

THE SOCIAL CREDITER

FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

Vol. 48 No. 3

SATURDAY, 4 MAY, 1968

1s. 3d. Fortnightly

Dean Rusk

IS HE THE INSIDERS' QUARTERBACK?

By MEDFORD EVANS in *American Opinion*, March, 1968

(Continued)

II

By his role in the Korean War Dean Rusk won a job as head of the Rockefeller Foundation, and by his patience in the Rockefeller Foundation he won the key spot for influence on the Vietnam War. No one has stayed more consistently with the mainline of U.S. foreign policy since World War II than has Dean Rusk, from the time when he was on Vinegar Joe Stilwell's staff in the C.B.I. theatre, through civilian service in the State and War Departments (apparently a protégé of General George Marshall), through Presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation, through, as Secretary of State, two Administrations—that of Kennedy, that of Johnson.

If Rusk is not the most powerful man in the government (partly because he is not basically dependent on the government), his career has at least coincided with the course of all the consecutive relays of power for twenty-five years. If he has not presided he has been present—in or out of formal government—at sessions of the Establishment where was plotted the course toward an end of nationhood. He is clearly senior to the author of that phrase "end of nationhood"—Walt Rostow, who in his present position as special assistant to Lyndon Johnson "for National Security Affairs" quite possibly has the specific job of acting as the Establishment's immediate control on the occupant of the White House, while Rusk's broader responsibility encompasses the entire Administration.

Dean Rusk was Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs in 1950, when the Korean War broke out, and in 1951, when General MacArthur was recalled. The Assistant Secretaryship is, as Roger Hilsman points out, "the first level at which the government of the United States may be committed". Rusk is said to have been the first man in Washington to whom North Korea's crossing of the Thirty-Eighth Parallel was reported Saturday night, June 24, 1950 (it was Sunday morning, June twenty-fifth, in Korea) and to have recommended the plausible but fatal action which Truman took. Rusk is thought to have been the key policy advisor in bringing about the removal of MacArthur, an act which more plainly almost than any other marks the Establishment's determined defiance of the wishes—its exquisite contempt for the sentiments—of the majority of the American people. An act which marks a watershed between the feeling of the people before it that what they knew of patriotic fervor was the spirit of America, and their bewildered apathy after it—a confused sense that patriotic American fervor was increasingly a curious, obsolescent irrelevance, fading away like an old soldier.

Through nine years from 1952 to 1961 Dean Rusk was President of the Rockefeller Foundation, in which position he was at the precise center of those ultra- or supragovernmental activities in which there is so serious an endeavour to anticipate—to control—the future. The President of the Rockefeller Foundation is, as it were, an *ex officio* member of the shadow world government. The purpose of the Rockefeller Foundation, as stated in its charter, is "to promote the well being of mankind throughout the world"—the ultimate in presumptuous do-goodery, justifying the maximum of self-righteous effrontery.

Shrewdly, the main medium of the Foundation is education. The Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie, and other foundations decide what the intellectuals shall think, and from that the consequences are incalculable. From the long-range point of view, Dean Rusk was presumably stepping down when in 1961 he left or was transferred from the Rockefeller Foundation to become Kennedy's Secretary of State. But no doubt it was felt that in a time of crisis short views are essential. In the long run the Establishment would not have to worry with the nationhood of the United States, but as of the 1960's U.S. national sovereignty was still extant—to be used by "men of good will" if it could not yet be liquidated by them. What could more surely safeguard "the well being of all mankind throughout the world" than for a man who understood these things, as Dean Rusk undoubtedly does, to assume a position where he might well be able to prevent the United States from inflicting military or other damage on the rest of mankind? Is not the United States, with its enormous nuclear capability and its inveterate racism, of the very greatest danger to "mankind", while at the same time, with its fantastic productivity and artless generosity it is, if only its foreign relations are expertly controlled, of the greatest hope? The United States must at all costs stand hitched. Dean Rusk accepted the position of Secretary of State.

Of all Cabinet members and other high officials in Washington today, Rusk is the only one who has been continuously in a policyshaping position since 1950. That does not necessarily mean that he is the most important of policymakers today, or at any time. For there may well be, undoubtedly are, men out of government who, as he was from 1952 to 1961, are more influential than any governmental official necessarily is. But, as indicated above, the fact that Dean Rusk may now in government represent organized forces outside the government, may only increase his firmness. I feel that he can supervise the liquidation of the United States as unemotionally as I could at Oak Ridge in 1945 process the termination of an employee with whom my superintendent was dissatisfied.

