there has been something seriously wrong with the soft, compromising policies which have done so much to produce the present state of affairs. This deep concern is reflected nearly everywhere we go. Recently Dr. Robert Morris and I were asked to speak at Spokane, Washington. 7,800 people turned out. Later, Eugene Lyons and I spoke to 3,000 in Milwaukee. This demonstrates that while

2 ENCLOSURE

EXP. PROC.

JUN 20 1962

EX 106

REC-37

94-4741-58

13 JUN 27 1962

AMC

See letter  
to Clean Church  
6-22-62  
FCS:em

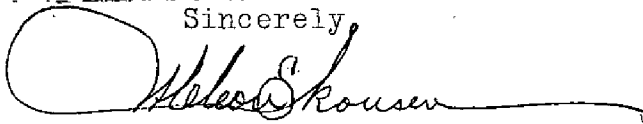
Letter  
to Mr. Poll  
6-22-62  
FCS:em

the anti-anti-Communist campaign has had its impact, it has not altered the basic fact that the American people realize something has been exceedingly wrong with many of our political policies dealing with the Communist threat.

Knowing how busy you are, I hope you won't even take the time to acknowledge this letter. It is just sent with my deep personal appreciation for the magnificent job you have done in an effort to keep American thinking straight on this and many other subjects.

With admiration and deepest respect.

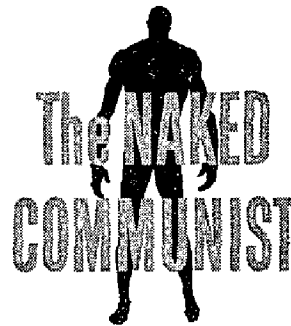
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "W. Cleon Skousen", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

W. Cleon Skousen

94-47768-58  
ENCLOSURE

*My Reply to  
Dr. Richard D. Poll  
and His Critique of*



*by W. Cleon Skousen*

I certainly can understand why Dr. Richard D. Poll felt compelled to write a "critique" against *The Naked Communist*. This book refutes many of Dr. Poll's favorite theories. Apparently Dr. Poll has encountered a number of problems in his attempt to understand Communism and several of these are evident in his attempt to review *The Naked Communist*.

Dr. Poll titles his critique, "This Trumpet (*The Naked Communist*) Gives an Uncertain Sound." In reality, it is not the "uncertainty" of *The Naked Communist* which bothers Dr. Poll. It is the certainty. *The Naked Communist* defines the problem of Communism and then suggests specific ways to deal with it which are just about 180 degrees opposite to the direction which Dr. Poll and several of his academic colleagues have been pointing. On page 7 of his critique Dr. Poll admits that this is what bothers him.

I have no objection to someone disagreeing with what I have said. I do object to distortion and misquotation in an attempt to discredit what I have said. The dictionary describes a critique as "a careful analysis of a literary work." I think it is easy to demonstrate that Dr. Poll has written an attack, not a critique. It is neither careful nor analytical.

Here are the main objections which Dr. Poll makes against this book:

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

He objects to the bibliography. He says there are only 109 bibliographical entries when actually there are 169. He says I used only 16 of the books cited by Dr. Carew Hunt of Oxford in his authori-



tative work, *The Theory and Practice of Communism: An Introduction*. Anyone who is really familiar with literature on Communism would realize that Dr. Hunt's bibliography is almost entirely British and French and that most of the books he cites are unavailable to American students. Out of 184 bibliographical entries, Dr. Hunt cites only 16 American sources. My bibliography includes many more.

Dr. Poll objects to the fact that a considerable number of my sources were printed before 1940. Had he been a good analyst of Communist literature he would have recognized that my bibliography includes a large percentage of original Communist sources. Practically all of these were published in America for the first time by the International Publishers of New York between 1930 and 1940. These are the books I have in my library and the ones which I quote.

#### WHEN DID I DO MY RESEARCH?

Dr. Poll makes a fantastic assertion on page 3 of his critique which must not go unchallenged. He says, "*Skousen has admitted that most of his research was done years ago. Most recent scholarship, he states, can safely be ignored because the academic experts of today will be proved as wrong as experts of earlier years.*"

Dr. Poll is referring to a question I was asked at his home on August 10, 1961. While discussing Communist theory, Professor Louis C. Midgley asked me if I did my research for the *Naked Communist* while I was at the BYU between 1951 and 1956. I told him that most of my research on the theory and early history of Communism was done while I was in the FBI from 1935 to 1951. We then got into a brief discussion of the Neo-Marxists and some of the recent apologists for Communism and I said that I preferred to make my analysis from the original Communist sources and draw my own conclusions because I had found that many modern apologists for Communist theory had tried to twist the original doctrines in an effort to rationalize away their inconsistencies. There is no excuse for Dr. Poll to distort these comments as he has done and then try to quote the distortion as a statement coming from me.

I should also mention that the *Naked Communist* quotes many

current authors on recent events involving the Communist conspiracy but Dr. Poll ignores these in his attempt to imply that *The Naked Communist* is outdated.

#### QUOTED MATERIAL

Dr. Poll says "*use of quotations is frequently questionable.*" What are some examples? He cites *three* which he feels contain "*minor discrepancies,*" one which is not "*accurately rendered,*" and one which he claims is "*substantially distorted by omitting part of the passage.*"

This is interesting. In his original draft of this critique which he sent to me, Dr. Poll was much stronger. He accused me of being "*deceptive*" and of trying to lead the reader astray with quotations which were "*garbled.*" I called him on the telephone and suggested that he go back and check his examples more carefully because they did not reflect too well on his own scholarship.

In its present form the critique is much milder. As an author, especially one who is treating a subject as complex as Communism, I appreciate a suggestion that a particular passage may contain an error of either proofreading or technical content, but an occasional error of this kind does not necessarily reflect on the integrity of an entire book as Dr. Poll originally tried to suggest.

A completely erroneous statement is attributed to me by Dr. Poll on page 7 of his critique. He says: "*Skousen's own excuse for inaccuracies which have been pointed out to him is that the important job, after all, is to alert people to the Red menace.*" This is ridiculous. Not at any time have I condoned errors in this book or any other. Dr. Poll claimed I had made this statement at his home. I have talked with several persons who were there and they state that nothing was said on that occasion which could have given Dr. Poll the excuse for such an unwarranted conclusion. In fact, I repeatedly invited several critics who were present to point out any errors in *The Naked Communist* and assured them that I wanted this book to be as accurate as possible.

#### THE QUOTATION FROM OTTO RUHLE

Now what about Dr. Poll's charge that one quotation from Otto Ruhle was "substantially distorted by omitting part of the passage?" What is this distortion? Dr. Poll doesn't tell us. Here is the precise statement in *The Naked Communist* to which Dr. Poll is objecting:

"At one moment Marx would be called 'the greatest genius of his age,' and a moment later even his disciples would feel forced to call him 'a violent, quarrelsome, contentious man, a dictator and a swash-buckler, one at feud with all the world and continually alarmed lest he should be unable to assert his superiority.'"

Is Dr. Poll objecting because I didn't include all of Ruhle's pleasant comment about Marx's gentleness, kindness, and capacity for self-sacrifice? This is not part of his admission against interest. I was simply pointing out that even a disciple of Marx was forced to admit that he was a violent, quarrelsome, contentious man, etc. I had already indicated that many admired him and considered him the greatest genius of his age. Where is the distortion, Dr. Poll? In fact, just so the reader would know that I was not over-emphasizing this criticism of Marx by one of his disciples I also cited in the footnote, page 308 of the book, where Ruhle says:

"If Marx were to fulfill the task which he believed to be his historic mission, he had to take his course straight ahead, relentlessly, brutally, regardless of feelings and sentiments, honour and morality, ties of friendship or affection."

This is Ruhle's attempt to justify the behavior of the "violent, quarrelsome, contentious man," he had previously described. And notice how this passage contradicts Ruhle's previous sentimentalities about Marx's "kindliness" and "friendliness." I think an unbiased reader will find that I treated this passage fairly and without distortion.

#### THE TEACHINGS OF DIMITRY Z. MANUILSKY

Dr. Poll objects to my using a quoted summary of the teachings of Dimitry Z. Manuilsky because, he says, it cannot be documented.

This is the famous quotation in which Manuilsky is quoted as teaching the following:

"War to the hilt between Communism and Capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. . . . To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist!"

For some time this quotation was cited from Pravda but the Legislative Reference Division of the Library of Congress could not find it. The history of this quotation has now been ascertained and it is set forth in the 11th edition of *The Naked Communist* as follows: "Quoted by Joseph Z. Kornfeder who was a student at the school. In a letter to Dr. J. D. Bales dated March 7, 1961, Mr. Kornfeder said: 'Enclosed is a copy of the quote you asked for. It is a part of what he (Manuilsky) said to a group of Senior Lenin School students at the Conference held in Moscow, March, 1930, at which I as one of the students was present.'"

#### THE COMMUNIST TIMETABLE OF CONQUEST

Even Dr. Poll admits that Communism is a danger but he criticizes Americans who point back to Mao Tse-tung's memorandum to Moscow in 1953 outlining a program of world conquest. He disparages the prediction of Mao Tse-tung that "twenty years from now (which would be 1973) world revolution will be an accomplished fact." (*Congressional Record*, Volume 100, p. 5708)

Dr. Poll assumes that Khrushchev's admission that Russia cannot catch up with the United States until 1980 as an indication that he expects to co-exist until at least that time. This interpretation is bluntly contradicted by Dr. Stefan T. Possony, author of *A Century of Conflict* and one of America's foremost authorities on Communist

strategy who teaches at Georgetown University. Here is how Dr. Possony described the situation when he appeared before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee on June 16, 1961:

"The Communists believe that the final decision of the world struggle, and specifically the victory of world communism, will be attained in the present era of history. In their conception, this era seems to extend to 1975 approximately." (*Analysis of the Khrushchev Speech of January 6, 1961*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 49)

Even Dr. Poll admitted in his talk at the University of Utah on February 24, 1960, that the Communists might isolate the United States. At the Great Issues Forum he declared:

"Overt war, for reasons suggested earlier, will probably not be used, but subsidies, subversion, propaganda and threats are potent weapons. It is conceivable that what Hitler called the 'artichoke method' of conquest may in time strip so many leaves from the free world plant that exposed America must fight or be devoured."

This is exactly what Mao Tse-tung was talking about in 1953, but Dr. Poll says "As prophecy, the 'Red Timetable' hardly seems worth the attention which Skousen accords it." (p. 4 of his critique)

#### **DR. POLL ENTANGLES HIMSELF IN COMMUNIST THEORY**

Dr. Poll exposes his own superficial concepts of Communism when he attempts to attack the theories of Communism as outlined in *The Naked Communist*.

