

THE SOCIAL CREDITER

FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

Vol. 45 No. 4

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1965

1s. 3d. Fortnightly

Lippmann

PORTRAIT OF THE PUNDIT AS A YOUNG MAN

By SAMUEL L. BLUMENFELD

FROM *American Opinion*, MARCH, 1965, WE CONCLUDE THE BIOGRAPHY COMMENCED IN OUR LAST ISSUE.

THE AUTHOR IS THE HIGHLY LITERATE EDITOR OF *US-France Report*. HE HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF THE EDITORIAL STAFFS AT RINEHART & COMPANY, THE WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY, THE VIKING PRESS, AND GROSSET & DUNLAP — WHERE HE WAS EDITOR OF THE UNIVERSAL LIBRARY SERIES FOR FIVE YEARS. MR. BLUMENFELD HAS RECENTLY FORMED HIS OWN PUBLISHING HOUSE: COLERIDGE PRESS, OF NEW YORK.

One must, of course, take the word of a Fabian Socialist with a grain of potent salt. Still, whatever the circumstances may have been of how the "kept idealists" served their masters, it is a fact that Lippmann was one of Colonel House's favourite chelas, if not *the* favourite chela. And, few would deny that Lippmann's third book, *Stakes of Diplomacy*, published in 1915, was a blatant blueprint for the World Government which Colonel House had planned to create through his concept of a post-war League of Nations. It is not inconceivable that Lippmann wrote the book specifically at Colonel House's behest, in order to prepare the "intellectuals" for the new "internationalism" and to set the guidelines for the post-war diplomatic action. Whatever the facts, at the tender age of twenty-six, Lippmann was so firmly committed to World Government and the abolition of the sovereignty of the United States, that he could write the following with complete equanimity:

The difference . . . between the true internationalist and the unreasoning patriot lies in the supremacy of his conscious purpose. He holds his local patriotism with a sense that it is temporary, knowing that he must be ready to merge it in a larger devotion. He remains a nationalist in practice because that is the only effective way he can work for internationalism. He preserves his country in trust for that greater state which will embrace civilisation. He regards his allegiance as a stewardship. It is true that he may forget. He may sink into a dangerous patriotism. That is one of the risks of an active life. It is always possible that men will lose sight of the end and become fanatic about the means. There is no guarantee against this insidious danger. Only constant criticism and candid discussion can guard against it. [p. 227]

It is somewhat stunning to realise that in this short period of one year—1914-1915—American foreign policy had undergone so drastic a change that we were now not only discarding "Isolation", but also the very sovereignty of the United States itself. But, of course, none of these plans, so painstakingly developed by the young Lippmann and his fellows, could be implemented so long as the United States stayed out of the War. Colonel House, however, had full charge of that department, and through his tireless connivance managed to help get us into the War by

1917. Of course, Wilson had run for re-election the year before with the campaign slogan "He kept us out of war". Which makes one wonder if that was just another deception contrived for those with the "mushy vision".

The war found Lippmann ready to serve his country, although, as he had plainly admitted, his local patriotism was of a temporary nature only. Nevertheless, he was "invited" to become an assistant to Newton D. Baker, Wilson's Secretary of War. Lippmann remained in that position for only a few months until Colonel House was ready to put him into a much more important job, that of making plans for the post-war League of Nations.

As soon as we had entered the war, the Colonel had decided to organise a (secret) Study Committee which would draw up proposals to be submitted at the Paris Peace Conference. House chose his brother-in-law, Sidney Mezes, President of the City College of New York, to head the Committee and then appointed Lippmann to serve as Mezes' secretary and as a direct liaison between himself [House] and the Committee. Mezes and Lippmann then proceeded to comb the academic world for all the Fabians, "Liberals", and "humanitarians" they could find. Among the recruits were: James T. Shotwell of Columbia, Charles H. Haskins of Harvard, Charles Seymour of Yale, Stanley Hornbeck of Wisconsin, Archibald Coolidge of Harvard, Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins, and others of a similar type and reputation.

