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## FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

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### An Ugly Job

*With the permission of the Editor, we re-publish from The American Mercury, July, 1959, the following:*

#### Open Letter To:

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
The Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security  
The House Committee on Un-American Activities

by STEPHEN PAULSEN

On December 6, 1958, the *New York Herald Tribune* carried a front-page story announcing that a book called *The Ugly American* had been approved for subsidized sale abroad by the U.S. Government. This decision, made personally by George V. Allen, head of the U.S. Information Agency, reversed a previous tentative decision that the book should be kept off the approved list as not in the best interests of the United States. The reasons announced for this decision are highly illuminating.

As the *Herald Tribune* article points out, "The Soviet Union's conduct in the matter of Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* was a consideration in the decision. . . . Officials in whose lap the case of *The Ugly American* was tossed felt that a refusal to approve the novel would be seized upon as a kind of American *Zhivago*. The United States would be pictured abroad, it was feared, as 'banning' and censoring a book because it contained criticisms of American officials and policy."

(This tie-in with *Doctor Zhivago* was quickly exploited to link the two books even closer in the public's mind; within 48 hours the book review page of the *New York Times*, January 8, 1959, page 29, carried a two-column advertisement for *The Ugly American*, and—directly beneath it—a two-column ad for *Doctor Zhivago*, a book definitely *not* in the best interests of the United States, as will be shown.)

The *Herald Tribune* article also stated: "A couple of Congressional investigations are expected early next year, first, to explore the truth of the allegations in *The Ugly American*, and second, as a result of its now having been put on the approved list. The approved list has a broad base. What goes on it is largely a matter of judgment. Congress did decree, however, that books given preference *must be consistent with the national interest.*" (emphasis added).

The allegations in the book are so sweepingly anti-American and so full of admiration for the alleged superiority of our Communist enemies that they need no comment here.

What Congress should question is the judgment of the

Department of Defense officials who approved the book for publication—over the strong protests of the State Department—and the USIA officials who, in approving it for overseas subsidy, reversed an earlier USIA decision that it was not in the best interests of the United States. (For the information of those who read *The Ugly American* only in the *Saturday Evening Post*, this condensed serialization of the book omitted seven entire chapters—113 pages, or about 40 per cent. of the book—including chapters holding the U.S. Armed Forces and the U.S. Senate up to scorn and ridicule.)

*The Ugly American* was written while one of its co-authors, Captain William J. Lederer, USN, was on active duty in uniform as special assistant to Admiral Felix B. Stump, Commander of U.S. military forces in the Pacific.

U.S. Navy Regulations require all Naval personnel—particularly officers serving in key public relations assignments—to submit anything they write about Naval subjects to the Navy's Office of Public Information before publication, particularly anything which reflects discredit upon the Naval Service, as in the case of Chapter 16 of *The Ugly American* (pages 191-204) which is plainly labelled "Captain Boning, USN."

Admiral Stump might be asked how his special assistant managed to spend nearly five months in the highly publicized collaboration described on page 124 of the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 4, 1958, with his co-author, Lt. Commander Eugene Burdick, USNR. (Admiral Stump retired from active duty to become Vice-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Freedom Foundation of Valley Forge, on whose stationery he wrote, in answer to an inquiry about *The Ugly American*, "I don't know what you're talking about, having never read it, although I have read reviews of it published in leading magazines.")

It also might be interesting to find out which of the apportioned chapters each of the co-authors wrote. The Navy's Chief of Information could appropriately be asked

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### The Rebuilding of Prestige

(Originally published in *The Social Crediter*, September 22, 1945)

"In the things of the spirit, there is apparently very little, if any, evolution. Homer wrote, nearly three thousand years ago, as supreme an expression of human life in absolute literary values as the world has ever known, and, with all reverence, . . . is ever likely to know . . . It used to be a favourite expression of Virchow . . . the greatest of living anthropologists [1913] that from the history of the human race the theory of evolution receives no confirmation of any kind."—Walsh, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, p. 4.

