

By the same Author

SPAIN AND THE VATICAN
LATIN AMERICA AND THE VATICAN
THE VATICAN AND THE U.S.A.
THE VATICAN IN ASIA
RELIGION IN RUSSIA
CATHOLIC TERROR OVER EUROPE
TERROR OVER YUGOSLAVIA
CATHOLIC IMPERIALISM AND WORLD FREEDOM
THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AGAINST THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Catholic Church Against the Twentieth Century

has been published in the following countries:

First published in Great Britain by C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd., London.
First Czech ed. pub. by Nakladatelstvi Zivot a Prace, Prague, 1950.
Second Czech ed. pub. by Nakladatelstvi Zivot a Prace, Prague, 1951.
Bulgarian ed. pub. by Narodn Petchat, Sofia, 1949.
Polish ed. pub. Czytelnik, Warsaw, 1950.
First Hungarian ed. pub. by Szikra Konyvkiado, Budapest, 1950.
Second Hungarian ed. pub. by Szikra Konyvkiado, Budapest, 1950.
Romanian ed. pub. by Romanian State Publishers, Bucharest, 1951.
Slovak ed. pub. by Tatran, Bratislava, 1951.
First Russian ed. pub. by State Publishing House, Moscow, 1949.
Second Russian ed. pub. by State Publishing House, Moscow, 1949.
Third Russian ed. pub. by State Publishing House, Moscow, 1950.
First American ed. pub. by Gaer Assoc. Inc., New York, Sept. 1949.
Second American ed. pub. by Gaer Assoc. Inc., New York, Oct., 1949.
Third American ed. pub. by Gaer Assoc. Inc., New York, Nov., 1949.
Fourth American ed. pub. by Gaer Assoc. Inc., New York, Jan., 1950.
Fifth American ed. pub. by Horizon Press Inc., New York, July, 1950.
Sixth American ed. pub. by Horizon Press Inc., New York, Nov., 1950.
First British ed. pub. by C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd., London, 1947.
Second British ed. pub. by C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd., London, 1950.
Hebrew ed. pub. by Hakibutz Hameuchad Pub. House Ltd., Tel-Aviv, Israel.

The Catholic Church Against the Twentieth Century has also been partially published, summarized, or amply quoted from and commented upon in Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, and South Africa.

Selected Book of the Month (L.B.C.), New York, Feb., 1950.
Selected Book of the Month (P.B.C.), New York, Sept., 1950.

Cheap ed. (470 pages), at 2s. 6d., pub. by C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd., London.
Cheap ed. in cloth, at 10s., pub. by C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd., London.
American edition published as *The Vatican in World Politics*, \$3.75, Horizon Press, New York.

AVRO MANHATTAN

THE DOLLAR AND
THE VATICAN

PIONEER PRESS
41 GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C. 1.

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*First Published September 1956
Second Edition March 1957*

*Printed in Great Britain by Hazell Watson & Viney Ltd,
Aylesbury and London*

FOREWORD

THE SOURCES OF THE DOCUMENTATION IN THIS BOOK ARE given. Citations dealing with specific American domestic problems are drawn mainly from official documents issued by the U.S.A. administration itself; those on current affairs mostly from acknowledged authoritative organs—e.g. the *New York Times*.

The purpose of this work is the study of one of the major imponderables in contemporary global affairs, namely, the co-ordinated use (*a*) of organized religion on the part of the Vatican, and (*b*) of the financial might of the dollar on the part of certain powerful forces in the U.S.A. The simultaneous joint exertions of the former and the latter are directed at the ultimate subjugation of the American people. This is a portent which, besides profoundly affecting the internal and external policies of the U.S.A., is influencing many nations within and outside the Western Hemisphere.

A survey of the spiritual might of the Vatican, invigorating and invigorated by the monetary supremacy of the dollar, consequently deserves some scrutiny.

For should religious and political freedoms within the U.S.A. be extinguished, then the light of liberty would quickly be put out also throughout the West. It behoves the American people, therefore, to be constantly on the alert, as their fall would spell the fall, not only of the most vigorous champions of freedom in the Western Hemisphere, but also of their mother Europe, looking from across the ocean at a magnificent new race in the making, in whose name certain evil forces are endeavouring to enslave both.

AVRO MANHATTAN.

London.

DEDICATED TO

the American people,
confident
that their ability
to defeat the exertions of their
enemies,
within and outside their borders,
will usher them into a most
glorious future,
in peace and in prosperity

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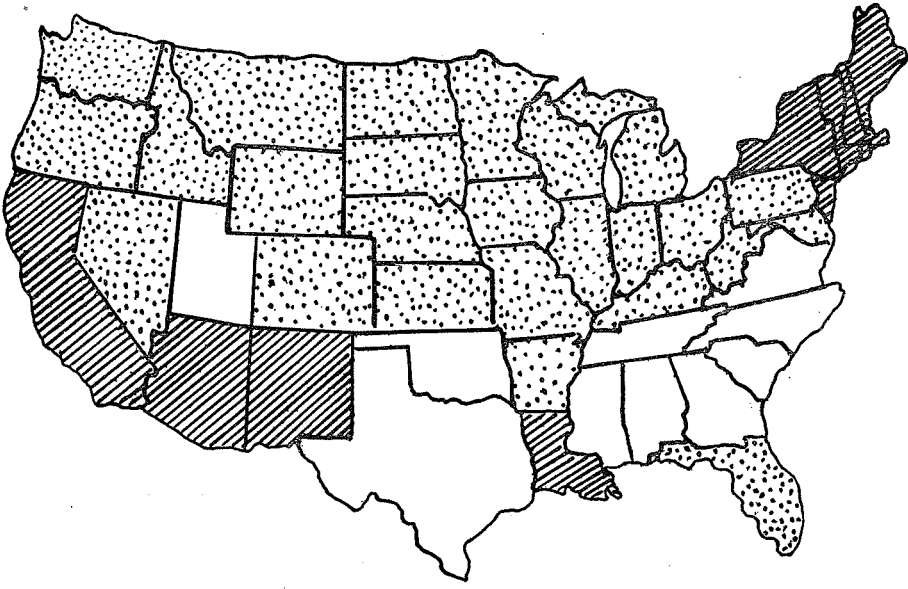
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PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS IN THE U.S.A.



Catholic majority

Rhode Is. over 50% of population; elsewhere under 50%.



Protestant majority

under 50% of population.



Protestant majority

over 50% of population.

1

DOLLAR AND VATICAN IMPERIALISMS

CIVILIZATIONS, LIKE NATIONS, AND nations, like individuals, cherish and feed on illusions. But illusions can be harmful. More, they can be dangerous. And if used as palliatives for a harsh reality, they can prove fatal. Reality is the sire of concrete situations, and concrete situations need concrete solutions.

The dominating fact at present is that the world of tradition is tumbling. Ancient structures have fallen, new ones are rising. Only five short decades ago Franz Joseph sat on the Austro-Hungarian throne, the Kaiser ruled the German Empire, the Romanovs were Emperors of all Russia, the Sublime Porte held sway in the Near and Middle East, the Manchu Dynasty reigned over China, the U.S.A. was a debtor country, Communism was dreamt of only by a few Utopian idealists. Within the compass of the intervening years there has taken place the Bolshevik Revolution, two world wars, the rise and fall of Fascism, the subsidence of France, the gargantuan growth of the U.S.S.R. and of the U.S.A. into two global giants, the apocalyptic awakening of a dormant Asiatic continent from the stupor of centuries, and, more portentous still, man's ushering in of the atomic age.

That the main begetters of the present tumultuous unrest are

the ever-multiplying applications of science is possibly correct. On the other hand, that forces extraneous to science, determined to foster a global confusion, are at work is a certainty.

One of the most vigorous is undoubtedly imperialism, which today is threatening the world as of old. Although its weightiest argument lies still in the use of the naked sword—or, rather, in the threat of the use of nuclear weapons—yet its general strategy, when compared to that pursued in the past, has been greatly modified.

Its most striking characteristic is that it lays emphasis no longer on territorial aggression, but on penetration, a method wholly in harmony with the society of the twentieth century, weakened by vacillating political movements, divided by fiercer conflicting competitive commercialism, and torn by increasingly hostile global ideologies.

This new type of imperialism, subdivided into the ideological one upholding Collectivism, as embodied in Socialism, and the economic one upholding unbridled individualism, as embodied in Capitalism, at present has set out to conquer the globe.

The tempo of contemporary events hinges upon the ever more forcible expansionism of these hostile twin brothers, determined to outdo each other in the moulding of society each in its own image. The mounting aggressiveness of their economic and ideological expansionisms, however, although the greatest threat by which contemporary man is faced, is not by any means the only one. Another power of a far greater ambition, determination, and vigour, is out, not so much to compete with them, as to conquer them altogether, being out to conquer the world. This third redoubtable danger is Catholic imperialism.

Catholic imperialism is not a myth. It is as ruthless a reality as the Capitalist and Socialist perils.

The ultimate goal of Catholic imperialism is the total Catholicization of the human race. Total Catholicization implies total elimination of whatever and whoever is not Catholic. Its goal, therefore, is to be feared as should anything threatening the liberties of modern man.

The fact that Catholic imperialism has not at its disposal the immense economic and military power of its lay rivals does not make it less dangerous. For it possesses what neither of them has: a living, vigorous, aggressive Church.

This Church, the oldest corporate body in the world, with an experience of conquest stretching back to almost two millennia, is not only the controller of the largest contemporary empire comprising over four hundred million beings, but is determined to expand her dominion all over the globe. Her most constant strategy throughout the centuries has been to employ the might of secular allies, while simultaneously siding with the strongest nations, (a) to destroy her greatest current enemy, (b) to further her spiritual dominion by using the military or political power of her partners.

Thus, as in days gone by, Catholic imperialism struck alliances with the military giants of the time—e.g. with the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the French Empire in the eighteenth, with the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the nineteenth—so today, following this same strategy, she has struck an alliance with the U.S.A., the strongest power of the twentieth century.

The U.S.A. is out to conquer. Not so much via military aggression, as via economic expansion. The latter may not be as spectacular as military conquest, but it can be as effective. Indeed, it is far more advantageous than the former.

In the past, vigorous nations with surplus energies embarked on wars of territorial aggrandisement. Today, the U.S.A. is releasing her surplus energies via economic conquest. And as during the Crusades the symbol of the crusader was the Cross, so now the Dollar has come to signify, in addition to the dynamic industrial and financial might of the U.S.A., also its aggressive economic expansionism.

For this reason the U.S.A. is as feared by those anxious to maintain their political independence as she is courted by others scheming the furtherance of their dominion in the wake of the Dollar.

In the second category can be found Catholic imperialism.

Since the end of the Second World War, Catholic imperialism's wooing of the Dollar has been crowned by such success that it has managed to identify both its enemies and its interests with those of the U.S.A. This astounding amalgamation was anything but accidental. It came about chiefly owing to the fact that both the Vatican and the Dollar were able to supply what the other partner conspicuously lacked: namely, the subtle

omnipotence of religion in the case of the Dollar, and the crass omnipotence of the Dollar in the case of organised religion. The result has been that both imperialisms have been able ever since to infuse renewed vigour into their expansionistic drives, in a manner extremely advantageous to both. Thus, for instance, whereas the Dollar, besides backing its economic imperialism with its industrial wealth or with the threat of nuclear weapons, can now give additional weight to both, owing to having behind it the organized religion, translated into power politics, of its new partner, so Catholic imperialism is rendered speedily more effective by the solidification of its religious and diplomatic machinery, thanks to the support of the Dollar.

In this manner the Dollar-Vatican alliance not only becomes extremely useful to both partners, but is transformed into a mighty instrument with which to carry out a common policy.

If the reverberations of a Dollar-Vatican joint action were influencing only the internal affairs of nations, it would be serious enough. But the sum of this interference very often affects world problems and hence world politics. In view of its increase, therefore, it behoves the lover of freedom diligently to study the origin, development, and actual working of both these dangerous imperialisms.

While the omnipotence of the Dollar is easily comprehended, that of the Vatican, being of a subtler kind, is not. Prior to embarking on the history of Dollar imperialism, therefore, it would be useful to know how Catholic imperialism is made to work.

Catholic imperialism is the co-ordinated religious and political extension of the Catholic Church's will to dominate in fields not pertaining to her. Owing to the fact that she is continually interfering in the social, economic, and political problems of most nations, she has to resort to a subterfuge, the better to do so with a freedom which would be denied to her were she to act purely as a Church.

When acting as a diplomatic or political organization, consequently, having camouflaged herself in different vestments, the name Vatican is generally applied to her. The functions of the Vatican are supposed to be confined strictly to diplomatic

and political problems, as those of the Church are supposed to be limited strictly to religious and moral ones. This, however, is a mere legal fiction, for although separate units, each is the complement of the other. They are but one: the Catholic Church.

The maintenance of such duality, however, is extremely important, as it enables the Catholic Church to exert her influence in a manner permitted to no other organization, state, or even religion, in the whole world. For were her exertions as a Church to be curtailed in any given country, she can always further them as a diplomatic-political power; whereas, inversely, should they be limited on purely diplomatic or political grounds, she can always further them as a Church.

The advantage of this functional but legal duality is further enhanced by the fact that the two instruments are often employed alternatively, simultaneously, or at diverse times, without anyone knowing precisely which of the two is being used. This very often is the cause of uncertainty, not to say confusion, among both friends and foes, the result being that, by embroiling the actions of her opponents, by undermining the confidence of their decisions, the Catholic Church can act to the disadvantage of any government, while officially being thoroughly correct.

Thanks to this practice of concealment, whenever expedient, in whichever capacity she is acting, the Catholic Church—that is Catholic imperialism—has been able to exert exceptional pressure, both in the domestic and in the international life of numerous countries, to the discomfort of hostile governments and to the advantage of friendly ones.

As a rule, however, the Catholic Church, when dealing with diplomatic matters or in official relationships with the various governments of the world accredited to her, acts in her role of the Vatican. And it is the role which she plays as the Vatican that we shall now examine.

It is evident that Vatican diplomatic activities would not be taken very seriously were it not for the widespread influence exercised by four hundred million Catholics, Vatican diplomacy being but the reflection of such influence. It is the knowledge of these circumstances which prompts sundry Governments to exchange representatives with Rome.

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, by cultivating diplo-

matic relations with States controlling either an important Catholic minority or a whole Catholic population, is enabled to take advantage of more abundant opportunities of ensuring that Catholic interests are respected and furthered than would otherwise occur.

The characteristics which distinguish the Vatican from any other diplomatic-political power can be summarized as follows :

1. The Vatican has a clearly defined goal. Notwithstanding the flexibility of its policy, it will never for one instant waver. This goal is the furtherance of Catholic influence and her shaping of the world at large according to Catholic tenets.

2. By claiming to be the centre of Christian teaching on the rights and duties of individuals in society and of nations in the comity of nations, also by the indisputable fact that the Catholic Church holds members in every corner of the earth, the Vatican is a world-wide institution.

3. Although its diplomatic machinery may resemble that of any Foreign Office or State Department, the resemblance is mainly superficial. For the Vatican has at its disposal what no other foreign office—with the exception, perhaps, of the Russian—can boast of : an organization through which to exercise pressure upon any given country or upon many countries simultaneously, independently of the will of their governments.

4. The Vatican has access to a large volume of diplomatic information, owing to its official status, as well as to an immense amount of information which, although not always the fastest, is provided by a global news-service operated by the Catholic hierarchy in all corners of the earth, the latter being one of, if not the most accurate and up-to-date diplomatic, political, social and economic news-services in the world.

No other power or religion can be compared with the Vatican in this respect. Even Buddhism, whose members outnumber Catholics, or Islam, whose adherents, generally speaking, surpass the average Catholic in devotion, have nothing like the enormous political influence of the Vatican, nor an organization comparable with that of the Catholic Church, nor a spiritual ruler like the Pope, nor the power to exert such influence in the two leading continents, Europe and America, whose nations either are Catholic or have large Catholic minorities. The efficiency of this news service is due to the hierarchi-

cal working of the vast machinery of the Catholic Church, which has transformed all its officials—namely, hundreds of thousands of priests, bishops, archbishops, and members of religious orders—into its spiritual and political agents, newsmen, informers, representatives, propagandists, at one and the same time.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Secretariat of State of the Vatican has in every devout Catholic access to a potential source of news, and in every intelligent priest a trained informer. One of the main tasks of a priest is to keep his finger on the pulse of his people, not only in religious, but also in social, political, and even economic matters. This enables him to acquire an inside knowledge of the real conditions of his village or parish, unmatched by that of any local authority. Whatever is judged useful is imparted to the local hierarchy, whence it is passed to the bishop, who, in turn, takes it to the Vatican. When to this is added the sundry information collected by the numerous semi-religious institutions operating in Christian and non-Christian countries, through Catholic laymen who are organized into societies or political parties in close touch with and often under the direction of priests, as well as the information gathered through the usual diplomatic channels, it then becomes evident that the Secretariat of State of the Vatican is one of, if not the best informed news-agencies in the world.

5. The Vatican can safely be considered the most ancient and most experienced State Department in existence. No other institution has dealt with so many races, nations, kingdoms, empires, and rulers throughout the length of almost twenty centuries and the width of five continents. This claim is unique and should always be borne in mind by every modern nation when dealing with the Vatican.

6. The Vatican can afford to be very generous with the time factor—that is, it can afford to wait. This is something which ephemeral governments, either democratic or totalitarian, can seldom do. For the Vatican, being utterly independent of elections, *coups d'état*, revolutions, or sudden changes, has a systematic stability unequalled in the modern world, and this accounts for a great deal of its diplomatic strength.

7. Last, but not least, the Vatican becomes even more important during war and during periods immediately preceding

and following war. This is mainly owing to the fact that very often it becomes an intermediary between belligerents.

When diplomatic relations between warring nations have ceased, transactions of various natures which otherwise would be very difficult, if not impossible, can still be made via Rome. These may range from the exchange of prisoners to negotiations for ending hostilities or for surrender.

In 1885 Imperial Germany came into conflict with Spain over the Caroline Islands in the South Pacific. After bitter dispute, both Powers agreed to lay the matter before an arbitrator. Pope Leo XIII acted in this capacity and decided in Spain's favour.

During the First World War the Central Powers contacted the Allies on more than one occasion, with a view to reaching a compromise or agreeing to a negotiated peace—e.g. the Emperor Charles of Austria, who in 1917 asked Pope Benedict XV to sound the Allies with a view to making a separate conditional peace. During minor though potentially explosive conflicts like the Abyssinian one, Vatican diplomacy can still influence the situation—e.g. the Vatican Secretary of State, Maglione, who was one of the main instruments in bringing about the Hoare/Laval partition plan for the settlement of the Ethiopian war (1935–36). During paramount crises, upon the solution of which can hang the issue of war or peace, the Vatican can still bring pressure to bear on Foreign Offices or State Departments, even Protestant ones. To quote an instance: During the Munich crisis of 1938, when the Vatican specifically asked the British Premier, Chamberlain, that Soviet Russia be excluded from the conference at which Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, France and England were trying to settle the fate of Czechoslovakia and thus postpone for another year the outbreak of the Second World War. The Vatican's request was even more ominous since at that period Great Britain was seeking a pact with Russia.

During the Second World War very important transactions of this kind were enacted via the Vatican—e.g. Hitler's peace proposal, which was transmitted to the British Government via the Papal Nuncio in Switzerland.¹ In 1945 the Vatican played a leading role in ominous peace moves immediately preceding Japan's ultimate collapse. In fact, it was the Vatican which,

long before the dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, gave the U.S.A. the first positive information that Japan was ready for capitulation when, on April 5, 1945, Emperor Hirohito contacted the Pope to ascertain American terms, in preparation for ultimate surrender.²

During hostilities, this type of hidden activity gives the Vatican an extraordinary fund of information, and hence an immense prestige which it is never shy of exploiting to the full for its own advantage.

It is on account of the Vatican's reality as a diplomatic and political centre that numerous nations send envoys or ambassadors to the Papal Court, although at times this is done somewhat grudgingly. Thus, while prior to the First World War, in 1914, barely a dozen countries had exchanged representatives with the Vatican, by 1917 there were thirty-four foreign representatives. During and after the Second World War more countries followed suit, including Japan, China, Lebanon, Egypt, Indonesia, Persia, India and others.

During periods of high political tension the Vatican can become extremely useful or extremely dangerous, not only by mobilizing the clergy and laity of any given country in favour of or against any given government; not only by vast diplomatic intrigues in the internal and external affairs of many nations, but also by integrating certain activities—e.g. Intelligence; in common parlance, espionage—with those of any given country, to harm the interests, domestic or foreign, of others.

This is very important, as modern States spend enormous sums on spying upon one another. For instance, it is reputed that the U.S.A. spends over one hundred million dollars a year. A few years after the end of the Second World War, additional funds were openly granted to American Intelligence-espionage-sabotage units, whose specific task was to conduct operations in given regions—e.g. Communist-dominated countries. In certain fields Vatican intelligence has been thoroughly integrated with the American and, indeed, had become its most indispensable factor wherever American activities had been seriously reduced.

The most barefaced granting of funds aimed at reaching such objectives was undoubtedly that passed by the American Government, debated and approved by Congress and the Presi-

dent in 1951 and set in motion from 1952 onwards, non-committally labelled The American Mutual Security Act. This instrument gave American Intelligence the right to spend an *additional* hundred million dollars "for any selected persons who are residing in, or escapees from, the Soviet Union and her satellites"—to quote the official wording—and, furthermore, "to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting the North-Atlantic Treaty Organizations, or for other purposes."

The nature of the "other purposes" was made perfectly clear by the individual who had introduced such portion of the Act. "The Act," said the American Senator, "is to render aid to underground liberation movements in Communist countries."

That, it should be noted, was passed in peace-time. The Act was debated at the United Nations in Paris (December 21, 1951), when one of the American delegates was forced to admit that "to train and equip a so-called foreign legion for the invasion of another State and the overthrow of its Government would be an aggressive act."

This was precisely what the American Act was. The integration of the Vatican Intelligence with the American at this juncture was accomplished simply by linking their two machineries even more tightly.

Such integration, which began early in the Second World War, in 1943, prior to the joint Vatican-American Intelligence action resulting in Mussolini's downfall, became even more intimate with the sharpening of the American-Vatican versus Russian ideological conflict, with the result that within ten years it was the main feature of both the American and Vatican Intelligence services, particularly when the U.S.A. and Western Europe started to rearm immediately after the outbreak of the Korean War (1950) and the U.S.A. began openly to threaten the Communist countries by means of the hydrogen bomb—e.g. 1954.

Vatican-American Intelligence integration worked in diverse fashions and was made to exploit impartially the religious fanaticism of Catholic individuals and the ecclesiastical bonds that tied the sundry hierarchies of the countries where American Intelligence had been greatly hampered to Catholic Headquarters in Rome. In connection with the American Mutual

Aid Act, for instance, Vatican contribution to its promotion was many branched.

Almost two-thirds of those who had enrolled in these special American units were pious Catholics. Most of the leading ecclesiastics of the Catholic hierarchies in sundry Communist lands where the American spying units had to operate, were linked with the regular American Intelligence agents in those countries, and with others whose task consisted specifically of co-ordinating the activities of the units operating under the American Mutual Security Act.

Thanks to such unification of the vast Vatican-American Intelligence, the sundry Catholic hierarchies in Central Europe became the powerful instruments of the American State Department, while the religious administration of the Catholic Church in the countries behind the Iron Curtain in this way was smoothly transformed into a permanent Intelligence feature of the U.S.A.

The integration of Vatican-American Intelligence was the result of the parallel policies of the Vatican and America towards Communism, from which arose their need to co-ordinate their exertions against a common enemy.

Vatican Intelligence can play the leading role *vis-a-vis* the American, thanks to the basic reason that it is dependent upon the services, not so much of its official diplomatic corps, nuncios, or papal representatives, but upon the information supplied by the local hierarchies, which, under the guise of religious reports, can usually convey important political, economic, and even military information to the Vatican, and hence to Washington. Economic reports, or reports on social conditions, today can assume great revolutionary or military significance. The Vatican can better supply this kind of information to any powers it befriends than can any other secret service. The sixty million Catholics scattered in Eastern Europe, from Poland to Bulgaria, or the one hundred million in Latin America, can, therefore, become potential informers for their Church—that is, for the Vatican—and hence for Washington.

Vatican diplomats at times engineer political plots, in the closest co-operation with the Intelligence of powers on friendly terms with the Catholic Church. A few instances taken at random should suffice.

In 1950, Albania sent a note to the General Secretary of the United Nations, formally accusing both Italy, with a Catholic Government, and the Vatican of joint "treacherous espionage and wrecking-groups."

In Czechoslovakia, Catholic priests and members of religious orders were tried and condemned for sending despatches of a political and military nature to the Vatican (April and December, 1950). The Vatican's comment on these despatches was illuminating: "These were despatches of ecclesiastical information to the Vatican which every Bishop is obliged to send."⁴

In Poland, Cardinal Hlond was the acknowledged head of Vatican political Intelligence and the focus of pro-Western underground movements.

In Rumania, Mgr. G. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah, U.S.A. and Regent of the Papal Nunciature in Bucharest, was expelled from that country on the ground that he was carrying out espionage on behalf of the U.S.A. (1950).

In China, during and after the establishment of the Communist régime, Vatican representatives became the semi-official agents of American Intelligence. Their exertions were not confined solely to the organization of effective anti-Communist resistance; they actively co-operated with people busy engineering a plot to assassinate the heads of the Chinese Government. Although this was the work mainly of American Intelligence, the Vatican's agents were extremely co-operative. The organizer of the plot was one Colonel David Barrett, a one-time military attaché at the American Embassy in Peking and a member of the American Office of Strategic Services. His accomplices were Antonio Riva, a devout Catholic Italian merchant, and a Japanese bookseller named Yamaguchi; these were sentenced to death for attempting to murder the Chinese leaders during the procession to celebrate China's National Day, October 1; Mgr. Tarcisio Martina, Catholic Bishop of Yihsien in Hopei Province and Peking representative of Archbishop Riberi, the Papal Nuncio, the last named has been accused of direct contact with American Intelligence—both in Asia and in Washington—until his expulsion from China (1951).⁵

In Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty, Archbishop Grosz, and others planned nothing less than the overthrow of the Government and the re-establishment of the Monarchy, in closest co-

operation with American Intelligence, which did not hesitate, on more than one occasion, to parachute into Hungary special Catholic-American agents.⁶

To believe these activities to be confined only to the Communist countries would be to make a gross mistake. Vatican representatives are as active—indeed, are far more active—in other parts of the world, e.g. Latin America, on the whole an anti-Communist Catholic continent.

A typical instance was that of Juan Peron, the Argentine dictator. Originally Peron was helped into power with the backing of the Vatican. As long as he was subservient to it, he had the Vatican's support. When, however, resenting the mounting strangulating grip of the Church, he tried to curtail it, he incurred her active hostility, which culminated in the Vatican's representatives there inspiring a bloody counter-revolution following Peron's attempt to bring into force the basic modern tenet of separation of Church and State.

On June 16, 1955, the Vatican officially excommunicated the whole Argentine Government and all those who wanted the separation of Church and State, on the grounds that they "had trampled upon the rights of the Church."⁷ Within literally a few hours Peron and his Government were bombed in Buenos Aires by rebellious units led by fanatical Catholic leaders in the closest contact with Argentina's hierarchy. Hundreds of innocent citizens were massacred.

The June rebellion failed. A few months later, however, the Catholic leaders, headed by an even more devout Catholic, General Lonardi, tried again, and succeeded (September, 1955). The Argentine Government was overthrown.

Only a few days afterwards the Vatican's chief agent, Cardinal Copello, the Primate of Argentina, the spiritual leader of the anti-Peron revolution, stood triumphantly alongside the pious Catholic general as the latter took the oath as a practising Catholic President of Argentina. Then, while people were still being killed in the streets, Cardinal Copello, the representative of the Pope, warmly embraced him, giving him the blessing of the Holy See.

The first act of the new President during his first presidential speech was to make a first public promise to the effect that Argentina was going to sign a Concordat with the Vatican.

The next day (September 9, 1955) the Vatican recognized the new Catholic Government, the first to do so, followed by the U.S.A.⁸

In Latin America the Vatican acts with the U.S.A. perhaps more closely than anywhere else, with a view to sending to or to keeping in power Governments subservient to the joint Catholic North-American inter-continental policy of supporting friendly anti-democratic cliques and reactionary strong men.

Most of the Latin-American republics, particularly in recent years, can tell the most astonishing tales of this barefaced Vatican-U.S.A. interference in their domestic and external affairs, in spite of periodical denials by Washington, as we shall soon have the opportunity to prove.

In Europe, the Vatican's interference is no less active. Western Germany, France and Italy, not to mention Franco's Spain, being Europe's most outstanding examples.⁹

That is not all. The Vatican can influence Councils and sway assemblies responsible for shaping the destiny of the entire world, e.g. the League of Nations after the First World War, when the Secretary-General of the League was a devout Catholic; ¹⁰ and the United Nations Organization after the Second. And rare indeed were the occasions when its influence was not powerfully felt or when it could not command the votes of whole groups of nations, as was so frequently done by the U.S.A. and, to a lesser degree, by Soviet Russia. The Vatican, with not a single official delegate, was one of the leading members of U.N.O., the "invisible" member whose vote could stultify, at will, issues promoted by any nation.

The Vatican, as the "invisible" member of U.N.O., made its influence felt mainly in three ways:

- (i) By delegates who were Catholics.
- (ii) By using the votes of Catholic countries.
- (iii) By an intimate alliance with the dominating power in U.N.O.—i.e. the U.S.A.

Delegates of Catholic countries were mostly Catholics, often zealous ones. These were supplemented by individual Catholics who, although not representing any member nation, yet could powerfully influence important problems—e.g. the Chief of the United Nations' Status of Women Commission; ¹¹ by

members of the Catholic hierarchy sent as official advisers to a national delegation at U.N.O.—e.g. Bishop O'Brien, Auxiliary to Cardinal Gilroy, Archbishop of Sydney, as official adviser to the Australian delegation to the U.N. General Assembly (September, 1950); and by individuals representing non-Christian countries—e.g. Moslem Pakistan sent Mr. Charles Lobo, former Chief Justice of Sind (1950); Buddhist South Korea sent its Foreign Minister, a most fervent Catholic; Hindu India sent the Rev. Jerome D'Souza, a Jesuit, who, besides being an Indian delegate to U.N.O., was a member of the Parliament of India.

Thanks to its "invisible" membership, the Vatican could mobilize the votes of many countries. E.g. after the Second World War, most European nations being in the hands of Catholic Parties, their delegates could easily be briefed from Rome on all issues, while the Latin American bloc formed a permanent unit servile to the Vatican, and was, perhaps, even more important than the European one, as the Latin-American countries could command forty per cent of all U.N.O. votes, although representing only seven per cent. of the world population. This in contrast to Russia and India, with only two votes, and China, with no vote at all, though these three represented more than 1,000,000,000 human beings, almost half of mankind!

Owing to such a disparity of forces, it is easy to imagine how the mobilization of the Catholic bloc could carry the day at a mere wish of the Vatican.

Last, but not least, the "invisible" member could strengthen even further its Catholic bloc by co-ordinating it, or aligning it, with the dominating power in U.N.O.—i.e. the U.S.A.

By the skilful use of such forces the Vatican can sometimes exert a political power in world affairs which is superior even to that of the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia, with their respective ideological and economic satellites, put together. A typical instance is the following:

Immediately after the end of the Second World War Spain was practically the only fortress of Fascism to remain intact. As the chief Nazis were hanged, so Catholic Spain was branded a Fascist nation. After this the General Assembly of U.N.O., in their decision of 1946, urged all the member-nations to with-

draw their ambassadors and ministers from Madrid, to bar technical activities from Spain, to forbid financial aid, and similar sanctions, as a concrete proof of the world's abhorrence of a régime patterned on those of Hitler and Mussolini. At this period the temper of the nations, just emerged from the bloody Fascist conflict, could not be too lightly defied. And so the Vatican, although expressing disapproval of the U.N.O. decision, kept ominously quiet. Its silence, however, was only superficial. For it immediately began countless discreet exertions, which yielded their first concrete results when finally, in the spring of 1949, a proposal inspired directly by the Vatican was put forward to U.N.O., to secure the annulment of the General Assembly's decision of 1946. The proposal failed by *only two votes* to obtain the two-thirds majority.

The Vatican changed tactics. Instead of putting direct pressure upon U.N.O., it switched this against the power dominating U.N.O., i.e. the U.S.A., which, it should be noted, was in 1946 one of the prime movers against Franco's régime. The American hierarchy, the Catholic Press, and the whole Catholic-American machinery were duly mobilized. And in no time the State Department had to change its mind.

Having made certain of the support of the U.S.A., the Vatican thereupon resumed its direct frontal attack. The Latin-American countries—with the exception of Uruguay, Guatemala, and Mexico, who voted against it—were again briefed to bring the vexed question of relations with Spain before the United Nations, which they did in October, 1950.

The result was soon evident. The proposal gained a conclusive majority, thirty-seven votes to ten, with twelve abstentions. The special committee of U.N.O. revoked the ban on diplomatic relations with Spain and the prohibition against her membership. Financial loans from the U.S.A. preceded and followed this move. The Vatican, which had worked by words and deeds for Franco's cause, had won another victory.

Since its inception in 1949, Communist China was stubbornly boycotted by the U.S.A., who refused to recognize it as the legitimate Chinese Government. Washington's hostility did not remain theoretical; it was concrete. It continued to support, finance, and arm Chiang Kai-shek, entrenched in Formosa; to

oppose Red China becoming a member of the United Nations. In this it was entirely supported by the Vatican, which on more than one occasion openly stated that all countries should oppose "the admission of Red China to the U.N.,"¹² condemning those who, like Britain, had recognized Red China, labelling such recognition "a mockery".¹² Following this, after the outbreak of the Korean War (June, 1950), American armies, notwithstanding repeated warnings from the hitherto neutral China, rushed towards the Manchurian frontiers, with an unheard-of disregard for the national susceptibilities of Peking. The equivalent of this provocative action would have been a landing of Chinese Red Armies in Mexico, which, having defeated a Mexican rebel army sponsored by the U.S.A., rushed towards the U.S. frontier, proclaiming at the same time that their object was to destroy American Capitalism.

China acted as the U.S.A. or any other country would have done in such a case: it crossed the border and threw the American armies back almost to the sea. This was self-defence, justified also by the fact that twice in the recent past had Korea been used as a doorway for the invasion of China.

At this turn of events the U.S.A. proposed to the U.N. that they brand Red China as an "aggressor," mobilize all their diplomatic, economic, and military forces, and, indeed, declare war against China.

The U.S.A.'s proposal shocked the world to such an extent that *not a single nation* of the sixty comprising the United Nations came forward to support the American motion. All subsequent American efforts failed.

At this point, what neither the power of the U.S.A. nor the hatred and fear of Communism could do, the Vatican did. The Latin-American countries were briefed by the Vatican to side with the U.S.A. and to support the American motion for economic and military measures against Red China. And within a few days the U.S.A.'s resolution was unanimously endorsed by the Central and South American States (January 20, 1951). By 1957 the U.S.A., thanks to the backing of the Vatican, had succeeded in keeping off the agenda, *for the seventh year in succession*, the question of U.N. membership for Red China, in spite of many members' efforts (e.g. Great Britain, India) to bring her in.

The importance of the Vatican's support for the American plan can be gauged by the striking fact that whenever the U.S.A.'s economic pressure was not strengthened by the invisible religious pressure of the Vatican, there American efforts failed miserably.

When to all this is added the volume of ordinary or extraordinary diplomatic and political exertions of a great diplomatic power engaged in overtures, contacts, negotiations, dealing with the religious, social and political problems of nations or groups of nations, the future course of international assemblies and similar matters, then the Vatican's world-wide influence is more easily understood.

In view of all this, the Vatican is evidently an imponderable power of the greatest magnitude in the conduct of the affairs of nations. When backed by the might of the Dollar, with all the gigantic economic resources of which the Dollar is a symbol, then it is clear that the Vatican is far more of a menace to the liberties of men than before it struck its unholy alliance with the Dollar.

Conversely, the Dollar, because of the sly support it receives from the Vatican, has turned into an even more vigorous instrument of penetration, particularly in Latin America and in Europe.

This is one of the greatest realities of this century, and should be viewed with the gravest misgiving. For it is anything but a factor conducive to peace. The Dollar and the Vatican have combined to expand their joint dominion. Should Western man come to accept a civilization which relies only upon its gold to move the human spirit, or a political system based on tenets conceived by medieval theology, then Western man as we know him today is doomed.

Catholics have been reprimanded for criticizing the imperialistic designs of their Church, while Americans have been persecuted for opposing the imperialistic designs of an increasingly aggressive dollar policy. Unfortunately, neither will prevent the two emboldened imperialisms from careering towards ever greater conquests.

It is the past and current machinations of these twin evils which from now on we shall consider.

2

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND VATICAN DIPLOMACY

WHEN, IN 1492, COLUMBUS stretched westwards the confines of medieval Europe, Catholic Imperialism promptly set out in his wake, and the Popes, having apportioned the New World to Catholic Powers, had the Americas invaded by armies of Catholic soldiers and Catholic friars. Within a single century the greatest empire in the Western Hemisphere, the Spanish-American Empire, the undisputed spiritual fief of the Catholic Church, had emerged as the dominating political structure of the newly discovered continent.

Three hundred years went by; and the Catholic-Spanish colossus tumbled to the ground. Out of its ruins sprang the family of sundry independent republics of Central and South America.

These nations had not only overthrown the yoke of Spain; they had rebelled also against the no-less-weighty one of the Catholic Church.

The ideals of the French and North American revolutions, which had lit their first spark of rebellion, were made their guiding principles. They rejected not only the old European

Colonial Imperialism, but also, with no less vehemence, the old Catholic Imperialism of the Vatican, replacing both with the tenets of a new Libertarianism which, they decided, would henceforward be the true hall-mark of the American Continent.

Conservative Europe and the Vatican united. Whereas the Powers of the Holy Alliance mobilized Europe with troops and money, the Vatican came to the fore with anti-revolutionary, semi-religious emotionalism and the political mobilization of the Catholic world.

In 1823 the Holy Alliance prepared a military expedition, determined to overpower the rebellious Spanish-American nations, "to put an end to representative government."

The Catholic Church urged all the faithful throughout the Old World and the New to support the enterprise. Thereupon, having simultaneously intensified her ideological campaign against "the Godless Atheists and Liberals" of South America, the better to strengthen her hate crusade, she charged her Supreme Leader with imparting her official blessing to the Conservative expeditionary forces. The Pope praised and blessed the Holy Alliance, its army, navy, and war leaders; after which, having duly invoked the mercy of God, he issued a document in which he condemned, anathematized, and cursed *American emancipation*.

Notwithstanding reiterated Papal invocations to Catholic Providence, fate—or, perhaps, the determination of the American nations to remain free—willed otherwise. The Holy Alliance, like the Pope's fulminations, disintegrated, and the Central and South American Republics have kept their independence ever since.

Various factors contributed to this happy ending. In the Western Hemisphere the attitude of a newly self-freed nation which had also recently overthrown the colonial yoke of an obdurate European Imperialism, the United States, was perhaps the most important. The people and the government of this young North American republic, not only hailed, but encouraged and supported Latin-American independence. In 1822, in defiance of Conservative Europe and the Vatican, the United States recognized Chile, La Plata (Argentine), Colombia, Mexico, and Peru as independent nations. The

following year it went further and boldly challenged both. In December, 1823, President Monroe sent a message to Congress. The Monroe Doctrine had come into being, whereby the U.S.A. ensured the independence of the Latin-American nations from further European-Vatican attempts at their strangulation. From then onward Europe and the Vatican were forbidden "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere." Indeed, they were bluntly told that the American continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers."

European and Catholic Imperialism had helped to launch into the international arena a new world Power—the United States of America.

Although ejected from the main entrance Catholicism reentered Latin America, and at present is again its paramount force. Yet, since the last century, its main efforts, while directed at reconsolidating its hold in Central and South America, have simultaneously been directed with truly phenomenal persistency at penetrating the North, as a means by which ultimately to stage an unexpected comeback, to reconquer not only Latin America but also the U.S.A.

In view of the alarming success which so far has crowned the Vatican's activities in this direction, and the spectacular rise of the U.S.A. in world politics, it might, perhaps, be useful to glance, even if panoramically, at the origin and evolution of the Vatican-North American relationship, which has already assumed such portentous significance for the destiny and the future of contemporary society.

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If the winds of Liberalism and democracy which had first stirred the banners of independence in Latin America had come mainly from across the Atlantic, they had blown no less forcibly from the North, whose libertarian principles had become as inspiring as those scattered by revolutionary France. And this to such an extent that with the passing of time they came to represent all the aspirations of individual and national liberty of all the Latin-American peoples.

The detestation of both ecclesiastical and civil tyrannies which had found its way into the very Declaration of Inde-

pendence having become the concrete foundation of the United States, the latter was soon regarded as a mighty libertarian lighthouse by all those who were still oppressed or who wanted to enlarge upon the freedom they had already acquired.

The Vatican, consequently, could not ignore this dangerous Northern source of Liberal contamination and, simultaneously with conducting its strategy in Latin America, it focused its attention on the North.

Contrary to what was the case in the South, however, here the Vatican was almost powerless. Although following its usual general strategy of penetration on the domestic front and the waging of diplomatic war on the external, having to adapt itself to the exiguity of Catholic internal strength, Catholic diplomacy had a more difficult task. It could not exert any influence on the domestic front; it could not exert any real pressure on the external.

This because Protestant U.S.A. was almost an impregnable citadel to the Vatican's intrigues. That, at least, is what many North Americans had come to believe. But it proved otherwise. The Vatican, forbidden to enter by the front, had come in by the back door. Undetected, it is true, but nonetheless capable of making its presence felt in both the domestic and the external affairs of the United States.

On the domestic front it waged a no-less-fierce war against Liberalism, as far as was compatible with a Protestant and democratic climate, than it did in the rest of the Western Hemisphere. When Washington took command of the Continental Army Catholicism had only one church in Philadelphia. For many decades in the nineteenth century it remained an almost insignificant force. Yet its voice against Liberalism was one of the loudest. With the flux of Catholic immigration and the rise of Irish Catholicism in public and business life, it became one of the dominant anti-Liberal forces. This was epitomized by the declaration of a member of the American Catholic hierarchy, which summed up very neatly the Catholic attitude towards Liberalism: To commit murder was no greater offence than to vote for a Liberal, was the statement. Why? Because Liberalism was a heresy, condemned by Rome.¹

Any trend or acceptance of Liberalism within the American

Catholic Church itself was ruthlessly suppressed by the Vatican, whether it appeared within the ranks of the clergy or of the laity. Cardinal Gibbons had to fight many bitter battles to save the Knights of Labour from Papal condemnation. At Baltimore Council the American bishops were ordered to warn American Catholics against the growing tendency of some of them to accept the idea that one faith was as good as another, going so far as to call such principles a "plague." The Pope himself came out with a solemn warning against the American Church letting herself become "contaminated" by the plague of Liberalism and democracy when he issued nothing less than an encyclical against "Americanism."²

This fight against Liberalism and, according to the Vatican, its inseparable twin, Freemasonry, the culpable begetters of American democracy, grew with the growth of the Church within the U.S.A. until at the beginning of this century it could command remarkable influence at the time when the tactics of direct attack against it changed, as we shall see later.

The Vatican's hatred against the United States, however, operated on a large scale in the external field. It began at the very moment of American birth. Amid the voices of jubilation at the North American colonies having acquired their independence, there were the discordant ones of reactionary England and the Vatican. The Vatican not only disapproved of the birth of the United States; it openly and solemnly condemned their Declaration of Independence as a remarkable document of "wickedness," embodying the most nefarious principles and hence to be abhorred by all God-fearing Christians.

When the Constitution of the United States was drawn up, while the great Latin-American emancipator, speaking in the name of all Latin America, called the U.S.A. "a singular model of political virtue and moral enlightenment, unique in the history of mankind," the Vatican called it a "Satanic document," conceived mainly by the representatives of the devil himself—i.e. by Freemasonry. On this point the Vatican was right. For both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were, in fact, largely formulated by Masons. Freemasonry, a staunch supporter of constitutional governments, has been an even stauncher supporter

of the principles embodied in the American Constitution, as proved by the fact that no less than fifteen of the Presidents of the U.S. have been Masons.

The United States Constitution incurred the Vatican's cordial abhorrence, not only because of "its most wicked principles," but also owing to the fact that it began to be looked upon as a model Constitution by most of the Latin-American countries. The first Latin-American Constitution was drafted by Venezuela, in the same year as its national independence was proclaimed—July, 1811. The Venezuelan Constitution was mainly based upon that of the United States, besides being supplemented by ideas from the Social Contract of Rousseau. Other Latin-American republics followed Venezuela, so that within a few decades the Constitutions of all the various American republics had one thing in common—that they hailed the principles of individual freedom and political and religious tolerance, which the Vatican hates with such deep hatred.

Catholic fulminations against the prototype of such Constitutions—namely, that of the U.S.A.—therefore, by focusing religious and political odium of millions of prejudiced Catholics both in Europe and in Latin America, did nothing to help the newly born United States, either inside or outside its boundaries. On the contrary, before and during the War of Independence various international intrigues inspired by Catholic diplomacy attempted, even if by remote control, to undermine the American fight for liberty and, indeed, to endanger the very existence of the U.S.A. One of the most remarkable and lesser-known feats of Vatican diplomacy is that connected with the American Civil War. The Civil War, the greatest disaster to befall the young American nation, was greeted with rejoicing at the Vatican. This for various motives. Among the most prominent: the great Protestant country, the contaminator of the Western Hemisphere, would disintegrate, divide into two or more States, and hence lose the fascination it exerted over Latin America; the war would strengthen the hand of the conservative elements and crush the Liberals. The victory of the Southern States, and all that for which they stood, including the retention of slavery, would

have consolidated Conservatism throughout the Americas. There was nothing the Vatican wanted more.

Owing to these and various other reasons, therefore, the Vatican saw in the outbreak of the American Civil War a manifest help of Divine Providence. *Civiltà Cattolica*, then the official mouthpiece of the Vatican, had no doubts whatsoever about it. In addition to which it rejoiced that the U.S. at long last was broken and undone. To quote only one of the many joyous declarations: ". . . by manifest Providence, that immense Babylon [the U.S.A.], founded on the principles of the revolution, is broken up and undone."⁴

The Vatican, however, was not content only with such declarations. It set in motion its diplomatic and political machinery to undo "that immense Babylon," or, rather the side of that immense Babylon which upheld the principles of Liberalism and democracy—that is to say, the Northern States, led by that arch-enemy of reaction, President Lincoln.

The background of the American Civil War, and of the Vatican's exertions, was closely connected with another no-less-bloody civil war, the Mexican. In the U.S. and in Mexico two progressive Liberal movements, one led by Lincoln and the other by Juarez, were fighting against the reactionary forces of their respective countries for the sake of these very principles which the Vatican so cordially abhorred. It was logical, therefore, that as the two leaders and the two movements supported a common cause, the hatred which the Vatican entertained for the Liberal Mexican leader should also be generously directed against his North American counterpart and against the party for which he stood.

Juarez, having established his capital at various places, pursued as he was by the French troops of Napoleon III, was helped in many ways by the Lincoln Government. Although the American Civil War was in its third year, the Federal Government never faltered in its defence of the legitimate Government of Mexico, led by Juarez. Lincoln not only helped Juarez, but continued stubbornly to recognize his Government as the only legal Mexican Government. This, it should be noted, while other governments, mainly at the direct instigation of the Vatican, had recognized Maximilian as Emperor of Mexico.

But, more than this, Lincoln continued to insist that foreign interference in Mexico, and hence in the American Continent, should be ended. By his insistence, Lincoln went straight against one of the Vatican's favourite political schemes: the creation of a Catholic-American empire in Mexico, to be operated by the Vatican, as a Catholic beacon to the rest of the Latin-American countries; as a Catholic opposition, directed against the Protestant Liberal United States; as a powerful political-diplomatic instrument, based right upon American soil, to be used by the Vatican during the furtherance of its pet scheme to dominate the whole Continent, in its dealing with both the Catholic South and the Protestant North. Last, but not least, to serve as a dam against all the Liberal forces of the Continent as well as a rallying centre for all the Conservative forces of South and North.

As long as Lincoln and his Federal Government existed, the scheme was in deadly danger. Consequently Lincoln and the cause for which he stood had to go. For had he emerged the winner, he would not only have endangered the whole scheme of the Mexican Empire, but, by supporting progressive elements in other American countries, would have released tremendous latent forces throughout Latin America, to the further loss of the economic and political stranglehold of Catholicism in those countries.

In these circumstances it became the urgent task of Vatican diplomacy to wreck Lincoln's Government in the hour of its most dire peril.

How could the Vatican do that?

It could do it by pursuing simultaneously several tactics: (a) by undermining his cause within his own rank and file, via American Catholics; (b) by undermining his cause in the eyes of world diplomacy; and (c) by actively helping his enemies.

Vatican machinations against the U.S.A. at this most critical period of American history, although almost unnoticed, could nonetheless have had the most fateful results, as it combated Lincoln on all fronts. In the rear it urged American Catholics to abandon Lincoln's cause. This, of course, was not done by direct orders to desert; it was done, Vatican-way, indirectly, obliquely, and ambiguously, and yet transparently enough to

be mightily resented by numerous American Catholics themselves.

The Pope addressed letters to the Archbishops of New York and New Orleans, telling them to put pressure upon the Lincoln Government with a view to settling the Civil War. In favour of Lincoln? Not at all. In favour of the South.

Not all American Catholics of the North followed such a line. In spite of the Vatican's advice, many remained loyal to the cause of the Union until the end. Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati, for instance, just a step across the Mason-Dixon line, did not hesitate to fly the stars-and-stripes from Cincinnati Cathedral in face of the bitterest opposition. But others obeyed the Vatican, beginning with the most influential member of the American hierarchy, Archbishop John Hughes of New York, who openly defended the South by publicly upholding the institution of slavery. His attitude could be, and was, dangerous. For the Archbishop was the recognized leader of the Irish Catholics of America, and hence he could influence a considerable political and military stratum of the Union. Lincoln, in addition to swallowing his pride in silence, more than once had to handle this dangerous representative of the Catholic Church with velvet gloves, lest he work even more harm.

The Vatican, however, was not content with using the American hierarchy. The Pope himself came to the fore in the guise of peacemaker, but in reality as a partisan of the enemy of the Liberal North. Pius IX, writing to the above-mentioned Archbishop, as well as to the Archbishop of New Orleans, ordered them to convey to the American "chief rulers and people" the Pope's wishes, the Pope being "the administrator and the Vice-regent of Him who is the Author of Peace." They, the Pope told them, had to act as the Pope's commissioners, presenting the Pope's views to the Washington Government, in order to settle the affairs of the United States according to Papal wishes.

Apply all your study and exertion with the people and the chief ruler, to restore forthwith the desired tranquillity and peace [were the Pope's words]. Neither omit to admonish, and exhort the people and their supreme ruler, *even in our name.*

The Pope went further, and did not hesitate to declare that he hoped Lincoln would heed the Papal advice :

We are confident [he wrote] that they would comply with our paternal admonition.

The Archbishops, aware of the temper of the American Government, did not dare to follow the Pope's advice and exhort the President in the name of the Pope. The Papal "admonition," however, was promulgated among the laity and created much indignation throughout the North.

The real significance of the Pope's "admonition" to Lincoln, however, cannot be properly understood until it is remembered that no such words were addressed to Lincoln's opponents. The Pope never sent his "paternal admonition" to the Confederate Government. This owing to one simple reason, that the Vatican was in the closest and friendliest relations with it. Indeed, certain correspondence which passed between the Vatican and the South left no doubts whatsoever about their true import, which was to compel, if possible, the Government of Lincoln to abandon its defence of the Union, and therefore to allow the principles for which it stood to be defeated.

Lincoln's opponent, the President of the Confederate Government, received with delight the news of the Pope's message to the Northern bishops. Besides undermining Lincoln in the rear, the Papal message was an obvious indication of the Vatican's support for the cause of the South. So sure was President Jefferson Davis of this that he did not hesitate to declare that the Pope would soon recognize the Confederacy. Such recognition would have had profound repercussions; it would have meant that the Vatican had officially recognized Lincoln's opponent as the true, legal, *de facto* sovereign Southern and, indeed, all-American Government. The Vatican's example would have meant even more; it would have induced European and Latin-American nations to follow suit. Such recognition might not have been confined to the theoretical field. Indeed, it was hoped, both by the Southern Confederates and by Rome, that it might be extended to the economic and even military spheres. If none of these hopes materialized, the Vatican recognition would still have

an immediate concrete result: it would help to widen beyond hope the chasm which had cut the United States into two, and thus, by contributing to its solidification, have it permanently rent into two or more governments, thus giving a mortal blow to the Protestant colossus of the North.

President Jefferson Davis, therefore, to induce the Pope to recognize the Confederate Government, sent to the Vatican as his agent Colonel A. Dudley Mann. Colonel Mann carried a letter, dated September 23, 1863, in which the Pope was thanked for supporting the Confederacy by sending the Papal letter to the Northern hierarchy. President Jefferson Davis's representative was warmly received by the Pope, who felt no slight pleasure at the President's message: "Not slight was the pleasure we experienced, when we learned . . . with what feelings of joy and *gratitude* you were animated, Illustrious and Honourable President." In a profoundly sharp contrast to this, the Pope spoke of President Lincoln and his supporters contemptuously as "Lincoln and Co." In a letter to Mr. Davis, Colonel Mann related his conversation with the Pope as follows:

His Holiness now stated, to use his own language, that "Lincoln & Co." had endeavoured to create an impression abroad, that they were fighting for the abolition of slavery, and that it might be judicious in us to consent to gradual emancipation.

After which he continued to explain the sympathetic attention of the Pope, adding,

that if, indeed, African slavery were an evil, there was a power which in its own good time would doubtless remove that evil, in a more gentle manner than that of causing the earth to be deluged with blood for its Southern overthrow.

The Confederate Secretary of State, Judah P. Benjamin, replied to Colonel Mann:

The President has been much gratified at learning of the cordial reception which you received from the Pope; and the publication of your correspondence (of which I send you a newspaper slip) has had a good effect. (February 1, 1864.)

The effect was to procure from the Vatican the recognition of the Confederacy. The recognition was accompanied neither

by the beating of drums nor by direct Papal invocation of celestial assistance. The Vatican, with its unequalled experience of the capriciousness of the fortunes of war, particularly while they are still in progress, would have felt that this would have been going a bit too far. But it went as far as it dared, without violating the rule of prudence, in the recognition of the Government of the South, while simultaneously indicting Lincoln by implying that the onus for the fratricidal war rested with him. Papal recognition was contained in a letter which Pius IX handed to Colonel Mann, to be delivered to Mr. Jefferson Davis, dated December 3, 1863:

Illustrious and Honorable President:

We have just received with all suitable welcome, the persons sent by you to place in our hands your letter dated September 23 last. Not slight was the pleasure we experienced when we learned from these persons and the letter, with what feelings of joy and gratitude you were animated, Illustrious and Honorable President, as soon as you were informed of our letters to our venerable brothers, John, Archbishop of New York, and John, Archbishop of New Orleans . . . and in which we have . . . exhorted those venerable brothers that . . . they should endeavour with most ardent zeal, and in our name, to bring about the end of that fatal civil war which has broken out in those countries. . . .⁶

"The meaning of that letter of December 3, 1863," subsequently wrote H. W. Cleveland in a missive to Jefferson Davis, "and its pregnant words, 'to The Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America,' was not misunderstood anywhere, least of all by Abraham Lincoln. There was no 'so called' in His Holiness's letter, and while it only prayed for peace and did not propose any armed action on the part of the small States of the Church, the onus of a fratricidal war was distinctly cast on the North, where it still rests." *

Vatican diplomacy, however, had gone further than merely exerting itself in the mobilization of Catholics within the Union and of European diplomacy against Lincoln and the cause for which he stood. It planned physical combat by the mobilization of armies. As it had induced Napoleon III to invade Mexico to crush Juarez, so it also simultaneously attempted to use him to defeat Lincoln.

Napoleon III attempted to do this in three ways: by trying

to induce England to break the blockade which the Federal Government had established against the South; by attempting to persuade her to recognize the Confederacy; by ordering his troops in Mexico to co-operate actively with the South by harassing the Mexican Republicans along the Rio Grande, who were sympathetic towards the North, going so far as to intercept messages between President Juarez and President Lincoln.

This, however, was not all; Napoleon became "anxious to go beyond" such indirect aid. "And so was the Pope." These are the words of one who should have known—Jefferson Davis, himself the President of the Confederacy.⁷

Vatican exertions at wrecking the United States ended in nothing, and the cause championed by Lincoln triumphed.

But Lincoln, the soul of resistance against reaction, was fated to fall. On the evening of April 14, 1865, John Wilkes Booth discharged a pistol into his head. Lincoln breathed his last breath on the following day, April 15, 1865. It might have been a coincidence, but John H. Surrat, of Surratsville, M.D., who conspired with Lincoln's murderer, fled to Rome and joined the Zouaves, the Papal troops. It might have been yet another coincidence, but the assassin of the liberator of the slaves, the supporter of Juarez of Mexico, and of government of the people by the people and for the people, curiously enough, was a Roman Catholic.

3

NORTH AMERICAN PENETRATION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

THE EXERTIONS OF VATICAN DIPLOMACY against the Western Hemisphere, since that continent's riddance of European Imperialism, was characterized by the uninterrupted series of failures which followed upon one another.

The project of the Holy Alliance to reconquer South and Central America was a complete fiasco; the grafting of a Catholic empire on to Mexico ended before an execution squad; the attempt to break the back of the Protestant-Liberal colossus of the North, by splitting it into two and possibly more parts, was completely unsuccessful.

With the exception of minor triumphs and the continuation of the miasmatic maintenance of Catholic influence in the former Spanish Colonies, Vatican diplomacy was made to suffer reverse after reverse in its attempt to prevent the irresistible evolutionary upward march of the Americas.

The spectre of conquest which the Monroe Doctrine had seemingly dispelled reappeared, no longer in European armour but in American guise.

And Spanish America, which after the collapse of the Holy Alliance had looked to a future wholly free from external

attack, only a few years later found itself faced with a real threat from the North.

To be sure, the new aggressor spoke in the name of liberty and guaranteed hemispheric inviolability. But it spoke of liberty, the better to stultify liberty. It ranted against European Imperialism, to advance the native brand. It treated the Latin Americas as arrogantly as their former masters; the obsolete European claims were replaced by the coarseness of violent industrial penetration, and the omnipotence of the crown was replaced by that of the dollar, the most brazen symbol of the new rulers. American Imperialism was already in full swing before the American Civil War. It appeared with the death of the Holy Alliance. And its aggressive spirit was breathed into it by that same doctrine which had guaranteed the independence of all the newly born American republics:

America, North and South . . . should have a system of her own. While Europe is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our Hemisphere that of freedom. . . .

were the words of Thomas Jefferson, commenting upon the Monroe Doctrine to President Monroe himself, shortly before its issue.

When the Doctrine, based upon such a principle, was proclaimed on December 2, 1823, all the Spanish-American nations regarded it as a veritable charter of Western hemispheric liberty. It was accepted and, indeed, was used as such during several decades. This owing to several factors, among which there should be counted the genuine idealism embodied in it, the "infancy" of the United States, not yet grown into full-fledged nationhood, and its usefulness to the then strongest maritime power of the nineteenth century, Great Britain.

Great Britain had tacitly promised to give teeth to the Monroe Doctrine, not to help the United States but simply to prevent rival European Powers from obtaining a foothold in the New World while she was engaged in grabbing extensive territories in two other continents, Asia and Africa. It was this, more than the prestige of the Monroe Doctrine, which prevented any European infringement of Western Hemisphere sovereignties during the first half of the last century.

When, however, the United States, from a British protégée

grew into Britain's greatest rival on the American Continent, the British-U.S.A. partnership changed. And this to such an extent that within a few years (prior to the American Civil War) the two seemed to be heading towards an armed conflict.

It was at this period, when British Imperialism sealed the Western Hemisphere to rival European Powers and the United States was strengthened by the prestige of a most noble Doctrine, that the young plant of native Imperialism sprouted swiftly on American soil. The United States, having accomplished the conquest of its own self from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, unable to discard its expansionistic energy, began to look southwards. And soon, to the bitter astonishment of the Latin-American nations, the attention of the North changed into a swift, pressing embrace, which became impossible to avoid and which was obtained by an increasing use of violence and a most cynical disregard for any of their rights. The resentment which was its result was enhanced a hundred-fold, not so much by the discovery that such subjugation was being devised by Americans and that an American nation was feeding American Imperialism preying upon the Western Hemisphere, but, above all, by the fact that the Monroe Doctrine, upon which they had counted so much for protection, was now being quickly transformed into the most cunning instrument of Imperialism ever devised by the most astute of the old Imperialistic European Powers.

The principle of Western hemispheric inviolability was invoked only whenever it suited the self-aggrandisement of the United States. Whenever that was absent, the Monroe Doctrine was cynically bypassed and ignored.

The result was that each time a Latin-American republic invoked the Monroe Doctrine, when the interests of the U.S.A. were not paramount, the call fell on deaf ears. That was the case whether a Latin-American territory was violated wantonly, threatened, or attacked; the U.S.A. showed no concern whatsoever. Thus when, in 1833, Britain deprived the Argentine of the Falkland Islands, not a whimper came from the U.S.A. When, in 1835, the same country occupied part of the coast of Honduras, the U.S.A. remained silent. In 1838 Vera Cruz was bombarded by France, and the U.S.A. pretended to be deaf. Later on, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, and France

intervened repeatedly in Haiti, in 1869, 1871, 1872, and in 1877, without anyone hearing about the Monroe Doctrine. Following this, France used force against Santo Domingo, Italy threatened Colombia, and other European nations openly intervened in Central America, without the Monroe Doctrine being invoked. At least ten major instances can be cited when European force was directed to American territory without any protest from the U.S.A.¹

In only three distinct cases was the Monroe Doctrine invoked, and this simply because the interests of the United States were at stake: during Napoleon III's invasion of Mexico, as we have already seen; during the British-Venezuelan dispute in 1895; and during a combined German-British-Italian threat to intervene in Venezuela in 1902.

