



The Phyllis Schlafly Report

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BOX 618, ALTON, ILLINOIS 62002

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The Anti-Communists Were Right, After All

This is a time of vindication and rejoicing for all longtime anti-Communists. In our hearts, we always knew we were right, but now we can see the proof every night on our television screens. The happenings of the last year give the longtime anti-Communists the right to say "We told you so."

Nikita Khrushchev used to taunt us in the 1950s and 1960s with the boast, "History is on our side; we will bury you." The Communists' dogma that they would "inevitably" triumph over capitalism became the engine of their motivation and perseverance.

It is surely easier to work for a cause when you are confident of certain victory, even if that faith is misplaced. Unfortunately, the alleged "inevitability of Communist victory" became "conventional wisdom" in the West, too, and it frustrated effective American counteraction.

During the last year, this Communist myth was finally exposed for the lie it always was. It became obvious to all that Communism and socialism are bankrupt; they have failed politically and economically. History is now clearly on the side of freedom from government, and the aging commissars of Communism are falling into the dustbins of history.

Events have proved Ronald Reagan right in labeling the Soviet Union the "evil empire." Communism is, indeed, the most evil force in the 20th century: reliable estimates of its victims are 20 million in the Soviet Union (now admitted by the *New York Times*), as well as 50 million in China.

Several weeks ago, CBS 60 Minutes took us on a trip to Moscow, and Mike Wallace and CBS's Russian expert grimly described the enormity of Stalin's crimes. CBS has finally discovered the facts that were known to all those who attended anti-Communist seminars held in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Remember all those Captive Nations Week observances in which anti-Communist Americans participated in July every year since 1959? Parades and church services and public meetings kept alive hope for the captive peoples, not only in Eastern Europe but even among the Soviet "republics" such as Lithuania and Latvia.

The liberals smirked at the anti-Communists' dream of liberation for the Captive Nations, and the media treated the observances like non-events. But those daring hopes are coming true now, and anti-Communist Americans can be proud of their part in keeping the torch of freedom held high.

The people behind the Iron Curtain didn't just discover in the summer of 1989 that Communism is a giant gulag and that they want either to flee to the West or overturn the entire rotten system. They've known *that* all those years while U.S. liberals were telling us that Communism was irreversible and that socialism was "the wave of the future." What was different in 1989 was that the captive peoples found a crack in the Wall, they took their chance for freedom, and the rising demand for freedom took on a life of its own.

Anti-Communists can rejoice that they stoutly opposed the nuclear freeze and instead joined Ronald Reagan's pursuit of the promise of a Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The ones who look foolish now are the liberals who indulged in fearmongering, warning that our support of SDI would "provoke" World War III.

They told us we must abandon SDI in order to bring Gorbachev to the peace table. In fact, what brought him to the peace table was Reagan and Bush standing firm on SDI, and now Gorbachev has given up his demands that we trash SDI.

The election of Violeta Chamorro in Nicaragua is a stunning vindication of the help which anti-Communists and conservatives gave to the little band of freedom fighters called the Contras. The American anti-Communists can take pride that they kept them armed and at the ready, despite the cutoff of aid by Congress.

The military threat from the Contras was the *only* reason Nicaragua had an election at all. The reason why Castro isn't calling any elections in Cuba is because there are no Cuban "contras" to threaten his Communist dictatorship.

It isn't just Communism's repressive political system that's a horror. The entire economic system called socialism is a total failure, too. Just like Stalinism, "democratic socialism" produces poverty, not prosperity, because it is built on a massive, unaccountable bureaucracy instead of on a free market.

The media liberals have been putting out the line that conservatives have lost control of the issues because their boogeyman of Communism isn't a threat any more. The fact is that events have proved the anti-Communists right on all their positions, and we're just waiting for the liberals to admit it.

