THE Freeman

APRIL 7, 1952 25¢

Our Leftist Economic Teaching
Ludwig von Mises

Governor Warren's Candidacy — Oliver Carlson

Textbooks for Collectivism — George Koether

The One-World Illusion — Fred DeArmond

Mr. Dooley, Spalpeen Philosopher
Harry Serwer

"No mud on *our* Pulpit!

"No . . . not in our *little church!*

"But something the Pastor said reminded me of a service I'll never forget. Later, Helen told me I'd said *'Mud!'* out loud. That's why she dug me in the ribs and said *'John, wake up!'*

"I guess I *was* wool-gathering. I was back overseas, listening to a Chaplain who'd found a spot of beauty in a grove of trees for his services . . . right smack in the middle of a war! The green branches made a church-like arch. The sun filtered through the branches like through our church windows.

"The Chaplain's pulpit? Just the hood of a homely Army Jeep . . . *splattered with mud.* No organ music . . . just the booming of big guns far off. No pews, either . . . just mud to sit in. But I felt just as close to God then as I did last Sunday in our Maple Street Church.

"After Helen nudged me awake, I thought of countries where mud *is* slung at pulpits. Where men of the cloth are jailed. Where churches are closed or burned. And where God is disowned. I gave thanks that *here* we respect *all* churches.

"Freedom of worship is *one* of our precious rights. Other Freedoms include our right to vote as we please . . . and without anyone knowing *whom* we vote for. To get rip-roaring mad when we see our taxes wasted by wild spending . . . and when we read about charges of corruption against public officials. To choose our own jobs, like I did when I applied for one at Republic. To own our own homes. To drive our own car across state lines with nobody to push a gate down in our faces.

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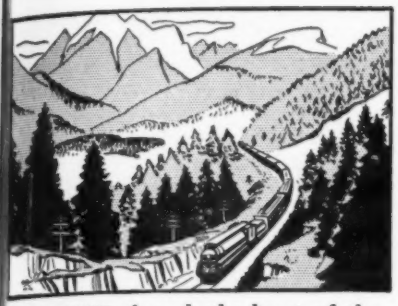

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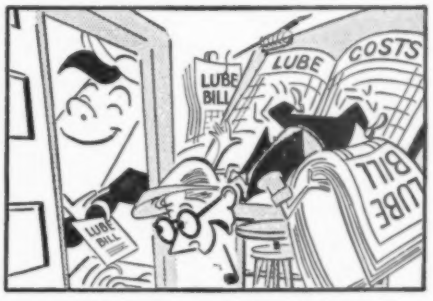

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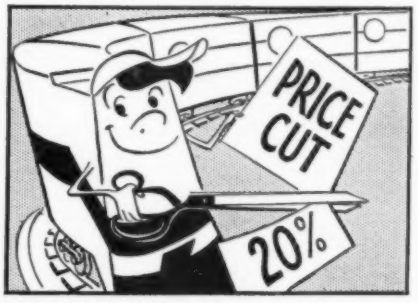

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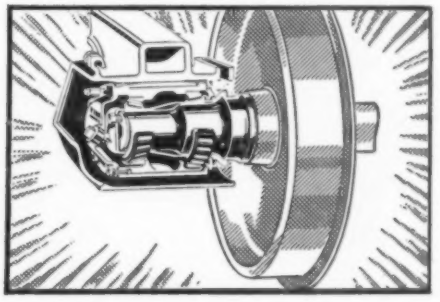

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THE Freeman

A FORTNIGHTLY FOR INDIVIDUALIST

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 14 APRIL 7, 19

Contents

Editorials

The Fortnight....419
He Read Plutarch....421
Stabilization, Washington Style....422
Mr. Lippmann's Encyclical....423
Education of Mr. Morris....424

Articles

Our Leftist Economic Teaching....LUDWIG VON MISES 425
Governor Warren's Candidacy....OLIVER CARLSON 429
Let's Stick with Mike....CHARLES J. DUTTON 431
The One-World Illusion....FRED DE ARMOND 433
Quiet, Minds at Work....BURTON RASCOE 435
Mr. Dooley, Spalpeen Philosopher....HARRY SERWER 436

Books

A Reviewer's Notebook....JOHN CHAMBERLAIN 441
Economics of Oblivion....GEORGE KOETHER 442
Background of War....WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN 445
France Today....HENRY C. WOLFE 446
Forthright Mayor Gaynor....HELEN WOODWARD 446
Rule by Psychiatrist....RALPH DE TOLEDANO 447

Arts and Entertainments

The Unwilling Audience....WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM 439

Poems

The Anatomy of Death....PAUL NABB 439

This Is What They Said 432

From Our Readers 448

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A Word About Our Contributors

LUDWIG VON MISES, world-famous e omist, is the author of "Human tion" (1949) and other books. He ducts the *Freeman* seminar on es tial problems of the social scien which was held in New York last y and this summer will meet in S Francisco.

OLIVER CARLSON, California writer has frequently contributed to *Freeman*, writes us that he campaig actively for Earl Warren in all th of his gubernatorial elections.

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GEORGE KOETHER, formerly on the torial staffs of the *Saturday Eve Post, Look* and *Architectural Fo* writes for the Christian Free Foundation, publishers of *Chri Economics.*

HELEN WOODWARD, the author "Money to Burn," "Three Flights and other books, is well known in the advertising and literary fields.

Forthcoming

In our issue of April 21 we shall lish an article presenting the cas General Eisenhower's candidacy. John Henshaw Crider; also an a by Garet Garrett on the "imperi of the good intent." The second a of our series, "My Father's Amer by Helen Woodward, will appear early issue.

THE
Freeman

MONDAY, APRIL 7, 1952

The Fortnight

The results of the primaries in New Hampshire and Minnesota have changed the whole political outlook. In New Hampshire General Eisenhower polled 46,000 votes in the "popularity" contest to 35,000 for Senator Taft and captured all fourteen of the delegates. This in itself was surely not sensational. General Eisenhower was an early starter and had the support of the Republican machine in the state. There were, also, reasons for thinking that many of the votes for him came from those who are normally Democrats. But this victory had a "bandwagon" effect; and in Minnesota, where the head candidate actually on the ballot, former Governor Stassen, polled 129,000 votes, Eisenhower ran up the astounding total of 107,000 write-ins, though the write-in campaign had been haphazardly organized only four days before. This assumed almost the nature of a stampede.

The Eisenhower groundswell has both a healthy and an unhealthy side. On the one hand, it is simply one aspect of what looks at last like a decisive revolt of the voters against Mr. Truman and against the Democratic New Deal regime that has been in power for nearly twenty years. In fact, if the press had not been so preoccupied with Eisenhower, it would have paid more attention to what was even more significant—the overwhelming repudiation of a President in office, in spite of the most gigantic propaganda and patronage machine in our history. The most startling development in New Hampshire was that a mediocre Senator, with not much to recommend him even in his own estimation except "a new face," got 20,000 votes on the Democratic ticket to Truman's 16,000.

What was overlooked in the excitement about Eisenhower was that the defeated Republican candidate, Senator Taft, got more than twice as many votes as Mr. Truman in New Hampshire and more than six times as many write-in votes as Mr. Truman in Minnesota. In fact, there were only 36,000 votes cast in New Hampshire for both Democratic candidates compared with 91,000 cast for Republicans; and only 123,000 cast for Democratic candidates in Minnesota compared with 288,000 for Republicans. Yet Minnesota went heavily Democratic in 1948. At the time of writing this Mr. Truman still goes on coyly pretending that everybody is breathlessly waiting for his decision on whether he will run again or not. The primary results already show that his decision is unlikely to make the slightest difference in November.

The unhealthy side of the Eisenhower groundswell is that it has in a few weeks assumed the nature of a craze. Masses of people are voting for him not only without knowing, but apparently without asking or caring, what he stands for, what he believes in, what his views are on the crucial issues that confront the country. It need hardly be pointed out how unhealthy this symptom is. Nothing could do more than such blind enthusiasm to lower the whole level of discussion and thought about great national decisions. When the most candid and courageous of all those who have been seriously considered for the Presidency in the last twelve years, Senator Taft, is being continually penalized for his candor and courage, while those whose views on specific issues are still unknown seem actually to gain by the public's ignorance of those views, what must be the inevitable effect on our public life and on the nature of the decisions that we make? It is blind enthusiasm, for a man as a sheer personality rather than as a symbol of a known and reasoned philosophy of government, that leads in the end to Caesarism, the desertion of the ideals of representative government.

To cite one specific example: The extremely wide range of opinions, from right to left, of the people supporting Eisenhower, shows that their support rests mainly on his purely personal popularity; yet his "international" supporters are trying to interpret the vote for him as a repudiation of "isolationism." And if this interpretation is allowed to prevail, then it will be impossible not only to curb the present absurd $10,500,000,000

foreign giveaway program, but to get any serious discussion in the coming campaign of the vital issues of foreign policy; and those who believe that our whole European-aid and world-handout policy in its present form is a foolish and dangerous diversion of our strength will have no one even to state their point of view.

"We had the leadership of the world at war's end —the spiritual leadership supported by the greatest relative military power in all history. But we yielded that leadership." Thus spoke General MacArthur before the Mississippi legislature on March 22. He cited the eight months of inconclusive truce negotiations in Korea—a continuous diplomatic retreat during which, he reminded his audience, the enemy has built up his strength while our Seventh Fleet has protected his flank against our allies on Formosa. Our failure to carry out our solemn commitments in Korea, MacArthur warned, "will probably mean the ultimate loss of all of continental Asia to international Communism."

On the day before General MacArthur spoke, Mr. Hanson Baldwin of the *New York Times* expressed concern over the proposed resort to secrecy in the truce negotiations. The most important outstanding issue, he said, was the exchange of prisoners. "If we concede to Communist demands that all prisoners be returned, even against their will, we automatically have destroyed one of our greatest psychological weapons." We shall have destroyed our reputation as the traditional defender of freedom and "subordinated the lives and freedoms and wishes of individuals to the expediency of the state." These two warnings coincide with insistent rumors of a deal between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the State Department—said to have General Ridgway's support—for eventual capitulation to the enemy and withdrawal from Korea. If this is true, and if the deal is implemented, we shall indeed have no friends left in Asia—or in Europe. What government would dare accept "protection" which promised nothing better than the devastation of its territory, the wholesale killing of its people, and ultimate delivery into the hands of a ruthless and vengeful enemy?

Under the caption, "The Crime of Newbold Morris," the *New York Times* runs an editorial implying that all the McCarran Committee found wrong was that Mr. Morris was a member of an organization—the Committee for National Affairs—which went into Nevada to campaign against Senator McCarran's re-election. Not a hint in the editorial about the tanker deal that, in the eyes of many citizens, has completely disqualified Mr. Morris from heading his own investigation. Not a sentence about the dealings with Red China; not a word about the huge profits Mr. Morris himself said should not have been permitted. May be the editorial writer didn't read that part of the testimony: after all, one can't read everything.

A year ago the Dewey Administration in Albany announced that it was "forgiving" the New York State taxpayer a portion of his income tax. This year it announced that it would "abate" some of the citizen's tax money. We wish to applaud Governor Dewey's progress in semantics; it indicates a growing respect for what belongs to the citizen in the first place. Maybe, in time, the citizen will actually be respected to the point of being allowed to keep even more money than can be comprehended in the term "abatement." Who knows?

Glancing again the other day through "They Stooped to Folly," a novel by the late Ellen Glasgow which appeared in 1929, we were struck by the way in which one of her characters had foreseen the Marshall Plan and Point Four, not to speak of the whole New Deal, in one prophetic flash: "Nothing, not even moonshine, goes to the head quicker than saving democracy with other people's money."

The Newest Freeman

With this issue the Freeman: (1) appears in a new typographical dress and with a new cover; (2) for the first time opens its pages to general advertisers; (3) expands its newsstand distribution to fifty university cities, centering its efforts on university bookstores and newsstands as well as on key newsstands in those communities.

We are also happy to announce the election of Alex L. Hillman to the office of Treasurer. Mr. Hillman is Publisher of Hillman Periodicals, Inc., and a director of Henry Holt and Co. He assumes the position of Treasurer in place of Alfred Kohlberg, who resigned due to pressure of other work, but who continues on our Board of Directors.

Finally, we are proud to announce that on May 1 Forrest Davis will become an editor of the *Freeman*. Mr. Davis's name will not be strange to our readers, who will remember him as the author, among other contributions, of "Did Marshall Prolong the Pacific War?" and "The World of Sumner Welles." Mr. Davis was formerly with the general management of Scripps-Howard and editor of the Scripps-Howard Denver newspaper, the *Rocky Mountain News*. During World War II—from 1941 to 1946—he was Washington Editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*. In 1946 and 1947 he was in Europe as representative of the Secretary of War on a special mission. Among his books are "The Atlantic System," and "How War Came"—the last in collaboration with Ernest Lindley.

He Read Plutarch

Up in New Hampshire the other day a majority of the votin' Democrats abandoned their leader, Harry S. Truman. They left him for a Southern politician who prefers raccoon skins to mink and who is ag'in crime the way Calvin Coolidge used to be ag'in sin.

Why did the votin' Democrats of New Hampshire throw down a man who controls the patronage of a great political party that has scores of billions in tax money to spread around? Why did they tempt fate by going against a man who presumably has his fingers on the levers that can move the nominating machinery at the next Democratic convention? The answer to the puzzle is not immediately obvious. But there is an answer, and we think we have found it hidden away in a very expensively turned-out volume called "Mr. President," by William Hillman (Farrar, Straus and Young, publishers, $5.). This collection of Truman memoranda, diaries, letters, notations and what-not reveals a great deal more than either Mr. Truman or Mr. Hillman thinks it does.

The truth is that what ails Harry Truman is a defective sense of reality. He has a certain conception of himself, and it is an honest conception. He knows what is moral and right. As a young man he read Plutarch, and from his memorized notions of what was noble in antiquity he has a picture in his mind of what constitutes the life of honor. But when he comes to projecting all this in the real world, he doesn't know how to go about it. He tries to be true to himself, but he doesn't make the necessary connections with real situations. He boasts that he understands people pretty well, but actually he does not. His antennae may be up, but there are some things he never manages to tune into in time. And that, in our estimation, is the deeper reason why the votin' Democrats of New Hampshire went for Kefauver. and why the rebellious Democrats of Dixie are lining up behind the candidacy of Dick Russell of Georgia.

Mr. Hillman's sumptuous book is one part table talk, one part memorabilia and one part diary, all swept together in somewhat higgledy-piggledy fashion and seasoned liberally with some pretty fancy photographs. The picture that Harry Truman has of himself is one of a God-fearing Christian. an honorable and loving family man, and a profound student of military, political and economic history. He admires all the right generals and all the right presidents. He can tell you how Napoleon maneuvered at the Battle of Austerlitz and why Robert E. Lee lost the Battle of Gettysburg. He can manipulate his correspondence files to prove he had Stalin's number—and Jimmy Byrnes's?—in 1945. He can show you that he stood by Chiang Kai-shek at the time of the war's end in Asia. He can prove, by his own words, that he has always had a vast contempt for Communist-Americans and other hyphenates. He scorns the "professional" liberals. He has read the histories of Greece and Rome, and he insists that America can learn enough from these histories to save itself. All the American has to do to avoid decline and dictatorship is to preserve his sense of civil responsibility.

To put it succinctly, Harry Truman has modeled himself on all the copy-book virtues. How is it, then, that such a virtuous, well-meaning man can preside over such a shoddy Administration? The answer that is unconsciously vouchsafed in Mr. Hillman's book is that Harry Truman has no faculty for squaring what goes on in his own mind with what goes on down the street, or even in the next room.

Take his profession of loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek, for example. It is fervently and honestly, if somewhat indirectly, expressed on page 128 of Mr. Hillman's book. The only trouble with this loyalty is that it conflicts with another loyalty—the Presidential loyalty to the figure of General George Catlett Marshall. On page 219 he calls Marshall a "great statesman and a diplomat." In blind loyalty to Marshall as statesman and diplomat Harry Truman has plowed under all his feelings about the correct moral course to pursue in Asia. The believer in loyalty to Nationalist China, our wartime ally, has promoted a pro-Mao Tse-tung, a pro-Russian, policy through sheer inability to bring his own inner feelings to bear on George Marshall's and Dean Acheson's acts.