For example, he cites this statement as inaccurate: "Communism undertakes to replace Judaic-Christian morals with a complete absence of morals." Dr. Poll then takes the position that this isn't true because Communism "argues that morals are relative to the stage of development of human society and has different sets for capitalist and Communist Societies." (p. 5)

Anyone who has studied the most elementary aspects of Communism should know that the Communist code of conduct has nothing to do with abstract "right" or "wrong" at any stage of development.

It is easy to demonstrate that the Communist morality is pure expediency. As Lenin said: "We say that our morality is wholly subordinated to the interest of the class-struggle of the proletariat," which is the Communist rationalization for the justification of imperialistic conquest, mass-murder, mass-starvation and mass-deceit.

This is the way William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party, explained it:

"With him (the Communist) the end justifies the means. Whether his tactics be 'legal' or 'moral' or not, does not concern him, so long as they are effective. He knows that the laws as well as the current code of morals are made by his mortal enemies. . . . Consequently, he ignores them insofar as he is able, and it suits his purposes." (*Syndicalism* by William Z. Foster, p. 9, which is quoted on the same page of *The Naked Communist* as the statement to which Dr. Poll is objecting and certainly should have helped him understand the point I was making, if, indeed, he wanted to understand it.)

During a recent conversation when I questioned Dr. Poll on this point he argued that theoretically the Communists expect to have their own system of morals after they establish their stateless society. I imagine Dr. Poll hopes they will have some system of morals if they ever reach that stage but Engels supports my position of "no morals at all" when he says: "We therefore reject every attempt to impose on us any moral dogma whatever. . . ." (This is also quoted on the same page of *The Naked Communist* as the passage to which Dr. Poll is objecting.)

As far as the prospect of a stateless society is concerned, Dr. Carew Hunt (whom Dr. Poll properly recommends) says: ". . . all the talk of the disappearance of the State and of the future communal society in which men will work for the good of all, and coercion will no longer be necessary, is pure mythology." (Carew Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism*, MacMillan, New York, 1957, p. 6)

#### WHAT ABOUT HISTORICAL ACCURACY?

Dr. Poll objects to my calling 46,000,000 Russian peasants "serfs" as of 1885 because he says they had been emancipated by the Tsar in 1861. I gave this exact explanation for this terminology just a few lines later when I said:

"Between 1861 and 1866, Tsar Alexander II sincerely attempted to do away with the institution of serfdom by approving several acts of emancipation. However, for all practical purposes, the impoverished lives of the peasants continued to be insecure, harsh and austere. Circumstances leading to a revolution were in the making." (p. 91)

This is precisely the same view expressed by the Russian authority, Sidney Harcave in his *Russia*, p. 253.

And just so Dr. Poll will know that my use of the word "serf" was appropriate even though these peasants had been technically liberated I refer him to Webster who says a serf "is any person who is oppressed."

Dr. Poll also objects to "*identification of Bakunin's anarchism and the Russian Populist movement with Marxism*." (p. 5 of his critique.) Is Dr. Poll trying to say Michail Bakunin was not a disciple of Marx? What will he do with this statement by Bakunin:

"You ask whether I am still your friend. . . . Yes, more than ever, my dear Marx, for I understand better than ever how right you were to walk along the broad broad road of the economic revolution, to invite us all to follow you. . . . I am now doing what you began to do more than twenty years ago. . . . My fatherland is now the International, whose chief founder you have been. You see, then, dear friend, that I am your pupil—and I am proud to be this. I think I have said enough to make my personal position and feelings clear to you." (Otto Ruhle, *Karl Marx*, New Home Library, New York, 1929, p. 280)

Bakunin disagreed with Marx on setting up a Communist dictatorship but he so admired the basic concepts of Marx that he translated *Capital* and other Marxist writings into Russian where they had their influence on the Populist movement in Russia.

### CRITICISM OR DISTORTION?

No author should object to an honest criticism of his work, but what of a distortion?

On page 6 of his critique Dr. Poll tries to make the reader believe that I over-simplified the significance of U. S. recognition of the USSR in 1933 by giving this single act almost exclusive credit for saving Stalin from being overthrown.

If the reader will turn to page 124 of *The Naked Communist* and read through to page 126 he no doubt will wonder why Dr. Poll can't understand ordinary English. I stated:

"Future circumstances (plural) did offer Stalin a solution to his crisis." Then I began discussing some of these circumstances:

"The first thing that happened was Hitler's rise to power in January, 1933. . . . The second factor which helped Stalin was the recognition of his Communist regime by the great leader of world capitalism--the United States. This last factor was a singular development."

I then discussed how recognition of the USSR came about and then go on to discuss a number of subsequent developments which boosted Stalin's political stock in Russia.

Specifically, where is the historical inaccuracy? Dr. Poll doesn't say, but he tries further to prejudice the reader with the amazing statement that anyone reading *The Naked Communist* must make a "distinction between Skousen's devil theory of history and objective analysis of the multiple causes of important historical developments."

What devil theory? Furthermore, I had discussed multiple causes. Later (p. 7) he accuses me of using the "scapegoat theory" of history. So long as he is going to resort to smear terms he might at least be consistent and stick with one theory or the other.

### WAS WORLD WAR II FOMENTED BY THE RUSSIAN LEADERS?

Dr. Poll takes strong exception to my statement that "World War II was fomented and used by the Russian leaders" as part of their strategy of Communist expansion. For a professor of history



and political science to be so completely unacquainted with such basic facts is astonishing.

The following statement from Dr. Stefen Possony of Georgetown University may be helpful to Dr. Poll:

"They (the Communist leaders) always considered that war would make possible the spreading of bolshevism." (*Century of Conflict*, p. 244)

"Stalin attempted to apply the strategy of 'let-the-other-fellow-do-the work' during World War II. By concluding a nonaggression pact with Germany (August 1939), Stalin induced Hitler to go to war against Britain, France and Poland. . . . By means of another nonaggression pact, Stalin later encouraged the Japanese to fight the western powers." (p. 243)

"The pact of August 1939 between nazism and bolshevism was the most far-reaching decision made by Stalin during World War II. This pact was Stalin's, and not Hitler's, brain-child. Without Stalin's promise not to attack Germany in the rear, Hitler hardly would have dared launch into the adventure of World War II. Whatever Stalin's true motives may have been, his behavior contributed nothing to the maintenance of peace and everything to make war inevitable. Without war, sovietism could not spread, and the Soviet Union could not grow." (p. 248)

All of the above theses are carefully documented by Dr. Possony and are identical with my presentation in *The Naked Communist*.

I have told Dr. Poll on a number of occasions that he is not adequately informed on the Communist conspiracy. This serious error in his critique of *The Naked Communist* demonstrates his need for further study.

#### CRITICISM OUT OF CONTEXT

For a person who is always urging scholarly objectivity I must point out one of Dr. Poll's many violations of his own rules on page 6 of his critique where he quotes the following statement out of context from *The Naked Communist*: "Anyone familiar with the Communist Constitution of Russia will recognize in the United Nations Charter a similar format." By leaving out the next sentence he

prevents the reader from learning what that format is. In the next sentence of *The Naked Communist* I pointed out that the technique used in both documents is to begin with a "fervent declaration of democratic principles which are sound and desirable; this is then followed by a constitutional restriction or procedural limitation which completely nullifies the principles just announced." I then give several specific examples of this in both documents. I first point out that the Russian constitution provides for universal suffrage and then makes it meaningless by allowing only one party to submit candidates. It promises freedom of the press and then makes it meaningless by providing censorship to make sure that everything is "in the interest of the workers." I point out that in the same manner, the UN Charter promises the "sovereign equality of all its members" and then makes it meaningless by setting up certain monolithic powers in the Security Council where five big nations become superior to all the other member nations. It provides for a General Assembly where each member is given one vote and then makes it meaningless insofar as problems of war are concerned by stripping the General Assembly of any legislative power to deal with war and delegating that authority exclusively to the Security Council.

I think an unbiased reader will agree that this format of making promises and then nullifying them is characteristic of both the UN Charter and the Russian Constitution. Apparently Dr. Poll disagrees and justifies his conclusion with an incredible statement. He says these nullification clauses in the UN structure are comparable to the "checks and balances" in our own U. S. Constitution! It seems to me that even an elementary course in political science should clearly demonstrate to Dr. Poll the distinction between the checks and balances in our own Constitution as compared with the undemocratic depository of monolithic powers in the Security Council where collectively or by the action of a single nation's veto this body can paralyze the wishes of all other members and do it without any opportunity for recourse or appeal. Surely this has nothing in common with the U. S. Constitution.

#### DR. POLL ON THE LOSS OF CHINA

Dr. Poll takes up his favorite China theme on page 6 of his critique. For some inexplicable reason he wants to rationalize that needless tragedy in terms of what he describes as "*circumstances beyond control, dilemmas, or even honest errors in judgment.*" (p. 6) I will accept the fact that some honest errors in judgment were part of the picture but not "*circumstances beyond our control.*"

The tragedy of the China debacle was the fact that we *were* in control. Dr. Poll seems to agree with certain people he doesn't name who hold that the loss of China could *not* have been prevented "by anything less than a military intervention so great as to have been against our national interest. . . ." This preposterous thesis is contradicted by every Congressional investigation which was ever conducted on the loss of China. I particularly recommend that Dr. Poll read the Congressional hearings on the Institute of Pacific Relations. If he wants to get the picture in briefer form I recommend he read *Wedemeyer Reports*, chapters 20-25. (Holt & Company, New York, 1958)

The plain facts are that the Nationalist government was perfectly capable of holding China so long as it received American aid. In 1946 General Wedemeyer declared: "The Nationalist government has the capacity to defeat, to crush militarily, the Communist forces right now. Most of the equipment of the Nationalist Government forces is American. If we do not continue to sell them ammunition to maintain or implement that equipment, they will be very greatly crippled in their military campaigns." (*Wedemeyer Reports*, p. 380) When General Marshall imposed an embargo on Chiang Kai-shek in 1946-47 the eventual Communist victory became inevitable. When General Wedemeyer sent his report to Washington and outlined how to save China the report was buried and he was muzzled. In sorrow, he later wrote:

"Perhaps I made a grave mistake and was derelict in duty to my country when I returned to military duties following the suppression of my report on China and Korea. Maybe if I had resigned and spoken my

mind I might have brought the truth home to the American people and saved China from the Communist conquest. . . ." (Wedemeyer Reports, p. 402)

Obviously General Wedemeyer would never make such a statement if circumstances had been beyond our control.