III

After John Kennedy had been elected President by a
(continued on page 3)

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: 245 Cann Hall Road, Leytonstone, London E.11.

Telephone: 01-534 7395

Editorial: Penrhyn Lodge, Gloucester Gate, London NW1

Telephone: 01-387 3893

IN AUSTRALIA—

Business: Box 2318V, G.P.O., Melbourne, Victoria 3001

Editorial: Box 3266, G.P.O., Sydney, N.S.W. 2001

(Editorial Head Office).

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Martyred Murderers

The spate of moralistic cant which broke out when Rhodesia hanged the murderers took no account of what has happened and still happens in various other African states, where major blood-letting occurs so commonly as almost to pass notice.

Mr. Smith has often been accused of running a police state, yet Elspeth Huxley (*Daily Telegraph*, March 12, 1968) reports, "I was told—I have not checked this—that Rhodesia is the only country in the world with a falling crime rate. Since UDI, the prison population has gone down by one-third". Perhaps an elector of Smethwick might ask his M.P. to check these highly significant figures.

But the editor of *The Guardian* prefers vague generalisations to fact when he calls for a military expedition against Rhodesia on the ground that law and order have broken down, and when he adds that no harm must come to Zambia because it is "one of the best" of the African states, he conveniently forgets the treatment of the Lumpa minority. Law and order have returned to Rhodesia, according to Elspeth Huxley (*Daily Telegraph*, March 13, 1968), for UDI has ended the struggle between the African parties which led to "widespread and bloody intimidation . . . The price has been the personal liberty of less than 400 detained or restricted people." Meanwhile the Africans refuse to harbour terrorists—known outside Rhodesia as liberators.

The News of the World (March 10, 1968) prints an article called "The whole ghastly muddle of Rhodesia", in which Noyes Thomas points out that when Mr. Wilson spoke in parliament "he simply could not conceal the bitterness, the venom, the sense of personal vendetta against the little men he has so far failed to crush", while the attitude of many of his supporters is simply "a smokescreen intended to hide failure", and he reckons that the operation has already cost the taxpayer between one and two hundred million pounds. He adds that African nations which have egged on Britain to crush Rhodesia have one after another "abandoned their constitutions and every vestige of democracy", yet Britain has recognised them again.

C. Phillips (*The Times*, March 9, 1968) asks realistically enough, "May we now have a picture of the weeping relatives of the victims of the men who were hanged?" Meanwhile Mauritius, where members of the royal family would not be considered safe, receives her independence. The most recent twist in the costly, Gilbertian farce concerns the conscientious Sir Hugh Beadle—now a "defector"—who has lost his position as deputy to an unrecognised governor. However honour was saved when Mr. P. Wall stood up in the House of Commons and tried unavailingly to restore some sense of reason to that frustrated assembly. Needless to say the incensed crusaders shouted him down.

And in sunny prosperous Rhodesia the Pope has as little effect as the use, or misuse, of the Queen's name to deflect Mr. Smith from what he considers to be the right and legal course.

—H.S.

Perversion

A correspondent in North Wales writes: "I read in *None Dare Call It Treason* how, through broadcasting and television, enormous quantities of poisoned propaganda are piped directly into the schools in America. I therefore listened to a broadcast on China on January 3, which was to be a forerunner of schools' broadcasts in the spring term. I was horrified to hear Chiang Kai-shek described as corrupt and generally undesirable, and Mao Tse-tung described as noble and high-minded. No mention was made of twenty million political murders or of the part played by the American General Marshall in presenting China to the Reds ('As Chief of Staff I armed thirty-nine divisions [of Chiang Kai-shek's Army], and now, with a stroke of the pen, I disarm them')."

Ave atque Vale

Social Crediters in Canada and elsewhere who know of his efforts over many years will be grieved at the death of J. Vans Macdonald of Vancouver, and in this country and in Ireland have been grieved by that of Ralph L. Duck, latterly, until last December, resident in Dublin.

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Correction, Please!

(From *The Review of the News*, Jan. 31, 1968)

ITEM: From a Reuters dispatch as reported in the *New York Times* for December 25, 1967:

The Greek military junta released Andreas Papandreou and several other political detainees tonight (December 24) under a Christmas amnesty . . . Mr. Papandreou was an economics professor at the University of California at Berkeley before he returned to Greece to enter politics in 1963. He was appointed Minister to the Premier's Office in February 1964, and served as Minister of Economic Coordination from April to July 1965.