And the man who claims he saw through Stalin in 1945 has let the Communists bulldoze us and kick us around in the Vogeler and Oatis cases, not to mention at the "peace" talks in Korea.

Similarly, the sincere enemy of the American "parlor pinks"—it's Truman's own word for them —has been unable to see the tinge of pink when it is in front of his nose. He saw nothing pink in the Hiss case, or in the John Stewart Service-*Amerasia* case, or in the parade of characters who have walked in and out of innumerable Senate and House investigatory hearings. He tries his best to blame all our troubles with communism on Jimmy Byrnes. But Truman had his chance to force the issue with Stalin at Potsdam, and it is not recorded that he did a single thing about it. We do not doubt for a moment that Harry Truman theoretically detests the color of pink. But with those rose-colored glasses through which he habitually views the world, the pink color gets washed out despite all his good intentions.

To continue with examples, take Harry Tru-

man's reading of Roman history. He is filled with apprehensions about what happens when the citizens of a republic forget "civic responsibility." When they do that, he thinks, they get the post-Augustan or post-Periclean darkness. But, to judge from Mr. Hillman's quotations, Harry Truman has missed the whole inner meaning of the decline of ancient civilizations. He seems not to know that Athens perished from the very public spending that made the brief day of Periclean magnificence. He seems not to know that Rome declined as taxes rose and prices were fixed and the people—the plebs—became more and more dependent on the bread and circuses dispensed from a central treasury.

As a final example, let us take Truman's conception of ethics. Harry Truman praises Moses, Buddha, Confucius, Thomas Aquinas and Jesus of Nazareth. He knows his Bible and he reads it more often than most of us. He believes thoroughly in the Ten Commandments. Yet this self-proclaimed "pretty good judge of people" apparently sees nothing wrong with filling Missouri county jobs with henchmen of the Pendergast machine. He sees nothing wrong in standing by the members of the deep freeze and mink coat brigade. And he hardly blinks an eye at what has been going on among the Administration's caudle appendages and such.

On the evidence of Mr. Hillman's book, Harry Truman is a very likable man. Your heart warms to him as you turn Mr. Hillman's pages. But a warning nonetheless beats through your head that Truman is a dangerous man to follow, for he is very late in catching signals from the world of reality. His own erstwhile henchmen are deserting him, not because he isn't a good guy, but because they don't want to be led blindly over a precipice. And that, we submit, is the main lesson of the New Hampshire Democratic primary.

Stabilization, Washington Style

The steel panel of the Wage Stabilization Board, which has for some months been considering the problem of how to raise wages by stabilizing them, has made its recommendations to the Board. According to the newspaper accounts of what the panel found, any increase between eight cents and 23 cents an hour (or some such figures) would be admissible under the accepted stabilization formula. This conclusion, if that is what it is, is certainly the most curious finding that has yet come out of Washington. What it means is that, within wide limits, raising wages has no effect on prices —that the rate of wages paid to some 45 to 50 million wage earners is the great neutral element in the nation's economy which can be manipulated without risk to anyone. If this is the case, it is hard to see why the Administration got injunctions against the locomotive firemen, engineers and conductors to force them to call off their strike when all they were asking for was a little more costly work rules.

More curious still is the Administration's apparent view about the relation between wages and inflation. On this question it is concerned almost exclusively with the part a wage increase plays in lifting cost. In accordance with the kind of Alice-in-Wonderland economics which increasingly prevails in this country, it is assumed that rising wages do not raise costs and, hence, do not raise prices. Since prices do not need to rise, there is nothing to worry about. By a piece of economic legerdemain, the authorities succeed in accomplishing the impossible. They raise wages, by all odds the largest element of cost; and at the same time cost fails to rise.

This is, of course, fantastic nonsense. But, nonsense or not, it fails to deal with another part of the inflationary picture. For not even a government board will deny that raising wage rates will increase labor income. That is, in fact, what the wage rate increase is for. In the steel industry an increase of 20 cents an hour in wage rates will, so long as employment continues good, lift the income of steel workers by more than 10 per cent. Nor will it stop there because, as everyone knows, these government-determined wage settlements have a way of spreading from one industry to another. The result in a typical inflationary situation is that expanding income bids for a variety of scarce commodities, like beef, and forces up their prices. Only the government, and its agencies, can be expected to overlook this perfectly obvious sequence of events.

There is another feature of the situation which the government planners have overlooked that ought to have a strong bearing on current wage recommendations. For some little time important segments of the business of the country have not been behaving well, or as they should. They have been developing surpluses instead of shortages. In the middle of March, the government relaxed control over building materials and there are signs of similar concessions to the automobile and other durable goods industries. The reason for the new ruling is that there are considerable stocks on hand of steel, copper and aluminum. At the same time, and for the same reasons, prices have been showing more weakness than strength, thus removing one of the most popular reasons for price control.

Under the circumstances, what possible justification can there be for a substantial wage increase, not to speak of numerous other concessions on which the United Steel Workers are so insistent? There is surely some connection left between labor

standards and the state of business. The trouble is that the government is so entangled in labor politics that it is no longer free to judge these issues on their merits. Government boards, taking their cue from the sources of their authority, are busy making political decisions under the threat of strikes. They have neither the time nor the knowledge to make them wisely. The unions, on their part, are quite content. Much as they fought for the right to bargain collectively, it is a method for which they have great distaste. When they can get away with it, they much prefer to throw bargaining overboard and take their chances with the officialdom of the Federal Government.

Mr. Lippmann's Encyclical

As if two world wars, twenty years of New Deal revolution, the rendezvous with Bolshevism and the affair with the atom were not enough, the American political system has now encountered Walter Lippmann's displeasure. Optimists may claim that a Republic which has survived so much cataclysmic history has a chance to outlive even that ultimate collision, but we are against whistling in the dark. In the primordial duel between the United States and Walter Lippmann the antagonists are much too unevenly matched: It has always been frightening to see an irresistible force meet an immovable object; but what is one to expect when our nation, alone and relatively unarmed, meets Mr. Lippmann who is both—irresistible force *and* immovable object?

For Mr. Lippmann, we are sorry to report, has finally lost his patience with the immature habit of the American people of expressing, if only occasionally, their own opinions on matters which, once Mr. Lippmann has announced his (i.e. the correct) position, are *ipso facto* removed from further debate. He can no longer tolerate the frivolous American habit of dissent. "The disunion and distrust in American politics are becoming insufferable," he proclaimed in his recent encyclical which expounds why we all, except the fools and knaves among us, are herewith directed to underwrite his selection of General Eisenhower for the Presidency. The General's mission, according to Lippmann, is simply to put an end to "the partisan and factional warfare" otherwise known as the American political system. And, in power, it will be his job, as assigned by Mr. Lippmann, to throw out "all the many issues that Truman and Taft have managed to snarl up so that they are insoluble and irreconcilable." When Mr. Lippmann's candidate is enthroned, "these conflicts will cease to be irreconcilable" because they will be no longer left to "politicians picking quarrels." General Eisenhower's mission, in other words, is to abolish politics.

That of course settles it and, though some of us may feel pangs of nostalgia for the American political system interred by Mr. Lippmann, any further remarks on the subject are of purely historical interest. Before Mr. Lippmann erased it in Olympian anger, our two-party system produced open disagreements, openly arrived at, to be resolved by a characteristic compromise built on the American principle of the "concurrent minority." But with one lightning stroke Mr. Lippmann has showed that system up as—well, we had better quote his majestically declarative prose: "We can not carry the burden of protecting and leading the free nations of the world if every policy and every measure we have to take must be *dragged through the stinking mess of shyster politics*" (the italics and the astonishment are ours). And why can we not? Because the American system of first a disagreeing and then a consenting minority, as "snarled up" by Taft, "stops at nothing, at no principle of justice, at no measure of the true public need, at nothing in its ruthless, blatant, cruel, dishonest and destructive fury."

These are the measured words Mr. Lippmann, a Republican nominating General Eisenhower, reserved exclusively for the opposition to Mr. Truman's policies. No wonder Mr. Lippmann had to stop it all. Burdened as he is with total responsibility for the cosmos, thrice a week, he could no longer be bothered with "the stinking mess of shyster politics." And so he has called out the guards, or rather a general, to get the people off the street. Now Mr. Lippmann will be able to issue his directives in quiet.

General Eisenhower may have other ideas about the American political system and his part in it. But this is irrelevant to the phenomenon under discussion—the arrogant and ill-humored separation of certain "liberal" and "internationalist" Republicans from the American people and its temper. Mr. Lippmann, in his incredible outburst, spoke for the entire group and, we would like to think, unmasked once and for all their complete loss of faith in the American character. They are not just exasperated—they are insanely cross with the deliberate processes by which a Republic sets its course. They see people as poltroons, and their elected representatives as shysters who moronically interfere with the infinitely wise policies only the metropolitan intellectual elite can conceive and execute. To them, the American Republic is an East-Coast version of the society Plato had in mind—one in which eastern philosophers rule midwestern peasants who never know of themselves what is good for them.

Mr. Lippmann may yet regret his explosive pronunciamento, but we are glad he got it off his

chest. General Eisenhower, it is to be hoped, will soon express himself on the essential issues of the campaign and will undoubtedly make it clear for whom Mr. Lippmann was speaking. The nation in general, and the Republicans in particular, will be especially curious to learn for whom Mr. Lippmann was speaking when he defined "what the Eisenhower movement is about." It is, said he, *not* "as Senator Taft tried to persuade the voters in New Hampshire, about what General Eisenhower thinks in 1952 . . . it would have been wiser to have done at Teheran nine years ago and at Yalta and Potsdam seven years ago." There are millions of Republicans, and more millions of other American voters, who insist that this is *precisely* what the campaign is about. And the "Eisenhower movement" will certainly be judged by what it says on the subject.

General Eisenhower, in short, will have to inform the American people whether he agrees with Walter Lippmann that our political system can no longer be tolerated; that we must renounce the luxury of politics; and that the Republic must from now on be ruled by a self-anointed elite of soldiers and philosophers who owe no accounting to the people. How Walter Lippmann is going to square his hyperthyroid political ideas of today with the author of "The Good Society" and "A Preface to Morals," is his own business. Ours is to protect the American body politic against the virus of authoritarian megalomania.

Education of Mr. Morris

In a few weeks, the questionnaires Mr. Newbold Morris has sent out to the top Federal officers will return brimful with enlightening and, one hopes, accurate information. In the meantime, Mr. Truman's investigator of corruption has himself been asked a few questions, some embarrassing and some irrelevant, by the Senate's permanent investigating committee.

No investigator likes being investigated, and Mr. Morris was no exception. With his highly emotional and sometimes downright contemptuous defiance of the Senate quiz he set a bad example for the targets of his own scrutiny, but so far no evidence has been produced that Mr. Morris was ever engaged in illegal practices. If clean hands were all that is required for the kind of purifying job he is supposed to do, his credentials would still be good. But to qualify for a judgeship one has to show more than a blank police blotter. And what we found greatly disturbing in Mr. Morris's testimony before the Senate Committee was his staggering ignorance of what constitutes public corruption.

This ignorance, it seems to us, was disclosed when he complained that the Committee had singled him out because of his recent appointment. If he were "John Jones," said Mr. Morris petulantly, instead of Newbold Morris, the President's investigator of corruption, the Senate Committee would still be investigating former Congressman Casey and not himself. Mr. Morris is of course absolutely right. In fact, what we find so appalling is that he meant his remark to be a complaint rather than a compliment to the Committee's good sense. For it is the measure of a Congressional committee's alertness whether it will examine a public official on matters it would not bother to find out about an obscure private citizen. Mr. Morris's inability to understand this simple idea was so genuine and so convincing that we are inclined to advise his resignation.

For what is it that pollutes our public life? Clear-cut and unmistakable felony? That occurs much too often, to be sure, but it is a relatively minor problem, and one that can be adequately handled by the gendarmes. The truly pernicious cancer grows in an area inaccessible to law enforcement—that shady borderland of "legitimate" conduct with illegitimate intent. The truly serious damage to the Republic is done, not by the straight thieves, but by the clever crooks who know the loopholes of the law. The relevant public corruption is the widely spreading creed that anything is permissible which is not explicitly forbidden by the statutes.

This negation of the moral law, made prosecution-proof by mock observation of the legal code, is one disease a free society can not survive. No doubt it is virulent in private business as well as in government. But private business can police itself while government tends to be an outlaw. And in an era of inflated government, the climate of public life determines private conduct rather than the other way around. In short, the fight against public corruption is a sham unless it centers precisely on the rascals who can afford competent legal advice.

Mr. Morris's "John Jones" might be of the same ilk but, so long as he has no access to public power, Congress has no mandate to smoke him out. But the moment "John Jones" is authorized to sit in judgment over the citizenry, the previously private area of his shadiness becomes a legitimate public concern. Mr. Morris, the lawyer, has not been proved guilty of practices which, though not expressly illegal, would be considered unethical by the Bar Association. But suppose he were. In that case, Congress would of course leave matters to the bar so long as Mr. Morris remained a private lawyer—but start a ruthless official investigation the moment Mr. Morris was appointed to a public job. It is as simple as that. And before Newbold Morris can be expected to purify the government, he ought to complete his own education in elementary ethics.

Our Leftist Economic Teaching

By LUDWIG VON MISES

An economist contends that the real problem in our universities is not that so many teachers are committed to the collectivist fallacies of Keynes and Marx, but that these "progressives" virtually monopolize the teaching positions.

A few years ago a House of Representatives Subcommittee on Publicity and Propaganda in the Executive Departments, under the chairmanship of Representative Forest A. Harness, investigated Federal propaganda operations. On one occasion the Committee had as a witness a government-employed doctor. When asked if his public speeches throughout the country presented both sides of the discussion touching compulsory national health insurance, this witness answered: "I don't know what you mean by both sides."

This naive answer throws light on the state of mind of people who proudly call themselves progressive intellectuals. They simply do not imagine that any argument could be advanced against the various schemes they are suggesting. As they see it, everybody, without asking questions, must support every project aiming at more and more government control of all aspects of the citizen's life and conduct. They never try to refute the objections raised against their doctrines. They prefer, as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt recently did in her column, to call dishonest those with whom they do not agree.

Many eminent citizens hold educational institutions responsible for the spread of this bigotry. They sharply criticize the way in which economics, philosophy, sociology, history and political science are taught at most American universities and colleges. They blame many teachers for indoctrinating their students with the ideas of all-round planning, socialism and communism. Some of those attacked try to deny any responsibility. Others, realizing the futility of this mode of defense, cry out about "persecution" and infringement of "academic freedom."

Yet what is unsatisfactory with present-day academic conditions—not only in this country but in most foreign nations—is not the fact that many teachers are blindly committed to Veblenian, Marxian and Keynesian fallacies, and try to convince their students that no tenable objections can be raised against what they call progressive policies. The mischief is rather to be seen in the fact that the statements of these teachers are not challenged by any criticism in the academic sphere. The pseudo-liberals monopolize the teaching jobs at many universities. Only men who agree with them are appointed as teachers and instructors of the social sciences, and only textbooks supporting their ideas are used. The essential question is not how to get rid of inept teachers and poor textbooks. It is how to give the students an opportunity to hear something about the ideas of economists rejecting the tenets of the interventionists, inflationists, Socialists and Communists.

Methods of the "Progressive" Teachers

Let us illustrate the matter by reviewing a recently published book. A professor of Harvard University edits, with the support of an advisory committee whose members are all like himself professors of economics at Harvard University, a series of textbooks, the "Economics Handbook Series." In this series there was published a volume on socialism. Its author, Paul M. Sweezy, opens his preface with the declaration that the book "is written from the standpoint of a Socialist." The editor of the series, Professor Seymour E. Harris, in his introduction goes a step further in stating that the author's "viewpoint is nearer that of the group which determines Soviet policy than the one which now [1949] holds the reins of government in Britain." This is a mild description of the fact that the volume is from the first to the last page an uncritical eulogy of the Soviet system.