Now what about Dr. Poll's contention that if we had followed any different course to save China it would have involved our country in "military intervention so great as to have been against our national interest." (p. 6) I wonder if it will come as a great surprise to Dr. Poll to learn that General Wedemeyer recommended *against* U. S. military intervention? General Wedemeyer, our World War II commander in the China theater, knew that China could be saved without U. S. military involvement. In fact, to make this point vigorously clear he said:

"Moreover, to avoid any possibility of being involved in the internal affairs of China, it would appear sound to *remove all U. S. military forces from China proper.*" (Wedemeyer Reports, p. 457)

#### WHAT ABOUT CUBA?

Dr. Poll doesn't like my criticism of Washington officials who master-minded the policy which resulted in the tragic loss of Cuba to Communism. In his anxiety to discredit my presentation of the Cuban situation he implies that I rest my case on "treason" with "*Batista being described in very apologetic terms.*" Anyone who has actually read this chapter on Cuba in *The Naked Communist* will probably wonder what Dr. Poll is talking about. Here is the way I describe Batista:

"Politically, Batista's administration was typical of Cuba's past. The Batista regime indulged itself in certain quantities of graft; when there were armed insurrections, Batista met violence with violence; when there were minority uprisings he suspended civil rights and established full military control. Nevertheless he insisted that once conditions were stabilized, he would submit himself to the people in a popular election and would be willing to stand by the results just as he had done in 1944.

His opponents, particularly Fidel Castro, jeered at such promises and accused Batista of being opposed to constitutional government. The record shows that several times when Batista tried to slacken the reins of control there were immediate outbursts of violence and he would therefore tighten them again." (pp. 244-5)

Then I point out that Batista did offer to submit to a popular election and scheduled one for June 1, 1958, but it was prevented by Castro who said candidates for the elections must withdraw or suffer "ten years imprisonment to the death sentence." Former U. S. ambassador to Cuba, Arthur Gardner, strongly recommended that we support Batista in demanding that the revolution be suspended and a popular election held. Nothing ever came of it.

Now if Dr. Poll isn't going to accept this as an accurate and objective presentation of what happened, I challenge him to produce evidence of its inaccuracy.

I fear Dr. Poll reflects outright prejudice when he closes his critique on the Cuba chapter by saying: "The fact that the United States can crush Castro by force if it becomes in our vital interest to do so, argues against panicking while we are trying to help his own follies to destroy him and the Communist beachhead in Latin America." (p. 6) What kind of innuendo is this? This statement could only imply that somewhere in *The Naked Communist* there must be some hair-brained plan of action against Cuba which reflects "panicking." Since absolutely no plan of action for the present Cuban problem is even suggested in this book I sincerely wonder how Dr. Poll would justify this kind of unethical implication.

#### **WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT COMMUNISM?**

In his critique, Dr. Poll is antagonistic toward any of the economic or political sanctions recommended by Thomas Jefferson or Woodrow Wilson. Yet these are precisely what we are using in Cuba to help reverse the trend of Communist conquest. Dr. Poll drums on the wornout theme of don't disturb the Communists, they may change.

In view of this it would be expected that Dr. Poll would resist any and all of the suggestions for massive peaceful pressures which I make in *The Naked Communist*, because they are based on the realistic acceptance of Khrushchev's boast that the Communists have not changed in their resolution to conquer the world.

Because Dr. Poll apparently has not been following the reports of Congressional committees investigating Communism, he did not recognize many of the facets of the Communist Party Line which I listed. He pointed out particular items as "incredible" which only further demonstrated his need to learn his subject better. He assumed that since my list did not correspond precisely with that of J. Edgar Hoover that mine was deficient. Had he known Communist strategy better he would have recognized that J. Edgar Hoover was speaking in generalities whereas I was dealing in specifics. And because Dr. Poll appears unfamiliar with the specific strategy techniques which the Communist Party is presently using I would expect him to see little merit in many of the suggestions which I made to combat this strategy.

#### HOW WOULD DR. POLL FIGHT COMMUNISM?

When Dr. Poll gave his speech at the University of Utah, February 24, 1960, he revealed a position of soft, negative neutralism toward Communism. He said he wanted just enough "*will to resist among free peoples as may in time transform an expedient 'peaceful co-existence' into a durable modus vivendi.*" In other words, maintain the *status quo*, perhaps the Communists will change.

How will he achieve this?

He speaks of the "reasonableness" of crossing our fingers and exploring "disarmament possibilities with the Kremlin. . . ."

He speaks of the "reasonableness" of facing "*the prospect of contact with Peking.*" which is just another way of suggesting that we recognize Red China.

He speaks of the "reasonableness" of improving the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain rather than putting economic and political pressures on them. Here is the way he describes it: "Since

amelioration of the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain is more likely to result from economic growth and the relaxation of international tension than from external deliverance, a policy of reasonableness rather than belligerence may, in fact, be morally as well as politically sound."

Here Dr. Poll is begging for the "reasonableness" of building a stronger Communist society as the means of stopping Communist aggression! Does he think this would have worked with Nazi Germany? Did this kind of reasonableness work when we sold oil and scrap iron to Japan just prior to World War II?

And how does he propose to "ameliorate" the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain? Is it his proposal that the U. S. promote economic growth behind the Iron Curtain? And does he want to reduce "international tensions" by further U. S. appeasement? If not, how else does he propose to reduce these Communist-made tensions? He is talking as though Communism will die by feeding it to death, appeasing it to death and accommodating it to death. Is not this identical with the Roosevelt-Hopkins-Acheson theory of dealing with Stalin which undoubtedly will be remembered as one of the most catastrophic miscalculations in diplomatic history?

Dr. Poll is alarmed when any American suggests that we use Jefferson's program of breaking off diplomatic relations with nations which treat us "atrociously," or Woodrow Wilson's concept of political and economic sanctions against war-making nations. (See *The Naked Communist*, pp. 270-277)

Almost as though he were completely oblivious of the unrest among the satellites and Khrushchev's admissions of food shortages and other economic failures, Dr. Poll critically opines: "But there are still among us those who hold that the Communist bloc is a hollow shell which will collapse under sustained and increasing pressure. For them defense is defeatist. Liberation is the goal, and political isolation, economic warfare and subversion are the methods."

Well, to Dr. Poll, apparently "liberation" is not the goal. For him the Soviet violation of every important treaty, the vast program

of slave labor camps, the admitted execution of millions of Chinese, the illegal conquest of free Hungary, the world-wide network of Communist subversion—all this must somehow be overlooked. Instead, he suggests that we "accommodate" ourselves to the realities of the situation and work for the day when the free nations can lie down with the Communists like lambs with the lions. Of his proposed marriage between freedom and slavery he casually comments: "*With no more good means than is required for imperfect husband and imperfect wife to live together in reasonable accord, Americans can accommodate themselves to a world in which millennial peace must await the millennium.*"

Dr. Poll's proposals are exactly what Khrushchev is asking for because the Communist leader knows that in such a relationship his machinery for subversion is most likely to succeed. Said Khrushchev:

"Peaceful coexistence helps to develop the forces of progress, the forces struggling for Socialism, and in capitalist countries it facilitates the activities of communist parties and other progressive organizations of the working class." (*Italics added. Analysis of the Khrushchev Speech of January 6, 1961, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1961, p. 38*)

If Dr. Poll knows how we could win the cold war in an atmosphere of co-existence then he will prove himself more clever than the combined efforts of four American presidents who have thus far explored this possibility. All they got for their trouble was the loss of 750,000,000 allies and the reduction of American prestige to its lowest level in our lifetime.

#### **Dr. Poll's Claim to "Responsible Conservatism"**

In his critique of *The Naked Communist* Dr. Poll disclaims any sympathy for left-wing philosophies or policies. He then footnotes his disclaimer with this interesting statement concerning himself: "I have been a delegate to the Utah State Republican Party Conventions in 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1960, and I am convinced that the



need for a *responsible* conservatism was never greater in America." (Italics his, see p. 11 of his critique.) What kind of "responsible conservatism" is Dr. Poll attributing to himself?

Recently when I read Dr. Poll's speech which he gave at the Great Issues Forum, University of Utah, 1960, I was struck by the singular similarity between the ideas of Dr. Poll and some of those advocated by his famous contemporary at Harvard, Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Of course, Dr. Schlesinger has never posed as a "responsible conservative." In fact it was he who said:

"There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals." (*The Future of Socialism*, *Partisan Review*, May-June, 1947, reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, September 26, 1961, Volume 107, p. 20122-5)

In this same article he said:

"If socialism (i.e. the ownership by the state of all significant means of production) is to preserve democracy, it must be brought about step by step. . . ."

He then goes on to describe how "step by step" socialism can save the world from Communism. His idea is that all capitalist nations must be induced to coexist with the Communist bloc but maintain sufficient strength to contain the Soviet Empire and prevent further military expansion. Under these circumstances he thinks two things will be accomplished: the free world will gradually go socialist and the socialist Soviet bloc will gradually lose its appetite for world conquest. He thinks we might eventually end up in a centrally controlled socialist society which will plan peace and prosperity for the whole world.

Except for military containment, Dr. Schlesinger wants us to avoid any action which might be interpreted as hostile or provocative. He wants to get along with the Communists and hope that they will change. Now note the similarities between the following statements of Dr. Poll and Dr. Schlesinger:

## CO-EXISTENCE

### Dr. Poll

Imagination, money, reasonableness, science, patience—these applied in a spirit of enlightened self-interest can bring such strength to the will to resist among free peoples as may in time transform an expedient “peaceful coexistence” into a durable *modus vivendi*. . . .

With no more good sense than is required for imperfect husband and imperfect wife to live together in reasonable accord, Americans can accommodate themselves to a world in which millennial peace must await the millennium.

### Dr. Schlesinger

The United States must maintain a precarious balance between a complete readiness to repel Soviet aggression beyond a certain limit and a complete determination to demonstrate within this limit no aggressive U.S. intentions toward the USSR. It must commit itself economically, politically, and militarily, to the maintenance of this balance over a long period.

## USE OF APPEASEMENT — THE COMMUNISTS MAY CHANGE

Since amelioration of the lot of the people behind the Iron Curtain is more likely to result from economic growth and the relaxation of international tensions than from external deliverance, a policy of reasonableness rather than belligerence may, in fact, be morally as well as politically sound.

Given sufficient time, the Soviet internal tempo will slow down. The ruling class will become less risk-minded, more security-minded. Greater vested interests will develop in the existing order; Russia itself will begin to fear the revolutionary tendencies which modern war trails in its wake.

## NO HOPE OF FREEDOM FOR THE SATELLITES

Surely it is not “right thinking” to expect that the Soviets will submit to the division of their empire or the subversion of their system without a fight. One can feel profound sympathy for the oppressed in satellite Europe and South Africa and Franco’s Spain and still regard their immediate deliverance as an infeasible goal for American foreign policy.