Longtime anti-Communists will recall the best-selling 1964 book *None Dare Call It Treason* by John Stormer, which chronicled Communist penetration of America in the pre-

ceding two decades. Stormer has just published *None Dare Call It Treason... 25 Years Later* which contains the original book and updates it to the present. (Liberty Bell Press, Florissant, MO, \$21.95.)

Loyalties and Disloyalties

An article in *The New Yorker* of March 13, 1989 (page 38) by *New York Times* writer Janet Malcolm started a raging controversy in the media which directly challenges journalists' self-esteem and self-righteousness. "Every journalist," she wrote, "is a kind of confidence man" who gains the trust of persons he writes about and then "betrays them without remorse."

Ms. Malcolm's lengthy article criticized journalists who put on an act of being "friendly and sympathetic" to persons they interview, thereby gaining their confidence, and then stab them in the back when the article or book is published. Many journalists were stung by her blunt revelations.

A 1989 book called *Loyalties* (Simon & Schuster) by a Pulitzer Prize-winning author provides evidence in support of Ms. Malcolm's thesis. This book tells the intimate story of Alfred Bernstein, one of 8,000 federal employees who left government service after being accused of being Communists during 1947 to 1954 under President Harry Truman's Executive Order 9835.

For 30 years, the liberals and leftists have fostered the myth that the late 1940s and 1950s witnessed an ideological "witch hunt" and "reign of terror," when Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI) and the House Committee on Un-American Activities "falsely" accused many persons of being Communists. The trouble with the left-wing myth about a "witch hunt" is that Bernstein admits in this book, and corroborative evidence proves beyond a shadow of a doubt, that he and his wife were, indeed, members of the Communist Party.

The author went through literally mountains of files, quoting from the lengthy hearing records only recently made public, in order to chronicle the story. But, like any good writer, he needed interviews with the accused in order to bring the cold record to life with anecdotal and human interest material.

But Alfred Bernstein had put that Communist era behind him and didn't want to talk about it. Above all, he didn't want a book written about him because he knew that the truth would shatter the comfortable illusion that he and his associates were victimized by "false accusations."

Bernstein literally begged the writer not to do the book, saying, "The premise people eventually accepted after the McCarthy period was that the victims weren't Communists. If you're going to write a book that says McCarthy was right, that a lot of us were Communists, you're going to write a dangerous book. . . . You're going to prove McCarthy right, because all he was saying was that the system was loaded with Communists. And he was right."

But the writer was determined to do the book and was patient enough to spend years on the project. He used his personal entree to Bernstein to get the interviews, and he grabbed every opportunity to pick up revealing tidbits in relaxed conversations until he collected the juicy quotations that would make the book authentic.

As it became apparent that ideological argument could not

persuade the author to abandon his determination to publish a book, the old Communist appealed to their personal relationship. "There's no reason," he pleaded, "we have to spend our declining years justifying what we did — getting involved in a controversy." Even when the book was ready, the old man asked the writer to follow the example of other leftists who had used the real names of Communist Party members only with their express permission because "that is the decent thing to do." His request fell on deaf ears.

If this book had been written by a conservative, the "McCarthyism" cry would have gone up from the left. Why rehash old accusations? Why not let Alfred Bernstein live out his life without harassment?

But the book was written by Carl Bernstein, who (with fellow *Washington Post* reporter Bob Woodward) played a prime role in the mid-1970s, making "Watergate" a household word. And the Communist Party memberships he exposed were those of his father and mother.

This book cannot help but invite speculation as to why Carl Bernstein played the role that Ms. Malcolm called a "confidence man" with his own parents as the victims. Did he believe that his book could somehow help his parents by removing what he called the "stigma" of having been Communist Party members in the 1940s? If so, he was not successful. Or was it a subconscious desire to retaliate against his father for what Carl Bernstein calls "the sense of shame" he felt as a boy in having parents who were Communist Party members? The younger Bernstein even admitted that "sometimes I hated him for it."