Now it is perfectly legitimate for Dr. Sweezy to write such a book and for professors to edit and to publish it. The United States is a free country —one of the few free countries left in the world— and the Constitution and its amendments grant to everybody the right to think as he likes and to have published in print what he thinks. Sweezy has in fact unwittingly rendered a great service to the discerning public. For his volume clearly shows to every judicious reader conversant with economics that the most eminent advocates of socialism are at their wits' end, do not know how to advance any plausible argument in favor of their creed, and are utterly at a loss to refute any of the serious objections raised against it.

But the book is not designed for perspicacious

scholars well acquainted with the social sciences. It is, as the editor's introduction emphasizes, written for the general reader in order to popularize ideas, and especially also for use in the classroom. Laymen and students who know nothing or very little about the problems involved will draw all their knowledge about socialism from it. They lack the familiarity with theories and facts which would enable them to form an independent opinion about the various doctrines expounded by the author. They will accept all his theses and descriptions as incontestable science and wisdom. How could they be so presumptuous as to doubt the reliability of a book, written, as the introduction says, by an "authority" in the field and sponsored by a committee of professors of venerable Harvard!

The shortcoming of the committee is not to be seen in the fact that they have published such a book, but in the fact that their series contains only this book about socialism. If they had, together with Dr. Sweezy's book, published another volume critically analyzing communist ideas and the achievements of socialist governments, nobody could blame them for disseminating communism. Decency should have impelled them to give the critics of socialism and communism the same chance to represent their views to the students of universities and colleges as they gave to Dr. Sweezy.

The Right to Pervert Facts

On every page of Dr. Sweezy's book one finds really amazing statements. Thus, in dealing with the problem of civil rights under a socialist regime, he simply equates the Soviet Constitution with the American Constitution. Both, he declares, are

> generally accepted as the statement of the ideals which ought to guide the actions of both the state and the individual citizen. That these ideals are not always lived up to—either in the Soviet Union or in the United States—is certainly both true and important; but it does not mean that they do not exist or that they can be ignored, still less that they can be transformed into their opposite.

Leaving aside most of what could be advanced to explode this reasoning, there is need to realize that the American Constitution is not merely an ideal but the valid law of the country. To prevent it from becoming a dead letter there is an independent judiciary culminating in the Supreme Court. Without such a guardian of law and legality any law can be and is ignored and transformed into its opposite. Did Dr. Sweezy never become aware of this nuance? Does he really believe that the millions languishing in Soviet prisons and labor camps can invoke habeas corpus?

To say it again: Dr. Sweezy has the right—precisely because the American Bill of Rights is not merely an ideal, but an enforced law—to transform every fact into its opposite. But professors who hand out such praise of the Soviets to their students without informing them about the opinions of the opponents of socialism must not raise the cry of witch-hunt if they are criticized.

Professor Harris in his introduction contends that "those who fear undue influence of the present volume may be cheered by a forthcoming companion volume on capitalism in this series written by one as devoted to private enterprise as Dr. Sweezy is to socialism." This volume, written by Professor David McCord Wright of the University of Virginia, has been published in the meantime. It deals incidentally also with socialism and tries to explode some minor socialist fallacies, such as the doctrine of the withering away of the State, a doctrine which even the most fanatical Soviet authors relegate today to an insignificant position. But it certainly can not be considered a satisfactory substitute, or a substitute at all, for a thoroughly critical examination of the whole body of socialist and communist ideas and the lamentable failure of all socialist experiments.

Token Tolerance Is Meaningless

Some of the teachers try to refute the accusation of ideological intolerance leveled against their universities and to demonstrate their own impartiality by occasionally inviting a dissenting outsider to address their students. This is mere eyewash. One hour of sound economics against several years of indoctrination of errors! The present writer may quote from a letter in which he declined such an invitation:

> What makes it impossible for me to present the operation of the market economy in a short lecture—whether fifty minutes or twice fifty minutes—is the fact that people, influenced by the prevailing ideas on economic problems, are full of erroneous opinions concerning this system. They are convinced that economic depressions, mass unemployment, monopoly, aggressive imperialism and wars, and the poverty of the greater part of mankind, are caused by the unhampered operation of the capitalist mode of production.
>
> If a lecturer does not dispel each of these dogmas, the impression left with the audience is unsatisfactory. Now, exploding any one of them requires much more time than that assigned to me in your program. The hearers will think: "He did not refer at all to this" or "He made only a few casual remarks about that." My lecture would rather confirm them in their misunderstanding of the system. . . . If it were possible to expound the operation of capitalism in one or two short addresses, it would be a waste of time to keep the students of economics for several years at the universities. It would be difficult to explain why voluminous textbooks have to be written about this subject. . . . It is these reasons that impel me reluctantly to decline your kind invitation.

Alleged Impartiality of the Universities

The pseudo-progressive teachers excuse their policy of barring all those whom they smear as old-fashioned reactionaries from access to teaching positions by calling these men biased.

The reference to bias is quite out of place if the accuser is not in a position to demonstrate clearly in what the deficiency of the smeared author's doctrine consists. The only thing that matters is whether a doctrine is sound or unsound. This is to be established by facts and deductive reasoning. If no tenable arguments can be advanced to invalidate a theory, it does not in the least detract from its correctness if the author is called names. If, on the other hand, the falsity of a doctrine has already been clearly demonstrated by an irrefutable chain of reasoning, there is no need to call its author biased.

A biographer may try to explain the manifestly exploded errors of the person whose life he is writing about by tracing them back to bias. But such psychological interpretation is immaterial in discussions concerning the correctness or falsity of a theory. Professors who call those with whom they disagree biased merely confess their inability to discover any fault in their adversaries' theories.

Many "progressive" professors have for some time served in one of the various alphabetical government agencies. The tasks entrusted to them in the bureaus were as a rule ancillary only. They compiled statistics and wrote memoranda which their superiors, either politicians or former managers of corporations, filed without reading. The professors did not instill a scientific spirit into the bureaus. But the bureaus gave them the mentality of authoritarianism. They distrust the populace and consider the State (with a capital S) as the God-sent guardian of the wretched underlings. Only the Government is impartial and unbiased. Whoever opposes any expansion of governmental powers is by this token unmasked as an enemy of the commonweal. It is manifest that he "hates" the State.

Now if an economist is opposed to the socialization of industries, he does not "hate" the State. He simply declares that the commonwealth is better served by private ownership of the means of production than by public ownership. Nobody could pretend that experience with nationalized enterprises contradicts this opinion.

Another typically bureaucratic prejudice which the professors acquired in Washington is to call the attitudes of those opposing government controls and the establishment of new offices "negativism." In the light of this terminology all that has been achieved by the American individual enterprise system is only "negative"; the bureaus alone are "positive."

There is, furthermore, the spurious antithesis "plan or no plan." Only totalitarian government planning that reduces the citizens to mere pawns in the designs of the bureaucracy is called planning. The plans of the individual citizens are simply "no plans." What semantics!

How Modern History Is Falsified

The progressive intellectual looks upon capitalism as the most ghastly of all evils. Mankind, he contends, lived rather happily in the good old days. But then, as a British historian said, the Industrial Revolution "fell like a war or a plague" on the peoples. The "bourgeoisie" converted plenty into scarcity. A few tycoons enjoy all luxuries. But, as Marx himself observed, the worker "sinks deeper and deeper" because the bourgeoisie "is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery."

Still worse are the intellectual and moral effects of the capitalist mode of production. There is but one means, the progressive believes, to free mankind from the misery and degradation produced by laissez-faire and rugged individualism, *viz.*, to adopt central planning, the system with which the Russians are successfully experimenting. It is true that the results obtained by the Soviets are not yet fully satisfactory. But these shortcomings were caused only by the peculiar conditions of Russia. The West will avoid the pitfalls of the Russians and will realize the Welfare State without the merely accidental features that disfigured it in Russia and in Hitler Germany.

Such is the philosophy taught at most present-day schools and propagated by novels and plays. It is this doctrine that guides the actions of almost all contemporary governments. The American "progressive" feels ashamed of what he calls the social backwardness of his country. He considers it a duty of the United States to subsidize foreign socialist governments lavishly in order to enable them to go on with their ruinous socialist ventures. In his eyes the real enemy of the American people is Big Business, that is, the enterprises which provide the American common man with the highest standard of living ever reached in history. He hails every step forward on the road toward all-round control of business as progress. He smears all those who hint at the pernicious effects of waste, deficit spending and capital decumulation as reactionaries, economic royalists and Fascists. He never mentions the new or improved products which business almost every year makes accessible to the masses. But he goes into raptures about the rather questionable achievements of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the deficit of which is made good out of taxes collected from Big Business.

The most infatuated expositors of this ideology are to be found in the university departments of

history, political science, sociology and literature. The professors of these departments enjoy the advantage, in referring to economic issues, that they are talking about a subject with which they are not familiar at all. This is especially flagrant in the case of historians. The way in which the history of the last two hundred years has been treated is really a scandal. Only recently eminent scholars have begun to unmask the crude fallacies of Lujo Brentano, the Webbs, the Hammonds, Tawney, Arnold Toynbee, Elie Halévy, the Beards and other authors. At the last meeting of the Mont Pélerin Society the occupant of the chair of economic history at the London School of Economics, Professor T. S. Ashton, presented a paper in which he pointed out that the commonly accepted views of the economic developments of the nineteenth century "are not informed by any glimmering of economic sense." The historians tortured the facts when they concocted the legend that "the dominant form of organization under industrial capitalism, the factory, arose out of the demands, not of ordinary people, but of the rich and the rulers."

The truth is that the characteristic feature of capitalism was and is mass production for the needs of the masses. Whenever the factory with its methods of mass production by means of power-driven machines invaded a new branch of production, it started with cheap goods for the broad masses. The factories turned to the production of more refined and therefore more expensive merchandise only at a later stage, when the unprecedented improvement which they had caused in the masses' standard of living made it reasonable to apply the methods of mass production to better articles as well. Big business caters to the needs of the many; it depends exclusively upon mass consumption. In his capacity as consumer the common man is the sovereign whose buying or abstention from buying decides the fate of entrepreneurial activities. The "proletarian" is the much-talked-about customer who is *always right*.

The most popular method of deprecating capitalism is to make it responsible for every condition which is considered unsatisfactory. Tuberculosis, and, until a few years ago, syphilis, were called diseases of capitalism. The destitution of scores of millions in countries like India, which did *not* adopt capitalism, is blamed on capitalism. It is a sad fact that people become debilitated in old age and finally die. But this happens not only to salesmen but also to employers, and it was no less tragic in the precapitalistic ages than it is under capitalism. Prostitution, dipsomania and drug addiction are all called capitalist vices.

Whenever people discuss the alleged misdeeds of the capitalists a learned professor or a sophisticated artist refers to the high income of movie stars, boxers and wrestlers. But who contribute more to these incomes, the millionaires, or the "proletarians"?

It must be admitted that the worst excesses in this propaganda are not committed by professors of economics but by the teachers of the other social sciences, by journalists, writers and sometimes even by ministers. But the source from which all the slogans of this hectic fanaticism spring is the teachings handed down by the "institutionalist" school of economic policies. All these dogmas and fallacies can be ultimately traced back to allegedly economic doctrines.

The Proscription of Sound Economists

The Marxians, Keynesians, Veblenians and other "progressives" know very well that their doctrines can not stand any critical analysis. They are fully aware of the fact that one representative of sound economics in their department would nullify all their teachings. This is why they are so anxious to bar every "orthodox" from access to the strongholds of their "un-orthodoxy."

The worst consequence of this proscription of sound economics is the fact that gifted young graduates shun the career of an academic economist. They do not want to be boycotted by universities, book reviewers and publishing firms. They prefer to go into business or the practice of law, where their talents will be fairly appreciated. It is mainly compromisers, who are not eager to find out the shortcomings of the official doctrine, who aspire to the teaching positions. There are few competent men left to take the place of the eminent scholars who die or reach the retirement age. Among the rising generation of instructors are hardly any worthy successors of such economists as Frank A. Fetter and Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton, Irving Fisher of Yale and Benjamin M. Anderson of California.

There is but one way to remedy this situation. True economists must be given the same opportunity in our faculties which only the advocates of socialism and interventionism enjoy today. This is surely not too much to ask as long as this country has not yet gone totalitarian.

Worth Hearing Again

A man who can not be acquainted with me, taxes me; looking from afar at me, ordains that a part of my labor shall go to this or that whimsical end, not as I, but as he happens to fancy. Behold the consequence. Of all debts, men are least willing to pay the taxes. What a satire is this on government! Everywhere they think they get their money's worth, except for these.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, "Politics," 1844

Governor Warren's Candidacy

By OLIVER CARLSON

As President, says a Californian, Governor Earl Warren would be efficient and honest. But he follows a "me-too" line in domestic affairs, and he is dangerously ill-informed in foreign relations.

Of all the announced candidates for the Presidency on the Republican Party ticket this year, none stands so close to the Democratic Party on both foreign and domestic affairs as does Governor Earl Warren of California. His differences with Roosevelt's New Deal and Truman's Fair Deal legislation were and are primarily differences of *degree*, not of *kind*.

Governor Warren wants—and genuinely believes in—increased social welfare legislation. He thinks there must be more, rather than less, interference by government in the affairs of business, industry, agriculture and labor. He scoffs at those who view the increased tempo of government ownership and regulation as socialistic, insisting instead that Republicans must "learn the difference between social progress and socialism."

That there is need today to spell out these differences, if in fact they do exist, goes without saying. The degree to which Governor Warren can convince leading members of his own party that his definitions of, and distinctions between, these terms are correct will immeasurably strengthen or weaken his candidacy.

Warren emphasizes that, as President, he would work for breaking up and distributing the vast powers now vested in the Federal Government. Many of those powers, he says, should be handled at regional, state, county or municipal levels, thus bringing them closer to the people directly concerned. The Federal bureaucracy and the tax load it imposes upon the people would thereby, he believes, be drastically cut.

Warren has proved himself an honest as well as an able administrator. His ten year record as Governor of California is so good in this respect that just about every close student of government with whom I have talked, contends it has seldom been equalled and never bettered.

If efficiency and honesty be the prime yardsticks in measuring a Presidential candidate, Earl Warren deserves top billing. Mink coats, deep freezers, and five-per-cent boys will get short shrift if he occupies the White House. His program includes: "Grub out root and branch the corruption and favoritism that is now shocking the nation" and "Reestablish a single standard of honesty in government; the same for the 'ins' and the 'outs'."

Warren is strong for conservation, both of human as well as natural resources. He opposes "monopoly of every kind" because it endangers "the preservation of an enterprise system where there is equal opportunity for all men."

To those of his Republican critics (and there are many) who insist he is too far to the left, Warren replies that the program he espouses is that written into the program of the Republican Party in 1948. It is his contention that this program, if boldly presented to the American people, will return the Republican Party to power in November.

Warren's critics, on the other hand, maintain that his program is the essence of "me-tooism"; the program which proved so disastrous to the Republicans in 1948. When confronted with Warren's success in winning the Governorship of California three times in a row (and in the face of an overwhelming Democratic registration) these critics reply:

1. In state gubernatorial politics the majority of California voters have been consistently Republican (with the solitary exception of 1938) for nearly sixty years.

2. California Democrats have been sharply divided into left-wing, middle-of-the-road, and right-wing factions ever since Upton Sinclair in 1934 launched his spectacular campaign to capture the Democratic Party with his EPIC (End Poverty in California) movement. In every gubernatorial election since then, from 20 per cent to 55 per cent of the Democratic voters have refused to support their Party's nominee and voted Republican.

3. Voters (and vested interest groups) who believe in the purposes and objectives of the Truman program are more likely to vote for Truman (or the man he picks as his successor) rather than for someone from Republican ranks who says he can do it better.

Of course, only an election can render a final verdict on these differences.

Warren Is Strong with Labor

That Warren commands organized labor as well as considerable support from independent voters has been shown in repeated public opinion polls. Among the top leadership of the labor unions—CIO, AFL and Independent—Warren is way out

in front. The *Journal* of the International Association of Machinists reported in its issue of January 1952 that of 150 union heads queried, 74 per cent looked with favor upon Warren as the Republican candidate. Eisenhower ran a poor second with 14 per cent.