At the same time, the United States must not succumb to demands for an anti-Soviet crusade nor permit reactionaries in the buffer states to precipitate conflicts in defense of their own obsolete prerogatives. (Note that the yearnings for freedom in the satellites are counted as “obsolete prerogatives” by Dr. Schlesinger—WCS)

Dr. Schlesinger claimed that as of 1947 these basic ideas had been secretly adopted as official policy in the State Department and were specifically designed to guide humanity toward the day when the whole world would be socialized. This may help explain the postwar policy of sponsoring left-wing governments and even Communist coalitions in many parts of the world. Here is the way Dr. Schlesinger describes it:

"Though the secret has been kept pretty much from the readers of the liberal press, the State Department has been proceeding for some time somewhat along these lines. Both Byrnes and Marshall have perceived the essential need—to be firm without being rancorous, to check Soviet expansion without making unlimited commitments to an anti-Soviet crusade, to invoke power to counter power without engaging in senseless intimidation, to encourage the *growth of the democratic left*. The performance has often fallen below the conception; but the direction has been correct. Men like Ben Cohen, Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen have tried to work out details and whip up support for this admittedly risky program." (*Congressional Record*, Volume 107, p. 20125)

Throughout his speech, Dr. Poll admits occasional failures in our policies since World War II but generally defends these policies. The loss of 10 countries and 750,000,000 allies to Communism doesn't seem to bother him. He speaks of "the leadership which our country has creditably borne since the last great war." Looking toward the future he says: "No more imagination will be required than launched the Berlin airlift or devised the Uniting for Peace Resolutions for the United Nations. No greater share of our national income will be needed than brought Marshall Plan recovery to Western Europe and today supports 'ugly Americans' in many blighted regions of the earth. No more reasonableness is demanded than that which buried hatred of Japan and Germany in half a decade and now, with fingers crossed, explores disarmament possibilities with the Kremlin and even faces the prospect of contact with Peking."

This will help the reader gain some idea of what Dr. Poll considers "responsible conservatism."

Now we come to Dr. Poll's attitude toward the problem of creeping socialism.

#### **DR. POLL AND CREEPING SOCIALISM**

Just as with Dr. Schlesinger, Dr. Poll can see no threat of a Communist takeover just because a country moves over toward socialism.

On page 12 of his critique, Dr. Poll challenges me to "name a single nation in human history which has traversed the Ambush Trail from democratic 'welfare statism' to Communism." He stated his position even more clearly in a letter to me: "I hold that there is not a single Communist country in the world today that became Communist by the gradual extension of governmental authority in welfare state and socialistic directions."

I believe that here again Dr. Poll is reflecting an opinion which a scholar of his capacity would not be expressing if he had taken time to probe the problem more thoroughly.

In the spirit of wanting to be helpful I suggest that he start out by reading *The Socialist Tragedy*, by Ivor Thomas, (The MacMillan Company, New York, 1951). Mr. Thomas, as a member of British Parliament, helped put the Socialists in power in England following World War II and served as one of its important officers. He is thoroughly familiar with socialist theory and socialist history. Chapter 4 of this book is a direct answer to Dr. Poll's challenge.

First of all, Mr. Thomas points out that Marx originally intended that the Socialist Party would be the main working-class political force and the Communists would merely be the elite leadership to spearhead the Socialists into action. The Communists were not supposed to be a separate party. Marx made this clear in the *Manifesto*: "The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. . . ." In practice, however, they did finally become a separate party because of the quarrel over methods and leadership. However, both Socialists and Communists continued

to use the Manifesto as the inspiration for their policies. In fact, the centennial edition of the *Manifesto* in 1948 was not put out by the Communists at all but was published by the socialist Labour Party of Great Britain with a glowing tribute to Marx by Harold J. Laski. Mr. Thomas points out that the Socialists often fight the Communists but only over the methods and means, not the objectives. At their root base they both have the same common denominator of Marxist ideology. Therefore Mr. Thomas says: ". . . it will be well to begin by establishing that, although socialism may differ from communism in its methods and in its tempo, the final state of society will be the same." (p. 14)

He then documents this proposition which shouldn't be necessary for anyone who knows the history of the Social Democrats on the continent of Europe or of the Fabians in England.

Then Mr. Thomas says: "Let us test the claim that socialism can be an effective barrier to communism."

"Where there has been a decisive test, the history of Europe provides no confirmation of the view that socialism can be an effective barrier to communism. On the contrary, the experience of many countries is that socialism has prepared the way for communism. Socialists have first undermined the effective barriers to communism; and when the communists have struck at them, the socialists have offered no effective resistance and in some cases have joined hands with the communism." (p. 41)

Now he recites the history of each country where the socialists came into power and then fell victims to Communist pressures. Only in those countries where other forces intervened were they saved. In the interest of brevity I will merely quote the conclusions of Mr. Thomas as he treats each nation.

**Russia:**

"The two Russian revolutions of 1917 are the classic example of the impossibility of maintaining a social democratic position against determined communist pressure. . . ." (p. 41)

". . . the communists could not have come to power if the social democrats had not first paved the way." (p. 47)

**Poland:**

"But the tragedy of the Polish Socialist party will not be understood unless it is realized that in its fight with Soviet communism it was ideologically compromised. Its partial acceptance of communist ideology constantly imposed upon it dilemmas which hindered the effectiveness of its action, and led first to common action with, and eventually to absorption by, the Communist party; and the Communist party in its conquest of the Polish state found it advantageous to have the facade of an alliance with the socialists." (p. 50)

**Hungary:**

"There was the same fatal alliance of the socialists with the communists, the same expulsion or suppression of all democratic elements, and the same acquiescence, with notable exceptions, of the former social democrats in a totalitarian state." (p. 56)

**Czechoslovakia:**

"But the history of Czechoslovakia since 1945 shows that he who sups at the cabinet table with the Communists needs a long spoon; that the Communist seizure of power was aided and abetted by the leaders of the Social Democrats; and that the Communists might not have been able to seize power if they had not first shared it with the Social Democrats." (p. 66)

**Italy and France:**

"In Italy and France communists have not been able to seize power, but the history of these two countries since the first world war shows no less convincingly that socialism cannot be an effective barrier to communism; they show rather that socialism opens the way to communism." (p. 66)

Now let us hear the end of the matter from the official statement of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties issued in November, 1960, from Moscow:

"The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties take joint action. . . . Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defence of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist Parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist Parties. (Com-

*unist and Workers' Parties' Manifesto* adopted November - December, 1960, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 92)

And so, Dr. Poll, I have not only shown you "a single" nation which became Communist through experimenting with Socialism, but I have shown you four. In addition I call to your attention this forthright statement by the Communists themselves that Socialists are considered their allies and tools for the "struggle to win power and build socialism," all of which verifies the conviction of these realistic Red strategists that socialism does indeed open the way for a potential conquest by the Communist leadership.

#### **WHAT OTHERS HAVE SAID ABOUT THE NAKED COMMUNIST**

In closing it might be mentioned that *The Naked Communist* has been reviewed a great many times by educators, political scientists, newspapers, magazines, news analysts, military specialists on Communism, former FBI officials, authors of texts on Communism and the faculty of the War College in Washington, D.C. All of these reviews have been favorable except two. One was a review by a person whom I would consider to be from the so-called extreme Right who said I had been too restrained. The other negative review was by Dr. Poll.

Nevertheless, I attribute to Dr. Poll a sincerity of purpose but I am hopeful that someday he will take the time to really learn the ramifications of the Communist conspiracy not only for his own sake but, more important, for the sake of his students.

Examples of reviewers who had a completely different reaction than Dr. Poll to *The Naked Communist* include the following:

**Stanley J. Tracy, Former Assistant Director of the FBI and presently the Vice President of the Foundation for American Research:** "This is the most powerful book on the subject of Communism I have ever read. It is the logical sequel of J. Edgar Hoover's book, 'Masters of Deceit.' It is the perfect book for college professors to teach from, and it belongs on the library shelves of every university and public library in the country."

**Florida State Department of Education:** "Each high school senior should read this book to see the contrast between the Communist dogma and the moral and spiritual values which have always been, and remain today, the strength of our nation. Any teacher could utilize the content of this book in presenting the evils of Communism." (*Florida School Bulletin*, June, 1959, p. 37)

**Educational News Service**, Nov. issue, 1959, p. 19. "To those who do not have in their home libraries the numerous reports of the Congressional and State Investigating Committees this book will bring the essence of them to you in a volume that has an excellent topical index and extensive bibliography."

**Dr. George Benson, President of Harding College:** "The most valuable book on Communism since publication of Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*. . . Its great value lies in the fact that (1) it was written specifically for high school seniors and is extraordinarily concise and understandable; (2) it deals with the whole subject of Communism; (3) its author . . . knows that for America to hold back the Communist menace her people must first understand the constitutional requirements needed to perpetuate our American freedom system. . . ."

**George E. Sokolsky, Washington Post, Washington, D. C.:** "I recommend this book as rewarding to those who really wish to know what they are talking about."

**Rosalie Gordon, America's Future:** "This is truly a remarkable book. . . . We can think of no greater service Americans could perform for themselves, their children and their country than to see that at least one copy of this book is in their local high school library."

**Paul Harvey, ABC News Analyst:** "I have never given any volume such an unqualified endorsement."

**Rodney Gilbert, author of Competitive Co-existence—The New Soviet Challenge:** "Anyone who thinks that the Communists can be brought to abandon their program of world conquest . . . should read this book. . . . This book is, in short, an encyclopedic treatment of Communism in all its manifestations, theoretical and applied."

**Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune:** "It is packed with the most revealing research . . . the chapter 'What Do Defenders of Communism Say' is itself more than the price of admission."



**Brig. General H. L. Ostler:** "I cannot praise this book too highly. It is something that has been needed in this country and the free world for a long time because it covers Communism in its entirety."

**Adolphe Menjou, Chairman, The American Academy of Public Affairs:** "I have already read 'The Naked Communist,' and consider it one of the finest books on the subject that I have so far seen."

**Captain Don W. Dillman, Military Intelligence, in the Intelligence Digest:** "Here is a whole library on Communism condensed into a single volume. . . . After reading the opening chapters a person feels opposed to Communism—not because he hates it, but because he understands it."

**Sixth U. S. Army Intelligence Newsletter:** "The author asks questions and provides an impressive and lucid compilation of answers which enables the reader to understand why intelligent and well educated Americans embraced the Communist ideology. One chapter is entitled, 'The Future Task' and answers the question of what can be done to stop Communism."

Additional copies of this pamphlet may be obtained by writing to the Ensign Publishing Co. at P. O. Box 2316, Salt Lake City, Utah. The price, postpaid, is thirty-five cents per copy.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6-22-62

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: W. CLEON SKOUSEN

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
Mohr	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
DeLoach	✓
Evans	✓
Malone	✓
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tavel	✓
Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holmes	✓
Gandy	✓

The Director is in receipt of a letter dated 6-12-62, from the above captioned. Skousen, as you know, is a former Bureau Agent who has been lecturing extensively on the subject of communism. He is the author of a book entitled "The Naked Communist."