Perhaps the title of the book was a Freudian slip. Instead of being called *Loyalties*, it should have been titled *Disloyalties*, because the book reveals two kinds.

How the Left Uses "McCarthyism"

The term McCarthyism is not just an ordinary word weapon in the language of contemporary political combat. It has a very specific function: it is a scarlet "M" word, used by the Left as a trump card to terminate debate and intimidate adversaries.

We are indebted to two ex-Leftists from the sizzling Sixties, Peter Collier and David Horowitz, for dissecting the McCarthyism phenomenon in their book *Destructive Generation* (Summit Books, 1989). Collier-Horowitz describe how Joseph McCarthy, who when alive was part of the Right, in death has become the property of the "body snatchers on the Left."

A Wisconsin Senator during the 1950s, McCarthy achieved fame by exposing Communist sympathizers in government. To counter his mass popularity, the Left coined the term "McCarthyism" and defined it to mean the sinister smearing of innocent people.

Exotic uses of the term tend to perpetuate this definition. The Tobacco Institute attacked the "McCarthyism" of anti-smoking activists, *Playboy* Magazine condemned the "sexual McCarthyism" of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, and those who urge testing for AIDS have been accused of "chemical McCarthyism."

Collier-Horowitz explain that the principal use of the term is not to defend civil liberties but to silence discussion of ideas

the Left does not want to debate. Used as a spear to paralyze all opposition to Communism, it has become "Communism's best friend."

Collier-Horowitz cite two unrelated 1987 examples of how an incumbent Congressman and then an incumbent Senator were confronted with documented evidence of their Communist activities and affiliations. In both cases, when the scarlet word "McCarthyism" was uttered, that simply terminated media coverage.

The Left regularly uses the very tactics it pretends to disdain as "McCarthyite": the big lie, the reckless smear, guilt by association, and disregard for due process. One of the Left's leading journals, *The Nation*, repeatedly smears those who criticize the Sandinistas as "contra hirelings" or "CIA agents," and viciously smears blacks who oppose Affirmative Action (such as Thomas Sowell or William Lucas) as "an enemy of the people."

Collier-Horowitz conclude that "it is obviously not the political methods of McCarthyism that provoke the indignation of those who invoke its specter today, but the political ideas with which McCarthyism was associated, specifically his anti-Communism." Collier-Horowitz show that this fact is widely understood by the Leftists, who admit to each other that "what makes McCarthy a McCarthyite was not his bluster but his anti-Communist mission."

Collier-Horowitz, who are no defenders of Joseph McCarthy the man, admit that the reason why his question "are you now or have you ever been . . .?" had to be asked in the first place was because the Communists were engaged in the business of pretending to be progressive while concealing their subversive intentions. According to the authors, "The Communists cynically used liberalism as protective coloration" for their pro-Communist goals and activities.

Collier and Horowitz conclude that McCarthyism is not a term which means the abusive tactics of character assassination or reckless disregard for due process. McCarthyism flatly "means anti-Communism itself," a political objective that the Left finds inherently abusive. The Left wants to prevent the facts of Communism from being discussed and debated. The word McCarthyism, "the last refuge of the Left," has become the primary weapon of the eighties to achieve that objective.

With refreshing candor, Collier-Horowitz admit that the Left is not at all motivated by "compassion" but by "the totalitarian Idea." The Left not only excuses but justifies the Red Terror, and is consistently indifferent to the genocides of Communist conquest in Russia, Eastern Europe, Cuba, Cambodia, Tibet and Afghanistan.

The 20-year evolution of a couple of talented writers from radical Leftists to political sanity makes interesting reading for history buffs. It's also useful to have their authentic admission of how the Left has consistently covered for the Communists.

The Soviets Are Still Spying

When anti-Communism fell into disfavor in the 1970s, the internal security system of the United States was dismantled. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, and the Subversive Activities Control Board were abolished. We were told that we no longer needed protection against Soviet espionage or other agents.