Notwithstanding these and other flagrant European violations, however, one thing becomes extremely clear, and that is that upon only one occasion did a non-American country seriously attempt to subjugate an American republic—during the French adventure in Mexico; the Monroe Doctrine on this occurrence contributed not a little to the failure of the attempt.

But whereas Europe seriously violated American hemispheric integrity only once, that same integrity was violated by the United States not once but numberless times. And this to such an extent that finally the Monroe Doctrine was brazenly used as an instrument for keeping Europe out of Central and South America, to enable the United States to swallow the rest of the continent at her leisure. The Monroe Doctrine, in fact, gave the Latin Americans, as more than one historian has pointed out, the same protection as a cat gives to a mouse when surrounded by other cats.

This was no metaphor. It was an alarming reality. In 1823 Monroe proclaimed his Doctrine. In 1831 the United States committed her first aggression. After a dispute over fishing rights, the North American warship *Lexington* sailed into Soledad, in the Falkland Islands, on a punitive expedition against the Argentine. And United States marines created havoc wherever they set foot. Two years later, in 1833, Britain, more calculatingly and by force, occupied the islands.

The second North American intervention occurred during the Texas-Mexican War, followed by the incorporation of

Texas, and then by the war with Mexico (1846-8), when the United States tore away the States of New Mexico, Arizona, California, and other nearby regions.

Curiously enough, this time it was Great Britain who protested the loudest. Because a weak country had been wantonly attacked and partially dismembered? Not at all. Because a rival—i.e. the United States—by incorporating Texas and California, had broken her commercial monopoly in those regions.

This last aggression made it clear that the real threat to the integrity of Latin America from then on was likely to come, not so much from Europe, as from the United States.

The aggression against Mexico was followed by the fight between the two pledgers of American freedom, the United States and Great Britain, engaged on a feverish race to grab Central America. The two Imperialisms came to loggerheads upon the project of building a canal uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. A treaty signed in 1850 for its joint control was soon denounced; by 1855 war between the United States and Great Britain seemed most likely. But the British were finally forced to give way. And the United States from then onward became supreme in the Western Hemisphere.

By the time the American Civil War broke out the successful war against Mexico, the United States' annexation of new territories, her expansion in the Pacific, the gold rush in California, the North American stranglehold on Nicaragua, and the pre-eminence of the U.S.A. in Central America had already led the United States into a most undisguised path of Imperialism; an Imperialism which from then on accelerated its pace with increasing rapidity and ruthlessness.

By the close of the century it had become so blatantly aggressive that North Americans in the highest positions openly proclaimed the United States to be the sovereign of the whole Western Hemisphere. "The United States is sovereign on this continent, and its *fiat is law* upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition," declared, in 1895, Richard Olney, no less a person than the American Secretary of State.

Shortly after the "Olney fiat," the United States declared war on Spain. The age of American Imperialism's "interventions wholesale" was initiated. It was the beginning of

an age which, from repeated commercial penetration, was to lead to repeated military aggressions and to the wholesale violation of those very principles upon which the United States had been so painfully erected by those who hoped it would become the most ennobling example of a new form of democracy, directed at safeguarding the liberties of both the American nations and the peoples of the world.

The true contaminators of the original Monroe Doctrine were neither the American Government nor the American people, but those forces which were eventually to become the chief inspirers and the ruthless executors of the United States' growing Imperialistic megalomania—namely, Big Business, the promoter of practically all subsequent North American aggressions.

These seemingly innocuous and pacific sections of the young American society within a few decades turned out to be the most potent stultifiers of all genuinely idealistic principles of the American people, the most persistent destroyers of the civil liberties of the American masses, and the injectors into the blood-stream of American democracy of that expansionistic poison which was eventually to plunge the United States into the path of naked hemispheric and extra-hemispheric aggression.

This growing section, which earlier had acted almost in an ancillary capacity, at this stage stepped boldly to the fore and, having well greased the American sinews by means of dollars, set out blatantly to accelerate the aggressive fever of the United States by the open manipulation of political power as their most dynamic motive force.

The buying of political power had been practised by them over a long period, and had yielded immense profits. The buying, however, was not always successful, while the mobilization of the political machinery very often entailed delays which proved most harmful and, indeed, disastrous.

To surmount such defect, towards the end of the last century Big Business felt strong enough to buy, no longer politicians or sets of politicians, but the Presidency itself.

Once one of their candidates had become President, political

power having been put at their disposal, their dream of expansion would have been immensely eased. With the support of the nation behind them and the backing of the military might of the United States, there were no schemes they could not promote and ultimately execute to further their expansionism.

Having decided upon such a plan they set to work and chose their "presidential candidate"—Theodore Roosevelt, the unmistakable prototype of the gross, crass, and vulgar dictator *manqué* of early American economic Imperialism.

Theodore Roosevelt was ambitious, superficial, ignorant, and a megalomaniac. He was the American version of a "Prussian bully," as President Eliot of Harvard called him. He thrived upon flattery. Flattery is powerful; when backed by dollars it can be irresistible. Even before he became the "political heir designate" of the big industrial and financial corporations, lusting for extra-North American expansion, T. Roosevelt had been hailed by the jingo Press. The praise swelled his egotism. He openly became a typical professional unabashed Imperialist and a big-navy man. When sent to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he was sized up as having "come down here looking for war" as stated by Representative T. S. Butler of Pennsylvania of the House Naval Committee.

That it was the big American corporations which purchased him the Presidency was corroborated by none other than his opposite Presidential number, Judge Alton Brooks Parker. T. Roosevelt was underwritten by the big corporations, "just as they would underwrite a railroad from here to San Francisco" (Major J. J. Dickinson, an official of the Department of State).

Some of the underwriters were the following millionaires:

E. G. Gary, President of United States Steel; E. H. Harriman, railroad king and banker; Daniel G. Reid, founder of American Can Company; G. B. Perkins, of the house of Morgan; G. F. Brooker, of the brass trust; R. L. Bacon, a partner of the house of Morgan.

This list was forwarded to Parker two weeks before the

actual day of the elections. On the preceding evening Parker disclosed that although T. Roosevelt was running on a trust-busting programme, in reality the trusts themselves were secretly financing him. Roosevelt fiercely denied he had ever received one single dollar.

But later investigations into the insurance corporations scandals proved that the New York Life, Equitable, and Mutual Life had given 50,000 dollars each to his funds, while in 1912 the Clapp Committee found out that Standard Oil had given 124,000 dollars.²

T. Roosevelt's election was bought for him by the big trusts, which furnished vast sums of money, as the American writer Mark Twain put it, upon the understanding that "their monopolies were to be shielded and protected in return," adding that T. Roosevelt stood convicted "beyond redemption of having bought his election to the Presidency with money."

Again T. Roosevelt denied it all. Upon which Mark Twain, after accusing him of adding "falshood to his burden of misconduct" and, indeed, accusing him of treachery "for obeying the popular demand of attacking the big trusts, while secretly receiving money from them to buy the Presidency," put forward the following facts: One week before election Roosevelt became afraid of losing and sent for Harriman, who came to Washington, agreed to raise 200,000 dollars, and actually obtained 260,000. Of these dollars, 200,000 were spent in New York alone to buy votes of 50,000 floaters, making a change of 100,000 votes, thus carrying the Empire State and ensuring the Republican victory. (It cost the American nation the record sum of \$100 million to re-elect a Republican President for the 1956-60 term.)³

T. Roosevelt not only firmly believed in an aggressive North American Imperialism, he believed in concocting wars for its benefit. This was in harmony with a personal nastiness, of which a typical illustration, related by himself, is most illuminating. Referring to the Spanish War then in progress, Roosevelt said the following:

Lieutenant Davis's first sergeant, Clarence Gould, killed a Spaniard with his revolver. At about the same time I also shot one. . . . Two Spaniards leaped from the trenches . . . not ten yards away. As they turned to run, I closed in and fired twice, missing the first and killing

the second. At the time I did not know of Gould's exploit, and I supposed my feat to be unique. (*The Rough Riders*, Scribners; 1899 edition.)

This, it must be noted, was accomplished by Roosevelt, not as a soldier, but as an excursionist, who went out to have a look at the scrap. Roosevelt openly admitted that he was not "in the least sensitive about killing any number of men if there is adequate reason."

But worse still, Roosevelt brought this attitude of mind into politics. From the very beginning he was never averse from waging war against Great Britain, Spain, Mexico, Chile, or, indeed, the whole of Europe itself.

For instance, he personally trained his "Roughriders," yearning for expansionistic adventures, supported by William Randolph Hearst, one of the first small-brained drummer-boys of the great American industrial dinosaur perpetually drumming all-out support for an even grander American expansion. Roosevelt, like Hearst and company, wanted to drive out all European nations from the American Continent. To give the Americas to the Americans? Not at all. To give the Americas to the big North American corporations. In 1895 British and American oil and other big corporations were putting tremendous pressure upon their respective Governments, with the view to engaging in war in connexion with the Venezuela crisis. Roosevelt hoped that war would break out. Writing to Henry Cabot Lodge, he openly admitted that: "Personally, I hope the fight will come soon. The clamour of the peace faction has convinced me that this country needs a war." He nursed an intense dislike for pacifists. During the same crisis he referred to the editors of the *Evening Post*, who came out against war, declaring that "it would give me the greatest pleasure to have them put in prison the minute hostilities began. . . ."

He insistently asked for a "great navy." According to him, "preparation for war is the surest guarantee of peace." In fact, "no triumph of peace is quite so great as the supreme triumphs of war. . . ."

This was not mere bravado. He prepared and schemed for war, until the country actually went to war. His objections were not only because "war with Spain would increase the

business and earnings of every American railroad," as Senator Thurston of Nebraska told one of its spokesmen, or because "it would increase the output of every American factory, would stimulate every branch of industry and commerce,"³ but, above all, because it would aggrandize the United States, open new fields of exploitation to the big trusts, and, last but not least, provide training for the American Army and Navy.

In 1897 General Weyler, the "Butcher," was recalled to Spain, but the Imperialist Press purposefully played upon Ambassador De Lome's stupid letter insulting President McKinley. In February, 1898, the *Maine* was sunk. It was believed to be due to an internal explosion, but the American Press, mostly inspired by the moneyed protection of the big trusts and Roosevelt's jingoism, permitted no one in America to believe it. Spain demanded an official, impartial investigation. The demand was flatly refused. For one simple reason: that Roosevelt had already decided and prepared for war against Spain, because such war would be a "great lesson," as he wrote on November 18, 1897—"the nation would profit much by it, and great benefit would be done our military forces, by trying both the Army and the Navy in actual practice."

Theodore Roosevelt was the first of the modern Imperialists—American version—blatantly advocating economic expansionism by the use of violent economic and financial aggression supported by brute force, and diverting the Government of the United States into the first instrument of the big American corporations' grandiose schemes of world exploitation.

The Spanish-American conflict was more than "actual practice" by the Navy. It opened a chapter, not yet closed, of American aggression against the Old World. When in April, 1898, the United States declared war on Spain, the spirit of the original Monroe Doctrine, defence of the Western Hemisphere, was inexorably strangled and the spirit of North American expansionism, the true promoter of American Imperialism from then onwards, moved its course. It is from this time, only one hundred years after it became independent, that the United States began its dangerous career of extra-Western-Hemisphere "territory grabbing."

As usual, the American people knew very little or nothing

of what was going on. Not so the little hired band in the pay of Big Business—e.g. Theodore Roosevelt.

The American man in the street, one day in May, 1898, learnt that the opening of Japan, American Navy fashion—namely, via guns and gunboats—had been repeated in the same waters. Commodore G. Dewey had sailed his four cruisers and two gunboats into Manila Bay. The average American was surprised. Not so Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt. Reason? Roosevelt had profited by the Secretary's absence to give Dewey the go-ahead.

This new adventure of aggressive American Imperialism brought to a wider circle of Americans the great muscle-flexing myth of Manifest Destiny—or, to wrap it in more Christian verbiage, of the obvious designs of Divine Providence. "God did not make the American people the mightiest human force of all time simply to feed and die," cried Senator A. J. Beveridge of Indiana, speaking on this exploit. "He has made us the lords of civilization . . . the Philippines are ours for ever."

President McKinley was no less pious. "When . . . I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps (no mention of the six American warships) . . . I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance," he said. The guidance that the President got was that the U.S.A. must annex the Philippines. "So the next morning," continued the President, "I sent for . . . our map-maker, and told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States."

Roosevelt's and McKinley's Americanized God, having sided with the gunboats, neglected to use this power to persuade the Philippines to accept falling into McKinley's lap. Result: the Philippines, deprived of Divine guidance, fought for four long years against the "Lords of Civilization." The gang of pioneering American Imperialists were no less keen to bring delight to the 8,000,000 new subjects. General A. MacArthur, charged with the task, was as passionately determined to civilize non-Americans as was his worthy offspring half a century later. Referring to the resisting Philippines, he put his missionary zeal very concisely: "Let us civilize them [the Philippines] with a Krag rifle," he said, and did it.

Spain, the last European Power to cross swords with the U.S.A. in American waters, was quickly, disastrously, and ingloriously defeated. North America began to "liberate" territories. The "distorted" Monroe Doctrine was projected outside the Western Hemisphere. It was made to penetrate several hundred miles towards Europe with North American liberation of the West Indies, and boldly hurled across 4,000 miles of the Pacific, to the extreme Eastern fringes of Asia, with the occupation of the Philippines in 1898, which President Wilson recommended for independence in 1920, but which successive American Governments felt were too valuable, strategically and economically, to surrender.

Yet, even when launching itself openly in the path of almost overt aggressive armed expansionism, North American Imperialism never disowned the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. The contrary was the case. It raised the standard of the original doctrine, as conceived by Jefferson, higher than ever. This, the better to deceive the Latin-American republics, Europe, the world at large, and, above all, the North American peoples themselves, who would not have tolerated the open betrayal of some of the principles which had been inspired by their revolution and which gave lustre to the ideals of a North American sense of individual and international fair play and justice. The dinosaurs of American Imperialism knew well the temper of the masses, and therefore saw to it that the people of the Americas should be assured, not only that their principles were maintained intact, but also that they were being made to work, by the use of the U.S. strong hand. When the United States declared war on Spain, consequently, they made sure that its war resolution included these words:

The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island [Cuba], except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

This was the official declaration. It stood for the letter and spirit of the original Monroe Doctrine. The deed which followed, however, stood for the degenerated Doctrine, contaminated and distorted by dollar Imperialism.

For the United States, in flagrant violation of its own solemn declaration, not to mention of the rights of the Cuban people, not only occupied Cuba, it denied the Cubans genuine home rule, and ran the island from 1893 until 1903. Indeed, after the withdrawal of American military forces there the United States followed with three more armed interventions. Although the last one ended in 1922, yet the United States did not relinquish her control of the island. The Platt amendment (1901) granted her control of Cuban foreign policy and sanctioned American intervention any time the U.S.A. thought fit, "to restore order." Cuba was compelled to incorporate this amendment in her Constitution, an amendment which was abrogated only in 1934.

In 1903 there followed the American-planned Panama Revolution, when that country became a virtual "protectorate" of the United States.

Soon afterwards, other Latin-American republics felt the "sharp claw of Yankee Imperialism upon their backs."⁴ Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Mexico—all were *de facto* transformed into United States "colonies," and for decades the first four were under blatant United States military dictatorship.

All this alarmed Latin America. The beautiful illusion about the Monroe Doctrine had been dispelled by the North American lust for dominion. Yet the Doctrine's principles continued to be stubbornly held on high by the United States herself. Words of hemispheric brotherhood were repeatedly addressed to the victims and potential victims, with incredible effrontery. E. Root, Secretary of State under Theodore Roosevelt, at the Third Pan-American Congress held at Rio in 1906, became the eloquent spokesman of this colossal Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde North American complex. "We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own. We deem the independence of the smallest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as that of the greatest empires. . . . We neither claim, nor desire, any rights, or privileges, or powers, that we do not freely concede to every American Republic." Noble words. American deeds, however, were of a different nature, as we shall now see.

From the very opening of the century the United States had

embarked upon a career of aggression. At the beginning, her territory, which was confined to the lands east of the Mississippi, did not reach as far as the Gulf of Mexico. Soon vast areas of Latin-American countries were incorporated. In 1803 Louisiana was acquired, followed by the annexation of Florida, and everything west from the present Mexican frontier to Oregon. In addition to grabbing California, Texas, and the other territories from Mexico, the United States tried before the Civil War to get hold of the Dominican Republic and of the Danish Islands, besides Cuba and the Philippines from Spain. From 1899 to 1933 the U.S.A. held Nicaragua as a virtual protectorate, and for more than twenty years subjected it to American military occupation. The United States engineered the detachment of a province of Colombia, and in 1903 the Republic of Panama came into being, a "canal colony" of the North. Between 1905 and 1924 the Dominican Republic was wholly controlled by the United States, and was occupied by American Marines for over ten years. Haiti was militarily occupied by the United States from 1915 to 1934. Between 1846 and 1916 the United States invaded Mexico several times; in 1914 it bombarded and occupied Santa Cruz and sent a military expedition of 10,000 troops into Mexican territory, chasing Pancho Villa for several months, while Europe was distracted with waging the First World War. Between 1907 and 1925 the United States dispatched six armed expeditionary forces into Honduras. Alaska, Hawaii, and several other territories within and outside the Western Hemisphere were quickly annexed. Various other barefaced violations were committed against the sovereignty of Latin-American republics, whenever, wherever, and in whatever form suited the United States best, regardless of rights, treaties, solemn declarations, and of the noble principles of the Monroe Doctrine. Within the brief space of fifty years the United States had carried out no less than *sixty* such interventions against their Latin-American neighbours.⁵

Violence and slyness were used with such generosity by the growing North American Imperialism that soon it matched the most astute and unscrupulous old European imperialistic Powers themselves. Indeed, to their hackneyed tricks it added a slickness of execution and such brazen directness in robbing

its neighbours of their sovereign rights, with a simultaneous apparently faultless observance of international rules and of the democratic principles regulating the American family of nations, to be envied by the most meticulous producer of "Westerns."

One of the most spectacular North American "hold-ups" of this kind was undoubtedly that connected with the construction of the Panama Canal.

The idea of linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by cutting across the waist of the American continent had been entertained for some time by various individuals, and contemplated by several Powers. The United States naturally showed a keen interest in the project but without doing anything concrete about it. It was left to Europeans—to Frenchmen, to be precise—to do the spade work, started in 1884 and continued for over five long years. But the French, who had begun the construction of the canal across the territory of Colombia, finally had to give up. The construction company went bankrupt and the work was called off.

The United States, which had watched the French efforts with apprehensive resentment that non-Americans should undertake such a typically American work on American soil, welcomed their failure. But the French disaster was welcomed, not only because of any loss of face on the part of the Western Hemisphere had the canal been constructed by Europeans, but for a more serious reason. A canal linking the two Oceans, in neutral or even unfriendly hands, might become a danger to the United States. It was essential therefore for American security that it be in North American control, and the United States set out to find ways and means by which they could themselves construct it.

Here was a unique opportunity for someone with imagination to make a good deal of profit at the American Government's expense. The man with imagination appeared in the person of the chief engineer of the bankrupt French company. Bunau-Varilla acquired the rights and the equipment of the French company, contacted a famous New York attorney,

Nelson Cromwell, and the two offered the unfinished canal and the company for sale to the United States Government.

Bunau-Varilla had no doubt that the canal was a fabulous idea, that what had already been done was a fabulous work, and that for the United States it would represent a fabulous bargain. And so, naturally, he asked a fabulous price: 100,000,000 dollars.

Although of truly American proportions, the figure sounded a bit too fabulous even for an American Government. A Congressional Committee was set up and, after due investigation, estimated that the bankrupt company's assets were worth about 40,000,000 dollars. Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell received a fabulous "no offer."

But the investigating Committee was indeed a fabulous Committee, which is proved by the fact that it put forward a positive suggestion. The canal, it said, should be dug across Nicaragua, instead of across Colombian territory. The American Government set out to implement the suggestion.

Even in those days of composure the sight of 100,000,000 dollars slipping away so malignantly from an honest man's grasp was enough to make any chief engineer mutter tropical profanities.

Bunau-Varilla had cataclysmatic reactions. He had apocalyptic visions of American Congresses, American Committees, projected canals, and particularly of Nicaraguan Republics being scattered and indeed wholly obliterated by the smoke, the flames, and the boiling lava of vomiting volcanoes.

But if the chief engineer had a fabulous imagination, he was also possessed of a most fabulous realism. And on an ordinary day he went to an ordinary post office and bought some ordinary stamps. Thereupon he quietly, unhurriedly, and composedly set to work to enclose them in a number of envelopes. It was a small oddity, but after the shock of the lost 100,000,000 dollars it was incredible that he did nothing more spectacular. The letters were addressed to every member of the American Senate, which had to approve the new Bill. And when they arrived at their destination Nicaraguan stamps bearing the picture of an erupting volcano fell like blazing cinder flakes into the Senatorial hands.

Senators, however, from Ancient Rome down to the times of

the projected canal and after, have been known for their immunity to childish jokes and consequently are no longer as impressionable as at the beginning of their political careers. So they contrived unperturbed to debate the Bill. And after a ponderous discussion they reached a final decision: "The new canal," they decreed, "shall be dug in Nicaragua."

But then, just while the final Senatorial decision was being put down on its official record, one of those volcanoes broke loose: not on the Senatorial stamps, but in Nicaragua. Such a timely eruption tickled the Senatorial imagination, which, anxious that the American Navy be not forced to float on melting lava, had the Nicaraguan project instantly repealed.

If the printed and real volcanoes defeated the Nicaraguan plan, they did not yet convince the Senators about Bunau-Varilla's 100,000,000 dollars. The United States, having by-passed him, became engaged in discussions with Colombia for the construction of the canal. Their offer: 10,000,000 dollars cash and a yearly rental fee of 250,000 dollars. The Colombian Congress thought it inadequate and adjourned without approving the treaty. 10,000,000 dollars is a small sum compared with 100,000,000, but it is a large sum when compared with nothing. That was what Bunau-Varilla, his attorney Cromwell, and friend Manuel Amador, physician of the Panama Railway Company, thought at this stage. Bunau-Varilla, who had already pondered upon physical upheavals, now speculated upon political ones. If an erupting volcano, why not a revolution? With 10,000,000 dollars and the help of the United States, this should be easier than to time the sprouting of flames from the bowels of the earth with the debating of a Bill in the American Senate.

For that is precisely what the United States had decided to do after the Colombian Congress had rejected their offer. It was simpler, cheaper, and more profitable to seize the stretch of land where the canal was to be constructed than to have to hire it and be at the mercy of the whims of a democratic assembly like the Colombian Congress.

Democratic principles, however, could not be violated for the sake of easy gain. But if such principles had to be respected by the United States with regard to a neighbour nation, that neighbour nation had to respect them with regard

to some of its citizens. For the United States, curious as it may seem, suddenly remembered that there had been flurries of separatism inside Colombia, particularly in a certain province. Having regard to the fact that it was its sacred duty to help the patriots to achieve their independence, the United States came to the conclusion that there should be a revolution, for the sake of the independence of the unhappy Colombian province. The revolution, however, had to be a genuine uprising, had to be the work of true "patriots," and, above all, had to be the spontaneous manifestation of the will of the people.

As soon as the revolution broke out, the seceding Colombian province would have the immediate recognition of the United States. In addition to this promise, the United States, to help matters along, sent a warship, the *Nashville*, to the spot, with definite instructions to prevent an armed conflict. Genuine patriotism must not be stained by the useless effusion of blood.

The revolution broke out, and the American soldiers from the *Nashville* refused to allow the Colombian troops, sent by the Colombian Government to quell the disorder, to cross the isthmus of the province. Thanks to this the revolution came off. The news was wired to the United States. The new nation was instantly given official recognition by Washington one hour and twenty-five minutes after its birth, a promptitude contrasting somewhat lamentably with the American recognition of another revolution, the Russian, which it took the U.S.A. fifteen years to acknowledge; or for the Chinese revolution of Mao Tze Tung, which, according to America, never took place. Negotiations were promptly entered upon with the new Independent Republic, and in no time the construction of the canal was under way. For the name of the Colombian province which had so genuinely yearned for such swift independence—oh, truly blessed coincidence—was Panama.

The "patriots" who had engineered it all were duly compensated by the United States Government itself. Bunau-Varilla was nominated the first Panama Minister to the United States; Amador, the railroad doctor, became the first President of Panama; and the New York attorney Cromwell received a cheque for 800,000 dollars.

The Panama affair greatly embittered Colombia and Latin

America. But if Panama was a loss for Colombia, it was a gain for freedom. The United States could not disregard the wishes for independence of the Panama people. After all, its Secretary of State, Elihu Root, in 1906 had said many a time, had he not? that "the independence of the smallest or weakest member of the family of nations is entitled to as much respect as that of the greatest empire." So he had declared, and his was the Voice of America.

Some years later, in 1911, Theodore Roosevelt slightly contradicted his Secretary of State: "I took the Canal Zone and let the Congress debate," he said; "and while the debate goes on the Canal does also."⁶

This contradiction cost the United States 25,000,000 dollars, the belated compensation given to Colombia in 1921 for the loss of her Panama province.

That is why in Washington, prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the Hitlerian technique of dismembering neighbouring nations and of making independent "satellites" was never seriously accepted as wholly original. The independent republic of Panama was still a reminder that the technique had first been conceived and adopted by that protector of the Western Hemisphere, the United States of America.

4

NORTH AMERICAN EXPANSION AND VATICAN DIPLOMACY

UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM, PANAMA type, although characteristic, was not unique. The policy of engineering revolutions, of sending warships to detach provinces or to set up governments friendly to the United States, was supplemented by dollar penetration. This, although not so spectacular, was even more freedom-strangling than armed intervention. For, as in the case of the Catholic Church, once the economic life of any South American nation had passed into North American hands her genuine national independence vanished and political liberty became a mockery.

North American dollar Imperialism was begotten in the "age of dinosaurs," during and after the American-Spanish war, by the rise of immense industrial trusts—e.g. Rockefeller and Carnegie—which practically took over great segments of the economic life of the United States. And their economic power swiftly branded, with their formidable plans of expansion, the whole of the American foreign policy of these and subsequent decades.

Their influence, which grew with the ever-expanding industrial growth, productive power, organization, and wealth of

the United States, soon bore the indelible stamp of an American nightmare of economic megalomania. Central and South America were looked upon as the natural fields where North American capitalism could continue to expand.

The North American industrial trusts were made even more expansionistic by the fact that the United States itself had made a spectacular growth in population. Between 1870 and 1900 more than 10,000,000 immigrants had entered its borders. Its population had increased from 38,500,000 in 1870 to 76,000,000 in 1900 and 105,000,000 in 1920.

Parallel with this, the United States national wealth had jumped from approximately 88,000,000,000 dollars in 1900 to more than 320,000,000,000 in 1922. This meant that a great deal of this colossal sum was left over as a surplus in home investments, to be placed in the undeveloped regions of Latin America. Trade with Latin America was accelerated. But trade did not remain mere trade; it soon became North American economic control. Trade took the form of the purchase of titles to lands and mines, the construction of sugar refineries, factories, railway lines, the ownership of sugar plantations—for instance, in Cuba—of copper mines in Chile, of oil wells in Venezuela and Mexico.

The result was that the great North American financial and industrial trusts soon came to control the economic life of many of the Latin-American republics. In Cuba, for instance, North American investments jumped from 50,000,000 dollars in 1900 to one billion and a half in 1925. A small group of North American investors controlled more Cuban industry than did *the entire population of the island*.

In 1900 total North American investments in Mexico were 185,000,000 dollars. By 1911 they had risen to more than one billion dollars. In that year a small group of North American trusts actually owned more of Mexico's productive industry than did the *entire Mexican population*. In that same year total Mexican capital was 793,000,000 dollars, while United States investments in Mexican soil totalled 1,058,000,000 dollars.

Whereas at the outbreak of the First World War the United States had one single bank throughout Latin America, by 1921 it had fifty.

With the opening of this century the United States investments in Latin America, excluding Cuba and Mexico, totalled only 55,000,000 dollars. By 1957 these had increased to over ten billion dollars.¹

This North American economic empire in Latin America did not remain only economic. It did not transform itself into political control within Latin America, but became true North American Imperialism. For it gradually dragged the United States Government into pursuing an intra-American-hemispheric policy, directed at protecting these colossal investments. That is to say, the United States Government was transformed into a mighty instrument of coercion *vis-à-vis* Latin America, so that the whole of the political and military might of the North American people in the long run was unscrupulously used to protect, further, and impose the economic dictatorship of the North American financial and industrial dinosaur throughout Latin America.

This meant United States intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin-American republics, with the result that North American economic penetration and political interference in Latin America became inseparable. It was this combination which created dollar Imperialism and which eventually launched the United States on the path of hemispheric aggression.

While such aggression took the form of the Panama Canal affair, more often than not it took the form of "controlling, bribing, or buying" Latin-American interested groups, political parties, and even whole governments by way of dollar grants, donations, or personal gifts, seldom unaccompanied by the threat of employment of force. Indeed, on several occasions, Latin-American governments were compelled to accept financial loans.

With the certainty of the United States Navy and expeditionary forces giving them support in collecting and investing, American banks pressed their attentions upon Latin-American countries by every conceivable trick. For instance, Jorge Leguia, the son of the Peruvian dictator, received 400,000 dollars as his "take" for inducing his father's government to accept a big loan from a New York banking house.²

When bribes were not possible and the big North American

trusts could not get their way, political pressure was exerted in Washington, and United States intervention took place. The excuses the United States found to intervene were that it had to preserve order, to protect American property and to safeguard the interests and the money of American citizens in Latin America.

Such intervention at times took the form of strong support for a man or a party friendly to United States policy, who, as a rule, had previously been bribed by big financial companies.

When, however, Latin-American companies or even Latin-American governments defaulted on the repayment of loans made by private North American banks, the United States engineered the overthrow of such administrations. A glaring instance, the plot against President Huerta of Mexico during the First World War, his capital sin being that he was "anti-United States in his economic leanings." At other times the United States partially or entirely occupied the country involved, controlled its customs and elections, or took over the machinery of Government, in order to enforce the repayment of these loans. This was done with Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Nicaragua, who for years were put under direct United States military dictatorship, with all their finances, customs, and governments under the absolute control of the North American banking houses.³

The United States interventions, therefore, ultimately meant one thing: protection of the profits of the North American big financial trusts, who, by placing their loans under the armed protection of the United States Government, assured themselves of colossal profits through force.

Thus American Imperialism, unlike the declining European one which had expanded on the principle that investment follows the flag, expanded on the principle that investments were first made and that then the American flag would eventually be sent to protect them—i.e. to protect the small moneyed groups and big financial trusts in whose interests they were held. For the American people at large neither profited by them nor approved of the blatant breaches of the most elementary laws of nations, the violation of the democratic principles and ideals of freedom, which the United States so persistently proclaimed but which it also so persistently

violated, in order to further the economic power of its financial colossi, determined to swallow entire nations and, in fact, whole continents.

The rise of North American Imperialism, which was followed with fear by the Latin-American republics, with genuine apprehension by the truly democratic section of the American peoples themselves, with concern by the rest of the world, was observed with astonished fascination and immensely growing hopes by the Vatican.

At first the swift penetration of the United States into Latin America alarmed the Catholic Church. On the religious ground, North American penetration meant Protestant penetration; on the political, it meant the penetration of that progressive Liberalism which had already caused the loss of Latin America to Catholic Spain and which by degrees was now sapping the power of the Church. This alarm increased during the American-Spanish War. America's quick victory, by opening the era of United States aggressive economic Imperialism in the Western Hemisphere, was received with exceeding gloom at the Vatican.

But although this Catholic gloom lasted for decades, by the beginning of our century it had already lifted sufficiently to allow the Vatican to look upon North American expansion with a less pessimistic view. The Vatican, in fact, had not been slow in noticing two portents:

First, the United States' great economic trusts were not in the least concerned with spreading Protestantism in Catholic Latin America. Secondly, their paramount objectives were of a purely economic and political nature—namely, the maintenance, and indeed the strengthening, of the *status quo* of the South American countries they penetrated. That meant support of any stabilizing factors—that is to say, of reaction; in short, of the big landowners, concessionaires, and all the conservative forces deadly hostile to any change, reform, or libertarian innovation.

The North American banks and great financial trusts, being no philanthropic institutions, could hardly be expected to help revolutionaries, except when determined to install super-conservative regimes, or when bribing legislators to pass laws against any progressive individuals or movements. It thus

followed that the North American penetration, far from being what at first had been feared, in reality was the greatest blessing that the Vatican could have hoped for.

In an era in which economic factors created political problems and moved the domestic and foreign policies of governments; when, in North America for instance, it was the Rockefellers and the Carnegies, rather than the Presidents Grant or Hayes, who in 1870-80 ran the United States; when even in Europe royal dynasties were being supplanted by industrial magnates and empires were held together, made, or destroyed by the banks and immense financial trusts, the economic-financial North American penetration of Latin America was the greatest favourable portent for Vatican diplomacy since the first hopeful days of the formation of the Holy Alliance.

Indeed, it was immensely more useful to the general interests of the Catholic Church than would have been the most successful expedition of the armies of the Holy Alliance. A Latin America under the iron heel of a military European occupation, instead of destroying libertarian ideas, ultimately would have resulted in some explosion, which might have blown sky high the social, economic, and political structure of the Spanish Americas, and hence of the Church with it. A Holy Alliance success, while provisionally beneficial to the Church, ultimately would have been her greatest danger. The North American financial penetration, on the contrary, while provisionally harmful to Catholicism, ultimately would become its greatest asset.

Economic penetration implied partial or even total political penetration. In the long run, the pressure of both would mean partial or even total control of the social framework of the society which had thus been penetrated. This in its turn meant the preservation of that type of social structure which offered the North American financial *condottieri* illimitable fields of exploitation. Hence the maintenance of the *status quo*, and therefore the suppression of any progressive social and political principles aiming at changes.

North American economic penetration consequently had become the most formidable guarantor and defender of that very type of social structure which the Catholic Church had to

defend at all costs, lest she be undermined beyond recognition. It was in the interests of the Church, therefore, not only to fail to rally Latin America against United States economic Imperialism, but to favour and indeed to strengthen it. For the deeper the North American economic penetration in Latin America, the deeper the political control, and hence the stronger the maintenance of that conservative social framework so favourable to the growth of the influence of the Church.

Thus it came about that a gradual tacit and mutual understanding between the Catholic Church and the North American financial magnates developed in the course of the years. Their mutual suspicion gave way to a growing understanding, and a kind of *modus vivendi* followed. The Church would not mobilize her forces against the economic penetration of Latin America; the North American financiers would not infringe upon the economic interests of the Church.

The *modus vivendi* soon became an unwritten alliance. While one used its economic power to boost conservatism wherever it had penetrated, the other lent all her support in the religious and social fields to the same end. It was vital to both that the type of society which permitted both the Catholic Church and North American Capitalism to thrive should be maintained by economic and spiritual means.

The heavy gold bars buried in the vaults of the great banks of New York were not acquired by mere blunt economic exploitation. Economic pressure alone could be only partially successful and short-lived if not supplemented by more subtle devices.

The brains of American Imperialism, although seeing Latin America through gold and dollars, could not dispense with seeing the Southern Continent also in terms of useful or necessary alliances.

The most formidable of such alliances was undoubtedly that with the Catholic Church.

As the objective of both the Church and North American Imperialism was the exploitation of the Latin-American peoples, neither, to further its own interests, could do without that small section of the Latin-American peoples themselves who put their own welfare before that of the masses—namely, the Latin-American reactionary elements, bent upon as

remorseless an exploitation of the peoples as that carried on by the Church and North American capital.

Owing to this the Catholic Church and North American economic Imperialism had to strike an alliance with them. The contribution of this third ally would be to help the two foreign Powers, the Vatican and North American finance, to maintain the *status quo* and to serve as the local ruling instruments at the service of the religious and financial masters.

It was in virtue of this that the dual *entente* became a triple unholy *entente* of organized Catholic religion, of North American financial trusts, and of local Latin-American reaction.

This powerful combination has been the most formidable obstacle to the real independence of the Latin-American republics and to any rapid social, economic, or political framework of Latin America to this very day.

From the beginning of the century, wherever Liberalism and democracy erected their heads, there the combined blows of Church, North American finance, and local Latin reaction nullified their efforts, via bribery, assassinations, *pronunciamientos*, *coups d'état*, and revolutions, inspired, promoted, and even with few exceptions executed, sometimes directly, but more often by remote control, by either one or the other, or by a combination of all three.

Thanks to this, while the rest of the Western world was forging ahead, Latin America, deprived of her best progressive elements, her yearning for social and political amelioration kept ruthlessly in check, remained a vast island in the backwaters of progress, a paradise of the triple reactionary potentates.

From the closing of the American-Spanish War to the outbreak of the First World War (1914) the relationship between the Vatican and North American Imperialism was that of two rival giants, deeply suspicious of one another, who, having discovered that neither wanted to destroy the other, finally found out that because the interests of the one run parallel with those of the other, it is to their mutual benefit to co-operate for the maintenance of certain conditions, with a view to permitting each to expand its own dominion.

From the closing of the First World War (1918) to the

outbreak of the Mexican Civil War (1927-8) the Catholic Church and American economic Imperialism struck a formal alliance, to protect their joint monopoly of power in the Latin-American countries. This first formal alliance, although of a provisional character, nonetheless became an important stepping-stone in the consolidation of their tacit partnerships.

From the end of the Mexican Civil War to the outbreak of the Second World War the Vatican-Wall Street co-operation became a reality and a political factor, even if not yet an official one, bearing on the affairs of both North and South America. The political significance of such a mighty religious-financial combination was duly noticed by the American Government, which eventually, having been approached by the Vatican, acted upon it, in connexion with important political bargains, both in the United States and in Latin America.

From the outbreak of the Second World War until its end the Vatican became one of the world's political Powers, dealt with and treated as an equal by the United States Government, whose President, being forced to acknowledge the concreteness of the political influences of Catholicism throughout the Western Hemisphere, judged it necessary to accredit a personal representative to Vatican City.

From the end of the Second World War until the outbreak of the Korean War (1950) the Vatican-American Big Business alliance had become so powerful that it managed to mobilize, not only the United States, but also Latin America and the United Nations, against its chief enemy, Communism, in a mighty effort to launch a "preventive" atomic war against Soviet Russia.

During the first periods between the American-Spanish War and the First World War, Vatican diplomacy, while getting closer to the fast-growing American Imperialism, was characterized by the utmost caution in its "friendly neutrality" towards North American economic penetration into Latin America. This was understandable, for various obvious reasons, chief among them that North American economic penetration had become blatantly political. This was further complicated by the fact that such economic-political penetration became part and parcel of the United States Government's foreign policy, which began to make and

unmake Latin-American governments at will by the threat of and the prompt use of force. The resentment of the outraged patriotic, nationalistic, and racial feelings of Latin Americans would have been too strong even for the Catholic Church to cope with. In addition to which, the Church herself was not yet sure where such aggressive North American Imperialism would ultimately lead.

The full-blooded intervention of the United States in the affairs of Latin America, with all the long-range repercussions it created for the Vatican, had not been confined either to the beginning of the century or to the case of the Panama Canal. It continued and culminated, at the close of this first stage, in the relationship of the Vatican with American Imperialism, in a no less typical example of North American interference in Latin-American affairs.

It all began with North American economic penetration revolving around the development of Mexican oil, a fair North American enterprise at the beginning but turned selfishly vicious at the end.

In 1900 an American, E. L. Doheney, with others, bought 282,000 acres in Mexico for 325,000 dollars, or about \$1.15 per acre. Doheney struck oil, and truly fabulous oil wells were discovered in his land. This can be gauged by the fact that whereas a good well in California yielded 600 barrels a day, one single well in Mexico produced 70,000 barrels a day at the beginning and 25,000 barrels daily for many years afterwards. A famous well, the Cerro Azul, the largest in the world, yielded 45,000 to 50,000 barrels a day for several years.⁴

Diaz, the Mexican dictator, decided to grant similar concessions to the British, on terms which made them serious competitors of the Americans. The American dollar diplomacy set to work, and before Diaz could carry out his plan he was ousted by Madero, who had powerful friends in the United States. Less than two years later Madero was murdered by V. Huerta, who seized the government by force. As soon as he was in power, Huerta made it plain that he favoured British investments in oil, and Great Britain instantly recognized him as head of the legal government, following the recognition by a loan.

It was approximately at this stage that Woodrow Wilson

became President of the United States. American financial interests immediately set a siege on him, asking for intervention, a demand which they renewed later in 1920 and 1927. The American oil interests were so blatantly in favour of war to protect their profits that President Wilson at long last, in March, 1916, was obliged to warn the American people that vested interests were spreading alarming stories for the purpose of promoting a conflict. "The object of this traffic in falsehood is obvious," he said. "It is to create intolerable friction between the Government of the United States and the *de facto* Government of Mexico, for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican properties. The people of the United States should know the sinister and unscrupulous influences that are afoot. . . ."

But even President Wilson did not dare to name the oil, silver, copper, and plantation interests which wanted to use the United States for their own ends. Indeed, their pressure became so great that Wilson in the end had to give way. Although not acceding to the oil interest's demand for war, he chose a policy of a strong stand against Huerta. This policy soon made a farce of his idealism and of democracy.

Unlike Britain, he not only refused recognition of the new Mexican Government, but said he would never recognize such a Government because Huerta had got into power by "unconstitutional" means, had dissolved Congress, jailed deputies, murdered the former President, and could not restore order in his country. The real reason for the United States' stand—namely, that Huerta was violently anti-United States in his economic policy—was not even mentioned, although it was an open secret to all those connected with the Mexican oil wells.

That Wilson's "moral principles" were a mere travesty was further proved by the fact that he forgot to mention them in the case of Peru, which was quickly recognized by the United States, because the Peruvian Government under Benavidas was favourably disposed to the United States in its economic policy.

From then onwards the United States set out to overthrow the Mexican Government by every means short of armed intervention. It openly intervened in Mexico, decreeing that

concessions granted by the Mexican Government were null and void: "Our Government" [the Government of the United States], commented an American citizen apropos of this, "gave warnings that it would not consider concessions granted during the Huerta regime as binding on the *Mexicans*. It makes one rub one's eyes."⁵

The North American non-recognition had serious results. It encouraged Huerta's enemies—most of whom, incidentally, were friends of the United States whose patriotism was strengthened by American dollars—to open rebellion. And a civil war was thus initiated.

Mexicans and Great Britain protested at such American intervention. But the United States, seeing the issue with oilmen's spectacles, went further. It gave direct help to the revolutionaries by letting them get a flow of weapons, lifting the embargo which it had originally placed on arms crossing the Texas-Mexican border, an area controlled by Huerta's enemies. This, declared President Wilson, "in order to teach these Latin-American republics to elect good men."

The American oil magnates, also inveterate idealists, did what they could to put "democracy" in power in Mexico. Mr. E. L. Doheney helped the Mexican "constitutionalists" with 100,000 dollars. The rest of the oil companies gave secret funds to the Mexican revolutionary forces, furnishing them with oil to the value of 865,000 dollars, and in addition refusing to pay taxes to the Mexican Government.

Wilson was frank about the objective of such a policy. "By a little every day his [Huerta's] power and prestige are crumbling, and the collapse is not far away," were his words.⁶

This policy, however, soon led to open armed intervention, and the "Tampico flag" incident lit the fuse.

A group of American sailors, who had illegally landed in a forbidden area of Tampico, were arrested by the Mexicans, held for half an hour, and then released. The Mexicans, although within their rights, gave a formal apology to the American commander, punished the official who had made the arrests, and gave one salute to the American flag. The American admiral had not yet heard of Hitler. Hitler at this time was an unknown soldier in the Kaiser's Army. But, managing to forestall Hitlerian arrogance, he demanded that

the salute should consist, not of one, but of twenty-one guns. The Mexicans refused to make such tremendous concessions, the twenty-one guns salute being given only after the gravest of outrages. President Huerta, to avoid such national humiliation, in the belief that if the very head of the Mexican Government apologized the United States would be satisfied, tendered his personal apologies for the original incident.

The American reply was a characteristic Hitlerian one. They promptly despatched ten fully armed warships to Tampico.

Huerta offered to place the dispute before the International Tribunal of The Hague. The offer was refused. Thereupon Huerta, to avoid complications, agreed to have a twenty-one-gun salute fired, provided the Americans fired their twenty-one-gun return volley at the same time.

The United States, however, had already decided to bring about the downfall of the Huerta Government, and any pretext was good to reach that end. We have seen how Hitler acted in precisely the same fashion in his efforts to bring about the downfall of the Austrian, Czech, and other governments.

The United States, seeing how its attempts to humiliate and gravely embarrass the Mexican Government on a point of national prestige had not yet had the expected result, changed tactics and resorted to direct action.

The excuse was ready at hand. A German ship, the *Ypiranga*, carrying arms for the Mexican Government, was approaching Vera Cruz. The United States decided to take this as an excuse to give a mortal blow to the Mexican Government. President Wilson wired the American warships to take Vera Cruz at once.

The Americans, without a single declaration of war or respect for the integrity of a sovereign nation's territory, simply bombarded Vera Cruz, killed 200 Mexicans, including women and children, and after bitter fighting captured the town.

The American occupation of her main port reduced Mexico's imports by a quarter, thus making the survival of the government impossible. Mexico City was stormed by Huerta's opponents. Carranza, their leader, became President. He was swiftly assassinated. And the revolution, initiated by the

United States, continued to wreck Mexico, ending in one of the bloodiest civil wars ever experienced by that country.

The events were closely followed by the Vatican. The arrogance, ruthlessness, and unscrupulousness of the United States—or, rather, of the business men behind it—were also duly noticed. But Vatican diplomacy became even more cautious. For, while still tacitly accepting the necessity of its alliance with North American Imperialism, it could not, and would not, alienate the Latin-American countries. On the contrary, the Vatican had to support the Latin Americas and use them as a counter-bargain *vis-à-vis* North American Imperialism if the latter went a bit too far in its aggressiveness and, by arousing all Latin America against the North, endangered the very objective for which the Vatican had begun to accept North American penetration in the South.

The temper of Latin America, prior to and after the Tampico incident, became bitterly anti-American. "Everywhere the Americans of the North are feared," wrote Garcia Calderon. "In the Antilles and in Central America hostility against the Anglo-Saxon invaders assumes the character of a Latin crusade."

The reaction created in Latin America by the United States' ruthless Imperialism was soon to take concrete shape. When the First World War broke out, the United States began to talk about Western hemispheric solidarity. All Latin-American republics should co-operate with the United States to help them to fight for the freedom of nations, for respect of international law, and, above all, to check aggression, became the American slogan.

When that nation [the United States] invokes the principle of international law, to induce us to join her protest against Germany, she is engaged in a mockery . . .

wrote I. Enriques Artigas of Colombia, when in 1917 the United States appealed for hemispheric solidarity.

With what authority can such a nation speak in the name of international law?

These were not mere words. Latin America acted upon them, and not a single country—with the exception of Brazil,

who considered herself as standing apart from the bloc of Spanish-speaking Latin-American nations—joined the Allies, chiefly because the United States was on their side.⁷

The Vatican could not go against such tremendous resentment. Indeed, while laying down its secret Western-hemispheric, anti-liberal, anti-democratic strategy based upon the iron fist of an unscrupulous North American Imperialism, it openly sided with Latin America against the insolence of the North.

This not only out of genuine sympathy for the Latin-American republics, or in order, by riding on the great wave of racial pride, to strengthen its hold upon the Southern Continent, but also to prove to the industrial giants of the North who had dominated the period following the American Civil War, to the Fords and Mellons, who dominated the years following the First World War, that the real master of South America was still the Catholic Church, and hence that before going further it would be more judicious for American Imperialism not to resume its southern penetration unilaterally, disregarding the only Power which could mobilize the whole Southern continent in the desired direction.

5

DOLLAR IMPERIALISM AND WORLD DISARMAMENT

WHEN THE FIRST WORLD WAR ENDED a new age was ushered in: the age of the great social upheavals. The old massive stability of the continents had gone, never to return. The four greatest autocracies of the West had crumbled: the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Turkish Empire, the Russian Empire. And in China, a few years earlier, the millenarian Celestial one had also tumbled to the ground.

From the East a monster conceived by social unrest had ominously sprung high in the sky, portending the shape of things to come—Bolshevism. Czarist Russia had become Soviet Russia, the lighthouse of the Communist legions of the world.

The War, having released vast revolutionary forces in Europe and in Asia, created also a great stir in the Western Hemisphere, including half-forgotten Latin America. And soon Liberalism, the mighty scourge of the nineteenth century, outshone, outdone, and outdistanced by the dynamism of revolutionary Socialism, was swiftly relegated to the background.

Within a few brief years it came to be regarded almost with the same nostalgia as that of one who, having unduly panicked at an insistent attack of a genteel fever, is suddenly struck by the black death.

Revolutionary Socialism, released by the explosion of the First World War, grew into a most menacing Red giant, which, like the genii of the *Arabian Nights*, scared people in inverse ratio to what they had to lose.

North American economic Imperialism grew alarmed. The revolutionary fever was putting in danger its great expansionistic schemes and, above all, its future expansionistic designs throughout the Western Hemisphere.

But across the Atlantic the Vatican, placed in the very centre from which the contagion was raging with the utmost violence, became no less anxious.

The policy pursued by Benedict XV, of strengthening and launching new Catholic Parties to check the march of the revolution, was after a few years abandoned as inadequate. A new one was adopted by his successor, Pius XI. This consisted in supporting any lay movement which proved capable of effectively checking Socialism.

It was no mere coincidence that the prototype of World Fascism first appeared in the country that was the seat of the Church, Italy. Fascism, born in 1919, one year after the end of the War, bludgeoned its way to power. It was led by a former Socialist and rabid Atheist. It had a small following; by itself it could never have succeeded. It is doubtful even if with the Vatican's support it would have been sufficiently strong to become so rapidly the force that it did become. It was the support it received from other no-less-anxious quarters which, when added to that of the Catholic Church, made it rocket to power. European vested interests, ranging from monarchies to high industrial and financial magnates, and the respectable middle classes—these, even more readily than their American counterparts, sided instantly with Fascism and brought it to power.

The Vatican and European and American capitalism acted systematically and in concord from the very beginning. Although at first independently, they soon joined forces, and

American capitalism played a more important part in helping the rise of Fascism than is generally realized.

Mussolini did not seize the Italian Government. It was offered to him by the Italian King. Only a few months later the Vatican began secret negotiations with him, and the Catholic-Fascist alliance was set in motion. The Italian Catholic Party was ordered to disband, not by Mussolini, but by the Pope. Catholics were told to support the Fascist Party, not by the Party, but by the Church. The French industrialists, who had given loans to Mussolini, were replaced by Italian ones, who poured millions into the Party's coffers.

This not only in Italy, although an even more formidable version of Italian Fascism—namely, Nazism—did not get into power until ten years later, in 1933, yet German Big Business had already begun at this early period to finance German Fascism.

A certain German by the name of Fritz Thyssen one day following the end of the War heard someone speak with the utmost hatred against Red Russia. No quarter for Communists, said the speaker. Should he go into power, he solemnly promised he would hurl all the might of a resurrected Germany against Bolshevism. The man, an unemployed, was speaking on behalf of a small movement which had been started by six or seven workers not long before. Having come across it he had joined it. The little movement was called the National Socialist Workers' Party. The contraction of the four words spelt Nazi; the speaker was Adolf Hitler.

Thyssen hated a German Republic, and, worse still, a German democracy, which meant a playing-field for all kinds of revolutionary forces. But supposing a man like the demagogue he had just heard was in power? Revolution would be checked at home. Revolution might be checked abroad. Even Soviet Russia, faced by a strong Germany, might be brought to her knees.

Thyssen decided to help to the best of his abilities. He resolved to contribute to the funds of the Party a certain percentage of his earnings. The small group of members of the obscure movement had also done this. But Thyssen's contribution somehow made a difference. For it so happened that

Thyssen was none other than the biggest industrial steel magnate in Germany.

In 1923 Hitler tried to imitate Mussolini, who in 1922 had staged his march on Rome to seize the government. The attempt was a complete failure; it became known as the Beer Hall fiasco. Thyssen grew alarmed, financed the Party on a large scale, and became the most persuasive Nazi propagandist among the big German industrialists. The result was that soon the whole of German big industry gave Hitler millions. After his 1923 unsuccessful *putsch*, while in jail, Hitler wrote a book, *Mein Kampf*. After fifteen years of financing Hitler, Thyssen also wrote a book, *I Paid Hitler*, where he describes how he and German big industry financed Hitler.¹

Fritz Thyssen, in addition to being the most powerful steel magnate in Germany, was also a most devout son of the Catholic Church—indeed, an enthusiastic admirer of the Vatican's representative in Germany, Mgr. Pacelli, the destroyer of the Centre Party, the arch-enemy of Communism, and the future Pope Pius XII.

While European Fascism was being put into the saddle by the Vatican and Big Industry, the North American financial dinosaurs were by no means inactive outside the Western Hemisphere. Enormous profits could be squeezed equally well from the Old World. Indeed, the Old World could be a bigger yielder of riches even than the American continent itself. If and when it went to war, for instance.

Had not the First World War turned out to be American Big Business's real paradise? The War had cost about 30,000,000 dead, it is true; but these were mostly Europeans and Asiatics. What was far more worthy of remembrance was the mighty fact that it had made no fewer than 23,000 American millionaires or multi-millionaires.² They and their millions, the brilliant by-products of free enterprise, had to be defended from the rapacity of the Left-Wing "robbers." Fascism was surely the answer.

They watched its rise with elation and, like their European colleagues, contributed millions to its growth. Their set purpose: the transformation of Europe from a revolutionary centre to a centre of anti-revolutionary energy. This to be concretized by action, via Fascism, first within sundry countries

and then by a combined blow against the mightiest centre of Bolshevik infection, Soviet Russia.

Political slogans, profits, and millions were all necessary. But these without guns could count for very little. The American big trusts have always done things on a large scale. Having reached such a conclusion, they intervened on the side of Fascism with a bang.

They did not come wholly inexperienced, the sabotage of any efforts to reduce armaments being an essential part of their trade. They had already sabotaged various attempts, for both political and financial reasons, although the profit motive remained paramount—indeed, the most inspiring cause of all their actions.

During the First World War they had done this so blatantly that President Wilson, in 1916, not only charged American "vested interests" with trying to cause a war with Mexico, but also of wanting a war with Germany, to increase their profits.

After the First World War the League of Nations proposed government ownership of munition plants, on the ground that this would lessen the danger of war. For "wars," stated one of its reports, "*are promoted by the competitive zeal of private armament firms,*" which, through international rings, cause armament races which actually foment war scares, intrigue in domestic and international politics, urge nations to accept more militaristic programmes, and similar policies.³

When, in 1919, President Wilson, acting upon such conclusions, accepted the League proposal of government ownership of munitions plants, they succeeded in sabotaging it. This although Wilson had obtained the backing of labour and of a large part of Congress. The sabotage was carried out by using the new Red bogey. At the most critical moment the lobby representing the National Manufacturers Association appeared in Washington yelling "Socialism." And Wilson's proposal was defeated. It was one of the first great concrete victories which the word "Socialism," adroitly used, had given to the American trusts.

Two years later, in 1921, it was proposed to reduce the world's navies. The American steel industry opposed any reduction, and initiated a most "active campaign against any

reduction in naval armaments . . . outlining their views to members of Congress and officials of the Government. . . . It is known that appeals were made to President-elect Harding in the belief that he would yield to business persuasion. . . .”⁴

The bogey of Socialism having yielded such striking success, the American corporations made it into their most remunerative asset, and soon “disarmament” for America began to mean a most sinister plot from Moscow, planning to plant the Red Flag in Washington. This served not only the Navy and steel industries, it was a God-sent gift to the manufacturers of poison gas. A significant disclosure at this period was that concerning John Thomas Taylor, “legislative agent” of the American Legion in Washington, acting as treasurer of an organization of chemical manufacturers. The American chemical manufacturers became worried lest the world should forget that there were gas manufacturers who must make reasonable profits. Taylor was charged by them to lead a publicity campaign against the treaty to abolish poison gas in war. Representative Burton, of Ohio, asked that Taylor’s activities be investigated. Representative Fish stated that it was Taylor who forced the American Legion, at its 1926 convention, to adopt a resolution against the proposed treaty.⁵

During this same period it was also disclosed that Du Pont planned a propaganda campaign for the use of poison gas in war-time, going so far as to send their agent, Charles K. Weston, to Paris to use the Press to change public opinion.

All this sabotaging of various peace efforts, which was done to increase their profits, with the passing of time and the increase of Communism began simultaneously to assume also an ideological role. With the result that millions-making and Socialism-fighting, having become inseparable twin brothers, in no time began to score the greatest successes in the field of domestic and international politics, not only in Europe, but increasingly so in America.

Since the end of the First World War, owing to the growing international tension, the League of Nations made repeated efforts to disarm, in order, by avoiding an armaments race, to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. For some

years the League seemed to be making progress, although slowly. In 1925, however, their efforts were suddenly speeded up. Rumours had reached the League's headquarters that Germany had begun secretly to rearm. The sinister meaning of the news was not misunderstood anywhere, and a world disarmament Conference was planned in Geneva.

The aim of the Conference was simple. The nations of the world would volunteer drastic reductions in their own armaments. They would retain the minimum permitted for their own internal security, to be supervised by the League itself. This would prevent weaker or defeated nations from secretly rearming, out of either fear or thoughts of revenge, and the nations in general from continuing to increase their armaments, fearing to be outdistanced by their neighbours. The partial reduction of armaments the world over would decrease the mounting tension, international unrest, and distrust among nations.

Failure of the Conference would mean the beginning of mad general rearmament, whose consequences no one could foretell.

The people of the world, particularly those of a still devastated Europe, looked to Geneva with eyes bright with hope and prayed for peace.

But the manufacturers of armaments—French, German, British, and Belgian—and America looked to Geneva with the utmost anxiety, and prayed, or rather set out, to make it a failure.

A deadly sabotage was made to operate. Its impetus came neither from Europe nor from Soviet Russia, then an outcast from the family of nations. It came from the United States of America. Not from the American people, it should be noted, but from the few controlling their economic destiny.

The Geneva Conference, in fact, was deliberately and unscrupulously given a death-blow by North American Big Business. And the evidence of this had been put forward by no less than the United States Government itself.

No sooner had the League of Nations begun to plan for the Disarmament Conference than American Big Businessmen began to operate their economic-political network. Led by the greatest North American financial interests, the Du Ponts, they

set in motion the great munitions lobby. And soon a vast political-economic plot, whose tentacles penetrated the White House itself, began its sinister work.

The great munitions manufacturers received secret information from their "agents" about the nature, purpose, and date of the forthcoming Disarmament Conference, these data having been collected from Geneva and from the White House. Armed with such information, the American merchants of death laid their plans. The paramount instruments of the American Government at the Geneva Conference naturally would be the officials at the White House responsible for the formulation of the Government's policy; the officials charged with representing the United States at the Conference; and, last but not least, those directly concerned with the Conference's outcome—namely, the American Navy and Army men.

The Du Ponts and industrial associates began their work of corruption. Their "agents" approached influential Army and Navy men and important officials of the American Government. Their task: to dissuade them from supporting the Geneva Plan. Indeed, to persuade them to sabotage the Conference altogether.

A most remarkable feature, to be duly noticed, is the timing of this wholesale corruption. The American munitions manufacturers' "lobbying" was initiated *before* the American people knew anything about the forthcoming Conference. And, more striking still, they laid a veritable lobbying siege on General Ruggles.

General Ruggles was just one of the sundry American generals. Yet one day he suddenly began to be visited by an unusual number of starry-eyed gentlemen. No one with the most rudimentary knowledge of human nature could fail to notice the touching patriotism of these callers. The safety of the United States had become their only concern, they related; that explained their sudden calls. They wanted to make certain that he, the General, was already convinced about the hidden anti-American character of the Geneva Conference. If the Conference should succeed in its purpose it would imperil the very American homeland, to save which they had all risked their lives during the First World War.

That each one of them was employed by the Du Ponts, the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, or other munitions manufacturers was a mere coincidence. But the great fact that they had become convinced of the necessity of a patriotic citizen like General Ruggles believing in the need to make the Geneva Conference fail, *before* Ruggles was appointed the official head of the United States Government's representatives at the Conference, was far from being a mere coincidence.

For that is precisely what had occurred. The munitions manufacturers had known the name of the person who would represent the United States Government at Geneva, not only before the American public, but even before the person who had been selected for the appointment.

Mysterious prescience? Not at all. The munitions manufacturers knew all the innermost political secrets of the American Government, and were given every chance to undermine them, simply because one of their spokesmen was seated in the White House. This individual was neither an ordinary manufacturer's agent nor an impecunious small official. He was none other than the American Secretary of Commerce. His name? Herbert Hoover.

Hoover, who had endeared himself to the American Big Business world by his unimpeachable record of reaction, first in China and Czarist Russia and then against Bolshevik Russia, as soon as he heard of the projected Disarmament Conference, made haste to inform all the big munition makers about it. This was not all. He sent them telegrams, asking them to hurry to Washington for a *secret* conference, to form a programme of joint action to sabotage the disarmament plans at Geneva. Part of the telegram, sent by him to the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, the Du Pont Company, and thirty-five other big munitions manufacturers, read:

You are invited to send a representative to an informal preliminary conference, to discuss the economic phases of the forthcoming Geneva Conference, for the control of the International Trade in Arms, Munitions, and Implements of War. . . . It is important that the American representative at Geneva be fully posted as to the views of American manufacturers of *sporting arms and ammunitions*, so that he may be able to safeguard their interests. (P. 2138, Part 9, Munitions Hearings.)

The role played by Herbert Hoover and the purpose of the secret meeting of the munitions manufacturers, were succinctly put forward in a confidential report made by the Du Pont representative, Colonel Simons, to the Winchester Repeating Arms Company of New Haven and other gun-makers. The "very confidential" report reads, in part, as follows:

National legislation re: Arms and ammunition for export.

In the Spring of 1925 it became known that an international congress was to be held in Geneva for the purpose of limiting the exportation of munitions and that it was probable that efforts were to be made by *certain foreign elements to prohibit the private manufacture of munitions*. On March 28, 1925, Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, telegraphed a number of American manufacturers. . . . This conference was presided over by Mr. Hoover. . . .