In his letter Skousen makes reference to a controversy which he is currently having with a Dr. Richard Poll. Poll, sometime past, wrote a criticism of "The Naked Communist" entitled "This Trumpet Gives An Uncertain Sound." For criticism Poll attacks Skousen's book as inaccurate, inadequate and extremely partisan. Skousen has now prepared an answer to Dr. Poll in which he (Skousen) attempts to prove that Poll is wrong in his criticisms. Skousen encloses with his letter a copy of his reply to Poll as well as a mimeographed sheet dated 6-2-62, concerning the controversy.

94-47468 reflects that the Bureau has previously been aware of Dr. Poll's criticism of Skousen. Poll is a history professor at Brigham Young University. Apparently Poll and Skousen have both lectured about communism but disagree on a number of points. Salt Lake City Office has advised that Poll is considered opposed to communism but is also opposed to Skousen's approach. The controversy between Poll and Skousen has been under way for quite sometime. A review of Skousen's answer to Poll's criticism reflects that the FBI is mentioned. On page 2 Skousen indicated that he did his research on the theory and early history of communism while he was in the FBI from 1935 to 1951; on page 15 he makes passing mention of the Director in relation to the Communist Party line; and on page 24 he comments that "The Naked Communist" has been favorably reviewed by "former FBI officials." In this connection he quotes briefly from Stanley J. Tracy, former Assistant Director of the FBI and identified as Vice President of the Foundation for American Research.

Skousen, as you know, entered on duty with the Bureau on 10-24-35 as a Messenger, was appointed an Agent on 6-17-40 and resigned 10-5-51, services satisfactory. He has been identified as associated with the extreme right-wing element in the field of anticommunism.

REC-37

94-47465-59

Enclosure

6-25-62

EX 100

FCS:ear

(5)

JUL 2 375 1962

10 JUN 28 1962

CRIME RESEARCH

Jones to DeLoach  
Re: W. CLEON SKOUSEN

It is felt we should be most circumspect in our answer merely acknowledging receipt of this material. This will prevent the Director from becoming involved in any way in the controversy between Skousen and Dr. Poll.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent to Skousen.

*JPM  
for WSC*

*G*

*V*

REC-8

94-47468-60  
Mr. Russ Bullock  
693 Santa Coleta Court  
Sunnyvale, California

September 12, 1962

Dear Mr. Bullock:

Your letter postmarked September 4th has been received.

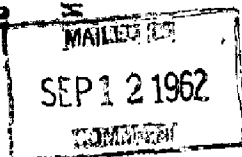
Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Mr. Skousen is no longer associated with the FBI and his opinions are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any way.

The FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In view of the foregoing, I am unable to comment in the manner you requested.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RMW:mlk  
(3)

See Note next page.

SEP 13 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Russ Bullock

NOTE: Neither Correspondent nor "Christians Confront Communism" identifiable in Bufiles. Geren is a career Foreign Service Officer. He received recess appointment as Deputy Director of the Peace Corps. Information indicates Geren took a tour in 1959 including 30 days in Russia. He was accompanied by one Gerome Dwight Davis, a concealed communist in 1936 and as late as 1944. Geren indicated membership in the American Council Institute of Public Relations. Carl Prussian is former security informant of the San Francisco Division who was discontinued in 1958 after he disclosed his informant's status to the newspapers.

TRUE COPY

September 2, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir,

During this past week, we have had a study course on communism at our church. The basic book used was "Christians Confront Communism" by Paul Geren. U.S.S.R. U.S.

The layman instructor, Bill Hunt, was using "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen for much of his teaching. I took exception to several things that came out of Skousen's book.

I would appreciate any background material you could send me concerning Skousen, as I am interested in finding out if his writings are in the best interest of fighting communism.

Since I am writing, I'd like any information available on a Carl Prussian concerning anti-communism.

Russ Bullock  
693 Santa Coleta Ct  
Sunnyvale, Calif

P. S. I am a member of Fair Oaks Park Southern Baptist Church in Sunnyvale.

REC-8 94-47468-61 RB  
9 SEP 18 1962  
8-RMW

1-TC bcf

EX-116

all  
9-10-62  
mnp

September 2, 1962

J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir,

During this past week, we have had a study course on communism at our church. The basic book used was "Christians Confront Communism" by Paul Geren.

The layman instructor, Bill Hunt, was using "The Naked Communist" by W. Cleon Skousen for much of his teaching. I took exception to several things that came out of Skousen's book.

I would appreciate any background material you could send me concerning Skousen, as I am interested in finding out if his writings are in the best interest of fighting communism.

Since I am writing, I'd like any information available on a Carl Russian concerning anti-communism.

RC  
OK  
OK  
OK

Russ. Bufile  
93 S. 1st St.  
Sunnyvale, Calif.

P.S. I am a member of Fair Oaks Park Southern Baptist Church in Sunnyvale.  
PB

TRUE COPY

2912 - B - Pepper Tree Lane.  
Costa Mesa, Calif.  
Sept. 7, 1962.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,

Dear Sir,

Will you help to clear my thinking regarding Dr. Schwartz of the Christian Anti-Communism School and the John Birch Society? - Also Leon Skouson, Cleon

Having read some articles regarding the John Birch Society my conclusion is that their aims are American, but some members are "extremists."

I have listened to Dr. Schwartz' School of communism and also last week heard Dr. Schwartz on "Meet The Press." I feel he is presenting a cause, not personalities.

I have read Mr. Skouson's book "The Naked Communist" and have been greatly enlightened. Dr. Fifield of a Los Angeles church brought these people to our attention and we truly thank him. *Calif*

As "Spiritual Life Secretary" I have brought some of Mr Skouson's and Dr. Schwartz' information to our ladies through our worship service. Our ministers' wife and one member have brought me up sharply because of this. They said that Mr. Skouson is not all he seems to be - has no right to give suggestions that will help different groups to spread the proper information-- that Mr. Schwartz has been proved out of line. I cannot understand the attitude of our church officials regarding extremists. Many of our ladies feel as I do, but I am greatly disturbed regarding the lack of knowledge of these vital issues.

I hope you will give me reason to continue to speak gently, firmly and with love and Christian conviction. Now I feel quite out of step.

Sincerely and respectfully

/s/

(Mrs F. E) Dorothy E. Groody

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-104801-1752

EX-108

REC-60

SEP 13 1962

NOT RECORDED  
191 SEP 13 1962

57 SEP 19 1962



November 29, 1962

REC-41 44-47468 - 62

Mrs. John Barracough  
1707 Hervey Street  
Boise, Idaho

EX-114

NOV 29 4 57 PM '62  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Dear Mrs. Barracough:

Your letter postmarked November 24, 1962, has been received, and the thought prompting your communication is appreciated.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Therefore, I am sure you understand why I am unable to comment in the manner you suggested concerning Mr. Garfield and the United Nations. With respect to Mr. W. Cleon Skousen, however, he entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. Since resigning from this Bureau, Mr. Skousen's activities are strictly his own. Based upon my policy explained above, I am not in a position to offer any evaluation of him.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

CTP

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DTP:bsp (3)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

54 DEC 4 1962

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The day that Cleon Skousen was scheduled to speak in our fair city; my daughters Junior Hi History Teacher began asking the class whether or not they liked the U N. Then he proceeded to malign Mr. Skouse, saying he had been fired from the F B I. I would like to disprove this accusation and I hope your files will enable me to do so. It was my understanding that he left the F B I to accept a position at the Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

Another factor which has been quite disgusting--this teacher, Mr. Garfield, has been making derogatory remarks about some of the students whose views were against the U N.

I hope to hear from you soon

Sincerely

Mrs. John Barraclough

*Mrs. John Barraclough*  
*1707 91st St*  
*Boise, Idaho*

*JMN*

*ack 11-29-62*  
*DTP-bag*  
*hml*

REC-41 94-47468-62

12 NOV 30 1962

**EX-113**

NOV 31 15 12 PM '62

*Criminal Records*  
**THREE**

PERMS. REC. UNIT

December 8, 1962

REC-49

94-47468-63

EX 105

Honorable Spessard L. Holland  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I received your communication of November 28th, with enclosure, and it is a pleasure to furnish the information requested.

Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. I would like to point out that Mr. Skousen's activities, opinions and comments are strictly his own and do not represent this Bureau in any manner.

I hope the above will be of assistance to you, and I am returning Mr. Melton's letter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

MAILED 8

DEC 9 - 1962

COMM-FBI

NOTE: Bufiles indicate we have had cordial relations with Senator Holland who is on the Special Correspondents' List. Mr. Quimby Melton, Sr., Editor of the Griffin Daily News, Griffin, Georgia, is also on the Special Correspondents' List.

JH:rap (6)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DEC 3 1 57 PM '62  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Re: Quimby Melton, Sr., Publisher  
Griffin Daily News  
Griffin, Georgia

United States Senate

November 28, 1962

Respectfully referred to

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau  
of Investigation, Washington 25, D. C.

for such consideration as the communication  
herewith submitted may warrant, and for a report  
thereon, in duplicate to accompany return of  
inclosure.

By direction of

*Richard L. Holland* A

GPO 16-7512-1

SLH/f

*Holland-scl  
Melton-scl*

*ack  
12-3-62  
TH:rop*

REC-49 94-144 7468-63

EX-105  
RECEIVED-SECURITY  
8 NOV 30 1962

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Evans ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

*made  
30*

EXP. PROC.  
33 NOV 30 1962 40

A  
ENCLOSURE

PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE  
REC. UNIT

# GRIFFIN DAILY NEWS

SENATOR S. L. HOLLAND ESTABLISHED 1871

RECEIVED  
GRIFFIN, GEORGIA

QUIMBY MELTON, SR. NOV 28 1962  
PUBLISHER

Nov. 27, 1962

Dear Spessard: WASHINGTON, D. C.

I am not a "constituent" of yours.

But I am a friend and have the greatest confidence in you. So I turn to you for some information.

Last night a Cleo Skousen spoke here at a meeting sponsored by a new organization that calls itself "The Conservatives." He spoke on the dangers of Communism. During his speech he practically charged that our government is a satellite of Russia; that our officials are dupes of Krushchev; that we have entered a secret agreement with Russia over Cuba and all that.

He is a forceful speaker and knows how to rouse enthusiasm. He is skilled in taking some small fact, blowing it up out of all proportion, and presenting it as a fact. I am certain you know others like *her* *fr*

The Conservatives played up the fact that he was a former FBI man -- a specialist on communism--and that his book "The Naked Communist" is a best seller. (I understand he was paid \$500 for his visit here.) A charge was made for admission and the local sponsors probably came out with no loss.

Now Spessard I don't like anyone jumping on our government and making blanket charges that we are going to the dogs are communist dominated and such ridiculous charges.

Here is what I am asking you to do for me:

Please establish the fact that he was with the FBI; and in what capacity. Please find out why he left the FBI. Please find out if he has ever been associated with ultra-conservatives such as the Birch Society, even to the extent of being "fellow traveller."