The greatest task which lies before the *élite* of Europe in general, and Great Britain in particular, is to reverse the amazing "moral" prestige of the Left—a prestige identical with that skilfully built round the Satanist Cromwell. Evidence is useless. It is futile to point to the fast disappearing remnants of Jacobean or Carolean houses and farms, and their replacement by pre-fabricated nightmares; to suggest contemplation of York Minster in relation to a Ford Factory; to compare Magna Carta, or any Plantagenet fourteenth century legislation with the Defence Regulations, or the food and drink of Elizabethan times with spam and chemical beer. The clear indications, which are there for anyone to see that everyone is, *relatively to the possibilities of the period*, worse off both materially and spiritually, as the ideas which have been persistently inculcated as progressive since the French Revolution became operative, convey no message to our politicians. In this matter, Baconian or inductive methods seem as futile as Aristotelian logic. What is the use of showing a chemical experiment to a blind man? It is only necessary to notice the tendency of the overseas, and particularly American newspaper press to assume that the rabble must be representative of God's will, that excellence is anti-social, and that there is some peculiarly perverse influence at work which utilises the lowest human frailties to defeat the judgment of experience.

Closely involved in this matter is the fact that the most valuable services rendered by individuals to humanity are generally quite unrecognised at the time of their gift and

would not even be permitted in Russia. The "lazy" Euclid drawing figures in the sand, James Watt "playing" with his mother's kitchen kettle, are now canonised because they are contributory to the only kind of advance that contemporary society considers to be "real." Pythagoras is probably known, where he is known, more by the relation of the squares on the perpendicular and base of a triangle, to that on the hypotenuse, than by his effect on the thought of the European continent, and so on the world.

This is far from being an abstract consideration. The extraordinary, if largely unconscious, insolence of modern bureaucracy in arrogating to itself the power to "distribute incomes fairly"; to dispossess this man of his property and hand it over to that man, and to assess eternal values as laid down by the London School of Economics, far transcends anything known in these islands in the days of feudalism, as the most casual investigation of the documents and laws of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will disclose. The feudal baron was subject to a very real code, non-material either in origin or sanctions; and the use of the atomic bomb is a measure of the distance we have fallen from it.

### Taxation Powers

A correspondent after commenting on the excellence of Mr. James Guthrie's "The Survival of the Unfittest by Unnatural Selection," published serially in *The Social Crediter* earlier this year, refers to his paragraph on page 2 of Vol. 39, No. 3 (May 30, 1959), commencing "When the Australian Government. . ."

"I may be wrong, but as I see it, the history of the collection of State Income Tax by the Federal Government is as follows:—The Federal Government took over the collection from the States of Income Tax by means of war-time emergency powers. After the war, I recall a test case before the High Court (of which, I think, Sir Garfield Barwick was then a member) and his statement ran that *legally* the Commonwealth could do this under an agreement among the States granting *permission* for a continuance of the collection (it requires an absolute majority of States). Sir Garfield added that *politically* it remained for the people to decide.

"Now, this latter statement is very important and must never be lost sight of because it means that the State cannot hand over Income Tax collection; nor can the Commonwealth assume the matter as a *right* until a referendum has been held and the Constitution altered by people's consent so that the present permission becomes then a *right*.

"This makes it important for Social Crediters everywhere to keep the position clearly before the people in case a referendum should suddenly be placed before them."

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## The Basic Struggle

"The Church has known three great periods so far, each fantastically unlike its predecessor, and each giving place to something very different . . . the governing pre-occupation is going to be not, as it was in the Dark and Middle Ages, how to achieve sufficient order, but the opposite, how to protect human life from the excessive pressure of highly organised political power controlling all the means of intercourse and persuasion and seeking to make of the human material within its power the kind of servants for which it has most use. This is the basic struggle, not economic but political, before this generation; and in it the Church has an essential part to play, a new rôle, not less decisive and beneficial to mankind than her earlier rôle as the maker and moulder of Christendom."

—*The Tablet*, January 20, 1945.

### AN UGLY JOB—

(continued from page 1.)

whether or not his approval of the book was sought or given before publication. The book's editors and publishers (*W. W. Norton and Company*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and the *Book-of-the-Month Club*) might also be asked about their part in publishing and publicizing a book whose very title is, in itself, anti-American—which of course guaranteed the production of the movie version now underway.