We found Mr Hoover very sympathetic and helpful throughout and with his assistance a call was sent to *thirty-six other industries*. . . . Resolutions were drafted showing the objections of the American manufacturers to the proposed international agreement. . . .⁶

Hoover and his associates went further. They planned new meetings, the better to work out ways and means by which to sabotage the Disarmament Conference. Testifying to this was none less than Irénee Du Pont, who on the witness stand had to read a report made to him by his representative at the Hoover Conference :

The meeting was called to order by Secretary Hoover, who suggested that the representatives present express their views, and that these views be put in writing and a committee be appointed to represent the interested industries *at a later meeting*, at which it was hoped that the delegates appointed by our Government to attend the Geneva Conference would be present. . . . It was the unanimous opinion of the representatives of the industry that there were grave objections to the proposed draft. . . . (P. 2140, Part 9, Munitions Hearings.)

An obstacle of no mean magnitude, however, stood in the way of the munitions manufacturers. The Government of the United States *wanted* disarmament. The foreign policy of a modern country is conceived and carried out by its Foreign Office or State Department. A problem of such capital importance as the General Disarmament Conference at

Geneva, therefore, was in the hands of the American State Department.

The "agents" of the munitions manufacturers had failed to bribe some of the topmost officials there. This was a slow, delicate, and difficult assignment which required a lot of time, tact, and influence. While there was plenty of the last two, there was no time to spare. Yet something had to be done before it was too late.

There was only one possibility: to deprive the State Department of its handling of the Disarmament Conference issue; and, once that was done, to pass the Disarmament Conference problem to a department amenable to "patriotic" suggestions.

An impossible task? By no means. For that is precisely what the big American munitions manufacturers succeeded in doing. They simply deprived the State Department of the issue and passed it on to another government department, the most sensitive to "patriotic" suggestions, the Department of Commerce run by Herbert Hoover.

How was this miracle accomplished?

The king of manufacturers, Du Pont himself, had to describe how it was done. Once more on the witness stand he had to read a report sent to him by his agent, Colonel Aiken Simons, dated March 25, 1925. This, it must be remembered, was precisely eighteen days *before* the public announcement that the United States was going to send a delegation to Geneva. Part of the report read as follows:

As directed, I called on General G. L. Ruggles, Assistant Chief of Ordnance, who is to go to Geneva. . . .

General Ruggles stated that the United States was committed on the policy of co-operation in the limitation program, and that the following licence plan seemed to be the most harmless. . . . The War Department would take care that the Department of State protected such American industries. . . . To which I replied that this had not been done heretofore. . . . General Ruggles then suggested that the licence be put under the Department of Commerce [Hoover], which I agreed was better. (P. 2143, Part 9, Munitions Hearings.)

The lobbying, which Du Pont called "conferences," had been a success indeed.

It was done, it should be noted, with a delegate whose appointment had been "considered as being very secret."

Senator Clark asked for clarification from Du Pont himself on the matter :

Does it strike you as singular that a delegate to the Geneva Conference, whose appointment was considered as being very secret, should be in close conference with your [Du Pont's] representative on the subject *two weeks* before his appointment was announced by the State Department?

Du Pont, however, did not give away the secret. "All I can say is that apparently he did," was his Lapallisian reply.

Du Pont and all the other big munitions manufacturers could as well have replied that what they knew by the time the Munitions Investigation took its course, was that they had succeeded in their goal. They were left wholly free to go on selling armaments, increasing armaments, and accelerating the armaments race in the years to come.

This was not obvious to many, least of all to the peoples of the United States. But it was to the kings of armament and to their creatures.

A semblance of legality naturally had to be preserved, the better to deceive the Government and the people; to have made the sabotage too obvious would not have benefited anyone.

Colonel Simons, the agent of Du Pont, in June, 1925, summed up the results of the Geneva Conference thus :

In reference to our conversation regarding the International Convention on the Trade in Munitions, it may be of interest to you to hear that on my recent visit to Washington, I saw a copy of the convention finally signed at Geneva, and it is not nearly as bad as we thought it was going to be. There will be *some few inconveniences to the manufacturers of munitions* in their export trade, but in the main they will not be hampered materially. . . . (Exhibit 847, pp. 2165-7, Munitions Hearings.)

They were not going to be hampered materially, simply because :

Mr. Hoover stated that the United States will have to agree to some form of licensing, but that he intended to have a system whereby all United States customs commissioners would have absolute instructions to issue licences automatically upon presentation of a consular *visa* and that every effort would be made by the United States Government to

eliminate red tape, delay, or hindrance. In the case of some large and purely military materials, *such as heavy guns, battleships, etc.*, it might be necessary to refer the matter to Washington, but even then every effort would be made to eliminate *delay or annoyance to the manufacturer.*' (P. 2158, Munitions Hearings.)

What was the real meaning of this? That the United States would go through some form of armaments limitation at the Conference in Geneva. This to save appearances. In reality, however, the United States Government would simultaneously be circumvented, so that the munitions manufacturers might do business without annoyance.

The cloven hoof of the merchants of death in the last-quoted memorandum is no longer as well disguised as it was at the beginning, when the utmost caution was necessary. When Hoover sent his telegrams summoning the American powder- and gun-makers to a secret meeting, he referred to the Geneva Conference as one dealing with "sporting arms and ammunition." In his promise to the Du Pont agent, however, he was more explicit. The "sporting arms" have become what they were always meant to be, "heavy guns and battleships."

These same heavy guns and battleships were soon to fill the arsenals and the seas of the world in ever-multiplying numbers, in sinister waiting for the great spark to set mankind on fire.

The oracle Hoover, like similar individuals in sundry European countries, and the American merchants of death, like their colleagues in Europe with whom they had secretly co-ordinated their efforts, had made the Geneva Conference fail, to the dismay of the thinking peoples of the world, who from then onwards looked at the future with growing apprehension.

By the action of Hoover in appointing this committee and the committee's subsequent work [Colonel Simons wrote in a confidential report to the Winchester Repeating Arms Company some years later, when the armaments race was in full swing], the Geneva Conference was prevented from adopting international agreements, which would have been burdensome to American Manufacturers. (Signed AIKEN SIMONS, February 22, 1928, p. 2242, Exhibit 831, Munitions Hearings.)

The munitions manufacturers had succeeded in their exertions. The Government of the United States had been

by-passed. Its efforts, in co-operation with those of all the other nations of the world, had been wholly stultified.

In fact, as Chairman Nye, of the Munitions Investigation, summed it up :

. . . there is emphatic proof that irrespective of the wishes and the interests of the State Department to participate in a conference that would accomplish something really worthwhile as respects control in the sale of arms over the world, they were seriously hampered by the War Department, seriously hampered by the Commerce Department [Herbert Hoover], who responded to every beck and call of the munitions industry to see that there was an upsetting of the plans that were uppermost in the minds of those who were opposed to the work of the conference. (Pp. 2169-70, Munitions Hearings.)

The big powder- and gun-makers had once more proved, like mighty, monstrous spiders, that ultimately it is they, and not democracy, who control the government.

After exhaustive scrutiny into the matter this was the sinister truth that clearly emerged from it. The Chairman of the Munitions Investigation, with all the vast range of facts and all the secrets of the plot before him, had no doubts about it :

After the whole conference was over and the munitions people of the world had made the treaty a satisfactory one to themselves, we find that again Colonel Simons is reporting that even the State Department realized in effect *who controls the nations*. (Pp. 2166-7, Munitions Hearings.)

“ Here was the greatest attempt in the history of the world to effect a disarmament control,” declared Senator Vandenberg, “ yet forces even more powerful than governments themselves have had a stake in this outcome . . . in making a failure of the Geneva Conference.”⁸

The collapse of the Disarmament Conference was the beginning of the triumphant reign of the American and European merchants of death.

There followed similar exertions, directed at limiting general armaments, particularly naval, in following years—e.g. in 1927. In that year President Coolidge called a conference in Geneva to limit cruiser construction. And, like the previous Geneva Disarmament Conference, this too was—in the language used at the League of Nations—“ torpedoed ” by the

various secret agents of the great American warship-builders. The role previously played by Hoover this time was played by one William B. Shearer, styled the "Big Drum" of the American Navy, and who meekly called himself "American, Christian, Nationalist."

Shearer, as early as 1924, had been hired by four American rear-admirals, also in the pay of the great warship industry, to campaign for a big navy and more bases. For several years he was active in Washington, "lobbying"; then in 1926 he was sent to Geneva to reconnoitre; in 1927 he went there as a paid "observer" of American shipbuilders, "to make sure that the United States got a square deal in publicity."

Thanks mainly to his activities the Geneva Conference was doomed from the start. Early in the conference, July 12, 1927, Shearer wrote to his employer, Mr. Hunter: "This show [the Geneva Conference] may end abruptly." Writing to his associates, Shearer boasted of his work. "At the close of the Coolidge Naval Conference, August 4, 1927, the European Press recognized the effect of my campaign," referring to it as "the triumph of the thesis of William B. Shearer, the American. . . ."

The night that the Tri-Power Conference ended in failure, the *New York Times* said that "Shearer was openly exultant." The reason was evident. The smash-up of Geneva had resulted in the creation of a revolving fund of 250,000,000 dollars for the construction of new American warships.

Shearer made no bones about it; he asked for his share. "Pursuant to our last private conversation and understanding in your office," he wrote in a letter dated January 30, 1928, "that future negotiations would be with me direct, I wish to call your attention that, as the result of my activities during the 69th Congress, eight 10,000-ton cruisers are now under construction. Further, that owing to the failure of the Tri-Power Naval Conference at Geneva, there is now before the 70th Congress a seventy-one shipbuilding programme costing 740,000,000 dollars." Concluding, "I feel the time has arrived for me to come out in the open, as suggested by Mr. Palen and Mr. Wilder, in the interest of all who are seriously interested in the shipbuilding industry and adequate sea-power" (W. B. Shearer).¹⁰

There was a Senate investigation, which yielded few results, with the exception of a meagre admission by the warship-builders that they had squandered 143,000 dollars in lobbying.

Further "torpedoing" of the Geneva peace efforts occurred in subsequent years, notably in the 'thirties, when American and European warship-constructors were given ever bigger commissions.

In 1933-4 the American shipbuilders were asked by Secretary Swanson to bring the American Navy up to British and Japanese strength, this on the very eve of another attempt to stop the armaments race: the 1935 Limitation Conference.

From then onwards the horizon began to be swiftly covered with huge billowing clouds. And soon, amid the thunder of the oncoming hurricane, the raucous voices of the dictators were made to boom with the marching of armies in Manchuria, in Abyssinia, in China, and in Spain, until finally the ordered legions of Hitler annihilated the moribund peace of a moribund Western world, and mankind was made to fall headlong, for the second time, into the abyss of another world war.

FIRST ALLIANCE OF DOLLAR AND CATHOLIC IMPERIALISM IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

WHEN THE STATESMEN WHO HAD assembled at Geneva dispersed and the people of the world knew that the great Disarmament Conference had failed, the future shone bright for the international merchants of death, and the star of their armaments industry began swiftly to skyrocket in the financial firmament of Europe and of America.

The nightmare of Vatican diplomacy—namely, that the Geneva Conference might succeed—had been thoroughly dispelled.

The failure not only gave the signal for a ruinous armaments race; it produced a most sinister creature from whose tentacles no nation, great or small, was to remain free—indeed, whose tentacles began gradually to strangle the very League of Nations: the united forces of the great European and American financial and industrial barons.

These, from this time onward, having scored their greatest triumph with the sabotage of the Disarmament Conference, rose even more swiftly in the sky of the West, dominating with increasing arrogance the destinies of two continents. Yet

their dominion was ushered in neither with the clarion of trumpets nor with spectacular gestures. It expanded and it was made all-powerful via hidden machination, invisible pressure, and political intrigues in the national and international fields.

The Vatican, which during several decades had watched the steady rise of this invisible power, from this period onward drew a grand strategy in which the great international financial trusts were made to play one of the most, if not the most, prominent of roles.

The Disarmament Conference had been made to collapse by the American big industrialists. It was the American branch of the Financial International which from then on dominated the affairs of the nations, both in Europe and in the Americas, and hence began to direct the course of Western politics.

In the Western Hemisphere this Financial International, which had already become the ruling power of the three Americas, as we have already seen, was swiftly transformed, after the end of the First World War, into the real invisible government of the U.S.A. itself.

This invisible government could not only put direct or indirect pressure upon the real U.S. Government; it could go against the Government and, indeed, defeat it in the foreign field as well, as was so tragically proved at Geneva.

The Vatican, which had already struck a kind of tacit alliance with the big financial and industrial concerns of Europe, decided, after the disarmament failure, to do likewise with their American counterparts. Although the Vatican and American Big Business had watched one another with a growing desire to co-ordinate their forces in their common fight, neither had yet formally come out in the open to say so. The Geneva Conference gave them the opportunity to begin a kind of friendship which soon turned into a courtship, which they conducted in earnest. The courtship blossomed into a love affair, and this led swiftly to a formal marriage. And only two years later, in 1927, an astonished world saw a monstrous couple—the Catholic Church and American Big Business—honeymooning under the hot sky of Mexico.

The Vatican-North American honeymoon became possible

thanks to the hastening evolutionary economic process which had been taking place in Mexico. This had been partially promoted by the North American financial concerns themselves, who at a certain period had penetrated so deep into the economic life of that nation that finally Mexico determined to free herself from them, enforced the 1927 Constitution, and declared that the natural wealth of the subsoil belonged to the people. All the wealth of the Mexican subsoil, it was decreed, was national property, and the North American oil, copper, silver, and hacienda interests were promptly expelled, lock, stock, and barrel.

This provoked not only a tumultuous reaction in the U.S.A. big financial circles; it caused a tumultuous reaction in Mexico itself. For the drastic expropriation laws, part of nationwide social and economic reforms, had hit another no-less-powerful native interest, the *científicos*, who had congregated with North American interests and the Catholic Church. And this triple unholy Western-Hemisphere *entente*, having sprung to its feet, soon proved to be one of the most viciously powerful factors in the political history of the Americas.

Local Mexican reaction, being dependent upon two mighty powers—the Catholic Church and North American Big Business—thus became promptly integrated with both, although in reality it was these two who set about to crush the economic revolution. The result was one of the most deadly civil wars ever experienced, which cost Mexico nearly one million dead.

The civil war was conceived, provoked, and openly carried out by the Catholic Church, encouraged and financed by North American Big Business. Catholic armies sprang into the field and, shouting the name of Jesus, went to assault for the overthrow of the “anti-Christian,” anti-Catholic Mexican Government.

Outside Mexico the Vatican mobilized Catholic forces in full array. The American hierarchy suddenly initiated one of the most virulent hate campaigns against the Mexican neighbour ever provoked by any Church, with a single objective: American armed intervention in Mexico.

The Catholic campaign was dangerous, not only because of its dissemination of hate and its political pressure upon the Government, but above all because it was supported, backed,

and to a great extent even financed, by those outside forces which, next to the Catholic Church, had most to lose in Mexico—the big oil concerns. These unleashed a nation-wide hate campaign, to be compared only with that of the Catholic Church. The Press, radio, political platforms, political pressure, and wholesale bribery, were used to reach the same objective as that of the Catholic Church: armed intervention in Mexico.

To screen the real purpose of such intervention, both the Catholic Church and American Big Business made barefaced use of one common scare-denominator, which was to pay such tremendously high dividends to both in subsequent years, and the restoration of the oil lands to the Mexican nation was hall-marked with a brand of fire: "Bolshevik banditry."

The Bolshevik scare—which had given birth to Fascism in Europe, partially helped by the loans and words of Morgan, who in 1925 (the year of the Disarmament Conference, it should be noted) had declared that Fascism had saved Italy and Europe from Bolshevism—was thus officially transplanted to the New World by the Catholic Church and American Big Business.

The pressure brought upon the nation by this ever-brazen double campaign was such as not only to reduce American public opinion to accept the idea of American armed intervention, but also to provoke the American Government itself to dispatch a unit of the American Army to the Mexican border for "manœuvres," as seen in another chapter.

The pressure, however, although powerful, was not powerful enough to induce the American Government to order the army to cross into Mexican territory, seize the oil wells for American Big Business, restore the wealth and privileges of the Catholic Church, elect a friendly Mexican Government, and restore "democracy" in that "Bolshevik bandit country," Tampico fashion. The Mexican "bandits" got away with the oil wells, with the Catholic Church, and with the Catholic armies. The Vatican and North American Big Business had suffered a resounding defeat, caused chiefly by their failure to exert sufficient pressure upon the American Government to induce it to intervene to "restore order and democracy" in Mexico. Had an understanding person or persons been placed

in the right position, Hoover way, the United States Government would have acted otherwise. The end of the Mexican revolution, the shares of the Big American corporations, and the status of the Catholic Church would have been different.

The good services which dinosaur-loving Hoover had rendered to American Big Business interests by his sabotage of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, were now remembered with immense hopes, and they were remembered so vividly that finally they inspired Hoover's protectors to a most grandiose scheme.

If Hoover, as a mere Secretary of Commerce, could comply with the wishes of his "friends" by using his official position, what could a Hoover or some other good companion not do if he sat in the Presidential chair? Only the sky would be the limit.

American financial dinosaurs, like the Catholic Church, had not grown to their present stature by the mere weight of their bulk. They had always made ample use of, in addition to genuine dash and imagination, the most blatant political effrontery. Spurred by their determination to regain the lost Mexican treasure by using the might of the Government of the U.S.A., they simply formulated, promoted, and executed a breath-taking plan: they were going to storm the White House and, by mobilizing the big guns of the Press and financial, political, and religious pressure, plant one of their friends in the Presidential chair. Once that was done, war with Mexico, and the restoration of "democracy" in that most God-forsaken country, would become a certainty, an act that would be applauded by all the freedom-loving people of the world.

Was such a scheme impossible? Not at all. The Big Dinosaurs had already some remarkable precedents to their credit. At the beginning of the century, as already seen, Theodore Roosevelt was one. Theodore Roosevelt had been a success. President Wilson's Tampico incident had been only a half-success, while their attempt of the 1920s, which had been a ghastly failure, had nevertheless taught them an excellent lesson and a reminder to be more cautiously bold in the future. The lesson: In 1920 the big American oil interests "bought" a Senator and made him their "creature." The

creature's task: promotion of a nation-wide alarm, aimed at throwing the American people into a panic and thus inducing the American Government to launch an armed attack against Mexico. When public opinion had reached the right degree of heat, the "bought" Senator, Albert B. Fall, one day demanded point-blank that the United States should withdraw recognition of the Carranza Government. Asked on what grounds, the Senator disclosed that the U.S.A. were in the most dire danger: the Mexican Government had engineered the most terrible plot against America; a formidable invasion was about to take place. The Mexicans, the Russians, and the international workers of the world had planned to attack the United States of America, detach Texas, and give it back to Mexico. Could the American people let such a thing happen? Of course not. The United States had to protect them against the Red aggressors. It had to do that by going to war against Mexico before it was too late. The Senator asked the American people to put pressure upon their Government, so as to persuade it to initiate a "*preventive*" war against the Mexican neighbour. It was the most sacred duty of all patriotic citizens to see that the Government did something about it. America had to be saved, Senator Fall went on shouting. Its freedom was endangered by the Red menace across the border.

For a time panic was created, and a flurry of political and military measures were set in motion. The "Free" American Press, supported by the oil companies, played on the plot. In spite of them all, however, the plot began to dissolve into thin air owing to one simple fact: the Mexican-Russian attack never eventuated.

An investigation was set up. Senator A. B. Fall was convicted of accepting a 100,000-dollar bribe from American oil interests and was dispatched to a penitentiary. Those who handed over the bribe, and who were therefore the real schemers for the American-Mexican war scare, were never convicted and, indeed, have increased and multiplied ever since.

From then onward the big oil concerns became determined never to play again with political small fry, and they set out to "control" the highest political power in the land: the Presidency. After the Fall fiasco, their invisible "pressure"

began to be noticed by those who had eyes to see. President Harding had not proved to be the malleable President they had expected. And, lo and behold, just when the big industrial dinosaurs began to wish for his removal with all the intensity of their patriotic zeal, President Harding died in somewhat mysterious circumstances at a most curiously convenient moment.

His successor, the Vice-President, Calvin Coolidge, who had stepped into his place (1923) and upon whom they had built so many hopes, had been rather disappointing. This, although they had helped him to enjoy a Presidential term in his own right from 1924-8. It is true that he had closed his eyes to his Secretary of Commerce's sabotage of the Geneva Conference, that he had carried out practically all their restrictive policies, including the enforcement of increasingly high tariffs against European goods, ruthless demands for payment of War debts from the impoverished European peoples, the 1924 Act strengthening the 1921 Act sharply curtailing immigration, the closing of the door to non-European immigrants, the ending of American pioneering Liberalism, the boom production of war industry. Still he had failed them all: he had not intervened in Mexico on their behalf.

Coolidge the "taciturn" had to give way to a man who would do things their own way. Pressure, the right kind of pressure which only Big Dinosaurs could exert, was put upon Coolidge, who, after a timid resistance, finally, unconvincingly, and obviously ambiguously, announced that he "did not choose to run" in the forthcoming elections.

It was thus that one beautiful morning the American people, awakening, rubbed their eyes repeatedly at some incredible front lines in their favourite papers: Alfred Smith, the Governor of New York, was asking them to elect him as their next President.

Any American citizen, whether in New York or San Francisco, could do the same had he so wished. It was one of the most taken-for-granted privileges of a true, genuine, working democracy. The difference this time was not only that Alfred Smith was not only Alfred Smith, an American citizen,

but also Alfred Smith, a Roman Catholic. And a staunch one at that.

For a Protestant country which believed passionately in the principle of the separation of Church and State this was something to create a commotion. And that is precisely what it did.

Governor A. Smith soon found himself faced by the whole of America firing one single big question. The question was not so much whether A. Smith would or would not be a good President, but whether A. Smith, once elected President, could remain an instrument of the will of the American people; or would, as soon as he had entered the White House, be transformed into the pliable tool of the exclusive religious and political claims of the Roman Catholic Church, of which he boasted of being such a devout member.

The audacity of this bid for the Presidency, the first in U.S. history, and what most Americans believed was the first Catholic attempt to enter the White House, stunned America; then angered her. American Protestantism, which at this period had not yet panicked at the Red Bogy, could still see things in their true perspective and come to the offensive, supported by all those concerned with the preservation of true American democracy.

To whom did Governor Smith owe allegiance? it was asked. Should he be elected President, whose interests was he bound to further—those of the American people or those of the Catholic Church? These questions were not sectional warfare; they dealt with the most fundamental principle concerned with the issue of the separation of Church and State. In this case the issue, put in a nutshell, was simply: Who was to rule the United States once it was headed by a Catholic President—the American people or the Catholic Church?

It was to silence these questions that Governor Smith finally issued his famous "credo," which became that of approximately ninety-five per cent of American Catholics, but which was never accepted by the American hierarchy or by the Vatican.

The "credo" was only a tactical move and a ruse of the Vatican, meant to dispel the genuine fear that had seized the American people, confronted for the first time with the

problem of whether a member of the most undemocratic Church in the world, which claimed total obedience in religious and social matters, could possibly head a democracy in which the separation of Church and State was one of the main foundations. The American hierarchy shrieked with the most piteous voice that it too was composed of true American citizens. To doubt their genuine love for democracy was a dire calumny. To insinuate that they were members of the Catholic Church first and of the U.S.A. second was the vilest of slanders. Talk of the Pope in the White House could have been produced only by the blindest bigotry of the Protestants. Who were those who believed in freedom of religion? The Protestants were once more making religious discrimination because a Catholic had dared to ask the people to elect him the head of a Protestant nation. Had the Catholics ever protested when Protestants had asked to be, and were, elected heads of the United States of America?

The American people listened to the Catholic hierarchy's voice, although its tone was mightily unconvincing, rang hollow, and was untrue.

Then, when in 1928 the polling day arrived and Catholic Alfred Smith asked them to elect him the first American Catholic President, they answered with a resounding No.

At the headquarters of the American Catholic hierarchy, as well as at the Vatican, there was consternation. Such consternation, however, was not confined to Catholic quarters. It was apparent also in several other places. The frowns of several top executives of the big American financial dinosaurs, such as those of the Du Ponts and of the house of Morgan, told the tale. The huge sums of money they had sunk into the election in support of Catholic Alfred Smith had been made useless by religious prejudice. John J. Raskob, of the Du Pont empire, a staunch Catholic layman, although disappointed, was not, however, of the same opinion. His handing out of 249,000 dollars, a sum by no means the biggest given to subsidize Catholic Alfred Smith, being exceeded, for instance, by that from Anaconda Copper, would bear results some other day, he said.¹ It had all served as preparatory ground. In terms of long-range policy, it had been a good investment.

Besides which, should they not rejoice at the election of the new President?

“It is not money, but the love of money, which is at the root of all evil,” said one of the accused to a Senator during the Munitions Investigations. The man should have known, for he was none other than Mr. P. Morgan, the king of American bankers.

That the love of money can deprive its worshippers also of the most elementary principles of morality has often been affirmatively asserted. That it can make them the greatest swindlers of true democracy is more than certain. The bigger the sum at stake, the more unscrupulous its owner, the greater the fear of the loss of riches, the more cynical the cheating of democratic principles and disregard for the true will of the people.

The great American dinosaurs had always been past-masters in using the framework of American democracy to see that such principles did not remain unused. This they had frequently done, not only when engaged in their economic penetration abroad, but repeatedly against the American people themselves.

In the Presidential election of 1928 they had backed Catholic A. Smith. A Catholic President could not watch unmoved his Church being torn to pieces just across the frontier without doing something positive about it. Particularly if supported to the hilt by the big American oil and copper trusts and by the Vatican, both of which were sick with nostalgia for the good old days.

A. Smith had been soundly defeated. His financial backers had frowned, it is true. But the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars warranted that. Mostly, of course, not because of the loss of money, but because of the failure of a brave political attempt.

Yet, although their candidate had lost, they, the wizards of Wall Street, had won. A mystery of High Finance? By no means. Mere love of democracy.

Instead of backing one single political party as any ordinary lukewarm American citizen had done, they had patriotically

backed both parties, the Democratic and the Republican. Had they granted hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Democratic candidate, Catholic Alfred Smith? It was fair they should grant hundreds of thousands of dollars to his opponent, the Republican candidate for the Presidency.

It was thus that the Du Ponts, who among other sums had invested 250,000 dollars on Democratic Alfred Smith, invested an equal sum on his Republican opponent, via direct cash loans and the payment of deficits. Other Wall-Streeters, although not so liberal-moneyed, nonetheless had not lagged behind the great House. While Lammot and T. Coleman gave a mere 10,000 dollars, Alfred P. Sloan, of General Motors, had given 25,000, and the Fisher Bodies donated 100,000 dollars.

During the campaign the Republican Party had raised 9,433,604 dollars to sponsor their candidate. Approximately half of this sum—namely, 5,000,000 dollars—came from a few groups; that is to say, from a handful of Big Businessmen directly or indirectly connected with the oil and copper in Mexico, the armaments industry, and the financial backing of a Catholic candidate sponsored by the Democratic Party.

They simply could not lose, these wonderful democratic wizards. The big insurance companies controlled by them saw to it that for once the principle of insurance should not fail these special, extraordinary policy-holders. The result was that 1928, the year of the elections, which had been a year of most remarkable defeat, turned out to be simultaneously one of most remarkable victory. Indeed, a year of the greatest triumph for the big American trusts.

For the election of the Republican candidate had opened a most fabulous new era. The era of the great financial dinosaurs, who from then on roamed unmolested, and with all their latent puissance, the yet unexploited great financial fields of the world.

The Republican candidate whom the dinosaurs had helped to make the new President of the United States of America was a former Secretary of Commerce, none other than the "Oracle of Rugged Individualism," Herbert Hoover.

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The paramount goal of the thunderous march which the great North American industrial dinosaurs began, after the First World War, in their bid for total power, was reached when finally they put their "creature" at the very centre of American political power.

Vistas of immense economic exploitation opened before them.

The millennium of economic gigantism, showering all the blessings of "Rugged Individualism," of uncontrolled free enterprise, of Capitalism omnipotently, blindly, selfishly concerned with the greed of the few and immensely scornful of the welfare of the many, had arrived.

The victorious dinosaurs were going to prove that an economy based upon the principle of wealth accumulated in the hands of the few was going to lead the United States, the Western Hemisphere, and, indeed, the rest of the world to unheard-of economic prosperity; to a gigantic rise in the standard of living the world over; to such abundance that wharfs would overflow with too much food and too many goods, the banks with too much money, the people with too much leisure. American Capitalism was going to demonstrate that the mythical golden age when man lacked nothing had not only arrived, but had come to stay.

The oracle said so with all the power and glory of the Presidential aura. The speeches from the White House bulged with confidence and glowed with the unlimited faith in the most sacred dogma of the great dinosaurs—that the law of continuous expansion of production caused by continuous expansion of demand, controlled, regulated, stimulated, confined according to their dividends, would transform America and ultimately the world into a Capitalistic paradise. The earth would soon echo with the hosannas of the nations, lachrymously grateful to the great reptiles for all the unprecedented prosperity which they had provided for them.

The great dinosaurs, with no restrictions whatever, now tried to fill the universe with the contents of their cornucopias. In the American sky the stars were blotted out by their bulk, and their immense bodies, silhouetted against the horizon, mesmerized the American people, who truly began to sing

the praises of the great dinosaurs who had transformed their country into a paradise.

The oracle at the White House began in earnest to set the dinosauric plan into operation, and, while he made seemingly genuine efforts to impede the race, to restrict armaments abroad, and even to prevent some of the most unseemingly deeds of the big corporations, in reality the power of the State was practically put at the disposal of the giant trusts to accelerate their growth instead of restricting it, as had been attempted in the past. Preparations were made for the total reconquest of their investments abroad (read Mexico) by way of war and direct threats of war, for unheard-of expansion in Latin America, and for bold penetration in Asia and even in Europe. The great American dinosaurs, dedicated to the proposition that men headed by themselves thrive on selfishness, stretched their Capitalistic economy to the utmost limit. The protective tariff rates of 1922 went up and up; as the demand for European war-debt payments increased, so did the high tariffs make European payment in goods impossible. Surtax, income-tax, national debts, went down; private investments at home and abroad surged upwards. Boom conditions reached fantastic proportions, and prosperity seemed to be about to deluge all things and men.

The oracle had not yet basked one year in the reflected glory of the phenomenal triumph of the economy of the great dinosaurs when there was heard a sudden tumultuous crash, followed by another, and a third, and by numberless others, all increasing in rapidity in New York, in Chicago, in Detroit, and in all the great industrial cities. In no time prosperous America was made to rock from coast to coast by a super-human cataclysmic commotion. The paradise of the great dinosaurs had been but a mirage. The decade of prosperity had ended. The boom was over. The great bubble of their artificial prosperity had exploded and unloosed the whirlwind.

There began a catastrophic descending spiral of restrictions, a nightmarish fall-off in demand, which increased day by day, hour by hour, in scale, proportion, and speed. Banks failed. Trusts burst. Combines collapsed. Production sank. The industrial skyscrapers tumbled, the immense financial pyramids collapsed; the pillars of American economy bent; the whole

structure of American society was rent. A bottomless chasm opened up unheralded and swallowed billions—dinosaurs and the mesmerized masses of little Americans. Panic stepped where only a while before there was enthroned over-confidence. Ruin swept upon big and small, famous and unknown men, as impartially and as blindly as death.

Some of the golden prophecies of the oracle were fulfilled to the letter. The wharfs soon overflowed with food; corn, wheat, cotton reached new low all-time price-levels and ruined the American farmers. To distribute them to the people without making high profits, however, being the greatest mortal sin in a Capitalistic society, millions of tons were dumped into the sea or burnt. Goods were left to rust or were smashed, for the same highly moral reason. The hard-working American masses at last found the promised leisure. Within a short period a colossal army of 15,000,000 Americans were out of work.

The clamour, the wails, and the tumult of the collapse at first took the oracle by surprise. But only for a moment. Amid the falling masonry of the tumbling Capitalistic structure Hoover resumed his over-confidence. The phenomenon was temporary, he said.

To the clamouring unemployed masses Hoover tried to conjure up another mirage. "Prosperity is just around the corner," he pontificated. "Wait, and you will see."

And the oracle whose faith was Rugged Individualism and Capitalism's golden rule "Self-Help," for whom State control, State promotion, and State assistance were anathema, sank his hands deep into the coffers of the American Government and magnanimously gave away millions as government relief to the most pitiful victims of the catastrophe . . . to the big corporations. The 15,000,000 little Americans got nothing, with the exception of a few cents, sufficient for hiring a gun should they wish to blow out their brains—a relief which many gratefully accepted.

The whirlwind blew southwards, enveloped Central and South America, and the economic ties with the U.S.A. dragged the whole of the Western Hemisphere into the abyss. The wharfs, like those in the north, soon overflowed with goods. Millions of Indians, mestizos, and white men pulled in their

belts and starved. The goods could not be sold to the consumers too cheaply. Prices had to pay dividends. If the masses got used to getting things cheaply, the poor rich would become the poorer rich. And coffee prices, like many other prices, were kept up, and soon the furnaces of Brazilian locomotives carrying thousands of tons of doomed goods towards the coast were fed with a new aromatic fuel, coffee, as were those of loaded steamers, which dumped millions of tons of it into the sea.

The whirlwind turned sharply north-east, blew across the Atlantic, fell upon Europe, pulled to the ground the industrial, financial dinosauric layers, maiming the legions of the industrious European workers. And soon armies speaking different languages, but fighting the same enemy, sprang to their feet within each economically barricaded country. The millions of workless loitered round factories, mines, and offices—all closed. In England 2,000,000 unemployed staged hunger marches; in France 3,000,000 rioted unsuccessfully; in Italy 2,000,000 starved in silence; in Germany 9,000,000 were making themselves ready to follow anyone who would promise them work.

Underground rumblings began to be heard in the European and American continents. Menacing clouds appeared in the sky of Asia. All indications that another catastrophe was in the making.

The millions of unemployed everywhere began to look sullenly towards Soviet Russia, the only country which the economic whirlwind had been unable to shake. Soviet Russia, which at the beginning of the American Decade of Prosperity had found itself in an economic abyss, now, although shaken in its turn by a recent political crisis caused by the feud between Stalin and Trotsky, economically had become more stable, although with less prosperity than the whole of the West, with all its unjustly distributed immense poverty and immense wealth.

The names of Marx and Lenin began to be heard in many industrial cities. Their teaching, digested, transformed, or changed to suit the particular economic and political situation of each country, generated various movements. Although they had different names, programmes, and leaders, they all had one

thing in common: they rejected the system which had caused the economic world catastrophe—unrestricted freedom of the great American and European dinosaurs. A clamour that the great reptiles be deprived of their power, that their empires be controlled by the State, and that the State regulate the economic life of the nations according to the general welfare of society and no longer according to their lust for gain, grew everywhere.

In the United States itself, the centre of the great tornado, a general, as yet unco-ordinated, will to end the unrestricted rule of the great dinosaurs became every day more apparent. Voices were heard invoking State relief, not for the big corporations, but for the 15,000,000 unemployed; the co-ordination of American economy; the undertaking of great public works, not to swell the coffers of the Houses of Morgan or Du Pont, but to give work to the unemployed and to enrich the capital wealth of the nation.

Such voices grew in intensity until one, more than any other, was heard and listened to with increasing attention by the masses of the American people. The voice was heard also by the great dinosaurs who, although half buried under the ruins of their own construction, yet, having lost much, had still even more to lose if the Red virus should seriously attack their economic system, which, although in ruins, was by no means beyond repair.

The slogan of their oracle, "Prosperity is just round the corner," had failed to materialize. Indeed, the contrary had happened. The more the oracle repeated the ill-fated, would-be magic sentence, the deeper the great depression. Each year of his Presidency, instead of bringing the promised prosperity or even stabilization, brought greater slumps. Factories continued to close, the armies of the unemployed in industry to swell, the agricultural depression to go from bad to worse, the speculation in land values to become unpredictable, the dwindling European markets, due to the great American dinosaurs' policy of tariff and war-debt, to dwindle ever more disastrously. 1929, 1930, 1931 . . . the Great Depression was sinking lower and lower, a proof that it was far from having reached the bottom.

In addition to this, the sands of the Presidential term were

running out. In 1932 the American people would go to the polls to elect a new President. Who could predict whom they would choose? The American masses were sinking into an increasingly dangerous mood. They had to be prevented, at all costs, from selecting as their new President a man who wanted to wage war against the dinosaurs.

The electioneering machinery was set in motion. The Republican Party began to collect funds for the coming Presidential campaign; the national Press, ninety per cent of which was directly or indirectly controlled by the big dinosaurs themselves, promoted one of the most wishy-washy campaigns in history. The Great Slump had been caused by anything or anybody except by unrestricted American Capitalism. The American voter had to reject those who dared besmirch American Capital, which had given the unmatched Decade of Prosperity to the American man in the street. The American voter had to reject those wanting to make a Kremlin of the White House. Hoover was the man. Give him another four years and "prosperity would soon be just round the corner."

The coffers of the Republican Party filled once more with millions of dollars meant to sell the oracle to the American electorate. Forty per cent of the total funds directed at sitting Hoover in the White House for a second term were put up by a mere 112 persons, the great industrial and financial wizards, who although so ruined that they had to be granted Government relief, yet had enough millions to spare at the right moment to deceive once more the American masses.²

The depth of the Great Depression coincided with the 1932 Presidential campaign. The American little men went to the poll and cast their ballot. And Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the voice, became their President. The Age of Great Reptiles had closed. But a new Age of an even more portentous character had begun. The Age of World Fascism.

7

CATHOLIC PROMOTION OF WORLD FASCISM: THE GREAT PLOT TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S.A.

AT THE VATICAN THE PORTENTOUS tumbling of a world was watched with a most sinister calm. The fall of kingdoms, empires, and civilizations had not been witnessed in vain by those in the shade of its ancient walls.

Yet this granitic imperviousness to worldly disasters, although acquired in the course of two millenniums and rendered unshakable by its belief in Catholic invincibility, on this occasion was inspired by a more recent and more concrete cause —by the fact that the Vatican was not caught unawares. Thanks to this, the Vatican felt secure, not only for having already a plan to remedy the immense damage caused by the economic tornado which had reached its climax with the collapse of the American economy, but to the fact that when the empire of the great dinosaurs had begun to collapse, its plan was already in full swing.

This was simplicity itself: total war against Bolshevism. Bolshevism was a phenomenon produced by political and

economic injustices, the latest of which, the Great Depression, was the most spectacular. The surest way of fighting it therefore was to oppose it with something dependent upon the economic system which Bolshevism wished to destroy—namely, Fascism. Hence the Vatican's promotion of Fascism, a monstrous political hybrid, feeding, like the great industrial dinosaurs, upon the poisoned economic, nationalistic, and racialistic pastures of Western society.

Fascism had sprung up independently of the Catholic Church. It would have left a mark upon society without the aid it received from her. But it was helped, maintained, strengthened, and finally saddled in power, first in Italy and then in other countries, with the full-blooded co-operation of Catholic diplomacy. Without Catholic help, Fascism, Italian or German version, would have been unable to lead the world to where eventually it did.

If the decade from 1919 to 1929 had been, for the Americas and the world in general, the Great Decade of Prosperity, the one which now followed, from 1929 to 1939, was to be the Great Decade of Fascism.

In 1929 the Vatican strengthened Fascism by signing the Lateran treaty and a solemn concordat with its founder, Mussolini. This was the same year as the Great Depression, which sank American economic structures and endangered the economy of practically the whole of the West.

The following year, 1930, the anti-Communist plan took concrete shape in the national and international fields; political and religious anti-Communist forces united, the first led by the super-conservative forces of England, France, and the United States, the latter led by the Vatican. In the political-military sphere British, French, and other interests planned a military invasion of Soviet Russia. The excuse was to be a frontier incident. Rumania would declare war; England, Poland, and France would join. Denikin and General Loukomsky would march on Moscow with a mixed force of 600,000 men and *émigrés*. Among the political and financial backers there were Poincaré and several English, French, and American armament firms.

In the political-religious field Pope Pius XI launched his world-wide crusade against Bolshevism, setting in motion

Catholic and allied forces everywhere. These forces were not mobilized as single Catholic religious or ideological units; they became the supporters, indeed the spearheads, of European and American Fascism.

Following the Vatican's lead, various Fascist movements, mostly led or inspired by Catholics, came to the fore in some European countries, including Belgium, France, Austria, and even Protestant England. In Germany a Catholic Chancellor, Dr. Brüning, offered to share the Government with the leader of the Nazi Party, Adolf Hitler, whose movement appeared in force in the German Reichstag. In 1931 Spain became a Republic, and the Vatican promptly promoted Spanish Catholic Fascism and prepared diplomatic intrigues against the "Red Spanish Republic." In 1932 Catholic Brüning once more asked Hitler to join his Government. Hitler meanwhile, riding the wave of German nationalistic and economic discontent, helped by the millions of German unemployed and by German and American industrial dinosaurs no less than by Catholic diplomats such as Von Papen and by the Vatican's secret support, was sky-rocketed towards power.

The following year, 1933, the Berlin Reichstag was set on fire; the Nazi terror regime began. Hitler became Chancellor. The Papal Chamberlain, Franz Von Papen, leader of the German Catholic Party, became Vice-Chancellor.

With the installation of a second mighty Fascist dictatorship, the Fascistization of Europe accelerated. Economic and political forces speeded up their march along the path leading to war. The failure of the World Economic Conference in London intensified economic Imperialism and hence political extremism. The Fascist leaders blatantly preached war. "Fascism does not believe in the possibility nor in the utility of permanent peace," declared Mussolini in 1933, "hence the doctrine which is based on the promise of peace is necessarily foreign to Fascism."¹

In the same year Hitler, who had just signed a Concordat with the Vatican, declared that "the will to war must be restored," while the leader of the German Catholic Party, Vice-Chancellor of Nazi Germany, Von Papen, in the same period told the Germans that "the battlefield is for a man what motherhood is for a woman," declaring that the German

youth must be yearning for the day "when blood shall again flow from our bayonets."

These official declarations from the Fascist and Catholic leaders were never condemned by the Vatican. On the contrary, the Vatican continued to support them with more eagerness than ever. For Fascism, besides preaching and preparing for war, had begun to destroy the only institution which had tried so courageously to prevent war: the League of Nations. In April, 1933, Japan, battling against China, left the League, followed in October by Nazi Germany. At the Vatican there was rejoicing, for that meant the beginning of the end of the League, against which Vatican diplomacy had spun countless intrigues. The League's disintegration was looked upon as another favourable portent by the Vatican, by Hitler, and by the big American industrialists, particularly now that President Roosevelt had recognized Soviet Russia (1933), and there were even talks about her being admitted to the League of Nations.

Simultaneously with this preaching for war, preparing for war, bellicose war-mongering Fascist movements appeared everywhere.

French Fascist Parties came to the fore and made open bids for power, especially the Croix de Feu. In Belgium Catholic Degrelle began to think about his Catholic Fascist Party, the Rexists. In Austria Catholic Dolfuss set up the most ruthless Catholic dictatorship of Europe. In Spain the Catholic leader Gil Robles and others worked for the downfall of the Republic. Spanish Catholic Fascists got in touch with Mussolini and the Vatican, and initiated the plot which was to end with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936.²

Within a few years—from 1929 to the election of Roosevelt in 1932 and the rise to power of Hitler in 1933, the years of the Great Depression—as the economic structure of the West continued to crumble, Fascism continued to rise and to expand not only in the West, but also in the Far East, in the most important countries of Asia, China, and Japan. Ominous signs had already portended that the course these two countries had begun to follow was leading them to open and naked Fascism. They were moving towards Fascism independently of the West, but for the same causes: fear of Bolshevism, the

maintenance and strengthening of the economic structure, controlled by the great Chinese and Japanese financial dinosaurs.

The leader of Chinese Fascism was Chiang Kai Shek; he became leader of the Right in 1926. From 1926 to 1928 he moved to the extreme Right, struck an alliance with the great merchants of Shanghai and with American Big Business—for instance with the Standard Oil Company, which General Smedley Butler in 1927 saw “went unmolested”—made himself master of most of China, and waged a relentless war upon Chinese Communists and Soviet Russia. In this he was supported not only by Chinese reactionaries, but also by their enemy Japan. The paradoxical result was that in 1930, only one year after the Japanese attack against China, Japan supplied Chiang Kai Shek's China with thirty-seven and a half per cent of the total import of guns and explosives to fight the Chinese Communists. In 1932 and 1933, although China had been invaded by the Japanese, he refused to fight them, offering only verbal resistance in Manchuria, in order to be free to continue his fight against the Communists. From that period onward, which coincided with the full-blooded Fascistization of Europe, Chiang continued along his path of corruption, oppression, and Fascistization of China.

In Japan, although Fascism was more of a collective affair and was accelerated within one decade by an ever-increasing economic internal and external pressure, it took a more concrete ugly shape, both at home and abroad.

As in Italy and Germany, the latent forces were helped by Big Business, the dominating factors in her economic and political life. Japan had from the very beginning an anti-Communist record second to none. She participated in the anti-Bolshevik intervention of 1919 and she withdrew her troops from Russia only in 1923. In 1921 she went through a severe economic crisis, worsened by the great earthquake of 1923. Industrial and financial monster combines grew out of the exploitation of the misery of the Japanese masses and, following this crisis, the great combines of Mitsui and Mitsubishi began to play the role of the Italian industrial magnates who financed Mussolini, of the German steel

magnates like Thyssen who financed Hitler, or of the Du Ponts, Fords, and others who financed reaction in the U.S.A.

This banking and industrial monopoly, having penetrated the party system of the country, corrupted the whole political life. They fought the growth of the Labour and Peasant Parties, hampered universal suffrage in 1925, and finally destroyed whatever liberal principles and democratic independence had been won by the Japanese people. In association with the militarists, in 1927-8, they began to dominate the Government completely, and turned Japan into an increasingly Fascist country, bent on tyranny at home and aggression abroad, as outlined in the famous memorial of Baron Tanaka in 1927, which planned for the violent control of the whole Pacific.

When the Great Depression of 1929 reached the shores of Japan the great manufacturers rallied the starving masses to their side, with the promise of bread and work in the wake of the aggressive Japanese Army.

In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria. The great march to absolute reaction at home and naked aggression abroad had begun. As civil liberties were suppressed, the great business leaders financed increasing expenditures in the military field and the control of "dangerous thoughts"—i.e. Liberalism, Democracy, and Socialism. Soon the Government became the puppet of the big Japanese industrialists and their payees, the militarists. The big American munition makers encouraged, supported, and armed Japan in her aggressive policy. And about this period, when Secretary of State Stimson was urging Japan to accept the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Nine Power Pact, and the Covenant of the League of Nations, American armament manufacturers shipped to Japan nearly 200,000,000 dollars' worth of war equipment.³

Japan's record from then onward is one of aggression: Manchuria in 1931; Jehol in 1933; Northern China in 1935; the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936; the beginning of the Chinese Incident in 1937; clashes with Soviet Russia on the Manchurian borders in 1938; pact with the Axis in 1940; attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941.

By the time Hitler went into power in 1933 practically the whole world was drifting with increasing speed towards

Fascism. With the exception of one continent, America. The Western Hemisphere was not keeping step with Europe or Asia. Latin America, it is true, had already developed a kind of native Fascism; but Fascism there was unorganized, uncoordinated, and divided; it was not and could not become a serious political force unless given new impetus from a co-ordinating moral power which could put some kind of moral pressure upon all such movements. There was only one such power—namely, the Catholic Church.

It was thus that the Vatican, having decided to accelerate the pace of Latin-American Fascism, took steps to see that it became a force capable, not so much of arresting the penetration of the Red virus as of preserving intact the Capitalistic system, which the Great Depression had already shaken so dangerously. The task had become even more urgent, for now that Nazi Germany and Japan were no longer in the League of Nations Soviet Russia was making moves to take their place. Soviet Russia had to be prevented at all costs from sitting in the League. The Latin-American republics, like the rest of the world, had to be persuaded to renew their fight against her. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that in the same year as Russia entered the League of Nations (1934) the most blatant attempts to crush Communism, with the installation of Fascist dictatorships in three continents, two of them directed at transforming the whole of the Western Hemisphere into a solid Fascist *bloc*, were made.

In Europe Hitler made his first bid to impose a Nazi dictatorship upon a neighbouring country. Having organized a Fascist Party within the country, he assassinated its Chancellor (1934)—and the murder of the Catholic pocket dictator, Dolfuss, took place.

In France French Fascism, led by the Croix de Feu, provoked riots throughout the country in 1934, which culminated in a bid to seize power during the Paris disturbances of that same year.

In Asia Chiang Kai Shek, also in 1934, launched a large-scale offensive against the Chinese Communists which almost blotted them out of existence. The Communists were dislodged from the south, undertook the "great trek," moved

north-west, and re-established themselves there, still urging the country to resist the Japanese aggressors.

With regard to the Americas, although the means employed to Fascistize them were neither organized murders nor the employment of large armies, yet the plan devised was not less daring. Being characteristically Fascist, it was based upon violence, and had as its objective the seizure of power by force.

The scheme was conceived, co-ordinated, and carried out by the two great allies—the Vatican and North American Big Business. The Vatican's field became Latin America; that of Big Business, North America. The Vatican acted promptly to carry out the scheme. In 1934 the ablest, most astute, and experienced Vatican diplomat was selected for the task: Eugenio Pacelli, the right hand of Pope Pius XI. Pacelli made a triumphant tour of Latin America, several Latin-American governments, mostly semi-Fascist, sending their entire cabinets either to welcome or to see off the Cardinal. The meaning of the tour was duly noticed where the Vatican wanted it to be noticed most—in the U.S.A.

Pacelli's visit was seen to yield results. Fascist movements appeared everywhere as if by magic. This which existed already were revitalized, others were created on the spot, and the seeds of more to come were profusely sown. The movements were all modelled upon the Italian or Nazi ones, were led and were formed by Catholics. "Green shirts," "blue shirts," and vari-coloured political vestments appeared in the various Latin-American capitals, shouting against democracy and the Reds, and hosannahing the Fascist dictatorship, preaching, using, and operating violence. In Brazil it apparelled itself in green shirts; in Mexico later it appeared as *La Union Nacional Sinarquista*, later known as *Sinarquism*. This was a monstrous mixture of Catholic social teaching, of Franco's Fascism, of Italian Fascism, of Nazism, and of *Ku Klux Klan*. Its political social programme? War upon democracy and what democracy stood for; fight against the "other enemies" of the Church, and complete restoration of the Catholic Church to its former power.

While the Vatican was promoting Fascism on a large scale in Latin America, in that same year, 1934, its greatest allies in the Western Hemisphere, the North American dinosaurs,

set to work to do likewise and to set up a Fascist dictatorship in the U.S.A.

The election of Roosevelt had been a disaster, and for the great dinosaurs the future could not look gloomier. Roosevelt, a patrician, was the most democratic President the U.S.A. had had since Lincoln. He embodied all that was best in the best of the true American man: idealism, liberalism, and democracy. He had understanding and vision. When, in March, 1933, with not a single bank in the whole of America open, Roosevelt declared that what the U.S.A. had to fear was fear itself, he spoke not only for the 15,000,000 unemployed, but also for the whole of the bewildered American people. These words, which had put new hope into the American masses, put terror into the breasts of the great dinosaurs. For Roosevelt began to act like a "Bolshevik." Why, he put forward the most Bolshevik programme ever conceived by the reddest inhabitants of the Kremlin. His programme was called the New Deal. A blend of reform and relief, the New Deal acted drastically but efficiently. The gold standard was abandoned, the selling of securities was controlled, federal loans were granted; the banks were strictly supervised, the Government guaranteed bank deposits and aided farmers with Government subsidies; great projects of road-building, afforestation, and public works were undertaken; cultural activities were helped financially; the unemployed were granted relief. By 1940, sixteen billion dollars had been spent on direct relief and seven billion on public works.

Roosevelt went further. With the National Recovery Act and the Wagner Act, he raised the wages of the workers, shortened their working hours, and recognized Labour Unions. This was not all: the Federal Government overstepped the rights of the States and enacted social security legislation.

Roosevelt's administration had become a carbon copy of Soviet Russia. It was going to beat the Russians themselves. This was proved by that monstrous project the Tennessee Valley Authority, which was set up to build and operate

Government-owned dams, to provide cheap electric power, to check floods and soil erosion in seven States in the Tennessee area. Most of such revolutionary reforms had yet to come, and they came later on; but from what Roosevelt had already said and done after his first year in power (had he not in 1933 recognized Soviet Russia?), it was obvious that he wanted to play the Lenin of America. Or, at least, that is what the big dinosaurs thought.

The Roosevelt administration, consequently, had to be overthrown. Democracy, which permitted an American Lenin like Roosevelt to become President, had to be wiped out; and a strong government, protecting the sacred rights of the dinosaurs, had to be set up by force, Mussolini's and Hitler's way.

The great American dinosaurs knew already how to help potential Fascist movements, potential storm-troops, and potential dictators. They had already put forward their case to the American people in their own Press.

Had not William Randolph Hearst, for instance, in the 1930s, published signed propaganda articles by Goebbels, Goering, Hitler, and Mussolini? Had they not already granted them loans? Indeed, had they not gone farther? Had they not already sold arms to the European Fascist dictators to give teeth to their regimes and to make sure they were not overthrown? The Du Ponts, for instance, co-operated with Catholic Fritz Thyssen, of the German steel trust, when Thyssen led the German cartels and Big Business to pour out millions to the Nazis and thus put them into power before 1933. Wendell R. Swint, director of the foreign relations of the Du Pont empire, testifying before the Munitions Investigation, had to admit that Krupps "had developed a scheme whereby industry could contribute to the Nazi Party Fund, and in fact every industry is called upon to pay one half per cent of the annual wage and salary roll to the Nazi organizations." I.G. Farben, connected with great parallel American industries, was the backer of Hitler's Nazi outfit. Felix Du Pont did not stop at co-operating with his German counterparts; he actually armed Hitler. This after Roosevelt was elected but before he took office, and while the oracle Hoover was still President. Felix Du Pont signed a contract

on February 1, 1933, with an agent of Hitler, Peter Brenner, who was actually an international spy. Du Pont appointed Brenner, alias Giera, for the purpose of smuggling munitions into Germany via Holland. As at this time it was illegal to do so, the contract gave authority to Brenner, agent for Germany and Holland, "to negotiate the sale of military propellants and military explosives to purchasers located in that territory." Letters in the hands of the Nye Committee proved that Brenner, Colonel W. N. Taylor (Du Pont's Paris man), and Major Casey discussed means of smuggling explosives into Nazi Germany, "to run guns up the Dutch rivers into Germany." This, it should be noted, against all restrictions laid down in the Treaty of Versailles, and by inference in the treaty between the United States and Germany.

Allied to the Americans were the British. Lamot got a reply on March 6, 1933, from the British munitions magnate, Lord McGowan, of Imperial Chemicals, concerning the illegal arming of Hitler: "Our German friends . . . have not been idle. I am sure that when freedom to manufacture is granted for home use . . . they will expect to have a permanent position in the business." (See Munitions Investigation report.)

After using their agent to supply Hitler with explosives, the Du Ponts sent Brenner to Japan to sell American explosives to the Japanese militarists, who had just begun their aggression against China. This was not the first time they had armed Japanese militarists; they had already concluded very profitable deals with them. To give one typical instance: in 1932 Du Pont got 900,000 dollars from Mitsui for nitric acid-ammonia explosive formulæ. (Munitions Investigation.)

The Senate Committee further disclosed that the Du Pont's agent, Peter Brenner, was a professional spy who, during the First World War, had worked for Germany in thirteen countries, and this, it should be noted, against the U.S.A. Indeed, Brenner was one of the top spies employed by that German super-agent operating in the U.S.A., that super-Catholic, Von Papan, who, at the time when the Du Ponts were supplying explosives to Hitler, had become Hitler's Vice-Chancellor in the newly installed Nazi regime. At this period (1933) Vice-Chancellor Von Papan, leader of the German Catholic Party and second only to Hitler, in fact had again engaged his old

employee as a link with the North American dinosaurs, to give teeth to the young Nazi Germany.⁴

This was only one of the dealings that the Du Ponts, the Morgans, the Mellons, and others conducted with European and Asiatic Fascism.

Having learned from experience—by the example of Europe no less than by their own fear—once they undertook to set up a Fascist dictatorship in the United States itself, they did so on a grand scale and in a most businesslike manner. Being used to the omnipotence of the dollar and scornful of any suggestion that it is ideas and not money that move men, they thought that the free employment of millions, coloured by super-patriotism, could mobilize and transform 500,000 American ex-Service men into storm-troopers on the model of the Nazi ones. Mussolini had got into power riding upon discharged ex-Service men during his march on Rome in 1922; Nazism got there by way of its terror legions, also led and officered mainly by former Service men.

The U.S.A. had not yet produced either a Mussolini or a Hitler; that was true. But it had already produced several powerful anti-democratic, semi-Fascist, and, indeed, Fascist organizations. The "American Legion," for instance.

The Commander of the American Legion, Alvin Owsley, had sided with Fascism from the very beginning. "The Fascisti are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States," he publicly declared in 1922, the very year that Mussolini went into power. More than this, he repeatedly said that he was prepared to seize Washington in the Mussolini way.⁵

Some American Legion conventions invited Mussolini to participate, sent him medals, and, indeed, considered him their ideal ideological leader.

In addition to American Fascist organizations of the American Legion type, the U.S.A. had produced potential Fascist leaders in the shape of sundry ambitious, unscrupulous generals, whose prototypes have multiplied at an ever-accelerating rate ever since. The main ideal objective of those tin-medalled gentlemen, in addition to their lust for glory, money, and political careers, when capable of thinking in political terms at all: the conversion of American democracy

into a vast military barracks, where the generals and the Big Businessmen, who considered American soldiers and workers only as instruments created by God to enhance their power, could prosper in peace.

These brainless by-products of militarism, by producing a general leading half a million American storm-troopers, could brilliantly take Washington by storm, overthrow the Constitution, install a military government, and convert the U.S.A. into a Fascist dictatorship overnight.

Was this the dream of a bunch of intoxicated dinosaurs? No. The calculated and well-planned scheme of certain leading American Big Businessmen, who had decided to follow the example of their Italian, German, and Japanese Big Brethren, American version.

Several great corporations and giant trusts formed an invisible conclave, and hatched the scheme. The big dinosaurs, cautious by nature, did everything possible to prepare things without the American people being aware that anything unusual was happening. The nefarious marks of their big paws, however, were tracked down, examined, and put on record by no other institution than the Government of the United States itself.

The plotters had decided to screen their plan behind several super-patriotic but secretly corporation-directed organizations, of which the Liberty League was one.

They had also decided to choose as the leader of the American storm-troops a general who would appeal to the American ex-Servicemen designated to form the Fascist legions.

Douglas MacArthur was the most obvious choice. MacArthur, however, although ideal, could not at this stage be used. For the American ex-Servicemen felt anything except trust and love towards him. But the Houses of J. P. Morgan and others were for the immediate appointment of MacArthur as head of the Fascist legions.⁶ Their vote was turned down on the grounds that they could not risk the failure of the *coup d'état* through choosing the wrong personality. A sure-fire name which any patriotic American ex-soldier would follow immediately was that of General Smedley D. Butler.

General Smedley D. Butler had spent thirty-three years in the Marines. He had been trusted by and had worked for the

North American dinosaurs in and outside the U.S.A. In his own words, "he had helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12." He had "brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916," and in 1927, in China, he had seen to it "that Standard Oil went its way unmolested."⁷

General Butler was approached by the Fascist planners, told of the scheme, and asked to organize, with the financial backing of the big corporations, half a million American ex-Service men into a Fascist Army. The offer was repeated on many occasions and by diverse persons and groups. The whole plan was so blatant and went so unscrupulously against all the American people that finally the whole scheme became known, and the United States Government set up a committee to investigate the affair.

It was thus that General Smedley B. Butler one day found himself before the first Un-American Committee ever to be set up in the U.S.A., the McCormack-Dickstein Committee, before which he solemnly testified under oath that he had been offered the leadership of a Fascist *coup d'état* in the U.S.A., not once, but "forty-two times," the most important being the offer from the backers of the American Liberty League, behind which stood some of the most powerful American banks and the ruling clique of the American Legion.

The plotters had laid down the preliminary steps in a businesslike manner. The American Fascist Army of half a million men had to be led not only by a general, but by the right general. The right general, however, although good at organizing a regular army, might prove unable to organize a special army like the one contemplated. The task of the training, formation, arming, and morale of storm-troops was a highly specialized one. Hence special study had to be undertaken. Where could a keen student of the technique of the formation of Fascist storm-troops go, if not to Fascist Europe?

It was thus that one of the chief plotters, MacGuire, previous to all this, had gone to Europe to study the various forms of veteran organization of a Fascist character.⁸ Among other Fascist organizations, he went to study at close quarters the Catholic Fascist Croix de Feu in France. Writing to his

principal, Robert Sterling Clark, of New York City, he said, among other things, that "the Croix de Feu will be very patriotic," that the "Croix de Feu is getting a great number of new recruits," and that "he was quite impressed with the type of men." He felt sure that "the country could not be in better hands," and that "if the crucial test ever comes . . . these men will be the bulwark upon which France will count."⁹

When in the same year (1934) Soviet Russia was admitted into the League of Nations, the American dinosaurs plotted their Fascist march to Washington. The Croix de Feu promoted Fascist disorder throughout France, which culminated in the Paris riots during various unsuccessful attempts to take over France, Mussolini and Hitler fashion.

But an army without equipment, particularly when an army of storm-troopers, could not easily cut its way across the country and towards its capital. Big Business philanthropy had to provide guns and bullets. Philanthropy came forward with the offer of rifles, bullets, and all other necessary equipment, in the shape of a big concern of the armaments industry—namely, Remington Arms—"on credit through the Du Ponts."¹⁰

The great Fascist plot misfired, owing principally to the disclosure of a Quaker, who, remembering the high principles of his own religious belief, refused to attempt the overthrow of American democracy. His name: General Smedley D. Butler, the American Fuehrer-designate himself.