My purpose in asking this information is that I am afraid a lot of our good people are being "brain washed". Some of the key persons in the new organization are so "conservative" that if I were inclined to say so, I might say they are Fascists.

ENCLOSURE

Any information that you will get for me will not be attributed to you -- but to the source.

94-47468-63  
Thanks--and a Merry Christmas *[Signature]*

EX-120  
REC-55

94-47468-64

January 4, 1963

Mrs. Shirley Patterson  
Solvang, California

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

I have received your letter of December 30th, with enclosure, and appreciate the interest prompting you to write.

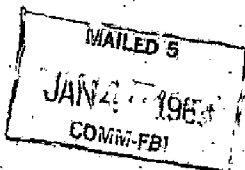
In response to your request, Mr. W. Cleon Skousen entered on duty with the FBI as a clerk on October 24, 1935, in which capacity he served until June 17, 1940, when he became a Special Agent. He voluntarily resigned the latter position on October 5, 1951. His personal ventures as well as his opinions and comments since he left the Bureau are strictly his own, and I am sure you will understand why it is not possible for me to comment on these in any way whatsoever.

Enclosed is some literature I trust you will find to be of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director



RECEIVED  
FBI  
JAN 7 1963

Enclosures (5)

(Listed next page)

1 - Los Angeles - Enclosures (2)

NOTE: (See next page)

JCF:mlw (4)

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR DEC 31 3 51 PM '62

REC'D-LOS ANGELES OFFICE

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

60 JAN 15 1963

TELETYPE UNIT

Mrs. Shirley Patterson

Enclosures (5)

Let's Fight Communism Sanely

You Versus Crime

Bulwarks of Liberty

An American's Challenge

Communism and the Knowledge to Combat It

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent,  
Mr. Paul D. Raymond, or the Midland School of Los Olivos, California.

TRUE COPY

Dec 30, 1962

Dear Mr Hoover,

This letter was written to the Editor of our small local weekly paper, Santa Ynez Valley News, several weeks ago.

I am deeply concerned over this article because I have always felt Mr Skousen to be an excellent authority on the Communist threat to our country, and as a member of our local Speakers' group, we were so pleased to have Mr Skousen here.

This writer, Mr Raymond is a teacher at Midland School, a private boys' school here in the Santa Ynez Valley.

Certainly this letter will undo some of the good that was done thru Mr Skousens' speech. This area seems to be quite "liberal" in thinking any way, due to the influence of the Santa Barbara News-Press (we are located 30 mi no. of Santa Barbara)

Can you please answer me in such a way that your word on Mr Skousen could be published. This could refer to his character, back ground, anything in favor of him. The reference to U. S. History texts is understandably out of your particular dep't.

Many thanks for any help you can give me.

Mrs Shirley Patterson  
Solvang, Calif.

Return address per envelope:  
S. Patterson  
Solvang, Calif.

ack 1-4-63  
mml JCF/mab

17C 1-2-63 jld

PCX



Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Dec 30, 1963

Encl  
1

Dear Mr Hoover,

24P

This letter was written to the Editor  
of our small local weekly paper, Santa Ynez  
Valley News, several weeks ago.

W. Chon Skousen

I am deeply concerned over this article  
because I have always felt Mr Skousen is  
an excellent authority on the Communist  
threat to our country, and as a member of  
our local Speakers' group, we were so  
pleased to have Mr Skousen here.

ENCLOSURE  
EX-120  
REC-56  
94-47468-964  
JAN 6 1964  
CORRESPONDENCE  
This writer Mr Raymond is a teacher  
at Midland School, a private boys' school  
near the Santa Ynez Valley  
nml  
1 TC 1-2-63 Jld

Certainly this letter will undo some  
of the good that was done thru Mr  
Skousens' speech. This area seems to be quite  
"liberal" in thinking anyway, due to the influence  
of the Santa Barbara News-Press (we are located  
30 mi. no. of Santa Barbara)

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a way that your word on Mr. Skousens  
could be published. This could refer to his  
character, background, anything in favor  
of him. The reference to U.S. History texts  
is understandable out of your particular dept.

Many thanks for any help you can give  
me.

Mrs Shirley Patterson  
Solvang, Calif.

msl

## The Readers' Corner

### Skousen Convincing, Dangerous; Views Need 'Considerable Airing'

Editor, Valley News:

W. Cleon Skousen seems to have become a center of controversy in our Valley. This is good because views such as he expresses require considerable airing. Usually a light breeze will blow their substance away, but, unfortunately, the lint keeps collecting again in a multitude of fuzzy minds.

I did not hear him when he spoke in the Valley on Dec. 5, but did the night before in Santa Barbara and have heard him several times on tapes and T.V. and have also read his book, The Naked Communist, and sundry other things he has written. In short, I have done my homework and have reached the conclusion that he is either a charlatan or a "nut," but, in either case, is definitely dangerous, in-so-far as he is able to convince others that what he says is true.

Two years ago, one of my students asked to play a tape by Mr. Skousen on U.S. History as it is being taught in the American schools (there was no title on the tape). This tape was played in my living room before a group of students.

Mr. Skousen asserted that our U.S. History is being taught with a Communist slant, that the major text-books in this field are filled with Communist propaganda. Then he described this propaganda.

Among other things being taught, he said, is the idea that the Founding Fathers were aristocrats—rich men—who sat on their verandas sipping mint-juleps, while being waited on hand and foot by slaves. The major text-books, he said, also portray the Founding Fathers as men who wrote the Constitution to serve their own selfish needs.

The speech was long — he seems to be given to two hour addresses — but these will serve as examples.

Mr. Skousen is a very convincing speaker, and he might have swayed even my students. However, I belled the cat, so to speak; I had the half-dozen, most-used U.S. History texts right there in the living room. After each outrageous statement, I turned the tape recorder off and had my students examine what the text-books really said. In every case, what they actually said bore no relation to what Mr. Skousen said they said.

In his speech on Dec. 4 in Santa Barbara (I assume he made the same speech here) he utilized several quotations from works by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., to prove that the present Administration is being subjected to serious, internal Communist influences. His technique was subtle and convincing. Nowhere did he directly assert that Schlesinger is a Communist, instead, he used the quotations to prove that Schlesinger is a "social-democrat" or "Fabian Socialist." Elsewhere, he indicated that these are no different from Communists — about as fraudulent a notion as was ever conceived.

even if Schlesinger could be placed in these categories, which he cannot.

Most glaring, however, was Skousen's failure to cite any sources for the quotations he was using to slander a great historian and public figure and to destroy peoples' faith in the loyalty of our Administration.

During the question and answer session after the speech, I asked for the sources of these quotations. I asked for book titles, dates of publication and page numbers. Instead of these, he cited five pages in the 1958 Congressional Record. Intelligent people will not need to be told that Skousen thereby indicated that he is probably unfamiliar with Schlesinger's works — nor will they need to be told that the quotations were torn from their context and told much more about the person who would use them in this form than about the man who originally said them.

One final word. At the conclusion of his address — by which time Mr. Skousen had "proved" pretty conclusively that America was sold out to the Communists — the master

of ceremonies leapt to his feet and said, "Wasn't that great!! Wasn't that thrilling!!" And the audience cheered.

America will not be saved, however, by those who are able to cheer after hearing that their country has been sold out.

PAUL D. RAYMOND  
Midland School  
Los Olivos, California

94-47468-64  
ENCLOSURE

March 22, 1963

AIRTEL

~~1 - Mr. Belmont~~  
~~1 - Mr. Sullivan~~  
1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. Mullins

To: SAC, Salt Lake City

From: Director, FBI (94-47468)

W. CLEON SKOUSEN  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

The 3/19/63 Congressional Record shows Senator Moss of Utah spoke concerning a booklet entitled "Has Cuba Been Abandoned to Communism?" which was authored by Skousen and which Moss indicates had been sent to him with the compliments of the Citizen's Information Committee of Salt Lake City. Moss further stated he suspected the Committee is a front for the John Birch Society.

Bureau has been unable to locate copy of this booklet and desires that you expeditiously forward copy by airtel for review by Bureau.

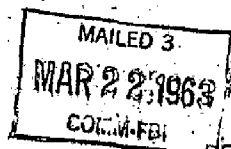
NOTE:

Information concerning booklet contained in memorandum N. P. Callahan to the Director 3/20/63 entitled "The Congressional Record." All logical Bureau facilities have been checked concerning this publication, and no references to it could be located. There is also no indication that outside sources which normally could provide publications of this nature have access to it. Nationalities Intelligence Section has been instructed to review booklet and prepare analysis of it.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RAM:djw

(7)  
5



REC-45

94-47468-65

19 MAR 25 1963

EX-116

MAR 27 1963

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 3/27/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (94-47468)

FROM: SAC, SALT LAKE CITY (80-225) (C)

W. CLEON SKOUSEN  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

Rebuairtel 3/22/63.

In accordance with referenced Bureau airtel, one copy of a booklet entitled "Was CUBA been abandoned to Communism?" by W. CLEON SKOUSEN, is enclosed. Also enclosed is another booklet entitled "ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., ...man behind the scene in Washington," also by SKOUSEN. This latter booklet is one of Mr. SKOUSEN's latest publications and the Bureau may desire it also for review.

*W. Cleon Skousen*

The foregoing two booklets were furnished this office by Sergeant ROBERT JOHNSON, Salt Lake City, Utah, Police Department. He stated they are being sold in Salt Lake City at a price of twenty-five cents each.

BLAYLOCK

3 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (REG. AM)  
1 - Salt Lake City

DLL:mhe  
(4)

*EXHIBIT 100-1000*

*Memo Warrall to Sullivan  
4/1/63  
Rom: djw*

94-47468-66

10 APR 28 1963

*REC-28*

*NAT. INT. SEC.*

*PERS. REC. UNIT*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

67 APR 18 1963

1 Booklet entitled "has CUBA been  
abandoned Communism?"

1 Booklet entitled "ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER,  
JR....man behind the Scene in Washington,  
both by W. CLEON SKOUSEN.

BUREAU

SALT LAKE CITY

80-225

94-47468

W. CLEON SKOUSEN  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION  
CONCERNING (NATIONALITIES  
INTELLIGENCE)

(Title)

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ARTHUR M.  
SCHLESINGER, JR.

...man behind the scene  
in Washington





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ANYTHING written by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., is important for at least two reasons: *First*, he is considered one of the most influential advisors to President Kennedy on the White House staff, and *second*, he is a leader in the group of strategists who have controlled American foreign policy for over twenty years.

Before coming to the White House, Mr. Schlesinger was teaching history at Harvard University. He had attracted the attention of Harvard liberals early in his career and had been made a full professor of history in 1954 without ever having earned either a Master's degree or a Ph.D. degree. His title of "Dr." is honorary only and not from Harvard. His three honorary degrees have been from Muhlenberg College (1950), Bethany College (1956) and the University of New Brunswick (1960).