The John Walker spy case proves the folly of dropping our guard and assuming that Communism in America is dead. CBS *60 Minutes* admitted on March 25, 1990 that John Walker, the now-convicted former Navy employee, spied for the K.G.B. for 18 years, including the years of the Vietnam War, and "compromised vital classified materials that helped his Soviet spymasters decode secret dispatches" from all branches of the U.S. Armed Services.

The Walker case should remind us of another generation when security precautions were lax, treason was winked at, and Soviet agents not only stole classified documents but sat in policy-making chairs of our government.

During Franklin Roosevelt's Administrations, the Communist apparatus successfully infiltrated the highest echelons of the U.S. Government. Communist agents included the number-two man in the State Department, Alger Hiss; the number-two man in the Treasury Department, Harry Dexter White; a top White House assistant, Lauchlin Currie; a high official in the Commerce Department, William Remington; a key agent handling codes in the Government Printing Office, Edward Rothschild; the Secretary of the International Monetary Fund, Frank Coe; and several U.S. officials employed by the United Nations.

The liberal media made a gargantuan effort to proclaim Alger Hiss' innocence and to portray him as a victim, but they were shot down in 1978 by the publication of the book *Perjury* by Allen Weinstein. This liberal historian started out believing that Hiss had been unjustly convicted, but five years of exhaustive research convinced him that Hiss indeed was guilty.

The theft of the atom bomb, called "the crime of the century," involved Dr. Klaus Fuchs and Dr. Bruno Pontecorvo in England and Dr. Allan Nunn May in Canada. No fictional spy thriller can match the innovative ways that Soviet spies made contact with their accomplices in the United States. Klaus Fuchs, who knew all U.S. atomic secrets, passed them to Harry Gold. The two men, who did not know each other and did not use their real names, made contact one January afternoon in New York City solely because one man carried a tennis ball and the other carried a pair of gloves and a green book. Harry Gold traveled to Albuquerque, rang the doorbell of a stranger, presented half of the panel from a Jell-O box, found that it matched perfectly with the other half held by David Greenglass, and received from him drawings and a written description of the A-bomb trigger mechanism.

The stars of the Soviet espionage network during the 1950s were the handsome Englishmen, Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean. Other important Soviet spies during the late 1950s included Bernon Mitchell and William Martin, cipher experts in the National Security Agency, who stole U.S. codes and secret messages and then fled to Moscow via Havana.

A senior officer in Soviet military intelligence who defected to the West and gave us much valuable information, Colonel Oleg Penkovskiy, graphically described the omnipresence of the Soviet network: "We spy everywhere. Espionage is conducted by the Soviet government on such a gigantic scale that an outsider has difficulty in fully comprehending it. To be naive and to underestimate it is a grave mistake."

The Walker case reminds us that it never was rational to assume that the Soviets terminated their espionage.

Cuba: The Last Bastion of Communism

Fidel Castro in Cuba is still manning the ramparts of Communism, trying to stop the tide of freedom from rolling over his island. *Against All Hope*, the autobiography of Armando Valladares who was imprisoned by Fidel Castro for 22 years for the "crime" of speaking against Communism, vividly describes the endless succession of tortures and obscenities which he witnessed at the hands of Castro's thugs. (Alfred A. Knopf, 1986)

Valladares describes Castro's 140,000 political and criminal prisoners in 68 penitentiaries. Castro uses the prison system to carry out a ruthless system called political and social "rehabilitation." Valladares and his fellow prisoners were encouraged to "reform" by such inducements as systematic beatings, mutilation, starvation (in his case, for 46 days), and hard labor. Those who refused to cooperate with this rehabilitation program were murdered.

The strictest penal institution is located on the Isla de Pinos, an island south of Cuba made famous as "Treasure Island" by Robert Louis Stevenson. Valladares says that the conditions there are "identical to those of the Soviet concentration camps under Stalin." Castro has converted Treasure Island into what Valladares calls the "Siberia of the American continent."