Here was a disclosure to shake America from coast to coast. Yet not only was there no quake, there was not even a tremor. The American Press, claiming to be the freest Press in the world, killed the news with one of the most reprehensible and sinister conspiracies of silence in the history of American journalism. Apart from a handful of magazines, including the dinosaur-owned *Time*, which ridiculed the whole disclosure as a fantasy, there was nearly a total boycott. Only two newspapers in the whole of America dared to publish the findings, the *Philadelphia Record* and the *New York Post*, as well as two Camden papers. The report as published by them read as follows:

\$3,000,000 BID FOR FASCIST ARMY BARED

by PAUL COMLY FRENCH

(Copyright: November 20, 1934)

Major-General Smedley D. Butler revealed today he has been asked by a group of wealthy New York brokers to lead a Fascist movement to set up a dictatorship in the United States.

General Butler, ranking major-general of the Marine Corps up to his retirement three years ago, told his story today at a secret session of the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities.

Before he appeared before the committee, General Butler gave the [correspondent] a detailed account of the offer made to him.

"Of course I told the leaders of this Fascist movement that I wasn't interested in Fascism or in any other ism," Butler said with characteristic vigour, "and that I wouldn't consider any such proposition.

"The whole affair smacked of treason to me."

He said he was approached by Gerald G. MacGuire, who is connected with the firm of Grayson M. P. Murphy & Co., 52 Broadway, and asked to organize 500,000 veterans into a Fascist army.

"Shortly after MacGuire first came to see me," General Butler continued, "he arranged for Robert Sterling Clark, a New York broker, to come to my home at Newtown Square, Pa., to see me."

Clark, who maintains offices at 11 Wall Street, is reported to be worth more than \$50,000,000.

General Butler outlined the details of the plan. He said MacGuire assured him "they have \$3,000,000 'on the line' to start the organization. . . .

"The upshot of his proposition was that I was to head a soldier organization . . . in Washington [to] take over the functions of government. . . . MacGuire explained to me that they had two other candidates for the position of 'man on the white horse.' He said that if I did not accept, an offer would be made to General Douglas MacArthur, chief of staff of the United States Army, whose term of office expires November 22, and that the third choice would be Hanford MacNider, former commander of the *American Legion*."

Here the disclosure was dressed in journalistic jargon. Yet it should be remembered that it was not journalistic sensationalism. Substantially it was the sober, matter-of-fact findings of an official committee set up by the United States Government itself. Hence, it should have been taken in dead seriousness by the whole of America.

This was not all. The very names of those who were behind it were suppressed, not only by the American Press, but by the committees themselves—the McCormack-Dickstein Committee and its successors: the Dies Committee, the Wood-

Rankin Committee, and the Thomas-Rankin Committee. The power of the dinosaurs was overwhelming, not only in the Press, but also in certain governmental departments. This could not be otherwise, as the people compromised implicated some of the most powerful financial and industrial trusts in the United States—the Remington Arms; the Du Ponts (perhaps the most powerful financial unit in the whole of America); the Morgan bankers, among whom there loomed prominent John W. Davis, attorney for the House of Morgan—in short, the giants of Wall Street.

Although the crudest part of the plan was never carried out, the preparatory measures meant to screen its initial activities by imbuing them with enough water-melon patriotism sufficient to form a hard core of morons and nationalistic schizophrenics took concrete form with the Liberty League.

The American people at large never realized the full significance of its appearance. The word "Liberty" was the best blind the plotters could devise. But that the Liberty League was nothing but an organization meant to deprive the American masses of their liberty, having been promoted by those who had planned to overthrow the American Constitution, was confirmed by General Butler, under oath, during his official testimony.

One of the agents plotting the Fascist coup while the negotiations for the formation of the army of storm-troopers were proceeding promised the General that the organization which eventually would lead to the seizure of the American Government would be announced in two or three weeks, and General Butler declared, "in about two weeks the American Liberty League appeared, which was just about what he described to me." 11

North American Imperialism had become undisguised North American Fascism. The Big Business-men, oil and copper magnates, who had tried to saddle a Catholic President on the White House, to wage a predatory war upon Bolshevik Mexico, and, above all, to restrict by degrees the civil liberties of the American people, had now tried another no-less-bold plan: the direct seizure of power by force, Mussolini- and Franco-fashion—the Liberty League and cognate organizations being but

preparatory stepping-stones upon which eventually they hoped to erect an American Fascist dictatorship.¹²

The attempt of American Big Business to set up Fascism in the U.S.A. had been crude, naïve, and amateurish. It was bound to fail before it was even started. Even as a successful *coup d'état*, ultimately it would have done more harm than good to its promoters. As a social revolution it had not the ghost of a chance.

The attempt was closely watched by the Vatican, which had participated only remotely in the persons of several prominent Catholics, including Alfred Smith. Yet, while closely watching the totalitarian gambolling of Big Business, the Vatican, aware that to make successful revolutions the minds and emotions of men must first be softened, had unobtrusively launched a less spectacular but more efficient plan for the Fascistization of America. It would have taken years, it is true; but, all being well, the plan might succeed where Big Business had failed.

The prominent Catholic laymen openly associated with the big industrial dinosaurs were relegated to the background, and the mass-rouser charged with the task of poisoning the American people with the virus of Fascism was sent forward. From this time onward the Catholic Church, while still continuing to work with the big bankers behind the scenes, with the objective of overthrowing American democracy from the top, simultaneously launched a campaign of her own, to help its overthrow from the bottom. And another most sinister figure, this time in clerical robes, appeared in the infamous gallery of those Americans who were determined on depriving the American people of their freedom: Father Coughlin.

Father Coughlin was neither a freak Fascist product who flourished accidentally on alien soil nor a solitary megalomaniac of a politicizing priest. He was the product of Catholic Fascism and American reaction, put forward to the American people, in American wrapping, the better to sell Fascism, American version, to America.

Father Coughlin openly attacked Liberalism, Democracy, Negroes, Jews—anything and anybody who was not of the

extreme Right, who was not Catholic or a supporter of the Catholic Church and her friends. He praised, recommended, and sponsored Fascism. Indeed, he advocated an authoritarian Fascist United States of America.

The Catholic Church, being a master in the art of chicanery, naturally did not officially sponsor these plans. It continued to woo democracy, to pay lip-service to the democratic principles so dear to the American masses. Indeed, when Father Coughlin went too far she even rebuked and disowned him. The Catholic Church, in short, tried to impress upon the Americans that what Father Coughlin said was Father Coughlin's personal opinion, and that a Catholic priest is entitled to have his own political opinions.

Those who knew, however—e.g. the American hierarchy—were aware that it was not so. This owing to various reasons. First of all, Father Coughlin could not go against the policy of the Vatican; secondly, the top American hierarchy was secretly and some members of it even openly semi-Fascist—e.g. Cardinal Hayes of New York, who had been decorated four times by Mussolini, and Cardinal O'Connell, who piously proclaimed that the founder of Fascism was "a genius given to Italy by God." Thirdly, if the Vatican or even the American hierarchy had truly wished to stop Coughlin, they could have done that simply by invoking Canon Law. Canon Law states that "any priest who writes articles in daily papers or periodicals (or broadcasts) without permission of his own bishop contravenes Canon 1386 of the Code of Canon Law." Canon 1386 was invoked hundreds of times to silence priests sympathizing with Socialism before, during, and after the Second World War.

That Coughlin had the support of the Vatican itself was further proved when, in 1936, his own bishop, Bishop Gallagher, went to Rome to discuss Coughlin's Fascist activities. After having discussed it with Pius XI, Bishop Gallagher had no doubt that Coughlin's political work was approved by the Pope himself. On his return, having been asked whether the Vatican was or was not critical of Coughlin's Fascism, Bishop Gallagher gave an unmistakable reply. "Father Coughlin," he said, "is an outstanding priest . . . his voice . . . is the voice of God."

The Vatican, although still very cautious, knowing the mighty forces upon which it could rely and which were supporting its campaign, had deemed itself strong enough to fly the kite of authoritarianism, to see how high it would rise.

Using Coughlin as its "unofficial" mouthpiece, once it took over from the plotters who had planned to seize Washington, it initiated a subtle and relentless campaign to rally Catholics and non-Catholics alike to the standard of Fascist authoritarianism, American version. Using the Press and the radio, Coughlin began to instil Fascist poison into the thousands of readers of his paper, *Social Justice*, and into the ears of the millions of listeners to his broadcasts. Coughlin however, besides preaching, when the moment was judged opportune, acted. His tactics were not exactly like those used by his European counterparts. He was too clever to forget that the country he wanted to Fascistize was the U.S.A. Nevertheless they were typically Fascist and bore a striking resemblance to those adopted by his Italian and German counterparts.

His task was made easier for him because he was not alone. Various independent Fascist movements, sponsored and financed by the same forces were have already met, had appeared and were appearing from coast to coast. These not only preached Fascism; some of them—to mention only two, the Columbians and the Khaki Shirts of America—actually wore Fascist uniforms. In addition to these, various semi-Fascist organizations were simultaneously softening the American public to the ideas of Fascism. For instance, the National Security League, the direct ancestor of the American Liberty League, which received large sums from the drummer-boy Hearst to propagate Fascism, particularly during the Spanish Civil War. Many of its members were Fascists, two of them openly so. The Lobbying Investigations made public letters exchanged by the Boston investment banker, A. Lincoln, and one W. C. Runyon, of Plainfield, N.J., in which Fascist permeation was frankly planned and Roosevelt was accused of bringing "the Jewish brigade" to Washington—a fact which, had America been Fascist, would never have occurred—the President's "New Deal is Communist." How could such an American Lenin and his Communist scheme be overthrown? Simply by installing an American Hitler. "The

old line Americans of \$1,200 a year want a Hitler," they said.

These groups and organizations were in close association with Father Coughlin, who, like them and the big corporations, was battering Roosevelt's New Deal with all his might as being a Bolshevik programme. Only Fascism could get rid of the menace, was their slogan. "The brood of anti-New Deal organizations spawned by the Liberty League are in turn spawning Fascism," wrote the *New York Post* (April 18, 1936).

Father Coughlin in no time became the leader of all such diverse American Fascist rivulets, and soon he began their amalgamation into a mighty Fascist river, whose violence, once channelled and properly directed, it was planned, would one day burst open the dam of American democracy and scatter it to the four winds.

The main hatred of the Catholic Church, whether in Europe or in America, has always been, and still is, against democracy. American Jesuits have never made any serious attempt to conceal it. "How we Catholics have loathed and despised this . . . civilization, which is now called democracy," wrote *America*, their official organ. "Today American Catholics are being asked to shed their blood for that particular kind of secularist civilization which they have heroically repudiated for four centuries." ¹³

Coughlin, following words with deeds, began to organize his forces. By skilful manœuvring he managed to secure a majority control (eighty per cent) of "America First," an organization formed mainly by super-nationalist elements and business magnates. Father Coughlin and the leaders of this movement had already made plans to transform America First into a mighty political party by amalgamation of its members with the millions of his radio followers. In imitation of European Fascism, he and his followers went so far at this early stage as to organize a kind of private army, which was screened behind the formation of the "Christian Front." It was to have been the herald of Coughlin's "Christian Revolution."

How was Father Coughlin's Christian Revolution to be brought about? Not only by the relentless poisoning of the minds of the American masses, but also—if President Roosevelt, that most abominable American Lenin, had not been overthrown soon—"Franco's way," declared Coughlin.

“Rest assured we will fight you, Franco’s way,” was his plan—that is to say, by the promotion of civil war.¹⁴

Coughlin went further. He was so certain that with the backing of his millions of Catholic and non-Catholic sympathizers, the money of Big Business, and the vast machinery of the Catholic hierarchy of America he would eventually succeed in doing what the plotters of 1934 had not been able to do, that he confidently predicted he would be in power within the next decade:—

We predict that . . . the National Socialists of America, organized under that or some other name, eventually will take control of the Government on this continent. . . . We predict, lastly, the end of Democracy in America. [Father Coughlin, in *Social Justice* (September 1, 1939).]

Could there have been a more outspoken indication of what Father Coughlin and his Catholic and non-Catholic associates would do if they had the opportunity to develop their plan? And what would that have meant if the situation had turned in their favour? Simply an American version of European Fascism.

Coughlin took concrete steps to install a Fascist dictatorship in the U.S.A. He began to organize a Catholic Fascist Army, not in the sudden, obvious, and crude way planned by the Fascist plotters of 1934, but in a more subtle fashion, gradually, methodically, and without raising suspicions. This was to be done by forming small para-military groups, screened under sports or religious clubs, seemingly autonomous but in reality part of a great whole, ready at short notice to be co-ordinated into a mighty single, nation-wide striking force.

Following this scheme, sports clubs were set up in many parts of the U.S.A. Unsuspecting American citizens, however, soon noticed that these clubs had something peculiar about them: they bore resemblances to quasi-military movements, and military drilling was one of their regular practices. The nature of the movement made the American Government suspicious. *Social Justice*, Father Coughlin’s Fascist paper, was banned as “seditious”; the sporting clubs of the Christian Front were raided and closed down by the police.¹⁵

But the Catholic-Fascist leadership, the subtle Catholic

tactics, had within a few years rallied behind Father Coughlin a popular following of 15,000,000 Americans.¹⁶

The groundwork for the launching of a full-blooded Fascism in North America had been successfully done. With the blessing of the Vatican, the money of the big dinosaurs, and the support of a great proportion of the American masses there was now initiated the second phase: the scaling to power as soon as the time was judged favourable. When would such a moment come? The American Jesuits, the brains of the American hierarchy, did not hesitate to give a hint:

The Christian revolution will begin when we decide to cut loose from the existing social order, rather than be buried with it.¹⁷

At the Vatican, however, the slyest of the Pope's diplomats had decided upon another course. And Father Coughlin, although unhampered in his campaign, was in his turn silently discarded for an even cleverer design: the conquest of the President of the United States of America.

8

THE VATICAN, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

THE RISE OF F. D. ROOSEVELT IN THE political firmament of America had spelt, not the appearance of a new President, but the opening of a new political era.

The great American corporations, the Catholic Church, and all their allies, at the conclusion of his first term had no longer any doubts about it. Roosevelt's promise that he had come "to drive the money-changers out of the temple" had not been a mere figure of speech. It had become his sharp-edged policy.

Owing to this, the great dinosaurs began to look to the forthcoming Presidential election of 1936 with a rising mixture of hope and fear. To increase the former and dispel the latter they laid down a typical dinosaurian plan. They shed tears over the fact that the "American system" was "threatened" if Roosevelt remained another term at the White House; thereupon they "agreed to put their shoulders to the wheel" in a mighty effort to pull the dinosaurian chariot into the White House. And once more they managed to convince themselves that a generous snowfall of dollars would induce the American electorate to elect their own candidate.

The Republican National Committee called a meeting, and

sixteen dinosaurian knights were charged with the task of collecting the millions to defeat Roosevelt.¹ The knights, all wearing the badges of either the Standard Oil Company of New York, the Sun Oil Company, the National Steel, the American Cyanamide, the Ryerson Steel and Iron Company of Chicago, or other such centres of industrial chivalry, blew their trumpets by mobilizing the Press, which was mainly controlled by them; and, telling the American masses what their chairman had already said—namely, that they meant to fight Roosevelt, “realizing that the American system is threatened, and that the future of the country is menaced,” and that it was truly because of this that they wanted to oust the American Lenin.²

The knights began their wanderings in a mighty effort to mobilize, not only the American millionaires, but also the American Fascists. It was thus that, also in 1936, there was put forward the first of a series of organizations which appealed to the American public for support. One of these—the “American Liberty League,” thoroughly riddled with Fascist bacilli and a solid lack of humour. The League raised a huge fund and beat the drum of super-nationalism to keep F. D. Roosevelt out of the White House.

The coffers of the Republican Party, Liberty Leagues, and other super-patriotic organizations were all filled by the big dinosaurs. Among the largest contributors for January and February, 1936, to the Republican National Committee and the Liberty League there were the most brilliant dinosaurian names: Morgan; Lamont Du Pont; A. P. Sloan, Jr., President of General Motors; W. L. Mellon, director of thirty-two companies; H. S. Vanderbilt, director of over thirty railway companies.

The Republican Committee's report for June, 1936, shows how the Rockefellers and the Mellons helped to raise a fund of almost half a million dollars; this while the Sentinels of the Republic, a Fascist subsidiary of the Liberty League also financed by them, was openly clarioning for a Hitler in America.³

While the great American corporations were building up a colossal campaign inoculated with dollars and Fascism to defeat Roosevelt, the Vatican had reached the gloomy con-

clusion that Roosevelt had come to stay. The Vatican is a political centre with few illusions. It faces unpleasant situations squarely in the face and acts upon them with a concreteness, cynicism, and matter-of-fact manner to shock the most obdurate Foreign Office in the world.

It was thus that in 1936, the election year, the Vatican reorientated its strategy and approached Roosevelt. 1936 had been preceded by remarkable events, during which world Fascism had continued its path of aggression. In 1935 Japan attacked Northern China in another bid to extend her new order in Asia; Fascist Italy had attacked Abyssinia in a bid to extend her Empire in Africa; and Hitler, having introduced conscription, had scored his first resounding internal-external triumph with the reincorporation of the Saar into Nazi Germany. The year 1936 saw the birth of the Fascist African Empire, born amid the execrations of the whole world, but with the blessing of the Vatican and the American dinosaurs.

"Today a new Italian Empire faces the future, and assumes its responsibilities as the guardian of a backward people of ten million souls," declared an American steel magnate, Myron Taylor, the future American envoy to the Vatican.

In Catholic Spain a Catholic officer, General Franco, helped both by the Vatican and by Mussolini, tried to overthrow the legitimate Republican Government, and the Spanish Civil War began.

Hitler, in blatant defiance of diplomatic Europe, occupied the Rhineland. Belgium announced her return to a policy of neutrality. The Little Entente and France's security alliances began to disintegrate. Nazi Germany and Japan formed a ring of steel round Soviet Russia, embracing east and west, and signed the Anti-Comintern Pact.

The Vatican had participated, either directly or by remote control, in all these events. Emboldened by them, and by the further knowledge that the Fascistization of the world would continue its acceleration, in intimate contact with North American Fascist circles and the big American combines, it approached the White House, Vatican fashion—that is to say, equipped with genuine *quid pro quos* and a bagful of a mixture of true bargaining offers and religious and political blackmail.

The main outline of the Vatican's new American strategy can be summarized as follows :

1. By reaching an understanding with the political powers of the U.S.A., in addition to the economic powers, the Vatican hoped to consolidate Catholicism within the U.S.A. Simultaneously, by co-ordinating American Catholicism it could "operate" even more efficiently its million Catholics in political and social problems, particularly in the Presidential elections, put pressure on the Administration, and in fact blackmail the U.S.A. Government, or any potential President, with the "Catholic vote."
2. The Vatican hoped to link North and South American Catholicism, and, by offering to lead Latin America in line with the U.S.A.'s new hemispheric policy, use it as a mighty counter-bargain in its political dealings with the U.S.A.
3. The formation of a mighty North-South American *bloc*, the general policy of which should be war against any dangerous revolutionary ideology. The hemispheric *bloc* to run parallel, in fundamental issues, with the policy of the Vatican in the Americas, in Europe, and in Asia.

These were not vagaries. They were concrete, well-calculated political schemes. Roosevelt's domestic and external policies were well suited to further such designs. One of Roosevelt's pet ideas was the creation of a compact Pan-American *bloc*, comprising the North, Central, and South American peoples. This had been the idea since the first Pan-American Congress was called, way back in 1826, by Bolivar himself. The deeds of North American Imperialism, however, had taken the soul out of every Pan-American Congress held since then.

Roosevelt decided on a *rapprochement* of the North and Latin Americas, and his "Good Neighbour" policy was initiated. The Vatican, which had watched Roosevelt's attempts with interest, having its own plan for a hemispheric unification, approached Roosevelt with an offer. The Vatican

would help to make his Good Neighbour policy a success by using its influence in Latin America, provided the United States helped to make the whole Western Hemisphere impregnable to Bolshevism and also helped in the diplomatic encirclement of Soviet Russia by, for instance, co-operating with the anti-Communist policies of Nazi Germany and Japan.

It was thus that on October 1, 1936, the *New York Times* printed the following cable from Rome :

Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, left for the United States to enlist the support of President Roosevelt and the United States Government for the anti-Communist campaign the Pope has been waging for some time. . . .

The Holy See regards the spread of the Communist doctrine as the gravest and most threatening danger hanging over the world and is anxious to awaken all countries to a realization of this threat. A sympathetic attitude by the United States Government towards the Holy See's efforts in this direction would be considered most valuable by the Vatican.

A most sly move was the choice of the moment of the visit, which was made to coincide with the Presidential elections. And Roosevelt, knowing what the Catholic vote meant, was not permitted to forget that, had the Catholic Church in the U.S.A. turned against him, his chances of re-election would have become very precarious indeed.

Cardinal Pacelli arrived in New York on October 9, 1936, and after spending some weeks on the eastern coast he made a whirlwind tour of the Middle and the West, visiting Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles. He returned to New York on November 1, after Roosevelt was re-elected. The Catholic vote had been cast for him. On November 6 Cardinal Pacelli had lunch with the newly elected President at Hyde Park.

Roosevelt, although not seeing wholly eye to eye with the Vatican in its support of certain forms of Right-Wing totalitarianism, struck a bargain with Pacelli, with a view chiefly to obtaining Vatican co-operation in persuading Latin America to favour his Good Neighbour policy. This was thoroughly discussed, and the two men finally reached complete accord on various important issues.

First a broad understanding was reached that the Vatican should co-operate with the U.S.A. in establishing a great

continental *bloc*, composed of all the Americas, while the U.S.A. should pursue a policy in harmony with the anti-Red plan of the Vatican. Pacelli wanted to enlist the U.S.A. in an official alliance with Nazi Germany and Japan, directed against Soviet Russia. But Roosevelt, considering he had already promised enough in this field, refused to sign the Anti-Comintern Pact. In spite of this, several points of more immediate interest were settled—namely, that the American Catholics would support Roosevelt by voting for him; that the Catholic hierarchy would continue to support the Roosevelt administration and that Catholics in general would support his New Deal; that, in return, Roosevelt would see that the Spanish Republic should be deprived of necessary armaments (as, in fact, it was),⁴ and, further, that the U.S.A. would do everything possible to re-establish diplomatic relations with Rome. These agreements both partners duly honoured in the years which followed.

At the end of the same year (1936) an inter-American Conference for the maintenance of peace was held in the capital of the leading Latin-American country, Argentina. President Roosevelt himself attended the conference and initiated a new phase of his country's relations with South America. The aim of the conference, in the words of Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, was not only to maintain peace and "to make possible common action in the event that peace might be threatened," but, significantly enough, also "to prevent the rising tide of anarchy from invading this hemisphere."

What the visit of the Papal Secretary of State at election time meant to the American hierarchy, with its vast network and alliances, it is not difficult to imagine.

From then onward the *tempo* of the prevention "of the rising tide of anarchy" became swifter. In Asia Japan continued to swallow more and more Chinese territory. In Europe the gradual exhaustion of the Spanish Republic had finally doomed it to failure. European ethnic groups or whole countries began to disappear, swallowed by Nazi Germany—Austria, the Sudetenlands, Czechoslovakia—until in 1939 Hitler attacked Poland, and the Second World War broke out.

In that same year, on March 2, Pacelli, the arch-diplomat, with an impressive diplomatic record behind him—directed

chiefly at promoting war against Communism and Russia, and at supporting an aggressive Germany, whether the Germany of the Kaiser or that of Hitler—became Pope Pius XII.

In next to no time the new Pope, with all the arrogant ubiquitousness of the Papal authority at his complete disposal, turned into the most skilfully successful political-minded diplomat at the Vatican. Roosevelt discovered this sooner than he had expected. At home, in the virulence of Isolationism, supported by native Catholic and dinosaurian Fascism; in the Western Hemisphere, by the strengthening of the links of Latin-American authoritarian governments with Italy and Germany; in the foreign field, by the policy of the Vatican directed at helping indirectly the Axis powers.

The most striking instances of the latter were the case of the island of Timor, when the Vatican prevented Portugal from entering the War on the side of the Allies; the flat refusal which Roosevelt received from Pius XII when the President asked him for a declaration that the war against Nazism was a just war; thus proving that the support of an aggressive Germany by Pacelli the Cardinal was still the policy of Pacelli the Pope; and the Vatican's remorseless series of attempts to sabotage all the efforts made by Roosevelt to reach some kind of *modus vivendi* with Europe at large and, indeed, with the Vatican itself.

Before Roosevelt had realized the full extent of the toughness of Vatican duplicity the Vatican had already scored a resounding diplomatic success, at the expense of the American Constitution, with the establishment of American-Vatican "unofficial" diplomatic relations.

Roosevelt was too much of a politician not to exploit them to the full, both for domestic and for external purposes. Yet they proved to be a major triumph of Vatican long-range strategy initiated since 1936.

Their establishment was justified on the ground, among other things, that they gave America a good listening-post at the Vatican. The contrary was the case. They gave the Vatican a paramount listening-post in Washington. And more than that. They gave the Vatican a more powerful pressure instrument to induce malleability upon Roosevelt than that at

the disposal of any other pressure group, including the big dinosaurs themselves.

The establishment of American-Vatican diplomatic relations occurred in three separate stages after 1936, as the war clouds gathered menacingly on the horizon. First, semi-official news was reported in June, 1939, by the *New York Times*, to the effect that "steps to big relations between the Holy See and the U.S. on normal diplomatic footing are expected to be taken soon by Pius XII."⁵ In July-August Cardinal Gasparri arrived in New York to prepare "the juridical status for the possible opening of diplomatic relations between the State Department and the Holy See."⁶ In December, 1939, the U.S. established diplomatic relations with the Vatican. These were not "regular" in the official sense of the word. They were highly "irregular" on both sides, although *de facto* conventionally normal.

The greatest obstacle to their establishment was that Roosevelt could not send a regular ambassador to the Vatican, and the Vatican could not send a nuncio to Washington, without the approval of Congress. However, a compromise was soon accepted by both parties. Congress was overstepped, and the U.S.A. sent its officially unofficial ambassador to the Pope. The ambassador went to Rome as the personal representative of the President. The subterfuge was carried out without any serious stir in Protestant U.S.A., which had officially ignored the Vatican since 1867.

But more significant even than the establishment of diplomatic relations at this stage was the choice of the new ambassador. The choice was a masterpiece of Rooseveltian political acumen and of the Vatican's consummate bargaining—or, rather, diplomatic blackmailing—genius. The man had to be not only the personal representative of the President, but also the representative of the forces opposing the President at home and in his foreign policy abroad; he had to be *persona grata* at the Vatican and, even more than that, he had to be an ally of the Vatican, in order to further, not so much the policy of Roosevelt or that of the U.S.A., as that of the Vatican itself, via the furtherance of the Vatican's allies in America—namely,

the political enemies of Roosevelt, the anti-New Dealers, the friends of Fascism in the U.S.A. and in Europe, i.e. American Big Business.

Roosevelt, to serve his own purpose—to swing the Catholic vote at his coming re-election—and to humour the opposition, chose the miracle man, Myron Taylor. Myron Taylor was not only an ordinary official of the White House and a distinguished citizen. He was more than that. He was one of the leaders of American industry, a steel magnate, a millionaire, and a big dinosaur. Supporting these most solid qualifications were lesser, but nevertheless important, attributes—he was a High Episcopalian, an intimate friend of Roosevelt and of Pius XII, and a vocal admirer of Fascism: “The whole world has been forced to admire the successes of Mussolini in disciplining the nation,” was one of his praises of the Fascist regime (November 5, 1936). He was thus accepted by Protestants, Catholics, the White House, the Vatican, and Mussolini.

Myron Taylor, therefore, spoke with the voice of Roosevelt and of Big Business at the Vatican; and he spoke with the voice of the Vatican and of its associates with whom it had formulated a domestic and international scheme at the White House. In short, he became the ambassador of three great Powers: of the United States, represented by Roosevelt and his administration; of the Catholic Church, represented by the Vatican; and of the North American supporters of native and foreign Fascism, represented by the American dinosaurs.

Since the outbreak of the Second World War the Vatican's main strategy had become to support the march of Fascism via neutrality on a grand scale. The greatest help one friend can give another is to immobilize a potential enemy so that the former is certain of victory owing to the weakness of his opponents. In this case, the greatest service the Vatican could render to Hitler was to immobilize his greatest potential enemy outside Soviet Russia: the United States.

This, of course, was against the policy of Roosevelt, who, ever since the first war clouds had begun to gather menacingly on the horizon, had made it clear on which side his sympathy lay. Indeed, with the approaching outbreak of the War, Roosevelt set in motion a cautious but steady policy meant to

give direct and indirect aid to the Allies—that is to say, aid to the enemies of the Fascist Dictators.

This went solidly against the policy, not of the American people, the greatest bulk of which was behind its President, but of the big dinosaurs and of the Vatican.

The alliance—or, rather, the amalgamation—of the North American dinosaurian and Catholic forces, directed at preventing Roosevelt from carrying out his policy, soon assumed formidable proportions and took the shape of the most colossal Isolationism ever to grow in American soil. Isolationism, like the Vatican, wanted not so much to keep America out of the War as to let Hitler conquer Europe, to enable him to build a formidable Fascist weapon with which eventually to attack Soviet Russia.

As, during the First World War, the European people spilt their blood to make the world safe for democracy, during the Second World War American Big Business and the Catholic Church spilt their millions and their blessings to make Europe and the world safe for Fascism.

Before and after the outbreak of the War a most colossal campaign was initiated simultaneously by the American hierarchy, the Vatican, and Big Business. We have already seen, in Chapter 12, the length to which Big Business and Catholicism tried to embarrass Roosevelt's policy of helping the Allies. American Catholicism, led by Father Coughlin, became ever more virulent in its Isolationism—in this case, in its determination to help Hitler at all costs—so that in this it beat even Roosevelt's bitterest enemies.

Perhaps nothing is greater proof of the rottenness of the Empire system, than that one single unified clean-living people, fired by an ideal to liberate the world once and for all from an oriental gold-debt slave system, can march tireless over nations after nations and bring two great empires to their knees,

wrote Father Coughlin, referring to Nazi Germany. This kind of task was not only confined to the Coughlinites; it was part and parcel of the leading American Catholics, the Jesuits.

Is it the fixed purpose of the President to bring this country into an undeclared war against Germany and Italy?

wrote the official Jesuit magazine, *America*, July 19, 1940.

As the Archbishop of Cincinnati has said, we have no moral justification for making war against nations. . . . It is not part of our duty to prepare armaments to be used in England's aid.

Father Coughlin was no less clear about Protestant England: "Great Britain is doomed and should be doomed," he said; but, unlike the Archbishop and *America*, Coughlin wanted the United States to rearm, and fast. "We should build armaments for the purpose of crushing Soviet Russia," he preached. In partnership with whom? Using Father Coughlin's words: "In co-operation with the Christian Totalitarian States, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal." 7

This, in a nutshell, became the main purpose of American Catholic Isolationism during the first year of the War.

In 1940 Hitler launched his full-scale offensive against the Democracies. Nazi Germany occupied Norway, Denmark, Belgium, and Holland. France was routed. Fascist Italy attacked Greece. Hungary, Rumania, and Slovakia joined Hitler. The Fascistization of Europe became a reality. It must not be endangered by anyone, least of all by Roosevelt. The Catholic Big Business Isolationist campaign redoubled its vigour, and the American hierarchy itself now came out with the slogan: "Leave Europe to God."

The most secure way of leaving Europe to God, of course, was not only to mobilize America towards Isolationism, but also to oust Roosevelt from the White House. The year 1940 was a year of elections. The Catholic hierarchy and the dinosaurs prepared to unseat Roosevelt with all the moral and moneyed resources in their power, and soon one of the largest lush funds to date was raised by the American dinosaurs. The familiar names once more were prominent in the monetary help given against Roosevelt. To quote only a few: the Sloane family contributed 36,000 dollars, the Queeny family 42,000, the Rockefeller family 59,000, the Pew family 108,525, the Du Pont family 186,780—these figures being given by Congressman Chet Holifield, of California, to Congress. Senator Gillette told the Senate that the official figure of money collected by the big dinosaurs to unseat Roosevelt and to replace him by one of their creatures, Wendell Willkie, was 16,476,039 dollars. It was actually 18,000,000 dollars.

That was not all, however. Experts for the Campaign

Expenditure Committee estimated "that a total of 35,000,000 to 40,000,000 dollars was spent to put in the White House a President who would prevent the mobilization of America against the conquering Hitler." Those who worked for the defeat of Roosevelt were not only within the U.S.A., however. The German Nazis themselves came indirectly to help the big American anti-New Dealers. The Nazis, in fact, attempted nothing less than to inflame the election of 1940, on an even bigger scale than they did in that of 1936. Witness the Goering-Davis-Lewis scheme to defeat Roosevelt in 1940⁸.

And who would help the big dinosaurs to crush democracy in the United States itself? "When democracy goes on the march, it marches on a road that leads through chaos and disasters," said one of the big dinosaurs at this time, Joe Pew, of Pennsylvania. "If we follow that road to its bitter end, we will find ourselves defeated." The Pews, a typical dinosaurian family, financed anti-New Dealers, semi-Fascist and openly Fascist American organizations—e.g. Gannet's Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government (extreme Isolationist); the anti-Semitic Sentinels of the Republic; the Crusaders, one of whose leaders was the father of "America First." Within one single decade the Pew family alone had poured 13,000,000 dollars into reactionary Republican political funds. (See Report of the National Citizen's Political Committee, 1944.)

Referring to the money sunk in the 1940 elections, Senator Gillette, head of the investigation, did not hesitate to declare that never before in American history had such a colossal sum been spent. Here are his words: "While there have probably been irregularities, frauds, violations, and abuses in all elections of the past, I believe that I do not exaggerate when I say that never before in American history have we seen a more patent, potent, and potential attempt to influence the American electorate, through the expenditure of huge sums of money, than in the campaign that has just closed."⁹

The American people replied by defeating Willkie and re-electing Roosevelt for a third term.

The disappointment of the Isolationists knew no bounds. The anti-intervention campaign of the Catholic Church and

of super-Isolationism was put at full pressure once more. The Catholic hierarchy's slogan, "Leave Europe to God," from then on was superseded by the key slogan, "War upon Russia!"

In the following year, 1941, a most formidable campaign was initiated. Soviet Russia should be destroyed, the Catholics began to say. And who could do that if not Hitler? In which case, was not Hitler the U.S.A.'s best friend? Then why not help Hitler, the defender of America? The shifting of the emphasis from complete non-interference in Europe to direct attack against Russia surprised not a few people. But such people were not at the Vatican. For in the spring of 1941 the Vatican had been secretly notified of a coming most important event—indeed, in the eyes of the Catholic Church, the most important event since the end of the First World War. And the directives for the American hierarchy's new campaign against Russia had been formulated precisely on this secret news.

On June 22, 1941, the reason for the American hierarchy's sudden campaign became crystal clear. Hitler had invaded Soviet Russia.

Within a few months the Nazi legions were at the gates of Moscow, soon followed by Catholic volunteers from all over Europe, from the U.S.A., and from South America. Catholic hierarchies hailed the attack; Catholics prayed for a speedy victory; the Institute Pro-Russia in Rome was made ready for the task of converting a defeated Russia. The Vatican bustled with activity.

Catholics all over the American continent, and above all in the U.S.A., were overjoyed by the news of this attack and were firmly opposed to any voice which was raised or any move made to help the Allies. When Roosevelt continued to manœuvre in order to help England (and thus Soviet Russia), Catholics to the man turned against him; indeed, they went so far that some of their spokesmen (such as Mgr. Duffy, of Buffalo) declared that if the United States should ever become an ally of Soviet Russia they would publicly ask Catholic soldiers to refuse to fight.

In the U.S.A. this sort of isolationism was silenced by Pearl Harbour in December, 1941, but in Latin America it persisted

almost throughout the War. This notwithstanding the fact that the attack on the U.S.A. was followed by a spontaneous manifestation of continental solidarity and that within a comparatively short period nine republics had declared war on Japan. By May, 1942, ten republics, among whom were the five Central American countries of Panama, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico, had declared war on the Axis, while the others, with the exceptions of Argentina and Chile, had severed relations with the aggressor Powers.

For a time the friendship between America and the Vatican became very strained, the latter feeling profoundly displeased that the U.S.A. should have employed its influence in persuading so many Latin-American countries to side with the Allies. Such a move was diametrically opposed to the grand policy the Church was then pursuing in Europe.

While the Vatican was continuing its diplomatic war against the Western Democracies, outwardly keeping a semblance of neutrality, and the energies of the United States were promptly geared to war, not only against Japan, but—and this hurt the Vatican most—also against Germany and Italy, the big dinosaurs, although falling into line with the Government, continued their fight against Roosevelt, the Allies, and Russia. The profits to be squeezed from manufacturing armaments were going to be enormous, so they had to produce as much as they could. But, while squeezing millions from the coffers of the country, they could also continue to wage their private war against the native and foreign enemies.

Pearl Harbour had put an abrupt end to their efforts to make the American people Isolationists. As this was no longer possible, another campaign, even more dangerous because conducted behind the backs of the American people, was initiated. This had as its objective the slowing down—indeed, the sabotage—as far as was possible without hampering their accumulation of enormous profits, of the war effort of the United States, American help to her allies in Europe, and, above all, American help to the arch-enemy which a perverted destiny had thrown on her side—Soviet Russia.

This new campaign became apparent in various forms. With, for instance, "sit down" strikes of the great industrial corporations, as when they refused to go into production

for the defence programme of 1939, and even after the United States had actually entered the War—namely, during the first war-time programme of 1941-2. This, it should be noted, was not done by American Big Business alone; the French big industries before them had initiated a colossal silent industrial sabotage since 1939 for the same reason—that they did not want to destroy Hitler, whom they regarded as the only last rock against Red Russia.

With secret cartel deals, which enabled the largest American corporations to supply enemy nations with material and information.

The Big Business sit-down strike of the days of the defence programme was one of the first visible manifestations of this new campaign. The American Government, in an official report, stated the following :

In the 1940 defence crisis, business displayed much the same attitude that it had shown twenty-three years earlier. . . . Profits, taxes, loans, and so forth appeared more important to business than getting guns, tanks, airplanes, motors into production. . . .

Business is apparently not unwilling to threaten the very foundation of Government in fixing the terms on which it will work.⁹

Big Business not only sabotaged the American war effort after the outbreak of the Second World War, particularly after Soviet Russia was invaded, but, as stated above, it continued even after the United States itself had entered the conflict.

In a sensational report of sabotage the Assistant Attorney-General, Mr. Thurman Arnold, had no hesitation in declaring after Pearl Harbour :

Looking back over ten months of defence effort, we can see how much it has been hampered by the attitude of powerful private groups dominating the basic industries. . . . These groups . . . talked of production facilities which did not exist. . . . There is not an organized basic industry in the United States which has not been restricting production by some device or other. . . .

The greatest sit-down strike in American history was that staged in August, 1940, by the aviation industry led by General Motors. The Government had awarded 85,000,000 dollars for 4,000 planes; the industry delivered only thirty-three by August. The sit-down strike lasted from May till October. Its objectives? The sit-down strike was used as a front for the great American Big Business, for obtaining special tax privileges.

But the big American industries were not content with stopping or slowing down production in order to blackmail the Government; physical sabotage came to the fore. For instance, by supplying defective wire; defective warplane engines; defective bullets; not to mention more subtle sabotage carried out in different industrial fields by the aluminium, steel and other corporations, the leaders of the automobile industry, the rubber barons and others.¹⁰

The steel industry, for instance, refused to expand, while the Mellon interests caused a deliberate shortage of aluminium, because they were in a cartel with the Nazis, while Standard Oil did not hesitate to plunge the United States into a rubber famine for several years—war years, it must be noted—*having suppressed the artificial rubber patents*.¹¹

This tremendous, almost undetected, sabotage by the American dinosaurs was even more helpful to Hitler than, for instance, the more spectacular deal made by American industry with the Nazi Krupps, who got “one shilling on every fuse used on the Vickers hand grenades,” or “the big deal by which certain supplies shipped to Denmark by the United States were transhipped to Germany with the connivance of the British Admiralty,” as Admiral Consett later disclosed.¹²

In 1942, after the United States had gone to war, the Du Ponts, who controlled the largest American auto firm, General Motors, along with the rest of the industry refused for a long period to manufacture tanks and airplanes.¹³ Once forced to do so, it blocked the standardization of tank engines.¹⁴

In 1941 the Du Pont Company adopted a resolution in connexion with “forestalling seizure of enemy property.” The document tells of the assignment of patents in war-time, quoting from official Du Pont contracts, adding: “Nevertheless, both parties agree to reassign all assigned patents and patent applications *at any time*.”

The Du Ponts had secret agreements with the Nazi I.G. Farben. Assistant Attorney-General Wendell Berge declared to the Kilgore Committee, September 7, 1944, that:

The I.G. Farben has had arrangements with the Du Ponts and with the British Imperial Chemical Industries for the division of the South American market.¹⁵

On January 6, 1944, the United States Government indicted the Du Ponts and Imperial Chemical Industries of Britain for forming a cartel with I.G. Farben of Germany and Mitsui of Japan. Other big firms followed suit—for instance, Standard Oil, which under cartel agreement with the German I.G. Farben, blocked commercial development of one hundred octane gasoline in the U.S. and withheld technical information from Army Air Corps; or Dow Chemical and Aluminium Corporation of America, which as a result of an arrangement with German I.G. Farben restricted the production of aluminium in the U.S.A., with the effect that in 1940, one year after the outbreak of the Second World War, while the U.S.A. produced 5,680 tons Nazi Germany produced more than 19,000 tons. In their zest to make fabulous profits, regardless of the welfare or safety of the American people, the Du Ponts did not hesitate to put poison in one of their products in order to raise the price. The Committee on Military Affairs, 1944, dealing with the Economic and Political Aspect of International Cartels, relates the whole story. It first tells how "there was a gentleman's agreement between Du Pont and I.G. Farben, by which each was to give the other first option on new processes and products," after which the gruesome story of the use of acrylic products is officially told. This plastic was being sold for general use, to commercial moulders, at eighty-five cents a pound. It was the identical stuff that was being sold to dentists at forty-five cents an ounce, and there was the danger that the latter would soon find out how they were being robbed. The Du Ponts and their associates, firm believers in the sacredness of initiative, soon solved the problem. If arsenic or some other dangerous poison could be added to the plastic sold for eighty-five cents a pound, it could no longer be employed for dentures. And so it was decided *to add one per cent of the poison.*¹⁶

Yet even this was child's play compared with the Du Ponts' promotion of a propaganda campaign, during the previous war, to persuade the belligerents to use poison gas.¹⁷

Most Americans were left in the dark, although a minority protested at such activities:

Hitler's agents have found their way into high places in our national life—Big Business, Congress, and Press [they said].

We call upon our Commander-in-Chief to . . . investigate and prosecute these enemies of our national welfare represented by the National Association of Manufacturers in big business.¹⁸

The United States Government made various inquiries into the activities of Big Business, and came to the conclusion that

Monopoly impairs democracy's ability to defend itself in time of war.

Indeed, that

When the nation is attacked, it may even turn the balance from victory to defeat.¹⁹

This was not alarmism. It was a stark possibility, as the United States was literally controlled by the big American corporations, as proved by the fact that the lion's share of the thirty billion dollars' war budget went to fill the coffers of only eighty-three firms.

We are running two wars: a foreign war and a domestic one,

declared a scandalized and patriotic American, referring to the big American monopolies.

Our magnates are decent, patriotic, they are kindly, courteous, Christian gentlemen, but [he added] when in their own organizations they are stark mad, ruthless, unchecked by God or man, paranoiacs—in fact, as evil in their design as Hitler. . . . They are determined to come out of this war victorious for their own stockholders. . . .

These international combinations of industrial capital are fierce troglodyte animals with tremendous power and no social brains. They hover like an old silurian reptile about our decent, more or less Christian civilization—like great dragons in these modern days when dragons are supposed to be dead.

Were these the words of a Russian Bolshevik, of a Roosevelt New-Dealer, or of an indignant democrat? They were uttered from the very fields where the big dinosaurs pastured.²⁰

The nation-wide sabotage of the big American dinosaurs—determined to prevent America, in the first place, from giving effective help to the Allies; secondly, from making an all-out war effort; thirdly, from giving help to Soviet Russia; and fourthly, from defeating Fascism (simultaneously with making colossal profits)—became so dangerous that the Government finally set up an official inquest.

The Senator charged with the findings publicly indicted the two largest American industries for hindering the war effort. "The present grave lack of steel is the responsibility of the large steel companies, which have sought to perpetuate their monopoly," he declared; adding, on March 27, 1942, that: "Even after we were in the war, Standard Oil of New Jersey was putting forth every effort of which it was capable to protect the control of the German Government over a vital war material."

In the same year the Senator released his report for the Senate Committee Investigating National Defence, which, for the first time, named the big corporations involved in these dealings—notably General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, Aluminum Company, and Bethlehem Steel. The report was so sensational that it could not be ignored by even the most corrupt newspaper. Yet even the *New York Times* suppressed the names of every one of the corporations involved.²¹

The Senator's sensational findings were followed by those of other Committees. Their revelations, however, were strangled as soon as they saw the light. So that when the Mellons, the Davises, the Dukes of the aluminium cartel, the Du Ponts of General Motors, the Rockefellers of Standard Oil, the Morgan partners of United States Steel, and others were officially named, the news was entirely suppressed.

This methodical sabotage of the nation's war effort by the big corporations, and suppression of the most vital revelations by practically the whole Press, forced the Senator who had been charged with disclosing them to the American people to come forward with the most sensational news item of the whole story—with the charge of "treason."

The Senator who, having access to the facts, did not hesitate to use the word "treason" was Harry S. Truman, the future President of the United States.²²

The charge of treason was not lightly put forward. It was based upon sober, matter-of-fact findings, put on official record, not by one, but by more than a dozen American Senate documents—reports of the American Department of Justice and other Government Agencies, which cannot be doubted. These documents have since remained as mute testimony that the big industrial dinosaurs of America, in order

to pile up their immense profits and to support their financial and political machinations, did not hesitate to attempt to paralyse the people of the United States, to thwart the Government's foreign policy, and coolly to endanger the freedom of their own country as well as that of the world.

The Second World War proved once more that the big American corporations, to accumulate more millions, and with them proportionate political power, did not hesitate, besides exploiting a whole hemisphere and indeed all the other continents, to exploit the wealth and the blood of the American people themselves.

It cannot be otherwise. For wherever a society is inspired only by gold, there true liberty has become a mockery. And a society, when top-heavy with such creatures, is heading towards one inescapable goal: collapse.

While the big American trusts were pursuing their perverse triple objective in the production field—to extract billions from the American people, to sabotage the United States Government, and to help Fascism in Europe—their most cunning partner, the Vatican, the calculating manipulator of nations and of men, proved once more that it had remained the unmatched master of political chicanery and ruthlessness that it had always been. Indeed, that to further its ceaseless schemings to avert the fall of those doomed to fall, and to ride with the victors whom it had fought, it could double-cross, with the most consummate impartiality, all and sundry, from the American billionaire corporations to the European dictators, from the democratic leaders, movements, and parties to the authoritarian regimes and nations, all of which at one time or another it either sustained or abandoned, supported, or betrayed. All this having been accomplished with such slyness that it managed not only to survive a military and political cataclysm of immense import, but to emerge as a victor at the very instant when friends and foes alike, watching the collapse of the Fascist edifice, awaited the diplomatic burial of the Vatican, destined to be entombed for long years to come under the ruins of the vanished dictatorships.

Thus it happened that while American Big Business con-

tinued its sabotage of the fighting Western world, as far as was compatible with a show of patriotism and the fabulous multiplication of dividends, the Vatican was sabotaging, first, Roosevelt and other democratic leaders, then the Fascist dictators themselves and their Fascist followers.

Several attempts at compromise, leading to a separate peace, were inspired and charted at the Vatican at various stages of the War, sometimes in close association with the Fascist dictators, sometimes independently, sometimes without the knowledge of either Hitler or Mussolini.

In one respect, however, during all these intrigues, Vatican diplomacy never deviated: its implacable hatred against Soviet Russia.

Indeed, it was the implacability of this hatred which was at the back of all its peace efforts. For the objective of peace between the Fascist dictators and the Western Democracies was not so much the maintenance of the Fascist edifice as the co-ordination of the Fascist and democratic war machines into an irresistible weapon to be used against Russia. At the beginning of the War both the Vatican and Hitler tried unsuccessfully to make peace: the Vatican via the Nunciature in Berne, and Hitler by sending his lieutenant, Hess, on a mad solo flight to England. But by the time that Hitler's armies, having brought Europe to her knees, were cutting towards Moscow, while the other Anti-Comintern signatory, Japan, was careering through Asia, the Vatican's peace efforts had ceased.

The Fascist dictators were winning, and that was the best insurance for a coming peace to the Vatican's liking.

When, however, the Nazi armies reached a stalemate, then the Vatican renewed its peace efforts. The West must come to the side of Hitler, to finish off the moribund Russian Monster.

The Western Democracies, however, although allied to Russia, never forgot that Russia was the same Communist Russia against which they had sent so many military expeditions; against which they had endlessly intrigued during twenty years of boycotting diplomacy; and they put forward a plan of their own. This consisted in letting Nazi Europe and Communist Russia slaughter one another until reciprocally exhausted. The Russian plans for an early opening of a second front in Europe were not implemented. The main inspirer of

this campaign was not, however, the United States, but England. Roosevelt wanted to open a second front as early as 1942. The chief of the American forces, Marshall, insisted upon it. Churchill, however, thought otherwise about the scheme. Even before persuading the United States to give up the idea, as proved by the fact that five days before the final Anglo-American decision to abandon this operation (July 22) Churchill had already wired to Stalin on July 17 that there would not be an invasion of the Continent in 1942. Churchill, the old inspirer of anti-Soviet armies after the First World War, could not let such an opportunity go by, even though in dire danger. A move, this, wholly approved of, not only by Conservative England, but also by her American counterparts.²³ The scheme did not work as expected. Russia, although on the brink of defeat, slowly but steadily began to recover and, to the mixed feelings of the Democracies, to advance westwards.

This greatly alarmed not only all the Conservative forces of Europe and America, but, above all, the Vatican. The victories of the Russian armies were not simply military feats contributing to the Allied victory, they were Communist victories. As such they were regarded politically as "defeats," not so much for the Nazis as for the Allies themselves.

That this was so was soon demonstrated by what began to occur in Europe itself. As the Russian armies fought their way westwards, even while still on Russian soil, so the structures of Fascist Europe began to be shaken by the same power which was moving the Russian troops: Communism. Ominous rumblings began to be heard everywhere. Strikes broke out in Italy. Communism, believed dead, reappeared in the Italian cities. The military-political structure of Fascism began to rock. The westward advance of Soviet Russia provoked political reverberations throughout Europe. These reverberations became tremors after the Allies, under American directive, gave no alternative to the Fascist nations but to revolt or to commit suicide when, in 1943, they formulated their "unconditional surrender" policy.

In that same year the Communist underground rumblings were clearly heard throughout Italy. The Italian people, the

first in Europe to accept Fascism, became determined to be the first to get rid of the regime. The popular forces gathered momentum. It was at this stage—the cumulative impact of the Russian advances on the Eastern front, the effect of the unconditional surrender policy, and the coming revolution in Italy—that the Vatican acted.

It acted characteristically in true Vatican tradition. In 1943 it brought about the downfall of Mussolini. In 1944 a Catholic officer put a bomb on Hitler's table. Hitler escaped, and the course of Nazi Germany's suicide continued, as we have already seen.

The Vatican's objective in these two attempts: to get rid of the two Fascist dictators; to preserve, with slight changes, their regimes.

From the downfall of Mussolini onwards the Vatican turned ever more openly towards the Allies. The greater the set-backs of the dictators, the more obviously did it turn to their enemies, particularly to the United States. By the summer of 1944 it had come out openly on the victorious side, boasting that it had always opposed Fascist tyrannies—indeed, that it had brought about their downfall. Simultaneously it preached that Soviet Russia had to be stopped and crushed. When, in 1944, France and Belgium were liberated, the Allies began to fight on the borders of Germany, and Russia swept through Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, the Vatican made its first concrete public move for a war against the main ally of the United States—Soviet Russia.

The Vatican's move was made, ominously enough, in close association with an American diplomat, as the first clarion call for a holy Western crusade against Russia—to the Vatican's close associates in this early attempt, William C. Bullitt, one-time American Ambassador to Moscow, and Luce, the Silurian American editor.

In August, 1944, Bullitt went to Italy and was granted an interview with Pius XII. A long article in *Life* was the result. In it, on September 4, 1944, Bullitt informed the 20,000,000 readers of Luce's News Empire that Russia was a real menace, that Russia had to be destroyed, clearly inferring that he, Bullitt, was quoting the Pope as favouring what was euphemistically labelled a holy crusade.

The first unofficial Vatican-American step towards the third World War had been made.

This was all the more significant in view of Roosevelt's repeated efforts to reach some kind of *modus vivendi* between the Vatican and Soviet Russia. Roosevelt went so far as to send a special envoy to Moscow and then to the Vatican with this sole purpose, as we have already seen. These efforts made it necessary for the President to employ not only Myron Taylor, but also a host of "unofficial" or personal envoys, scurrying across the Atlantic from Washington to Rome and to Moscow. This became even more urgent as Catholic countries became occupied by Russia—e.g. Catholic Poland. All to no avail, owing to Vatican intractability.

The Vatican had formulated other plans to "liberate" Catholic Poland from Russian "occupation." These were not diplomatic; they were military. It had planned simply a war against Russia.

War against Russia, at least in the political field, was already being prepared also in the U.S.A. This took the form of another mighty combination of all the reactionary forces of America to oust Roosevelt from the White House. For his third term, at this period, was coming to a close. Colossal sums were raised; colossal contributions from the big business dinosaurs made. To the despair of Big Business and of the sundry ideological dummies of the big corporations, such as Luce, Bullitt and Dewey, also to the dismay of the Vatican, Roosevelt was re-elected for a fourth term.

Roosevelt's key policy: all-out co-operation with Soviet Russia in war and in peace. In a final build-up of such a scheme Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill met at Yalta in February, 1945. There they decided not only to co-operate in the post-War world, but also to build a world organization to keep peace.

We are resolved upon the establishment with our Allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. . . .

Only with the continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries and among all peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized, a secure and lasting peace. . . .

After three months of discussions the Charter of the United Nations was laboriously wrought in San Francisco, upon the political anvils of fifty-three nations.

Yet, while the ink was still wet on the United Nations Charter, world division was already being stirred by those very three who had welded the nations together under their solemn agreement.

But then President Roosevelt had already died and the Second World War had ended. The Second World War had cost the world 30,000,000 dead. The American citizens had paid some 350,000,000,000 dollars, but 38,000 of them had become millionaires. The first atomic bomb had also burst upon Hiroshima, and mankind had stumbled into a new era: the Era of the crepuscular Atomic Peace.

THE VATICAN-AMERICAN AXIS AND THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE COLLAPSE OF WORLD FASCISM AT the end of the Second World War, spelt the spectacular failure of the grand strategy of the Vatican, and hence its most resounding defeat.

Not only had the mighty anti-Communist bulwark it had helped to create wholly disintegrated, but its arch-enemy, Soviet Russia, had emerged the second most powerful nation in the world.

The future could not be gloomier. But just because of it, urgent, determined action had to be taken. The Vatican had already done this long before the War had ended, when it began to align all the forces, some of which, like it, were determined to check the onward march of Bolshevism.

When in 1945, therefore, the Fascist edifice collapsed, the Vatican accelerated the pace of new strategy which it had adopted since 1943, with the downfall of Mussolini. Fundamentally this had remained the old one; mobilization of the world against Communism. The global landscape, however,

having changed, some new features now loomed very prominent and had to be considered :

- (a) Unlike after the First World War, now Communism had emerged as a world-giant.
- (b) The leadership of the world had passed from Europe to the United States of America.
- (c) Global politics were being increasingly dominated by the threat of an atomic war.

These new factors called, not so much for a radical overhauling of the old Catholic anti-Communist strategy, but for its immediate intensification.

Such strategy could no longer be developed in the relatively leisurely manner of the pre-atomic era. The sands of time were running perilously short. For the people of the world, having emerged from the Second World War in an unusually sullen mood, when, instead of being faced by an age of peace and plenty, they found themselves confronted by an age when the threat of an atomic war became increasingly the ultimate reality, sank into a dangerous frame of mind and made ready for radical changes to prevent atomic annihilation.

This world-despondency could become the greatest promoter of world Communism. Acceleration for a global anti-Communist mobilization therefore became the key of Vatican new strategy. The result was that soon the Vatican embarked upon the most reckless anti-Communist crusade, determined, because of the loss of the first round, to win the second quickly.

As after the First World War, allies grouped promptly round its banner. The most eager, determined, and powerful proved to be the United States, or rather the hidden forces ruling the Government and the people of that country.

Not that the old European allies of the Vatican had not answered the call. They had responded with no less eagerness than their American counterparts. European allies, however, came to the fore, with an unforgivable drawback—now they belonged to a second-rate continent. Europe had lost its supremacy and had become dangerously impotent.

World leadership, therefore, having crossed the Atlantic, had passed into the hands of the U.S.A. Vatican allegiance

had perforce followed suit, in accordance with its most fundamental tenet—alliance with the strongest power of the times.

The necessity of pursuing this basic rule had never been so pressing since the defeat of the Vatican's main creature, European Fascism.

It thus followed that as, after the First World War, the main ally of the Vatican had been Fascist Europe, revolving on the German-Japanese Axis, so, after the Second World War, the Vatican's main ally became the United States of America, with a Europe revolving on the Vatican-American Axis.

The emergence of the Vatican-American Axis was a portentous new phenomenon which, within a few years, dominated and shaped global politics. Indeed, as a Catholic-American political *bloc* it deliberately set the pace for the most tremendous ideological and military mobilization the world has ever seen.

Such a mobilization was as inevitable as the emergence of the astounding Catholic-American allegiance. Both were the by-products of a common fear, the fear that the society in which Catholicism and the U.S.A. were the dominating powers might be made to collapse. And the Power which wanted to accelerate such a collapse was the same old one: Communism.

Communism, therefore, had to be defeated as an ideology wherever it had penetrated the Western or Asiatic world, and as a political and military Power as represented by Soviet Russia and other Communist countries.

After the Second World War Communism rushed to fill the void left by Fascist and semi-Fascist States. Encouraged by Russia, a third of Europe set up Communist regimes. Powerful Communist parties appeared to be heading for power on the rest of the European Continent; Italy, the seat of the Catholic Church, startled both the Vatican and the U.S.A. by producing the largest Communist party in the world outside Soviet Russia.

The strategy of the Vatican's mobilization of the Catholic world against Communism, which had been soft-pedalled during the War, from now on was accelerated and in no time became the most dynamic force of the anti-Communist West.

By 1950 an aggressive political Catholicism was at the head

of ten European governments—that is, practically the whole of Western Europe.

In the Western Hemisphere the U.S.A., following in the steps of the Vatican, adopted the same strategy where the Vatican was impotent—namely, in the economic and military spheres.

The American economic and military policies, and the Vatican's religious and ideological anti-Communist ones, being of an essentially political nature, inevitably led to their speedy and integral amalgamation. From this was formulated a Catholic-American anti-Communist global strategy. Hence the emergence of the heir of the Vatican-Nazi-Japan Axis, which followed the First World War—the Vatican-American Axis, which followed the Second.

The Vatican-American Axis did not emerge complete and fully armed, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. It was the inevitable culmination of an allegiance which had been in existence almost since the opening of the twentieth century—that is to say, since the emergence of American Imperialism.

The American Imperialism which emerged after the Spanish-American War at the close of the last century, and the American Imperialism striding the planet at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, was not an Imperialism promoted by the American people. It was the Imperialism promoted by the forces which we have already encountered while examining North American penetration into Latin America—namely, of the North American giant trusts, banks, monopolies, and big corporations.

It was with these, and not with the American masses, that the Vatican forged its Catholic-American Axis. Without these the latter would never even have been conceived, least of all been possible.

The Vatican-American alliance, although in its acutest form rabidly anti-Communist, fundamentally was also anti-democratic, and indeed a most deadly enemy of genuine democracy.

The enemies of democracy are not to be found solely in blatantly anti-democratic institutions or governments; they are often hidden behind the beautiful apparel of democracy. Frequently they become even the promoters of a form of democracy, the better to destroy true democracy.

Wherever Catholicism is dominant, there genuine democracy is impossible. Genuine democracy, however, is impossible, not only wherever there is political authoritarianism, but also wherever there is *economic totalitarianism*.

To the latter, true democracy is an anathema as it is to a dictatorial State, or as it has always been and always will be to the Catholic Church. And this for a very simple reason: that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people could and would never tolerate a minority to advance the sectional interests of the few to the detriment of the many, as the rule of such a minority in the economic field would be as much of a dictatorship as the rule of a minority in the religious or political dictatorship—i.e. absolute rule. Consequently, as a political dictatorship seeks economic goals, so an economic one will exert economic pressure to achieve political objectives.

If economic power ultimately means political power, then the American people are anything but their own rulers. For the economic might of the United States, although produced by the American people, is not the property of the American people. It is the property of a rapidly decreasing minority, ruling the American people with an invisible iron fist—namely, American big business.

The U.S.A., which began as a true democracy, was transformed into less and less of a democracy with each decade, until in the years following the Second World War, while maintaining the edifice of democracy superficially intact, it had become one of the most vicious dictatorships of the twentieth century.

Unlike cruder anti-democratic forces, as exemplified by European dictatorships, their American counterparts were cunning enough to uphold the democratic principles and the machinery of American democracy. In this way democracy was speedily transformed into a mighty decoy, meant to rally to their side the truly democratic American masses; precisely as Fascism, after the First World War, had proclaimed that it had come to serve the people, whereas in reality it used the people to establish the dictatorship of a ruthless minority, bent upon expansion and war.

In a nation attached to democratic ideals like the U.S.A.

an economic dictatorship, therefore, cannot be transformed too speedily into an obvious political dictatorship. Consequently it will be unlike the obvious European ones. Trumpets, banners, storm-troops, are not its emblems. Its emblems are the figures of production, expansion, lobbying, and financial and political corruption. It is hidden, it acts unnoticed, secretly, and undetected. It will seek political power through economic pressure, the control of channels of information, distortions and deception on a huge scale—all this without in the least hampering or damaging the vast democratic structure of the nation, but, on the contrary, using its vast machinery, and, indeed, the democratic masses themselves, to extend its domination.