Lippmann stayed with The Inquiry, as the Committee was later called, until he completed his work, which included drafting the famous Fourteen Points, which were to be the basis of Wilson's Paris Peace negotiations. It is hard to believe that a twenty-nine-year-old Fabian Socialist could have reached such heights of power as to be in charge of formulating the foreign policy of one hundred million Americans who hadn't the faintest idea what was going on behind their backs. Nevertheless, that was the situation.

Lippmann left The Inquiry in mid-1918, was commissioned a Captain in the Military Intelligence division of the American Expeditionary Force and, in August of 1918, found himself in Europe writing propaganda leaflets to be dropped behind enemy lines. (Before reaching the front, however, Captain Lippmann and his fellow officers, Captain Heber Blankenhorn and Lieutenant Charles Merz—the future Editor of the *New York Times*—spent several days in England where they conferred with Graham Wallas, H. G. Wells, and other important Fabians.) The remaining months of the war were spent at the unit's headquarters in France, which was under the command of Major Willard Straight, the Morgan partner who had financed the *New Republic*.

(continued on page 4)

THE SOCIAL CREDITER

FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

This journal expresses and supports the policy of the Social Credit Secretariat, which was founded in 1933 by Clifford Hugh Douglas.

The Social Credit Secretariat is a non-party, non-class organisation neither connected with nor supporting any political party, Social Credit or otherwise.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Home and abroad, post free: One year 40/-; Six months 20/-; Three months 10/-.

Offices: Business: 5 New Wanstead, Wanstead, London E.11.

Editorial: Penrhyn Lodge, Gloucester Gate, London N.W.1.
Telephone: EUSton 3893.

IN AUSTRALIA—

Business: Box 2318V, G.P.O., Melbourne.

Editorial: Box 3266, G.P.O., Sydney, Australia (Editorial Head Office).

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"It is true, we believe, that the battle-front and the last hope now lie in the U.S.A. But what must be done there will be assisted by enlightened public opinion elsewhere. All our countries have their quota of conspirators and traitors. This is why we urge our readers to read and distribute the books we recommend; if possible to form study-groups, so that the technique of the Big Lie will become ever less effective." (T.S.C., May 8, 1965.)

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CORRECTION, PLEASE!*

ITEM: From an Associated Press Dispatch, as it appeared in the *Boston Globe*, February 12, 1965:

Communist Chinese boss Mao Tse-tung has told an American journalist there will be no war between the United States and Red China over Viet Nam as long as Chinese territory is not attacked, the German illustrated magazine Der Stern reported Thursday.

Der Stern said Mao was interviewed in January—weeks before the American air strikes this week against North Viet Nam—by Edgar Snow.

Snow, 59, has known the Red Chinese leaders since the early days of their revolution in the 1930s. He is the only American writer who has had access to Mao and other top leaders in Peking in recent years.

CORRECTION: The *Associated Press* obviously did not deem it important to explain why Edgar Snow "is the only American writer who has had access to Mao and other top leaders in Peking in recent years". As we indicated in our issue of December 5, 1964, Edgar Snow has been one of the most influential propagandists for Mao and other Chinese Communists for the past three decades.

It is understandable that Mao Tse-tung would be partial to Edgar Snow who has described Mao as a "teacher, statesman, strategist, philosopher, poet laureate, national hero, head of the family, and greatest liberator in history. He is Confucius plus Lao-tzu plus Rousseau plus Marx plus Buddha."

On the other hand:

According to reliable Nationalist Chinese sources, 47,940,000 people have been killed by Mao Tse-tung's regime since it came to power in 1949. Of this number, 13,000,000 were killed in suppression of anti-Communist uprisings between 1961 and 1963. (*Human Events*, February 20, 1965.)