CORRECTION: In view of the massive publicity which propagandists for the leftists in Greece have received, it would be well to review Papandreou's conspiratorial background in view of his importance in Greek politics. His revolutionary activities have been so blatant that even the ultra-"Liberal" C. L. Sulzberger admitted in the *New York Times* for August 6, 1965:

" . . . Andreas Papandreou . . . is unabashedly ambitious to succeed his father and to lead this country even further leftward. Many of Andreas' enemies say he wants to form a socialist party and unite with the Communists in an outright popular front.

"Andreas lived in the United States more than twenty years and there, while making a brilliant career as an economics professor, he acquired an Illinois-born wife, Margaret, four children, and the nickname "Andy," by which he is widely known. Andy is very handy to his father because of his left-wing contacts and his talents as an operator . . .

"Andreas began writing political pamphlets at sixteen and was associated with a Marxist movement. He was arrested and beaten by the Metaxas police and is said to have involved some associates. At that time he had a close friend whose brother, Leonidas Kirkos, is now an important official of the legally permitted pro-Communist party, E. D. A. Kirkos and Andreas know each other well and are suspected of collaborating in producing the mobs that have been staging street demonstrations.

"Andreas had no suspicious record in the U.S.A., but since his return he has contacted important foreign Communists on European travels. His wife, Margaret, who is adored by her father-in-law, has tried to help as a propagandist by writing chain letters to American women proclaiming the Papandreou program as beneficent and Jeffersonian.

"Andreas came back to Greece shortly before his father became Premier and gave up his American citizenship. He received a Cabinet post from his father but temporarily withdrew after a financial scandal. His father charged Andreas with supervision of the Greek central intelligence service, K.Y.P., much as President Kennedy asked his brother Bobby to keep an eye on secret matters.

"Andreas began a purge of K.Y.P. personnel. Furthermore, his name is linked to a left-wing officers' conspiracy that started inside K.Y.P.—although nothing has yet been proved. His father lost office over an argument with the King on how the charges should be investigated.

Finally, in 1965, when Papandreou was asked about charges by his critics, he retorted with this cryptic remark:

"I will never give them the satisfaction of having me deny I was a Communist." Which, after all, is not unexpected from one who was intellectually sired in the seedbed of Fabian socialism in America, the economics department of the "hallowed" halls of Harvard.

Dean Rusk

(continued from page 1)

narrow popular vote over Richard Nixon, but before he knew who his Secretary of State would be, Dean Rusk (then President of the Rockefeller Foundation) gave two lectures in the Claremont Colleges Annual Lecture Series in the Los Angeles area. The precise dates were November 9 and 10, 1960. The President-elect of the country and the President of the Foundation had never met. Indeed they were not to meet until after Kennedy had been so nearly persuaded to offer Rusk the Secretaryship that only one apparently perfunctory interview was required (December 8, 1960) to cement the appointment. The Establishment had its way.

The Claremont lectures are important because they show the way Dean Rusk was thinking at the time he was asked to take the number-one post in the President's Cabinet. "I sometimes wonder," said the Secretary of State-soon-to-be, "whether foundations might not consider themselves to have a special parish in what might be called the future." What odd rhetoric! Wouldn't you think a man would say "what might be called a parish in the future"? It's the *parish* that is figurative isn't it? But he says "what might be called the future". What else would you call the future? But you are not to take it for granted that this sort of transfer is unimportant in the speech of a man like Rusk. If he says "What might be called the future", it may mean that he has some sophisticated doubt as to whether there will be any future. Or it might mean something you and I would never think of. Or, to be sure, it might mean nothing after all. But the phrase is, as Rusk's phrases seldom are, arresting—a *parish in the future*—and it occurs under a heading: "Hard Advance Thinking on World Issues." One is reminded of John Wesley's "I look upon the world as my parish".

That the gospel should be preached throughout the world is not only logical, but also the subject of a Divine command. Now it may be a legitimate extension of this concept to set up charitable or educational foundations of worldwide scope. But that *government* should aim at universality is to render unto Caesar the things that are God's. Dean Rusk the Foundation President had a word to the Claremontese which one can recommend to Dean Rusk the Secretary of State: "The standing sin in our foundation business is the human temptation of trying to play God. It takes a good deal of thought and effort and self-criticism and bouncing back and forth with one's colleagues and people outside to avoid that corrupting influence on which Lord Acton and others have commented."