Nowhere else in the modern world has such a form of economic dictatorship apparelled in the vestments of democracy assumed such menacing proportions as in the U.S.A. This is a portent spelling disaster, not only for the American people, but equally for the people of the world. For the tentacles of such hidden tyranny, having penetrated every nook and cranny of the U.S., have become not only the arbiters of the conduct of the U.S.A. but also the promoters of world Fascism, and therefore potentially even the promoters of global conflicts.

It is with this hidden but real dictatorship that the Vatican, after the Second World War, struck its new alliance. It is because of the reality of such American economic totalitarianism that the Vatican-Nazi-Japanese Axis was so promptly replaced by the Vatican-American Axis, on which global politics were made to revolve ever more vertiginously, to the increasing danger of the United States of America and, indeed, of the world.

To the Congress of the United States.

Unhappy events abroad have retaught us two simple truths about the liberty of a democratic people.

The first truth is, that the liberty of a democracy is not safe, if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic State itself. That in its essence is Fascism—ownership of government by an individual, by a group, or by any other controlling private power. . . .

Among us today a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing. . . .

This is what President Roosevelt said in his message to Congress, asking for the Monopoly Investigation. His was no idle warning. That his fears were well founded was subsequently proved by the phenomenal acceleration of the concentration of economic power into the hands of the few. Concentration, this, which, besides destroying the foundations of genuine American democracy, only a few years after his death succeeded in transforming the United States into one of the most redoubtable economic dictatorships of the century.

Economics are the foundations of modern States. Whoever controls their economic life therefore controls the States themselves. The U.S.A. is a political democracy. But the U.S.A. is not ruled by the will of the majority, as represented by the Government. It is ruled by a minority—by the few controlling its economic life.

The U.S.A., contrary to general belief, is a land where there exists a greater disproportion of wealth between individuals, comparatively speaking, than in any European or even certain Asiatic countries. In 1952 the top fifth of the U.S. population gets half of the whole nation's income, while the bottom fifth gets only three per cent.¹

The gap between the rich and the poor could not be better illustrated than by these official figures:

In 1843 there were only 20 millionaires in the whole of the U.S.A.

In 1900 the 92 members of the Senate included 17 millionaires (15 Republicans and 2 Democrats).

In 1902 the millionaires had increased to 2,000.

By 1920, following the First World War, they had become 42,000.

By 1957 they had almost doubled.

By way of contrast, in 1952 5,000,000 families had an average income of only \$1,000 to \$2,000 a year, while over 4,000,000 families had an average income of less than \$1,000 a year.¹ It is the few who are the *de facto* rulers of the American nation. And this is so because more than ninety

per cent of the whole economic life of 150,000,000 Americans is actually owned or controlled by only a few hundred thousand individuals, directly or indirectly connected with either the gigantic corporations, financial dynasties, banks, or with all three.

About 75,000 individuals, for instance, own more than one-half of all the corporate stock in America. Out of 150,000,000 Americans 75,000 is a small number. But it is a very large one when compared with similar ruling minorities. The Temporary National Economic Committee (T.N.E.C.), for instance, disclosed that the four largest manufacturing concerns in America directly controlled between two-fifths and one-half of the total value of all products. These, it must be noted, being owned by only a few thousand stock-holders.

Such economic and financial concentration is not exceptional. It is the rule, particularly with banks, utility corporations, and life insurances. Thus, after the Second World War, whereas the 40 largest public utility corporations owned more than 80 per cent of public utility plant, 17 life insurance companies held 81.5 per cent of all life insurance assets, while simultaneously the 45 largest transportation corporations owned more than 92 per cent of America's transportation facilities. Even during the Roosevelt era the concentration of economic power was astounding. In 1935, for instance, "the 200 largest non-financial corporations controlled over \$60,000,000,000 of physical assets," as testified by the Monopoly Investigation.²

These colossal financial units are not the last word in the concentration of economic power. For they are controlled in their turn by even smaller groups. Morgan First National, Rockefeller and Kuhn-Loeb, a Chicago group, Mellon, Du Pont, and groups in Cleveland and Boston, for instance, used to control 106 of the 250 largest American corporations, owning nearly two-thirds of their combined assets. This in addition to controlling numerous other smaller corporations. After the Second World War the Du Pont, Rockefeller, Mellon, Morgan First National, and Cleveland groups controlled simultaneously 31 of the 250 largest manufacturing corporations with 30 per cent of the United States' usable manufacturing facilities, totalling \$18,200,000,000. This was

almost equal to the total manufacturing facilities of the United States in 1939, at the outbreak of the Second World War.

One of such corporations, the Giannini Trans-America Corporation, in 1952 had come to control forty-eight banks, with over 650 branches. The U.S. Federal Reserve Board (March 27, 1952), after declaring that the T.A.C. had grown into a "predatory Goliath" which "had stilled competition," informed the U.S.A. Government that the T.A.C. had "concentrated more economic power in one small group of men, perhaps only one man, than probably has ever happened before in the business life of our country."

The gigantic size of these financial colossi is brought about by an ever-accelerating process of accumulation, absorption, and mergers of smaller financial or economic units.

A typical instance of this occurred in November, 1949, when the President of the E.I. Du Pont, with one and a half billion dollars in assets, was brought before the House Committee investigating monopoly. The Du Ponts had for the hundredth time become the subjects of a Department of Justice's anti-trust suit. During the questioning an intensive list of formerly independent companies was put on the record. They were put on the record for a very simple reason: they had all been absorbed by Du Pont. During the few previous years the American Government had brought nineteen anti-trust suits against Du Pont. In most cases the company preferred to pay fines rather than fight. Shortly before this (June, 1949) Du Pont, General Motors, and the United States Rubber Company were brought to Court by the Government, charged with "illegal conspiracy," meaning that they bought and sold from each other by arrangement, to the detriment of the American people and destruction of competition. Within one single year (1949-50) nearly half of the hundred largest American corporations had cases filed against them under Anti-Trust Laws. Owing to the continual breaking of these laws by the big corporations, the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice had been forced steadily to increase its strength ever since the days of the National Recovery Act. In 1934 this Division had ten lawyers; by 1951 it had more than 300.

To prove to what extent this process of absorption had gone—or, rather, how far the giants of U.S. industry had swallowed

minor economic units—Congressman Celler of the Celler Investigation Committee, stated that three or four big businesses controlled seventy-five per cent of business in over forty industrial fields. Quoting the 1949 study of the Federal Trade Commission, he demonstrated that ninety per cent of the capital assets of the tyre industry were controlled by only five companies, that the copper industry was controlled by only four companies, the aluminium and linoleum industries by only three companies, and the tin industry by only two companies.

When direct absorption is not immediately possible the economic whales paralyse their intended prey before swallowing them. In January, 1950, the Justice Department charged the Sun Oil Company of Philadelphia with anti-trust violations. The charge: Sun Oil had compelled some 10,000 independent service station operators, in eighteen States, to enter into exclusive purchasing contracts for "Sunoco" products, the makers of the latter being the Sun Oil Company.

This is one typical instance only of the pressure exerted by the giant corporations to extend their immense power in their attempt, by swallowing more and more independent economic units, to become the absolute masters of the economy of the whole nation. The blotting out of "free enterprise" by this merger process of the giant corporations created a herd of industrial and financial dinosaurs, the like of which had never been seen. In 1947, for instance, forty-five of these monstrous corporations had more than \$1,000,000,000 in assets, with a total of \$107,065,003,625.³

These forty-five companies were more than twice the number of billion-dollar institutions in the U.S.A. in the so-called boom year of 1929. Within only twenty years they had doubled, for in 1929 only twenty companies had assets of one billion or more, but in 1939, just prior to the Second World War, there were twenty-eight concerns, while seventeen corporations entered the billionaire class during the War.

The accumulation of such immense economic power in the hands of a few gigantic corporations became such that they could manipulate incomes larger than even those of the entire American States. Thus Mr. Celler, during the same investigation, disclosed that, while the Metropolitan Life had assets of

\$8,000,000,000, the Bell Telephone Company had assets of \$9,000,000,000.⁴

General Motors, General Electric, the Pennsylvania Railroad, U.S. Steel, American Telephone and Telegraph, *each one* of these super-giants had an income greater than that of one of the richest States of America—New York State itself.

The U.S. Government, alarmed by this colossal accumulation of wealth in such few hands, conducted one of its most important investigations. Its findings: thirty-seven volumes and forty-three special monographs on the concentration of economic power.

No news contained within these eighty volumes and monographs ever reached the American public, owing to unanimous sabotage by the American Press, silenced by the power of the big corporations, as we shall later see.

The tentacles of these giant corporations are entwined with giant dynastic financial trees of the American dollar blue-blood aristocracy, the overlords who rule the financial world on hereditary lines, with millions of American citizens as their financial vassals, the best known of whom—Ford, Du Pont, Rockefeller, Mellon, McCormick, Hatford, Harkness, Duke, Pitcairn, Clark, Reynolds, and Kress, each holding a minimum of \$50,000,000—had total known assets of \$2,700,574,000.⁵

The three most powerful of these giant family groups—the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and the Du Ponts—held shares valued at \$1,400,000,000, and directly or indirectly controlled fifteen of the two hundred largest non-financial corporations, with aggregate assets of over \$8,000,000,000.

The economic power of one of these dollar families would put the traditional royal families of Europe to shame. Suffice it to mention the arch-giant American house of J. P. Morgan, which, with the assistance and co-operation of a few of the interlocking corporations that reach all over the United States in their influence, control every railroad in that country. They control practically every public utility, they control literally thousands of corporations, they control all of the large insurance companies.⁶

But, more powerful even than the giant corporations and the dollar dynasties, there are the American banks. Of these, the eight leading banks in New York City were the veritable

rulers of the financial, industrial, and economic life of the United States (the Bank of America National Association, Bank of Manhattan Trust Co., Bankers' Trust Co., Chase National Bank, Chemical Bank & Trust Co., Guaranty Trust Company, National City Bank Co., New York Trust Co.). A pale idea of their immense power can be formed by the following figures. After the Second World War these eight banks had 287 directorships in insurance companies and 301 directorships in other banks, not to mention others all over the country with which they were closely interlocked. They had 521 directorships in public utility companies; they handled the public utility business of the whole nation. In addition, they had 585 directorships in railroad, steamship, and airplane transportation companies.

This was not all. They held directorships in 846 manufacturing companies, besides operating through more interlocking directorships; they had 1,201 directorships in other corporations—all held by only eight banks.⁷

The concentration of financial might could go no further. Yet that was only one facet of this invisible rule over the United States of America.

A social unit, be it a family or an empire, needs an administration. Administration spells co-ordination. Co-ordination necessitates a policy, and a policy calls for a body capable of formulating it.

The giant corporations and banks of America, having built an empire within the Republic, were soon faced with the necessity of co-ordinating their immense field of activities. This meant a general uniform direction, to be followed by all the major enterprises, and a kind of directorate or ruling body—in short, a government.

The necessity of amalgamating the immense concentration of economic power within a comprehensive framework was finally delegated to a body which, perhaps more than any other, had come to represent the expanding economic empire—namely, the National Association of Manufacturers. This comprised not only American industry in its most varied activities, but also the giant corporations, dollar dynasties, and

banks. The Association's aggregate assets were monstrous: over sixty billion dollars.

It could well claim to be outwardly the most powerful body of the American economic rulers, to represent all American industries, to reach all strata of American economic life, and to represent American industrial productivity, with its affiliates in thousands of cities and towns, from coast to coast.

Officially this vast body was composed of about 16,000 members. In reality, however, these 16,000 members were controlled by an inner group, consisting of about 200 firms, as the investigation of the La Follette Committee demonstrated. This kind of inner economic dictatorship, however, in its turn, was controlled by an even smaller one, composed of only a dozen billionaire corporations. The latter formed the super-strategy board of the 200 large firms, the equivalent of the inner Cabinet of a modern government or of a general staff of a modern army. Its task, the formulation of the grand policy of the N.A.M. This super-strategy board, or secret government, was not a figment of the imagination of any fiction writer. It was a concrete working reality and was called by the unassuming name of the Special Conference Committee. It was first officially named as such by the Committee on Education and Labour, whose chairman was E. D. Thomas, Senator from Utah.⁸

The La Follette-Thomas Report not only disclosed its existence, but, besides indicating its headquarters—the offices of Standard Oil, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City—declared that it was the secret organization of the super-ruling body of American Big Business.⁹

The Civil Liberties Report, besides disclosing that eleven of these ruling industrial corporations had combined assets of \$13,500,000,000, declared that they met for “the purpose of formulating common labour-relations programmes for all American industry,” and that it had “led in systematizing the promotion of policies consistently pursued by the N.A.M. since its formation.”¹⁰

Members of the S.C.C. were at once members of the inner controlling groups of the N.A.M. and leaders of the American industrial giants, in their respective fields.

In 1947, speaking against the Taft-Hartley anti-Labour Bill,

Senator Thomas again exposed the Special Conference Committee as a *secret general staff* for employers, whose aim is to destroy the Labour movement. Once more, as it had done ten years before, the entire American Press suppressed the news.

At the time of the first hearing in 1939, when the Committee's report was published, the whole of the American Press kept a curtain of silence, as it did on subsequent occasions.¹¹ In all cases it was officially proved that the super-strategy board of this dozen billionaire corporations set a policy which had vast repercussions throughout the United States, and which ranged from the employment of spies to strike-breaking and even to the drafting of local and Federal legislation, which went to Congress under the names of Representatives and Senators.

The twelve billionaire corporations were not mysterious economic units, acting secretly and unknown to the 16,000 members of the N.A.M., or even to the average American citizen. They were bywords in almost every American household. The Committee, headed by Senator Thomas, listed this super-governing body of American industry as follows:

American Telephone and Telegraph Co.;
Bethlehem Steel Co.;
E. I. Du Pont de Nemours;
General Electric Co.;
General Motor Corp.;
Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Co.;
International Harvester Co.;
Irving Trust Co.;
Standard Oil Co., of New Jersey;
U.S. Rubber Co.;
U.S. Steel Corporation (the biggest of the billionaire corporations);
Morgan Corporation;
Westinghouse Electric Mfg. Co.

(Source, Senate Report 6, Part 6, 76th Congress; 1st Session, pp. 89, 91, 92, 97; also Part 45, p. 16,781.)

The general staff of the dozen corporations used to meet secretly. Its informal decisions were passed on to the directing

group of the N.A.M. and from there to organizations and corporations throughout the nation. Within a few days a great campaign was got under way. A vast propaganda covered the country, reaching practically all fields and all citizens, the whole multiplied by newspapers, radio, television, and other means of mass propaganda bound by the same community of interests.

In almost no time more than ninety per cent of the American Press echoed the "party line" of the twelve billionaire corporations, the secret government of the N.A.M.—that is to say, of American Big Business.

The decisions of this secret government then became law not only in the economic field; they affected the American man in the street, in the social and political spheres as well. For ultimately they influenced Congress, the Senate, and therefore the American Government. This was done directly and indirectly, by political pressure, bribery, and corruption. And this was possible owing to the simple fact that the magnitude of this super-concentration of economic power was rendered even more portentous *when such colossal economic weight is transformed into political pressure.*

This process was unavoidable, as the fluctuation of the economic life of nations is often centred upon political decisions, economics being indissolubly linked to politics. Hence the necessity on the part of the economic powers to influence the policy-makers.

Owing to this, the agents of the American super-corporations could be found in all levels. They wore the stars of the generals, they carried the diplomat's brief-case, they sat in Congress and in the Senate, they enjoyed Congressional immunity—indeed, some of them even staffed the Cabinet.

Washington was riddled with powerful forces outside the Government which existed only to influence the laws of the nation. These were known as lobbies. In a most sensational report the Monopoly Investigation stated that one of the most formidable lobbies was that of the National Association of Manufacturers. This "lobbying," of both the obvious and the secretive kind, is a most dangerous kind of pressure and can at times profoundly affect the domestic and foreign policy of the U.S.A. We have already come across several edifying

examples in the previous chapters. In reality, "lobbying" is political corruption. The economic pressure body is felt throughout the country, and can range from the labour unions to the American Legions, from the Farm Lobby to the Daughters of the American Revolution, from the Women's Christian Temperance Union to the Methodists and the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

The most powerful of all these, however, is that represented by Big Business. The Monopoly Investigation, conducted by Senator O'Mahoney, on whose Committee there was one individual, who in 1946 became head of the Republican Party, referring to this in Monograph 26, began its report by stating that "the American people are confronted with the problem of who shall control the Government, by what means, and to what end. . . ." "From the beginning, business has been intent upon wielding economic power," continues the report, "and, where necessary, political control for its own purpose. The purpose, moreover, is not solely profit, but includes the exercise of control *per se*, as an attribute of ownership."

The conclusion is reached that Big Business, besides being the mightiest of powerful pressure groups, aims at political as well as economic power. In the "struggle for dominance" between pressure groups, continues the report, "the largest and most important . . . is to be found in business . . . as dominated by the 200 largest non-financial and 50 largest financial corporations, and the employer and trade association into which it and its satellites are organized."¹²

The secret government of the super-ruling body of the N.A.M. is not a thing of the past. It is functioning now. It is a government within a government, pursuing aims meant to benefit, not the many, but the few, and, as such, the enemy of American Democracy—namely, the enemy of the American people.

To control political power the secret government of American big corporations does not stop at anything; using legal and illegal means, it does not hesitate to operate in the no-man's-land and, indeed, via pressure groups, to enter boldly into the highest political, military, and diplomatic levels

simultaneously, as well as into the lowest circles of the underworld.

As early as 1913 N.A.M. was shown by Congressional investigation to have conducted wholesale bribery, which went from members of the House of Representatives to office boys. In 1951 Federal investigation revealed a corrupt ring of influence in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—the evil plotting of the “five per centers” in Washington, the sale of Federal appointments to those who would pay cash for them.

The investigations of the R.F.C., conducted by Senator Fulbright's committee, shocked millions of Americans when they unearthed case after case in which political influence and powerful pressure groups determined policies followed by the largest of the Government lending agencies, by peddling influence on an eye-popping scale, which went from “grafting sheriffs, Deputies, and police officers . . . hundred-dollar bribes for lowly constables, and \$100,000 contributions to gubernatorial campaigns . . .”, to use the words of Senator Kefauver.¹³

The two greatest corrupting pressure groups, curiously enough, are identified with Big Business: the Big Business of the big American corporations and the Big Business of the big American underworld. The Kefauver investigations, whose task was to probe political corruption via financial bribery, discovered that, as the Big Business represented by the giant trusts was on the point of dominating the political life of the nation, so likewise its counterpart in the underworld had penetrated so deeply into the political life of the U.S.A. that Senator Kefauver's crime investigation followed the trail of gangsters, gambling syndicates, top financiers and industrialists alike, into governors' mansions and city halls (1951-2). These gangster financier penetrations had gone so far that entire States were on the point of being dominated by them.

In Missouri, says the Senator's committee, the State narrowly escaped being taken over in the 1948 election by underworld forces, led by Charles Binaggio, slain Kansas City political boss and crime syndicate representative. In Florida, the committee notes, gamblers contributed to the campaign of Governor Fuller Warren. In California, it was testified, a State-wide system of protection for slot-machines was plotted by repre-

sentatives of the Attorney-General's office. In Chicago Capone gang representatives attempted to influence legislation and are believed to have controlled certain Illinois legislators. In New York, the nation's largest city, the committee established once and for all that politics was dominated by Frank Costello and his underworld associates. One witness said it was necessary to get the support of Costello and Joe Adoniss in order to elect a mayor.¹⁴

This political bribery reached nationally widely known politicians, as Senator Kefauver himself testified when illustrating the connexion existing between crime and politics in New York. He declared that the position of former New York Mayor, W. O. Dwyer, was a "lamentable and melancholy essay on political morality."¹⁵

A report of the California Special Study Commission on Organized Crime stated that "huge sums of money . . . are readily converted into political institutions."¹⁶

The Kefauver Committee's report on this wholesale corruption stated that these various pressure groups got "immunity" through various connexions, including bribery of public officials and acquisition of political power, and by contributions to political parties.

This went so far that finally a Senate sub-committee was assigned to make recommendations to Congress concerning the establishment of a commission on ethics for the Federal Government. On April 8, 1951, it was announced that the "Dollar a Year" men faced an inquiry to determine whether they are actually unselfish patriots willing to contribute their skill to their country "or whether they were pressing their own and their company's interests."

A Senate sub-committee uncovered a story of widespread party patronage, mixed with private business, when Federal jobs in Mississippi were "bought" by persons who made political "contributions." On April 16 Representative Brehm, of Ohio, went on trial and was found guilty. Political corruption by Big Business in the legal and illegal fields reached such a scale that politicians were to be found dancing on the ends of strings, pulled by big commercial leaders and big-time criminals in equal shares. That organized crime should favourably compete with the big American corporations in

corrupting the political body of the nation was not as surprising as many shocked American citizens seemed to believe. This, for the very simple reason that organized crime is as much big business as Big Business itself (1951-2 annual income: twenty billion). Like its legally respectable big brother, it requires political power to further its own interests. Hence political and police bribery—that is, corruption. To quote one typical case: in New York alone gamblers paid from 20,000,000 to 25,000,000 dollars for police protection.¹⁷

Power is a corrupter. But if uncontrolled, political power will corrupt absolutely; so will uncontrolled economic power. With the only difference that uncontrolled economic power is far more dangerous than the political, sapping, as it does, secretly, unheeded, and unnoticed, the vital structures of society. This type of uncontrolled power is American democracy's deadliest danger: "Democracy is, I believe, more likely to be destroyed by the perversion of, or abandonment of, its true moral principles than by armed attack from Russia," declared Senator Fulbright to the Senate in March, 1950, referring to the above-mentioned disclosures. Such large-scale corruption has brought the U.S.A. into the "twilight of honour," concluded the sober *New York Times* (November 1, 1950).

The *New York Times* might well have added, as truly, "and into the twilight of genuine democracy," since, for any country to permit such tremendous concentration of economic power to get into the hands of the few is not only unhealthy, but also a sign that democracy is moribund and, indeed, that it is hurtling to its doom.

The domestic and foreign policy of the U.S. is not controlled by the ballot. It is controlled by the dividends of the big American corporations.

This could be a partisan statement, if economics were not what they are. Modern nations are ruled by their economic considerations; their domestic policy is formulated upon them and their foreign policy revolves around them. It is the Secretariat or Ministry of Commerce, the Department of Imports and Exports, or their equivalent, which today

formulate the foreign policy of a modern State; the State Departments and Foreign Offices in reality having become but hollow, venerable institutions, with the same usefulness as derelict, obsolete monuments.

This being the truth of the matter, the solid, stark reality is that the ultimate formulators of national policies are those in control of the economic powers of the nation.

In the U.S., perhaps more than in any other country in the world, this process reached its zenith in the years following the Second World War. In those years the real master of the U.S. was not the Government sitting in Washington, but that ruling the economic life of the country—the invisible government of the billionaire corporations.

This sounds absurd, unreal, and a damnation of American democracy. Yet facts cannot be obliterated by cherished political platitudes. For the hard reality is that whoever controls economic power controls political power, and consequently that the greater the economic power, the greater the political. In the U.S.A. the economic life is controlled only by the few. These few, having formed an economic dictatorship, hold *de facto* dictatorial political power exercised behind and through a democratic form of government, which outwardly is given the credit for conducting its foreign policy.

The power of the invisible government of the U.S.A. being unbounded in the economic field, it is equally unbounded in the political; but as political power cannot be restricted to domestic boundaries and will automatically overflow into the foreign field, it follows that the greater the economic, and hence political power, of these same forces at home, the greater their economic and political power will be abroad. This means power to sway the foreign policy of their own and foreign governments.

The U.S.A. is the most powerful single economic unit in the world. Hence it is the most powerful single global political unit. Therefore, those in control of the economic might of the U.S. are the most powerful political forces, both within and outside the U.S.A., which means that they can equally influence and direct the policies of America, in both the domestic and foreign spheres, at will. That a minority which is not the government should formulate the government's

policies would be bad enough. But that a minority should, in addition to doing just that, formulate the policies of the government to further, not the interests of the nation, but their own sectional interests, is not only a most fundamental denial of democracy, it is the greatest possible violation of democracy. Hence, any such minority—in our case, the big American corporations—wielding political power via economic control, in reality are not only the greatest enemies of American democracy but also the most deadly enemies of the American people.

For to further their own sectional interests, to do which they have acquired political power, they will unhesitatingly go against the interests of the American masses, be it at home or abroad, the furtherance of the interests of a minority being as a rule completely at loggerheads with the furtherance of those of the majority.

In the domestic scene this will be done, for instance, by opposing certain reforms and legislation meant to benefit the people; abroad, by unscrupulously consorting with economic or political forces with similar interests to their own, by promoting economic or even political crises on a world scale, to increase their mutual profits, completely unconcerned about whether this will endanger the safety of the country or, indeed, the safety of the world.

To safeguard or promote their sectional interests they have never hesitated to curb or hamper the Government's capacity to deal freely with both domestic and foreign affairs. In this manner, while they can prevent the American Government from undertaking a certain course, they can equally promote political situations favourable to themselves both at home and abroad.

In the domestic field the super-rulers of American economy have consistently fought any governmental measures meant to benefit the American masses.

Before the Second World War, for instance, in their hatred of the New Deal, they bitterly fought its promoter, President Roosevelt, using a lush fund of 25,000,000 dollars a year to impede the American masses from benefiting from an enlightened social legislation; while, after the War, they fought the Fair Deal of President Truman with even more bitterness.

In the international field the big corporations never hesitated

to undermine the nation, or indeed even to associate with the enemy, for the sake of benefits. We have seen how, prior to and during the Second World War, they promoted extreme Isolationism and sabotaged American effort to help European Fascism to win the War.

In peace or war they never hesitated to create a shortage of goods and thus, by stimulating the rise of prices, to increase their profits, both in the domestic and sometimes in the world markets. More than this, they have repeatedly banked upon fear to stimulate armaments.

Armaments, whether to be used or not, are the surest multipliers so far discovered by the profit-dreamers. To create domestic and international tension, and hence rearmament, the super-giants of finance have never hesitated to promote artificial economic crises, to plant colossal lies, and, in general, to help genuine international tension to grow, provided an armaments race was initiated.

To accuse Big Business of wanting war for war's sake would be unjust. Yet it is an undisputed fact that since the opening of the century they have been one of the main promoters of armaments races.

We have already seen, for instance, how they sabotaged various peace conferences in Geneva for the sake of profits. When the Senate refused to ratify the Geneva protocol prohibiting the use of poison gas in future warfare, "the chief opposition to ratification came from the manufacturers and chemists, as is shown by the decision of the annual meeting of the American Chemists Society in Los Angeles in 1925."¹⁸ Until after the Second World War, the super-giants of the U.S.A., like those of Europe and Japan, encouraged an armaments race, and spent millions in promoting international tension that would lead to such a race.

They did this, remembering the infallible international Big Business formula: "*The profits of fear are often greater than the profits of war.*" The armament makers have often been officially indicted for acting upon this. As far back as 1921, no less than the League of Nations accused them of fomenting war scares for this purpose. War scares have always led to heavy armament orders over long periods—not to mention to

the outbreak of minor wars—and hence to the accumulation of bigger profits for the heavy industries of the world.

When major conflicts are let loose upon the nations Big Business welcomes, promotes, and supports them. For then their profits multiply beyond Midas's dreams. During the First World War the American Government disclosed truly fantastic profits netted by Big Business.

In its report on "Corporate Earnings and Government Revenues," Senate Document 259, 65th Congress, for instance, it considers the profits of 122 meat-packing firms, 153 cotton manufacturers, 299 garment makers, 49 steel plants, and 340 coal producers. Profits under twenty-five per cent are exceptions. The coal companies made between 100 per cent and 7,856 per cent on their capital stock during the War; the Chicago packers doubled and tripled their earnings; the United States Steel Corporation in 1916 and 1917 salted away \$888,931,000, or \$20,000,000 more than the par value of the outstanding capital stock.

The increased earnings which the War brought to American industry almost exceeds belief. Never in modern times has so much money been made in so short a period. Take these illustrations: the Republic Iron and Steel Company made an average profit in 1911, 1912, and 1913 of \$2,500,000; in 1916 this profit was \$14,789,163. The General Chemical Company made a profit of \$2,500,000 for the three years before the War, and \$12,286,826 in 1916. The profits of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company were nearly \$12,000,000 during the three years before the War, and in 1916 were \$57,000,000. The United States Steel Corporation showed a profit for the three years preceding the War of \$63,500,000; in 1916 the profits were \$271,531,730. The Nickel Company showed an increase of profits from an average of \$4,000,000 to \$73,500,000. In the first three years of war American business made about \$3,000,000,000 excess of war profits.

The result was that, while in 1914, 7,509 Americans admitted millionaire incomes, only two years later, in 1916, no fewer than 17,085, or two and one-third times as many, were millionaires.

After the First World War the most blatant warmongers—the European Fascist Dictators—were financed by European

and American Big Business. Mussolini was amply supplied with money by the Vickers, Ansaldo, Terni, and other industrialists, with Italian, British, and French ramifications. Hitler climbed to power upon the secret funds of Catholic Thyssen, the steel dictator of German heavy industry.

Catholic industrialist Thyssen, in the 1930s, was the happy controller of *all* of Germany's steel, of half of its coal, of fourteen harbours; the owner of 60,000 houses, in addition to the control or ownership of dozens of banks, shipyards, and factories. It was in the house of another banker, Kurt von Schroeder, a friend of Thyssen, that Hitler and Catholic Franz Von Papen reached the agreement which resulted in Hitler's being made Chancellor. Thyssen, who, in 1933, the year when Hitler became Chancellor, consolidated the Nazified German steel industry with a one-billion-dollar trust, spent literally billions of marks putting Nazism into power.¹⁹

Mitsui gunmakers, who owned sixty-five per cent of the industry of Japan, were the greatest financial supporters of the militarist and Fascist elements of the Nipponic islands, the encouragers of Japanese attack against China.

During the Sino-Japanese war of 1930 Japanese, European, and American Big Business made increasingly huge profits. The armament makers of the United States did their best business in years; Paul Linebarger, a general legal adviser of the Chinese Government, told the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives that American bankers and munition makers were aiding Japan against China to the extent of \$181,000,000 worth of supplies.

The Sino-Japanese war was eventually to lead to Pearl Harbour (1941).

In 1942 Japanese warships, whose models had come from Scotland, cleared the British Navy from the Indian Ocean, while American scrap metal and even American munitions, sold to Japan by American Big Business up to only a few days prior to the Japanese attack on the U.S.A., recoiled back upon American soldiers until 1945.

The Second World War, although amply encouraged and financed by European and American Big Business, was stubbornly opposed by them, as, by irony of a cruel destiny, the enemy against which the colossal Nazi armaments had been

prepared—Russia—had found herself in the fields of the Western democracies. Yet war being war and hence profit, the super-giants of America produced armaments, and the dream of Midas was repeated once more.

The Securities and Exchange Commission listed 802 large corporations which increased their net working capital from \$8,600,000,000 in 1939 to \$14,100,000,000 in 1945, an increase of sixty-four per cent. And this figure did not include more than \$2,000,000,000 in excess profits tax refunds.

By the end of 1945 the sixty-three largest listed manufacturing corporations held nearly \$10,000,000 in highly liquid net working capital, *more than all listed manufacturing corporations held in 1939*, the year the War broke out.

From June, 1940, to September, 1944, the Government awarded prime contracts amounting to more than \$175,000,000,000 to 18,539 corporations. But of this vast amount more than two-thirds went to the top one hundred corporations, and one-half went to only thirty-three corporations, each of which received awards of more than \$1,000,000,000.

Even this does not tell the whole story. The concentration in September, 1944, was higher than for the period 1940-4 as a whole. Of the prime contracts outstanding in September, 1944, the top hundred corporations held 78 per cent as compared to 67.2 per cent for the entire period.

In the years following the end of the Second World War these colossal profits did not subside. On the contrary, they continued to increase, and they did so because the international tension continued to mount. The result was that when the U.S.A. set itself the task of rearming Europe, Japan, Germany and Franco's Spain, and the Korean War broke out (1950), the super-giants of America netted profits which dwarfed even those they had made only a short time before, during the Second World War.

In 1938 F. D. Roosevelt declared that one-tenth of one per cent of all corporations earned fifty per cent of the total corporate net income. He also declared that less than four per cent of all manufacturing corporations earned eighty-four per cent of all net profits in manufacture.

After the Second World War the appetites of the giant cor-

porations proved to be insatiable. To mention only the big four in the meat-packing industry, Armour, Swift, Cudahy, and Wilson in 1945 profited to the tune of \$29,000,000. In 1946 their profits jumped to \$61,000,000, and in 1947 to \$88,000,000, after taxes. Corporate profits after taxes were 340 per cent higher in 1947 than in 1939.

Within a single decade these multiplied beyond any banker's dreams, as the following figures will prove :

Corporate Profits after Taxes :

1939	...	...	\$5,000,000,000
1946	...	...	\$12,000,000,000
1947	...	...	\$17,000,000,000
1948	...	...	\$33,000,000,000
1950	...	...	\$37,000,000,000

These super-giants continued to grow as the international tension grew and the armaments race speeded up. Ford Motor Company's assets, for instance, at the end of 1949 reached the new high level of £479,767,000 sterling, an increase of £69,320,000 sterling over the previous year. General Motors netted well over \$750,000,000 during the first nine months of 1950. During the first half of 1950 the American banks beat the profits record in their own phenomenal history. They recorded profits totalling \$407,000,000. Dividend payments in the six months totalled \$103,000,000; capital accounts were increased by \$166,000,000; the gross earnings of the banks were \$1,047,000,000 during the same period—namely, an increase of \$64,000,000 over the first half of 1949. In 1952, when the U.S.A. Government was forced to seize the steel industry, the latter was making a record \$19.50 per ton, or a total of \$2.5 billion a year. In 1951 the profit of Standard Oil (N.J.) set a new record of \$528,500,000, *after taxes*, whereas that of General Motors (partially controlled by Du Pont), which in that year exceeded \$506,100,000, in the year 1955 broke all records with a total profit of more than \$1,000,000,000, *also after taxes*.²⁰

These earnings became so colossal that in the same year Mr. Snyder, the Secretary of the Treasury, recommended Congress to approve a seventy-five per cent excess profits tax, adding that the corporations would even then "keep their earnings

near record levels." The super-giants not only continued to accumulate profits, they grew in number. The select confraternity of the dinosaurian billionaire corporations, with gross sales of more than *one billion* dollars, by 1952 had, in fact, grown to twenty-four. Among the select new billionaire monsters: International Harvester Company, Shell Oil, Good-year Tyre and Rubber, Standard Oil of California, National Dairy, and Republic Steel.

The process of accumulating such immense economic power in the hands of fewer and fewer individuals was given a phenomenal impetus after the Second World War with the launching of a merger movement. The rate of mergers for the last quarter of 1945 was higher than at any time in the previous fifteen years. Since 1940 nearly seventy-five per cent of the corporations engaged in this dangerous activity. By 1954 there had been three times as many business mergers as occurred in 1949, one-third more than in 1953. Bank mergers had reached an all-time high, with the result that only one per cent of U.S. banks by 1956 held half of all U.S. banking assets.²¹

"Never before in history have so few owned so much at the expense of so many," as a former American Vice-President rightly commented.²²

With such tremendous economic powers concentrated in their hands, the super-giant trusts are in the process of becoming the sole rulers of America. They are in a position to buy America. They are doing, and, indeed, have already done, just that.

10

THE ATOM, THE GIANT TRUSTS AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

UNTIL THE YEAR 1945 THE GIGANTIC accumulation of power in the hands of the few, their control of the economic and political life of the great American nation, would have been a phenomenon as worthy of saddened astonishment as that other bloody one, the appearance of world Fascism.

Yet an event far more portentous than the rise of Communism, of Fascism, of the invisible dictatorship of the big American trusts, or even of both the two world wars, sprang suddenly before a bewildered world: the splitting of the atom.

The ushering of mankind into the Atomic Age, although accomplished by a mighty explosion which incinerated hundreds of thousands of peaceful civilians, promised, notwithstanding such unpropitious beginnings, the opening of the greatest vistas of prosperity that man had ever dared to envisage.

The secret atomic race upon which the Allied and Nazi nations had been engaged was won by the United States. For this the nations of the world thanked God or Fate, as it was then believed that, with this mightiest of all natural

forces in their possession, the freedom-loving American people were surely going to initiate such a mighty revolution as to dwarf both the French and the Russian ones. Furthermore, that this would have been done through a peaceful transformation of the whole economic framework, thanks to a large-scale application of atomic energy, first to American and then to Western, and, indeed, world industry.

Such rosy dreams, however, never came true. Worse still, there was not the faintest sign that the U.S.A. wished to make them a reality.

Had the American people decided otherwise? The American people had not decided anything. For atomic energy had never belonged to them. Atomic energy, in fact, had been the sole property of the invisible government of the billionaire corporations from the very beginning. Its transfer had occurred undetected, secretly, and silently in the usual smooth, professional fashion of which the giant trusts are past-masters.

During the secret atomic race with Nazi Germany the U.S. Government sank approximately two billion dollars into atomic experiments and research. Of this, some \$1,300,000,000 financed facilities, nearly all of which were operated by the Eastman, Kodak, Union Carbide, the Carbon Company, and the Du Ponts. Westinghouse, General Electric, and Allis-Chalmers built almost all the equipment for atomic energy research. The result was that atomic energy soon became a *monopoly possession*. For the few giant corporations which received federal money for scientific research, instead of handing over to the American Government the discoveries thus obtained, held patent rights on new developments financed by public funds. The ultimate reality was that atomic energy became, not a *national* possession, but the *private* monopoly of the giant corporations of America. It had been as simple as that.

With the atom in their hands, the Monopolistic Colossi were faced with a most fateful decision. Should or should not the masses of the world be ushered into an Age of Plenty? The goal was neither Utopian nor mere wishful thinking. It was concretely reachable, through a revolution in industry. Such a revolution, however, would have spelt another no less

portentous phenomenon—i.e. the ultimate collapse of the economic habitat in which the billionaire corporations were prospering. This was too good to be destroyed. The atomic industrial revolution, therefore, must not take place, was their unanimous decision.

As in many past cases, such a colossal anti-social conclusion was not exceptional. It had simply been inspired by the corporations' fundamental, guiding principle—namely, that if any discovery or invention brought them huge profits, it should be supported; if not, it should be opposed. And opposition very often meant suppression.

All for the praiseworthy object of keeping prices at the highest level, to make incredible profits in an incredibly short time.

As long as the American billionaire corporations were the sole repositories of the newly harnessed atomic energy, the decision to prevent the American people and all the masses of the world from using it for the initiation of universal abundance rested exclusively with them. The idea of public service to the community being entirely alien to them, this they mercilessly determined to maintain. And their whole policy came to be based upon such determination.¹

When, however, the atomic monopoly was broken, then their veto automatically went with it. Had the breaking been done by the Government of the United States or even by some competing big American trust, it would have been bad enough. But the break-through had been made outside the U.S.A., by the very country they feared most: Soviet Russia.

In November, 1947, Russia admitted that atomic energy was no longer a secret. On September 23, 1949, the U.S. announced that an atomic explosion outside the U.S.A. had been detected. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Vyshinsky, speaking at the 1949 General Assembly of U.N.O., and again in 1950, after having confirmed that Russia could make atomic bombs in any quantity she desired, declared also that Russia had begun to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes, for "removing mountains, irrigating deserts, and cutting through jungle." What had until then been mere rumours about atomic energy being successfully manipulated in the unknown

vast Siberian expanses, to transform an ingrate nature into an ally of man, were thus officially confirmed.

In October, 1951, the sober London *Times* reported that Russia was building an "artificial sea for Siberia" and had laid down plans "on a gigantic scale for changing the course of rivers in Siberia," the aim being "to make them flow southwards for irrigation of the desert area of Central Asia". The area covered would exceed the total irrigated area of the United States, Japan, Egypt, Italy, Canada, and Australia. Extremes of temperature in Central Asia would cease. The winters in Siberia would be milder. . . . The proposal has been approved by the Science and Technology Council of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Power Stations."²

To the big American corporations such reports were far more alarming than any information dealing with the inevitability of an American-Russian atomic race in the manufacture of atomic weapons—an atomic race which had, in fact, been originally initiated by them.

Such a race could not be avoided. Particularly if it is remembered that the U.S.A., which had been stock-piling atomic weapons at a feverish pace since 1945, had been the chief instigator of several military expeditions against Soviet Russia, in both Europe and Asia, from 1917 onwards, and, indeed, since 1947 had orientated its foreign policy to a political and military global encirclement of Soviet Russia.

The Russian case was put forward by Stalin himself after President Truman, on October 3, 1951, had announced that another atomic bomb had been exploded in Russia: "It is known that the Soviet Union has several times demanded the prohibition of the atomic weapon," and that "each time it has been refused by the Atlantic *bloc* Powers," was Stalin's explanation. "This means that in the event of an attack by the U.S.A. on our country the ruling circles of the U.S.A. will use the atom bomb."³

The breaking of the American atomic monopoly in 1947, although earlier than had been foreseen (the official American prediction was 1954-5), and even Stalin's declaration, did not take the big American corporations by surprise. What upset their whole policy was the question of the potential application of atomic energy to industrial purposes, which they

had never seriously anticipated would come for at least two or three decades. As long as both the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia were using atomic energy exclusively for war purposes, its application to industry would be immensely retarded. The American-Russian atomic armaments race, indeed, to their reasoning, would have been their best guarantor that it would have been prevented by both sides. The starting of the atomic industrial revolution by Russia had not only stultified their decision, it had boldly challenged them where they refused at all costs to be challenged.

Scientists versed in nuclear physics were unanimous that the impact of nuclear energy was bound to alter the world's economic structure within two decades. This meant that, if Russia was left to steal the initiative, the age of a real, steady abundance would bless the Soviet Union. In the years following the Second World War, Soviet economy had performed what to the West seemed a miracle. This seriously alarmed the U.S.A. Mr. Herod, Co-ordinator for North Atlantic Treaty Defence Production, in 1951 warned the fast-rearming U.S. that "output per head in Russia is rising," adding, significantly, that "an era of substantially increasing productivity for Russia is truly at hand."⁴

The beginning of an atomic industrial revolution consequently, even if strictly confined within Russian boundaries, by merely upsetting the economic balance of a vast area of the world would have undermined the whole economic structure of the West and, by giving a mortal blow to the Capitalistic system, have ended the age of the big American dinosaurs.

The ushering in of an atomic industrial revolution, therefore, had to be prevented at all costs. The big corporations had successfully strangled it within the U.S.A.; they had also successfully forced the U.S.A. Government to strangle that of her ally, Great Britain, by a secret *quid pro quo*. In the Quebec Agreement of 1943, in fact, Britain and the U.S.A. agreed that the British Government would *disinterest itself in the commercial and industrial aspects of (atomic) research*.⁵ They had to do the same within the Soviet Union. This could be done simply by binding Russia by a solemn international agreement.

It was thus that the U.S.A.—or, rather, the invisible govern-

ment of the giant trusts—having apparelled themselves in the attire of peacemakers, put forward their slyest of proposals: international control of atomic energy. The plan amounted to this: "International ownership of all uranium and thorium mines, with the widest powers of search in every country."

The American proposal sounded fair, honest, and desirable. In substance, however, it was not the international control of atomic energy, but an American device, besides "preventing the prohibition of the atomic weapon and making it legal and lawful," to prevent Russia from initiating the projected large-scale application of atomic energy to industry. Acceptance of the American proposal would have meant one thing: strangulation of the atomic era of plenty.

The reason was simple. Once atomic energy and all sources of atomic energy were controlled by an international body, any application to industry of atomic energy would have to have the approval of such a body—namely, of the American giant trusts. To be sure, the latter would have remained well hidden behind an "impartial" international authority. Yet their cloven hooves would have been more than discernible.

One of the most edifying occasions when this became more obvious than, perhaps, was wise, was when, in 1950, Senator Brian McMahon, Chairman of the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, proposed "A world Marshall Plan . . . to end this terrible arms race." The plan to include Russia. To carry it out the U.S.A. was ready to spend \$17,000,000,000—two-thirds of the American arms bill. The plan would "also include development of atomic energy everywhere for peace." But, and here was the old "but" in the American proposals, "the administration of money under this plan had to be in the hands of the United Nations."⁶

Russia replied by putting forward her original scheme, modified in such a manner as to safeguard her right to initiate her industrial revolution while binding her to a true international control of atomic energy. Under it the national governments would continue to own, direct, and manage all mines, plants, and laboratories on their territory, but an international Commission would have the right to make periodic inspections of all atomic plants made known to it and special investigations where it had reason to suspect illegal activities.

The Russian proposal, while accepting international control, would have simultaneously prevented the attempts of the giant trusts of America to strangle the atomic revolution, as they had done within the U.S.A.

The basic differences between the U.S.A. and Russia remained these in subsequent years, and all the new proposals foundered upon them.

In the past, with Russia in the role of an ideological foe, the big corporations had felt safe enough to afford to fight against her a comparatively leisured war of attrition. With Russia as the promoter of the atomic revolution, the big corporations could no longer afford to wait for her probable destruction in a distant future. For Russia's potential dangerousness, thanks to her new role, had increased beyond all expectation: she had reached such a position by boldly challenging the big corporations in the very field where previously they had felt reasonably immune—namely, in the industrial.

While Russia forged ahead, Great Britain joined the race. The secret Quebec Agreement of 1943 was readjusted with another unedifying *quid pro quo*, officially disclosed in 1954, when Churchill, on being attacked in the House of Commons for surrendering to the U.S.A. on the industrial side of atomic development, replied that Great Britain meanwhile "had *re-gained* these industrial rights by sacrificing our rights on the military side."⁷

Prior to this, in 1953, Mr Murray, of the U.S.A. Atomic Energy Commission, after disclosing the U.S.A.'s anxiety "in the face of Russia's challenge" to hasten a programme of the use of the atom for industry, declared that "the atomic arms race and the industrial power race are strangely related."⁸ Later, the U.S.A. had to accept the inevitable. "Without minimising the importance of Russia's progress in the development of atomic and hydrogen power," Mr Murray stated, "it would be an event of more than shattering significance if the Soviet Union were able to tell the world that it was devoting these sources of energy to the *growth of industry*."⁹ By 1955 Mr Murray's anxiety had not subsided. "I fear . . . to consider the consequences if the U.S.S.R. *should win the industrial power race*," he said. "What tragedy if world leadership (in atomic energy for industry) fell into Soviet hands. . . ."¹⁰

In 1956 Mr Murray refused to sign the Atomic Energy Commission's half-yearly report, as a protest against the continuous boycott of the civilian atomic power programme and against the belief that "the U.S.A. did not now need atomic power," while both "Russia and Great Britain were progressing rapidly" (*The Times*, London, August 6, 1956). Nuclear power scoreboard: Great Britain 28,000 kilowatts, France 5,000, Russia 5,000 or more, U.S.A. 0 (the *New York Times*, October 28, 1956).

As a result of mounting pressure, finally the U.S.A. announced that it was ready to extend loans (through the Export-Import Bank) to friendly governments which wanted to buy nuclear know-how "from U.S. Companies." Borrowers, however, had first to pledge that they would join forces with the U.S., to develop atomic power for their industries. This, to ensure that "the future atomic industries of the borrowers be married to those of the U.S.A."—namely, be controlled by the U.S.A. (London and *New York Times*, also *Time*, October 29, 1956).

Mr Murray's protest, and the U.S.A.'s belated concession, became even more sinister when it was disclosed that the capital investment of the A.E.C. (A.E.C.'s report, January 1957) had grown from \$1.2 billion in 1947 to \$7 billion in 1957, and that the U.S. "was spending the colossal sum of \$2 billion a year" on nuclear weapons.

During the first atomic decade, the great U.S.A. dinosaurs tried to stop their rival by all means, including war. They failed. Yet their attempt is worthy of study. For their present acceptance of the Soviet challenge ultimately means one thing: the destruction of one or other of the two challengers. In the recent past they have put at stake their total potential, against the risk of losing all. They decided upon forcing a quick showdown which would spell total victory or total annihilation—that is, total war.

The choice was not made years after the Second World War. It was taken before the first two atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

During the secret atomic experiments then in progress in

the U.S.A. the first obvious indication that Russia had already been marked as the future potential enemy was the fact that she was boldly excluded from all atomic secrets.

This had not been the policy of President Roosevelt. It had been that of the big American corporations, which even then were already in *de facto* control of atomic energy. Roosevelt had to comply, thanks to a tacit blackmailing pressure. Either he abandoned his idea of informing Russia about the atomic proceedings, or they, the big corporations in charge of experiments, would find it truly "difficult" to proceed wholeheartedly with the project.

The atomic heavy water at Peenemunde, the most alarming concrete proof that Hitler was feverishly engaged in the atomic race, gave Roosevelt no choice, and the policy of "no secrets-sharing" with the Allies was thus adopted. Such a policy was applied also to Great Britain, as ex-President Truman admitted years later (1954) when, referring to the Anglo-American wartime atomic agreement, he stated that "we weren't sharing our secrets with the British—they were sharing theirs with us." This, it should be noted, although the British had already spent £7,142,857 on atomic research.¹¹

That was the first phase of the oncoming promotion of the atomic war against the then American ally, Soviet Russia. Something even more sinister, however, soon followed.

By the end of 1944 important elements in Japan became ready to sue for peace. By the spring of 1945 Japan had already made tentative approaches for surrender. As early as April of that year the Emperor Hirohito had, in fact, informed the U.S.A., through a most reliable intermediary—the Vatican—that Japan was ready to consider surrender. Peace could not come overnight, even if immediate concrete offers had been put forward. Yet the proposals were at first purposely ignored, then purposely snubbed, and finally unscrupulously retarded by the United States.

Who were responsible for such incredible conduct? Officially, the United States Government; in reality, the billionaire corporations who had "acquired" the atomic patents.

For what purpose? The nefariousness of the giant trusts' calculations, briefly put, was the following. When the first

hints were received by the U.S.A. that Japan was contemplating peace proposals, atomic energy had not yet been encased in atomic bombs to the satisfaction of its manipulators. To do so, time was required—from one to six months. The U.S.A., therefore, had to be prevented from making peace, or a unique opportunity to test the new atomic weapons would be irremediably missed. Theoretically, laboratory, or elaborate artificial experimentation in deserts could never give the full measure of the power of a live atomic bomb. For it was not so much the atomic bomb's destructive powers which were to be demonstrated as its devastating effects upon human beings. If peace came, this would be impossible.

The original idea was to carry out such an experiment in Europe. Hamburg or Berlin had been marked as the two most likely targets. The project, however, encountered strong opposition, mostly for religious, racial, and political reasons. The effects in the post-War Europe might have been incalculable. Besides, the reaction of the Vatican had to be reckoned with. Catholic reaction in the Allied countries and in the U.S.A. might have had serious repercussions in the foreign and domestic policies of the U.S.A. The policy of "saturation" bombing, carried out chiefly by the American Air Force against German cities, had shocked many—in Hamburg or Frankfurt, for instance, devastated by the American bombing of 1944, where, as one Catholic Jesuit himself said, "one looked in vain for strategic or other kind of targets." There tens of thousands of civilians were wantonly murdered by the American Air Force, which, by the end of the war, "was bombing everything in sight." This, in startling contrast to the curious care which that same American Air Force took in safeguarding certain buildings, even when close to legitimate war targets—e.g. the magnificent I.G. Farben building in Frankfurt, "which stood out as a convincing proof that targets can be spared if there is a will."¹² The secret being, of course, that the building was partly owned by certain giant trusts of America, linked with I.G. Farben.

What, however, made the plan of atom-bombing the Europeans fail was not so much any moral or political objections as the fact that, from the end of 1944, it became certain

that Nazi Germany was doomed. Owing chiefly to this, the project was abandoned, and if some ideas were still entertained about it these were quickly cut short by the Nazi collapse in April of 1945 and the end of the War in Europe in the first week of May.

In the East the war was still going on, and, as the considerations brought up in the case of Europe did not apply to Japan, Japan could not be permitted to surrender before the atomic experiments were carried out.

It so happened that at this most fateful period President Roosevelt died. His Vice-President filled his post, by way of automatic succession. Senator Truman; the same man who, only three years before, had uttered the word "treason" when investigating the activities of the big American corporations.

From then onward an incredible story was unfolded, most of which, although still wrapped in mystery, has since been deciphered sufficiently to trace the main lines and the most interested forces working behind it.

The story did not begin with Truman succeeding Roosevelt. It had begun long before Roosevelt's death, from the time when the anti-Cominform Axis, Nazi Germany and Japan, had been judged to have definitely lost—namely, in 1944, the year preceding the end of the war.

In that year the fear that Soviet Russia might advance too far into the heart of Europe inspired the Allies with a skilful opportunist policy *vis-à-vis* Italy and Germany. This was epitomized in the formula of the replacement of Fascist and Nazi regimes by military dictatorships and the signing of separate armistices. Result: in 1943 Mussolini was eliminated, a military dictatorship installed, and a separate armistice concluded. In July, 1944, the attempt was repeated in Germany, when a Catholic officer put a time-bomb on Hitler's table. But Hitler escaped. Thousands were shot. The *coup* having failed, the War went on to its disastrous end. Eastern Germany was occupied by the Red Army, and for several years became closely associated with Soviet Russia. The original conceiver of the Italian and German *coups* had been the Vatican; the practical executors, Italian and German anti-Communist elements and the Allies, including the U.S.A.

The policy was extended to the East. Japan, as the junior

partner of Nazi Germany, should follow the same route. A wholly defeated Japan might become Communist under the sheer weight of an unconditional surrender, even without Russian participation or occupation. But, even more important, there were strategic considerations. The Chinese Communists were gaining ground in China; Chiang Kai Shek's regime was becoming increasingly unpopular in both China and Washington. If Russia intervened in the Far Eastern war, she might occupy militarily and strategically important Asiatic territory, further imperil the regime of Chiang Kai Shek, encourage the Chinese Communists and, indeed, the Bolshevization of Asia in the post-War world. Roosevelt's keenness on having Russia enter the fight in the Far East had never been a secret from anyone, least of all from the Vatican.

Russian intervention could be forestalled before she entered the war in the East. The Japanese counterparts of those same forces which had plotted against, first, Mussolini, and then Hitler, set to work. Conditional surrender began to be contemplated. These forces found a powerful supporter. As in Italy the King was the main instrument for the downfall of Mussolini and the country's eventual surrender, so in Japan the Emperor attempted to do likewise.

Japan is not even a nominally Christian country, and even less a Catholic one. Yet the laurels for having first initiated the new trend of this Japanese policy are due, significantly enough, to Vatican diplomacy.

Vatican diplomacy, as is its practice, began its exertions unofficially, secretively, and without making use of any diplomatic or political channels. As on other, similar occasions, it used its permanent and super-efficient Intelligence service—namely, the Catholic hierarchy—in collaboration with Japanese and American elements.

Once the Vatican had contacted the Tokyo peace party, which was as early as the end of 1944, it informed neither the Allies as a whole nor the American Government. It passed the information to American Catholics, who passed it on to "Catholics" in the U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence. The choice of the latter was not accidental, but had been made because the Vatican knew that influential elements, mostly

Catholics, were conducting a powerful campaign against Roosevelt's "concession" to Soviet Russia in Asia. They opposed the Yalta decision to let Russia have the Kurile Islands in exchange for Soviet participation in the Pacific war. This "opposition" soon won over the Secretary of the Navy himself, Forrestal, who set out in earnest to persuade Roosevelt and other American leaders to "release Stalin from his obligations" to join the United States in the Pacific.

Forrestal, although not a practising one, was still a staunch Catholic, fanatically opposed to anything Communist. Mainly because of this, he soon became a powerful advocate of the Vatican's Pacific policy of "preventive peace with Japan" as the surest means of checking Russian Far Eastern designs. While Forrestal and others worked to this end in Washington, Vatican diplomacy continued its exertions unseen, silently, and simultaneously in Rome, in the United States, and in distant, sealed-off Japan.

As described earlier, Vatican diplomacy very often employs religious channels for political transactions. This was proved once more at this vital period of the Pacific war. From the very beginning the Vatican, instead of using ordinary diplomatic channels, employed one of its religious Congregations, the Congregazione de Propaganda Fide. Officially, this body exists only to spread the Catholic faith; in reality, it is a most powerful instrument of international Intelligence, linked with friendly secular secret services.

The individual directing these secret Intelligence activities was none less than the head of the Congregation, Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi. The Cardinal, as the key man of Vatican political Intelligence, disguised as the head of a purely religious organization, had posted two of his representatives in Tokyo. Officially, these were Catholic priests; actually, however, they were political agents, acting as links with another of the Vatican's religious-diplomatic key men, Archbishop Pietro Tatsuo Doi, of Tokyo. These Catholic agents, in their turn, were linked, via the Vatican, with the U.S.A., or, rather, with members of the American Office of Strategic Services working in Italy, through which the Vatican passed information to the U.S.A.'s Office of Naval Intelligence.

Such secret negotiations, at a given moment, reached the

highest level—i.e. the Emperor of Japan and Pope Pius XII. In the Spring of 1945 Emperor Hirohito asked the Vatican to open peace negotiations with the United States. This was duly conveyed to the various members of the U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence and to Forrestal, the Secretary of the American Navy.

Response from the U.S.A. was not even belated: it never came. To speed up matters, Tokyo contacted the Russians, asking them to help. Archbishop Doi informed the Vatican about this, and the Vatican promptly passed the news to its Catholic-American supporters in the U.S.A. At such a development, the latter, prompted by the fear that Russia, after all, might steal the show in the Far Eastern theatre, accelerated their activities both at home and in Rome. Throwing all their hitherto secret exertions to the wind, they planned nothing less than a series of direct broadcasts to the Japanese High Command, with a view to persuading them "to end the war before it was too late," at the same time warning them to take all precautions to impede the Russian armies from occupying territories of which the American-Catholic party, which was advocating a "preventive peace" with Japan, did not approve.

The Japanese peace party made concrete headway. On April 5, 1945, the Emperor dismissed the War Premier, General Koiso, and replaced him with Admiral Suzuki. His task: immediate exploration of the possibilities of ending the war. Japan had made the first definite move. It was up to the U.S.A. to make the next.

On being confronted again with a Washington even more mysteriously reluctant than before to make peace, Forrestal and others in the Office of Naval Intelligence boldly by-passed the White House and set about promoting plans of their own. One of these consisted in discussing peace with the Japanese through a member of the Swedish Legation in Tokyo; and a more significant one of using General Hiroshi Oshima, lately captured in Germany, as a link between the Catholic-American peace promoters and the Japanese. General Oshima was no mean person. Only a few months earlier he had been the Japanese Ambassador to Hitler; before the war he had been the soul of Japanese adherence to the Axis, one of the main inspirers of the Anti-Cominform Pact, and a close friend of

the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsuoka, the latter a most fervent admirer of Pope Pius XII, whom he described, when the Nazi-Japanese star was at its highest, as "the most outstanding man I had ever met in Europe."¹³ General Hiroshi Oshima volunteered enthusiastically, and the American Catholics set out to arrange a meeting between Admiral Suzuki's personal representative and Oshima on a small Pacific island. When the plan became known in Washington, General Oshima was promptly interned and his whereabouts kept secret.

After this failure Forrestal and his friends decided to contact the Japanese via Vatican Intelligence. Simultaneously, however, the Vatican, which had been in touch with Tokyo all the time, sent a most urgent message to the Office of Military Intelligence. Every hour counted. Something had to be done to persuade the Government to act. The Emperor of Japan himself, added the Vatican, had just flashed to the Pope, through Archbishop Doi, a desperate plea for the beginning of peace negotiations. In view of the importance of the message, Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi got in touch with the White House itself. To his, and the Pope's, astonishment, the Cardinal was bluntly informed that "someone in Washington" was looking not at all favourably on his or anyone else's similar efforts.¹⁴

At this stage no more room was left for doubt with those who knew. Someone in the American capital did not want Japan to surrender. That this was an extremely secret but stark policy was proved by the fact that the Vatican itself—which had played a very important role in both the Italian and the German surrenders—was taken wholly by surprise. Indeed, that key members of the American Government were entirely in the dark. The very Secretary of the Navy, Forrestal, had not the slightest hint of such a policy, having never been put "in the know" about the plan of testing the new atomic weapons. The American Navy itself was denied atomic scientists and development material for over three years, during the Manhattan District Plan, permission to partake of the atom secrets being given only shortly after the atomic bombs fell on Japan. Why, even the President of the U.S.A. was kept completely in the dark for two whole weeks about the atom-splitting: "I first learned about our vast project of

atom-splitting about two weeks after I became President," Truman subsequently had to admit.¹⁵

The American-Catholic peace party continued their efforts. Broadcasts that "unconditional surrender does not mean extermination" were planned. A statement to that effect was eventually issued by Truman.

The Japanese, meanwhile, went on asking for peace. The Office of Naval Intelligence was informed that the Supreme War Guidance Council, Japan's highest authority, had accepted a resolution to end the War.¹⁶ On June 26 the Emperor called a conference and ordered the Government to make immediate plans to stop hostilities, no matter what terms were demanded. Japanese spokesmen contacted the Americans and asked their conditions for peace. Forrestal, Rear-Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, and others approached the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department—all in vain. At this stage, having determined once more to by-pass the State Department, they broadcast to Japan with the choice: either a dictated peace, or "unconditional surrender with its attendant benefits as laid down in the Atlantic Charter." Their "D" day, July 21, 1945.¹⁷

Truman, Stalin, and Attlee, who had congregated at Potsdam, were, meanwhile, drafting a declaration calling on the Japanese people to surrender.

Tokyo replied to the unofficial broadcast with what in effect amounted to an open invitation to begin negotiations.

Washington disclaimed the unauthorized message. Thereupon, Forrestal, after informing the chief of the *New York Times* in Washington that what had been done had the Presidential approval, flew to Potsdam to explain to the President their "deliberate indiscretion."¹⁸

The Potsdam Declaration was issued. In spite of it, Japan still made it clear that she was ready to surrender. In fact, as became known after the War, she even fixed the date: September 15, 1945.