This poll does not mean that labor leadership is deserting the Truman Administration. Nor does it tell us anything about the feelings of the millions of dues-paying trade-unionists. But it does show that the men who control the unions feel far more friendly toward Earl Warren than toward any other Republican candidate in the field today. I can confirm this from personal conversations with key men of both AFL and CIO here in California. One of these men said:

"If we've got to have a change of Administrations—which I would greatly regret—then we'd rather see Governor Warren in the Number One spot than anyone else. He understands us and we respect him."

California labor, especially the AFL, has been very friendly to Warren. In 1946 the state Federation of Labor officially endorsed Warren over Robert Kenny, his Democratic opponent. In 1950 the state AFL went for Jimmie Roosevelt by a very slight margin but many, perhaps most, of the top labor leaders worked quietly for Warren instead. The CIO, here as elsewhere, has been closely tied to the Democratic machine ever since its inception. But even so, there has been strong pro-Warren sentiment in every election.

Big, Bluff and Hearty

Earl Warren is a big, bluff, hearty man with a pleasing smile. He is a hard worker and a good mixer. Though he has been a lifelong Republican, he has never worked too well or closely with the party machine, and has often been at odds with it. He is an extremely astute politician who senses the prevailing winds of public opinion, yet does not go off the deep end with crackpot schemes—of which California has had more than its share.

He is a good, but certainly not an inspiring speaker. His talks are usually simple, direct, and lack both vindictiveness and humor. What he has to say is presented in such a matter-of-fact style that it often borders on the dull and never rises to the level of oratory.

Warren has been accused by many of his own party of working only for his own advancement. They point to his record in recent election campaigns such as that of 1950, when he refused to say a single word on behalf of Richard Nixon who was the Republican candidate for the United States Senate against Helen Gahagan Douglas. He was equally mum about the Republican candidate for Attorney General, Edward Shattuck. He followed a similar policy in the 1946 campaign.

The task of Governor does not include dabbling in foreign affairs. Warren certainly kept away from these thorny problems as long as he could. But world events—and his aspirations to be President—have forced him to take a stand.

No Critic of Foreign Policy

Unlike every other Republican candidate, he seems prepared to go along completely with the disastrous foreign policy of Truman-Acheson-Marshall. That he would have little to criticize about our European foreign policy was understandable to many—but almost every Republican and a large number of Democrats out here on the Coast expected him to launch a blistering attack against Administration bungling in the Orient. It never happened. In the great debate precipitated by MacArthur's recall, Warren was conspicuously silent.

Not till early February of this year did we finally get some concrete statements from him regarding Asia. Americans generally—not only Californians—were amazed to hear Governor Warren turn thumbs down on the use of Chiang Kai-shek's troops in the war against the Chinese Reds. In a television interview on February 13 in New York the Governor said: "I don't see how we can just arm 300,000 soldiers and send them to conquer China unless we are prepared to follow through and finish the job for them if they failed." More than that, Warren expressed himself as being in basic agreement with State Department foreign policy in Asia. It seemed to me that he went a point even beyond Acheson, and implied "What would be wrong with our recognition of the Mao government? It's there, and in power, isn't it?"

In view of the strong contrary views held by California's Senators Knowland and Nixon, as well as by Taft, Stassen, Dewey, MacArthur, Lodge, and almost every other prominent Republican, Warren has really got himself out on a limb. Foreign policy—far more than domestic—seems to be the major issue of 1952. But that certainly won't be the case if Earl Warren is the Republican nominee, unless he does a sharp about-face very soon.

Four years ago I wrote for the *American Mercury* an article on Warren in which I said: "Warren is at his weakest in foreign affairs." That statement still stands. At the time of my long interview with him in 1948 I wanted to find out to what degree he was informing himself on world affairs. So I asked him what books and articles he had read in recent months that interested him. In every case these dealt with domestic (and predominantly) West Coast problems and issues. My repeated attempt to draw him out on the subject invariably brought us back to books about California history, natural resources, etc. Others to whom I have spoken about this matter have confirmed my own observations. Warren's blind spots in his otherwise

wide reading are in the field of international relations, European and Asiatic history, theories of economics and political science, and the theory and practice of Soviet communism.

To insist that other candidates are equally ill informed on these matters doesn't help Earl Warren or the country over which he hopes to preside. His whole adult life has been that of a public servant at a local or state level. To the problems and issues at those levels he has applied himself diligently. There he is an authority with few superiors and not many equals. But in the broad field of national and, above all, world affairs he is still a novice.

More than that, he is far more concerned with the *how* than the *why* of public affairs. He is an administrator, not an analyst. He is a doer, not a thinker. He is concerned with "realities," not ideologies.

He believes that communism can be defeated by giving people job security and enough to eat. He thinks that most people can be swayed by logical arguments, and that through patience and a policy of give-and-take almost any problem can be resolved to the mutual satisfaction of all involved. Warren is so sold on his own sense of values that he can not conceive of others which run contrary to them. He believes in live and let live. To be sure, he has often quoted Lincoln to the effect that this nation can not survive half free, half slave. But there is nothing to indicate he will not put up indefinitely with a world half free, half slave. The kind of government the people of Russia, or China, or Poland live under is *their* business, *not* ours. This type of reasoning makes understandable his opposition to the use of Chiang's troops on the China mainland. The enslavement of the people of Europe and Asia is no primary concern of his.

Would Earl Warren make a good President? Judged by past performance, he would choose competent advisers and able administrators to work under him. He would try honestly to follow through on the program he advocates. On the domestic front his Administration would be good; it would also be unspectacular.

What About World Affairs?

Earl Warren wouldn't rock the boat if he could help it. But others probably would—in Asia, Africa and Europe. It is at this point where certainty ends. No one doubts that Warren's heart is in the right place. But what about his head? Would he learn in time? Or would his disinclination to concern himself with the war for men's minds prevent him from acting effectively and in time, when the chips were down? Who can say?

The next four years will be fateful ones. During this time the balance of power in world affairs will most probably shift strongly either in our direction or toward communism. What are the tangible results of six years of Truman foreign policy vis-a-vis the USSR? Its "containment" of communism has been so successful that all of eastern Europe and half of Asia have been made satellites of the USSR. It has brought over 600 million people into the Red orbit. It has forced us to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to bolster up the rest of the world and to rearm ourselves.

Would a Republican President, operating on the same policy, reverse the trend? This is a problem for Governor Earl Warren to ponder, as well as for all Republicans who will be delegates to the nominating convention in Chicago.

Let's Stick with Mike

By CHARLES J. DUTTON

There may seem to be little connection between Mike, a former Capone gangster once on parole to me, a certain clergyman, and the phrase "guilt by association." Strangely, there is.

The clergyman has a reputation—so-called—as a "liberal"; he has been often in the papers. Mike was an ex-gangster, a minor member of what he called "the Capone mob." He also had a reputation —though the police called it a "record"—and it was fairly long and at least unequivocal.

The clergyman was quite a joiner. He supported all sorts of societies, committees, sponsorships, and petitions. He ran around everywhere with the Stockholm (Soviet) peace proposal, and was on the platform at several Progressive Party meetings—once with Stalin's picture above him. He also preached a sermon against the profit system. True, his church was built and endowed by the profit system. But he yearned for "justice" to "all downtrodden." Russia to him was a great experiment in "social justice for the oppressed." If you mentioned slaves, broken promises, lack of a free press, killing, he always shied off. "All propaganda!" he said.

But when they released a list of those on Red committees, and his name was there, he got scared. He told the paper, "I did not know!" The papers were a bit ironic; they mentioned "guilt by association." It was unjust, he contended, a smear. He hadn't known. All his intentions were good. Who was it said "Hell is paved with good intentions"?

Now Mike, with no education, no culture, was on parole to me. He had been, in his time, a rather minor member of the Capone mob. He got into trouble in Pennsylvania and was sent to jail. For some reason he liked me and was one of the best of the 400 parolees I had. He obeyed all the rules and his word to me was as good as his bond.

One afternoon, to my surprise, the clergyman called on me. He was quite emotional—he had a pe-

tition for me to sign. "Millions of Americans must take a stand against McCarthy!" "Guilt by association" was unjust, a smear on liberal people! Because one was an idealist and might have supported Russia, was that a crime? He quoted Mrs. Roosevelt—McCarthy was the "worst menace to freedom" America has. That did it—for me!

I told him McCarthy doubtless was after publicity; that he had been often wrong. But he *had* pulled the cover off a good many Communists, and that was worth while. I mentioned Truman's "red herring," and other things well-known. I went further. I reminded him of Russian propaganda, of Hiss and others, of the slave camps with millions in them. Of the lack of freedom in Russia. Of the fact that his church, if there, would be purged. All to no avail. He had been "smeared"! His city's paper, and others, had mentioned his name in connection with 16 Communist-front societies. This was a smear. He was in America—and it should be stopped!

It was then I decided to tell him this true story.

One night Mike came into my office to make his parole report. (He was always on time for it.) We sat down to talk. It was all about a local lawyer who had gone to Chicago, and had in the past week been mentioned by the Chicago Crime Commission as knowing the gangsters. Mike knew him, as did I.

The lawyer had protested loudly. It was true that twice he had represented men of the gang—but he "knew them only slightly." He was "a church member, a reputable citizen." Should honest citizens be judged just because they knew people? "Why smear me?" It was all in the papers.

Drawing Mike out, I suggested mildly that perhaps the lawyer might be right. Came a violent oath from my parolee. He leaned forward in the chair and said:

"Listen, Boss! You're wise. That s-o-b knew the mob. Everybody in Chicago knew who they were. He went out with some of them. Was in Cicero twice. Al's cat-houses and gambling places! Listen. If he didn't know who he was with, he's a damn fool. If he did, he's a crook!"

I told the story to the clergyman, omitting Mike's profane words. A very angry clergyman rushed out, taking his petition with him. I never saw him again.

I wonder—what would Lattimore, Jessup, Mrs. Roosevelt, even Acheson, think of Mike? I am for him. His is the best definition of "guilt by association" I have ever heard. Do you know a better?

Mink Dynasty: circa 1950

Small rodents at a great price
(exclusive of taxation)

CASMI STEFFIN

THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID

My destiny is to carry out revolutions without bloodshed. The only blood that will be spilled will be that of those who oppose us.

GEN. FULGENCIO BATISTA, Havana dispatch to the *New York Times*, March 13, 1952

We are taking effective steps to insure that . . . the cost of living shall not be increased by speculation and unjustified price rises.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PLATFORM, 1940

I don't know anyone who could do better [than Secretary of State Acheson].

SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER, quoted in the Nashville *Banner*, November 25, 1950

Now I am convinced they [the Chinese Communists] are rather sincere at present when they say they have no imperialist aims. They make a good case for their needing Tibet as a safeguard. I feel they do not want to be embroiled in a big war. I am willing to give them the benefit of the doubt because, without a generous attitude, we will alienate them from the rest of the world.

MRS. HANNAH SEN, India's representative on the UN Commission on the Status of Women, *Washington Post*, November 16, 1951

In the Conference of Berlin, it was easy for me to get along in mutual understanding and friendship with Generalissimo Stalin . . .

HARRY S. TRUMAN, Report to the Nation on the Potsdam Conference, August 9, 1945

It is certainly of the utmost importance that the American people should realize that, far from being something to fear and oppose, Soviet postwar objectives in Asia are likely to coincide fully with those of the United States.

AMERASIA, December 15, 1944

Progress versus reaction is still the issue. It may be Roosevelt, it may be one of a dozen others, but it must be a New Deal candidate. We believe the majority still want what the President stands for. If this requires that he run for a third term, it would be folly to make a fetish of precedent and deny the American people their democratic right to elect the kind of government they desire.

NEW MASSES editorial, July 2, 1939

The Freeman invites contributions to this column, and will pay $2 for each quotation published. If an item is sent in by more than one person, the one from whom it is first received will be paid. To facilitate verification, the sender should give the title of the periodical or book from which the item is taken, with the exact date if the source is a periodical and the publication year and page number if it is a book. Quotations should be brief. They can not be returned or acknowledged. THE EDITORS

The One-World Illusion

By FRED DE ARMOND

The United States is in the throes of a bad hangover from too much moonshine—the great illusion of One World supported by the American people in a style to which its peoples had never before been accustomed.

The clash of arms in the Far East has brought a rude awakening from a long dream in this country. The dream had its beginning early in the second World War. One of the first to sound the tocsin for what became an amazing carnival of Utopian humanitarianism was Colonel George S. Brady of the Board of Economic Warfare. "After the war we will have the job of feeding and rebuilding the whole world," he told a convention of businessmen in New York. We might not be paid for it, nor would we make friends by it, he added, but we should not shrink from the call of destiny.

Henry Wallace said he would not be satisfied until every child from the Congo to Spitzbergen had its pint of milk a day. The "century of the common man" was here. Eureka!

Such free-flowing benevolence was bound to have a leveling tendency. Socialists do not think of producing, but of dividing what capitalism has produced. We in America must give till it hurts. No country should have more than another. This ideal was freely stated by Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle, who told an audience that "No one in the Western Hemisphere seriously believes that there ought to be any permanent difference between the well-being of any one country and that of any other. A considerable part of our task must be the removal of artificial advantages, or if you like, the sharing of resources." Presumably that meant lifting up living standards in all countries like Indonesia and lowering them in America to the point where they meet on one level.

Sensing the joyful arrival of a global Santa Claus, Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, British M.P., said before the British Empire Chamber of Commerce in this country:

> England is through with the responsibility of solving the problems of Europe, which she has done for the past 300 years. We have had enough of it. It is time we passed on the "baby" to the Americans.

Plans for caring for this "baby" and a dozen others, with dollars from the pocket of the well-known and benevolent old gentleman with the whiskers, began to appear in various world capitals. The British Labor Party saw an opportunity "to lift to new and higher levels the workers' standards of life throughout the world." This was at a time when more than 50 per cent of productive effort was going into the making of war materials, when the world's accumulated wealth was every day going up in smoke and dust from blockbuster bombs, and every large nation in the world staggered under a war debt that no one seriously maintains will ever be paid at present price levels.

World-Savers' Field Day

No scheme was too fantastic for the world-savers' agenda. The Atlantic Charter emerged with a new Bill of Rights for all peoples everywhere including two strange "freedoms" that Hamilton and Jefferson never dreamed of—freedom from want and freedom from fear. Historian James T. Shotwell wanted an International Human Rights Commission that would note every sparrow's fall. Norman Angell called for a World Overseer to sit in splendid omniscience and report only to the President of the Universe. Wendell Willkie made the astronomical discovery of "One World," the headiest conception since Galileo's. Delegates to the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture demanded international standards of diet for health and efficiency. Some God-like power would see that the Tibetans and the Patagonians balanced their calorie intake and were enabled to multiply mightily. Such were the horizons of the New Uplift.

Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* after the war, engineer Willard Espy revived the Archimedian conceit of "A Lever That Can Lift the World." Espy endorsed enthusiastically a suggestion of Donald Nelson that the United States build in China the most stupendous of all river dams, as well as 711 other thermal and hydroelectric plants as plotted by our Foreign Economic Administration. He outlined a long list of planetary engineering projects including a Jordan Valley Authority in Palestine, a series of TVAs for the Arab world, a plan to irrigate the Sahara, and a world survey of resources. All of these fancies would of course be financed out of Washington. Recompense would be assured through an enormous stimulation thus given to American foreign trade.

The notion grew and fed on itself that a country already in debt up to its eyebrows could purchase peace on the auction block. Henry Wallace

came back from Europe with a fine frenzy in his eye, saying that America should lend Russia 15 billion dollars "as a practical step toward world reconstruction and peace." Senator McMahon wanted to make a direct cash bid for possession of the elusive dove.

Looking with a skeptical eye on a mad world, Herbert Hoover was moved to remark that "We have contributed an American ideology of giveaway programs. It might be called the New Generosity." Roscoe Pound deplored "our developing humanitarian" obsession, and Raymond Leslie Buell reflected that "The country has been drenched with moral universalism." To *Time*, "The fact of economic life which Harry Truman refused to face is that there is not enough of everything in the world to go around."

A New York advertising man warned his brethren that they were making a mistake in conditioning the American public to expect radically new models and miracle products after the war. Industry would simply have to pick up where it had left off in 1941, he said.

But none of these sober voices was heeded. To the real opinion makers of the day, America was rubbing sin and oppression and war and poverty off the human slate for all time to come.