ITEM: From an Associated Press Dispatch by Andrew Borowiec, as it appeared in the *New Bedford [Mass.] Standard-Times*, February 7, 1965:

Today in ex-French Africa American diplomats are no longer preoccupied with Soviet efforts. They consider Communist China the main threat to Western influence.

There seems to be a great deal of understanding between American and Soviet diplomats in a number of African capitals. Frustration of dealing with African officials, general difficulties and the threat of Communist China—which concerns the Russians too—have helped to reduce the tension between Americans and Soviets.

CORRECTION: It is difficult to interpret the report of Mr. Borowiec as to whether the judgments expressed are his or those of the American diplomats. No matter how often the Soviet and Chinese Communists assert their solidarity, the rift-myth is perpetuated by the likes of Mr. Borowiec and the American diplomats. For example, in December 1963, Communist China's Premier Chou En-lai said:

Some people may have thought of using Sino-Soviet differences to deal with China and the Soviet Union separately. Those with such ideas will certainly be disappointed. On the contrary, if any act of aggression occurs against any Socialist country this would be an act of aggression against the whole Socialist camp. It would be impossible not to give support. If a country refused to give support, it would not be a Socialist country.

* A Selection of extracts, reprinted with permission, from *Correction, Please!* and *A Review of The News*, which is published weekly by *Correction, Please!, Inc.*, 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont, Massachusetts 02178, U.S.A.

Shortly thereafter Soviet Premier Khrushchev reciprocated:

On December 26, 1963, Khrushchev congratulated Mao Tse-tung, elder statesman of the Communist Party of China, on his seventieth birthday. As well as wishing Mao "good health and many years of life", Khrushchev said: "The Central Committee [of the Soviet Union's Communist Party] continuously strives to strengthen the unity of our countries of the Socialist community, of the entire international Communist movement." (New York Times, December 27, 1963.)

At the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February 14, 1964), M. A. Suslov said in his report to his comrades:

Our country is faithfully carrying out its earlier commitments and continues to assist China in the building of 80 industrial enterprises. Engineers, technicians, scientists and students from the CPR [Chinese People's Republic] are being trained in the Soviet Union as before.

In an interview with the Japanese News Agency, Chou En-lai said:

China will fight side by side with Russia should war break out because Imperialists attacked the Soviet Union. (New York Times, May 18, 1964.)

More recently the Soviet and Chinese Communists have reaffirmed their solidarity as they rush to the aid of Communist North Vietnam. This was evident when Communist China's Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, spoke at the celebration of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance:

. . . [President] Johnson, the United States pirate chieftain, personally ordered the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, expanding the war in Indo-China.

United States imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world. Peaceful co-existence with United States imperialism, which is pushing ahead its policies of aggression and war, is out of the question. It is imperative to wage tit-for-tat struggle against it. . . .

Only in concrete action against United States imperialism and its followers can the Chinese-Soviet alliance be tested and tempered and Chinese-Soviet unity be consolidated and developed.

Weakening or sabotaging this alliance would benefit only imperialism headed by the United States and reactionaries of all countries. (New York Times, February 16, 1965.)

Soviet Premier Kosygin, brandishing the same epithets against the United States, said:

The Soviet Union resolutely demands the withdrawal of U.S. troops and military equipment from South Viet Nam, the cessation of armed provocations against the democratic republic of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and the rejection of any military interference in the internal affairs of Indo-China. . . .

The main obstacle to the normalisation of the situation in the Indo-China peninsula now is the reactionary policy of American imperialists. (Boston Traveler, February 16, 1965.)

ITEM: From a Column by Arthur Hoppe in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 1, 1965:

Well, there goes the old Vietnam war. The fiendishly clever Communist guerillas have outfoxed us. They've found a sure-fire way of sneaking their supplies into South Vietnam. And we can't lay a glove on them.

As you know, they used to pack the supplies down the Ho Chi Minh Trail on their backs. And our pilots would bomb and strafe the bejeepers out of them. But now these guerillas have come up with a defense we can never crack: elephants.