The manifold efforts of the peace party of Japan to stop the War, and the passively stubborn efforts of Washington to continue it, would seem incredible were they not true. The mystery, however, subsequently became very clear. The kernel of such stubborn opposition to peace—namely, the

hidden lobby of some powerful interests—had decided to release their atomic bombs upon a Japanese city. The decision had not been taken overnight. It was the culmination of the pressure of sundry groups upon the agency officially in control of atomic energy—the American Government. The specific aim of their decision was simple: the new atomic weapon's potentialities, to be fully employed in the next war, had to be tested "without specific warning . . . to show its devastating strength," as someone who was in a position to know put it. When Roosevelt died they set to work upon the new President. The atom-bombing of Europe having been discarded, the atom-bombing of Japan became their new objective. Truman, still dazzled by his new office, was easily persuaded.

A decade afterwards, in 1955, Truman admitted that certain individuals had recommended to him the use of the atom bomb "without specific warning and against a target which would clearly show its devastating strength"¹⁹ (read: upon urban centres). And that is how the first atom bombs burst upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The crimes committed against humanity are many. But the massacre of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has certainly no parallel in the military history of the first half of the twentieth century. Hitler never committed anything so calculatedly unscrupulous as the dropping of the first two atom bombs. For even he, before using his secret weapons, repeatedly warned the enemy, thus giving the opportunity to the Allies to take measures to safeguard the civilian population.

The reaction to such inhuman massacre was universal condemnation of the American people, who were blamed, condemned, and cursed almost everywhere. Yet, once more, they were innocent. For the stubborn refusal of the many Japanese peace offers and the incinerating of the two Japanese cities had been the work of but a handful of men: of the rulers of the invisible government of the billionaire corporations, acting behind the screen of the legal Government of the U.S.A.

In 1952, during the Korean War, after flies, until then unknown, appeared suddenly in Korea and Manchuria, discarded containers were found, and thousands of Chinese died of contagious disease, Chou-en-Lai, the Chinese Foreign

Minister, officially accused the Western Power in Korea—namely, the U.S.A.—of having initiated germ warfare.

American and Western replies were contemptuously indignant. The Western nations were not Communist, and, therefore, were not barbarian; they were civilized, democratic, and Christian lands. "The deliberate spreading of disease" is so abhorrent to them, declared the London *Times* (March 20, 1952), that they could never consider "so vile a method of warfare." The U.S.A., in an official broadcast from Tokyo (March 24, 1952), accused Soviet Russia and Red China of having themselves begun germ warfare (. . . against their own soldiers).

Bacteriological warfare theoretically was nothing new. Yet, although it had been contemplated during the First World War, none of the belligerent nations dared to wage it. Its monstrousness was acknowledged to such an extent that all civilized nations, a few years later, convened at Geneva to sign a solemn agreement to outlaw germ warfare for good from any future war. The result was the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925, which prohibited bacteriological warfare in any shape or form. The Geneva Protocol was put into force on April 3, 1928. All the nations of the world potentially capable of conducting it solemnly agreed never to resort to such barbarous devices. The Geneva Protocol was duly signed and ratified by them all: forty-one nations.

One country, however, ominously refused to ratify the Protocol, making it quite clear that she wanted to be free to wage bacteriological warfare whenever it suited her, wholly unperturbed about whether the rest of the world branded her as barbarous and un-Christian. This was Japan, who was subsequently to drench Asia with twenty years of blood, ending with her collapse in the Second World War.

But Imperial Japan was not alone. One great Western, Christian land refused to ratify the Geneva Protocol, for the same noble reason: the U.S.A.

The abstention of Japan and the U.S.A. had been prompted not by the Japanese or American people but, in Japan, by those militarists who had already planned their future aggression on the Asiatic mainland and, in the U.S.A., by the billionaire corporations, particularly those connected with the

production of chemicals, some of which, as we have already seen, tried to prevent Geneva from outlawing another inhuman method of warfare: gas.

As long as the U.S.A. was led by such a man as F. D. Roosevelt, gas, germ warfare, or any other inhuman form of mass killing was never permitted. During the Second World War, after suggestions that they be used, Roosevelt came out determinedly against them: "I state most categorically," he said on June 8, 1943, "that we shall under no circumstances resort to the use of such weapons unless they are first used by our enemies."

Since the taking over of the U.S.A. by the invisible government of the giant trusts, the American name has been blackened beyond recognition. The U.S.A. was the first to conduct indiscriminate mass slaughter of combatants and civilians alike by means of atom bombs during the Second World War; the first indiscriminately to burn alive combatants and civilians by petrol bombs—the napalm bomb—during the Korean war.²⁰

These monstrous methods were used by neither of those whom many called the enemies of mankind: the Nazis or the Communists. They were first ruthlessly used by democratic, Western, Christian U.S.A. The fact that these terrible weapons were first tested by a democratic, Western, Christian, White country against Oriental, non-Christian, coloured Asiatics, Japanese and Chinese, is a precedent which one day will recoil upon the U.S.A. and the whole Western, Christian, White race with a thousandfold devastation, the Biblical saying that those who sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind having never been as true as it is in our times.

Yet the American masses, although accursed throughout Asia for such atrocities, once again were not guilty. The real culprits again were the great American dinosaurs.

It was this inner circle which, even before the Second World War was over, had already begun the promotion of the third. When Germany disintegrated they opposed "with increasing determination the American Government's attempts of trying to break down Soviet suspicions and secure Soviet collaboration in the post-War period," as Mr. George F. Kennan, for twenty-five years the doyen of American diplomacy and American

Ambassador to Moscow, subsequently stated in a book dealing with American Foreign Policy, published in 1951.

They succeeded in doing this, not only by marring any understanding with Russia, but actually by gradually persuading the American Government to adopt a policy of permanent hostility to that country. Russian-American suspicions were many, and genuine enough, to make real co-operation between the two countries difficult. The policy of the invisible government, directed at their magnification, was bound, therefore, to create such an unbridgeable gulf as eventually to lead the two countries into a state of war.

The American-Russian negotiations directed at finding some kind of solution to the diverse schemes for an international atomic control and, possibly, for the banning of all atomic weapons, which had begun as early as 1946-7, broke down completely in 1949-50. It was this, it was then said, that promoted the "cold war."

It was repeatedly declared that the break-down occurred because of the intractability of Soviet Russia. That many of the Russian proposals did not sound trustworthy or acceptable to American ears, no one will deny.

On the other hand, that Soviet Russia was justified in doubting American good faith is also a fact, with far more concreteness than mere deep-rooted Russian suspicions. The inner core of the American policy in this field was that, while a large section of the U.S.A. genuinely desired an understanding with Russia, another section, the more powerful, wanted at all costs the continuation of the Russian-American misunderstanding.

The hidden, mighty promoters of this counter-current, which bedevilled all American attempts to reach an agreement, were to be found in the secret lobby of the billionaire corporations, whose policy was based upon all American-Russian negotiations ending in failure.

The policy of the invisible government of the U.S.A. was not inspired solely by innate pessimism. It was the result of well-calculated, coolly planned decisions of the American billionaire corporations, taken long before the American-Russian negotiations had even been initiated.

Their "agents" placed in the highest positions in the

official American Government had begun promoting the secret policy of the invisible government before the Second World War had ended. Their promotion of such a policy was crowned with considerable success with the dawning of peace. They had planned to wage war upon Soviet Russia as early as 1947, only two years after the fall of Hitler. Their strategy, however—or rather the strategy of the billionaire corporations—was not a direct attack upon Soviet Russia, in Hitler's 1941 fashion. That would have been not only impossible, but bad politics. The "American attack" against Russia was going to be made "obliquely"—that is to say, the oblique attack in due course would be turned into a "straight" war between the U.S.A. and Russia. The American-Russian war, according to these early calculations, was going to begin in Manchuria. It would be launched, not by American troops, but by the American billionaire corporations' most despicable and costly "creature," Chiang Kai Shek. The U.S.A., besides continuing to supply the Chinese "creature" with arms, dollars, and technical and military experts, would have to put at the "creature's" disposal most of the American Navy, which would serve the "cause" by transporting the "creature's" National troops to Manchuria, where they would have engaged in the fight against the Chinese Communists as a preliminary phase to a subsequent Chinese Nationalist, first, and then Chinese Nationalist-American "intervention" against Soviet Russia.²¹

The policy miscarried. It was resumed with renewed vigour in 1950-1, when General Douglas MacArthur, with no authorization from either the U.S.A. or the United Nations, raced with American Armies to the borders of Manchuria, and made ready to attack China, thus purposely provoking the intervention of Soviet Russia, with whom China had a pact of mutual military assistance.

The invisible government's grand plan miscarried, thanks to the American Government putting a prompt halt to it all by abruptly relieving MacArthur of all his military commands (Spring, 1951).

It might be contended that what prompted Forrestal, MacArthur, and friends to propose and promote such policies, not being concretely documented, should, at least, have the

benefit of the doubt. Hence that which has just been described cannot be accepted as proof that they and the forces they represented were planning for war. The objection is justified. It may, therefore, be more convincing to put forward some examples, which, by way of their definite nature and the times at which they occurred, should leave one in no doubt about the fact that war preparations against Russia were already being made long before the American-Russian rift.

This is, perhaps, the most striking instance of how the invisible government of the U.S.A. had set out to promote its strategy, directed at an all-out war with Russia. Almost immediately the Second World War ended, a war measure of paramount importance was passed officially by the U.S. Government. In reality it was the work of the invisible government of the billionaire corporations, which had compelled the U.S. administration to take this step by a combination of persuasion, public pressure, cajolery, bribery, and, above all, via the work of their "secret agents." The first attempts to implement this secret policy can be traced to as early as 1944-5 when, as four Senators told Truman, that promoter of peace, Pius XII, who "was blue as indigo about the situation," launched the first American policy epitomized in an all-out war against Soviet Russia.²²

War implies war preparations. War preparations mean the accumulation of war materials. A nation does not accumulate immense amounts of war material unless it is preparing for, or, at least, contemplating, war. Laws implementing such a policy are not passed in one day. Months, sometimes years, are required before they are presented to the government, discussed, accepted, and implemented. Keeping this in mind, here are the facts:

In the Summer of 1946, at the low point of demobilization and disarmament of the Western World and before serious differences between the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia had appeared, indeed long before negotiations about atomic energy, atomic weapons, or the "Bolshevization" of Eastern Europe had been initiated, the U.S.A. Government began stock-piling.

Stock-piling is a measure taken to prevent the dangerous dependence of a government on national and foreign sources

of essential raw materials. It is one hundred per cent a war measure. On July 23, 1946, the U.S.A. passed a most significant Act—the Public Law 520, of the 79th Congress, approved by both Houses. Thereupon it promptly began to purchase great quantities of strategic war materials. The war materials were not being stock-piled to repel an invasion by the Martians; they were being stock-piled in preparation for a third World War.

In that same year the Munitions Board and the General Services Administration charged with this task made a list of forty materials, which was eventually extended to seventy-three materials, plus an additional twenty. Their combined stock-piling, as early as the end of 1946, stood already at 4,536,000,000 dollars. From such figures it is more than evident that the U.S.A. had already embarked on a policy contemplating the inevitability of war and that the American-Russian negotiations, which began in 1947-8, were, consequently, doomed to utter failure long before they started.

From 1946 until a few days before the Korean War (June, 1950), the American stock-pile increased to 8,300,000,000 dollars.²³

This early promotion of the third World War was not one-sided. The Vatican's unceasing exertions, directed at influencing the various Allied and ex-Allied Governments, having fallen on receptive ears, fructified more quickly even than all the Vatican's master-diplomatic schemers had hoped for. This was due not merely to good luck. It was due to skilful political and ideological Catholic manœuvres in various regions, manœuvres which, when conducted as they were simultaneously with similar ones in other spheres by the Vatican's American partners, promoted grave political and military situations, all with the view to befouling the international atmosphere.

Thus, while in 1946 the American billionaire corporations and certain military circles were silently laying down the new U.S. war strategy, the Vatican launched a most vigorous diplomatic campaign in Central Europe, with a view to restoring the Catholic Monarchy of the Hapsburgs.

This had as its goal the creation of a Central European Federation of States, made up entirely of Catholic nations, to

be used as a political barrier against Russia. While Cardinal Mindszenty and the U.S.A. schemed for the downfall of the Hungarian Government, a staunch Catholic, General Anders, stubbornly refused to disband his army of 100,000 Catholic Poles, in the hope of having them march once more against Soviet Russia before long.

Wars are waged with guns and are prepared by hostile diplomacies. But both the waging and the preparation of wars necessitate something of paramount importance: moral justification. And from where could such moral justification come, if not from that mouthpiece of Catholic morality, the Pope?

“The materialist East stands against the Christian West,” said Pope Pius XII. “We know that the struggle will go on until this enemy, like all others, breaks its neck against the rock erected by God, for the safety of mankind. . . . Christians must therefore realize that the hour has come for them *to fight in open battle.*”²⁴

From then onward the world began in earnest to prepare for a new conflict. The race for a third world struggle had been successfully launched.

THE AMERICAN PRESS, THE BILLIONAIRE CORPORATIONS, AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT A RELIGIOUS body like Catholicism, even when endowed with all its exceptional unity, cunning, and ruthlessness, should become the tremendous influence it is in the life of a great democratic and Protestant nation like the U.S.A.?

Granted its vigour, drive, dynamism, wealth, and initiative, not to mention its numerical strength, could such a denomination, had it to rely solely upon its own resources, have grown so rapidly into the power that it is?

The reply is in the negative.

The Catholic Church has become what she is thanks to the support of the giant trusts of America.

The history of the evolution of the Catholic-American dinosaurs' friendship is the history of the evolution of Communism's growth. The two are interdependent. It was the phenomenal expansion of the Marxist ideology which, by creating an expanding phenomenal fear, induced the economic giants of America to fall into the arms of their theological counterpart, the Catholic Church. Result: a friendship which,

since its inception, has become the main promoter of a potent Catholic-dinosaurian anti-Bolshevik front throughout the world.

We have already seen how that was first accomplished. The consequence was that all the immense resources of the American giants, having been mobilized for its creation, were simultaneously mobilized to assist anyone helping it. This meant that their great resources were generously directed also to the promotion of the most rabidly fanatical of their useful anti-Bolshevik friends—i.e. the Catholic Church.

The successful scaling to power of American Catholicism runs parallel with the even more successful scaling to power of Russian and world Communism, not to mention the remarkably gentle attack of a mild form of Socialist fever labelled New Dealism in the U.S.A. itself.

Catholic penetration into the U.S.A. owes its most spectacular success to the genuine and the often artificially stimulated fear of American and world Communism.

The anti-Communist strategy, jointly worked out by the Catholic Church and the industrial giants of America, sprang mainly from this fear. And the mystery of the phenomenal Catholic expansion lies just in such a fear-alliance.

Catholicism is riding upon the crest of the tremendous economic, financial, and political tidal waves which its friends are so vigorously directing against all the advancing forces of Leftism threatening the economic fabric of the nation.

Economic power spells political power. The combination of both, at the disposal of a Church, spells something very ominous: the magnification of that Church. Hence the astounding rapidity of the growth of Catholic influence in every nook and cranny of the American fabric.

The Catholic Church of America has already expanded as an economic power in her own right, with ties which have bound the American giant trusts to the very fountain-head of world Catholicism—namely, the Vatican.

The Vatican's secret budget, as already mentioned, is a dollar budget. The American Church's million-dollar "Peter's pence," the secret loans from the U.S. Government, and sundry discreet "donations" from Big Business have all powerfully contributed to the Catholic-American Siamese twinning.

Economic support alone, however, no matter how powerful, could never have promoted Catholic influence nor made Catholicism sky-rocket with the rapidity it has done since the Second World War. The secret of Catholicism's phenomenal success is something else. It lies in one of the most perilous of all the instruments at the disposal of contemporary society—in our case the American Press and cognate media.

The modern Press is the life-blood of the modern world. It is as essential to a healthy democracy as oxygen is to the body, not only to remain healthy, but to survive.

Freedom of that Press, however, is no less essential. Lack of liberty can be harmful; more, it can be so deadly that it can kill. Wherever freedom of the Press has disappeared, there forces hostile to liberty must have found their way into it.

As a rule, these forces are hostile to freedom for economic or political reasons, the exercise of freedom being harmful to their interests. All dictatorships of either an economic or a political nature have followed such a course. Their strangling of the Press, however, is done not only by smothering all forces advocating true freedom, but also by using a seemingly free but secretly paralysed Press.

In the U.S.A. we have a concrete example of this procedure. To be sure, freedom of the Press in the U.S.A. has not been reduced in the same obvious manner as by certain contemporary dictatorships. But it has been done no less efficiently—indeed, no less villainously—because imperceptible. It certainly was, and is, the most cunning gagging of the Press in the world.

Such a statement may sound absurd. A mere glance at a news-stand in the U.S.A. can smash such a declaration to smithereens. Yet the old proverb that appearances are deceptive could not be more applicable than in this case. This can be proved, not with subtle dissertations, but with crude facts.

The U.S.A. can rightly boast of possessing the most efficient news and information service in the world. Efficiency, however, is not synonymous with truth. Truth implies real freedom—namely, a Press wholly free from fetters, bonds, ties, and

pressure of any kind. Can this be said of the American Press? The American Press and cognate media, with the exception of those in obvious dictatorships, are the most monopolized in the world. Where there is monopoly there is no freedom. Where there is no freedom the first casualty is truth. The American news is monopolized because it is controlled by the big financial and industrial trusts. These employ such powerful instruments, not to inform or enlighten the people, but to misrepresent, distort, and reshape the news, and hence to mould the American mind according to their will.

Their two main objectives in controlling the Press can be summarized as follows: (a) to make more money and (b) to foster the system by which they thrive.

To the American economic dinosaurs the control of the Press is just another instrument to complete their control over the American people. This not merely because it is good business, as Americans pay more than one billion dollars a year for their newspapers, but because, having discovered that economic might is not enough to control a whole nation, they have, since a decade prior to the Second World War, set out to mould, in addition to the economic structure of the U.S.A., the political thinking of the American masses. Their power over the Press, radio, television, and the like has already reached such a stage that they can shape the mind of America at will.

This moulding is not done in the dictators' way, but in an extremely clever oblique fashion worthy of the most cunning Catholic ruse.

It is done simply by owning or controlling the sources of information and the media of dissemination of news, while fostering a degree of freedom sufficient for the cultivation of the myth that the American Press is free.

The American Press is anything but free. And the tale of how it lost its freedom is as sordid, sad, and alarming a tale as can be told.

To a candid observer from Mars scrutinizing, not the front pages of the American Press, but the sober figures relating to their financial background, status, and economic and political

ties, a most startling fact, wholly undetected by the average American reader, would strike him at once.

Almost all the American Press, from the great dailies to the slick, luxurious, great monthly magazines, is partially or often totally controlled by the big American banks, giant trusts, billionaire corporations, and various minor dummies, as well as by a motley of the "I accept even your patronage provided I can escape extinction" Press.

Our observer would further notice that, apart from extremely rare exceptions, the names of the giant dinosaurs of American industry and finance crop up unremittingly, in whichever great papers or groups of papers his inquisitorial journey made him visit. Also that these financial monsters are becoming rapidly even more monstrous, either by devouring smaller rivals or by prolifically giving birth to small replicas of themselves, all speaking their parents' jargon and supporting their parents' big friends.

Like the military monsters of old, or like some of the contemporary economic monsters of the U.S.A., some of the "pulp and ink" lords have created Press empires of their own. To mention only a few—the Knight, Patterson, McCormick, Howard Hearst, and Luce empires.

These empires, although deadly rivals in the field of money-making, are united in others—e.g. in befriending certain institutions and in opposing certain others; in supporting the Catholic Church and in opposing Communism.

The dinosaurian basic policy towards certain fundamental issues does not spell uniformity, dullness, or repetition, as in some blatantly totalitarian Press. The American Press is still immensely varied and diversified. It can reach all readers, at all times, everywhere. It has colour, vigour, variety, fighting spirit, and technically it can stand up to any in the world.

It is this that deceives the American people. The American Press's variety and diversification to them is the most concrete proof that it is free. Yet, as we have said, the American Press is the most monopolized in the world, with the exception of that in dictator States such as Soviet Russia or super-Catholic Spain.

For instance, if we glance at the seven popular monthly magazine most responsible for moulding public opinion—four

of which, incidentally, cater exclusively for women—we will see that they are controlled, all seven of them, by the American financial and industrial trusts :

1. *Ladies' Home Journal*, with a circulation of 4,000,000, is controlled by the National Association of Manufacturers;
2. *Woman's Home Companion*,* with 3,500,000, by Crowell and J. P. Morgan.
3. *McCall's*, with 3,500,000, by Warner of the National Association of Manufacturers;
4. *Good Housekeeping*, with 2,500,000, by Hearst;
5. *American*, with 2,500,000, by Crowell and J. P. Morgan;
6. *Cosmopolitan*, with 2,000,000, by Hearst.
7. *Redbook*, with 1,500,000, by Crowell and J. P. Morgan;

Even more important in forming public opinion are the weekly magazines, read regularly by more than half of the adult population, and also in the hands of the big trusts. For instance :

- Life*, with a circulation of 4,000,000, is controlled by Luce and J. P. Morgan;
- Saturday Evening Post*, with 4,000,000, by Fuller and the N.A.M.;
- Collier's*,* with almost 3,000,000, by Crowell and J. P. Morgan;
- Look*, with 2,000,000, by Cowles;
- Time*, with 2,000,000, by Luce and J. P. Morgan;
- Liberty*, with 1,500,000, by Atlas Corporation;
- Newsweek*, with 750,000, by Harriman, Morgan, and Astor.

* These magazines ceased publication in 1956, although with an ultimate combined circulation of 8,000,000.

Total circulation : over 17,000,000, reaching approximately 50,000,000 readers.

This mental bombardment by the monthly and weekly Press, with its 100,000,000 readers, is supplemented by that of the daily moulders of American public opinion, the daily Press, with its 55,000,000 readers, of whose 1,750 papers ninety-

five per cent are directly or indirectly owned and controlled by the big American financial and industrial trusts.¹

That is not all. Big Business also controls most of the big publishing houses—the National Publishers Association, for instance, is under the invisible thumb of the N.A.M.²—and the majority of radio stations. After the Second World War, the radio stations owned or controlled by the newspapers were: on 50,000 wattage, 83 per cent; on 5,000 or 20,000 wattage, 68·9 per cent; on 1,000 or 2,500 wattage, 66·7 per cent. The number of radio stations owned and controlled, directly or indirectly, by newspaper publishers was 508 out of a total of 886.³

Such a colossal concentration of power in the hands of the economic and financial colossi is alone the most deadly menace to any democracy. It is the surest indication that genuine American democracy, unless the power of the giant trusts is broken, is doomed. For, in addition to poisoning the minds of the American masses, the controllers of the Press feed America with a most morbid form of sensationalism. This is not only due to the American temperament; it is purposely fostered by interested forces. For sensationalism can very rapidly sway the masses by making them believe not only that the Martians are invading New York, but also that closer enemies intend to destroy and pulverize the U.S.A.—for instance, the Russians.

Such fostering of sensationalism, the real cause of the frequent and violent ups and downs of American public opinion, becomes even more dangerous when it is pointed out that its promoters are becoming ever fewer in numbers because of absorption and concentration of ever more power into ever fewer hands.

Thus, while the sources of information are diminishing, mass output is on the increase. In 1910 in the U.S.A. there were 2,600 newspapers, as compared with 1,780 in 1950. Since the turn of the century the U.S.A. lost 2,500 weekly papers and 1,000 dailies. The Hutchins Commission Report proved that national, regional, and local chains control more than half the American national newspaper circulation. Only *fourteen* individual owners control one quarter of this circulation.

The concentration of the Press and radio is due, not only to

the diminishing number of papers, but also to the standardization of the papers and radio broadcasts—the syndicated Press. An increasing number of U.S. cities have but a single newspaper, all too often controlled by the owners of the local broadcasting station. This is further aggravated by another ominous tendency: the increasing control of a formerly independent or quasi-independent Press by standardization, by “facsimile” and television. Through facsimile, the day is fast approaching when there will be little local newspaper typesetting, apart from that of local news. Add to all this the power of an ever-more-restricted number of publishers and writers. Columnists, for instance, with more than 20,000,000 readers—e.g. Drew Pearson’s “Washington Merry-Go-Round”; or Walter Winchell’s gossip column, printed in 700 newspapers, or his broadcasts, listened to by 40,000,000 people, his radio performances and columns earning him close on 1,000,000 dollars a year. Or the Luce public-opinion moulders, *Life* and *Time*, as already mentioned, with a combined circulation of at least 6,000,000, and *The March of Time*, playing in 9,000 theatres to 20,000,000 persons, with the result that the Luce source alone can claim to influence weekly practically the whole of the literate and a vast segment of the quasi-illiterate adult population of the U.S.A.

This phenomenal concentration has resulted in the mind of the nation being at the mercy of a few interested individuals, or groups of individuals, backed by a few omnipotent, centralized sources.

Such concentration is especially dangerous because the Press, while an industry that disseminates ideas, once it has been monopolized is a Big Business in its own right, and hence its ideas are those of the concentrated monopolies, on whose revenue this industry exists and whose economic system it advocates.

Press monopolization, consequently, is a process moving in unison with economic concentration, exemplified, for instance, by a single New York company which controls 16,000 grocery stores throughout the United States.

The regimentation of the American mind assumes an even more ominous significance when another factor is considered—namely, the increasing power of the visual media: cartoons,

films, television. More than nine American children in ten read comics, in addition to a rapidly growing percentage of the adult population. A hundred million adults see at least one newsreel a week. Television has penetrated the American home in such a fashion that it is already part and parcel of it. Thus, while immediately after the Second World War only a few television stations served a few thousand families, in 1948 these increased to thirty-eight serving about 12,000,000, in 1949 to one hundred serving about 25,000,000, and by 1957 they had already trebled, with a proportionate increase in viewers. The process will eventually saturate the whole of the U.S.A.

The consequence of this visual medium for influencing public opinion will be immense. During the Second World War 4,000,000 American soldiers were trained to operate tanks and airplanes by watching films made by Walt Disney, with the result that they learned to do so six times as fast as their fathers had done from books. The implanting of ideas into a multitude of 150,000,000 will be even quicker. The nefariousness of the visual media in moulding the mind of America will increase (a) with its quickening pressure, (b) because of the decreasing sources by which it is being operated. In 1952 only seven companies were in virtual control of the motion pictures of the U.S.A.; in television the quickening process of concentration had set in and was fast bringing the various independent television stations under fewer and fewer controlling powers.

The monopolization of the Press, films, and television of America is the most dangerous political factor, both for the U.S.A. and for world politics. For the propaganda value transmitted by such a monopoly is far more efficient and penetrates far deeper than the monopolized Press of a dictatorship. When a dictatorship openly monopolizes its news the masses automatically form a conscious or subconscious mental resistance and accept the information with mental reservation. In a democracy the masses, being persuaded that their Press is free, will accept the news with no such reservation. Once deprived of such a necessary mental brake their acceptance is far more dangerous than that of the readers of an openly censored Press. The American monopolists have always been aware of this; hence their determination to maintain a sem-

blance of diversity of opinion in the presentation of their news and even, in extreme cases, opposing their own political opinions in their Press. This the masses are inclined to accept as the most obvious proof of the freedom of the Press. To the monopolies, however, it is the most convincing proof that nothing is more powerful for strangling the true independence of the Press than an efficacious mock advocacy of its freedom.

The nefariousness of this myth of the freedom of the Press in the U.S.A. goes even further when it is remembered that, in addition to the above, the Press is made a vehicle of the most unscrupulous propaganda, directed at subverting the opinion of the people by the grossest exploitation of their belief in the reliability of news which in reality have been "planted" to sell goods or political ideas useful to the big trusts.

The Federal Trade Commission, publishing its findings, disclosed that the light and power industry alone used between 25,000,000 dollars and 30,000,000 dollars *to change the economic thinking of the American people*, adding that this was accomplished mostly by corruption and bribery. In 1952 the continuance of such dinosaurian practices was confirmed by none other than Truman. The President, after having warned Congress that, if it did not vote funds for construction of the proposed St. Lawrence River Seaway opening the Great Lakes to the Atlantic, Canada would go ahead without America, bluntly declared that the project had been "*blocked for twelve years by private railway and power lobbies.*"⁴ As, in fact, it had been. In 1956 a Senate enquiry revealed how two oil companies contributed \$240,000 "to *educate* the public about the desirability of the natural gas Bill" (*London Times*, September 9, 1956).

One of the chief offenders: the peak association of the big trusts—namely, the National Association of Manufacturers. The N.A.M. emerged, not only as the dominant power in the newspapers and magazines, but also as the greatest influencer in publicity. Advertising is not always done by way of direct payment; nor in such a manner as to make the public aware that it is advertising. Very often it is done freely by the big corporations and in such a way that the public is not at all aware that it is interested propaganda. Thus the Hofer

Bureau, for instance, used to claim that 14,000 newspapers accepted its *free* propaganda, that they used it without disclosing that it was propaganda, and that on one occasion 600 papers used the same item.⁵

The United States Government made an official investigation into this and cognate subjects, and the result was a 73-volume report, exhibits, and indexes explaining in detail the parts played by such all-powerful corrupters.⁶

The outcome of all this is that the giant trusts and their allies can make and unmake laws, hamper the passage of reforms, bills, and legislation—in short, go against the true will of the people by, ironically enough, using the will of the people to further their own anti-social and selfish interests.

To believe that such power cannot affect the American Government or the American domestic and foreign policies is to commit the gravest of errors. Dinosaurian monopoly of the American Press has moulded and is moulding, often with total success, American society in economic, social, and political fields. It would be simple to prove this with countless examples, particularly since dinosaurian power has become so immense, referring, for instance, to cases connected with the Presidential Election of 1952. Instead, we shall choose a period when the big dinosaurs were still comparatively weak in their binding of the American Press—namely, immediately after the election of President Roosevelt. The power they could exert in those days in obstructing the will of the American people by their control of the Press has in the intervening years increased a thousandfold. One of the most striking examples of their power at that period was a report issued by the magazine publishers on July 16, 1934. In that year President Roosevelt came out with his New Deal, which was under way to accomplishment. One of the most important provisions was a Labour Law, which provided American Labour with the right to assert its claims. Another was a Bill aimed at enforcing purity in food and stopping the blatant cheating of the masses by the advertising of such commodities. The publishers of the big magazines were briefed to launch a simultaneous campaign to prevent such legislation from being passed. In their memorandum of July 16 they openly said the following:

This has been a most unusual year in the publishing field, and the National Publishers Association has due cause to be proud of its operations. . . .

Wagner Labour Bill. We took a very active part in killing this legislation.

Tugwell Pure Food and Drug Bill. As originally proposed, this legislation would have been a serious blow to all advertising. Your committee and executive were finally successful in modifying this legislation.

Unemployment Insurance. This bill provided for a tax of five per cent on all pay-rolls. Its seriousness speaks for itself, and your representative aided *in preventing its passage*.

The campaign was conducted simultaneously with that of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, operating their daily bombardment upon 50,000,000 adult readers, and, above all, with a third parallel one, that of the National Association of Manufacturers, which was behind it all.

This pressure can not only modify important laws; it can sway paramount political issues affecting the whole economic, social, and political structure of the nation. The history of the National Association of Manufacturers, as revealed by the Thomas-La Follette investigation, is a most striking example of this. The investigation proved that the N.A.M. reorientated its policy in 1933, shortly after the election of F. D. Roosevelt, making its chief objective the destruction of the Labour movement. Its means to achieve it: relentless opposition to laws favouring the unions and, therefore, the American working masses.

The result: The Magna Carta of Labour, the Wagner Act, was sabotaged in exactly the way the N.A.M. had planned when it became law in July, 1935, and consequently was replaced by the Taft-Hartley "slave labour" Bill. This Bill was originated by the N.A.M., sponsored by the N.A.M., and, incredible as it may seem, written by representatives of the N.A.M. This is not a supposition. It is officially documented in the Congressional Records of April 15, 16, and 17, 1947, in the debate on the Hartley Bill. On pages 3,731 to 3,733 there are printed in parallel columns the N.A.M. original and the Hartley Bill as officially introduced by Representative Blatnik, of Minnesota. These are the names of the lawyers and lobbyists accused of writing the Bill: T. R. Iserman, of the

Chrysler Corporation; W. Ingles, 20,000-dollar-a-year lobbyist; Mark Jones, connected with the Rockefeller interests.

How was this done? By a continuous stream of false, distorted, at times totally invented, news, biased information, half-truths, conveyed monthly, weekly, daily, and hourly to the American public. And the weight of a misled public reaction, by putting tremendous pressure upon the law-makers of the nation, forced them to legislate, not for the general welfare, but in accordance with the private interests of the few.

The American Government itself investigated the power of this invisible government of Big Business, and, in its Senate Report No. 6, 1st Session of 76th Congress, "Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labour," described the exertions of the N.A.M.—which, it must not be forgotten, could be equally applied, with slight modifications, to the Presidential Elections of 1948, 1952, or 1956, as follows:

The Association's propaganda campaign projected in 1933 and started in 1934 went into effect in full swing in the summer of 1936, just prior to the national election. Through newspapers, radio, motion pictures, slide films, stockholders' letters, pay-roll stuffers, billboard advertisements, civic-progress meetings and local advertising, the National Association of Manufacturers blanketed the country with a propaganda barrage which surpassed its "Industrial Conservation Movement" of 1916-20 in intensity, scope, and variety of technique. . . .

The National Association of Manufacturers has blanketed the country with a propaganda which in technique has relied upon indirection of meaning, and in presentation upon secrecy and deception. Radio speeches, public meetings, news, cartoons, editorials, advertising, motion pictures, and many other artifices of propaganda have *not* in most instances disclosed to the public their origin with the Association. The Mandeville Press Service, the Six Star Service, Uncle Abner cartoons, George Sokolsky's services, the "American Family Robinson" radio broadcasts, "Harmony Ads" by MacDonald-Cook Co., "civic progress meetings," and many other devices of moulding public opinion have been used without disclosure of the origin and financial support of the National Association of Manufacturers.

5. With the funds of this group of powerful corporations, the National Association of Manufacturers has flooded the country with biased propaganda directed against organizations of American working men and against social legislation adopted by Congress. This propaganda, for the most part *unidentified* to the public as coming from the National Association of Manufacturers, is reiterated day after day through the means of every channel of public expression, in the Press, over the radio,

in schools, on billboards, by public speakers, by direct mail, and in pay envelopes. In some cases the National Association of Manufacturers has contrived to arrange for the sponsorship of its propaganda by others, for the purpose of misleading the public into believing that it came from an independent source. Much of this propaganda is intended to influence the public with reference to elections, and officials of the Association have boasted that its propaganda has influenced the political opinions of millions of citizens and affected their choice of candidates for Federal offices. . . .

7. The Committee condemns the deliberate action taken by the National Association of Manufacturers to promote organized disregard for the National Labour Relations Act. Such action by a powerful and responsible organization encourages disrespect for the law and undermines the authority of government.

The American Government's report concluded its disclosure with the following words:

8. The National Association of Manufacturers' campaign of propaganda stems from the almost limitless resources of corporate treasuries. . . . In effect the National Association of Manufacturers is a vehicle for spending corporate funds to influence the opinion of the public in its selection of *candidates for office*. . . .

The National Association of Manufacturers is to be condemned for cloaking its propaganda in anonymity and for failing clearly to disclose to the public whom it is trying to influence that this lavish propaganda campaign has as its source the National Association of Manufacturers.⁷

That was two decades ago. Since then the giant trusts have multiplied such activities. E.g. during the Presidential election of 1956, when they spent the colossal record sum of over \$100 million to elect the 1956-60 Government (*The Times*, September 13, 1956). After the Second World War such mass opinion-making was extended throughout the globe. A typical example: the powerful broadcasting agency, called the "Voice of America," which was set up after the war to give Europe "the truth." This agency became rapidly dominated by Big Business, until it was finally taken over, lock, stock, and barrel, by them, although still under the Government. This occurred in March, 1951, when the State Department named a Committee of eleven leading American business executives "to help the Government carry out its world information program through the *Voice of America* and other projects," announcing further that similar panels were in preparation for

the fields of Labour, radio, motion pictures, Press, and publications.⁸

The functions of the new advisory groups were outlined by Mr. P. D. Reed, the chairman, in the following summary statement: "We will consider ways and means whereby American *private business* . . . can augment the Government's programme in this great and vital undertaking to win the confidence and understanding of people in other lands, and give them 'the truth'."⁸

When Pontius Pilate asked Jesus Christ what truth was, Christ, who probably had more qualifications to explain it than the "Voice of America," significantly kept silent.

American dinosaurs, however, having never suffered from undue humility, knowing so little, are convinced they know so much. Result: having mistaken their dexterity in reading profit-sharing charts for the golden conviction that this was the key to truth, set out to proclaim that, yes, by Mercury (the god of commerce and of thieves), they were going to give the truth to that portion of mankind outside the U.S.A. which was still so sadly shrouded in the darkness of error. And all this—O, denigrators, note—free of charge.

Mr. P. D. Reed, the pious head of a group evangelically named the Central Business Committee of the U.S.A. Advisory Commission in Information, was fired with the missionary zeal not only of spreading the truth but also of spreading it according to the gospel of a great agency concerned with nothing but the naked truth—the General Electric Company, of which he was not less than chairman.

The other apostles of this Big Business missionary enterprise were also piteously handicapped by poverty. . . . To mention only a few: J. A. Farley, Chairman of Coca-Cola Export Corporation; Ralph R. Reed, Chairman of the American Express Company; W. R. Burgess, Chairman of the Executive Committee, National City Bank of New York; D. A. Sheppard, executive assistant, Standard Oil Company. Not to mention other humble representatives of the American giant trusts and giant corporations.

These men, or, rather, the giant trusts they represented, were, the State Department gleefully announced, going to

give the American "Campaign of Truth" propaganda programme a "stronger and clearer voice."⁹

To give the dinosauric truth a truly universal appeal, its billionaire apostles planted the seeds of despondency and of the psychological conditioning for future wars with as much fervour as other "misguided" individuals with not so much money were campaigning for peace. All this although they were "running the risk that [our] motives might be widely misunderstood."¹⁰

A "pulp and ink creature" of the great dinosaurs, *Collier's*, as already mentioned, devoted a whole issue to defeating Russia with a description of World War III. The reaction to this callous war propaganda, particularly in two-world-wars-devastated Europe, unlike in modern-war-unscratched U.S.A., astonished even the writers who had made up the whole *Collier's* special Defeat-Russia-by-means-of-a-third-World-War issue.

One of these, Ed. Murrow, whom *Collier's*, in its preview of the coming war, described thus: "noted C.B.S. commentator [who] flew in the B.36 which atom-bombed Moscow at midnight, July 22, 1953," and who was in Paris when the war issue appeared (October, 1951), described the reaction there to his and *Collier's* Moscow atom-bombing as "unfortunate."

Walter Reuther, President of the U.A.W., who in this same issue set up "free" trade unions (with a good sprinkling of Catholic Union leader priest-termites modelled upon those of the U.S.A.), was informed by both American workers and his own brother that people had shown "a violent objection to the entire issue."¹¹

That was not all. The calculated, nefarious, and hidden objective of the *Collier's* Third World War issue was further demonstrated by the fact that the State Department itself protested. The *Collier's* "defeated Russia" issue, commented a State Department official, might "wipe out all the good our propaganda may have accomplished in the past year" (January, 1952).¹¹

The unscrupulousness of this piece of dinosauric war-conditioning can be further gauged by the fact that *Collier's* waged and won the Third World War and occupied ex-Soviet Russia in the name of the United Nations. This was no mere

romancer's licence. It was the well-calculated scheme of using the name and prestige—however deflated—of that World Assembly to serve the dinosaurian efforts at subconsciously preparing the American public for the coming atomic massacre, carried out under the authority and with the blessing, not of the U.S.A. alone (or, rather of those forces determined to lead the American people into war), but of a third of mankind, represented by U.N.O.

The United Nations, as was to be expected, could not see it otherwise. Result: the lodging of a sharp official protest against the dinosauric "pulp and ink creature" which had used the U.N. symbol as a means of giving a further authoritative aura to its psychological warmongering.¹² Ex-President Herbert Hoover himself came to the fore, condemning in the sharpest terms the unscrupulousness of the fostering of World War III by the big corporations of the U.S.A. Nowhere in the whole world, said Hoover, "can there be found such public alarm as has been fanned up in the U.S. There is in Europe today no such public alarm. None of those nations have declared emergencies. . . . They do not propagandize war tears. . . . Not one . . . conducts such exercises in protection from bombs as we have. . . ."

The dinosaurian ceaseless mind-bombardment of the U.S.A. from within and without, by softening the subconscious resistance of the majority of the American people, consequently, was softening it also to ease further penetration into the citadels of American democracy by the dinosaurs' greatest friend, the Catholic Church.

When seen with such powerful media at its disposal, the phenomenal expansion of Catholic power is no longer a mystery. It becomes the logical result of a formidable alliance whose precise purpose in fostering it is to obtain certain definite objectives.

The alliance, characterized prior to the Second World War by the extreme Isolationism of 1939-41, has been a pact of mutual assistance ever since. Prior to and even during the War, this took the form of the most blatantly pro-Nazi propaganda. Incredible as it may seem, certain American

magnates did not hesitate to co-operate in this task with Nazi Germany herself. Mr. O. John Rogge, former Assistant U.S. Attorney-General, in one of his reports to the Department of Justice, after disclosing that Hitler's headquarters had made plans for planting interviews in the American Press for the purpose of influencing the American people, gives details about the planting of one such article in the Hearst papers.¹³

This was not a unique case. On June 9, 1941, Luce, the imperialistic sponsor of the "American Century," published one of the various articles written by a Chicago packer, later Ambassador to Belgium, John Cudahy, in the form of an interview with Hitler, openly pleading the Nazi cause.

The relentless poisoning of the American mind against pure American democracy, since the fall of European Fascism, instead of diminishing has increased—not so much in extent as in its insidiousness. Typical of it is the campaign conducted by Press dinosaur Luce. The Luce Press empire spills undiluted American Imperialism, not only to adults; for the Lucean brains, being aware that the youth of a nation are truly the trustees of posterity, have seen to it that the young minds of America are duly "indoctrinated" with the doctrines so dear to the big dinosaurs, and have set out to instil evaporated poison into the blood-stream of the oncoming American generations.

This is done in various ways. For example, *Time* is, technically, one of the best-produced weeklies in the world; politically it is one of the most anti-democratic weeklies of skilful news reporting and even more skilful news slanting and distorting, the big trusts' mouthpiece and blatant advocate of the "American Century."

Time magazine's fundamental policy is news slanting. When, in 1923, Luce, then an unknown, budding editor, launched *Time*, its prospectus revealed what kind of a magazine it would be. The prospectus read: ". . . complete neutrality on public questions and important news is probably as undesirable as it is impossible." The editors, therefore, "are ready to acknowledge certain prejudices which may in varying measure predetermine their opinion on the news."

Such a policy of presenting coloured, biased, and prejudiced news and views has been the basic policy, not only of *Time*,

but of the whole Luce Press empire. Luce's Press empire, it should never be forgotten, is a "cultural branch" of the House of Morgan and of the other great financial and industrial American dinosaurs. It is, therefore, the clever germ-carrier of the invisible government of the U.S.A.—that is to say, of the greatest foes of genuine American freedom.

That this is so was proudly confirmed by the editors of *Time* in 1952, when, in a special editorial, they said the following:

"We at *Time* believe the original standards [the prospectus just quoted] have successfully withstood a long test, and have as much validity today as they had in the much more serene world of 1923. We still believe that the concept of purely *objective* reporting is *not only unattainable but unrealistic*. . . . The editors of *Time* have always set themselves a more workable goal: . . . a constant effort *to blend the news into its own background*" [read, dinosaurian background].

Yet, fantastic as it may sound, this weekly is being used as nothing less than a kind of textbook of contemporary history in certain American schools, colleges, and, yes, even Military Academies. Incredible? Colonel J. Howard Bishop has used *Time* at the Culver Military Academy "to help his classes towards a better understanding of history." His case is not unique. Each week the magazine is sent to 1,800 High Schools and Junior Colleges in the U.S.A. and in other countries, most of which use it as "part of classroom assignments."¹⁴

The far-reaching effects of the mass-poisoning by this vehicle of evaporated American Imperialism can be judged by the fact that it is used to mould the political thinking of those who are, rightly or wrongly, considered the most influential people in the U.S.A. (*Time* magazine, with its usual humility, calls them "the most influential people in the world")—namely, the U.S. college graduates. In 1955 there were 5,000,000 of such college graduates throughout the U.S.A. Of these, the truly impressive proportion of seventy-seven per cent were Luce's regular subtle-poison absorbers—i.e. *Time* magazine's regular subscribers. The college graduates, it must be remembered, are the backbone of the Press, managerial, professional, and governmental classes, and therefore those who to a great extent are shaping and will shape the social, economic, and political structures of America and thus, in the long run, are

those who can exert a disproportionate weight upon the domestic and foreign policies of the U.S.A.

The subtle but powerful anti-democratic poison, largely undetected but nevertheless extremely lethal, which the dinosaur-controlled Press is instilling into the U.S.A. is supplemented by the Press directly emanating from the Catholic Church herself. The Catholic Press, as compared to the rest of the American Press, has a midget-like output. Yet its growth is already more than remarkable, and if its promotion should continue at the rate it has done during the last two decades it will soon make itself felt throughout the country among non-Catholic readers as well.

In 1942 Catholicism had 332 Church publications. Within ten years the circulation had increased by nearly forty per cent, with over 10,000,000 people buying Catholic papers. The Press Department of the N.C.W.C., by which the Catholic Press is controlled, describes itself as "the International Catholic news-gathering and distributing agency founded and controlled by the Catholic archbishops and bishops of the U.S.A." Its task: the collection of news the world over and its distribution to all the Catholic and non-Catholic Press after it has been treated from the angle best suited to the interests of Catholicism. This department claims to be serving about 500 Catholic publications in and outside the U.S.A., and its *Noticias Catolicas* serves most Latin-American papers, including all four dailies of Mexico City.

Some of these Catholic papers have a circulation of more than half a million—e.g. *Catholic Missions* and *Our Sunday Visitor*. The largest circulations of the Catholic Press are in parish magazines; but some of its publications reach all intellectual levels and social strata—for example, the Jesuit *America*, *The Commonwealth*, and others.

In addition to the immensely friendly dinosaurian Press and the Catholic Press proper, Catholicism has organized its Catholic Press termites. Their task, like that of their brother termites in the trade unions, penetration of the as yet unconquered citadels of American journalism in order (a) to install Catholic cells where there are none; (b) to strengthen those already in existence, with the ultimate objective of capturing the daily, weekly, or monthly Press within which they have

penetrated, and thus partially or even totally to transform the papers into which they have bored into social or political Catholic germ carriers.

Such a policy is carried out by various Catholic bodies—e.g. the Catholic Press Association—co-ordinating and posting Catholic Press termites—journalists, editors, printers, and various other workers—in the local or national Press. As if this were not enough, Catholic bodies whose specific task was to bore within the non-Catholic Press with the express purpose of instilling it with the Catholic spirit, or at least of forcing them to befriend Catholicism, were set up. To mention only one: the Catholic Institute of the Press.

This was a body composed of men and women employed in non-Catholic newspapers, magazines, radio and television networks, advertising and affiliated industries, whose task was “to support the work of the Catholic hierarchy.” In other words, to promote Catholic penetration, the more and the better to impart the right amount of Catholic-slanted flavour to the dissemination of news. The importance of such a termite-like technique can be gauged by the names of some of the officials elected to the executive board of the Catholic Institute of the Press,¹⁵ and, above all, the offices they were already holding: President, A. Mahar, assistant editor of the *New York Journal American*; Vice-President, J. W. Egan, Jr., advertising director of the *New York Times*; executive board members, R. Doyle, of the *Daily Mirror*; Mrs. Lamb Ryan, *Daily News*; Carmel Snow, editor of *Harper's Bazaar*; Bernard O'Donnell, *Harper's Magazine*.

Catholic penetration has reached such a stage that Catholic Press termites have climbed to the very top of certain Press empires, thus using freely the immense news-distributing, opinion-making, public-mind-moulding machineries to further, mostly obliquely, the influence of their Church—e.g., the Hearst Press empire.

W. R. Hearst himself, a non-Catholic at one time, was created a Papal count, “for services rendered to the Catholic Church.”¹⁶ At Hearst's death (1951) this empire fell directly into the lap of a Catholic directorate, led by a zealot, Mr. R. E. Berlin, an active Catholic, a Knight of Malta, an intimate friend of Cardinal Spellman, and one of the most powerful

and subtle propagandists for Catholicism in the U.S.A. A second Press empire, the Luce empire, became the prized possession of another influential Catholic citizen, none other than the wife of its czar, Clare Booth Luce, who, to the attributes common to born Catholics, added the dangerous proselytizing fervour of the Catholic convert she was. Her zeal went so far that, after her entry into the Church, she renounced her brilliant public career the better to spread the cause of Catholicism in the U.S.A. by more subtle devices.

The sum of all this ever-mounting control by the friendly dinosaurian Press, the Catholic Press, the Press's Catholic fifth column, and Catholic influence everywhere has resulted in the promotion of an invisible yet concrete "Catholic Press terrorization."

As in totalitarian countries, such "terrorization" is very seldom mentioned or, even less, openly admitted. When it is, it is done in whispers. But because the mention of Catholic terror is taboo, that does not mean that it does not exist. It is taboo just because it is so omnipresent and, indeed, just because it is so omnipotent. This is no exaggeration.

That section of the American Press which so far has escaped dinosaurian and Catholic control lives in perennial anxiety of this invisible sword of Damocles hanging overhead. Newspapers and magazines not directly controlled or allied to the Catholic Church must be extremely careful in dealing with news, particularly when it is not sympathetic to Catholics. This very often results in self-censoring and the doctoring of all potentially incriminating news; at times even in its total suppression. More than once, mighty organs have had to kneel before Canossa, exculpating themselves and, indeed, recanting.

The length to which this Catholic White terror has gone can be judged by the fact that the most authoritative newspaper in the U.S.A.—namely, the *New York Times*—had to tender an apology to the Catholic Church *within twenty-four hours* for having dared mildly to criticize her in its columns. *The Nation* assigned to the *New York Times* the Ignobel Prize Award, "for The Most Craven Editorial of the Year," "for apologizing in its editorial column for an unfavourable refer-

ence to the Catholic Church in its book review section of the same day" (July, 1950).

Such are the depths to which the freedom of the American Press has sunk.

Other factors have contributed to such degradation, including the U.S. Government, whose method of classifying news created a veritable "paper curtain," as reported by one Committee (*The Times*, July 31, 1956). Sundry other news curtains are no less effective. E.g. the "bamboo curtain," forbidding U.S. newsmen to visit China—"a fundamental violation of the principles that the people of the U.S. stand for" (*The Times*, February 6, 1957); the withdrawal of newsmen's passports (Worthy, Stevens, Harrington, January 1957); the secret destruction of newsprint—such as two shipments of peace literature, ordered from England by U.S. Quakers and "secretly impounded and partially destroyed" by the U.S. Post Office (*The Churchman*, August 1956).

When, to this negative side, there is added the slanted bombardment of the American people via their 130 million radio sets and their 40 million TV sets (1957), then bold is the man who thinks he knows the truth.

The joint monopoly and terrorization of the two sworn economic and religious dictatorships, therefore, by corrupting the American Press are corrupting not only individuals, professions, and large strata of the public, but also a great nation.

It cannot be otherwise.

For when ideas are made to flow from fewer and fewer sources, and when these same few sources are deliberately poisoned by their sinister, undetected controllers, then the matrix of a healthy democracy, freedom, is surely made to die a slow, even if painless, gentle death.

The concentration of the American Press, in addition to the concentration of motion pictures, radio, television, and cognate media of information and entertainment in the hands of the great economic dinosaurs—and thus indirectly in those of their ferocious ally Catholicism—is therefore the greatest menace threatening the liberty and the future of the American people.

The American Press, consequently, is anything but the defender of true American democracy. The contrary is the case. For, truly, the American people, although served by

the American Press, the freest Press in the World, "are the *worst informed* among enlightened nations."

Whoever dared to make this sweeping statement? A Fascist dictator? A Communist tyrant? One of the numerous native or foreign plotters scheming for the violent overthrow of the democratically-elected American Administration?

The conclusion was reluctantly reached, after prolonged, painstaking, and impartial investigation, by none other than the Government of the United States of America.¹⁷

A true defender of genuine American democracy, President F. D. Roosevelt, could not avoid declaring that "an amazing state of public *misinformation* exists in the United States," while a no-less-real American, perhaps the most illustrious advocate of a free Press, watching the spectacle of the corruption of the American Press, had to reach the damning conclusion that "*the American people know more things that are not true than any other people on earth.*"¹⁸ His name? Thomas Jefferson!

Since then, the relentless daily flow of distortions, slanted news-stories, half-truths, doctored reportage, downright lies, dishonest mutilations and fabrications poured upon the American masses with the precise object of confusing, of befuddling, of spreading abominable prejudices, of fomenting ideological hysteria and criminal war-conditioning, has become such an immense dinosaurian Press-, radio-, and television-controlled deluge that even those true Americans who are still holding high the standard of American freedom are on the verge of being totally submerged.

"Let us not deceive ourselves," commented a Senator,¹⁹ "we are dealing here with some of the most ruthless and powerful economic interests that have sought to intervene in the concerns of any government, to influence its domestic and international policies."

The noble inscription on the front pages of some American papers, "Give light and the people will find their own way," therefore is nothing but a mockery of the principles and practice of true democracy, of that genuine democracy dreamed of so fervently by those true lovers of freedom, the founding fathers of the United States of America.

12

CATHOLIC MIGHT IN THE U.S.A.

INDIVIDUALS, LIKE CIVILIZATIONS, IF plunged into poverty, wither and decay. But decay is avoidable, as poverty can be averted by the creation of wealth. When, however, men or cultures permit themselves to be deprived of their soul, then surely inane surrender, the forerunner of a swift decline, will become the herald of an even swifter downfall. Ancient and recent past is a mute witness of this truth.

In the West one of the most nefarious currents which has caused the tumbling of mighty nations has proved to be the Catholic Church. Wherever her seed was permitted to grow, there freedom withered, when it was not totally extinguished.

The destructiveness of the Catholic germ is not confined to religious matters: it boldly attacks the fabric of a country, sapping its foundations, belabouring its strength and thus its stability.

Catholicism, being the greatest antithesis of true American democracy, therefore, is not only allergic to genuine liberty, it is the most insidious of all its many foes. Hence, if unchecked, the quick appearance of the unmistakable symptoms peculiar to a sickened democracy: the slow strangling of all civil liberties and subtle religious or political terrorization, the surest forerunners of tyranny.

These have already come to the fore throughout the U.S.A. Unless removed they will, in time, spell the final extinction of American freedom. The greater the injection of the Catholic bacilli into the American sinews, the more dangerous the unhealthy fever of the American body politic will be.

Since the Second World War the U.S.A. not only has had greater doses than ever before, but has assimilated most of them.

The results, more than striking, are portentous. American democracy has found herself paralysed. And, more fearsome still, she has quickly discovered that she has been ruthlessly pushed towards a precipice by forces which have planned to feast upon her corpse.

One of these germ-carrying prostrators: American Catholicism.

Conquests and revolutions have seldom been the work of large numbers. Determined minorities, as a rule, are their successful promoters, as history bears out. The Catholic Church is one of such minorities, the slyest and most determined of them all.

Minorities, when endowed with such attributes, can work wonders. When supported by no less resolute majorities they will do the impossible. In the U.S.A. the Catholic Church is both. In her dealings with Protestantism she is not just another Christian denomination; she is the Catholic Church. A minority when compared with the aggregate number of a Protestant country totalling 150,000,000, yet a majority when compared with a Protestant land subdivided into approximately 300 different religious denominations.

That has put Catholicism in a unique position, in so far that it can act as a majority, although *de facto* a minority. This because, when confronted with different Protestant Churches, it feels the most powerful American Church and therefore acts as such. This aspect of Catholic power is further emphasized by the lack of unity in the Protestant field, which has robbed an otherwise powerful Protestantism of the weight with which its numerical superiority would otherwise have endowed it.

Protestantism, having become aware of this, has started to

bridge the gap between the extreme unity of the Catholic body and the looseness of the Protestants by promoting and consolidating a defensive-offensive organizational structure to check the Catholic incursion.

Yet even when the Protestant Churches have achieved a concrete degree of unity, they are still at a disadvantage with Catholicism. This not so much because of the difference in their organizational, administrative, or ecclesiastical integration, but because of the fundamental differences in their religious doctrines. If it is true that religious tenets ultimately determine the social and political behaviour of those practising them, then the disadvantage of even an administratively united Protestantism with regard to Catholicism will remain immense. For each Protestant Church or individual holding to differing religious doctrines, will support diverse social and political ones. That will spell division where unity, as the major weapon to combat Catholicism, should be the paramount factor.

The secret might of Catholicism is that it is a monolithic social and political unit because it is a monolithic religious and moral one. The one sires the other.

We have already seen how Catholics are Catholics before they are American citizens, and how it is impossible for them to be otherwise without forfeiting the membership of their Church. By the mere fact of their being Catholic, consequently, they are automatically transformed into termite-like creatures who are duty-bound, in obedience to their Church, to hollow out the whole structure of the American fabric.

The hollowing out is not done by the mere incantations of the Catholic liturgy. It is carried out by the relentless, unscrupulous individual, communal, religious, social, educational, economic, and political exertions, the combined collective pressure of 30,000,000 Catholics masquerading behind the specious apparel of 30,000,000 American citizens, pledging their loyalty to that democracy which they are sworn to undermine.

The spiritual pressure of the Catholic termites upon the community, although imponderable is real. The fulfilment of their duty will contribute to the penetration of their Church, directed, first at weakening, and then at replacing, American

democracy by the Catholic spirit, the potential basis of a thoroughly Catholicized American fabric.

Diverse causes have contributed to the propagation and power of the Catholic Church in the U.S.A. The most important occurred during the last century and the first decades of the twentieth with mass immigration from Europe. Its spear-head coincided with—or, rather, was due to—the failure of the Irish potato crop in 1845. From that year until 1917 immigrating Catholic tides followed each other in ever-more-imposing waves. Most immigrants, although peasants, settled in the big cities, predominantly those of the Atlantic coast and the Great Lakes, thus giving rise to urban Catholicism, which became such an important factor in American political life. American Catholicism is still mainly urban in character. Boston is almost a Catholic city and Rhode Island practically a Catholic State.

Throughout this formative period the Irish settlers, favoured by facilities of language and temperament, became the natural leaders of this new American Catholicism. And even when, later, they were submerged by the vast migrating waves of German Catholics, and subsequently the even bigger ones from Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine, and other countries, they still retained a kind of tacit monopoly of Catholic organizations, acting as go-between for the new Catholic immigrants and their fresh American surroundings.

It was this steady Catholic mass immigration which, within a few decades, gave American Catholicism its numerical power.

The size of the successive Catholic tidal waves can be judged by the following figures: Between 1881 and 1890 the American Catholic Church was increased by 1,250,000 new members; from 1891 to the close of the century by another 1,225,000; and between 1901 and 1910 by another 2,316,000. Result: within thirty years American Catholicism was strengthened by almost 5,000,000 through immigration alone.

Total Catholic membership in 1890 was 8,909,000. By 1900 it had grown to 12,000,000, by 1910 to 16,000,000, by 1920 to 20,000,000, by 1930 to 23,000,000, by 1945 to 24,000,000, by 1950 to 28,000,000. When, in 1776, the American Declaration

of Independence was made, there were 30,000 Catholics in the American population of 3,000,000. In the opening years of the second half of this century there were approaching 30,000,000 in a population of 150,000,000—one out of every five American citizens thus being a Catholic.

During the last few decades the Catholic numerical increase has tended to slow down. This, however, has been amply compensated for by the sky-rocketing of the Catholic social stature, which has enabled Catholicism to gain more rapid influence than even during the highest tidal wave of Catholic immigration. Then Catholicism was looked upon as an exotic religion of the illiterate, of the poor, of the "never destined to become respectable, prosperous, and wealthy individuals." Before the First World War Catholicism was integrated with the American way of life, but it never succeeded in being accepted as wholly American, as, for instance, was Protestantism. Prior to the Second World War, although one of the most vociferous sponsors of the American way of life, it remained still slightly suspect, although a confirmed part of American society—its acceptance being due more to the fear it had begun to inspire than to any genuine respect entertained for its adherents by most non-Catholics. It was the mingled fear and admiration felt towards a ruthless parvenu. For Catholicism, besides having become extremely strong, had penetrated within the most delicate sinews of the American fabric.

What was more, it was spreading as the American democratic habitat gave complete scope to its expansionist exertions. Their main feature: the application of Catholic tenets, regardless of whether or not they harmonized with those of American democracy. A typical example being that Catholic children must not be educated by the State, like all other American children; they must be cared for solely by the Catholic Church. Hence American Catholic parents being compelled to boycott State educational institutions and to support those run by their Church. This is not all; Catholics, partaking of the characteristic intransigence of their Church, in addition to rejecting State-sponsored education, have the effrontery to claim State support for their own private Catholic schools, where the State is not permitted to have any say whatsoever—indeed, where the State, if even slightly suspected of

advocating tenets not harmonizing with Catholicism, is ruthlessly banished.

Catholic intransigence is not only contrary to the administration of educational justice in a country honeycombed with diverse religious, racial, national, and political groups, each one of which could rightly claim the same privileges as the Catholics; it is not only a most blatant attempt to violate the American Constitution; it is the basic Catholic claim of Catholic religious uniqueness and hence of Catholic superiority *vis-à-vis* other denominations and all Americans who are not Catholics.

Catholic prerogatives in this field have never been abandoned. On the contrary, they have been and are being pushed forward more vigorously than ever. Catholic efforts to bore through the American tenet of religious equality and respect for the educational authority of the State could not have been made more eloquent than by the fact that, while erecting her schools from coast to coast, she has ceaselessly agitated for financial and other aid, giving no end of trouble to local and federal administration.

Her schools, within the last fifty years, have increased in number and influence. In the years following the First World War, for instance, they were not numerous enough to deserve a separate report. By 1934, however, they had grown to 966, with 158,000 pupils; by 1943 to 1,522, with almost 500,000 pupils; in 1921 there were 24 standard Catholic Colleges for women, 43 for men, 309 normal training schools. In subsequent years 6,550 elementary schools were functioning, with a total attendance exceeding 2,000,000. By 1944 the Catholic Church was providing the teaching staff, mainly nuns, for 7,647 parochial schools. In 1945 she owned, controlled, and supervised a grand total of 11,075 educational establishments, which by 1952 were giving Catholic instruction to 3,205,800 young people.