"There is something being born in our world," Max Lerner had written. "It is the idea that men are brothers more than they are enemies—the idea of a framework of united peoples determined to organize a people's century." Others referred to this stillbirth as "a new order of democracy."

Part of Lerner's "framework of united peoples" happened to be Soviet Russia, with a population about equal to the United States and Britain combined. To that Communist bulwark of "the new order of democracy" have since been added Red China and the satellite states of eastern Europe. All this was obscured by the fog of benign propaganda that issued from Washington under the guiding genius of poet Archibald MacLeish and his successors who directed our wartime Ministry of Thought.

American Friends of Russian "Freedom"

Led by ardent leftists who had long cherished a nickering fancy for Marx and Lenin, millions in this country persuaded themselves that our ally on the Don had been born again and was pursuing a righteous ideal. In his "Mission to Moscow" Joseph E. Davies had written:

> In my opinion, the Russian people, the Soviet government, and the Soviet leadership are moved basically by altruistic concepts. It is their purpose to promote the brotherhood of man, and to improve the lot of the common people. They wish to create a society in which men may live as equals, governed by ethical ideals. They are devoted to peace.

The acceptance given in this country to Davies's Pollyanna words partly accounts for the sucker role that America has played in world politics since the uneasy armistice of 1945. Warner Brothers based a film on the book which went far beyond it in glorifying the Soviet Union.

A National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was organized to plug for an immediate "second front" to draw off the German armies from Russia, and to harass all Americans who declined to take the Bolsheviks to their bosoms. In 1943 the Council published a full-page ad in a New York daily, prefaced with this bristling paragraph: "Every patriotic American has reason to be alarmed over the new wave of anti-Soviet propaganda in the United States . . ." The Russophobes, this ad continued, "have consistently opposed any strong measures against Hitler's satellite, Finland," and "Most scandalous of all, . . . a whispering campaign . . . is carried on in the United States to the effect that America must go to war with the Soviet Union after Hitler is beaten." Eighty-five names, including those of many notables, were signed to this statement.

It was about this time (1943) that the collaborationists in this country felt themselves strong enough to attempt censorship of what was written about their beloved Communist ideology. They cracked down on two current books—"The Fifth Seal" by Mark Aldanov, and "Report on the Russians" by W. L. White—with pressure on the publishers to suppress both titles. Fortunately, this brazen attempt failed.

Henry Wallace was preaching that America had given political freedom to the world, and Russia had contributed economic freedom; now we had only to combine the two to get that long-sought Utopia—"the age of the common man." This same fuzzy idea was dressed up in academic language by Professor Ralph Barton Perry of Harvard, who sought a meaning of democracy "broad enough to embrace both the Soviet and the American principles." Unhappily these two halves of the same system had been sundered in an idle dispute. "When democracy is thus roundly viewed," the professor reasoned, "our criticism of the Soviet political system will be tempered by an acknowledgment of its social purpose."

Like other apologists for the Communist system, Professor Perry was under the necessity of explaining away the more barbaric of its practices, such as extinction of free speech, torture, and forced labor. He got around that difficulty with this neat piece of dialectic sleight-of-hand: "If we are to give the Soviet professions the same credit of sincerity which we claim for our own, this dictatorship, repugnant to us as it is, should be considered a means and not an end—an instrument of revolution believed to be a necessary condition of the realization of a socialist economy." In short, let's be broad-minded and not

worry about a few millions of dissenters murdered, and other millions enslaved in Siberia; these are only disagreeable incidents in the achievement of a great and altruistic end.

That Western peoples are not confronted with a choice between communism and free representative government, was the view advanced by Thomas Mann. To reconcile the two, he believed, called for no more than "the social reform and rejuvenation of Western democracy and the humanization of Eastern collectivism." This was like an attempt to cross two species—say the grafting of a tulip on a thorn tree.

So crowning was the triumph of hope over experience that even that stalwart spokesman of free enterprise, Eric Johnston, came back from a trip to Sovietland proclaiming "Russia's desire for cooperation with America." "I believe it is Marshal Stalin's desire to rebuild Russia and not to engage further in world conflict if he can avoid it."

The optimists had their rosy decade. The flight from reality became a stampede. Now the reaction has come, and it is sad and bitter.

Quiet, Minds at Work

(Selected by Burton Rascoe)

The objection to inflation is not that it reduces our standard of living, but that it does not do it as fairly and as efficiently as it should.

ALBERT GAYLORD HART, "Defense Without Inflation"

Subordination of overt action to the amplifications of intrinsic perception is a fundamental feature of the negative side of the aesthetic experience.

D. W. GOTTSCHALK, "Art and the Social Order"

Nearly all theorists have based laws of acquisition, strengthening and deacquisition upon restricted sets of empirical data: rats running mazes, rats pressing levers, cats escaping from puzzle boxes, children cooperating in groups. In the various formal theoretical statements the actual situations from which the laws are derived tend to vanish, leaving generalized laws of changes in response strength. These laws vary, from theory to theory, with the empirical domain to which the theorist originally restricted himself as a necessary matter of convenience. One consequence of the formal explication of theories which arise from narrow empirical domains has been the tendency for experimental investigation then to follow theory, and thus evolve ever more refined theories for that restricted domain. . . . It seemed reasonable to a group of psychologists that theoretical progress might be made by a detailed consideration of the currently available theories as *theories*, rather than by additional accumulations of empirical evidence and apparently crucial experiments. It was believed that if the several terminologically disparate theories were carefully and systematically explored and compared as to empirical consequences, areas of agreement, of disagreement, and of empirical indeterminacy could be evaluated; areas in which clarity of meaning is lacking could be exposed; unnecessary concepts could be discarded and semantic differences separated from real theoretical divergencies.[1]

From the Report on the third Dartmouth Conference on Learning Theory, summer 1950, as drawn up by WILLIAM K. ESTES, Indiana University; SIGMUND KOCH, Duke University; KENNETH MAC CORQUODALE, University of Minnesota; PAUL E. MEEHL, University of Minnesota; CONRAD G. MUELLER, Columbia University; WILLIAM N. SCHOENFELD, Columbia University; and WILLIAM S. VERPLANCK, Harvard University, for the Social Science Research Council. *Items*, Vol. 4, No. 4, December 1950.

[1] A memorandum to Burton Rascoe from his Senior Director of Research, Dr. John Foster Spelvin-Doakes, reads: "Please don't laugh at that report. It is a heartbreaking confession. Here these learned fellows had been watching rats running mazes, rats pressing levers, cats escaping from puzzle boxes and kids playing hopscotch, ever since they started back in 1936 to find out how people learn things. They had all got Rockefeller and/or Carnegie grants-in-aid and fellowships of $2000 to $10,000 each, besides their teaching salaries, of course, to work up theories about what they learned about learning, from watching rats and cats and kids. The Carnegie Corporation gave them $12,500 to get together at Dartmouth last summer and tell what they had found out. Not only did every one there have a different theory about how a person learns things but every one had his own vocabulary which none of the others could understand. It was very disheartening.

"But there was a silver lining to the cloud: The Carnegie people are going to give them some more money. And it seems that one chap named Ruesch had a revolutionary idea. Instead of watching rats, cats and kids, he went to a literary cocktail party in New York and took notes on behavior there having to do with the learning process. He overheard one couple (male and female) imparting learning to one another about the Kinsey report; another couple engaged in learning from each other about Kay Stammers; and a group of four were adding to their accumulation of knowledge by disclosing figures concerning sales and royalties on their recent books. Our psychologist developed a theory that the learning process is sometimes achieved by audio-vocal means and that the rapidity by which information is imparted is, up to a certain point, in direct ratio to the number of cocktails consumed, but that the rapidity of the learning process, by auditory means, tends to decrease after the twelfth cocktail, and that the permanence of the learning impression tends to lessen even after the fifth.

"He has worked out a series of paradigms and concepts expressed in mathematical numbers, but he is not prepared to disclose his final conclusions until he has spent at least as many hours at cocktail parties as he has spent watching rats press levers. The rat-cat-kid watchers have tossed the results of thousands of man hours and about two million dollars of Rockefeller and Carnegie money down the drain with a sigh, and are going in for cocktail-party watching."

Mr. Dooley, Spalpeen Philosopher

By HARRY SERWER

That great Irish-American philosopher, Mr. Dooley, spoke to a vast following of eager listeners. Today his creator, Finley Peter Dunne, would be forced to write for impecunious journals of small circulation.

At the turn of the twentieth century the common peepul of this country swallowed the misspelled dialect of Mr. Dooley with a voraciousness unequaled until Profundis Winchell came along. Into social chat or serious business talk someone would inevitably interject: "Oh, boy! Did you read Mr. Dooley this morning!"

Most of his contemporary readers were quite unaware that Martin Dooley was the figment of Finley Peter Dunne's brain. Wasn't Dooley the hero of a popular song? Wasn't his nationally famous portrait—"from life"—by Charles Dana Gibson used at the masthead of his essays? Sure they knew him! He was the renowned Chicago bachelor who owned a saloon, dabbled in politics, and magnetized the masses with his *philosophie de terre.*

When the selections from the Dooley columns were to be published in book form, it was considered the better part of valor to omit Dunne's name and to imply, instead, 'twas Marthin Dooley who writ dhown the vahreyous conveersashons 'twixt himsilf and the omithon Hinissy. As an example: Charles Scribner's Sons, in 1910, published a book of the Dooley essays (they were not referred to as columns at the time) under the title, "Mr. Dooley Says." The Gibson portrait is emblazoned in gold on the cover; and on the flyleaf is printed: "By the author of 'Mr. Dooley In Peace And War,' 'Mr. Dooley In The Hearts Of His Countrymen,' etc." No Finley Peter Dunne anywhere in the book!

Dunne was born in 1867 of Irish parentage in the city of Chicago. He must have had printer's ink in his arteries, for he was a reporter on a Chicago newspaper at eighteen; and within a few years he was, successively, on the editorial staff of Chicago's *Evening Post* and *Times Herald.* In 1897 he became the editor of the Chicago *Journal* to which, among other duties, he contributed "a series of satirical observations and reflections on social and political topics of the day, attributed to an honest Irish-American, Martin Dooley, the shrewd philosopher of Archey road . . . His shrewd insight made him widely copied in America and England." (Quote from the Encyclopedia Brittanica.)

Dunne's misspelling—which sometimes went to extremes—was ignored, condoned, or blindly accepted as gospel; but those were the days when dialect writing was very much in vogue—as it usually is in the backwash of great immigrations. It was considered colossal in those days to spell love l-u-v, dog d-o-g-g or d-o-r-g, couldn't c-u-d-d-e-n-t, and policeman p-o-l-i-s-m-a-n.

Despite similar sops to his myriad readers, Peter Dunne had an enormously sensitive ear. His amazing ability to impale the cynicism, intellect, patois and brogue of the intelligent Irish-American, as exemplified both in the mythical Dooley and in earlier humorous and unrelated essays, left his plagiarists wallowing far behind him.

Lincoln Steffens, in his autobiography, tells us a few interesting things about Dunne. Late in 1902 *McClure's Magazine* inaugurated the Muckraking Era with an article on political corruption in St. Louis—the joint work of Claude Wetmore and Lincoln Steffens. Under the new policy *McClure's* circulation skyrocketed fantastically. As Steffens said, "The magazine was a success: we had circulation, revenue, and power."

Power went to publisher Sam McClure's head and eventually obliterated him; his staff, which was preponderantly responsible for his success, finally rebelled against his tyrannical ways and decided to start a competing magazine. John Phillips, who was McClure's partner, came one night to Steffens's house, "and laid before me a plan to buy the *American Magazine.*" Steffens's slovenly writing does not tell us why Phillips was willing to ditch McClure. Was he also fed up with his partner's tyranny? Or was he a canny individual deserting to a more promising future? Says Steffens:

> I agreed to go into it. And a goodly company it was: Phillips and Miss Tarbell, Baker, Boyden, and myself, just as on *McClure's*, William Allen White and Finley Peter (Mr. Dooley) Dunne from the outside.

The above quote is a fair sample of Steffens's sprawly writing; and Mr. Phillips was wise in retaining "that finished scholar, Albert Jay Nock" to bring "mastered English" to the magazine. As for Steffens's criticism of Dunne's writing habits, it should be discounted for its banality. Says Steffens:

> We all knew each other pretty well, excepting only Peter Dunne [*sic*], who was new as an office companion. He provided most of the entertainment, and not only by his wit and his wisdom; he had wisdom but could not apply it to Peter Dunne. He could not master himself. He could not make him-

self write. I never knew a writer who made such a labor of writing; he seemed to hate it; he certainly ran away from it whenever he could. We have heard that Joseph Conrad, called to his writing of a morning by his wife, would throw himself on the floor like a child and kick and groan—it was so hard to write. Dunne was like that.

The reference to Conrad is actually a magnificent compliment to Dunne, for, despite his newspaper career, Dunne had a phobia against clichetic writing. Conrad had the same phobia, but Steffens, the slapdash journalist, could not understand this. Steffens's own writing was secondary to his great forte: tracking down sensational political news. He had a flair for locating dynamite; but Dunne had to create his own. One day Steffens walked into Dunne's office and found the latter in a funk because the wallpaper had been changed from a loud multi-patterned design to "a plain, tinted paper, a neat, quiet tone."

> That old paper [Dunne said] had its charm, its uses. I could come in here, get out my pad and pen, and then . . . I could count the flowers from the ceiling to the floor and put down the sum. Then I'd count the flowers crossways and put that down. And I'd multiply the perpendicular sum by the horizontal. Then I'd count the diagonal and multiply that by each of the other sums, and by the sum of them. And that was one wall, and there were three other walls . . . Now, doggone it, now I come in here and I've got to write. There's nothing to count, no sums to multiply; I've just got to sit here doing nothing or—write.

But there is inspiration in counting flowers, which is something Steffens never knew.

Steffens was indignant about the culprits in politics. Dunne, on the other hand, accepted their shenanigans as the Jews of antiquity accepted their politicians, convinced that only a Messiah, immune to temptation, would bring them *genadin*.

Dooley refused to go along with Hearst's and Teddy Roosevelt's attack on the Malefactors of Great Wealth. He knew it was another circulation gag. The rich, to him, were nothing but the poor with money and power.

> 'Tis a sthrange thing whin we come to think iv it that th' less money a man gets f'r his wurruk, th' more nicissry it is to th' wurruld that he shud go on wurrukin'. Ye'er boss can go to Paris on a combination wedding an' divoorce thrip an' no wan bothers his head about him. But if you shud go to Paris—excuse me f'r laughin' mesilf black in the face—th' industhrees iv the counthry pine away.
>
> An' the higher up a man regards his wurruk, the less it amounts to. We cud manage to scrape along without electhrical injuneers but we'd have a divvle iv a time without scavengers. Ye look down on th' fellow that dhrives th' dump cart, but if it wasn't for him ye'd niver be able to pursoo ye'er honorable mechanical profission iv pushin' th' barrow. When Andrew Carnagie quit, ye went on wurrukin'; if ye quit wurruk, he'll have to come back. . . . The way to make a man useful to th' wurruld is to give him a little money an' a lot of wurruk. An' 'tis th' only way to make him happy, too. I don't mean coarse, mateeryal happiness like private yachts an' autymobills an' rich food and other corrodin' pleasures.

These words conjure up an acute picture to those who were young adults in the First Decade of the century.

Dunne, in his gentle spoofing, deplored hero worship, and he went to town on the proclivities of biographers in an essay called, "Glory."

> I wanted to be famous in thim days, whin I was young an' foolish . . . an' have thim name babies, sthreets, schools, canal boats, an' five-cent seegars afther me. . . . If I had, 'tis little attintion to me charackter that the' books iv what Hogan calls biography wud pay, but a good deal to me debts. Though they mintioned th' fact that I resked death f'r me adopted fatherland, they'd make th' more intherestin' story about th' time I almost met it be fallin' down stairs while runnin' away fr'm a polisman. F'r wan page they'd print about me love iv counthry, they'd print fifty about me love iv dhrink.
>
> "Which wud ye rather be, famous or rich?" asked Mr. Hennessy.
>
> "I'd like to be famous an' have money enough to buy off all threatenin' bi-ographers."