Well, if the Rockefeller Foundation, which spends some 30 million dollars a year, can tempt its officials to play God, what shall we think of the federal government, which is spending on the War in Vietnam an estimated 24 billion dollars a year, or eight hundred times as much? In itself this makes the foundations sound puny. Yet we must reflect that the foundations—Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and others—may succeed in placing their men in government.

The thing called the Establishment consists primarily of law firms, foundations, universities, and banks (commercial and investment). We are not to suppose, fortunately, that all the people in these interlocking institutions are of one mind; yet obviously you have here a consensus in favour of managerial expertise, you have a discreet but (of necessity) ruthless élitism. The Establishment would not be the Establishment if it did not place its men in government. It is the function of these men to control the government while submitting to the control of the Establishment.

It was Richard Rovere who said that Dean Rusk was the head of the Establishment. Rovere pretends to have tongue in cheek, and in a sense the statement is gravely absurd, but why did the thought occur to him? William Manchester was not writing with tongue in cheek (if he ever does) when in *Portrait of a President* he referred to Rovere's article in *The American Scholar* (I read the one in *Esquire*), where John Kennedy is placed in the Establishment, but not in "the 'Inner Circle'—as, for example, Dean Rusk is".

Apparently Manchester discussed these subtleties of rank with Kennedy, whom he interviewed in 1961 and 1962 and whom he cites and even quotes directly: "Kennedy himself takes the position that every President is an ex-officio Establishmentarian. The office excepted, however, he doubts his eligibility. Rocking thoughtfully he says, 'I'm of the Establishment in the sense of where I've lived, and my schools, but in the sense of the Anglo-Saxon Establishment—no. When I go to the N.A.M. I get a pretty cold reception; they're not very sympathetic. You really have to be a Republican to be a member. Of course, Nixon doesn't belong, but Rockefeller is the epitome of it.'" (*Portrait of a President*, Page 102. I have to ask you to take my word for it that I had not read that when I wrote to pretty much the same effect in AMERICAN OPINION for September 1967).

"Rockefeller is the epitome of it." Yes. Well, actually the Rockefeller Foundation more than Rockefeller—much more than poor old Nelson by himself. He's got brothers, you know. And Dean Rusk was head of the Rockefeller Foundation for nine years. An employee, sure, and nobody is indispensable, but still he stayed there nine years, and he didn't move into the position of Secretary of State against his will. Maybe Rovere himself doesn't know how much he was kidding and how much he was telling it like it is.

Behind a quiet façade, Dean Rusk is in charge of Vietnam. Roger Hilsman knows a good deal about all this. Hilsman's book *To Move A Nation* "had its origins in a Rockefeller Foundation grant" which he got in 1958, when Rusk was still head of the Foundation. Then in the Kennedy Administration Hilsman became Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, which is the job Dean Rusk had at the time of the Korean War. Hilsman thinks of Kennedy as "a hero"; of Rusk it is not so clear what he thinks, but he refers to him once as a man who feels "discomfort in the presence of candor and openness" (Page 41)—which may not itself be such a candid and open way to put something, but if it is meant to imply what it seems to imply . . .

Hilsman was evidently very conscious of the "veiled strength" attributed to Rusk in that article in the *New York Times Magazine* quoted at the beginning of this commentary. Probably Hilsman was not surprised when Rusk outlasted McNamara in the Cabinet. To illustrate Rusk's "wit"

Hilsman writes: "When he finally decided to try to get the Vietnamese task force back under the State Department wing, he was able to turn the trick with a phrase. 'If you want Vietnam,' he said to McNamara, 'give me the marines.'" The important thing in that passage is not the wit, but the reminder that Dean Rusk has been at all times senior to the Secretary of Defense in calling the shots on Vietnam. In theory and in fact. To be sure, the two Secretaries were during McNamara's tenure generally of one mind—both considered "hawks" by Senator Fulbright and the New Left, both considered no-win chickens by many aggressive patriots—but the policy actually followed seems to have been more Rusk's than McNamara's, particularly since the latter is no longer at the policy center.

Whether the Secretary of State is in regard to Vietnam more influential than the President is harder to tell. He outlasted Kennedy, whom he criticized after his death for "not putting up more 'blue chips' at the very beginning". (Hilsman, Page 578.) There can be little doubt that he has guided Lyndon Johnson, whom he so far excels in knowledge of two fields: (1) the Far East, (2) the American Establishment. So long as the Vietnam War continues, Dean Rusk will have to pass for the most powerful man in Washington until we find out who gives him the word.

(Conclusion)

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