Mr. Schlesinger has been active in politics all of his adult life. He served as speech writer for Adlai Stevenson, was chairman of the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), and serves as a top official in the American Civil Liberties Union, the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Committee on Africa and the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.

Dr. Schlesinger is recognized both by friends and opponents as a skillful strategist and brilliant writer. His writings may be roughly classified in two categories, those writings which deal in generalities and are designed for popular consumption, and then those writings which are aimed at the exclusive inner circle of which Mr. Schlesinger is a member. The mind of Arthur M.

Schlesinger can best be understood by studying his "inner circle" writings.

### **The Schlesinger Manifesto — 1947**

One of the most complete exposures of Dr. Schlesinger's thinking is set forth in an article which he wrote for the "inner circle" in 1947. It appeared in the *Partisan Review* for May-June, 1947, and is referred to by Congressmen as the "Schlesinger Manifesto" because it sets forth the grand strategy of the men behind the scenes. This entire article was reprinted in the *Congressional Record* for September 26, 1961 (See Volume 107, pp. 20122-20125).

In this article Dr. Schlesinger boldly asks his colleagues: "Is Democratic Socialism possible?" With equal boldness he assures them that it is, not only for the United States but for the whole world.

But what is Democratic Socialism? What is Dr. Schlesinger advocating?

A standard reference book on this subject is the *Fabian Essays in Socialism* which was originally published in 1889 but was reprinted by Doubleday in 1961. The seven writers who prepared these essays state in the introduction that they "are all Social Democrats" (p. 6). They then describe some of their ultimate goals:

**Diminishing and then eliminating private ownership of property, p. 16.**

**Government ownership or control of all land, pp. 82, 191, 194.**

**Government ownership or control of industry, p. 191.**

**Government control of labor, p. 191.**

**Government control of communications, p. 191.**

**Government ownership or control of transportation, p. 191.**

**Government ownership or control of the banks, p. 195.**

**Government ownership or control of insurance, p. 42.**

**Gaining economic control nationally and then expanding it internationally, pp. 170, 173.**

**Diminishing the significance of the family, pp. 183, 245.**

*Diminishing the significance of religion, p. 43.*

*Central government control over the whole educational system, p. 75.*

Of course, all of this closely parallels the doctrines of Karl Marx but the Social Democrats point out that they expect to achieve their goals of a collectivized society by peaceful means. They will do it by "gradualism" or "piece-meal," as Dr. Schlesinger calls it, so the people will not be aroused to resistance through resentment.

The Social Democrats visualize several stages of transition. The one they are working for now is a "mixed society" or a combination of socialism and capitalism. The squeeze would then be gradually tightened on private enterprise until it is eliminated. This is described on page 196 of the *Fabian Essays in Socialism*.

Now let us take a look at the so-called Schlesinger Manifesto which reflects the thinking of this important "man behind the scenes" who sets out to answer the question "Is democratic socialism possible?"

#### **Schlesinger on the Coming of Socialism**

Although the sentiments of the people may be opposed to it, Dr. Schlesinger says Democratic Socialism is possible:

"Abstracting the question for a moment from current political actualities, one must answer that there is no inherent reason why democratic socialism should not be possible." (Paragraph 6 of Dr. Schlesinger's *Partisan Review* article.)

But how can it be brought about without arousing the people? Dr. Schlesinger believes the strategy of "gradualism" is the answer:

"If socialism (i.e. the ownership by the state of all significant means of production) is to preserve democracy, it must be brought about step by step in a way which will not disrupt the fabric of custom, law, and mutual confidence upon which personal rights depend. That is, the transition must be piecemeal; it must be

parliamentary; it must respect civil liberties and due process of law." (Paragraph 7.)

Here is the real key to the strategy of the Social Democrats—to get control of the people and their property by "due process of law."

But won't the people resist? In advanced countries like the United States and Britain where most people have substantial property holdings, won't they fight rather than give up their rights? Dr. Schlesinger thinks not:

"There is no sign in either nation that the capitalists are putting up a really determined fight." (Paragraph 8.)

Now Dr. Schlesinger outlines how the United States will be gradually socialized. He starts out with this assurance:

"There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals." (Paragraph 9.)

He feels that the next depression will panic the people into demanding more socialization:

"... the next depression will certainly mean a vast expansion in Government ownership and control. The private owners will not only acquiesce in this, in characteristic capitalistic panic, they will demand it." (Paragraph 9.)

Notice that in this sentence Dr. Schlesinger has expanded his original definition of Socialism. In paragraph 7 he defined Socialism as "the ownership by the state of all significant means of production." Now he starts talking about "ownership and control." The Social Democrats have always felt that getting "control" of industry is the important thing. It is then easy to squeeze out the operators and "nationalize" the industry whenever it seems expedient. Dr. Schlesinger even goes so far as to state that it may be desirable to have different types of "ownership" so long as it is tightly administered by government control:

"Government ownership and control can take many forms. The independent public corporation, in the manner of TVA, is one; State and municipal ownership can exist alongside Federal owner-

ship; and techniques of the cooperatives can be expanded; even the resources of regulation have not been fully tapped." (Paragraph 10.)

Undoubtedly this is the most significant sentence in the early part of Dr. Schlesinger's article. It exposes the whole socialist strategy to seize power over a free society by Government "regulation." This was Benito Mussolini's approach to socializing Italy. Of course, the Democracies have always looked upon government "regulation" as a means of *preventing* monopoly and insuring fair play in the open market. Now the Socialists come along with a plan to use Government regulation as the means of getting "Government ownership and control." In other words, to establish a Government monopoly which would eliminate free enterprise, private ownership, and the principle of competition in the open market.

At this point Dr. Schlesinger feels he has made his point and so he concludes:

"Socialism, then, appears quite practicable within this frame of reference, as a long-term proposition." (Paragraph 11.)

#### **Schlesinger's Idea of Saving Democracy Through Socialism**

At several points in his article, Dr. Schlesinger expresses the idea that the reason he wants to promote Socialism is so that it can "save" democracy.

For example, in paragraph 7 he states: "If socialism . . . is to save democracy, it must be brought about step by step," etc., then in paragraph 11 he says Socialism's "gradual advance might well preserve order and law, keep enough internal checks and discontinuities to guarantee a *measure of freedom*, and evolve new and real forms for the expression of democracy." (Italics added.)

What is a "measure of freedom?" Even the prisoners in Alcatraz have a "measure of freedom."

The American founding fathers seem to have contradicted Dr.

Schlesinger's thesis. They counted the concentration of power in government the enemy of democracy. As James Madison warned:

"Where an excess of power prevails, property of no sort is duly respected. No man is safe in his opinions, his faculties, or his possessions." (Quoted in *Christian History of the Constitution*, by Verna Hall, p. 248-A.)

Therefore Samuel Adams declared that the American colonies proclaimed Socialism to be *unconstitutional*:

"The Utopian schemes of levelling, and a community of goods, are as visionary and impracticable as those which vest all property in the Crown, are arbitrary, despotic, and in our government, *unconstitutional*." (Ibid.)

In 1947, Dr. Schlesinger's example of Socialism saving a democracy was Great Britain. Yet that very same year the Socialist Labour Government adopted a compulsory labor law giving the Socialist Government the power to assign any British worker to any job that it saw fit—and for any length of time. (See F. A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, p. XIII.) This despotic act was a major factor which cost the Socialists the next election. They frantically repealed this law at the last moment to try to save their political skins, but the British voters ousted them.

Later, the Socialist leaders reflected on their experience and many of them honestly admitted that their experiments had almost scuttled British democracy. In a spirit of self-criticism, the Labour Party's leading intellectual, R.H.S. Crossman, wrote an evaluation and called it, *Socialism and the New Despotism*. (Fabian Tract No. 298, London, 1956.) In it Mr. Crossman admits that Socialist theory had not led toward the preservation of democracy but had resurrected the twin relics of the Dark Ages: *feudalism* and *despotism*.

#### Schlesinger's Views on American Democracy

Throughout his article, Dr. Schlesinger seems to look upon traditional American democracy as a weak vehicle rattling along the ruts of a political blind alley. The amazing success story of the American system is no great achievement to Dr. Schlesinger.



His manifest contempt for its businessmen, its labor movement, its religions, its democratic institutions, are salt and peppered throughout his article. Here is his caustic comment about democracies in general and American democracy in particular:

**"A democracy is politically unreliable at best; the American democracy is notoriously unreliable on all questions of maintaining a continuous foreign policy. Between the irresponsibility of the capitalists, the confusion of the intellectuals, and the impotence of the working class, there may arise a state of irresolution which produces a political vacuum; and a political vacuum inevitably attracts activists—gangsters, terrorists, and totalitarians." (Paragraph 45.)**

Here Dr. Schlesinger introduces his favorite bogeyman: *Fascism*. Starting with a patently false premise that "a democracy is unreliable at best," he ends up with the equally false conclusion that Socialism is the only plan of salvation since otherwise we are confronted by the specter of *Fascism*.

Dr. Schlesinger sees no salvation in preserving a free and open society such as the founding fathers envisioned. It is too "unreliable."

#### **Schlesinger's Views on American Businessmen**

Not only is American democracy unreliable, but its businessmen are irresponsible. He says:

**"Fearing change, fearing swift action because it might portend change, lacking confidence and resolution, subject to spasms of panic and hysteria, the American business community is too irresponsible to work steadily for the national interest, or even for its narrow class interests." (Paragraph 19.)**

What he especially condemns is the fact that American businessmen resist Socialism:

**"But the American business community continues to resist radical democracy, like a drowning man threshing out at his rescuer. In so doing, it may destroy the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism." (Paragraphs 19-20.)**

### **Schlesinger's Views on Organized Labor**

The Socialists have always pretended to be the friends of the working man and of organized labor in particular. Dr. Schlesinger strips away the mask of pretense and boldly declares that in a Socialist society labor unions will be used for disciplining the workers, not for representing them:

"The beginnings of trade union organization at one time may have promised a serious future for an organized proletariat. But there is no point in keeping up the pretense a century later. The trade union movement is as clearly indigenous to the capitalist system as the corporation itself, and it has no particular meaning apart from that system. In a Socialist society its functions are radically changed: it becomes, not a free labor movement, but a labor front. . . . Unions inevitably become organs for disciplining the workers, not for representing them." (Paragraph 29.)

There is probably no statement by a public figure which exhibits more contempt for the laboring class than the amazing declaration by Dr. Schlesinger in paragraphs 28-32 of this article. A typical barb is as follows:

"Moreover, workers as a mass have rarely had the impulses attributed to them by Marxism. They too often believe in patriotism or religion, or read comic strips, go to movies, play slot machines and patronize taxi dance halls; in one way or another, they try to cure their discontent by narcotics rather than by surgery." (Paragraph 31.)