Dunne looked at the results of the vote with a jaundiced eye: and since women, at the time, were howling for suffrage, he was all for having them enjoy the hollow mockery.

> On th' first Choosday afther th' first Monday in November an' April a man goes around to his house, wakes him up, leads him down th' sthreet, an' votes him th' way ye'd wather a horse. He don't mind inhalin' th' air iv liberty in a livery stable. But if Molly Donahue wint to vote in a livery stable, th' first thing she'd do wud be to get a broom, sweep up th' flure, open th' windows, disinfect th' booths, take th' harness fr'm th' walls, an' hang up a pitcher iv Niagry be moonlight, chase out th' watchers an' polis, remove th' seegars, make th' judges get a shave, an' p'raps invalydate th' illiction. It's no job f'r her, an' I told her so.
>
> "We demand a vote," says she. "All right," says I, "take mine. It's old but it's trustworthy an' durable. It may look a little worse f'r wear fr'm bein' hurled again a Republican majority in this counthry f'r forty years, but it's all right. Take my vote an' use it as ye please," says I, an' I'll get an hour or two exthry sleep illiction day mornin'," says I.

Dunne shied away from silver-tongued orators in the political racket. He knew the harm implicit in their exhortations. He was one of the few who didn't fall for the mellifluous voice of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was finishing his first term the year Dunne died. For more than twenty years Peter Dunne had watched the amazing shenanigans of William Jennings Bryan. As far as Peter was concerned, Bryan was a larynx with an unnecessary man attached to it:

> I always told ye that 'twas as a vocal entertainer that I preferred me frind Willum Jennings Bryan, an' glad I am we're goin' to hear his mellojous voice on th' concert platform again. Whin th' good Lord has give a man th' power iv speech in a volyum onknown in ancyent or modhren times, it's a shame f'r him to hide th' gift in a speechless job. To go an' make this gr-reat barytone Sicrety iv State was like turnin' a nightingale into a hod carrier. It was conthry to nature. All a Sicrety iv State has to do is think. It's kind iv a menial job, beneath a man that has a harp in his throat with a hurrucane behind it, so that whin he aven breathes a faint melody purrs fr'm his lips an' whin he utthers so much as a how-d'ye-do, 'tis as though a mighty hand had slammed th' strings iv a joynt guitar.
>
> There ar're planty iv thinkers in th' world, poor fellows, with squeaky voices. They have to do something to arn a livin'. So they think, an' a hard livin' it is. But there's niver enough music to go around, an' why shud a gr-reat orkesthry iv sthring an' wind an' wood an' brass be asked to pondher? Is th' slide thrombone, is th' organ at th' audjiotoroom, is th' harp that wanst through Tara's halls ixpicted to think? Does Adeliny Patti cook, or Melba sew, or Caruso dhrive a dhray? Ye bet they don't.

Dunne referred to foreign diplomats as "th' bunco steerers that have been sintinced be their governments to come over here as ambassadures." And how right Dunne was, when we remember the money we have been stuck for by our allies in two wars. After Bryan resigned from the Cabinet, Dunne had Mr. Dooley say:

> Though singin' he's always sore and while sore is iver singin'. Day afther day he serenades his former boss an' pupil [Wilson] with a melody that sounds like "Come into th' garden, Dock, an' I'll dhrop a brick on ye." What does he sing about? He's set th' Bible to music. He's arrangin' th' articles iv war f'r th' piccolo. But his principal songs ar're songs of love. I r-read a headline in th' pa-aper an' it says: "Misther Bryan discusses internaytional complications." . . . There was niver a word in this ballad about threaties, or agreements, th' Hague conference, or torpedoes, or Bilgium. It was just a sweet song. It was all about love.
>
> "Ye wish to hear me on th' subjick iv war an' our foreign situations," he says "Very well, Profissor, th' key iv G, if ye plaze. Are ye ready? Let her go! Love, love love. All th' wurruld is love. Soft an' sweet an' sticky it covers th' globe. It is heerd fr'm th' throats iv th' little sparrows in th' sthreets, in th' flight iv th' wind through th' pines, in th' swash iv th' waves that break on th' shores iv Lake Chattalky (where I appear week endin' July fifteen) an' in th' cry iv th' shrapnel whirlin' over th' threnches, in th' cooin' iv th' pnoomatic guns squirtin' their wreath iv green an goolden gas. I love ivry-body. I love th' Kaiser, th' Mikado iv Japan, th' Sultan iv Turkey. . . . Champ Clark, th' reptile press, an' th' infamious conspiracy iv Wall Sthreet criminals that has skunked me out iv th' prisidincy three times runnin'.

Dunne prophesied the present deplorable state of "modern education." He saw the ego implicit in the parent's wish-fulfillment; and his barbs were as sharp as Rousseau's on the same subject: "Th' kid talks in his sleep. 'Tis th' fine lawyer he'll make." Or, "Did ye notice him admirin' that photygraph? He'll be a gr-reat journalist." Or, "Look at him fishin' in Uncle Tim's watch pocket. We must thrain him f'r a banker."

Dooley tells about brats in Mary Ellen's kindergarten:

> . . . some was singin' an' some was sleepin' an' a few was dancin' an' wan la-ad was pullin' another la-ad's hair. "Why don't ye take th' coal shovel to that little barbaryon, Mary Ellen?" says I. "We don't believe in corporial punishment," says she. "School should be made pleasant f'r th childer," she says. "Th' child who's hair is bein' pulled is larnin' patience," she says, "an' th' child that's pullin' th' hair is discoverin' th' footility iv human indeavor," says she. . . . "Put thim through their exercises," says I. "Tommy," says I, "spell cat," I says. "Go to th' divvle," says th' cheerub. "Very smartly answered," says Mary. Ellen. "You shud not ask thim to spell," she says. "They don't larn that till they get to colledge," she says, "an'," she says, "sometimes not even thin," she says.
>
> "An' what do they larn?" says I. "Rompin'," she says, "an' dancin'," she says, "an' indepindince iv speech, an' beauty songs, an' sweet thoughts, an' how to make home home-like," she says . . . "But whisper, Mary Ellen," says I, "don't ye niver feel like bastin' the seeraphims?" "Th' teachin's of Freebull and Pitzotly is conthrary to that," she says. "But I'm goin' to be marrid an' lave th' school on Choosdah, th' twinty-sicond iv Janooary," she says, "an' on Mondah, th' twinty-first, I'm goin' to ask a few iv th' little darlin's to th' house an'," she says, "stew thim over a slow fire."

Since Finley Peter Dunne had millions of readers, and since his popularity encouraged many plagiarists, the reading masses of the First Decade couldn't conceivably have been as gullible as their current descendants. Dunne would be in a helluva fix today. The literary hatchetmen would close all mass circulation magazines to him; and he would be forced to peddle his prescient stuff to the harrassed magazines whose small circulations imply cigarette money for their contributors.

Lines and Points

Every schoolboy knows the capital of any foreign country is whatever we send it.

Washington is the city of magnificent distances, including those which our small businessmen are kept at.

If there is a new occupant of the White House, the palace guard will be decidedly put out.

TACITUS

ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

By WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

The Unwilling Audience

Of the obsessive quirks which seem to plague the producers of our mass entertainment, none is more perverse than their theory of the unwilling audience. For reasons unknown to me (or to them, for that matter), they act on the assumption that readers do not like to read, listeners to listen, viewers to view; and that, to make them swallow what the producer intends to offer, people must be tricked into believing it is something else.

What strikes me as the epitome of the trend is the mystery novel which, in the popular pocket editions, solicits buyers with cover designs that promise pornographic matter inside. In my day, the appeal to man's fascination with mayhem was considered base enough to attract a sizeable audience; and a dagger sticking out from a crumpled corpse was deemed a sufficient lure. Nowadays murder must stalk in black lace panties, and the ingenious fellow who invents mystery yarns to be inhaled rather than read will surely make a killing.

And it is just the same in most other fields of "mass communication." Some of our popular magazines seem to be edited on the conviction that readers are an extinct breed and that the currently available audience must be roped, with clever "visual" stunts, into gulping a mouthful of words. On the other hand, pictures self-explanatory enough to be grasped by imbeciles will nowadays be accompanied by the talkative sort of caption which emphasizes that the luminous ball (left background) sinking into the sea is the sun. And if final proof were needed that a universal professional perversity rather than limited distrust of the communicative powers of language is at work, TV's manhandling of music supplies it in full.

Admittedly, music is the least likely television material. If I were not a conformist, and so unduly afraid that my sensible conduct might be misconstrued as affectation, I would close my eyes even in the concert hall: it embarrasses me to see the musician's silly facial contortions; and his bodily jerks distract me from the music. There will be, of course, always some such sensational exceptions as seeing Toscanini wrestle with a whole orchestra (and the adjective "sensational" is used advisedly for a visual extravaganza which, though quite exhilarating, adds little to the musical experience). But on the whole, any verbal or visual intrusion on music causes distress, unless the composer himself has willed the marriage of unrelated elements in song or opera. Music which relies for its effectiveness on the listener's handy memories of talk or images is usually inferior music—an esthetic truth borne out by the exceptionally high mortality rate of "program music." And there just are no words to describe the acute pain those loquacious "interpreters" and "commentators" can give a true lover of music.

So one would think that music remained radio's best insurance against total annihilation by TV. Just about five minutes before the TV midnight descended on the radio industry, FM broadcasting and reception had reached a technical perfection which began to please the most demanding ears. Here was one (and perhaps the only) area radio could hold against TV—the immense realm of pure music, increasingly dear to millions of people whom radio (and this is perhaps also its only real claim to cultural merit) has converted to the creed of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven. But the peculiarly bent minds of our entertainment strategists did not work that natural way. In its desperate struggle against the TV avalanche, radio resorts increasingly to the kind of "dramatic" fare TV can serve so much better; and TV, in its drive for total possession of the American home, has started to dispense pure music. With ominous first results.

Berlesque by Heifetz

The dimensions of the artistic catastrophe-in-the-making are indicated by a TV program called "Meet the Masters" ("The World's Finest Music Performed by the World's Greatest Artists, presented by James Lees and Sons Company, Makers of Those Heavenly Carpets by Lees," Sundays 5:30 P.M., Channel 4). The idea is simple and laudable: A TV set carries sound on FM anyhow, and so the audience might just as well enjoy a few good concerts at home. But the actual offering is of course *not* a photographed concert. It is, inevitably, *"a production"*—that horrible package of "vivacious" stunts and "enlivening" tricks the industry thinks it owes to its own wizardry.

Any one who has not seen Jascha Heifetz, on "Meet the Masters," make an unhappy buffoon of himself will refuse to believe what I have to report. Here is one of the rare violinists who combine technical precision with authentic musicianship;

and he has been induced to perform a few (pitifully short) examples of his mastery in "visual" flea-circus "liveliness," to a phony audience of especially rude college youngsters who pained him, and me, with asinine rehearsed questions about the prospects of a musical career. Mr. Heifetz took it like a Keith-Orpheum Circuit veteran, but this is precisely what he should not have done. He should have walked out on producers whose idea of musical mass education is to insult not only the artist but even worse, the invited audience. For those TV producers had better get it into their heads that people willing to hear music (and others won't tune in) either do not like their classical sonatas enriched by Milton-Berlesque counterpoint, or prefer Spike Jones's washboard to Heifetz's violin in the first place.

The Anderson Miracle

That an artist can at least partly conquer the producer's mischievous urges was proved by Marian Anderson on a succeeding show of "Meet the Masters." Miss Anderson, too, got the TV treatment: instead of reserving the entire twenty-five minutes for her singing, the director wasted almost ten minutes on her life story, telescoped into what the trade calls a "montage" (old newsreel shots and dreary newspaper clippings). To get that inescapable "human angle," and to prove to you and me that serious music does not always ruin a person's real worth, Miss Anderson was shown engaged in kitchen chores. But her sublime dignity is so commanding that not even the TV producers dared make her jump through the Heifetz loops of TV "comedy." She, at least, was allowed to transport us for fifteen minutes into the pure and solemn happiness only she can evoke. And her incomparable presence electrified the same cameraman who had been poking vulgar fun at Mr. Heifetz the week before into working the greatest miracle I have yet seen on TV—a thirty-second close-up of Miss Anderson's face, outreaching the screen, while she was singing the last stanza of "Crucifixion." I fervently hope that whenever I am in danger of despairing of the human species I shall recall that motherly face transfigured by pain and compassion.

But I would certainly like to forget the figure Mr. Ezio Pinza is cutting on the TV screen. Only a few years ago Pinza was for us opera incarnate —the bounce, the joy, the wit of operatic abandonment. His Don Giovanni would have enraptured Mozart himself. And now Mr. Pinza occupies a bachelor's penthouse on Channel 4 where on Friday nights at 8 P.M. he thrills seductible lady guests with cheap ballads. Though I am no expert on male charm, I think I can assure these ladies that they would have felt a greater and a far more *personal* thrill lost in a back row of the crowded Metropolitan while Mr. Pinza was performing on the stage. When I now see him enmeshed in this weekly song-and-dance routine on TV, I contemplate, between yawns, the human condition that makes a superb singer and endearing person accept such idiotic indignities. And I should like to present a few marginal thoughts that occur to me.

What Price Integrity?

Far from being the celebrated paragon of integrity, an artist is by nature corruptible. His reputation for dedicated zeal—a devotion to art which prefers hunger to compromise— seems traceable partly to a confusion of facts and partly to one of conscience. The popular legend of the uncompromising artist mistakes the common variety for the *rara avis* of the species—the creative maniac whom common language shrewdly, though often too generously, separates as "genius." And the confusion of conscience, one suspects, is the mere reverse of philistine callousness: the public likes to gloss over its own gross indifference to the arts by repeating the soothing bromides about the "artist's incorruptibility."

In truth, and always with the exception of the magnificent obsessed, there is less stubborn dedication to be found in the arts than, say, in engineering. The inventor of a new cigarette lighter is much more likely to defy what he considers market prejudices than the artist-performer who has chosen his career primarily because of an inordinate lust for applause, and so will stop at nothing to increase his intake of *bravos*. The income tax in the bracket of Heifetz and Pinza being what it is, these gentlemen can not really be suspected of *selling* their souls. Rather, TV gets them with the promise of unprecedented audiences which, "naturally," must be attracted with "concessions."

In poetic justice, or so one hopes, it will all end with a breach of promise: bobby-soxers lured to TV rendezvous with Signor Pinza may soon find out that Vaughn Monroe "sends" them much more "solidly." The pity of it is that, in the meantime, the finest operatic baritone of our generation will have thrown away irretrievable chances to transport you and me to Mozart's heaven.

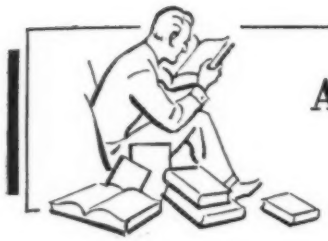
The Anatomy of Death

In the arc of my soul I build
the things I do not touch;

the anatomy of Love is gaze,
the anatomy of Death is have.

Beyond this double truth there's none
but the elaborate terrain of live.

PAUL NAS



A REVIEWER'S NOTEBOOK

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

A famous magazine tycoon and publisher, when confronted with the perplexing and exasperating existence of Communist Party mole-tracks in his own organization, once remarked in my presence that he was congenitally incapable of understanding either the psychology or ramifications of conspiracy. He added, ruefully, that this probably disqualified him as a student of world history in the thirties and the forties. Although he was manifestly indulging in hyperbole (since his awareness is considerably more pronounced than his willingness to act on *all* his insights), his confession sprang spontaneously from that most lovable strain in the American character, the strain of forthright innocence. Long ago Henry James made this innocence a dominant theme of his novels. Henry Adams, who knew both Old and New Worlds, understood the American's innocence; and today the American Communists make wide-scale use of it, either simulating it themselves or utilizing its existence in others to create and manipulate "cover" for their own nefarious doings.