Valladares also describes how Soviet officials control the Cuban economy and industry (including the sugar industry), as well as the military. He says that "the Soviets have total control of the Cuban equipment, weapons, and transportation systems. The Cuban military does not even have access to its own bases." Essentially, all important decisions and operations in Cuba are controlled by Soviet officials.

The *New York Times* published a book review of *Against All Hope* in 1986. "It should not be forgotten," reviewer John Gross said, "that while the horrendous scenes described were taking place, a procession of influential visitors from the United States and elsewhere — writers, academics and others — were busy proclaiming the virtues of the Cuban revolution in the most radiant terms."

Indeed, such tragic, costly errors of judgment "should not be forgotten." But the reviewer failed to mention that preeminent among those "influential visitors" was *New York Times* reporter Herbert Matthews.

In February 1957 Matthews visited Fidel Castro in the hills of the Sierra Maestra and wrote three front-page articles in the *New York Times* portraying Castro as a political Robin Hood and comparing him to Abraham Lincoln. Prior to that time, Castro had been just another bandit in the hills, engaging in acts of terrorism.

After the *New York Times* anointed Castro with such international prestige and legitimacy, he was able to get followers and funds in Cuba and the United States. By 1959 Matthews was working closely with William Wieland on the Latin American desk in the State Department to expedite Castro's victory and remove U.S. Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith.

I dug into my old files and found the following article which I wrote for publication on April 15, 1959, during the period when the *New York Times* was consistently dishing out disinformation on Castro.

"The pattern was clear from the start — in the promises,

associates and tactics of Castro, and in the propaganda war being waged in the American press. Castro was a leader of Communist students at the University of Havana, where he is reported to have killed his own roommate.

"Castro has surrounded himself with hard-shell veterans of Communist hot and cold wars all over the world. His brother, Raul, who is head of the army, takes pride in calling himself an atheist and was greeted as 'Comrade Communist' by the Communist radio. Castro's right-hand man is the Argentine 'Che' Guevara, who fought on the Communist side in Guatemala. Castro's rebels were trained in Mexico in guerrilla tactics by Alberto Bayo, a veteran leader of Communist forces in the Spanish Civil War. Material aid for Castro's rebellion came from pro-Communist Venezuelans. Castro's government newspaper is run by Carlos Franqui, former proofreader on the Communist organ 'Hoy.'

"Anyone who is familiar with the pattern of Red takeover in other countries knows how closely Castro followed the Chinese, Hungarian and Yugoslav precedents. Castro's mass executions (a Red trademark since the Soviet purge 'trials' of the 1930s) have mounted to 500 — many more than the total number of persons killed in the entire revolution!

"It is characteristic of Communist courts that 99 percent of all trials result in convictions. When one court acquitted 43 fliers, Castro demanded a second trial, following which they were sentenced to 40 years.

"The Castro revolt appears to be a Communist operation intended primarily to secure bases for Soviet submarines within 100 miles of American soil. Let us not wait for atomic warheads and rockets to be launched from a Caribbean base before we take the steps essential for our survival as a free nation."

Alas, such obvious truths did not appear in the *New York Times*. Three years later, Castro conspired with Nikita Khrushchev to place offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba, and the stage was set for the Cuban Missile Crisis.

"Truth will come to light," promised the Bard. But sometimes it takes a long, long time.

Phyllis Schlafly is the author of 13 books, including five books on defense and foreign policy: *Kissinger on the Couch* (1975) and *Ambush at Vladivostok* (1976) covering the Kissinger years; and *The Gravediggers* (1964), *Strike From Space* (1965), and *The Betrayers* (1968) covering the McNamara years. She is a member of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, by appointment of President Reagan. She sponsored the first schools on Communism in 1956, 1957 and 1958, as well as numerous similar educational events in the late 1950s and 1960s.

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