Notice that Dr. Schlesinger equates patriotism and religion among the "narcotics" of the working class.

This brings us to another interesting quality of Dr. Schlesinger's mind, his contempt for religion.

### **Schlesinger's Views on Religion**

Dr. Schlesinger not only takes the traditional Marxist position that religion is a "narcotic" but he prides himself in the fact that the intellectual liberals are doing away with the "Christian myths." Here is the way he describes it:

"Official liberalism . . . dispensed with the absurd Christian myths of sin and damnation and believed that what shortcomings man might have were to be redeemed, not by Jesus on the cross, but by the benevolent unfolding of history. Tolerance, free inquiry, and technology, operating in the framework of human perfectibility, would in the end create a heaven on earth, a goal accounted much more sensible and wholesome than a heaven in heaven." (Paragraph 21.)

### Schlesinger's Views on Karl Marx

Throughout Dr. Schlesinger's writings the student will observe a continuous projection of Marxist thinking. Nevertheless, Dr. Schlesinger is critical of Marx on many occasions. Most of this, however, is criticism of his tactics rather than his theories. Dr. Schlesinger visualizes attaining Marxist goals more cleverly than Marx:

"It is clear today that Marx's method was often better than his application of it." (Paragraph 47.)

Dr. Schlesinger then goes on to acknowledge that some of Marx's theories did not hold up with the passing of time and that modern intellectuals should strive toward the goals of Socialism without being handicapped by the brittle strategy which Marx advocated for achieving these goals. Dr. Schlesinger declares that the "politician-manager-intellectual types — the New Dealer —" must seize control of political power to stop any combination of forces which would "block the movement toward democratic socialism." (Paragraph 47.) Not even Marx, the master teacher, must be allowed to stand in the way.

Almost as though he were offering the supreme sacrifice, Dr. Schlesinger says:

"These seem to me the actualities of the day. If their acceptance means discarding Marx, let us by all means discard Marx." (Paragraph 48.) This, apparently, would be the ultimate in manifest devotion to the Socialist cause.

### Schlesinger's Views on Communism

However, as the student might suspect, Dr. Schlesinger's basic admiration for Marx leaves him compromised when it comes to dealing with the threat of Communism. Not that he doesn't recognize the threat, he does, but the threat he fears is the possibility that Communism might take over the democracies before Socialism does! He looks upon the Soviet Union as a competitor which is striving for the same goals but using ruthless methods to achieve it. The Soviet Union is therefore not an enemy to be defeated but an ally that must be forced to cooperate.

Schlesinger says he shares the view of Schumpeter when he said: "The trouble with Russia is not that she is Socialist but that she is Russia." (Paragraph 36.) It is the element of violence in Communism which is objectionable, not the collectivization of land and industry, not the bureaucratic dictatorship, not the diminishing of individual rights, not the disrupting of the family nor the suppression of religion. If this could have been done "peacefully," gradually and subtly, Social Democrats would not protest. In fact, all of these elements were part of their own plan. Dr. Schlesinger says: "The crime of the U.S.S.R. against the world is its determination to make experiments in libertarian socialism impossible." (Paragraph 35.)

So the U.S.S.R. must be compelled to abandon violent revolution and conquest as the means of Marxizing the world and turn to the task of making Socialism work within her own borders. How can the Soviet be compelled to do this? Dr. Schlesinger advocates a two-pronged program of containing Communism on the one hand while preventing it from being destroyed and overthrown on the other hand. Here is the way he describes it:

"Reduced to its fundamentals, the American problem is to arrange the equilibrium of forces in the world so that, at every given moment of decision, the Soviet general staff will decide against aggressions that might provoke a general war on the ground that they present too great a military risk." (Paragraph 39.)

This is the Socialist approach to containment. The scheme is

not to smother Communism, but herd it back to a posture of Democratic Socialism. Dr. Schlesinger is quick to point this out:

**"At the same time, the United States must not succumb to demands for an anti-Soviet crusade nor permit reactionaries in the buffer states to precipitate conflicts in defense of their own obsolete prerogatives." (Paragraph 39.)**

The student may be astonished to discover that Dr. Schlesinger considers the longing for freedom in the satellites to be merely the dreams of "reactionaries" longing for their "obsolete prerogatives!"

Therefore, the Schlesinger plan is to be a "no-win" policy of co-existence while the United States uses its money and influence to create Socialist governments all over the rest of the world:

**"At the same time (while we are containing the Soviet Union) U.S. backing to the parties of the non-Communist left and U.S. support for vast programs of economic reconstruction may go far toward removing the conditions of want, hunger, and economic insecurity which are constant invitations to Soviet expansion." (Paragraph 40.)**

Granting that Americans would like to help remove "conditions of want, hunger, and economic insecurity that are constant invitations to Soviet expansion," where does Dr. Schlesinger get the impression that Americans want to do it by subsidizing sluggish, inefficient Socialist regimes? Why not use American money to promote freedom and prosperity along traditional American lines which have produced wealth and improved standards of living faster than any system mankind has ever tried? On this point Dr. Schlesinger is silent. His plea is for Socialism.

#### **Schlesinger's Theory That The Communists Will Change**

Dr. Schlesinger has a theory in which many Socialists agree (but experts on Communism like Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer of Notre Dame do not), that Communism will mellow. Reminiscent of similar theories concerning Nazism, Fascism and the Japanese mili-

tary when they wanted oil and scrap-iron, the following statement by Dr. Schlesinger is a typical of the Schlesinger-Rostow-Acheson school of political thinkers:

**"Experience has shown that a nation can sustain unlimited objectives for only a limited time. The fervor of a crusade wears a people out; after a time the country relapses from the messiah business into its national routine. The problem is to prevent the Soviet Union from breaking out of the reservation during its period of messianic intoxication." (Paragraph 38.)**

"What "experience" is Dr. Schlesinger talking about? More than 40 years experience with Communism has proven the very opposite of what he is saying. However, with disdain for the past, Dr. Schlesinger boldly charts the future:

**"The United States must maintain a precarious balance between a complete readiness to repel Soviet aggression beyond a certain limit and complete determination to demonstrate within this limit no aggressive U.S. intentions toward the U.S.S.R. It must commit itself, economically, politically, and militarily to the maintenance of this balance over a long period. Given sufficient time, the Soviet internal tempo will slow down." (Paragraph 40.)**

#### **Schlesinger Claims U. S. Secretly Following His Theory**

In 1947, Dr. Schlesinger rejoiced in the fact that the State Department was secretly following the "risky program" which is outlined above:

**"Though the secret has been kept pretty much from the readers of the liberal press, the State Department has been proceeding for some time somewhat along these lines. Both Byrnes and Marshall have perceived the essential need—to be firm without being rancorous, to check Soviet expansion without making unlimited commitments to an anti-Soviet crusade, to invoke power to counter power without engaging in senseless intimidation, to *encourage the growth of the democratic left*. The performance has often fallen below the conception; but the direction has been correct. Men like Ben Cohen, Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen, have tried**

to work out details and whip up support for this admittedly risky program." (Paragraph 41, italics added.)

It was risky indeed. By the end of 1948 all of Eastern Europe had been pulled behind the Iron Curtain with a loss of over 100 million allies. By the end of 1949, we had lost China with its teeming population of between 450 and 600 million. Congressional testimony revealed that the same tragic policy continued throughout the Korean War. Even when there was a change of administration in 1952, the men master-minding foreign policy behind the scenes continued to follow the stubborn, almost blind, conviction that the Communists would change.

The vortex of tragedy was reached in 1956 after the heroic Hungarians had overthrown the Soviet yoke. In that critical hour when the Soviet Union was trying to decide whether she dared to risk a world war by re-conquering Hungary, this shocking communication arrived (via Tito) from the American State Department:

**"The Government of the United States does not look with favor upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union."** (Congressional Record, August 31, 1960, p. 17407.)

With this assurance, Russia charged into Hungary with approximately 200,000 troops and 5,000 tanks. The Hungarians were shot down by the tens of thousands. In a matter of days the magnificent freedom thrust of the Hungarian people had been smothered in a blood bath which violated the UN Charter, the Warsaw Pact and the Yalta Agreement. It now became clear what Schlesinger meant when he wrote in 1947:

**"... the United States must not succumb to demands for an anti-Soviet crusade nor permit reactionaries in the buffer states to precipitate conflicts in defense of their own obsolete prerogatives."** (Paragraph 39.)

#### **Schlesinger's Retreat to a "Mixed Society"**

The article which Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., wrote for

the "inner circle" in 1947 actually exposed the inner sanctum of his mind. As a result, it returned to haunt him over and over again.

From a strictly strategy standpoint, it was a dangerous mistake for a man like Dr. Schlesinger who describes himself as the "politician-manager-intellectual type" to so completely identify himself with Democratic Socialism when time was liable to expose it as weak and fallacious. To be sure, he never has wanted to press his brand of Socialism to "a close-knit grip of collectivism" and said so, even in 1947 (Paragraph 10) but then he went on to subscribe wholeheartedly to the British brand of Fabian Socialism saying that "the victory of the Labour Party in the summer of 1945 brought new hope to all the people of Europe who still had freedom of political expression." (Paragraph 34.) As we have already mentioned, this experiment in socialism was turning Britain toward feudalism and despotism and was finally thrown out by the British electorate.

Of course Dr. Schlesinger is a master artist in the use of words, and since "Socialism" and "Social Democracy" have recently become semantic bullets which were shooting him down, he finally decided to retreat to higher ground by denouncing Socialism *per se*. He then went right ahead using new words that the initiated would quickly recognize as meaning the same thing. In his latest book, *The Politics of Hope* (1962, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston) he flourishes the pages with his new terminology: "the mixed society" and "the champions of the affirmative state."

Way back in 1952, Max Eastman, an old-time Socialist who in recent years had been converted to the open society of traditional Americanism, challenged Dr. Schlesinger. He charged Dr. Schlesinger with changing his words but not his ideas. He says Dr. Schlesinger became "quite savagely angry at me" for thus exposing his semantic ring-around-the-rosies. "He thought I should have known that he did not mean what he said." Max Eastman, as a former Socialist strategist himself, knew precisely what the nimble mind of Dr. Schlesinger was up to, and said so.

Dr. Schlesinger retorted: "I am tired of Max Eastman and his present conviction that liberty resides in the immunity of private



business from government control. I wish he would grow up. . . ."  
(Max Eastman, *Reflection in the Failure of Socialism*, 1962, Devin-  
Adair, New York, pp. 25-26, note.)

This is exactly what Max Eastman felt he had been doing as he progressed over a 30-year period from pro-Bolshevik to Social Democrat and then from a Social Democrat to a free-enterprise American. He hoped Dr. Schlesinger who had been caught for so many years on the middle prong, could break loose and some day follow Eastman "in growing up."

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