One specific form of this dominating American innocence is the inability, particularly pronounced in university circles, to understand that a man with a college degree and/or a crew haircut could ever have become a Communist spy or courier or infiltrating "sleeper." I still meet with university faculty people who express complete bewilderment over the Hiss case. Even the reasonably worldly editors of the *New York Times* have difficulty ingesting the idea that Communist sympathizers and operators, wearing Brooks Brothers shirts, could have penetrated such institutions as the Carnegie Foundation or the Institute of Pacific Relations. Yet it should be obvious, on reflection, that Marxism-Leninism is an intellectual construction requiring for its grasp a virtual Ph.D. grounding in the ramifications of Hegelian philosophy as applied to the history of the industrial revolution. Who, if not an intellectual, could be capable of becoming a high-level Communist spy and infiltrator?

Since Americans can hardly bring themselves to think ill of any of their better-educated fellow-citizens, maybe they could be induced to cut their historical eye-teeth by reading the story of a Communist spy ring that operated far across the sea, in China and Japan. The story is told in forceful, if somewhat circuitous, fashion in Major General Charles A. Willoughby's "Shanghai Conspiracy: the Sorge Spy Ring" (Dutton, $3.75), which comes to us with a preface by Douglas MacArthur. General Willoughby's narrative involves German, Yugoslav and Japanese intellectuals—and where is the American who need feel demeaned as long as the evidence of a hissing sound comes in German or Japanese? True, the American journalist Agnes Smedley had palpable connections with the Sorge group, but she was, after all, the daughter of an unskilled Colorado laborer. She never finished grade school, much less the Harvard Law School, so it will be easier for the American reader to think of her as conspiratorial material.

The man whose personality dominates General Willoughby's book is Richard Sorge, a German Communist who paraded as a newspaper correspondent and a Nazi Party member in Tokyo in 1941. This Herr Sorge, although German on his father's side, ought to be reverenced in Moscow as the Savior of the Soviet Union. From the Soviet point of view he deserves canonization even more than Marshal Stalin. For the successful defense of Russia against Hitler in 1941 turned on two of Sorge's tips from Tokyo to the Communist Army's "Fourth Bureau" in Moscow. The first tip was the intelligence, picked up by Sorge in the German Embassy in May of 1941, that the Reichswehr would hurl from 170 to 190 divisions against the Russians on June 20. (Actually, the German attack came on June 22.) The second tip was the information, gleaned from various sources including the "brain trust" of Prince Konoye, that the Japanese would strike along toward the end of the year at Indo-China and the East Indies, not at Soviet Siberia. This tip enabled Stalin to move his Siberian forces to the western front in time to save Moscow from capture in December of 1941. If it hadn't been for Sorge Moscow would certainly have fallen—and the Soviet Government would probably not have been able to continue the war with any effective battle order once its north-south railroad network had been cut at the heart.

The one thing that stands out from General Willoughby's account is that it takes a very superior intellect to make a good infiltrator or spy. Sorge, as a boy, had all the "advantages." His grandfather, Adolf Sorge, had been the secretary of Karl Marx's First International, but his father, an engineer,

had amassed some wealth in the Caucasus and elsewhere and had climbed into the ranks of the well-to-do German bourgeoisie. As a boy in Berlin Richard Sorge studied Goethe, Dante and Kant, and he developed an avid interest in the history of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars and the Bismarck period in Germany. He fought as a mere child in the first World War, serving on both fronts. Wounded a couple of times, he went back to school, to the University of Berlin. There he encountered Hegel—and, of course, Engels and Marx. He became an active Communist during the disorientation that followed the war. Eventually he went to Moscow, rising high in the Comintern. He shifted to Red Army Intelligence in order to carry out his Far Eastern assignments.

It will hardly do to toss Sorge off as "scum," or as a "traitorous rat." For he was one of a very important breed, the breed of earnest young intellectuals who developed a philosophy of the "higher good" in the nineteen twenties. In America the breed included Whittaker Chambers, a Columbia University student. In England, it included such people as John Strachey. I myself knew scores of the breed in New York in the nineteen thirties. Not that the ones I knew necessarily became active spies—the point is that they paid emotional and intellectual homage, not to the United States of America, but to a world movement whose capital was in the Kremlin. Their allegiance sprang from a misapplied effort to be good, not evil, and Sorge was like them in his own motivation.

So much for Richard Sorge, the man of brains and gentle upbringing who betrayed his German "homeland" to the Soviets for reasons that seemed honorable to him. This German man of brains and perverted loyalty worked in Shanghai in the thirties, and there, through the American Agnes Smedley, he met a Japanese intellectual named Ozaki. Ozaki was a profound student of China. A journalist like Sorge, he had been educated at the Law School of Tokyo Imperial University. The measure of Ozaki's intelligence can be found in his accurate prediction in early 1942 that Japan would lose the war and that China would become a "transitional" Communist State. Ozaki believed in the Communist cause with his whole heart, but his belief did not keep him from maintaining long years of "cover" as a journalist or from penetrating to Prince Konoye's "brain trust" as a "bright young man."

Sorge and Ozaki used many people in China and Japan to advance their espionage purposes. They used Agnes Smedley; they used the British journalist Guenther Stein. Both Ozaki and Stein, incidentally, had connections with the Institute of Pacific Relations, now under Congressional investigation for its influence on the Far Eastern policy of the United States.

The pattern of how a Soviet spy ring grows and operates comes clear in General Willoughby's book. It is a pattern that should be pondered by all those Americans who have refused to believe that the Communist conspiracy might include many from the Hamiltonian category of the rich, the well-born and the able. What General Willoughby has demonstrated is that the "white shoe" intellectual is the *sine qua non* of Communist success; without the allegiance of the campus aristocrat communism would die for lack of voice, ears and eyes.

Economics of Oblivion

By GEORGE KOETHER

Economics: An Introductory Analysis, by Paul A. Samuelson. New York: McGraw-Hill. $5.50

The Elements of Economics: An Introduction to the Theory of Price and Employment, by Lorie Tarshis. Under the editorship of Edgar S. Furniss. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. $5.00

Economic Analysis and Public Policy, by Mary Jean Bowman and George Leland Bach. New York: Prentice-Hall. $8.00

Albert Jay Nock believed Gresham's Law operated in ideas as surely as in economics, with error displacing reason from men's minds as inexorably as bad money drives good money from men's markets. Nock's theory seems fast on the way to proof *a posteriori,* especially in our colleges and universities and particularly in the teaching and textbooks of the "new economics."

The "new economics"—as propounded by Professors Samuelson, Tarshis, Bowman and Bach in these textbooks used in hundreds of America's best-known colleges and universities—is nothing more than Keynesianism, which, in turn, has many points of similarity to Marxism and the theories of that hyper-inflationist, John Law. In sum, the "new economics" is simply socialism, not "new" at all, but the same old bird dressed up in the feathers of "compensatory fiscal policy," "national income approach," and the "mixed economy."

Keynes, who popularized but did not spawn the "new economics," frankly admitted his affection for socialism:

> The State will have to exercise a guiding influence on the propensity to consume . . . a somewhat comprehensive socialization of investment will prove the only means of securing an approximation to full employment . . . the necessary measures of socialization can be introduced gradually . . .[1]

[1]cf. Keynes, "The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money" (London, 1949 p. 378)

Today's professors are more cautious. They look down their noses at "socialism," preferring the phrases "public economy" and "welfare economics." All the while they pay ostentatious lip service to the achievements of freedom:

> . . . our mixed free enterprise system . . . with all its faults, has given the world a century of progress such as an actual socialized order might find it impossible to equal. [Samuelson, p. 746]

> . . . it must not be supposed that to seek profits is an act of villainy. . . . Naturally everyone wants to make as much income as he can. . . . These actions are not censured. [Tarshis, p. 30]

> Traditionally, American ideology has glorified such a [private enterprise] system. Individual initiative and independence are its positive values. . . . The state exists for the individual rather than the individual for the state. [Bowman and Bach, p. 42]

The Mixed-up Economy

Naturally the professors do not want to kill the free market entirely, else where would they get prices from which to calculate their impressive computations in the "new economics"? But even while embracing "free enterprise" they suffocate it. Their consummation of this love-death is curiously contrived. They begin by assuming that laissez-faire died a deserved and natural death.

> . . . inequality in access to profit and job opportunities [implies] an inherent inconsistency in the private-enterprise, free price system itself. [Bowman and Bach, p. 14]

> Even if the system worked perfectly . . . many would not consider it ideal. . . . The private economy is often like a machine without an effective steering wheel or governor. [Samuelson, pp. 39, 397]

> We have given up our psychological and philosophical predilection for *laissez-faire* reluctantly. Most of us have not welcomed government intervention in economic life. . . . we have been compelled to call upon the government. [Tarshis, pp. 53, 54]

Laissez-faire is dead, long live the "mixed economy!" Unfortunately it is often difficult to tell which is more mixed, the economy or the professors. They try their best to seem as sincerely opposed to "complete" socialism as they are obviously cocksure rugged individualism is gone forever. Their "mixed economy" seems to be a course midway between capitalism and socialism, with careful avoidance of the "bad" in each.

The difficulties they encounter in trying to steer between the Scylla of socialism and the Charybdis of capitalism would be amusing if the implications were not so tragic. Samuelson, for example, begins bravely:

> After one has thoroughly mastered the analysis of national income determination, it is not hard to steer one's way with confidence in these seemingly difficult fields. [p. 11]

Then, embarking on a carefully-calculated Keynesian course, he asserts that private enterprise can not

> guarantee that there will be just exactly the required amount of investment to ensure full employment: not too little so as to cause unemployment, nor too much so as to cause inflation . . . the system is without any thermostat . . . the system is in the lap of the gods. We may be lucky or unlucky . . . [pp. 261, 262]

and so, to prevent the ill-luck that might result from private investors following their own inclinations in a free market, Professor Samuelson pompously tells us:

> Fortunately, things need not be left to luck. We shall see that perfectly sensible public and private policies can be followed which will greatly enhance the stability and productive growth of our economic system. [p. 262]

Wherewith he plots a pretty series of "propensity-to-consume" and "propensity-to-save" curves based on figures compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics taken from a 1944 study of urban families ("with data for all families rounded and smoothed off") and shows us how to compute, numerically, the "marginal propensity to consume (MPC)" and its "Siamese twin" the "marginal propensity to save (MPS)," triumphantly concluding: "We are now prepared for the theory of income determination." But wait, there is a catch coming.

> . . . a few final warnings are in order. . . . Suppose my income were to go from $5000 a year to $40,000 a year. Would I spend and save my money in the same way that the budget studies showed $40,000-a-year people spend their money? Not necessarily. Especially at the beginning, I would be a *nouveau riche* and have different patterns of behavior. [p. 269]

Cake Is When You Eat It

So statistics are too tricky to trust as a basis for generalizations in economic theory. The elaborate equations, graphs, curves and charts, must take into account "important qualifications" and "other reasons why the propensity-to-consume schedule might shift around." Samuelson admits:

> at the end of World War II, many economists made a famous wrong prediction. They neglected the fact that people came out of the war with greatly increased . . . savings: for this and other reasons, the consumption schedule turned out to be at a higher level than many pessimistic predictions had indicated. Again we are reminded that no social science can have great exactitude. [p. 269, 270]

Wrong again. Economics does have great exactitude, but it is a *qualitative*, not a *quantitative* exactitude. The economist can not know the number or size of all the cakes in the world, or when they

will be eaten, *but he is dead certain that whoever eats his cake no longer has it.*

That is more than the Keynesians seem to know. Their theory implies you can not have your cake until you *do* eat it. You can spend your way into prosperity. The formulas say so:

> Could a nation fanatically addicted to deficit spending pursue such a policy for the rest of our lives and beyond? . . . the barrier to this would not be financial. The barrier would be political. [Samuelson, p. 416]

> There is no sign that a high debt exhausts the credit of the government. . . . And since as a last resource "it can borrow from itself," there need be no fear on this account. [Tarshis, p. 535]

Even the Brannan Plan fits into the "new economics":

> Government programs to limit crops . . . and to raise the price to the producer while keeping it low to the consumer are all understandable in terms of diagrams of supply and demand. [Samuelson, p. 452]

As for the problems of increasing American investment in foreign lands (i.e. the problem of the "dollar shortage"), Professor Tarshis has the typical Keynesian answer:

> If we could only export one of the printing presses used for the manufacture of Federal Reserve notes to, let us say, China, our foreign investment would be enormously higher. [p. 391]

This "new economics" is neither *new* nor *economics*. Instead, it is a concatenation of statistics, mathematics and social philosophy used in support of the age-old sophistries of government inflationism. Every one of these old nostrums, served up with formulas and charts, was exposed long ago.

The "periodic business crises," lamented as an inherent deficiency of free enterprise, have been shown to be nothing more than inevitable periods of deflation following repeated periods of inflation brought on by government-directed credit expansion. These followers of Keynes forget, when they reiterate the necessity of "maintaining full employment," that labor is more scarce than the material factors of production, that in a truly free market there can be no such thing as prolonged mass unemployment. They forget, when they apply their formulas and extend their curves, that there are no constant magnitudes in economics, that statistics of "national income" are merely data of history not useful for the development of economic theory. They forget that trying to maintain a high "national income" with printing-press money is as hopeless and as helpless for people as trying to cure sick patients by writing unfilled prescriptions. And they forget, when advocating government intervention, that government does not own anything which is not first taken from the people, that government can only help some people at the expense of others or, by inflationism, make matters worse for everybody.

These advocates of a "mixed economy," well-meaning and sincere though they may be, fail to realize that there can be no such thing as a "mixed economy"—part capitalistic and part socialist. Production is directed either by the market or by a National Production Authority. One ends by precluding the other. In the long run Americans will have either economic freedom or socialism *in toto*. Textbooks like these will certainly not help them retain what measure of freedom they have left.

Absent-Minded Professors

Through all the record of history is strewn the wreckage of nations ruined by inflationism. Yet these Keynesians stubbornly pursue their will-o'-the-wisp of managed money and the magic of a multiplier. When, under a government-induced inflation of the money and credit supply, unemployment shrinks or completely disappears, the phenomenon does not corroborate the "triumph" of their theories. It is due, simply, to the fact that the rise in wage rates has lagged sufficiently behind the rise in prices to cause a drop in *real wage rates*, precisely as the classical economists have long insisted. The Keynesians forget this obvious fact. Theirs is the economics of oblivion.

One can explain the widespread popularity of socialist ideas, despite their inconsistencies, among the uninformed masses. But the authors of these textbooks claim competence in economics. Presumably they are as familiar with Boehm-Bawerk, Jevons, Walras, Wicksell and Mises as they are with Marx and Keynes. One would not think so, to read their books.

What is even more inexplicable is their insisting they do not want socialism when their hero, Keynes, served notice more than thirty years ago:

> the sharp distinction, approved by custom and convention during the past two centuries, between the property and rights of a State and the property and rights of its nationals is an artificial one, which is being rapidly put out of date . . . and is inappropriate to modern socialistic conceptions of the relations between the State and its citizens.[2]

and sixteen years later added:

> It will be, moreover, a great advantage to the order of events which I am advocating, that the euthanasia of the *rentier*, of the functionless investor, will be nothing sudden, merely a gradual but prolonged continuance of what we have seen recently in Great Britain and will need no revolution.[3]

Apparently Gresham's Law is functioning—as Albert Nock felt it would—upon the minds of Professors Samuelson, Tarshis, Bowman and Bach.

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[2]cf. Keynes, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace" (New York, 1920) p. 71

[3]cf. Keynes, *op. cit.*, p. 376

Background of War

The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940, by William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason. New York: Harper. $7.50

This is an extremely solid and thorough piece of historical research, devoted to the period from Franklin D. Roosevelt's "quarantine" speech of 1937 to the American-British destroyer deal of 1940. Secretary Acheson gave the authors the run of the State Department files. They also enjoyed access to the unpublished diaries of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Ambassador Joseph C. Grew and his son-in-law, the late Ambassador Pierrepont Moffat, and much similar material.

Although the work is devoted primarily to the development of American foreign policy, the authors give a liberal fill-in of international background, describing and analyzing the march of events in Europe and in Asia which helped to shape American policy. As a work of thorough background information this volume is not likely to be surpassed or even matched in any near future. It deserves a place with the major war chronicles, with Churchill's memoirs, Stimson's "On Active Service," Hull's dull but massive account of his stewardship at the State Department and Sherwood's "Roosevelt and Hopkins."