The disturbing news was revealed by a U.S. military spokesman in Saigon. He said our observation planes have already spotted two herds of pack elephants along the Ho

Chi Minh Trail. And obviously, it won't be long until the guerillas' entire supply system is elephantised.

You can see the incredible brilliance of this Communist strategy. We can bomb villages and strafe rice paddies. And if some women and children and peasants get killed, it's a shame. That's war. But I ask you, what decent American could bring himself, no matter what the circumstances, to bomb an elephant?

CORRECTION: We agree with Mr. Hoppe that the elephant is a dumb animal, but Mr. Hoppe's humour leaves us cold. We just can't share his laughs over the methods used to supply Communist guerillas. And we wonder if Mr. Hoppe can find humour in how other dumb animals are supplying North Vietnam. The details were furnished to the House of Representatives by Rep. Paul G. Rogers (D.-Fla.) on February 18, 1965:

Mr. Speaker, ships from countries the United States counts as allies have been making regular freight runs for the Communists into North Vietnam.

During the last 6 months of 1964 a total of 201 ships flying the flags of our allies have hauled Red cargoes into the ports of North Vietnam. These allied ships continued calling even though Americans were being killed in increasing numbers by the Communist Vietcong.

While ships from Japan, Greece, Norway, Lebanon, Italy, West Germany, and Panama are among the main offenders, 41 per cent of the total allied ship traffic into North Vietnam has been under the British flag.

Only last Friday British Prime Minister Harold Wilson personally called the President to voice England's support for United States actions in Vietnam. An end to British shipping into Vietcong territory would further United States position in Vietnam.

Cries for negotiated settlement of the Vietnamese crisis are now being heard. The crisis would never have reached this pitch but for the support allied shipping has given the Vietcong.

As a member of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee I urge the State Department to call for a halt to further free world sea trade with the Communists. The time has come to ask our friends to act like friends.

ITEM: From an Anonymous News Dispatch in the *Boston Globe*, March 23, 1965:

President Johnson dispatched Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker to Jakarta Monday in an effort to bring worsening relations between the U.S. and Indonesia under some semblance of control.

Bunker, who currently serves as U.S. ambassador to the Organisation of American States, was the man who successfully mediated a United Nations settlement between Indonesia and the Netherlands over possession of West New Guinea.

CORRECTION: It is a travesty upon truth to describe Bunker's activities with regard to West New Guinea as "mediation".

As early as March 12, 1956, the United States government made it unmistakably clear that it was entering the case of West New Guinea on the side of Indonesia's Communist régime of Achmed S. Sukarno and against The Netherlands.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, paying a state visit to Indonesia, "made it clear to President Sukarno that the United States was giving no support to the Dutch on the [West New Guinea] issue . . . 'the general trend is in your favour' [Dulles told Sukarno]." *New York Times*, March 18, 1956.

In 1962 West New Guinea was handed over to Indonesia as a climax to "mediation" by UN Secretary General U

Thant and U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker. On September 4, 1962, The Netherlands' Premier Jan de Quay and four members of his cabinet, in a memorandum to the Second Chamber of the Staten-General (Parliament), charged that a change of policy on the part of the United States government was in great part responsible for the loss of Dutch sovereignty over West New Guinea. Until 1962 the Dutch considered that the United States completely supported the Dutch policy: There would be no Indonesian rule in West New Guinea before its people were given an opportunity to decide for themselves what their government might be.

Premier de Quay's reference to a change of U.S. policy in 1962 can reasonably be interpreted as an allusion to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's discussions on West New Guinea with Indonesia's President Sukarno in February 1962, and Premier de Quay's own encounter on February 25, 1962, with Kennedy who was accompanied by International Court Justice Philip Jessup and former U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

ITEM: From an Editorial by T.R.B. in the *New Republic* magazine, March 27, 1965:

[Henry] Morgenthau's assistant, the late Harry Dexter White, had dubious left wing connections. On the unproved allegation that White was a Communist the [Senate Internal Security Sub-] committee builds a dream world of plots and conspiracy.