The most pertinent question, however, is: *Who are the unidentified USIA officials who linked The Ugly American with Doctor Zhivago—thereby giving further front-page publicity to the greatest Communist propaganda campaign since the launching of the Sputnik?*

Under a ruthless regime where every prominent person's actions and utterances are completely controlled, where nothing is ever publicized unless it advances the cause of world Communism, and where every propaganda move is planned long in advance, the Pasternak case ranks as a major Soviet propaganda victory. Information (relayed from anti-Communist underground sources in the USSR) is that while *Doctor Zhivago* is not sufficiently anti-capitalist to permit publication inside the Iron Curtain, it is strongly *pro-Communist* in so many ways that it is ideal for subverting Western "intellectuals" who have been led to believe that it is great literature. Even the collection of religious poems appended to the book is a bit of calculated camouflage to snare the unwary reader who turns to the last pages to see how the story will end.

*Doctor Zhivago* is a "sleeper" in the same category with *The New Class*, a pro-Communist book by Djilas, supposedly "smuggled" out of Yugoslavia and published in the U.S.A. with great acclaim by the left-wing press, which called it "a great anti-Communist classic." (Anyone who reads even the author's foreword to *The New Class* should be able to see that it is a strong endorsement of Communism.)

*Doctor Zhivago* does even further: under the guise of fiction (the same approach used by the authors of *The Ugly American*) Pasternak attempts to make the world swallow the most obvious falsehoods about Communism and the USSR:

(a) That the Communist revolution of 1917 was justified, if not actually unavoidable, because of previous conditions in Russia. (page 31, lines 17-21; page 33, lines 11-14; pages 33 and 37 and pages 91 through 130.)

(b) That life under Communism is no worse than life in any other country. (page 182, lines 27-34; page 193, lines 6-10; page 195, lines 14-21.)

(c) That the Russian people have accepted Communism. (page 475, lines 21-25; page 482, lines 24-34; page 508, lines 10-18.) *Actually, less than three per cent. of the Russian people are members of the Communist Party!*

Even those who have never read *Doctor Zhivago* should be able to spot obvious inconsistencies in Communist propaganda about the book: Soviet writers who could never have obtained the book in the USSR are denouncing it, while American fellow-travellers who have never read the book are enthusiastically praising it.

Even more ludicrous was the Nobel Prize farce in which Khrushchev himself personally confronted and denounced Pasternak, (while three Soviet scientists were allowed to accept prizes from the same Nobel Prize Committee which the Soviet press attacked for awarding a prize to Pasternak) who pleaded not to be "exiled" from a country where escape would have been impossible for any real enemy of Communism, specially one publicly rebuked as an enemy of the state.

Perhaps the best indication of which side of the ideological fence *The Ugly American* is on lies in the rapturous endorsements of the book by "liberal" and left-wing publications.

For example, the *New York Herald Tribune* Sunday Book Review Section, October 5, 1958, gives *The Ugly American* the place of honor at the top of the first page, lamely admitting that "*in a literary sense this is not a good book. In a political sense, however, it is a very good and very important bombshell.*"

This passage is underscored because it is a complete giveaway to what the reviewer later selects (on page 13) as an important political message: ". . . Americans are failing in Asia . . . Russians are succeeding . . . the Russians, he says, do not need to resort to thermonuclear warfare: they will win the world by their successes in a multitude of tiny battles . . . only five of some 300 Americans were at all valuable in the struggle against Communism . . . The others, unwilling to learn, interested only in money, servants, liquor and sex, had been useless and harmful."

In the book the Ambassador loses his fight to get the U.S. Secretary of State to take corrective action and appoints an incompetent clown as the new ambassador—thus closing 270 pages of unremitting defeatism on a completely defeatist note.