There are no very sensational revelations in the book; but there are many interesting bits of detail. We learn that the "fire extinguisher" analogy which Roosevelt used in advocating lend-lease originated in a letter from Harold Ickes in the summer of 1940. This is characteristic of the highly synthetic nature of Roosevelt's public addresses; it would be an interesting exercise to track down what was borrowed from whom.

History repeated itself in the matter of the destroyer deal. Sir Edward Grey had his Walter Hines Page, an American Ambassador more adept at pleading Britain's cause than his own. Lord Lothian, then British Ambassador in Washington, had his Joseph Alsop and other members of the Century Group, an element in the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies which went all-out for a declaration of war on Germany as early as the summer of 1940. The relations between the British Embassy and the Century Group are indicated in the following sentences:

> Alsop consulted with a number of American and British officials, both civilian and military. Lord Lothian received him with open arms and supplied him generously with information and arguments. . . . The British Ambassador, having found such willing and eager collaborators, made the most of the situation.

Secretary Hull, in the autumn of 1940, seems to have cherished an intense distrust of the Kremlin; the authors quote a note of Stimson to the effect that "Hull had a very strong bias against any negotiations with Russia, apparently, saying in the strongest language that they couldn't be trusted for a minute." It seems a pity that Hull's attitude was not carried over into the war years.

The authors are doubtless sincere in their professions of independence and objectivity. But, while the factual research is impressive and generally excellent, the interpretation is heavily slanted in the direction of interventionism. The work is sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, an organization which is doubtless nonpartisan, as between Republicans and Democrats, but which has never included in its membership a prominent representative of the anti-interventionist viewpoint.

No doubt against the will and desire of the authors, an element of bias creeps into the interpretive side of the book. Henry L. Stimson, who was never elected to any public office, is a "revered public figure" who wrote "eloquent" letters, although the letter in question was a crashing misjudgment about Japanese willingness to go to war if crowded too hard in China. Isolationists are described as "rabid." The arguments of Charles A. Lindbergh, Herbert Hoover, and the Senators who opposed Roosevelt's steady if tortuous approach to involvement in war are given little attention.

So, while the book is a valuable addition to our stock of historical knowledge, it leaves some large questions of possible policy very wide open and in no way refutes or invalidates the vigorous criticism of Roosevelt's foreign policy launched by Charles A. Beard. Discussing Hitler's psychology in the spring of 1939, the authors write:

> There is no good reason to doubt his oft-repeated assertion that he desired peace and friendship with Britain and, by derivation—since London and Paris were so closely linked—with France also. But this proposition was always based on the assumption that the Western democracies would leave Germany a free hand in central and eastern Europe.

This seems to be an accurate judgment; and the logical conclusion is that the war was fought to save central and eastern Europe from Hitler's domination. But are we, or the British, or the French, any better off now that eastern and central Europe is part of the Soviet Empire? It would seem that someone, or many persons, blundered pretty badly somewhere.

Or consider the situation in the Orient. Suppose we had been less hell-bent on tripping up Japan in China. Would a state of affairs in which Japan was preserved as a counterbalancing factor to Chinese communism and Soviet imperialism be worse than the situation we actually face in the Far East?

Many years ago there was a corny sentimental song, with the refrain: "You made me what I am today; I hope you're satisfied." The former members of the Century Group and similar hot-gospeling interventionist organizations which helped to break down the instinctive reluctance of the Ameri-

can people to embark on Mr. Roosevelt's great crusade might, in their more thoughtful and reflective moments, be humming over a similar melody in their minds. WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

France Today

Modern France: Problems of the Third and Fourth Republics, edited by Edward Mead Earle. Princeton University Press. $6.00

France must be the bastion on which any western European defense against the East is built. "If, on the other hand," Dr. Edward Mead Earle writes in this symposium, "France should fail in any essential respect, it is difficult to see how the other European members of the Atlantic bloc can long survive as altogether free and independent." This seems a logical conclusion.

In America, unfortunately, French affairs are little understood. This is not only a handicap in our relations with our French allies, it is also a drag on the formulation of our policies toward the East. Any medium that helps further a greater understanding of France and its problems is, therefore, of service to the Western world. This extensively documented and painstakingly edited volume is made up in the main of studies by university scholars and State Department authorities. It should be helpful to specialists and students of international relations. It is not likely, however, to have great appeal for the general reader. And the general reader, too, needs information about France.

Through no fault of the participants in the symposium, "Modern France" has to some extent been bypassed by certain important events. The Princeton conference at which most of the papers in the book were read took place in early February 1950. The Schuman Plan was launched three months later. Although the Schuman Plan is mentioned six times in the index, it is possible that the tone of some of the chapters might have been a little different if they had been written after Foreign Minister Schuman announced his plan to coordinate the economies of western Europe. The Schuman Plan might possibly be sabotaged; or it might be made an excuse for large-scale monopolistic practices. But whatever the future holds for it, the fact remains that it is the imaginative product of French leadership.

This brings us to the section of the book headed: "The Decline of the French Élan Vital." Much of the material in this section is well chosen, but why emphasize the decline of *élan vital* in France? It is true that France today does not have the same confidence, "the same *esprit* or *élan*, as the France of 1914." Since 1914 France has gone through the campaigns of Verdun, the Aisne, the Chemin des Dames and the second battle of the Marne, the inflation of the twenties, the great disillusionment in world cooperation of the thirties, the defeat of 1940, the German occupation, and the gruelling postwar reconstruction era. No wonder her *élan vital* has declined. But has not that of Britain? Where is German *élan vital* today?

And have we in the United States the same confidence in our economic future and our national security that we had thirty-seven years ago? Someone will say that only the Russians have *élan vital.* That may be questioned on at least two counts: the steady stream of people fleeing from the Soviet Empire, and the frantic Russian effort to claim every invention under the sun as the work of their own genius.

"Modern France," being for the most part analytical rather than historical, has eschewed the journalistic approach. This treatment has its merits, particularly for the specialist. But it is possible that a little more of the personal touch would have attracted the general reader. Take, for example, the chapter about General de Gaulle. The personalized approach would have made the subject more human and his work more understandable. It may seem captious to complain about the academic treatment of the French colonial problem. But the reviewer remembers a good many times in his own experience when actual contact in the field modified or changed the views he had derived from academic sources. Certainly the problems of the French colonies are so important that they should have not only the benefit of accumulated scholarship and analysis but the findings of authoritative first-hand observation.

If from the 500-odd pages one chapter were to be singled out for commendation it might well be the essay by Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr. on the political parties and the French Army since the liberation. Like the other chapters it is carefully documented, but it has a lucidity which helps clarify a pretty complex situation. HENRY C. WOLFE

Forthright Mayor Gaynor

William Jay Gaynor, by Mortimer Smith, Chicago: Regnery. $2.50

It was exciting in 1909, in New York, to pick up the morning paper. William Jay Gaynor was Mayor and nearly every day he said or did something that was stimulating. Sometimes it was wise, sometimes insulting. But he was no LaGuardia, playing the clown. LaGuardia, in his tantrums, was childish and often synthetic; Gaynor was always real and he was adult. We who lived in New York liked him; we also respected him.

It is good to be reminded of all this in Mortimer Smith's book. We need to remember people like Gaynor, who with all his pernickety faults was a

true democrat. As Mr. Smith says, he probably could not be elected to anything today. Perhaps it's a sort of miracle that a man so independent was elected to anything in any day.

Mr. Smith's book is the picture of a man who was mysterious and secret in his private life. But Gaynor made no secret of his stand in public matters. The first two chapters are a little slow and disconnected and are not quite integrated into the book. But when the author gets into Gaynor's fight for the Mayorship, and his career as Mayor, the story has the pace and the excitement of Gaynor's own temperament.

Gaynor was a farm boy, born of an Irish Catholic family. He got most of his education as a novice in a religious order. Later he became indifferent to formal religion and finally joined the Episcopal Church. Whether he joined the religious order because he thought he had a vocation or because, his parents being poor, it was an inexpensive way to get an education, no one knows. Gaynor never spoke of this period of his life.

As Mr. Smith says, such a religious history was enough in itself to keep Gaynor from being elected to high office. To top this, he had been divorced and remarried, a desperately bad thing for a candidate.

About his first marriage Gaynor was silent and secret; the author continues the secrecy, rather to the disappointment of the reader.

Gaynor was over forty before he became active in politics. He had married a good-natured, understanding woman, had several children and was living in Brooklyn. He was a small man, very thin, with penetrating blue eyes. His voice was soft and his disposition acid. He had made a fortune in the law. He was a quiet lawyer, solitary, who worked hard and alone; he was no courtroom orator, but a scholar in the law. He himself said, "Never was a talkative fellow—a great lawyer."

He got on all right with industrialists, big and little, but equally well with the bootblack and the barber. In the summer in the country he spent much time with a scholarly drunk who slept in barns. He liked his own whiskey straight.

At forty, secure financially, he became first angry and then furious with the political corruption in Brooklyn. He went into the political arena fighting. Though he was a poor speaker, a poor handshaker and a poor politician, he was elected to the Supreme Court of New York. As a four-term judge he made a fine record.

Came 1907. Tammany needed a little respectability. Cities were being reformed all over the country. To the Tammany boss, Murphy, Gaynor looked like the man to put on a good show. It was a strange campaign. Being a judge is not a good preparation for running for office. The Judge is god-like, the office-seeker is a suppliant. Gaynor insulted everyone except the plain people whom he liked, and was elected. He was elected by Tammany, but the Fusion ticket, backed by Hearst, got the Board of Estimate. To the astonishment of the public and the dismay of Tammany, Gaynor sided with the Reform Board of Estimate and began to clean up New York.

"What can we do for Mr. Murphy?" asked a frightened Democrat.

"Suppose we give him a few kind words," said Gaynor.

He was over sixty when he was elected Mayor, but full of energy, vinegar and fight. Three years later a crazy man shot him point-blank; the bullet went through his neck and he never again was able to speak except with a whispering croak. His character seemed to change. His strong will became stubbornness, his judgment less keen. A man who has spells of coughing that last for hours is apt to be tense and irritable.

And right then he came up against the most difficult time in his career, the eruption of the scandal in the New York police. It was a wild time. The gambler Rosenthal was shot, Lieutenant Becker was electrocuted, Hearst screamed in bitter rage. Gaynor refused to fire an incompetent (though honest) police Commissioner. He believed that gambling and prostitution were evils of the human spirit and that no laws could correct them. How many clean-ups of vice and gambling have we had since, and how futile they have been! Gaynor's reputation went under a cloud. Even so, there was some talk of Gaynor for President.

Mortimer Smith has done a service in bringing back to us this man who believed "That government is best that governs least." HELEN WOODWARD

Rule by Psychiatrist

Number Nine, or The Mind Sweepers, by A. P. Herbert. New York: Doubleday. $3.50

Fourteen years ago, A. P. Herbert wrote a novel called "Holy Deadlock." Three years later, Parliament passed a law liberalizing Britain's stringent divorce laws. If Herbert's new novel, "Number Nine, or The Mind Sweepers," affects British thinking to a similar degree, it will be a great day for the sceptered isle. With a broad and zany brush, he has painted a picture of a once-civilized nation held in the thrall of the psychiatrists—the "trick-cyclists." Appointment to the government bureaucracy in this not-so-mythical state is decided by the kind of Thematic Apperception Test developed in America by Dr. Henry Murray of Hiss case fame. In Herbert's amusing novel, this system is overturned by the easy application of a lever, constructed in equal parts of sex, malicious humor, and rugged individualism. Unfortunately, the socializers of the world will never read this book—or if they do will hardly understand that it is aimed at them. RALPH DE TOLEDANO

FROM OUR READERS

In Defense of President Wilson

In your issue of February 11, in the editorial, "Liars for President," you say: "Of Woodrow Wilson, it can be urged that he broke faith after 1916 with his followers who had loved him because he kept us out of war."

Throughout the whole of the 1916 campaign the President stressed the fear that at any moment we might find ourselves forced into war. Here are two examples:

> We are not going to invade any nation's right, but suppose some nation should invade our right . . . the difficulties of our foreign policy . . . daily increase in number and intricacy and in danger, and I would be derelict in my duty if I did not deal with you in these matters with the utmost candor, and tell you what it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do. . . .
>
> The United States was once in enjoyment of what we used to call splendid isolation . . . And now by circumstances which she did not choose, over which she had no control, she has been thrust out . . . on the stage of the world itself . . . and no nation in the world must doubt that all her forces are gathered and organized in the interest of just, righteous and humane government.

The campaign slogan, "He kept us out of war," was the work of the Democratic press bureau, and time after time, to my knowledge, Mr. Wilson branded it as dishonest, and demanded its cessation. Always he was obeyed, but only for a space. After a discreet interval the slogan was sounded again.

San Francisco, Cal. GEORGE CREEL

The Causes of Inflation

I see in a newspaper report that the American "Economic Stabilizer," Roger L. Putnam, has said that the combating of inflation is "a personal assignment for each of us—it's what we do or don't do as individuals that causes inflation." A great majority of the world's political leaders must believe that statement to be correct or we would not now be seeing the vast wave of inflation sweeping over the earth's surface. It is bad government and not the acts of the people which inflates currencies.

It is however an unfortunate fact that only a small proportion of those people who read that statement, would appreciate it for the absurdity which it is. Mr. Putnam is also reported as saying that inflationary pressure threatened to wreck the nation's defense program. He is then quoted as saying "the Communists couldn't ask for a better break than that." Now of course, Communists do want inflation, and it is almost certain that they are working as hard on the job of getting governments to inflate their currencies as they are working on any other project. Once inflation is well under way, the Communist machine loses no time in demanding controls and more controls. The effect is to centralize power in the State—the ultimate Communist objective.

What a blessing men with views like Mr. Putnam—and they are all too prevalent in the top levels of government today—must be to any lurking Alger Hiss!

Framfield, England ANTONY FISHER

A Farmer Protests

I resent the attitude Mr. Sulzbach took toward farmers in "How to Defend Free Enterprise" [February 25]. Does he know that both large farm organizations are working against various handouts to farmers? Farmers are smart enough to know they don't get something for nothing. The Grange and the Farm Bureau are not demanding as much out of the public treasury as are many other groups. The Farmers' Union is the only farm organization which demands unreasonable payments, and it is notoriously left-wing. Do you know there are independent farmers who refuse to take payments which the government is ready to hand out? The farmers resisted the Brannan farm plan, for they realized it meant more regimentation.

Let's be reasonable. The government allows the unions to get away with practically every demand they make for higher wages. Farmers don't get time and a half for overtime. If they did, you'd really know what high food prices mean. Farmers still are free enterprisers working as many hours as they find necessary to raise food. To blame them almost entirely for the high prices consumers pay is to show a very slight understanding of economics—real, not theoretical.

As for consumers not being represented, really there are enough l bies so that practically all consum are included—as laborers, farm Chamber of Commerce membe members of the National Assoc tion of Manufacturers, etc.

We farmers in the region arou here propose to vote for the m who offers the least government —and control. We know—if N Yorkers don't—that we don't something without strings attac or without paying for it somehow

Polo, Ill. FERN DEM

From a Wage Earner

Joseph H. Ball really set the Libe Bell ringing in your issue of Feb ary 11. Let's have more of the sa I think plain everyday wage earne such as I am, are more fully c scious of the growing labor un power over our lives than he r alizes. The Taft election in Ohio in evidence.

Compulsory membership in a bor union is forced regimentati When an American worker is c pelled to surrender his freedom pay tribute to a labor dictator hold his job, something radic wrong has happened to our nati freedom.

Some of us are beginning to w der what the initials CIO re stand for. Could it be Commu International Organization? It see a sort of Communist aggressive started when the CIO came into istence. There seemed to be a r and intensified hate generated in CIO worker for his employer. threats, violence, and other form pressure, the CIO began to gain vantages for its members that fected the policies of other uni The AFL began to follow sim tactics. How about dues? You d have to bother—union tax, inc tax, and social security—you'll n see the money because it will taken out of your pay envelope fore you get it.

Something must be done to a halt to the gimme rat race. We all conscious of that fact. Up wages and benefits. Then, eventu up go prices for more than the t fic will bear. There is no incen to produce without profit. Jobs p out. Business flops. Another dep sion and Stalin has won another tle through the strategy of his necked labor leaders.

Valparaiso, Ind.