To run these establishments, American Catholics spend more than 182,000,000 dollars a year—America's largest single religious expenditure, even when compared with that of the largest Protestant Churches; in 1947 the total expenditure of the Methodist Church, for instance, was 165,000,000 dollars,

while the second highest, that of the Southern Baptists, was 132,000,000 dollars.

Catholic hollowing out of America's structures is not confined to education. Catholic termite-technique is made to work also in the medical field. There, too, scorning State and other non-Catholic patronage, she has erected her own hospitals, maternity homes, and other medical institutions. Reason: as with schools, in order to teach and enforce, not the tenets supported by the rest of Americans, but only those supported by the Catholic Church. Here, perhaps even more than in the educational field, her exertions are not merely remarkable but alarming.

In 1950, for instance, 47 new Catholic hospitals were opened in the U.S.A. and Canada, half of them in areas where there were no hospital facilities. In 1955 the Catholic Church was controlling over 1,500 Catholic hospitals and other medical agencies in the U.S.A. and Canada, half of them in areas with 5,000,000 in-patients and about 1,250,000 out-patients. In 1956 the over-all cost of running most of these hospitals and other Catholic health centres was 100,000,000 dollars.

Schools, hospitals, and other Catholic activities—e.g. the sending of food, medicines, clothing, etc., to Europe, the Far East, and other regions (within four years 130,000,000 dollars' worth were thus donated)—requires enormous sums. However, even the poor give generously, while a good number of Catholics in the U.S.A. are wealthy and their Church is even wealthier. Indeed, the Catholic Church in America has become the richest in the world.

In recent decades her possessions have been growing out of all proportion, so much so that she has become one of the economic dinosaurs in her own right.

Her wealth has been and is being accumulated by many devices—e.g. via genuine and phoney charity. In 1948, for instance, pleading charity, she raised 39,000,000 dollars; but only 7,000,000 were spent for the specific purposes for which that sum was raised, the remaining 32,000,000 being kept in her coffers. Or through dubious financial transactions: the Archbishop of Washington had a standing order with his bank to purchase 200,000 dollars' worth of American stocks and bonds *per week*.

The Church's invisible wealth cannot be estimated, controlling, as she does, interests in railroads, bank stocks, insurance stocks, industrial stocks; and being affiliated to numerous billionaire corporations, with shares, real properties, and mortgages. In 1952 the Catholic Church owned, through dummies, more than 900,000,000 dollars in real estate, *tax free*. In addition to this, she makes no report of funds, although taking out corporation papers. While it is true that other religious bodies also have preferential treatment, yet no American official would ever dare to seize a Catholic Church deposit in a Trust Company, to make her pay taxes on her building funds—something which has been done to more than one Protestant Church.¹

The religious and financial administration of the Catholic Church is, of course, carried out by a hierarchy, which has grown proportionately to the growing Catholic population. In 1951 the U.S.A. had 3 cardinals, 24 archbishops, 156 bishops (whose number was subsequently increased), about 44,000 clergy, and 21,600 students being prepared for the priesthood. The number of monks was almost 7,000 and of nuns 38,000, while Religious Orders included 6,700 Brothers and 152,000 Sisters, of whom 70,000 nuns were engaged in works other than teaching. Catholic religious orders in that same year received 5,000 new members. New Orders are being continually planted on American soil—e.g. the ninth Trappist monastery, opened in December, 1950, at Berryville, Virginia. Six dioceses have more than a million Catholics each: Chicago, Boston, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn.

The task of the Catholic hierarchy is not only to look after the American Church but also to help in her ceaseless penetration into the life of America. The Catholic attack is carried out by various means. Mass emigration is a thing of the past, yet Catholicism still sees to it that whatever is permitted to enter into the U.S.A. is wholly Catholic or, at least, that an unfair proportion of it is Catholic. A typical instance: In 1950, 50,000 displaced persons from Europe arrived in the U.S.A., financed and sponsored by the National Catholic Welfare Conference. These were all chosen Catholics. Of those sponsored by non-Catholic agencies, a great number had to be Catholic or Catholic obstruction would have made the

work of non-Catholic bodies extremely awkward—for example, of the 25,000 European refugees who entered the U.S.A. in 1949, 10,000 had to be Catholics.²

Emigration, however, is now only a subsidiary tool of Catholic penetration. Catholic penetration has been diverted to other no less prolific channels. It has taken the form of proselytizing among the Protestants themselves. Some of this work is done in a most businesslike manner, through advertisements in newspapers, radio, and so on. Typical of this was the campaign started by the Knights of Columbus Supreme Council, which consisted in the placing of advertisements, each briefly explaining some point of Catholic doctrine or practice. These advertisements at one time reached a combined circulation of 30,000,000, some of them being inserted by over 500 subordinate councils in local newspapers. Result: within one year, from January, 1949, to January, 1950, the Supreme Council's Religious Information bureau received and fulfilled 403,315 requests for the informative free booklets offered in each of the advertisements. In addition, 27,933 persons enrolled for the free course of religious instruction by mail, while 13,178 completed it. The first month of 1950 alone brought 40,000 requests for information. By 1952 the Council had received over one million inquiries. This quite apart from other forms of Catholic propaganda literature, such as pamphlets, which sell approximately 25,000,000 a year.

Catholic proselytizing has yielded remarkable results. In 1945 87,000 Americans became Catholics; this rose to more than 100,000 in 1946. In 1950 over 10,000 adult negroes entered the Church. The Catholic Church made more than 100,000 converts for five successive years. From 1940 to 1952 she received more than 1,000,000 adult converts.

The importance of such conversions lies, not so much in their bulk, as in the fact that the converted are adults who very often exert great influence in the fields of literature, music, the Press, or Big Business. E.g. Gene Fowler, American author; Fritz Kreisler, world-famous violinist; Budenz, former editor of the Communist *Daily Worker*; Henry Ford II, grandson of the famous motor magnate, heir to the 125,000,000 dollar Ford fortunes, who in 1946 received the Christian Culture Award Medal, one of the highest awards to Catholics

in the U.S.A.; or Mrs. Luce, former Congresswoman and wife of the millionaire publicist, awarded the 1951 Newman Club award for outstanding service to the Church.

The Catholic Church in the U.S.A. has organized her members into innumerable organizations. These range from units caring for school children to those directing the political mobilization of war veterans. For instance, the National Catholic Youth Council, Catholic student institutions, the Newman Club Federation, the National Federation of Catholic College Students (with more than 600 clubs), the National Council of Catholic Men, and the National Council of Catholic Women—this last with more than 5,000,000 members. These have thousands of parish groups, each responsible to its bishop. The work of these societies consists mostly in defending Catholic schools, supporting the Legion of Decency, sponsoring the Catholic Hour programme on the national radio and television network, and similar exertions. Some have become powerful, nation-wide organizations: the Knights of Columbus, with about 700,000 members; the war veterans, the Blue Army, with 800,000 people pledging themselves "to fulfil the requests of Our Lady of Fatima." Nation-wide religious and semi-religious programmes are sponsored by the Catholic Church, such as the recital of the rosary, the litanies and services on the national radio network, the celebration of Mass, the taking of Communion; ceremonies glamorizing the American Catholic Mother, the prize going, Hitler- and Mussolini-fashion, to the mother who has borne most children.

All these activities are supervised by the American hierarchy, mainly through their central headquarters, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which they control almost unchallenged. The N.C.W.C. is linked with practically all the innumerable Catholic organizations into which the American Church is subdivided, and it is the great machine through which the directives of the hierarchy find expression throughout the country.

The numerical increase of the Catholic Church and, above all, her penetration into the social fabric of American society, has made her one of the most feared of all organized bodies. This fear has pervaded and is increasingly pervading the whole social and political structure of the U.S.A. It has become a

force capable of greatly influencing and even dominating local and national issues, including American foreign policy.

Catholic pressure very often amounts to veritable blackmail. Unless certain individuals, organizations, politicians, or parties conform to what is acceptable to the Catholic Church on certain social, moral, or political issues, Catholic pressure is ruthlessly mobilized against them.

Publishers, for instance, will not dare to publish a book critical of Catholicism lest it draw against them Catholic ire. When that occurs the Catholic Church hits back: for instance, by not only forbidding Catholics to read the offending book but ordering them to boycott all the publications issued by that publisher whether critical of Catholicism or not; prohibiting Catholic papers, houses, and so on to advertise the incriminated works; threatening thousands of booksellers, whether Catholic or not, that if they sell anti-Catholic works their Catholic customers will be told to boycott their bookshops; promoting war on "bad books" or "bad magazines," or any other form of which the Church does not approve; and using hundreds more of such devices, often involving anyone thus boycotted in serious financial losses.

Catholic blackmail—that is to say, unscrupulous attempts to enforce Catholic moral standards upon a predominantly Protestant country and upon millions of Agnostic Americans—has penetrated all fields. It is no exaggeration to say that no section of American educational, social, business, or political life is not at the mercy of the vicious tentacles of Catholic blackmailing technique.

To take one, which, if not the most important, is no doubt the most spectacular of the great American media directed at influencing the mind of the nation: the field of entertainment. In this world, motion pictures and television are the most important. Powerful financial forces, whose noblest aim is money-making and whose concern about moral or religious issues is nil, have to bow before the dicta of the Catholic Church. This to such an extent that today no individual or corporation would dare to challenge or even to ignore the Catholic attitude, either before, during, or after the making of a film, a television programme, or anything connected with their promotion or distribution.

As early as 1927 such fear had become so considerable that certain producers made a point of submitting scripts to the N.C.W.C. for approval. This custom became an unwritten law when, in 1930, the Catholic Church put up an official body called the Legion of Decency, thus imposing Catholic censorship upon the American film industry.

Catholic censorship, although unpopular, had come to stay. Like other Catholic creatures, it was imposed upon the film industry and hence upon the American public by means of Catholic blackmail. In that same year, 1930, the Production Code, written by a Jesuit—D. A. Lord—and M. Quigley, became a quasi-official terror tool, and was presented to the Association of Motion Picture Producers. The Code, one of whose reassuring gems was that “ministers of religion . . . should not be shown as comic characters or as villains,” was the gift of American Catholicism to Protestant America, and the most typical contribution of Catholic creative genius to the promotion of American entertainment.

In 1933 Catholic censorship terrorization was given new force by the Papal representative to the U.S.A., who, point-blank, asked American Catholics “to unite for a vigorous campaign for the purification of the screen.” Upon which millions of Catholics signed. The good American sons of the true Church, “united,” read a form of the Legion of Decency and put their names on it: “In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost . . . as a member of the Legion of Decency I pledge myself to remain away from them [films disapproved of by the Church]. I promise further to stay away altogether from places of amusement which show them as a matter of policy.”

Was this all? By no means. The Legion of Decency, although a creature of Catholic chastity, procreated unashamedly and very prolifically. Each American bishop, on Papal instructions, sired a Junior Legion of his own, to function in his own diocese. This to “censor” films passed by the mother Legion of Decency itself. At such a step, Hollywood, the seat of fearless celluloid heroes, got scared. The Production Code was strictly enforced; indeed, Will Hays went as far as Rome, saw the Pope *in camera*, and reported that he “found himself in accordance with the Pope’s view.”

Catholic censorship, after a few decades, had become so powerful that, to avoid incurring Catholic censure, the film studios had to appoint special individuals whose specific task was that of studying Catholic theology.

Catholic terrorization was not confined to film-making. It entered television and even cartoons. In October, 1951, a document, Catholic-inspired, was presented at a Chicago meeting of the National Association of Radio and Television. It was a Television Code. Like its elder brother, it frowned upon, condemned, and forbade certain words, implications, and actions. For instance, "bat" if applied to a woman, "tom-cat" if applied to a man. It banned jokes dealing with farmers' daughters, travelling salesmen, or anything obscured by "profanity, obscenity, smut, and vulgarity."

For those whose vision was befuddled by obscurities, that meant anything which could "foster superstition or excite interest or belief." This consisted of anything that might seriously compete with Catholic scapulars, amulets, rosaries, and Catholic religious abracadabra—e.g. numerology, palm-reading, fortune telling, phrenology, and astrology. But, most serious of all, the new Television Code banned a *bête noire* of Catholicism—i.e. divorce—the moral teaching of the Catholic Church being thus, even if obliquely, imposed upon the non-Catholics of America. This is even more significant when one considers that divorce is part and parcel of American society and, in spite of its abuse, is a fair institution, the by-product of American liberal principles.

The Code was endorsed by fifty-nine out of the 108 American television stations, and by two of the four American networks.³

Simultaneous with Catholic hamstringing of television, Catholic penetration was begun with a pseudo-philosophical obfuscation, of which Catholics are masters. Catholic obfuscation of the American television screen was initiated on a large scale by vitreous-eyed, fanatical Mgr. Fulton Sheen, whose programme, "Life is Worth Living," attracted large audiences from the start, as was proved by the fan mail of 4,000 letters received after the first show, which subsequently steadily increased. The appearance on the television screen of Mgr. Sheen, a very effective broadcaster during the previous twenty

years, began a new phase of Catholic promotion of mass propaganda and provided another reminder of how quickly American Catholics have grasped the potentialities of this new medium, the better to befuddle the American mind with their Church's hatreds, bias, prejudices, and superstitions.

In the production and distribution of cartoons the hidden Catholic sense of humour drew the line even further, and the Code for cartoons decreed that animals may not (a) drink hard liquor, (b) smoke, (c) be ghosts, (d) do bumps and grinds, (e) cavot in diaphanous costumes. Chamber-pots, Roman collars, and cow-milking were also forbidden. "We can't even draw all of a cow any more," complained the somewhat frustrated producer Lantz.⁴

Catholic censorship is not confined to mere condemnation or banning. It can stop film production. This occurred, for instance, when the Legion of Decency "condemned" the £4,000,000 film *Forever Amber*. Following the Legion's indictment plus the Catholic bishops' denunciations, many exhibitors who had already booked the film asked to be let out of their contracts. To relieve the boycott, the Twentieth Century-Fox Company had to make an appeal to the American hierarchy promising to submit to changes, according to the rules of Catholic principles, provided the Legion took the film out of the "condemned list." Not only this. The Company's President had to apologize for a statement by Fox executives who had dared to criticize the Catholic Church's interference with motion-picture making.

The Catholic Church can force the withdrawal of films—for instance, *Black Narcissus*, on the ground that it was a reflection on Catholic nuns.

Sometimes the Catholic Church not only dares to force her will upon what Americans should or should not see on their screens by mere pressure: she stultifies the laws of the country by resorting to physical violence, as was the case with a prize-winning film, *The Miracle*.⁵ The Catholic hierarchy asked immediately that the film be banned. But, for once, Catholic pressure failed; indeed, attendances at its showing, instead of diminishing, grew. The hierarchy thereupon put pressure no longer on the public but on the law. Law administrators promptly obeyed the Catholic decree. The New York Com-

missioner of Licences had the film legally banned. The distributors of the film appealed to the State's Supreme Court. The latter overruled the New York Commissioner of Licences and permitted the film to be shown. At this unheard-of challenge against the Catholic writ, the highest dignitary of the American hierarchy, who had been the hidden promoter of the ban, came openly to the fore. Cardinal Spellman called upon all Catholics to boycott the film. Catholic ex-Servicemen appeared before the theatre and began to picket it. "We shall keep on picketing until the picture is taken off" was the comment of their leader. In spite of the Cardinal's ban and even of the Catholic picket, audiences continued to attend and, indeed, to increase. Catholics protested, menaced, and cajoled the cinema proprietor, the audience, and the public, but all to no purpose. At this amazing defiance of the Catholic writ Catholics took more concrete measures. Shortly afterwards there was a "bomb scare" at the cinema (the "Paris Theatre" of New York), "where the controversial film, *The Miracle*, is being shown. It was the second such alarm at that motion-picture house in a week and caused the police to evacuate its patrons to permit a search. The Cardinal has condemned the movie," was the cryptic but significant remark of the *New York Times*.⁶

Meanwhile, behind the scenes, that champion of American freedom, Cardinal Spellman, continued his pressure. Result: the State Board of Regents once more banned the film.⁷ At this the National Council on Freedom from Censorship and the New York City Civil Liberties Committee issued a declaration:

The decision of the New York Board of Regents in invoking a State-wide ban on the film, *The Miracle*, is a shocking instance of raw censorship [it said]. It is a serious blow at the First Amendment of the Constitution, which protects freedom of expression.

The fact created a legal precedent. In the words, again, of the *New York Times*: "While the board many times had been called to review decisions of the Motion Picture Division, after an exhibiting licence has been denied, it never before had been requested to review the action of the Division in granting a licence."⁸

In 1957, again, Cardinal Spellman condemned a film, *Baby Doll*, as "revolting," "morally repellent." Result: cinemas were intimidated. E.g. in Albany, managements pleaded with Warner Bros. to be released from their contracts. In Boston, Joseph Kennedy, ex-U.S. Ambassador to Britain and father of Massachusetts' Senator John Kennedy, announced he would keep the film out of his 23 theatres in Maine and New Hampshire. Even bomb scares were repeated (e.g. Hartford, Conn., January 1957). All this, because sin-sniffer Cardinal Spellman condemned a film *which he had never seen* (*Time*, January 14, 1957).

Catholic sin-sniffers infest bookshops and bookstalls, often using intimidating methods. E.g. the National Organization for Decent Literature. NODL's method is to put pressure on newsdealers, booksellers, and drugstores to remove all publications on the Catholic blacklist—e.g. works by John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner. In some places—notably, Detroit, Peoria, and Boston—NODL enlisted the police to threaten booksellers who were slow to "co-operate" (John Fischer, editor of *Harper's*, October 1956, et seq., also *Time*, October 22, 1956).

Television is blackmailed no less effectively by Catholic sin-cum-truth-sniffers. A typical instance: when the *Chicago Tribune's* WGN scheduled the film, *Martin Luther*, for its U.S. TV première, Catholics swamped the station with protesting letters and telegrams. Sample: "We object to your showing the film, because it makes a hero out of a rat." WGN abruptly cancelled the TV show (December 1956). This in a Protestant country.

These cases are not exceptions. They occur daily. They are typical by-products of the type of American liberty that American citizens would enjoy if Catholics who are also Americans should gain enough power to impose "Catholic freedom."

"Catholic freedom," disguised behind specious moral, patriotic, or ideological names—indeed, invoking American freedom—went further. Not content with the censoring and prohibition of films, cartoons, and television, it planned to "screen" actors, actresses, and anyone connected with their production. Not only in their professional capacity, it should be noted, but as private individuals. Their private lives had to

be investigated. This went against the very essence of basic American democracy. And it was so contrary to American freedom precisely because it was so typically Catholic.

The Catholic suggestion took concrete shape, this time obliquely, in March, 1950, when Senator Edwin Johnson proposed that all actors should be licensed and subject to the loss of their licence if they indulged in "moral turpitude." Result: an investigation into "Hollywood morals" was planned to be conducted by the Senate Commerce Committee the following month. This "Police State Bill," as Eric Johnston's Motion Picture Producers Association described it, compelled Hollywood to consider establishing "a self-discipline code under which stars guilty of immoral behaviour would be temporarily suspended by their studios."

"Moral turpitude" was only a blind for something more important to both the Catholic Church and its anti-democratic American allies. It was a preliminary step which would permit a disguised Catholic political inquisition to begin its nefarious work in the entertainment world—that is, a witch-hunt for "Reds."

This was proved not long afterwards, when "moral turpitude" was flung only against actors who were slightly Leftish, and inspired a blatant organized campaign directed at driving from the air and television screens artists listed as having pro-Communist links.

The Catholic-inspired "moral turpitude" campaign soon spread to other fields and became indistinguishable from the social, economic, and political opinions entertained by individual Americans—or, rather, it was soon identified as another of the many offshoots geared to the various committees of un-American activities, the most "un-American" inspired and promoted anti-democratic hybrid produced by the hidden forces gnawing at the entrails of American democracy.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, blackened with the thickest layers of Catholic termites and hence also Catholic-dominated, were it by way of political degeneracy to carry out an unbiased investigation with a view to finding out whence it caught its "inquisitorial" Holy Inquisition, Ogpu, and Gestapo fever, would probably astound the American masses by revealing that its most powerful, invisible focus of infection

was, and still is, Catholic-nurtured and of Catholic origin.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I., had no doubts that the greatest promoter, defender, and teacher of American democracy was—whom? The Founding Fathers? The Constitution? The American people? No; the Roman Catholic Church: “No gift of Rockefeller or Carnegie Foundations, or of any other Christian denomination, can equal the gift presented to the American people by the Catholic Church,” he boldly declared, forgetting altogether the gift granted by American Protestantism to Protestant U.S.A.

Hoover not only was happy about the help that the F.B.I. had received from the Catholic Church in the past; he was even happier about what the Catholic Church was preparing for the future, in her tender efforts to protect, foster, and cherish American freedom. The Catholic Church, said Hoover, was implanting the veritable principles of American democracy into the minds of the oncoming American generation, because “she has 11,000 schools, with nearly 3,000,000 pupils, who are taught by 95,000 patriotic teachers.” After which, Hoover, crediting himself and the F.B.I. with the greatest discovery of which they were both capable, informed Protestant America that the 95,000 Catholic teachers were “patriotic” because “Not a single non-American principle is taught by them.”⁹

Thereupon he instructed the F.B.I. and subsidiary agencies to the effect that the latest, most efficient, lie detectors from then onward should in no circumstances whatsoever be applied to those “patriotic” Catholics.¹⁰

American Catholics, like Catholics the world over, would need not so much the primitive lie detectors used by the American F.B.I. in 1952, as the elaborate, gigantic lie detectors of a future world dictatorship, to find out in all its nastiest form the veritable hatred which those of them who are capable of political thinking nurse towards any form of true democracy, including the American.

As far as other things are concerned, however, Catholics are the most honestly outspoken of all Christians. Particularly when they feel “cheerful.” In those moments they put their hearts in their hands and just let any heretic, or, indeed, even miscreant, have a good look. Then they can say anything.

Even the greatest of all truths—namely, the one cherished for almost twenty centuries, that they are determined to wipe out all non-Catholics.

An American hierarch, and hence automatically an American "super patriotic teacher" who consequently would never dare to teach "non-American principles," said something which, if the F.B.I. had not been riddled with Catholics, might have made it somewhat concerned about the future of genuine American freedom of worship—i.e. "We cheerfully concede," said C. Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, "that the Catholic Church is engaged in a frankly avowed 'conspiracy' to win America and the world for Christ, and therefore to convert all nations to Catholicism."¹¹

To most Americans genuinely devoted to American democracy such words would sound anything but American. To the F.B.I., however, they sounded more American than anything else. This, owing to one simple reason—namely, that most members of the F.B.I. were Catholics or Catholic sympathizers. Hence words like those of Cushing, which meant wiping out all other religions, had been familiar to them from childhood. Familiarity breeds acceptance. Result: they came to identify such anti-democratic principles with Americanism.

Not with the Americanism of most Protestants, Liberals, or Agnostics, to be sure. But with the Americanism of the American Legion, of Luce's "American Century," not to mention that advocated by the scapular-bemedalled Knights of Columbus.

Which perhaps explains why the F.B.I., following the Second World War, became so concerned about those Americans who, in veritable American fashion, scorned all Imperialism, with all its pomp, and tried to cherish the great principle of freedom for individuals, religions, and nations, the noblest and truest heritage of the founders of the United States of America.

13

CATHOLIC PENETRATION OF AMERICAN LABOUR

UNLIKE THE PAST, TODAY THE POWER of nations is erected upon their industrial might, and the influence of a people now rests no longer upon the armies it can put into the field but upon the goods it can deliver.

The U.S.A. is the most powerful country in the West because it is the greatest Western industrial producer. Both her military and her political power is based upon this. The ultimate creators of such American industrial might, therefore, are the Americans directly responsible for it—namely, the 60,000,000-strong American workers.

American power rests with them. Without them the U.S.A. would be but a spineless giant.

Since the American working battalions started to become a power in their own right the Catholic Church has attempted an organized, termite-like invasion, with a view, by boring within their inner ranks, to rid them of the basic democratic tenets essential to vigorous organized labour, and then, after substituting them with the poisoned Catholic ones, to turn the American Labour front into a mighty Catholic tool with which to complete the total Catholic conquest of the U.S.A.

Catholic penetration has gone so deep that, as in other fields, it has already hollowed out some of its archways. Although a comparatively new phenomenon, this insidious penetration has already yielded the most alarming results.

These have been obtained mainly thanks to Catholic opportunism, the timing of Catholic attack, and to Catholic tactical invasion.

The Catholic Church has never had any love for the worker. As in the past, so also now, the worker, in her eyes, is but a tool to be exploited by his exploiters, the natural long-standing friends of the Catholic Church throughout the ages. Ever since the American workers, in spite of both organized religion and capital, became a powerful economic and political force, the Catholic Church, from being their bitterest opponent, has turned into their most successful wooer and politically insidious seducer.

The Catholic change was only a change of tactics. The goal remained the same. This, now, she has decided to reach by undetected penetration into the citadel of Labour, to be followed, first by a partial and then by a total seizure of labour leadership, with the ultimate view to its complete control.

It was only when the trade unions started to grow into giants in their own right that the Catholic Church, having discarded her malevolent opposition, began to accelerate her campaign of labour penetration, running parallel with that conducted for the penetration of American society.

The two closing decades of the last century, which saw the meteoric rise of the Knights of Labour organization, which was superseded by the American Federation of Labour and had to struggle against continual ecclesiastical opposition,¹ were hastily forgotten. Within a few years Catholicism came into the field apparelled in the working man's overalls, speaking the working man's trade union jargon, and generally posing as his friend. Its attempts at penetration were conducted in diverse fashions: direct promotion of Catholic Labour; indirect penetration by Catholic Labour of American Labour proper.

More than this, Catholicism set out to organize Catholic Labour schools, the first of which, the Xavier Labour School, was founded in 1935 in New York. By 1956 there were more

than one hundred such schools located in every industrial city; twenty-four of these were directed by the Jesuits, thirty-two by diocesan authorities, and the rest by other Catholic bodies. At such schools the workers are taught both the theory and the tactics of Labour Unionism, with a Catholic slant. Each year some 7,500 workers graduate from them.

This was part of the Catholic scheme directed at the setting up of a Catholic Labour front in the U.S.A. It was, and still is, a very important instrument of Catholic grand strategy in the Labour field. Its importance, however, does not lie only in that, but also in the fact that the training and organizing of Catholic workers is aimed at equipping them with the right qualifications to penetrate and seize power in the rank and file of *non-Catholic American Labour*.

This is carried out by the employment of two main, complementary, tactical devices: the promotion of Catholic trade unions and the promotion of Catholics, whether members or not, within the hierarchical scale of American trade unions.

The first is accomplished mainly through Catholicism's own Labour movement, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (A.C.T.U.), which was first organized in 1937, Catholic authorities "having seen how good and how necessary is the instrument of trade unionism, and how badly it is in need of trained Catholic leaders."

The A.C.T.U. has local branches in every industrial centre, being especially active in Detroit.

Supplementing these there are the Catholic Labour papers: *The Catholic Worker*, the *Labour Leader*, etc.

Since its foundation Catholic Labour has had the "spiritual direction" of the Catholic clergy, the careful nursing of the Jesuits of Fordham University, and, of course, the backing of the American hierarchy.

Catholic Labour's main peculiarity is that the most prominent positions are never held by the workers themselves, but always by the Catholic clergy. There are Labour archbishops, Labour bishops, and Labour priests. The Labour priests' task is not only to lead Catholic trade unions; their role has a far more sinister aspect. It is to penetrate the rank-and-file of non-Catholic Labour, via Catholic workers, members of non-Catholic unions. Thanks to this, the Catholic Labour

priests have entered the trade union field in force: indeed, they have become one of the most insidious influences in American trade unionism. They have been seen at conference tables, in picket lines, at hearings in Congress. They have become the advisers of top Labour officials, and mingle with delegates at union conventions. They act as Labour arbiters or as investigators of strikes. For instance, two priests were appointed by Archbishop Cantwell, of Los Angeles, to investigate Hollywood's prolonged studio strike in 1947. And Archbishop Byrne, of Santa Fé, himself became the official arbitrator in a Labour dispute between the Mayflower Café in Santa Fé, New Mexico, and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union (October, 1950). Labour priests take an active part in practical trade unionism. In Pittsburg, for instance, Father C. O. Rice went on the radio (January, 1946) to support the steelworkers' strike, and helped plan C.I.O. strategy; on sundry occasions he joined workers in picket lines or raised bail for them. In New Orleans, a Labour priest, Father J. A. Drolet, helped hold back Harry Bridges's invasion of the delta, and became Joseph Curran's "padre" in "cleansing the National Maritime Union of Communists."

One of the leaders of such Labour priests was Father G. Higgins, assistant director of the Social Action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. In that capacity he was in close touch both with priests all over the country and with top officials of national Labour bodies.

The Labour priests, Catholic infiltration and Catholic trade unionism have become increasingly important because, also as union members, Catholic numbers are growing. They run formal schools for union members, where they teach grievance procedure, public speaking, and practical, down-to-earth tools of unionism.

Such schools are strengthened by various units, such as the Archdiocesan Labour Institute in Detroit, with branches in many parishes, Social Action schools for the priests themselves, where top American union chiefs, such as Walter Reuther and other A.F.L. and C.I.O. leaders, deliver lectures, and the Institutes of Industrial Relations. Catholic priests entered the American Arbitration Association Labour panel.

The aim of this vigorous penetration of Catholic trade

unionists into American Labour is to exert a disproportionate influence upon the policy of non-Catholic unions and their political outlook, in order ultimately to orientate the American workers towards policies pursued by the Catholic Church and her allies, the secret, bitter, and deadly enemies of all American toilers.

In proportion to the numerical strength of non-Catholic Labour, A.C.T.U., as such, should not cause any serious alarm. It is not in its numerical strength, however, that its power lies. It is in its unity, rigid leadership, set purpose, and, above all, in the cunning unscrupulousness and ruthlessness of the priestly brains directing it. It is thanks to this last that A.T.C.U. is already exerting such disproportionate influence in American Labour. This should not be underestimated. It has been used, now and again, in local and national union conventions, when it has repeatedly swung the balance of power and its intervention has proved decisive. E.g. Walter Reuther, who in 1946 would not have won the United Auto Workers' election without A.C.T.U. support; or M. Quill, who in 1948 cleaned up the Transit Workers' Union.

The activities of A.C.T.U. and of Catholic Labour in general have the support of the great dinosaurian Press, which often praises their activities, even if obliquely.

A.C.T.U. is used, not only as a Trojan horse, but also as a pressure group. Many Labour leaders distrust its activities, mainly because of this. More than one director of the Education and Research Department of the C.I.O. has resigned on this very issue. "There are two extreme poles of power attraction in the C.I.O.," said one of them, submitting his resignation, "the Communist pole and the A.C.T.U. pole. Both receive their impetus and inspiration from without the C.I.O. Both believe in the control of the C.I.O. as part of the larger struggle for the control of the world."²

The lengths to which A.C.T.U. pressure—or, rather, blackmail—can go has forced certain Catholic trade union leaders themselves, and their friends, to complain about it. Michael Quill, head of the powerful New York Transit Workers' Union, referred to it as "a hindrance, a nuisance, and a strike-breaking outfit." The pressure brought upon him by his Church after this forced him, within one year, to submit

meekly to Jesuit leadership and accept without any more questioning Catholic political directives. J. B. Carey, Catholic Secretary-Treasurer of the C.I.O., also at first objected to his Church's dictation. One day, after having addressed a group which Catholics labelled Communists, he was ordered by A.C.T.U. to avoid such dangerous "liberal groups." "I seriously object to the Labour movement being used as a battleground for or against certain political philosophies," replied Carey. "I am surprised how A.C.T.U. follows the same pattern. . . . I am therefore very much opposed to any dictation from any sources in regard to the policies of the Labour movement." As with Quill, however, the Catholic steam-roller, having been promptly set upon him, forced Carey to write to A.C.T.U. asking for a list of the union groups which he had "to shun." The President of the C.I.O. himself, Philip Murray, at one time was so incensed at such pressure that he declared: "This Union will not tolerate efforts or individuals, organizations or groups . . . to infiltrate, dictate, or meddle in our affairs. . . . We engage in no purges or witch-hunts." Soon afterwards, however, following repeated visits from Jesuit priests, Murray changed his opinion, with the result that at the very next gathering of the C.I.O. Murray came out with the original discovery that "organized Labour wants no damned Communists meddling in our affairs."

From then onward all good trade unionists were urged to support the Truman policy, to side with the President in his cold war against Russia, to back the Atlantic Pact and the rearming of the U.S.A. Those who did not support all this—i.e. "The Reds," meaning "the non-Catholic-dominated unions"—as the *New York Times* put it, "were to be accused of every crime in the book."

The lengths to which certain workers, monkeying with the verbiage and abstract images of their millionaire opponents, can go would make Jupiter peal with laughter were they not so pitifully pathetic.

One unusually dull morning, Mr. Nathan Spector, manager of the New York Joint Board of the Millinery Workers' Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labour, woke up with a truly earth-shaking discovery: the most terrible foe of the U.S.A. was not Communism alone, it was

"Communism and hatlessness." The former was not only a devilish partner of the latter; the latter was the twin brother of the former. Something had to be done at once to save the U.S.A. from such a monstrous conspiratorial union. The "something": "An international conference of hat manufacturers and unions leaders to carry on a twin crusade against hatlessness and Communism." Mr. Spector also described his plan for reviving the European hat industry as a moral counterpart of the Marshall Plan. . . . "Hatlessness is not only devastating for Europe, it is a threat to the United States," he declared. For what Kremlin-inspired recondite reason? "Because American tourists who visit the great European centres, finding no one wearing hats, are likely to come back to the U.S. feeling that they should go without hats too."³

Communism and hatlessness, however, can become Communism and freedom for some Americans, there being no difference between the two. Witness the 50,000 letters of praise—thousands of them from workers—received by Judge Medina, of New York, after his gaoling of eleven Communist leaders (October, 1949). It can become more. It can condition the American workers to prepare for war—for example, the American Federation of Labour, representing 8,000,000 members, declaring that the U.S. must fully mobilize. Or it can allow their leaders to approve of the actual dispatching of troops to fight—e.g. the A.F.L. Executive Council, which in 1951 urged the U.S.A. to send troops to any country ready to fight Communism.⁴

Catholic Murray, after the enlightenment given him by his Jesuit counsellor, decided to clear sundry Reds—although they were all wearing broad-brimmed hats—from the C.I.O. E. F. Hoban, one of his dear friends, spoke to Catholics and non-Catholics alike: "You must repudiate those enemies of God and man who seek to pervert your efforts and to enlist your great forces to fight on the side of evil," he said. E. F. Hoban should have known. For E. F. Hoban was not a simple American worker, he was something far superior—nothing less than a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church.

Catholic direct or oblique pressure can yield concrete results. It can influence American Labour to pursue a given policy, in line with that of the Catholic Church or with that of her

political friends. It can influence workers and leaders alike, whether they are Catholics or not, as happened in September, 1950, when the American Federation of Labour asked all organized American workers—some 20,000,000 of them—to pledge themselves to start a nation-wide boycott of Russian goods, a boycott supported by the rival C.I.O. The boycott was proposed by the A.F.L. President, William Green, who told cheering delegates at the convention's opening session: "We should cease shipping goods to Russia. They will use them to prepare war against us." Before the convention, Green had long visits from various representatives of the American hierarchy.

While fighting Catholicism's enemies the Catholic Church at the same time advocates economic and social ideas favouring, not the workers, but their suffering employers. For instance, H. Ford, Jr., a Catholic convert since 1947, drew inspiration from Catholicism for one of his most profitable schemes: Speed-up via Religion. "Christ for Labour and Management" meetings were conducted in his plants, at which Protestants and others participated. The paramount reiterated Bible quotation in the whole scheme is somewhat significant: "*Take what you get and be satisfied.*"

The better to deceive the working masses, the Catholic Church plays upon their sentimentality by reminding them that, after all, the Church is composed of working-class people. Why! She is of the most proletarian origin. "Priests must keep kinship with workers," Cardinal Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit, used to repeat, "for Catholic priests come from the homes of workers." Indeed, "Priests have always belonged to the ranks of Labour," asserted Archbishop Cushing, of Boston, to none other than the Trade Union delegates of the C.I.O. (October, 1947). Proof? "In all the American hierarchy resident in the U.S.A. there is not known to me any bishop, archbishop, or cardinal whose father or mother was a College graduate," he added, as if to be an American millionaire employer it was necessary to be either the privy purse-carrier of some impoverished European king or a holder of a degree in Homeric orations.

The Catholic Church is the only institution in the U.S.A.,

with the possible exception of the giant trusts, wholly incapable of blushing.

During the last decade, the swifter to seduce the ever-more-powerful organized American workers, she has impudently apparelled herself with the most fantastic claims. The fact that she has always scorned the welfare of the workers, that before the menacing inroads made by her greatest enemy, Communism, she did nothing to help the working classes, that she began to be interested in American Labour not, it must be remembered, when the American workers desperately needed help and supporters but only when the era of the New Deal dawned and the Wagner Labour Act appeared—events which, coinciding with the extensive organizing of American Labour by the C.I.O., were proving that American Labour now constituted a power to be reckoned with, both as an economic and as a political factor—that she became suddenly interested in the American Labour movement only when this became a mighty force to be wooed and penetrated—all this was brushed aside with the same nonchalance as that of a Catholic bishop casting away the devil by means of four drops of holy water.

American trade unions, American social legislation, and everything gained by the American workers have been inspired and preached by the Catholic Church, became her latest slogan. American workers, all of them, whether Catholics or not, owe their gains to no others than those most democratic individuals, the Popes, she said.

Was such a mythical claim put forward by some fanatical American Jesuit, or by some "proletarian" American bishop? It was put forward by none other than the American Secretary of Labour, Maurice Tobin in 1950:

Practically every social and economic reform enacted in the United States was proposed in the Bishops' programme of Social Reconstruction, issued in 1919, who applied the philosophy set forth by Pope Leo XIII.⁵

Maurice Tobin was a devout Catholic. He was a devout Catholic not only as a private individual but as the Secretary of Labour for the whole of the U.S.A. That meant that he was simultaneously also a most powerful instrument of Catholic penetration, directed at the capture of American trade unionism. Mr. Tobin, for instance, besides telling Americans

that they owed their gains to the Catholic Church, shortly after his declaration was received in private audience by the Pope (June 26, 1950), with whom he discussed at length—what? An American electric razor used by His Holiness? Curiously enough, no! They discussed American Labour and the chances of American Catholics to capture its leadership for the Catholic Church.

That such plans should be taken seriously might sound unbelievable. Yet those made at the Vatican have often been crowned with success. Not only in Catholic countries, but in Protestant ones as well.

In the U.S.A. their potential success is not as fantastic as it might seem. It should never be forgotten that Catholic strategy of penetration is based, not upon numbers, but upon quality. It is not how many thousands or millions of Catholic trade unionists which Catholic strategists ask: it is from which key positions they are operating. Although the 60,000,000 American workers are mostly Protestants, yet almost *one-third* of all American Labour leaders are Catholics, most of them practising ones. More ominous still, they occupy the top positions. The most powerful trade union unit, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, was, as we have already seen, dominated by Philip Murray, a Catholic who kept the Pope's social encyclicals permanently on his desk, for reference. In December, 1950, Murray was elected President of the C.I.O. for the eleventh time, and re-elected in 1951. The annual convention which re-elected him opened with prayers by Cardinal Stritch. Second to Murray was another Catholic, James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the C.I.O.

This is not all. Most non-Catholic leaders help the Catholic termites to penetrate even deeper into the Unions by indiscriminately supporting the Vatican's hate crusades—e.g. Walter Reuther, of the United Auto Workers, who welcomed the Vatican's battle against Communism, Soviet Russia, Reds, Pinks, and all.

These non-Catholic trade union leaders, in their turn, are supported by their Catholic counterparts in getting elected—for example, the case of Reuther—or in the disaffiliated Left-Wing-dominated unions, as done by Catholic Murray in 1950 with the United Electrical and Farm Equipment Workers.

The growing penetration and domination of Catholicism does not endanger only American trade unionism and American domestic politics; it affects international Labour movements, and therefore international politics. For instance, when in 1946 the Catholic Church proposed the establishment of a Confederation of Workers wholly inspired by Catholic social doctrines, American Labour leaders supported the idea without even bothering to consult their unions first.

American trade unions—or, rather, most of their representatives, many of them Catholics—helped to split international Labour unity with the formation of a new World Federation of Workers, extreme-Right-Wing dominated, in opposition to the Left-Wing World Federation of Trade Unions (June, 1950)—e.g. C.I.O. delegates, led by Catholic J. B. Carey. Result: in December, 1950, a European organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was established in Brussels, heralding the setting up of similar regional International Confederations of Free Trade Unions in Asia, Africa, and the Americas in subsequent years. Their original inspirer: the Catholic Church and her allies.

The Catholic objective, therefore, is nothing but an objective of disruption, directed at splitting the American Labour front, the better to further Catholic domination over the American workers. A.C.T.U., her main vanguard, has already posted many of her most trusted sentinels within minor and major Labour forts of the C.I.O., of the A.F.L., and, indeed, throughout the American Labour front. A.C.T.U. is directly controlled by the Catholic hierarchy. All its members, whether known or unknown, must obey their religious leaders in social and political matters. That being so, it follows that, because they are simultaneously members of the Catholic Church and members of the American unions, they will seek, very often with success, to influence American non-Catholic Labour according to the directives of their religious leaders.

American Labour's rank and file might not, either individually or even less collectively, be aware of such Catholic influence. Yet it is a stark reality, made even more dangerous by the merger of the C.I.O. and F.A.L. (Fall, 1955/6) which will help Catholic termites further to sap American Labour's sensitive sinews.

The Catholic Church is a sly master of tactics. Hence her present policy of silent, unseen penetration and the masquerading of her members as good trade unionists, with no religious affiliation, concerned only with diligently promoting the interests of the American workers.

This many of them honestly do. Their leaders know, however, that this is the line best suited for Catholic influence to capture the citadels of American Labour before the alarm is sounded. Once their Church feels strong enough, she will boldly step out and try to manipulate the American Labour colossus on behalf of herself and of her worthy allies, the billionaire corporations, giant trusts, and banks of America. This she has already begun to do. Witness the presidential campaign of 1956, when a Catholic, none other than the Secretary of Labour, James Paul Mitchell, conducted a two months' tour, to persuade union men to vote Republican, and thus reelect the "Cadillac Administration" of D. Eisenhower.

Catholic leading termites, carefully nursed and directed by the Catholic hierarchy and hence, through remote control, by the Vatican, are already attempting to reorientate, although with understandable prudence, the social and political thinking of the 60,000,000 American workers: indeed, to rebuild American Labour according to the social teaching of the Popes. This with the unalterable aim of destroying Protestant America by erecting upon its ruins Catholic America.

One of the pillars of the American Catholic Hierarchy, Samuel Cardinal Stritch, of Chicago, in August 1955 felt sufficiently confident on this issue to assure Americans that "the Catholic Church is forging ahead [in the U.S.A.], growing day by day and becoming stronger." Not content with this, with impatient assurance he even informed them that "it no longer can be said today that the United States *is a Protestant country.*"⁶

The Catholic Church has still a very long way to go. But she has already gone far enough seriously to imperil the future of the whole Labour front of America. And she is out to control American Labour, the better to control the American workers and thus, once in control of the American workers, to complete her ultimate goal: total conquest of the U.S.A.

CATHOLIC "WHITE TERROR" IN AMERICAN POLITICS AND CATHOLIC MACHINATIONS FOR A "PREVENTIVE" ATOMIC WAR

WITH THE ECONOMIC OMNIPOTENCE of the giant trusts behind her, a monolithic mass of 30,000,000 members, her influence on the Labour colossus, and the immense opinion-creating media at her disposal, the Catholic Church could not avoid becoming the phenomenon that she is. Hence her inability not to trespass with villainous boldness also into that most important field of all, the political, where, perhaps more than in any other, she has become a prodigy all her own, whose friendship neither local nor Federal authorities can ignore, bypass, or, even less, oppose—indeed, which must be cultivated to absurd lengths by any individual, political group, movement, or party, no matter how powerful, unwilling to court disaster.

Owing to this, of all the pressure groups—those disfigurers of the American political fabric, "dangerously close to a perversion of representative government"¹—that of the Catholic Church is not only the most nefarious, it is the most feared.

Catholic pressure and open or secret briefing of the Catholic hierarchy will promote or ruin the political career of any politician, whether aspiring to the village council or to the White House.

The Catholic vote is not a figment of the imagination. It is a solid, fearsome political factor of the greatest importance. President Roosevelt knew it could stultify his three re-elections, and, in 1936, bargained for it with Cardinal Pacelli, as we have already seen. In 1939 his sending of an American representative to the Vatican was a political *quid pro quo* which originated in the Catholic vote. Indeed, his dispatching of Myron C. Taylor as his personal envoy was done "as a payment to the late Cardinal Mundelein, of Chicago, for political services rendered President Roosevelt." This was testified to by W. Trohan, a Catholic, who accompanied Taylor to Europe in that year, and was substantiated by the fact, already mentioned, that Roosevelt's correspondence with the Cardinal was included in the fifteen per cent of his papers not to be made public for at least twenty-five years.

President Truman could do no less. Towards the end of 1951 he dumbfounded the U.S.A. by nominating an American general the first official American Ambassador to the Vatican. The prompting of such a spectacular move was due not only to the necessity of consolidating the ideological underbelly of the anti-Communist American foreign policy with the borrowed drive of an organized religion, but also to the simultaneous necessity of the Democratic Party to enlist the Catholic vote in the approaching Presidential elections of 1952.

The Democrats, to win, needed the big American towns plus the south. Catholics could cast the decisive vote in the key cities. The Catholic vote by 1952, far more influential than in Roosevelt's day, could swing the Presidential elections in the *nine* largest U.S. cities, thereby determining the way the nine most populous States would vote. By appointing the first ambassador to the Vatican, President Truman expected nothing less than victory, by way of the hope that the millions of Catholic voters, on election day, would "remember."

By 1952, however, the Catholic vote had not become so easy to hook. This owing, among other factors, to powerful

Catholic voices sounding the clarion from the Republican citadel.

A serious split in the Catholic field meant serious danger for the Democratic strategists. Hence the Roosevelt-Pacelli *quid pro quo* of 1936 having to be repeated in 1952. President Truman, like Roosevelt, knew the Catholic electorate's master's voice, and early in 1951 he approached the Vatican via Cardinal Spellman. This time, unlike fifteen years before, it was not the Pope's representative who journeyed to the U.S. to bargain with the American President. It was the representative of the American President who had to journey to Rome to bargain with the political leader of the American Catholics—namely, the Pope.

President Truman offered Pacelli, now Pius XII, the long-sought permanent official American Ambassadorship to the Vatican, in exchange for the American Catholic vote of 1952. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., the late President's son, Democratic representative from New York State, went to Rome with Truman's plan: the Democratic Party assured His Holiness that the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican was forthcoming . . . but . . . regrettably, not until *after* the 1952 elections. The implication, more than obvious, was blunt.²

The Pope's counter-proposals indicated that the Vatican had been entertaining the most sanguine hopes about a forthcoming Republican Administration.

Truman, who had already made a secret attempt to deprive a similar Republican offer of most of its bargaining weight by vainly extending to Charles P. Taft,³ brother of Senator Taft, the Republican leader and aspiring Republican Presidential candidate, the post of first American Ambassador to the Holy See, to make the bite he was offering to His Holiness more tempting by forestalling a possible Republican move, stunned his own Party and the U.S.A. by confronting both with a quasi *fait accompli*. On October 20, 1951, a few hours before the recess of the Senate, he announced the appointment of the first American ambassador to the Vatican.³

The appointment created a turmoil. Truman, in his effort to capture the Catholic vote, had seriously imperilled the

Protestant vote, Protestant America having reacted with exceptional violence to the move.

On January 14, 1952, Truman "recognized the overwhelming strength of the opposition to his proposal to appoint General Mark Clark as Ambassador to the Vatican, and capitulated."⁴

The "proposed appointment had done nobody any good."⁵

Even the Vatican, which had always desired an ordinary, straightforward American diplomatic mission instead of a personal representative, in view of the sinister shadow that the appointment of General Clark had thrown on the American-Vatican alliance, by the time of Truman's "capitulation" had come to "dislike" the prospect of receiving "a serving general as ambassador."

The Presidential capitulation rocketed to Rome. Cardinal Spellman, who had been in Formosa, consorting with the Vatican's and the giant trusts' Chinese "creature," Chiang Kai Shek, hurriedly returned, to be received by the Pope (January 16, 1952).

Truman's capitulation, as events subsequently demonstrated, was to be quickly forgotten by both the Democratic and the Republican Parties in their secret bargaining with the Vatican for the enlistment of the Catholic vote. Indeed, since Truman's announcement that he was not going to contest the Presidency (March 29, 1952) the Vatican's invisible stranglehold on the U.S.A. became so daring as to exceed anything it had secretly or openly dared to do during the previous twenty years of Democrat rule. The key to the Catholic Church's new boldness lay in one simple fact: the invisible government of the giant trusts had become the official government of the U.S.A.

At the Vatican a Republican Administration had always been reckoned as the ideal vehicle for a swift acceleration of Catholic penetration. With the billionaire corporations in power, the military in the White House, and the big dinosaurs wandering abroad supported by all the might of the U.S.A., genuine democracy in America, in Catholic calculations, was bound sooner or later to perish.

Wherever true democracy withers, there the Catholic Church thrives. In the U.S.A.'s new Presidential term

(1953-6) the Vatican saw but two great inter-linked portents: the paralysis of democracy and therefore the inevitable growth of Catholicism.

The power of the Catholic vote was reckoned no less important by Senators, Congressmen, and others, most of whom had become so shy of Catholic pressure that, with rare exceptions, they let themselves be thoroughly cowed by this type of invisible Catholic terrorism.

The consequence was, to say the least, nefarious. It paralysed the smooth working of American democracy, with repercussions of the gravest nature in domestic and foreign policy. And this was due simply to the fact that, each time that Bills, laws, or other legislation came before either House, Congressmen or Senators would be tempted to pass or reject them, not because they were good or bad, but because of their fear that they might be favoured or frowned upon by the Catholic Church, and hence that the Catholic vote and Catholic pressure might be used against them. This invisible Catholic Damocles' sword is the growing nightmare of every politician. And this to such an extent that to be branded anti-Catholic had become, after the Second World War, even more disastrous than to be branded pro-Communist.

The result of this terrible Catholic blackmail is that policies inspired or promoted by the Catholic Church are being increasingly supported by a larger number of Senators and Congressmen, apprehensive of their political future. Some time in 1950, as we have already seen, President Truman openly expressed his " annoyance " at it.⁶

No President, however, can afford to complain too often or too openly about Catholic pressure. For the Catholic Church, as all recent American Presidents have learned, can and does operate one of the most formidable lobbies, whose goodwill they must cultivate at all costs.

Both the Democratic and the Republican Parties, therefore, in addition to having to be extremely attentive to such feelings, have to insure themselves against any possible Catholic hostility by bowing to every Catholic whim before and after each Presidential, Senatorial, or Congressional election. But, even more dangerous than this, they have to permit the Catholic termite-technique to have full vent, lest Catholic ire recoil on them.

As in the Labour and Press citadels, the Catholic invasion has gone so deep that Catholic political termites are feverishly hollowing out the archways of American democracy in the most responsible posts.

For instance, in 1950 eighty-two Congressmen were Catholics. The Attorney-General was a Catholic. The Post Office Department was in Catholic hands. So was the Department of Printing and Engraving. Catholics hold the highest places in the Army and Navy. The Committee of Un-American Activities was Catholic-dominated. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was run by Catholics. Catholics have been planted in all confidential key positions and promoted to the highest offices—e.g. Robert Hannegan, former U.S. Postmaster-General, whose appointment in 1945 made him the tenth Catholic to become a Cabinet Minister; Francis Matthew, Secretary of the Navy; J. Howard McGrath, United States Attorney-General, who in 1950 was awarded the first "Medal of Mary" as an "outstanding Catholic laymen of his time"; Judge James P. McGranery, U.S. Attorney-General, the twelfth Catholic to hold a Cabinet post (1952). The list becomes longer every day, keeping pace as it does with the growing Catholic influence.

Congressmen, Senators, generals, whenever they go to Rome, have to visit the Pope, mostly as political propaganda for their constituents and as homage to Catholic pressure in the U.S.A. Thus the spectacle was and is seen, of Congressmen, singly or more often in saltatory bunches, being received in audience by a cynically astute master-politician, the Pope, who frequently bespoke of dear peace to ambitious American generals who dreamt of nothing but war: Pius XII going so far as to receive no less than five American generals in succession on one single day in June, 1949.

The President of the U.S.A. himself is not exempt from this tribute-paying obligation. On more than one occasion, to silence some villainous Republican, Truman had to vouch that he was a friend of the Pope. "The Pope is a very good friend of mine, even if I am a Baptist," he said in 1948, after the Presidential elections. This in spite of, or because of, the disclosure that the head of the authoritative *New York Times* had, before polling day, been received in private audience by

the Pope, to whom he had said that the Truman Administration would be replaced by a Republican Government, with Governor Dewey as President and John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State, a prophecy, this, which " gave much joy " to Truman's " good friend."

Catholic infiltration into the very heart of the U.S. Administration is such that most of the leading Senators have Catholic secretaries or their equivalent, even when they themselves are Protestants, as have also the heads of many government departments. That is not all. The President must have a special secretary, as a watch-dog of the Catholic hierarchy, and this has been the case with all American Presidents since Harding—a Cardinal going so far as to lend his to F. D. Roosevelt. Railroad executives, Army, Navy, and Air Force brass-hats, have Catholics in their entourage, very often not for the love they bear them or their Church, but simply as a political insurance against Catholic displeasure.

If such penetration of Catholic power can thus influence American domestic life, its termite technique is promoted with no less energy in another paramount sphere, in the nerve centre of the policy-making machinery of the U.S.A. Catholic termite boring here is even more portentous because of its impact upon American foreign policy.

The " Catholicizing " of the American diplomatic corps, which began during the Roosevelt era, gathered alarming momentum after the Second World War. Roosevelt set up the precedent of appointing Catholics to key positions—e.g. Mr. Kennedy as Ambassador to London. This practice was followed with increasing frequency until Catholic diplomats, in proportion to the numerical strength of American Catholics, outnumbered the Protestants. Whenever it was necessary to pursue an unscrupulously energetic anti-Red policy, there Catholics were appointed—for example, when, in 1947-8-9, the U.S.A. sent dollars and troops to Greece to suppress Communism, it also sent an ambassador who was a Catholic, Mr. H. F. Grady, a former Assistant-Secretary of State. When Iran became a key country in the cold war, H. F. Grady was appointed ambassador to Iran (1950). The degree of Catholic penetration in the American foreign service can be gauged from the case of Egypt. In 1949 the U.S. appointed J. Caffery

as American Ambassador to Egypt; the significance of this was not so much that he was a Catholic as that his appointment brought the number of Catholics heading diplomatic missions in that country to ten.

The "Catholicizing" of the Army has proceeded with no less impetus, specially since the Eisenhower Republican Administration, which greatly favoured it. Prior to this, the Second World War gave it a phenomenal acceleration. Of the 17,000,000 Americans in the armed forces, about 4,000,000 were Catholics—one-fifth of America's fighting men. Here again, however, it was not so much their numerical strength as the key positions into which Catholics managed to penetrate that gave them their tremendous weight. Not only in military matters, for the most alarming feature was that they went into policy-making jobs.

One typical example: Alfred Maximilian Gruenther, educated at the Catholic St. Joseph's High School in Platte Center, Nebraska, at the St. Thomas's Military Academy in St. Paul, and at West Point. When the Second World War began, A. M. Gruenther, a zealous, practising Catholic, was immediately given a key post, mapping out military strategy. In 1942 he was sent to London as Deputy Chief of Staff of Allied Force Headquarters under General Eisenhower. Next, he moved to Algiers, and later joined General Clark, the future first American Ambassador-designate to the Vatican (1952), as Chief of Staff of the Fifth Army in North Africa and Italy; then served as Deputy Commander of the occupation force in Catholic Austria, towards the end of the European war. Recalled to Washington, he was nominated Deputy Commandant of the National War College (December, 1945). In 1947 he was promoted Director of the Joint Staff, which serves the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the preparation of strategic plans for the military forces. This became one of the paramount and, indeed, one of the U.S.A.'s most critical posts since the passage of the Unification Act. As the Army's chief planner, Gruenther, whom General Eisenhower considered "my right hand," must "assume that at any moment all the hands will have been dealt and the bidding of diplomacy is at an end. . . . He must *anticipate* the lead of any potential enemy, and figure

out a counter-move. . . . *Each day, to him, must be a potential Pearl Harbour.*"⁷

As Deputy Chief of Staff for the U.S. Army General Gruenther in 1951 and 1952 was given the task to "hasten the development of S.H.A.P.E. (Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe) from a silhouette into actuality."⁸ One of his chief tasks was to organize a permanent headquarters of the various anti-Communist European armies of S.H.A.P.E. This body, it must be noted, was "a purely policy-making body."⁸ General Gruenther's main dictum: the way to keep peace is to be prepared for war. His main enemy: Soviet Russia. His main hatred: Communism. His greatest love: the Catholic Church and the U.S.A. His main ultimate objective: total annihilation of Soviet Russia and Communism. General Gruenther, the super-Catholic, the devout member of the Catholic Church, and hence the devout follower of all her religious and political tenets, had become what an authoritative American organ rightly called, "the Brain of the U.S.A. Army."⁹ In May 1953 he was appointed Supreme Head of N.A.T.O., that is of all the united European American armies in the West.

Pious, practising Catholic Gruenther, like various other Catholic Army, Navy, and Air-Force men, continued to climb the scale of power with amazing celerity, until finally he climbed to the very top of the ladder as subsequent events demonstrated—a feat which, for non-Catholics with equal qualifications, was becoming, mysteriously, ever more difficult to perform.

Catholic termite technique, boring into the U.S. brain, at times is used with great subtlety and incalculable results. A typical example: its success in influencing the choice of a potential American President, whom the Church favoured, and the barring of another, whom she disliked, from entering the White House.

In 1943-4, President Roosevelt could not make up his mind on what later proved to be a most fateful decision: the choice of the American Vice-President. The potential candidates had been brought down to three. The President's dilemma soon became known to various individuals in his entourage and hence, through the Catholic hierarchy—or, rather, Spellman—

to the Vatican. It was important that Roosevelt make the "right choice."

Catholic Action was set in motion, and performed the delicate task in the person of an important Catholic termite close to Roosevelt's staff, Robert Hannegan, later Postmaster-General.

Hannegan began his campaign with a view to persuading Roosevelt to accept the opinion of the Vatican in the matter—namely, that, whereas one of the candidates would not have been welcomed by Rome, another could not at any cost be nominated, but the choice of the third could be approved. Hannegan's campaign was crowned with success. In 1944 Roosevelt dropped his Vice-President as his "running mate," discarded the second, and chose the third.

The dropped "running mate" was Mr. Wallace, the "pro-Soviet candidate," whom another Catholic in the Cabinet, J. Forrestal, later repeatedly accused of being "completely, everlastingly, and wholeheartedly in favour of giving the atomic bomb to the Russians."¹⁰ The second was Justice William Douglas, "unwelcome" owing to his Left-Wing views, confirmed when, in 1951, after a tour of Asia, in addition to telling the U.S.A. that "guns and dollars are the wrong weapons" with which to fight ideas, he advocated land reform in Asia, an advocacy which Luce's organ sneeringly called "the magic phrase of Liberals and Leftists."¹¹

The third candidate was Senator Harry Truman. Not long afterwards, Truman instead of Wallace became President on Roosevelt's death. In 1948 Mr. Hannegan was decorated by the Pope "for services rendered to the Catholic Church."

Catholic pressure upon the policy-makers of the U.S. Government, however, is by no means confined to a sly, undetected, subterranean penetration. It can be public, noisy, blatant; and it can be conducted in the open with the express purpose of intimidating politicians, blackmailing certain Administration departments, and even the Government itself, preventing the passage of certain Bills, and even compelling the resignation of top politicians, including the Secretary of State, or, indeed, forcing the Government to follow a foreign policy in accordance with that of the Catholic Church.

Thus, when, in 1940, Representative Barden introduced the

Barden Education Bill, providing about 200,000,000 dollars Federal aid to schools for health benefits and non-religious textbooks, Cardinal Spellman promoted a nation-wide campaign against him and his Bill. After calling Barden " a new apostle of bigotry," and Congressmen who supported his Bill " disciples of discrimination," venting " venom on children," he mobilized the vast Catholic pressure machinery. Hundreds of thousands of communications, petitions, and letters written by Catholics flooded Washington. One Congressman received no less than 25,000 letters of protest from Catholics on the Bill: " the biggest story on Capitol Hill this week," as members of the Congressional staff described the Catholic flood.

The necessity of wooing Catholic support at home and abroad can induce even the American Government to take steps disapproved of by the majority of the American people; indeed, to infringe one of their most cherished principles—the separation of Church and State.

A striking case, as already mentioned, was the resumption of American-Vatican diplomatic relations in 1939-40. The history of American-Vatican relations has always been a controversial subject. The first American diplomatic contact was made in 1848, with the appointment of a *chargé d'affaires*. The *chargé* was given the rank of Minister in 1854. Fourteen years later, when Congress refused to vote any more funds, the Minister resigned and returned to America. The real reason for this was that Protestant America did not want to have anything to do with the headquarters of a religion. American representatives until then had been kept on, on the valid excuse that the Pope was a temporal sovereign. When the Papal States disappeared, the Pope became what he has been ever since, the head of the Catholic Church. From then onward any American representative would have been accredited to a *Church*, thus infringing the spirit and the letter of the American Constitution.

In 1936 Roosevelt and Cardinal Pacelli opened discussions. Result: in December, 1939, the U.S.A., which had ignored the Vatican since 1867, established diplomatic connexions by appointing a personal representative of the President to the Vatican.

The appointment was justified on various grounds, some of

which we have already examined. In reality it had been mainly dictated by Catholic pressure and blackmail. Catholics could seriously embarrass the Roosevelt Administration at home. Abroad, a hostile Vatican could stultify the President's grand strategy directed at aligning the democratic nations against the Fascist Powers, with the ultimate view of bringing the U.S.A. into the War on the democratic side.