Even more revealing of the true intentions of the authors is their re-emphasis, in their so-called "Factual Epilogue" (page 279) of their bitterly defeatist chapters 11 and 12 which emphasise the futility of opposing Communist troops who are superior and ruthless (see the classic anti-morale example on page 131.) After building up the Communists as invincible and Mao-Tse-tung as a great military genius, *the authors even go so far as to give the names and addresses of Mao's publisher in Europe and in the U.S.A.*

—information which might appropriately be included in a confidential report by a military man to his own organisation, but which can backfire and be used against us by Communist revolutionaries in the 16 foreign countries where *The Ugly American* is being subsidized by the U.S. Government for distribution throughout USIA libraries.

For an expert in mass communications to reveal such information to his country's enemies is incredible, but for a high-ranking military man on active duty to do so—and get his own government to back him—is utterly fantastic.

If this information is as vital to the security of the United States as the authors of this book themselves state on pages 278 and 279, its disclosure to unauthorized persons is as reprehensible as revealing the secrets of our proximity fuse or the arming mechanism of our atomic weapons.

If the Naval officers who wrote *The Ugly American* are as sincere as they pretend to be, why did they not first document this situation (which they insist is based on fact) and submit it through official channels for corrective action—instead of broadcasting it as an infallible formula for the violent overthrow of constitutional government by guerilla warfare? Did they offer our own armed forces first chance to utilize the military information they reveal? Was their book released with the knowledge and consent of the Department of Defense? These questions remain unanswered.

Anything which destroys the respect and esteem which U.S. fighting men once enjoyed—not only in their own country but overseas—directly affects our national and military morale and the ability of this country to defend itself. To hold American military men up to scorn and ridicule is part of the current tactics, strategy and objectives of Communist propaganda, which ranks as one of the Kremlin's most important instruments of conquest.

*The Ugly American* follows this same Soviet line of scorn and ridicule. Here is a book which, even the liberal book-reviewers agree, in a literary sense, is not a good book. In spite of its deficiencies the co-authors may receive more than a half-million dollars from the book on royalties, book club sales and motion picture rights. This is in line with the common practice of the motion picture industry at the present time; over 60 major motion pictures on military subjects are now being shown in various parts of the U.S. The majority of these films, many of which are either anti-military or contain anti-morale sequences which ridicule military service, were produced with the co-operation and approval of the Department of Defense. With all the acclaim that *The Ugly American* is receiving through the Soviet propaganda machine and from the various publications which have been duped into endorsing it, the motion picture version could be even more widely distributed than the various books and magazine versions, especially overseas.

This in itself is a good indicator of the propaganda content of the book: anti-Communist books seldom make any money, receive rave reviews from the liberal press or become Book-of-the-Month Club selections. Likewise, successful anti-Communist plays or motion pictures are a rarity. As the *Saturday Evening Post* itself pointed out in an editorial (October 6, 1958, page 10): "To get rave reviews, write an anti-U.S.A. novel!"

It is interesting to note that a great many individuals

and publishers who consider themselves conservatives have fallen for the trap of *The Ugly American*. The obvious explanation is that many of the reviewers who enthusiastically endorsed this book have read the expurgated version which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* and have not bothered to read the full-length version of the book itself.

This follows the same pattern which is now being used to "clean up" various movies which are based on books so filthy and so full of obscenities that no thinking parent would allow them in his home. In this case, however, the "cleaned up" version appeared in a so-called "family magazine"—the *Saturday Evening Post*, thus giving the unwary the impression that the *Post* had reprinted the whole book. Meanwhile, the uncondensed, unexpurgated book is going merrily on its way—riding the wave of Soviet-generated publicity which was used to launch the pro-Communist "sleepers," *Doctor Zhivago*.

The American public might legitimately ask: 1. What's wrong with the U.S. Department of Defense, which approved the book, if it can't see through anything as transparent as this tie-in between *The Ugly American* and *Doctor Zhivago*? 2. Is any U.S. Government agency responsible for, trained for, and capable of identifying and exposing this type of enemy propaganda? 3. What has the present administration done (nothing) and what is it doing (nothing) to prevent the saturation of our mass communications media with enemy propaganda aimed at the destruction of the American way of life?

The American people have the right to know the full and complete answers to these questions.

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