CORRECTION: During the Eisenhower Administration, Attorney General Herbert Brownell did not describe White as having "dubious left wing connections". In one of the strongest public condemnations ever made by any Attorney General, Mr. Brownell said on November 6, 1953:

I can now announce officially, for the first time in public, that the records in my department show that White's spying activities for the Soviet government were reported in detail by the FBI to the White House by means of a report delivered to President Truman through his military aide, Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, in December of 1945. In the face of this information, and incredible though it may seem, President Truman subsequently, on January 23, 1946, nominated White, who was then Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, for the even more important position of executive director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund.

At that time, Mr. Brownell's statement inspired a famous tissue of lies by former President Harry S. Truman. But eventually Mr. Truman conceded that he found White to be disloyal.

WHAT WE FACE

"Peaceful co-existence" is at once a myth and a dream—a myth propagated by the Communists, and a dream of the sleeping bourgeoisie. But it will never become a nightmare, for if we do not awake ourselves, the Communists will awaken us to a bloody reality.

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LIPPMANN (continued from page 1)

The Armistice brought Lippmann's short military career to a close and he was sped to Paris where he became secretary of the Paris Peace organisation set up by Colonel House. David Weingast, in his short biography of Walter Lippmann, describes Lippmann's key role at the time:

The Germans having agreed to surrender on the basis of the Fourteen Points, House had to obtain the approval of Lloyd George and Orlando to a capitulation on those terms. The British and Italian leaders wanted to know what Wilson's declaration meant. To Lippmann went the task of preparing an explanation. Writing all night, he completed thirteen memoranda, Frank Cobb of the World supplying the fourteenth. The memoranda were cabled to Wilson, who gave them his approval.

Lippmann, however, soon found himself at odds with Wilson, whose coming to Paris he strongly disapproved. As a good Fabian, he was also greatly distressed by the Allies intervention against the new Communist régime in Russia. Anything that threatened the new Soviet experiment had to be fought. Weingast quotes Lippmann as follows:

"I tried in vain," he said, "to remind Wilson of the incongruity of the situation. I pointed out that by participating in the war during the era of pacification we were bound to cancel out the effectiveness of the peace treaty we were drafting."

But Wilson remained adamant. Apparently he took seriously the slogan that we had gone to war to "save the world for democracy". The realistic Lippmann knew, however, that the slogan had been coined only to induce Americans, with their "mushy vision", to perform bigger and better sacrifices. The disagreement forced Lippmann to resign from the Peace Conference and return to the United States. In the meanwhile, Colonel House had sent Lincoln Steffens on a personal mission to Lenin to reassure the Communist that his friends in America would not let him down. Lippmann, at the same time, did his best to sell the American people on the League of Nations and on a new line of co-existence with the Soviet Union.

The end of the Wilson Administration marked the end of the first phase of Lippmann's fantastic career. By the age of thirty this Harvard intellectual had written three books, innumerable articles, had become a skilled literary agitator, and a moulder of our destiny as a nation. He had become part of the invisible government which was shaping the Socialist future of America without the approval or knowledge of its people. He was a successful man.

It would be too easy to underestimate the role played by Walter Lippmann in those early days of anti-American political conspiracy. Lippmann was clearly the most persuasive intellectual spokesman for that disembodied "co-operative mind". He had indeed subordinated his great intellectual talents to serve in that sinister "fellowship of effort" dedicated to the destruction of a free America. Therein, of course, lies the key to Walter Lippmann's unending "prestige", a prestige sustained by that "co-operative mind" of which Lippmann has been a part ever since he left Harvard.

Published by K.R.P. Publications Ltd. at 5 New Wanstead, Wanstead, London E.11.

Printed by E. Fish & Co. Ltd., Liverpool.