Throughout the War—that is to say, from 1939 until 1945—the pressure of the Vatican and of American Catholics played an ominously important part in both the domestic and foreign policies of the U.S.A. In addition to temporary or local objectives, the basic goal of this double pressure and political blackmail remained always the same: to induce the U.S.A. to follow the schemes of the Vatican. Because of this, in the international field the Vatican-U.S.A. relations were extremely tense from the very beginning. Reason: the Vatican wanted to "leave Europe to God" (read, to Hitler); while Roosevelt was opposed to the total Fascistization of Europe.

As long as Nazi Germany was winning, the Vatican and Roosevelt policies could not be harmonized. When, however, Fascist Europe began to disintegrate and there dawned the possibility of an Allied victory, then Pius XII and Roosevelt began to see eye to eye. Their relationship grew in warmth as the Allied Powers' chance of winning increased. When it became clear that Nazi Germany was doomed, the Vatican simply came over on to the Allies' side, and Vatican-American co-operation from then onwards (1943-4) became so intimate that, as a former ambassador to the Vatican put it, "few people in Europe were aware of the union which was functioning . . . between the two forces which were represented in the U.S.A. and the Holy See, and which were co-ordinated in each instance that justified joint action."¹²

With the ending of the War it was taken for granted that Vatican-American diplomatic connexions would cease. But, as in the case of Great Britain and France after the First World War,¹³ so also now the "temporary measure made necessary by war" continued unaltered, in spite of a nation-wide demand that it should stop.

The objections to Vatican-American diplomatic connexions

were, from the very beginning, mostly on religious grounds. The Vatican-American relations, however, were wholly political. They had been so from the start. In fact, they had been initiated just because of that. Whenever dealing with the Vatican, Roosevelt meant to, and in fact did, deal always with a political centre. That being so, Vatican-American diplomatic relations could not be severed after the War. For the end of the Second World War had seen, not the dawning of peace, but the beginning of a new, mighty, ideological struggle led by Soviet Russia on the one side and the U.S.A. on the other. In view of the darkening of the post-War horizon, therefore, Vatican-American relations had become even more necessary than during the Second World War. Hence they had to be maintained. As, in fact, they were.

But if this was the reason why the President's personal representative continued to go to the Vatican, it was not the only reason. It was not even the main reason. The truth of the matter was hidden from all but the few.

It had been not so much the necessity of maintaining close connexions between the President and the Vatican which kept the link between them intact. It was the necessity of maintaining the invisible close connexions, screened by the official channels, between the Vatican and the "invisible government of the U.S.A."—namely, between the two powerful anti-Bolshevik, pro-Nazi partners.

Because of this, the President's personal representative in reality was also a *de facto* representative of the invisible government, and, while acting as the envoy of the President of the U.S.A., acted simultaneously as the envoy of the invisible government of the U.S.A.

President Roosevelt knew this. Hence the skilful choice of his representative, a master-stroke of Rooseveltian political perspicacity. The man whom he charged with the task was a power in his own right, representing far bigger powers even than the U.S. Government. In 1939-40, when world Fascism was at its height and both the Vatican and the American giant trusts were doing what they could to consolidate it throughout Europe, Roosevelt had to make a difficult choice. He had to please all—the Vatican, the Fascist Powers, the American Protestants, the American Catholics, and, above

all, his most formidable opponents at home, the giant trusts. The ideal choice was Myron Taylor.

Myron Taylor was a High Episcopalian, and that pleased the Protestants; he was an admirer of Fascism, with a weakness for Mussolini, and that pleased the Fascist dictators—"The whole world has been forced to admire the success of Mussolini in disciplining the nation," he said in 1936. He was on intimate personal terms with President Roosevelt, and that pleased Roosevelt's supporters; he was a personal friend of Pope Pius XII, and that pleased American Catholics and the Vatican. And, last but not least, he was a millionaire, the Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel, the director of banks, corporations, trusts, and affiliated enterprises, with very long and deep associations with the House of Morgan¹⁴—a big dinosaur in his own right—and that pleased the giant trusts of America.

The U.S.A.'s unofficial representative at the Vatican, therefore, in reality was the representative of the American giant trusts, accredited to the court of their anti-Communist associate, the Vatican. Myron Taylor acted as such. His paramount success: his contribution to the laying down of the global anti-Communist strategy of the invisible government and of the Vatican, initiated in 1943-4, which subsequently became the basis of the American foreign policy from 1945 onward.

To expect such an extraordinarily important link between the Catholic Church and the invisible government of the U.S.A. to stop when the war was over, consequently, was to expect the impossible. Only those who looked upon it either as a religious issue or as an infringement of the Constitution, and therefore did not see the Taylor mission in its true significance, could expect its immediate cessation.

In view of this the end of the Second World War, far from diminishing the importance of the mission, increased it beyond all expectation. This because the launching, or, rather, the prosecuting, of the big trusts-Vatican anti-Communist campaign of 1943-4 now needed a reliable link between the two partners. Its official status had to be maintained in order, by acting in the name of the U.S. Government, to enlist the American people's support for the foreign policy of that

Government, skilfully inspired and promoted by the invisible government of the billionaire corporations and by the Vatican. Result: the Taylor mission continued as before, because, as President Truman explained in 1946, it " would be equally useful in the future." To pressing Protestant demands that the mission should cease, Truman explained that it would end, " not this year, probably not next year, but at some time or other; in fact, only when peace reigns all over the whole world." ¹⁵

Public reaction mounted and became nation-wide. Congressional investigation into " the financing, authorization, and responsibilities " of Mr. Taylor's mission was called for. The White House, to appease public indignation, issued a no-less-significant statement: Mr. Taylor, it said, would be returning to Rome on a visit not exceeding thirty days, " to resume discussions on matters of importance with the Pope " (November 28, 1946).

What were such matters of importance? The launching on a grand scale of the Vatican-giant trusts' anti-Communist crusade. This, it should be remembered, was in the same year that the giant trusts induced the Government to pass its Stock-piling Act, the Atomic Energy Act, and other security and war measures; when Churchill launched his anti-Russian attack in Fulton, U.S.A.; and when the Pope asked " all Christians " to mobilize against Communism.

The promotion of the campaign, however, had not been confined only to military preparations and war clarions, Churchill and Pius XII fashion. It was conducted where it was extremely important that it should succeed—namely, in the U.S.A. There the soil, which was already very fertile, was soon made even more so for the benefit of the seed of war psychosis, by the Catholic Church of America. The promotion of war psychosis in the U.S.A. loomed very prominent in the grand strategy of the Vatican and the invisible American government. Hence, besides having to be conducted with great energy, it had to mobilize a vigorous section of the American people. And who was more fit for the task than the Catholic hierarchy of the U.S.A.?

The Catholic hierarchy was charged with executing the scheme, and went into action. Their main line, carefully

prepared by the Vatican and the invisible government and discussed in detail with Mr. Taylor during his thirty days stay in Rome, was simplicity itself. The launching of a dynamic, persistent, and relentless anti-Communist campaign, directed at the emotional and ideological rousing of the American public and their conditioning to the idea of an imminent new war—the campaign to be led by the Catholic Church of America via their hierarchy, Press, and other *media*, with the support of the dinosaurian Press.

An ominous wind had already been blowing for some time, portending no good. Yet the Americans one morning were astounded by the sudden violence it attained, which soon changed it into a political tornado.

A great section of the dinosaurian Press, led by the Catholic, began almost overnight to ask for a political and physical American mobilization against Russia. This, it should be noted, at a time when Russian and American soldiers were still "camerading" in the ruins of that Nazi Germany which they had so recently destroyed.

"We are probably the only nation in the world that tolerates the 'parlour pinks' and out-and-out Communists," said Archbishop Cushing, of Boston, at a U.S. Foreign War Veterans' Convention in September, 1946; "they should be dispersed."

"Communists and Left-Wing emigrants should be deported," declared Cardinal S. Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago. "Relations between the U.S.A. and the totalitarian Communist regimes should be immediately broken off."¹⁶

"As long as Soviet Russia exists there is no possibility of peace," wrote Dr. W. Guerian, editor of the *Review of Politics*, published by the Catholic University of Chicago (September, 1946).

"The imperialists of the East . . . are out to strengthen the ambitions of Eastern Communism, not by peaceful means, but by war," reiterated Archbishop Cushing.¹⁷

These, however, were only the preliminaries of the campaign. The real attack came when Cardinal Spellman—who, rumours were conveniently enough hinting (and this was no mere coincidence), had been selected as the new Vatican Secretary of State—came to the fore.¹⁸

Cardinal Spellman's slogan: Communism imperils America. Specimens of his attacks at this period: " No American can dare to compromise with the crooked courses of Communism "; " Americans cannot surrender to it [Communism] without jeopardizing the security of our country "; " The very evils our boys fought against [Nazism] have been planted in the vitals of America by Communists "; " Still in the wake of war, we shall be guilty of our sons' betrayal and America's destruction if we do not stop the lust-born hates of Communist bigotry and greed that are sweeping like scythes across our nation's face."

Having thus injected fear of Communism *outside* the U.S.A., Spellman injected an even greater fear of Communism *within* the U.S.A. While Communism outside could be dealt with by war, Communism within could be dealt with by initiating a Red witch-hunt, a witch-hunt which was soon to endanger the liberties of all Americans, screened behind the excuse of hunting down the few thousand members of the American Communist Party. The Cardinal advocated the promotion of basic Catholic principles—e.g. the use of censorship, the limitation of political liberties, and the like.

" In Government, in industry, the Labour Union, in our political and educational systems, even in the armed services, Communists and Communist sympathizers hold responsible positions, while members of their party use the Press, the radio, and films to influence and divide us against ourselves," he said.¹⁹ " If Communism triumph, Americanism will die," he repeated, while simultaneously briefing the bands of Catholic termites throughout the U.S.A.

American democracy promptly found itself more endangered than ever before. Various Catholic termite-ridden investigating bodies soon turned into bad imitations of Russian and Nazi secret police, becoming even more abominable to all true lovers of freedom in so far as they acted in the name of liberty, of which in reality they were the most dangerously sly enemies.

Most of these, being promoted or controlled by " creatures " of either the invisible government or the Catholic Church, although officially instruments of the American Administration, *de facto* became political tools with which such

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"creatures" began to batter to death genuine American
democracy.

As in certain extreme Left- or Right-Wing dictatorships, the battering was done behind the screen of legality. This was started with President Truman's Executive Order No. 9835, issued on March 21, 1947. This order created the Loyalty Board. State after State soon passed loyalty legislation. The Loyalty Board authorized the Attorney-General to make a list of subversive organizations. By July, 1951, 110 groups had already been listed as subversive. Individuals in charge of the Board at once contravened the most basic tenets of American democracy, a fact which was not accidental. This was proved by none other than the Supreme Court of the U.S., when on April 30, 1951, it ruled that the listing of such organizations by the Attorney-General had been made in an arbitrary way, and that the organizations so listed had been denied *proper hearing* to prove themselves non-subversive and to test the constitutionality of the Government's programme. The promoters of such a gross violation of American freedom were pious Catholics, one a personal friend of Cardinal Spellman.

In addition to this, by July, 1951, the F.B.I. had already checked upward of 2,500,000 Government employees.

It is not only the right but also the duty of a sane democracy to take appropriate measures against any of its potential foes. Such a democracy, however, is not entitled to use anti-democratic methods without incurring the danger of stultifying itself. Yet that is precisely what the "creatures" of the invisible and Catholic governments of the U.S.A. did: they brazenly used a dictatorial technique in order, by setting up precedents, to paralyse democracy. Employees, for instance, could be discharged on the basis of *anonymous* information. This occurred to a woman, who appealed to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled against her on the same day as it ruled that organizations listed as subversive had been denied hearings. "This is the first time this Court has held the right of individuals subordinate and inferior to those of organized groups," said Justice Jackson, in a dissent, as reported by the *New York Times*, May 1, 1951. "It is justice turned bottom side up."

That was not all. American citizens were liable to be

dismissed simply for being seen reading certain papers, as instanced by the *New York Times*, February 5, 1951, when the Government demanded the resignation from the Officers' Reserve of a Second World War veteran who had won the Air Medal three times, " *because he allegedly was seen reading the 'Daily Worker.'* "

These anti-democratic bacilli came to the fore in the notice of dismissal which one Loyalty Board sent to a Government employee, which read textually thus :

Paragraph 1. You are dismissed for reasons which are confidential.

Paragraph 2. You are given five days to answer charges in Paragraph 1.

Loyalty Boards condemned Americans, not only for *their thoughts*, but also for the thoughts of their relations and friends.

Among the questions which they asked were the following: " Are any of your friends Communists? " " Were your father and mother ever Communists? " This last question was not merely an academic one. Witness the case of Eugene Landy, considered a security risk by the U.S.A. Navy (August, 1955) because he had associated with a former Communist. The person? His mother, to whom, said a Navy official darkly, Landy had been " extremely close. " ²⁰ " Have you ever associated with any employees who, because of their political tendencies, *might* be considered Communists? "

They even went further, probing into the very sub-conscious mind of the defendant: " Don't you think that sub-consciously you are in favour of Communism? " was one of their demands.

Not even Nazi Germany, one of the worst anti-democratic dictatorships of the twentieth century, ever dared to ask such questions.

The prototype of such a basically anti-democratic procedure is essentially Catholic. The archives recording the Holy Inquisition can testify to that. The questions just quoted are, with slight variations, the identical words used by the Catholic inquisitors before the heretical or Protestant victims were tortured.

Many Americans tried to stop such anti-democratic methods. President Truman planned to set up a Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights. The Presidential plan found its most stubborn opposition in one Senator P. McCarran. The

bigotry and superstition of McCarran could not be better illustrated than by the fact that, during a Papal audience, he appeared before Pius XII burdened with so many rosaries that the Pope in astonishment—and Popes are very seldom astonished—asked with a smile which McCarran believed to be of a pious nature whether it was possible that in the U.S.A. there were so many Catholics? McCarran always carried a rosary in his pocket, and never parted from three "amulets"—that is to say, three blessed medals of saints around his neck—even when bathing. Not content with this, he carried a small bottle of holy water, filled at Lourdes. An asinine individual such as this not only killed the President's Commission of Individual Rights: he set up his own sub-committee to investigate internal security.

In such a Catholic-dominated committee, American democracy became anathema. "It would take a Geiger counter of more than ordinary delicacy to detect any radiations for the basic freedoms in any committee-room dominated by Pat A. McCarran," declared no other than the *New York Times* (October 29, 1951).

A no less enemy of American democracy was another notorious Catholic, Senator McCarthy. The anti-democratic antics of this intellectually monomaniac son of the true Church were such that a special sub-committee of the American Government was set up to investigate them. Its report, published in July, 1950, written by three Senators, was the most damning ever written by any Senate committee. After stating that "a fraud and hoax has been perpetrated on . . . the American people," the report concludes that the charges made by McCarthy

represent perhaps the most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruths in the history of this Republic. For the first time in our history, we have seen the totalitarian technique of the big lie employed on a sustained basis. . . . We have seen the character of private citizens and of Government employees virtually destroyed by public condemnation on the basis of gossip, distortion, hearsay, and deliberate untruths. . . . This has been done without the slightest vestige of respect for even the most elementary rules of evidence or fair play, or indeed common decency. . . . We have seen an effort to inflame the American people with a wave of hysteria and fear on an unbelievable scale.

These men—Senator McCarran, Senator McCarthy, and ex-Communist Catholic convert Budenz, using " the cross as a club "—three leading sons of the Catholic Church, not to mention the convict Republican Representative, Chairman of the House of Un-American Activities Committee, sent to a penitentiary, were some of the most notorious " creatures " mobilized by Cardinal Spellman—that is to say, by the Catholic Church; the most sinister foes of American democracy who, under the pretext of anti-Communism, set about to destroy American basic freedoms while simultaneously inoculating the U.S.A. with totalitarianism.

Supporting these were other Catholic organizations, which, following the call of their religious and political leaders, began to agitate from coast to coast.

The National Council of Catholic Women with its 5,000,000 members began a pressure campaign against Congress, asking the White House to break off relations with Communist countries, to intervene in Yugoslavia, to arrest all American Left-Wingers.

The 700,000 strong Knights of Columbus, the most ferociously bigoted militant Catholic organization in the U.S.A., promoted a nation-wide pressure campaign against Congressmen, Senators, and the White House, urging all and sundry to break off diplomatic relations with Russia, to prepare for war, and to set up measures (read, to limit the civil liberties of all Americans) so as to prevent the infiltrations of " Atheistic Communism into American *life and economy*." ²¹

Among many of such Catholic attacks, perhaps the most ominously striking was that launched in the Summer of 1946 by the Catholic War Veterans. At their annual convention in Newark, New Jersey, in 1946, this organization—which had for its motto: " The best method of defence is attack "—adopted a four-point programme, the significance of which became portentous within a few years. The four points, which had been concocted by the American hierarchy, were passed on to the leaders of the Catholic War Veterans to be officially adopted as the basis upon which the future policy of the C.W.V. would rest. These points, which, the reader must remember, were first enunciated in 1946, were :

- Point (a) To the cry that Russia should be given the secrets of the atomic bomb, they resolved to use all their power to see that all secrets of the bomb, and, indeed, that all atomic discoveries, should be declared military secrets and hence withheld.
- Point (b) They denounced the State Department's pronouncement against Franco's Spain, and urged the government to pursue a policy of non-interference with the internal affairs of Spain. They urged the U.S. Government to help Franco, and grant him money and arms to fight Communism. At the same time they urged it to put pressure upon certain Eastern European countries, to prevent Communist Parties from being elected to power.
- Point (c) The demand of the Protestants that Myron Taylor's mission be ended should be opposed by the U.S. Government. The U.S.A. should not only continue the mission: it should go further and appoint a permanent representative to the Vatican, with the rank of ambassador.
- Point (d) The U.S.A. should break off commercial, political, and diplomatic intercourse with Communist nations. Furthermore, it should declare Soviet Russia "an aggressor nation."²²

These Catholic goals were fulfilled to the letter, one by one. That was not all. The American hierarchy began a simultaneous, vast, secret campaign directed at helping in the mobilization of American human and war potential for a real war. The most spectacularly efficient method of infusing general fear, and thus inducing the U.S.A. to rearm in earnest, was to promote fear of the atom bomb. This method the American hierarchs used freely and unscrupulously. In June, 1947, Father E. Walsh, Vice-President of Georgetown University, told the House of Representatives Armed Service Committee that Russia would not start a shooting war until she had the atom bomb. "I am certain Russia already knows

how to make atomic bombs. She will have them within a few years," he added. "Hence we must prevent her from attacking us first." Father Walsh was a member of President Truman's commission on conscription. The aim of his campaign, on the instructions of the Vatican: to press the U.S.A. to introduce compulsory conscription for the oncoming American-Russian war.

"The Russians have a tremendous fifth column within the U.S.A." became another no-less-effective Catholic slogan. The figures purporting to prove it were released. The U.S.A. was sheltering a minimum of 5,000,000 Communists, all pushing for "a major third Party," directed at forcibly seizing power and overthrowing the U.S.A., declared S. Steele, of the American Coalition of Patriotic Civic and Fraternal Societies, to the House of Representatives Committee.²³ The F.B.I. had subsequently to admit that card-carrying members were about 30,000; this in a population of 150,000,000.

After approximately one year of such nursing of fear, lying, and mobilization of public opinion, the first concrete result, which took the form of a quasi-declaration of a Vatican-American war front, was sprung on the U.S.A. The Pope and the American President exchanged letters. This, overtly to acknowledge a Catholic-American ideological alliance.

In August, 1947, Truman sent a missive to Pius XII in which he pledged the resources of the U.S. to help the Catholic Church and "all the forces striving for a moral world . . . to restore order and to secure an enduring peace," which, Truman assured him, "can be built only upon Christian principles." The Pope replied, also by letter, assuring the President that the U.S. would receive "whole-hearted co-operation from God's Church," which, he said, "championed the individual against despotic rule," adding that it was "for all sincere lovers of the great human family to unite in wresting those weapons from their hands."²⁴

These were no mere polite formalities; they were the visible evidence of what was already afoot. The U.S. Government had been fully enlisted to carry out the grand policy promoted by the invisible government of the giant trusts and their partner, the Vatican.

Almost simultaneously, figures began to appear in the

dinosaurian and Catholic Press. The basic thread running through their variegated explanatory comments: The Second World War had cost the U.S. some \$350,000,000,000. Against this—so ran the argument—the American people should not begrudge spending \$20,000,000,000 to \$30,000,000,000 to save peace.²⁵ And, in order to save peace, they had to prepare for war.

Once more, the spearhead of this early promotion of war was provided by American Catholics.

As early as the autumn of 1946, in fact, American Catholic War Veterans had already begun a nation-wide campaign to increase their membership to 4,000,000, for "an all-out battle against Communism" and to collect "blood"—a collection which had already yielded to the Knight's blood-donor service 40,000 pints.²⁶ Although the collection was justified as being for civilian use, yet the true purpose of its intensification at this stage was to prepare for war emergencies.

But, even more ominous, after swearing his listeners to complete secrecy, the American Secretary of State, General Marshall, gave the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives a ninety-minute address; its gist—the need for swift aid to Europe and an outline of America's new policy towards Russia.²⁷

That the U.S. had embarked upon all-out war preparations and was gearing itself to the foreign policy advocated by the "invisible government" was proved by the comment of one of the Secretary of State's listeners: "I was very surprised by what we were told," declared Mr. Clarence Lea, a member of the Committee, "all I can say is that the international situation is grave."

Not long afterwards the Pope, speaking from a golden throne in St. Peter's Square, warned 100,000 members of Catholic Action against "those who are bent on destroying civilization." "Heavy duties pressed upon every Catholic to fight Communism," he said. Such duties, he continued, called for conscientious fulfilment often entailing acts of true heroism. The time for reflection was past, and "the time for action has come" (September 6, 1947).²⁸

Again, these were not mere rhetorical exhortations. Behind them all, Vatican diplomacy was busy translating the Papal

words into deeds. Plots and counterplots were organized with increasing boldness and frequency by Catholic political movements in various countries, particularly in Eastern Europe. Some of these were led by archbishops and even cardinals. To mention only two: Archbishop Stepinac, who not long before had organized Catholic-Fascist resistance guerillas, as we shall presently see; and Cardinal Mindszenty, who, in co-operation with Cardinal Spellman and the American Intelligence, plotted for the restoration of the Catholic Monarchy of the Hapsburgs in Hungary and Central Europe. All this was carried out while various Catholic, Fascist, and semi-Fascist elements were preparing themselves, in accordance with instructions received from both the Vatican and the U.S.A., for the establishment of Catholic and Right-Wing governments, as the approaching end of the Communist regimes was "imminent." And how could these—and among them was included Soviet Russia—"end" if not by means of war?

The joint grand strategy of the invisible government of the U.S. and the Vatican was based precisely upon this: a knock-out blow against Soviet Russia by means of an atom blitzkrieg.

Cardinal Mindszenty, the principal political agent of the Vatican and American Intelligence in Eastern Europe, candidly declared that he counted upon the liberation of Eastern Europe from Communism because of the "imminent" outbreak of a third World War, to occur between 1947 and 1948. Why? The Cardinal admitted that all his activities were based upon such premises, as he had calculated "upon the fact that such a war was bound to come."

It was at this period (1947-8) that responsible U.S. leaders began to hint, although never openly, about the situation being "extremely grave"; indeed, about a lightning "preventive" atomic war against Russia. And suggestions to that effect soon seemed to be taken with more seriousness than if they had been mere rumours, both in Washington and at the Vatican.

That talk about the third World War being about to be launched was not mere rumour, while it was no wild speculation but sober reality that Cardinal Mindszenty was basing the success of his political activities upon its imminent outbreak, was confirmed by no other than the President of the U.S.A.

At this very period President Truman made a most illuminating entry in his private diary. Dated September 13, 1948, it read:

Have a terrific day. Forrestal, Bradley, Vanderberg [the General, not the Senator], Symington, brief me on bases, bombs, Moscow, Leningrad, etc. I have a terrible feeling afterwards that we are very close to war. I hope not. . . .²⁹

The atomic blitzkrieg never took place. But it produced a most sinister substitute: the Cold War.

From then onwards the mobilization of the U.S.A. gathered momentum, parallel with that of the Vatican, throughout Europe, the exertions of the two being integrated with ever-increasing rapidity, both in the U.S.A. and abroad. Thus, while the U.S.A. was rearming or was arming most European and Asiatic nations, the Vatican was speeding up its anti-Communist campaigns.

In 1948 it managed blatantly to stultify the Italian general election, via religious terrorization, by forbidding Italians to vote for the Communists under pain of mortal sin, a prohibition reinforced by thousands of American dollars, many of them direct from the pockets of American Catholic agents of the invisible government—as we shall see later.

The following year, on July 13, 1949, the Vatican extended the same prohibition to the 400,000,000 Catholics throughout the world. The decree was the religious and emotional counterpart of the physical and ideological mobilization of the U.S.A. The integration of the spiritual and physical aspects had become a necessity for the successful promotion of the Vatican-American anti-Communist crusade. And this for the following reason: that while the Vatican could provide moral weapons, it could not supply atom bombs, whereas the U.S.A., while bursting with immense war potential, lacked any real inspirational moral force capable of mobilizing the war-weary West for another world conflict.

While the Vatican and the U.S. Government were thus establishing their alliance, the Vatican and the invisible government of the giant trusts of America were speeding their secret machinations directed at the swift launching of a "preventive"

war against Russia. The top dinosaurian forces and American Catholic Action set to work.

The less-intellectual Catholic organizations, such as the Catholic War Veterans and the Knights of Columbus, were mobilized to the hilt, simultaneously with the launching by the dinosaurian Press of an exceptionally violent tornado of anti-Communist propaganda and the "pressurization" of the White House by Catholic pressure groups and the Catholic lobby, under direct orders from the unctuously suave Cardinal Spellman.

On August 16, 1949, a prominent Catholic citizen, MacGrath, Attorney-General, addressing the Knights of Columbus Convention in Portland, Oregon, as the chief speaker, urged Catholics to "rise up and put on the armour of the Church militant in the battle to save Christianity and democracy." He urged a "bold offensive," "resolute and muscled."

Shortly before, an ominous appointment had been made at the White House. Mr. Francis P. Matthews was appointed Secretary of the American Navy. The new Secretary was an extremely pious and zealous Catholic termite. On the morning he took the oath of office, Mr. Matthews, his wife, and all their six children contritely heard Mass and received Holy Communion in the chapel of the Naval Station in Washington (June, 1949).

A few months afterwards Cardinal Spellman was summoned to Rome by the Pope, with whom he had repeated and prolonged private sessions (October, 1949). The cause which had prompted the Papal summons, although giving rise to many speculations, remained a well-guarded secret.

The new Secretary of the Navy meanwhile had, curiously enough, begun to burn with a peculiar zealous ardour, expended mostly in contacting eminent American Catholics. Among these: Father Walsh, the Jesuit Vice-President of Georgetown University; Cardinal Spellman, the Head of the American Legion; the leaders of the Catholic War Veterans; and Senator J. McCarthy, a man who never missed Sunday Mass and who, at this period, was providentially emerging from obscurity into national prominence.

The Catholic Press, Catholic leaders, and various patriotic

and blatantly Imperialistic organs of the *American Century* brand, supported by powerful strata of the dinosaurian Press, suddenly began an almost concerted intensification of war-conditioning. Open hints of a quick war against Russia were heard once more, as they had been in 1947. The new campaign had all the uniformity, timing, and policy of something that was not merely Press-sponsored.

The American public became restless. The American Government looked upon it all with the gravest concern, and the State Department itself was charged with taking all possible steps to verify how much truth there was in these renewed specific Catholic-American assertions that Soviet Russia was about to launch a third World War.

Then, while one of the most influential members of the invisible government of America—John Foster Dulles, the head of at least fifteen giant corporations, controlling approximately ninety-three big U.S. firms, the former negotiator for American financial aid to the Nazis of Hitler's Germany, the financial helper of Fascist dictators Horthy of Hungary and General Franco of Spain, and the future Secretary of State in the Eisenhower Administration (1953-1956) was beginning to spin his dinosaurian web by which to convert Japan into an American atom base and was visiting South Korean trenches on the border with North Korea only a few days *before* the Korean War broke out, the Catholic-dinosaurian campaign finally reached its climax and burst like a bombshell upon both America and the world.

On August 25, 1950, Mr. F. Matthews, the Secretary of the Navy, delivered a speech in Boston. It was the Vatican-invisible government's open declaration of war against Soviet Russia. Matthews, the Catholic mouthpiece of both, put forward, openly and squarely, the policy of his two masters. He called upon the United States to launch an attack upon Soviet Russia and thus make the American people "*the first aggressors for peace.*" In case his advocacy had been misunderstood, or had not been taken in all seriousness, Mr. Matthews elaborated his idea with an explanation that made his meaning unmistakable: "To have peace," he said, "we should be willing to pay any price—even the price of instituting a war. . . . They would brand our program as imperialist

aggression . . . we could accept that . . . with complacency, for in the implementation of a strong affirmative peace-seeking policy, though it cast us in a character *new to a true democracy*—*the initiator of a war of aggression*—would win for us a proud and popular title—we would become *the first aggressor for peace.*"³⁰

The speech created a world sensation. There were hurried denials. The State Department issued a statement prepared personally by the Secretary, and approved by Truman, to the effect that the Secretary of the American Navy's declaration did not represent the U.S.A.'s policy. "The U.S. does not favour instituting a war of any kind," was the State Department's brusque comment. Authoritative American organs and personalities rebuked and disowned both the Secretary of the American Navy and his advocacy of war. While the *New York Times* called the speech "grossly irresponsible," Dr. Philip Jessup, American Ambassador-at-large and leading State Department adviser, bluntly declared that, had the U.S.A. truly decided to start a new war and could manage to knock out Russia with atom bombs, the result would be nothing but to create "many new and terribly difficult problems in the world. Dropping atomic bombs on the Soviet Union now is not the way we act. It is not the way America does things."³¹

The reaction was even sharper in Europe. Dr. Moch, French Minister of Defence, declared that France "would not take part in any aggressive war." The American-sponsored "preventive" war would liberate nothing but "the ruins and graveyards of our civilization,"³² he added, and lodged a strong protest in Washington. The British Government followed suit, and dispatched an even sharper note to the White House.

While the people of the world, and most of the American people, shuddered at the monstrous Catholic proposal of coolly starting a third World War, dinosaurian and Catholic quarters supported and applauded the "war of aggression" idea. George Craig, of the American Legion, publicly declared that the U.S.A. should start World War III "on our own terms," lyrically indulging in the "ifs" and "buts" and "whens"³³

of at what time the signal could be given "for our bombers to wing towards Moscow" (August 26, 1950).

The American Legion—which had distinguished itself by its unbounded admiration of Hitler and Mussolini; indeed, which in 1935, the "big year" of Fascist aggression in Abyssinia, had pinned a medal on Mussolini's chest and in 1951 had pinned another one on Catholic Franco—was not alone. The Catholic War Veterans applauded even more enthusiastically, imitated by most of the Catholic Press, by a number of Catholic personalities, and even by Catholic prelates.

Catholic theologians blatantly advocated the use of atomic bombs against Soviet Russia: "The use of the atom bomb is not forbidden," stated Father Francis Connell, C.S.S.R. Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University of Washington.

Father E. Walsh, Vatican agent in Russia in 1925 and Catholic authority in the U.S.A., was no less explicit, and reiterated that the U.S.A. should use the atom bomb against Russia. After having recalled Pearl Harbour, this meek follower of Jesus Christ told Americans that: "President Truman would be morally justified to take defensive measures proportionate to the danger. . . . That would mean the use of the atomic bomb." Why? Because, concluded this compassionate advocate of Catholic morality, "neither reason nor theology nor morals require men or nations to commit suicide by requiring that we must await the first blow from a power with no moral inhibitions."³³

That was not all. We have already mentioned how, at President Truman's order to go ahead with the manufacturing of the hydrogen bomb, even the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission shrank in horror at the prospect of the sure massacre of 50,000,000 individuals which such a monster weapon could effect, if used.³⁴ Catholic moral authorities faced the prospect of such a fantastic and yet possible mass-murder without batting an eyelid.

Father Connell, in reply to questions about the widespread interest aroused by the Communist world-wide resolution against the atom bomb, declared that the use of the hydrogen bomb by the U.S.A. was justified, because "the insidious

feature of the Communist campaign is this: if this resolution were accepted by all nations, the Communists could utilize their large armed forces, first in one country, then in another, to weaken the defenders of human rights."

Once more, the contrast between Catholic support for a "preventive" war and the use of both the atom and the hydrogen bombs and non-Catholics' bitter disapproval was strikingly ominous. While France, England, and other countries protested officially or semi-officially at the barbarity and callousness of such advocacies, certain countries, all Catholic, were significantly mute: Italy, under the Catholic semi-dictatorship of the former Vatican librarian, De Gasperi; Ireland, Catholic Portugal, and Fascist Franco's Spain. His Holiness, Pius XII, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, apart from his routine inane platitudes about war, did not utter a single specific word of protest against either of his sons in Christ, Matthews or Father Connell. On the contrary, he concocted a new Miracle of the Sun, claiming a direct message from Our Lady of Fatima, who promised the fall of Soviet Russia.³⁵

Catholic reaction to the advocacy of a "preventive" atomic war against Russia, to be distinguished from the reaction of many Catholic individuals who wholly condemned the idea, was what it was, owing to one simple basic fact: that the atomic war advocacy had not come as a surprise to certain selected Catholic and Western leaders, or even less to the Vatican. Mr. Matthews had disclosed the content of his Boston speech prior to its delivery. Cardinal Spellman, Mr. Tobin, and others, for instance, knew about it several days before it was given. This meant only one thing, that the Vatican also knew about it. For it must be remembered that whatever is known at the "little Vatican" in New York is instantly known at the Vatican in Rome, while a "great deal" of what is known in Rome with regard to political problems is known also at the "little Vatican" in the U.S.A.

The White House hurriedly denied that the speech had ever been read there before its delivery.³⁶ This was true, but only partly so. For the gist of the speech had been known to various political and military leaders, mostly Catholics. General MacArthur, although in far-off Japan, had not only

known about it, but encouraged Matthews to go ahead with putting it over to the nation.

The launching of an "atomic preventive war" miscarried. Yet the attempt to unleash it upon the world should not be forgotten. It might have succeeded. It might still be repeated in the near or distant future.

Forces have been and are still at work within the U.S.A. wanting, and plotting for, war. One who was in a position to know this, perhaps better than anyone else, repeatedly vouched for this sinister fact.

President Truman, while still in office, wrote (December 9, 1951: "We had conference after conference on the jittery situation facing the country. . . . I have worked for peace for five years and six months, and it looks like World War III is near. I hope not, but we must meet whatever comes, and we will."

President Truman went further: "There are a few misguided people who want war to straighten out the present world situation," he said.³⁷

How true such words were, was subsequently proved in 1956, when a Republican administration, which had conducted a foreign policy based on threats of "massive retaliation," disclosed to a shocked world that the U.S. had stood on the brink *three times*. "Mr Dulles admitted that the U.S. had on three occasions in the past eighteen months come closer to atomic war . . . than was generally imagined." The third world war was avoided "only because Mr Dulles . . . had seen to it that Moscow and Peking were informed of the U.S. intention to use atomic weapons" (London and New York *Times*, January 12, 1956, et seq.; also world Press).

A powerful minority which can shape U.S. policy through the "necessary art of going repeatedly to the verge of war" by threatening "atomic retaliation" and by budgeting the world's largest military expenditure (about \$40,000 million, 1957-8),³⁸ unless checked, sooner or later will bring the U.S. into the abyss.

The imperialistic designs of such people are the most deadly danger to the U.S.A. The comment of Truman, after a discussion on the international situation with one of them, was more than revealing. "This man not only wants to run the country, but the universe and the entire Milky Way."³⁹

The U.S. Government and even the very President are

nothing but obstacles to be despised and by-passed by these sinister forces. This was the alarming conclusion of President Truman after almost eight years in office: "Some generals, admirals and careers men in the Government," said Truman, "look upon the occupant of the White House as only a temporary nuisance, who will soon be succeeded by another temporary occupant, who won't find out what it is all about for a long time, and then it will be too late to do anything about it."³⁸

The fact that the advocacy of a "preventive atomic war" was first enunciated by a Catholic was no mere coincidence. The fact that such a Catholic was an American Catholic, and, further, that such a Catholic was the holder of one of the most important offices in the American Government, dealing with, perhaps, the most important branch of the American armed forces, the American Navy, the largest naval war instrument in the world, was even less of a coincidence.

But perhaps even more ominous, although not so publicized, there were also other no less significant details about Mr. Matthews. The American Secretary of the Navy was brandishing the crusader's sword on behalf of another endangered institution: the Mother Church.

Mr. Matthews had never been content solely to hear Mass or take Holy Communion surrounded by his family. He was not only the frequent ring-kisser of the best known of their lordships, the Catholic hierarchs: he was a zealous and active promotor of Catholicism in action. In addition to which, this exceptionally patriotic Secretary of the American Navy was the sanguine Chairman of the National Catholic Community Service, the Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus—the shock-troops of Catholic power within the U.S.A.—and, last but not least, a Privy Chamberlain of Pius XII. That same Pope who, seven years later, reiterated as forcibly as ever "the morality of a defensive war,"⁴⁰ calling for, as the London *Times* sombrely described it, "what almost amounts to a crusade of Christendom"—a crusade broadcast in twenty-seven languages simultaneously by most of the world's major transmitters.

The Vatican and the giant trusts have never been the friends

of democracy. By their very nature they have always been, and always will be, the enemies of America.

Among those engaged in depriving the American people of their freedom they undoubtedly occupy the highest place.

To achieve their end they will not hesitate to use the fear of war, the scheming for war, the promotion of war, indeed the very use of war.

Economic Imperialism—in the guise of nationalism, racialism, ideological fanaticism, conceived, promoted, and financially nurtured by the giant trusts of America, of Europe, and of Asia—has already dragged mankind into the abyss of two World Wars.

The American people were plunged into the first by the megalomaniac Germany of the Kaiser, the hotbed of gigantic industrial and financial trusts ruling Germany with the same unbounded power with which their gigantic counterparts in the U.S.A. are now ruling America.

The American people were dragged into the second by Imperial-minded Japan, where, too, gigantic industrial and financial trusts were ruling supreme over the destiny of Japan, as the giant trusts of America are now ruling over that of the U.S.A.

The giant trusts of America, unless checked, will drag the American people into the third World War. Their many recent attempts are the most fearsome proof that, like their German and Japanese cousins, they will stop at nothing to expand their dominion. The first atomic massacres were committed by them.

The giant trusts of America did not hesitate to atomize 150,000 Japanese civilians to further their own interests. The giant trusts of America will not hesitate to risk the atomization of 150,000,000 Americans to extend their dominion over the globe.

The true enemies of the American people, therefore, are not to be searched for across the two vastest oceans of the earth. They are not outside the American Continent. They are not even outside the United States. They are within: the giant trusts and billionaire corporations of America and, last but not least, that most sinister of all their associates, the Roman Catholic Church.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

- 1 See Sir Winston Churchill's *War Memoirs, Second World War*, 1954.
- 2 See also declaration of Rear Admiral Ellis Zacharias, Washington, 23/5/50, and the author's *The Vatican in World Politics*.
- 3 *The Times*, London, 22/12/51.
- 4 See *The Tablet*, London, 9/12/50.
- 5 For more details, see *The Times*, London, 18/8/51.
- 6 See Hungarian *White Book*, December, 1951. For more details, see also the author's *Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom*.
- 7 See Consistorial Congregation decree, Vatican City, June 16, 1955.
- 8 Soon afterwards the new Catholic President restored tax exemption to the already enormously wealthy Argentine Catholic Church (October, 1955).
- 9 For detailed description of such interferences, see the author's *The Vatican in World Politics* (Horizon Press Inc., New York, 444 pp., \$3.75) and *Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom* (Watts, London, 510 pp.).
- 10 The Earl of Perth, Secretary-General from the League's foundation in 1919 until 1933. Later Catholic British Ambassador to Fascist Italy.
- 11 Mrs. M. Tenison-Woods, of Australia.
- 12 Declaration of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, April 1951.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

- 1 See *The Nation*, New York, 21.4.1881.
- 2 Pope Leo XIII, *Testis Benevolentiae*, in which the Pope points out the danger of certain Catholic doctrines to which had been given the name of "Americanism."
- 3 *Scottish Rite News Bulletin*, 20.2.1951.
- 4 *Civiltà Cattolica*, Anno Vigesimo ottavo Serie X, Vol. I. Quaderno 641, Firenze, 3.3.1877.
- 5 Letter from Pius IX to Mr. Jefferson Davis, 3.12.1863.
- 6 Quoted from *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1863, Vol. III, p. 830.
- 7 See J. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

- 1 See Gaston Nerval's *Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine*, New York, 1934.
- 2 It was following the revelation of the Clapp Committee that the first laws were passed with a view to end the buying of elections. But the laws only stopped the corporations from contributing to political campaigns, but not their presidents from granting hundreds of thousands of dollars to them. The big American corporations continued, and continue still, to buy the Presidential elections. The Presidential elections of 1952 were, again, a case in point.
- 3 See Senate enquiry into lobbying practices, Fall, 1956. *The Times*, London, 13.9.1956.
- 4 *A New American History*, by W. E. Woodward, New York, 1938.
- 5 J. A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America*.
- 6 See *A Latin American Speaks*, by Luis Quintanilla.
- 7 Speech delivered at the State Universities in Berkeley, California, 1911.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

- 1 According to the official figures of the United States Department of Commerce. *New York Times*, second week January, 1957; also *Time*, 14.1.1957.
- 2 *Inside Latin America*, by J. Gunther; also *South American Primer*, by K. Carr.
- 3 The loans of these banks at times consisted of 10,000,000, 15,000,000, or 20,000,000 dollars; the interest on a 20,000,000-dollar loan for one year at six per cent amounts to 1,200,000 dollars, a not inconsiderable profit even for a North American bank.
- 4 *Dollar Diplomacy*, Nearing, Scott, and Freeman; Joseph, 1925.
- 5 *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico*, by Edith O'Shaughnessy, New York, 1916.
- 6 *Dollar Diplomacy*, Nearing, Scott and Freeman; Joseph, 1925.
- 7 That is to say, the Independent Latin-American countries. Those which had been turned into North American colonies were forced to. These were: Panama, Cuba, Haiti, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

- 1 In this book Thyssen gives all the details of how he and German big industry financed Hitler. Published by Co-operation Publishing Co., New York, 1941.
- 2 As Congressional inquiries and the Nye-Vanderberg official investigators revealed.
- 3 Report of the League of Nations, 1921.
- 4 See *Iron, Blood and Profits*, by G. Seldes, p. 163.
- 5 See *Iron, Blood and Profits*, by G. Seldes, p. 163.
- 6 This document was Exhibit 831 in the Munitions Investigation.
- 7 Colonel Simons's memorandum, read by Chairman Nye during the Munitions Investigation.
- 8 Final words of the chairman of the Munitions Investigation.
- 9 W. B. Shearer, in a letter dated 10.3.1928, addressed to Messrs. Palen, Wakeman, and Bards.
- 10 Addressed to Mr. Wakeman, dated 30.1.1928.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

- 1 This was admitted in a document which appeared on page 2271 of Vol. IX of the Munitions Investigation hearings.
- 2 For documentation of the second Hoover campaign see *Money in Election*, by Prof. L. Overacker.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

- 1 Mussolini, in his article on Fascism in the *Treccani Encyclopædia*, 1933.
- 2 Spanish Catholics had contacted Mussolini with a view to planning the Civil War in 1933. See *Manchester Guardian*, 4.12.1937. Also the author's *The Vatican in World Politics*.
- 3 See *Iron, Blood, and Profits*, by G. Seldes, 1934.
- 4 As testified by Major Casey, *Munitions Investigation*, Part 12.
- 5 See *1,000 Americans*, by G. Seldes.
- 6 See General Butler's testimony regarding his interview with Robert Sterling Clark. See McCormack-Dickstein Committee; also *Investigation of Nazi and Other Propaganda*, 74th Congress, 1st Session; Report No. 153.
- 7 General Smedley Butler's own words. See also *1,000 Americans*, by G. Seldes.
- 8 See Report Pursuant to House Resolution, No. 198, 73rd Congress—74th Congress, 1st Session; Report No. 153, House of Representatives, p. 111, D.C. 6.11.
- 9 Excerpt from one of MacGuire's letters. See *Investigation of Nazi and Other Propaganda*, 74th Congress, 1st Session; Report No. 153, p. 111, D.C. 6.11.
- 10 General Butler's testimony.
- 11 See General Butler's testimony regarding his interview with Gerald G. MacGuire, of the brokerage firm of Grayson M. P. Murphy. See report of the McCormack-Dickstein Committee.
- 12 See report of the McCormack-Dickstein Committee. For fuller information, General Butler's testimony of his interview with Gerald G. MacGuire, of the brokerage firm of Grayson M. P. Murphy, partially published in *1,000 Americans*, G. Seldes. Boni-Gaer, 1947. Appendix 20, p. 287.
- 13 *America*, 17.5.1941.
- 14 *Social Justice*, quoted by J. Roy Carlson.
- 15 e.g. Brooklyn Sporting Club, 13.2.1940.
- 16 *America First*, 1941.
- 17 *America*, 1.7.1941.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

- 1 Prominent among others: Sewell Lee Avery, President of Montgomery Ward; J. N. Pew, Jr., Vice-President of Sun Oil Company; E. T. Weir, Chairman of National Steel; H. L. Pratt, Chairman of Standard Oil.
- 2 Chairman H. P. Fletcher.
- 3 See Senator Black's Lobbying Investigation, which published the correspondence of the Sentinels' officials calling for a Hitler in America.

- 4 For further details, see the author's *The Vatican and the U.S.A.*
- 5 *New York Times*, 16.6.1939.
- 6 *New York Times*, 29.7.1939.
- 7 All three quotations reprinted by the *League of Human Rights Bulletin*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1945.
- 8 National Radio Forum, N.B.C., 2.12.1940.
- 9 *Monograph 26* of the T.N.E.C. investigation.
- 10 For further details, see *Business as Usual*, by I. F. Stone.
- 11 *1,000 Americans*, by G. Seldes.
- 12 *1,000 Americans*, by G. Seldes, p. 143.
- 13 Documentation in *Facts and Fascism*, pp. 254, 262, 264.
- 14 *In Fact*, 23.11.1942.
- 15 See *Monograph 1*, Economic and Political Aspects of International Cartels, Committee on Military Affairs, 1944.
- 16 For further details, see p. 19 of *Monograph 1*, Economic and Political Aspects of International Cartels, Committee on Military Affairs, 1944.
- 17 See *Munitions Investigation*, Part II, 6/7/10.12.1934.
- 18 The National Maritime Union, 7.7.1943.
- 19 *Monograph 21* of the T.N.E.C. investigation.
- 20 By Conservative Republican, William Allen White. See *Emporia Gazette*, May, 1943.
- 21 There were a few exceptions, among them *The Christian Science Monitor*, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, and some small-town papers. This meant that only one per cent of the total of 1,750 papers reported the Committee's findings.
- 22 See reports of the Truman Committee, 1942. Also *P.M.*, which headlined the news "Standard Oil Accused of Treason."
- 23 See W. Churchill's War Memoirs, Vol. IV, *The Hinge of Fate*, 1951.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

- 1 Census Bureau, 12.1.1952, and *Announcement of the American Medical Association*, published July, 1951.
- 2 *Monograph 26*.
- 3 Sources; U.P. annual dispatch, *New York Herald Tribune*, 2.7.1947.
- 4 See *Christian Science Monitor*, 15.11.1949.
- 5 P. 116, *Monograph 29*, Temporary National Economic Committee, Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power, 76th Congress, 3rd Session.
- 6 Congressional Record, 30.11.1944, Senator Norris's speech.
- 7 Congressional Record, 30.11.1944, Senator Norris's speech, as introduced by Senator Langer. See also *1,000 Americans*, by G. Seldes, Appendix 3, pp. 254-5.
- 8 Source, Senate Civil Liberties Report, Part 45, p. 16,783.
- 9 In 1947 Mr. E. S. Cowdrick stated that the S.C.C. was no longer in existence, but admitted that virtually all the billionaire companies continued to hold meetings, "sometimes individually, sometimes as a group."
- 10 See Congressional Record, 1947, pp. 4411-6.
- 11 *idem*.
- 12 See Temporary National Economic Committee's Investigations of Concentration of Economic Power, 76th Congress, 3rd Session.
- 13 *Saturday Evening Post*, 14.4.1951.

- 14 Malcolm Johnson in I.N.S. article, 29.3.1951.
- 15 *Saturday Evening Post*, 28.4.1951.
- 16 *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15.11.1950.
- 17 Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, 26.3.1950.
- 18 *What Would Be the Character of a New War?* by Dr. A. Woker.
- 19 For more details, see *I Paid Hitler*, by F. Thyssen himself, and published in 1941, after Thyssen's escape from Germany.
- 20 Figures released by General Motors in 1956, following their breaking of all records. Its total 1955 sales having exceeded \$13,000,000,000. No other Corporation at any time or anywhere had ever made a billion-dollar profit after taxes.
- 21 *Democratic Digest*, January 1956; also *Time*, January 2, 1956.
- 22 Henry Wallace, *The New Republic*, 5.1.1948.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

- 1 The fact that "the industrial use" of the bomb—read, of the industrial use of atomic energy—had become the monopoly of the U.S.A., or rather of the Giant Corporations screened behind the U.S.A. Government, was confirmed by no other than C. R. Attlee, British Prime Minister. During his negotiations with President Truman, Attlee, referring to atomic energy, disclosed the following: "But it had been realized that atomic energy might be used not to destroy but to aid mankind, although this might take time. An agreement for partnership in the atomic field between Canada and Britain had been arrived at in Quebec, but the INDUSTRIAL USE of the bomb (read, atomic energy) had been SPECIFICALLY CONCEDED TO THE U.S.A." See C. R. Attlee's article, "My Atom Talk with Truman," published by *The Star*, London, 6.6.1952.
- 2 *London Times*, 3.10.1951.
- 3 Stalin in interview with *Pravda*, 6.10.1951; see also *London Times*, 8.10.1951.
- 4 Mr. Herod, *London*, 2.10.1951. See Press.
- 5 This secret agreement binding Great Britain not to use atomic power for industry was officially disclosed in the House of Commons in April 1954, when Churchill was violently attacked for preventing an atomic industrial revolution in Great Britain. See *Hansard*, first week of April, 1954; also the *London Times*, April 6 and 7, 1954; also *New York Times*, same dates.
- 6 Senator B. McMahon's statement, Washington, 1.2.1950. *New York Times*.
- 7 See *Hansard*, April 6, 1954; also *London Times* and *New York Times* of April 7, 1954.
- 8 See *Manchester Guardian*, October 22, 1953; also *New York Times*, October 21, 1953.
- 9 Declaration of Thomas Murray, of the Atomic Energy Commission, October 22, 1953. See *Manchester Guardian* and *New York Times*.
- 10 See *Time*, April 11, 1955.
- 11 For more details, see *New York Times*, April 7, 1954, also *London Times*, April 7, 1954.
- 12 See *America*, September, 1950.
- 13 Matsuoka said this to Ernst Von Weizsacker, the Head of Nazi Germany's Foreign Office, after having visited Hitler and Mussolini. See the *Memoirs of Ernst Von Weizsacker*, 1951, Gollancz.

- 14 This was disclosed by Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, Deputy Director of the Office of Naval Intelligence in Washington. See *Look*, 23.5.1950; *Christian Science Monitor*, 9.5.1950; *Catholic Digest*, August, 1950; also United Press reports of same dates.
- 15 *Mr. President*.
- 16 Disclosed by Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, Deputy Director of the Office of Naval Intelligence in Washington. See *Christian Science Monitor*, 9.5.1950; *Look*, 23.5.1950; *Catholic Digest*, August, 1950; also United Press reports of same dates.
- 17 *Idem*.
- 18 See Rear Admiral M. Zacharias, in *Look*, 23.5.1950.
- 19 Truman reached the decision after consulting top military leaders. Military leaders' greatest qualification being ineptitude for political thinking, they unanimously approved the use of the atomic bomb. In his diaries, quoted in the book *Mr. President*, Truman describes the meeting thus: "While at the Potsdam Conference I received a message saying that the scientists had made a successful test at Los Alamos on July 16. I went into immediate consultation with Byrnes, Admiral Leahy, Stimson, General Marshall, General Arnold, General Eisenhower, and Admiral King. The consensus of opinion was that the bomb should be used." See Harry S. Truman's autobiography, *Years of Decisions*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1955.
- 20 A Commission reported on the evidence of germ warfare in Korea. This was sent by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and was headed by M. Brandweiner, Professor of Canon Law at the University of Graz, Austria. "We have obtained evidence, which in our opinion is corroborated, that flies and other insects of a character hitherto unknown in Korea have been found in many districts . . . following the visit of circling aircraft in those districts, and the finding of remains of containers" (see *London Times*, 24.3.1952). Evidence was subsequently brought forward, via various sources, that insects were found in temperatures, types of soil, and other circumstances, which, coupled with the circling aircraft (American) and the containers, indicated that they had arrived in groups or clusters from the air; that many of them were infected with cholera, typhus, and plague, and that outbreaks of cholera and plague occurred within a few days of the finding of the insects, and only in the immediate neighbourhood of the deposits.
- 21 For further details, see *The Forrestal Diaries*, Viking, 1951.
- 22 This is from an entry in President Truman's diary: "July 7, 1945—I saw four Senators. They had been overseas. Their song was that France would go Communist. So would Italy and the Scandinavians. And there was grave doubts about England staying sane. The Pope, they said, was blue as indigo about the situation" (*Mr. President*, 1952).
- 23 *London Times*: "American Purchases of Strategic Materials," 27.9.1951.
- 24 Speech of Pope Pius XII, when receiving the new Austrian Minister to the Holy See, December, 1946.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

- 1 It is interesting to note, by way of contrast, that the Soviet Russian Press at this period consisted of 7,700 newspapers, claiming a total daily circulation of 33,500,000.

- 2 And W. F. Fuller, President of the Curtis Publishing Company, was a director of N.A.M.
- 3 These figures were compiled from unpublished records of the Federal Communications Commission, Guild Reporter, July, 1946.
- 4 These findings are contained in seventy-three volumes, already mentioned. Concerning the St. Lawrence River Seaways, President Truman, 28.1.1952.
- 5 See Congressional Record, 8.12.1944, pp. 9164-70.
- 6 U.S. Congress Utility Corporations' Report 71-A. Senate Document 92; 70th Congress, 1st Session.
- 7 76th Congress, 1st Session, Senate. Report No. 6, Part 6, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*.
- 8 *New York Times*, 8.3.1951.
- 9 *New York Times*, 8.3.1951. Simultaneously, the State Department made plans to ensure that the "Campaign of Truth" sponsored by the giant trusts would be fully supported by its 3,400 Public Relations employees overseas, mostly in Europe.
- 10 Robert Sherwood, writing about the motives that prompted him to contribute to Collier's issue describing World War III. See *Time*, 14.1.1952.
- 11 See *Time*, 14.1.1952.
- 12 See also *Time*, 14.1.1952, and *American Press*, 27/28.1.1952.
- 13 See *Our Vanishing Civil Liberties*, by O. J. Rogge, Gaer, 1950.
- 14 The figures and quotations given are from *Time* magazine itself: "A Letter from the Publishers," 8.10.1951, 4.2.1952, and 23.3.1952.
- 15 At its first meeting, November, 1949.
- 16 The nomination was hastily denied, but nonetheless was significant, and did, in fact, occur.
- 17 Through the Monopoly Investigation conducted by Senator O'Mahoney.
- 18 In 1807. Honest contemporary American editors are of the same opinion, e.g. the editor of the *Jersey Times*, who declared that "contrary to the belief of most people Americans are the most misinformed people in the world." 26.2.1949.
- 19 Senator Aiken.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

- 1 E.g. Catholic officials of the Department of Revenue seized a Protestant Church deposit in a Trust Company of Greenwich, Conn., of 105,000 dollars, on the ground that the Church should pay 100 per cent tax on its building fund.
- 2 Officials of the various organizations dealing with selecting Displaced Persons in Europe and elsewhere, including not a few charged with implementing the U.S.A.'s 1940 amended Displaced Persons Law, protested repeatedly at the "brassy" discrimination in favour of Catholics and against non-Catholics. Complaints and reports to this effect were forwarded to U.N.O.
- 3 *Time*, 29.10.1951.
- 4 See also *Time*, 29.10.1951.
- 5 Received New York Critics' award for the best foreign film of 1950.
- 6 *New York Times*, 28.1.1951.
- 7 *New York Times*, 17.2.1951.
- 8 *New York Times*, 17.2.1951.
- 9 Speech delivered by J. Edgar Hoover, Spring, 1951.

- 10 In 1951 the F.B.I. began a systematic use of lie detectors as a method of interrogating ideological suspects, and counselled large American firms to do the same to "determine the loyalty of employees." Reuter.
- 11 Archbishop Cushing of Boston. See also *Universe*, 20.9.1946.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

- 1 See *The Path I Trod*, by T. V. Powderly, a devout Catholic.
- 2 Kermit Eby. See also J. M. Freeman's *No Friends of Labour*.
- 3 See *Associated Press*; also *New York Herald Tribune*, 27.7.1951.
- 4 B.U.P. *Observer*, 28.1.1951.
- 5 Mr. M. Tobin, Secretary of Labour, speaking at Emmanuel College, Boston, June, 1950.
- 6 See *Time*, 8.8.1955.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

- 1 "Lobbying and legislative pressure politics sometimes approaching dangerously close to a perversion of representative government." Statement of the U.S.A. Government Report, 76th Congress, 1st Session, Senate, Report No. 6, Part 6. President Truman's remark about lobbying is, perhaps, the most illuminating: "The people have no lobby in Washington looking out for their interest except the President of the United States. It's too bad if the President does not work for their good." (Truman, in *Mr. President*, compiled by W. Hillman, 1952.)
- 2 See also *New York Herald Tribune*, 13.10.1951.
- 3 Mr. Charles P. Taft's disclosure, November, 1951.
- 4 Truman made the announcement only a few hours before the closing of that session of Congress, which convened in 1952, to give himself time to sound Protestant reaction in the U.S.
- 5 *London Times*, 14.1.1952.
- 6 Walter Trohan, *Chicago Tribune*, 19.2.1950.
- 7 *Collier's*, 26.8.1950, "The Brain of the U.S. Army."
- 8 *New York Times*, 8.2.1951.
- 9 *Collier's*, 26.8.1950.
- 10 *The Forrestal Diaries*, Viking, 1951. Also *Mr. President*, where Truman described the role played by Hannegan thus: "In 1944 Bob Hannegan, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, came to see me at the Democratic Party's National Convention in Chicago, and told me that the President wanted me to be the nominee for Vice-President. I was flabbergasted. I told Hannegan that I wanted to stay in the Senate, and would not take the nomination. . . . Finally Hannegan called President Roosevelt in San Diego. Roosevelt asked Hannegan if he had received a commitment from the Junior Senator from Missouri. Hannegan told the President that he had never been in contact with as mulish and contrary a man. . . ." (*Mr. President*, compiled by W. Hillman, 1952.)
- 11 Significantly, however, the same Luce organ advocated the land reform programme adopted by E.C.O.S.O.C. upon a motion of the U.S. (see *Time*, 17.8.1951).
- 12 M. François Charles Roux, former French Ambassador to the Vatican, *Revue de Paris*, September, 1946.

- 13 See Chapter 4.
- 14 Myron C. Taylor made 20,000,000 dollars while still a young man. Before the 1929 crash he was hired by the House of Morgan to pay 340,000,000 of Big Steel's bonded debts.
- 15 Truman to a Protestant Minister who asked him to withdraw his special envoy to the Vatican (June, 1946).
- 16 September, 1946. Speech delivered at the United Croatian Congress of the U.S.A. in Chicago.
- 17 At a special Mass for Italian-Americans, September, 1946.
- 18 See *Monitoring of Vatican Radio*, 16.6.1946.
- 19 *American Magazine*, June, 1946.
- 20 See *New York Times*, also *Time*, August 15, 1955.
- 21 Resolution and speeches at the Knights' Supreme Council's annual convention at Miami Beach, September, 1946.
- 22 Resolutions and speeches of the Catholic War Veterans at the annual convention in Newark, New Jersey, August, 1946.
- 23 21.7.1947.
- 24 Letter from Pope Pius XII to President Truman, August, 1947.
- 25 22.7.1947.
- 26 September, 1946. See report to the Knights' Convention at Miami Beach, September, 1946.
- 27 Washington, 21.7.1947.
- 28 6.9.1947. *London Times*, 7.9.1947.
- 29 For Cardinal Mindszenty's declaration see *London Times*, 5.2.1949. For President Truman's diary, see the book, *Mr. President*.
- 30 See *London Times*, 28.8.1950. Also *New York Times* and report of speech in world Press.
- 31 *London Times*, 28.8.1951.
- 32 *London Times*, 28.8.1951.
- 33 *Washington Star*, and reprinted in book form by Fr. Walsh, *Total Empire*, 1951, Bruce. Chapter: "Atom Bombs and the Christian Conscience."
- 34 Senator Brian McMahon, Chairman of the Congressional Atomic Energy Commission, *Times*, 2.2.1951.
- 35 In praiseworthy and exceptional contrast to this, the French hierarchy, while the American hierarchy were approving of the contemplated employment of the atomic bomb, condemned its use. The full text of the French hierarchy's condemnation, signed by nine cardinals and archbishops forming the Permanent Commission of the Assembly, was printed in *La Semaine Religieuse de Paris*, 24.6.1950.
- 36 *London Times*, 28.8.1950.
- 37 *Mr. President*, compiled by W. Hillman. 1952
- 38 Actually \$45,300 million for what Eisenhower called "protection" (\$38 million for specific defence), 63% of the total U.S. national budget (Washington, January, 1957).
- 39 *Mr. President*. 1952.
- 40 *Time*, 7.1.1957; the *Manchester Guardian*, 27.12.1956, under the heading, "The Pope's blessing for a preventive war." See also *The Times*, London, 24.12.1956, and the *New York Times*.

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